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

Based on the Census Report for the Punjab, 1883, by the late
Sir DENZIL IBBETSON, K.C.S.I., —
and the Census Report for the
Punjab, 1892, by —
Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
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PREFACE.

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

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

1 To cite one of the scores of parallels which might be cited Athena born by the waters of Tricaryos was at first a water-goddess and then a goddess of irrigation. Associated with the Eridanos snake, she finds her prototype in the snake-goddess of the shrines of the Minoan palace of Knossos in Crete, so that the principle on which her cult is founded is of great antiquity: Kaine Smith, Greek Art and National Life, 1914, p. 100.
tion to render service is forgotten, or at any rate less keenly felt than it was originally, and so by degrees privileges are established without any corresponding obligations. I do not think that any novelty can be claimed for this view, but I think that the parallel suggested is a new one. I will not attempt to work it out in any detail, but I may give an instance of its practical working. The Hon'b'le Mr. H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., has pointed out in a paper read before the Punjab Historical Society that Indian Râjâs used caste and the governing bodies of caste as administrative agents. Not only did they do so but in all probability they created governing bodies within the caste for administrative purposes. They probably used what lay to hand, but where they found no agency ready to hand they created or developed new institutions on existing and customary lines. The result was that new castes could be created, old castes promoted and existing castes sub-divided by the creation of privileged sub-castes within them. But the political conditions of India being what they are the privileges thus bestowed seem to have remained, when the justification for their existence had long been forgotten. In a small State like Kablûr the Râjâ probably promoted the outcaste Koli to a recognised status within the pale of caste because he needed his services as a soldier: whereas the Katoch Râjâ refused to remove the ban on the Kolis of a tract like Râjgiri, where the clan is pretty numerous because he had no need of their services in a military capacity. Where the Râjâ was autocratic or powerful and above all where he had a divine power behind him, he could bestow the thread of caste, even it would seem, on individuals; and doubtless he could, in extreme cases, rescind his grant. But it is characteristic of the East, just as it was of the West, that privileges tend to become hereditary even where they are not conferred expressly in tail or remainders and we rarely, if ever, hear of degradation from caste being made by royal authority. Within itself caste is democratic and intensely jealous of its privileges. It is no doubt ever-ready to expel offending members, especially women who offend against its moral code, and to split itself up into sub-castes which observe its canons with greater or less rigour. But nearly all the forces at work combine to maintain privileges rather than enforce duties. 

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

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

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

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

1 Panjab Census Report, 1909, p. 371. But the progressive Muniāl Brahmins, who have eschewed all priestly functions, are not hampered by any prejudices against similar employment and thrive in the professions and in Government service.

2 Mr. A. H. Burnet, I.C.S (Retired), in Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems, 1917, pp. 20 and 17.

3 ib., pp. 18, 20 and 21. It can hardly be denied that the Dravidians had class distinctions even if they had not 'castes' in the Hindu sense. Indeed, the difficulty is to find any society which has not such distinctions and does not enforce restrictions on marriage on their basis.
Dravidian or Kolarian tribes as exhibit such rudiments seem to have failed signally in legislating against immorality in sexual matters. In the most highly developed and organised castes it may be that the rules regulating marriage within the caste but prescribing all kinds of exogamous, isogamous, and hypogamous restrictions in unions between the various sections and groups into which the caste has divided itself were intended to adjust sexual or connubial relations. But if that was their intention they have proved remarkably unsuccessful in practice, and they seem to afford a remarkable proof of the theorem suggested—that rules which human society devises for its protection and conservation soon become fetters which hamper its development and ensure its degeneration. If Hindu social reformers framed regulations designed to promote sexual relations which would be socially wholesome and eugenically effective they must have been disappointed to find that they only created the institution of Kulinism, not only in Bengal but in the Punjab and not only among Brahmans but among Khatri, Siáls Rájpúts, and other castes, over-producing brides in one group and not leaving enough to meet the demand in another. But to write:—"The basis and starting point of the whole system are obviously the fact that the community consists of sections, the members of which are under agreement to exchange brides with each other on certain customary conditions. These sections have not been formed by priests or rulers but solely by the agreement of the members among themselves, either subsisting from of old or varied from time to time by fresh consent. Priests and rulers, if they were ever so anxious, could not produce such associations. The need for brides was one that had to be met somehow, if the existence of the community was to be continued. If we scan the benefits, which are derived from the caste system, as above set forth, we shall not find a single one, which would compel people to bestir themselves and take action to secure it, save this one. They were, however, obliged by necessity to undertake the solution of the problem—How to find brides when wanted?"* seems to postulate the division of the community into groups before any social problems affecting inter-marriage arose. The simplest solution of the matrimonial difficulties which exist under the caste system and mostly in consequence of its complexities would be its abolition. As a matter of fact exchanges of brides are far from universal and their purchase

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is by far the most prevalent rule, at any rate in the Punjab. The purchase of a bride is an economic need as well as a social necessity, and her price tends more and more to be regulated by the laws of supply and demand. It can hardly be imagined that the original division into a few castes was based on anything but function. It is singularly unfortunate that we do not know what were the 'eighteen elements of the State' of the Kashmir and Chamba inscriptions,\(^1\) whether they were occupational groups or tribes, but they can hardly have been anything but functional groups. But the origin of caste is a matter of academic interest rather than of pressing importance when we are considering its utility. Let it be assumed that unequal matrimonial transactions are the exception and exchanges of brides on equal terms the rule, how can it be said that the restrictions on the free choice of a bride operate for good under modern conditions? The restraints seem to have been imposed in order to ensure purity of blood by a conquering race or a succession of invading tribes. But once the fashion was set it became capable of endless amplification and capricious modification. Society fell a victim to its rules, just as it is sacrificed to legal formulæ which when they were forged made for progress but which under changed conditions and altered ideals rivet obsolete institutions on generations which had no say in their designing. Moreover the rules of caste seem to go far beyond the necessities of the case, if they were designed to facilitate the wife-supply. The rules restricting smoking and eating with and taking food and water from the hands of a lower caste seem entirely superfluous if child-marriage prevents any individual selection of a partner for life, and they can only accentuate and embitter a cleavage which is already sufficiently marked. Whatever the origins of caste may have been and however expedient its codes of rules and restrictions may once have been, its apologist can hardly deny that they now regard man as made for caste and not caste as made for man.

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

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\(^1\) The system extended as far as Kulu for a proverb says: 'All the 18 castes are in Nagar.' Dinsl, Kulahi Dialect, p. 83.
damage agricultural property.¹ Such a rule seems to have been based on an instinctive or far-sighted view that the destruction of the food-supply, even in the hands of an enemy, would recoil on the destroyer’s own head. The economic importance of the cultivator made his function semi-sacred—but only for a time. The rule did not become permanent nor was it apparently observed universally even in India. So rules however humane and foreseeing are not always adopted, but a rule once adopted may flourish like a green banyan tree and encumber the ground. It seems at least as difficult for the East to eliminate the waste products of its thought as it is for the West. ‘It is a historical fact that human thinking has been enormously improved by the invention of logical rules in the past.’ But we have outgrown some of them and ‘Aristotle’s formal syllogistic scheme seems to us now so poor and clumsy that any insistence upon it is a hindrance rather than a furtherance to Thought.’²

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

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

Inquiries into religious beliefs, social usages and custom too often ignore what is already known and start with the supposition that the field of investigation is still virgin soil. It is of the highest importance to an investigator to find out first what work has been done and to build on that, instead of starting afresh. For example, several very full and apparently exhaustive accounts of customs in Kulu have reached me, but a reference to Sir Alexander Diack's *Kuláhi Dialect of Hindi* shows that many usages and institutions must have existed and may still survive in that subdivision which my correspondents do not mention. The glossary in that work tells us that cross-betrothal¹ exists under the name of dori dast (p. 60) and that a cash payment called badophri (p. 48) is by the parents of the older fiancée to compensate for the excess of her age over that of the younger. The system of working for a bride exists, as to earn a wife by labouring for her father is ghátína (p. 62). Old maids are not unknown, as land set aside for an unmarried female of a family is called pharogal (p. 84). No term for a best man is traceable, but a bridesmaid is balhari (p. 49). It is common for a bride to stipulate that her husband shall not marry a rival wife (saúkan) (p. 89) except under certain circumstances, such as her proving barren, and when a husband takes a second wife he has to pay her compensation called bhor pit (p. 52). Married women hold private property called chheji (p. 56). Adultery was mulcted in a fine, raud (p. 86, payable to the injured husband. Abduction of a married woman was of two kinds or possibly degrees, for the seducer who eloped with his neighbour's wife and settled the matter with him was not obliged to cross the border and was called niau karu (p. 80), while he who absconded with her across the border was dhubl karu (p. 59). Legitimacy was a question of degree.

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

² Such an agreement would probably be void under section 26 of the Indian Contract Act which is taken from the draft Civil Code of New York. Literally construed it has been taken to void all agreements in restraint of polygamy; see Pollock and Mulla's *St. 1913*, p. 106. The history of the section and the construction placed upon it are pregnant with warning.
FINAL LIST OF ADDENDA, CORRIGENDA AND CROSS-REFERENCES.

Vol. II, Page 1—

Add under Abdál:

See also Vol. I, p. 524 supra.

Page 3, insert :-

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

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

Page 9—

Add under Akálí:—

For the P'beki Akális see Vol. I, p. 729 supra.

Page 12—

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

Page 12—

Ardas, a Sikh title:

Argón: see Tarkhán (2) in Vol. III. Argun, the offspring of a Cháhzang by a Lohár woman. Should a Cháhzang take a woman of that caste into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will eat from his hand. An Argun will marry with a Lohár: Kulu Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 120.

Page 24—

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

Atri, see under Sotwi.

Page 31—

Bahla (2) a section of the Sirkikhel. See under Hathi Khel, and on p. 330 real Tobla for Tohla, and Bahla for Bahla: Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 56.

1P. N. Q. I., §§ 275, 285 and 41. In P. N. Q. III., p. 205, an account of their origin is given, but it does not appear to be known in the Punjab.
Addenda.

Page 33—

Insert after BAGHUR:—

Bagial (Janjua)—see Bugial.

Insert after BAGRI:—


Page 35—

Bak, see under Hathikhel.

Page 36—

Under BAIRAGI add:—

Thedi Singh, Raja of Kulu, c. 1753, granted lands to militant Bairagis: Lyall, Kangra S. R., § 82.

Page 39—

BAKSHISH sadha, a term applied to two Sikh sects, the Ajit Mal and Dakhni Rai sadha, because their founders received the bakhsh or gift of apostleship from the Guru (which Guru?). The followers of Ajit Mal, who was a masand or tax-gatherer, have a gaddi at Fatehpur. Those of Dakhni Sai, a Sadhu, have a gaddi described to be at Gharancho or Dhillman ud nagan richk.

BAKKAB, see under Hathikhel.

Page 40—

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

Page 56—

Add under BALOCH:—

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

In Muzaffargarh the Gopange, Chandiass (two of the principal tribes), Ghalaans and Sarbanis have the worst of characters, but are no worse than the neighbouring Jato: Gazetteer, 1908, p. 65.
Addenda.

Page 56—

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

Page 57—

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

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

Page 62—

Under BANJÁRA insert:—

The Banjáras are, Briggs observes, first mentioned in Muhammadan history in Niámat-ullá's Túrkh-i-Khán-Jahán-Lodi under the year 1505 A. D. [when their non-arrival compelled Sultán Sikandar to send out Azam Humáyún to bring in supplies, ] as purveyors to the army of Sultán Sikandar in Rajpután: E. H. 1., V., p. 100.

The feminine is Banjáran or Banjárí, i.e. Vanjáran, Vanjári.

BANOTÁ, BANAUTÁ, a commission agent.

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

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

BÁNWÁYYÁ, s. m. a manufacturer.

Page 64—

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

Page 65—

BARARAKKI.

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

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

BÁRETA, baretha, fem. barethán: a washerman or fuller: Platts' Hindustáni Dict., p. 151.

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

Page 66—
Insert after Barlás :

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

Page 69—
Add to :

Bashgali (non-sli). Their seats are the valleys of the Bashgal river and its tributaries but their settlements extend to Birkot on the Chitrál stream: J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 1.

Page 70—
Insert :

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

Page 79—
Add : Bed (2), in Láhal the beds or physicians hold land called man-zing, rent free: see under Jodsi.

Add under Bepá :

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

Page 80—
Belema, a half mythical race of gigantic men, whose mighty bones and great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the sand-hills in the Thal of Mianwáli. They are apparently the Bahši Rájputs.

Bhópá, see Qassár.
Insert before Betti :

Beštá, baištá, a Dági attendant on a Kám family: Diack, Kuláhi dialect, p. 51. Members of a kaištú family have the sole right of performing ceremonial functions.

Cf. pakháh.

Bhakari, a tribe of Muhammadan Játs, found in Gujrat. It claims descent from Ghalla, a Janjú Rajput, who had three sons, Bhakári, its eponym, Natha (founder of the Nathiál), and Kanjuh (founder of the Kanjial).

Page 83—

Bhainwáli, a Ját tribe or got (from bhainá, buffalo) which is found in the Dádri tahsil of Jind.

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

Page 101—
Add to BHATRA: Lyall in Kângra Sett., Rep. § 69, p. 65, speaks of the Bhatra as the most numerous among first grade Brahman. But Bhatra here appears to be a mistake for Batehrû. The Bhatra clan is described as inhabiting the Tira and Mahl Moriilikas.

Page 83—
BHANDARI, a keeper of a store-house or treasury (bhandâr), e. g. in Mandi. Cf. Bhandâri.

BHANDI, an officer in charge of dharmâth : an almoner : Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

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

Page 101*—
Add to note*: For a Bhattia Râja (ally of Jaipál) see Briggs’ Keshtha, p. 9.

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

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

Page 90—
Insert after BHRÂO:—

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

Add under BHIKDA: a Jât tribe of this name, said to be derived from bhêdâ, a wolf or sheep, is also found in tahsils Sangrur and Dadri of Jind.

Page 114—
Insert after BISHNOI:—

Page 115—
BOHÁN, a sweeper of the palace: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

BISAN KHÊL, one of the 5 sections of the Ahmadzai Darvesh Khel Wazir, with 3 sub-divisions, the Daulat, Isà and Umar Khân in the plains, and a 4th, the Mughal Khel, in the hills. Settled on the left bank of the Kuru in Bannu. The Painda Khel is a cognate clan: Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 57.
Add under BOHRA:

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

Page 116—

Both, a cook: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Boza, one of the main divisions of the Umarzai.

BANGERA, see Wangirgar.

Page 121—

For Dablijiya read Dahljia,—which suggests a connection with dahliz, 'portico.'

For Bhibhal read Bhimwál, or after Bhibhál read ' or Bhimwál.'

Page 142—

Insert after BUDH:

Budhál, a clan found in Gujar Khán and Kahúta tahsils: like the Bhakrál in origin and customs they claim descent from Prophet's son-in-law: Ráwa'pindi Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 111.

Page 146—

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

CHÁKHA, a taster: Mandi, App. VII.

Page 151—

Insert after CHAMANG:

Chamiál—a Rájput sept to which Pípa Bhagat belonged: P. N. Q., III, § 125.

Page 159—

Add as a footnote:

The Lún country is the Salt Range. The only Nakodar known is in Jullundur. The Chatti-Painti—'35 and 36'—is a tract now unknown by that name, as is the Diniar-des. The latter can hardly be the Dhani.

Page 160—

CHAKSI:—see under Káng-chumpo.

Page 152—

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

Page 170—

Addenda.

Page 181—

Choba, a hereditary astrologer, in Spiti.¹ The word is probably derived from Chau-ved, one learned in the 4 Vedas.

Page 290—

Add to Dahima: These Brahmanas appear to be much on a level with the Khandelwal. They are fed on the 15th day after death and take neither black offerings nor graha ki dan. Hisar Gazetteer, 1904, p. 78. (2) There is also a Dahima clan of Rajputs, as to which see Tahim, and note* on p. 238 in this volume.

Page 221—

Dahria, a Persian term, denoting atheist.

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

Page 222—

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

Page 235—

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

Dher Kharbal, see under Valana. The Hand-book of Crim. Tribes, p. 120, refers to Din-i-Akbari on Kharrals.

Page 238—

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

Page 240—

In Dhund for Khalara read Khalura.

Page 242—

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

Page 247—

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

Page 247—

Doyal, see under Raksi-dotal.

Page 249—

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

Page 272—

Gadri, one of the principal Jat gots in Gurdaspur: found in Batila tahsil.

¹ Kulu Gazetteer, 1889-4, p. 182.
Addenda.

Page 274—

GAHLAUR, see Katkhar.

Page 278—

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

Page 279—

GANI, a prostitute.

Under GĀR: After Rāja in line 4 insert Pāl.

Page 280—

GĀRA, GERA, said to be a distinct caste in Spiti, where an agriculturist cannot take a Gāra woman to wife without becoming a Gāra himself.

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

Page 282—

Under GELTREA add: see Kādam' a in List of Addenda, Vol. I.

Page 283—

Add to GHANGHAS: In Karnāl the Ghanghas claim descent from Badkāl, whom they still worship. He has a shrine at Pūthar. They hold the thāpa of Mandi and say they came from Dhanana near Bhiwānī in Hisar.

Page 284—

GHANBIRN'D, 'a modern sect of the KABIRPANTHIS': I. N. Q., IV § 245. But see under STāRU. According to the Punjab Census Rep., 1912, § 189, they are a declining branch of the Dādūpanthis.

Page 285—

The GHANTANI are described as a Baloch tribe in Muzzafargarh Gazetteer, 1908, p. 65.

Page 297—

GHOTAKHOR, diver: see Toba.

Page 301—

GILGAR, -KAR or -HAN, a worker in clay; see under Kumhār.

Page 302—

GORAKHPANTHI, a Jogi who is a follower of Guru Gorakhnāth, Punjab C. R., 1912, § 150.
Page 303—

Gorkun-kand, a grave-digger: said to be generally a Kumbhr.

Guleli, fem. -an, a wandering tribe, generally known as Bazigar or Nať. The name may be derived from gulel, a sling. In the Bahawalpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 340, it appears as Gilail.

Page 420—

Kadamba, a Lamaistic sect, founded by Atica, Dipankara-Sri-Jnané who was born in Bengal in 980 and died in 1053 A. D. Domton or Tomton (Hbronston) and Marpa re-united his followers into a sect and founded Kadeng: Milloué, Bod-youl on Tibet, 1906, p. 177.

Page 435—

Add: Mabeb is a synonym of Káhar in Gurdaspur, Gazetteer, 1891-2, p. 82.

Page 438—


Page 476—

Kargyut-pa, a Lamaistic sect, see under Sakyapa.

Vol. III., page 25—

Insert after Lalína:—For the Lalji see Shahpur Gazetteer, p. 83.

Page 39—

Insert after Lunghere:—

Lumba, a maker of toys, huqqa stems, caps etc.: also keep donkey-stallions: in Zafarwál tahsil, Siālkoṭ.

Page 57—

Add under Malang:—

For the Malangs in Kurram, see Vol. I, p. 526.

Page 66—

Insert after Mangal Khel:—


Page 72—

Add under Masand:—

G. C. Narang derives the terms from masud-i-ali= 'Excellancy.' They were appointed to the 22 provinces or secs and apparently still survive among the Banda-panthis, but by them are called Bhas: Transformation of Sikhism, pp. 85 and 23.

Page 73—

Insert after Matu:—

For the Mulasači see Shahpur Gazetteer, p. 84.
Addenda.

Page 128—
Add under Māvī:

Māvī was the old name of Akbar's khidmatīs: Aṭn-i-Akbarī, I, p. 252, cited in Russell's Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, IV, p. 338.

Page 127—
Add under Mērh:

Rasth is from Sanskr. Washisht, 'one who resides at a court.' Cf. Bisht in Diack's Kuldī Dialect of Hindi, p. 53.

Page 126—
Add under Mērā (not -ra):

The definition should be 'a Guru's messenger' not 'priest.' The mērās were natives of Mewāt, famous as runners, and excellent spies: they could perform the most intricate duties: Aṭn-i-Akbarī, I, p. 252. For the dāk-mērās of Khāli Khān, cf. I, p. 243.

Page 125—
Add under Mōn:

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

Page 139—

Page 155—
The Nānakshāhi are described as descendants of Sri Chand, founder of the Udāsīs, by S. Muhammad Latīf, Hist. of Lahore, p. 150.

Page 176—
Add after Omārā:


Page 193—
Insert after Pāhullā:

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

Page 193—
Insert after Pāinda Khel:

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

Page 194—
Insert after Pallēdār:

Pālādā, nəsī : Diack, op. cit., p. 81.
Addenda.

Page 194—

Page 203—
Insert after Párnámi: —
PARHA, a supplier of water at the wayside: Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 82.

Page 205—
Add to footnote—
Sir Richard Burton says Pathán is supposed to be a corruption of Ar. Pat’hán, ‘conqueror,’ or to be derived from Hindi *pátha*, ‘to penetrate’ (hostile ranks). The synonym Saláání recalls the phrase: ‘Saláání Zárámí, the Salááníns are rustans in Arabic: *Pilgrimage to Al-Madina*, I, p. 45.

Page 206—
For Wdýána read Uldýána, and in footnote.*

Page 216—
For Khitali read Khilchi under Ghilzai.

Page 234—
After Pánnerk insert: —

Page 237—
After Práví, insert: —
Práví from *práv*, ‘masonry’; a mason, assistant to the *tháós* or carpenter: Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 85.

After Páir-pála insert: —

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

Page 268—
After ‘temple’ in 4th line read ‘to pay.’

Page 273—Under A add: —
1. Jammál from Jammu.
1. Samiáb, „ Sámbo.
2. Chápá, „ Chákri.
Bára Manga „ 12 villages in Shakkargah.
2. Jaggi „ Jagain in ”.

* In Zafarwál.
Addenda.

3. Punni " Intermarry with Kátil now on equal terms.

Kadís from

2 are Thakkars.

Page 275—

Add a footnote:—

Mr. D. J. Royston, C. S., writes.—'Three or four years ago the saídár of Chawra, Moti Singh, a Chárák Rájput, called a meeting of Cháráks, Salehrías and others of about the same grade and persuaded them to agree to doحía marriages and to refuse brides to the more lofty gos. The Mánhás people would not touch the proposal and have great difficulty in getting brides in consequence. The Cháráks and Salehrías have scored. I am told that the Mahárája of Jammu held an opposition meeting later to try to break the compact but it remains in force with, of course, many qualifications.'

Page 322—

Add under Ranghar:—

The term Ranghar used to be more widely used. Thus Khazán Singh writes of the Ranghars about Mórida and Bághánwála in Ambálá and round Sathía and Bátá in Gurdáspur: *Philosophie Hist. of Sikhisn*, 1, pp. 211 and 210: they were also known in Sirmúr: *Gazetteer*, p. 46.

Page 334—

After Rongar add:—

Rono, fr. Rajauri—a tribe or class found in Gilgit.

Page 351—

Insert after San:—

Addenda.

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

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

P. Q. I., § 517.
Ibbetson, § 235. For an account of how one of these 'Sayyids' met his death see Ibbetson, Karnal Sett., Rep. § 276. A Hindu Rajá used to exact the droit de seigneur from virgin brides, and the father of a Brahman girl thus outraged appealed to a Sayyid, Mirzâ Shihb, for redress. He raised a Moslem host and the Sayyid's shrine in the neighbourhood towards Delhi are the graves of those who fell in the campaign against the tyrant. Lamps are lit at them on Thursdays, but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfilment of a vow. They take the form of a fowl or goat, and especially, a goat's head, and are the perquisite of Muhammadan Jajírs. Sayyids are very fond of built huts and a fashionable prescription in illness is to build a shrine to one with an imaginary name or even no name at all. A low mind or imperious, mile-stone near Karnál town has been converted into a Sayyid's shrine. Mirzâ Shihb himself went on fighting without his head, but before he died he exclaimed: 'Sayyid! sayyid! Jacobs., § 331: and so apparently he is not himself a Shahid.

Delhi Gazetteer, p. 215.
Phulkián States Gazetteer, p. 83; for another Ganj Shahidán, at Kaláha in Jind, see p. 263. The Ganj Shahid at Lahore is the burial-place of Sikhs who were executed by a Hindu governor under the later Mughals: Muhammad Latif, History of Lahore, p. 161.

ibid., p. 81.
Bahawalpur Gazetteer, p. 178.
Addenda.

Apparently, it will be observed, most of these shrines are old, but that of Mūsa Pāk Shahīd, a well-known shrine at Multān, is almost modern. Shaikh Abulhassan Mūsa Pāk was a descendant of Abdul Qādir Gilānī, born at Uch in 1545. Post 1600 he was killed in a skirmish and in 1816 his body was brought to Multān. It is said that it was not at all decomposed and that it was carried in sitting on a horse. The shrine is largely affected by Pāthans and has a small melā on Thursday evenings.¹

All over the eastern Punjab small shrines exist to what are popularly called Sayyids. These shrines are Muhammadan in form, and the offerings, which are made on Thursdays, are taken by Muhammadan jāgirs. Very often however the name of the Sayyid is unknown, and diviners will even invent a Sayyid hitherto not heard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent and often cause illness and even death. Boils are especially due to them and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid, Bhūra, of Bari in the Kaithal tahsil of Karnāl District, shares with Mansa Devī of Mani Mājira in Ambāla the honour of being the patron saint of thieves in the eastern Punjab.² Thus the Sayyid has annexed many of the functions of Devī, both as a godling of disease and as the prototype of the mar'yr who imolates himself for the tribal weal. This theory would also account for the curious tradition that the saint Nizâm-ud-din Aulia was a patron of thieves alluded to above on p. 403. It is no doubt possible that thags elected to regard him as their protector, just as thieves in Europe chose to affect St. Nicholas,³ the patron saint of Eton College. But a change of creed does not necessarily involve a change in moral principles, and just as Muhammadan thieves transferred their allegiance from Mansa Devī to Sayyīrī Bhūra so the Muhammadan thags seem to have transferred them from Bhawānī Devī to Nizâm-ud-din. The parallel is complete.

Among Hindus the term Shahīd has a similar meaning. Thus Rām Mal, a Jāt chieftain, is known as Buddh Shahīd, because he was murdered by some Jāts of the Chima tribe into which he had married with the connivance of eldest son. When wounded he begged for wine but he died before it could be given him and so his kinsmen sprinkled some over his shrine, and to this day same wine is sprinkled over it at the rite of bhog khamā⁴ and the rest given to the tribal bards mirdais to drink.⁵

¹ Multān Gazetteer, p. 346.
² Ibbetson, loc. cit., § 226.
³ St. Nicholas was a great patron of mariners, and also of thieves who long rejoiced in the appellation of his clerks: cf. Shakspeare, 1, Henry IV, Act II, i, 67. Cervantes' story of Sancho's detecting a sum of money in a swindler's matting is merely the Spanish version of a 'Lay of St. Nicholas': Ingoldsby Legends, Ed. 1903, p. 193. St. Nicholas took over one of the functions of Hermes, who was known at Pellene as dolios and became the patron god of thieves, liars and defrauders. For a discussion of the origins of such attributes see Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, V, pp. 23-5.
⁴ This rite is observed at the close of the period after child birth during which the mother avoids the use of collyrium for her eyes, lena for her hands, the scent of flowers, and contact with dyed thread. All these things are then offered at Buddh Shahīd's shrine and the restriction on their use is thus removed. It must be observed on a Monday in the bright half of any month.
Errata.

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

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

23, line 8, delete "the."

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

43, line 0, for "views" read "wives."

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

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

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

56, line 43, for "curiously" read "curiously."

57, line 16, for "Zúl-akar" read "Zúl-fiqar."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

128, line 31, for "Chalya" read "Ahalya."

135, note 3, add in blank 135 after "Mahadeo" 267.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

420, line 16, for "Bhát" read "Bhút."

422, line 40, read "is a Bhandawáj Brahman."

611, line 28, for "Oralisi" read "Oralisi."

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

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

646 line 19, for "repitition" read "repetition."
Page 689, line 24, for "explosion" read "expulsion."

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

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

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

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

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

704, note 1, for "Cunningham" read "Cunningham."

704, note 1, for "pule" read "pulé."

712, line 1, for "kacha" read "kakha."

712, lines 33, 39, for "gur wata" read "gurudwara."

719, line 26, for "sach" read "sachha."

731, in heading for "Rights" read "Rites."

739, line 2, for "un-granted" read "angranted."

739, line 15, for "planets" read "planets."

745, line 4 from bottom, for "Gayathri" read "Gayatri."

750, line 11, for "kushubha" read "kusumbha."

751, note 2 for "struck" read "stuck."

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

760 line 10, for "maleda" read "multida."

771, line 16, for "chhita" read "chhia."

778, line 53, for "tribunal" read "tribal."

784, line 12, for "Phalgani" read "Phálguni."

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

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

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

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

805, line 32, for "Id-ul-fiter" read Idul-Fitr."

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

840, line 2, for "Garur" read "Garur."

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

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

857, line 15, for "Garur" read "Garur."

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

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

888, line 9, for "gulk-khawani" read "gul-khawani."

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

890, lines 18, 28, 31, 34, for "kul-or kul-khawani" read "gul-khawani."

903, note 4, for "Ambergine" read "Aubergine."

907, note 3, for "Taskira-i-Gulistán" read "Taskira."

and for "Muhk" read "Mulk."

969 the article on Casta and Sectarian Marks is continued
CHAPTER I.

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


The Punjab with its feudatory States and the North-West Frontier Province with its Agencies and Tribal Areas cover an area of 175,218 square miles and include a population of 28,006,777 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh of the total population of the Indian Empire. They number among their inhabitants one-fourth of the Muhammadan, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the King. Occupying the angle where the Himalayas, which shut in the peninsula to the north, meet the Suhaináns which bound it on the west, and lying between Hindustán and the passes by which alone access from the great Asian continent is possible, the old Punjab Province was, in a very special sense, the Frontier Province of India and guarded the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won. This description now applies with even greater accuracy to the North-West Frontier Province which was carved out of the Punjab in 1901, its area being increased by the addition of the protected territories which form the Political Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitrál. This new Province is thus bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush mountain range, which shut it off from the Pámilis, and on the east by the territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Punjab; in the south it is bounded by the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab, and on the west by the kingdom of Afghánistán. Ethnologically indeed it includes the eastern part of the Afghánistán or "land of the Afghán," and it is essentially a Pathán or Afghán country. It falls into three main divisions—(i) the cise-Indus District of Hazára, and the trans-Indus territories of Dir, Swat and Chitrál*; (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Afghán hills which forms the districts of Peshíwar, Kohát, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan; and (iii) the rugged mountainous regions on the west between those districts and the border of Afghánistán which form the Political Agencies of Waziristán, Southern and Northern, the Kurram and the Khyber. The North-West Frontier Province is ethnologically of great interest and importance to the student of the races of the Punjab, but the materials for its history are scanty and uncertain as compared with those which, imperfect as they are, exist in the case of the Punjab.

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

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

Ibitem, § 3. 2. INTEREST OF THE PROVINCES TO THE ETHNOLOGIST.—And if the Punjab is historically one of the most important parts of that great eastern empire which has fallen in so strange a manner into the hands of a western race, it yields to no other Province in present interest and variety. Consisting for the most part of the great plains of the five rivers and including some of the most and some of the least fertile tracts of our Indian territories, it stretches up to and beyond the peaks of the Central Himālayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Lihul and Spiti; and while on the east it included the Mughal capital of Delhi and the western borders of Hindustān and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rājputāna, on the west it embraces, in its trans-Jhelum territory, a tract which except in respect of geographical position can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the aboriginal tribes of India, at least in their primitive barbarism; and its people, in common with those of neighbouring Provinces, include the peaceful descendants of the old Rājput rulers of the country, the sturdy Jāt peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of North-Western India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilised tribes of its great central grazing grounds, the Baloches of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races,
the Khatris, Aorás, Súds, Bhábras and Paráchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kanets, the Thákurs and Ghirths of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakkbars, the Awáins, the Kharrals, Káthias, Khatárs and many other tribes of the Ráwalpindi and Multán Divisions present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethnologist. Within the confines of the Province three distinct varieties of the great Hindi family of languages are to be found, two of them peculiar to the Punjab; while Balochi, Kashmiri, Pashtu, and many of those curious hill dialects which are often not separate languages only because each is confused to the valleys of a single stream, have their homes within its borders, and Tibetan is spoken in the far mountains of Spiti.

3. INTEREST OF THE PROVINCES TO THE SOCIOLOGIST.—To the

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

The Punjab can show no vast cities to rival Calcutta and Bombay; no great factories, no varied mineral wealth; but the occupations of its people are still not without an interest of their own. The husbandmen of the Punjab furnish to the English market supplies of wheat. The pursuits of the nomad pastoral tribes of the western doab and of the river populations of the Indus and Sutlej, the Pówíndan traffic of Dera Gházi Khán and the salt mines of Jhelum are all well worthy of investigation and description; while the silk and pashtun fabrics and embroideries of Delhi, Ludhiána and Amritsar, the enamels of Multán, the damascen-
The Punjab Himalayas.

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

Ibbetson, § 4.

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

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

Ibbetson, § 5.

5. The Punjab includes two classes of territory; that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudatory chiefs of the Province, almost all of whom pay tribute in some form or other, and all of whom are subject to a more or less stringent control exercised by the Punjab Government. The area of British territory is 99,779 square miles and its population 19,974,956; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States are 36,531 and 4,212,794. British territory is divided into 29 districts which are grouped under 5 divisions, and each of which, except the sanitarium of Simla, comprises as large an area and population as can conveniently be controlled from its head-quarters. The dominions of the thirty-six native chiefs vary in size from the principalities of Patiala and Bahawalpur, with areas of 6,000 and 15,000 square miles and populations of 1,407,659 and 780,641 respectively, and ruled over by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny State of Dādhi, with an area of 25 square miles and a total population of 247 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

Ibbetson, § 6.

6. The Himalayan Tract.—Along the eastern portion of our northern border, and within the great network of mountain ranges which fringe the central system of the Himalayas, are situated the States of Chamba, Mandi and Suket, with Bashahr and the twenty smaller states which are under the charge of the Superintendent of Hill States at Simla and Sirmur, while among them lie the hill station of Simla and the great Kangra District, the latter including the Kulu Valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himalayas, and the cantons of Lahul and Spiti which, situated beyond the mid-Himalayas, belong geographically to Ladakh and Tibet rather than to India. This mountainous tract includes an area of some 19,849 square miles, much of which
The races of the Himalayas and Siwaliks.

is wholly uninhabited, and a scanty population of about 1,539,000 souls living scattered about the remaining area in tiny hamlets perched on the hill-sides or nestling in the valleys, each surrounded by its small patches of terraced cultivation, irrigated from the streams which run down every gully or fertilised by the abundant rainfall of the hills.

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

7. The Ethnography of the Eastern Hills.—In many respects the most interesting part of the Punjab is that which forms its north-eastern corner. In this, the eastern hills, are included the Himalayan area and the Siwalik range which separates it from the plains between the Beas and the Jhelum. Throughout this tract of low hills with wide dales and lofty mountains with deep and remote valleys the ascendency of a type of Rájpút society is well marked, and this part of the Province might almost be called ethnographically the Rájpútam of the Punjab, as it has called its Switzerland from its physical characteristics. The hill Rájpúts with their subordinate grades, the Ránas, Míáns, Ráthis and Thákurs, are probably those among all the peoples of the Punjab who have retained their independence longest; and probably a still older element in its population is represented by the Kanets and Kolis, the Gaddis, Ghirths and Cháhungs or Biltis who form the mass of its agricultural classes. The Brahman is found disseminated all through this wide tract, and in many parts of the Himalayan area, for instance, in Kangra, Kulu, Chamba and the Simla Hills he forms a well defined cultivating caste, distinct both from his namesakes who exercise sacerdotal or professional functions on the one hand and from the secular castes on the other. He is not however by any means rigidiy endogamous, and the Hindu population of this tract is singularly homogeneous, owing to the fact that hypergamy is the normal rule among and between all the castes which can be regarded as within the pale of Hinduism. The ethnical character of the tract is due to its inaccessibility and remoteness from the lines which foreign invaders into India have always taken. Often invaded, often defeated, the Rájís of the Kangra Hills succumbed for a short period to the Mughals in the reign of Sháh Jahán, but they soon threw off the imperial yoke, and it was reserved to
Ranjit Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India, and to penetrate into the remoter valley of Kulu. Thus the Kangra Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most wholly Hindu, not merely by the proportion which the number of real or nominal Hindus bears to the total population, but still more because there has never been any long-sustained Muslim domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rajput rulers, more wholly into the hands of their priests. It is here then that we might expect to find caste existing most nearly in the same state as that in which the first Muhammadan invaders found it when they entered the Punjab, but it is difficult to say with certainty, as Ibbetson wrote, that here the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned them by Manu. One is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organization than anything described by Manu. The Kshatri is indeed found among the Gaddis of Kangra, but he is, if tradition is to be credited, a refugee from the plains, whence he fled to escape Muhammadan persecution. The type of society found in the eastern hills no doubt bears many resemblances to that foreshadowed by Rajput system which was evolved, as far as can be seen at present, after the downfall of the Kshatriya domination in the plains of India, but it differs from it in several respects. In this tract we do not find a distinct Rajput caste which disowns all marriage with the cultivating classes, but a Rajput class itself divided into two or three quite distinct grades, the lowest of which accepts brides from the Kani or Ghirth. The constitution of Rajput society in the Kangra Hills will be found fully described in the article on Rajputs.

The Himalayan canton of Spiti is purely Tibetan by race and Buddhist by religion, while the cantons of British Lahul, Chamba-Lahul, and Kangri in Bashini are half Indian and half Tibetan, Buddhist in creed with an ever-thickening varnish of Hinduism.

Ibbetson, § 7.

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

Ibbetson, § 9.

9. THE SUBMONTANE TRACT.—Skirting the base of the hills, and including the outerlying range of the Simlaiks, runs a narrow submontane zone which includes the four northern tahsils of Ambala with the Kalsia State, the whole of the Hoshiarpur District, the three northern tahsils of Gurdaspur, tahsils Zufarwal and Sitlket of the Sitlket District, and the northern portion of Gujrat. This submontane tract, secure in ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6850 square miles of the most fertile and
The Sikh inroads on the submontane.

thickly-peopled portions of the Province, and is inhabited by a population of about 3,040,000 souls who differ little in race, religion, or language from their neighbours of the plains proper described below in paragraphs 17 to 20. The tract has only one town, Siálkot, of more than 60,000 inhabitants, its trade and manufactures are insignificant, and its population is almost entirely agricultural and in the low hills pastoral.

10. The ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN SUBMONTANE.—All along the foot of the Siwáliks from Ambálá to Gurálásípúr the dominant population is Rájpút and Ját, interspersed with numerous foreign elements, such as Patháns, a few Mughals, Shaikhs, Awans, Khokhrs, and many others. Of these elements all are modern, except the Rájpúts and possibly some Ját tribes. But in the eastern part of the Ambálá submontane the Ját is certainly a recent invader, and he owes his position in this tract to the Sikh invades, which once carried the arms of the Khálsá across the Jumna, but only succeeded in permanently establishing a single Ját state of any importance, viz. that of Kalsí in the Ambálá District which owes its name to one of the Sikh masts or companies. In this tract the Ját to some extent displaced the Rájpút whose most ancient tribes, the Chauhán and Taún, were dominant in it down to the Mughal period. How old their settlements in this tract may be it is impossible to say, but the Chauhán at least were probably firmly established in the Ambálá submontane before the Muhammadan invasions.

Further north beyond the Sutlej the Hoshipur submontane is held by Hindu Rájpút tribes or Rájpút tribes partly converted to Islám. Their settlements undoubtedly are their origin to feudal grants made by the Hill Rájás to military families under their own leaders as a condition of service against Muhammadan invaders from the plains. They may thus be regarded as outliers of the Hindu Rájpút system of the Himálayas. As a counterbalance to their power the Muhammadan emperors planted Pathán colonies at a distance of 4 or 5 miles from the Siwáliks in a line stretching from the town of Hriána to the border of the Garhshukhar tahsil, and the place-names of the district still mark a considerable number of these settlements, such as Urmur-Tánda, Jhán-Khelán, and Ghilzáán.

Upon these irregular lines of opposing forces the Sikh movement launched Ját tribes, but not in any great numbers. The Kanhyá and Ramgáhína masts obtained large tracts in the north, but in the earlier period of the Sikh risings the Rájpút states of the hills often afforded an asylum to the Sikh gurus and their followers. At one time the gurus, who had sought refuge in the Hill States of Sírmúr, Mandí and Nálagarh, might well have hoped to convert their Rájás to the Sikh faith, but as the Sikh power grew in strength the gurus visited the Hill States less frequently and were content to establish strongholds at Una and Anandpur in the Jaswán Dún. The Ját movement however did not even penetrate the barrier of the Siwálík, and their subsequent encroachments under Sikh chiefs had little permanent effect. The Játs, whose villages lie scattered all along the foot of the hills from Ambálá to Gurálásípúr.

*This includes the Cantonment population.
are not separated by any definite line of demarcation from the Sikh Jāts of the Central Punjab to the south-west or from the Jāts of the western submontane to the west. Perhaps the only tangible distinction is that the Jāts of the eastern submontane are, broadly speaking, Hindus, while those of the western submontane are Muhammadans, and those of the central districts Sikhs, but followers of all these religions are to be found in almost every tribe. In character and position there is nothing to distinguish the three groups, save that those of the eastern submontane never enjoyed the political importance which distinguished the Sikh Jāts under the Khāisā. The Jāt of this tract cannot be regarded as in any sense under the Rājpūt. The Jāt communities are independent of his influence and stand aloof from him. They have no aspirations to be called Rājpūt or to form matrimonial alliances with men of that caste. Some of the Manj Rājpūts of Gurdaspur have no doubt become Jāts by status or are called Jāts by others, but as a rule the distinction between the two castes is rigidly fixed.

11. The Ethnography of the Western Submontane.—Along the western part of the northern border of Gurdaspur, and all along the Jammu border in Sialkot, Gujranwala and Gujrat, the conditions closely resemble those found in the eastern submontane, but the line of demarcation between Jāt and Rājpūt is fainter. The true Jāts, such as the Chima, Varnāch and Tārār, are mainly confined to Sialkot and Gujranwala. The typical Rājpūt tribes are found close under the Jammu Hills and include such interesting communities as the Bajja Rājpūts and the Chibhūs, with many minor clans towards Gurdaspur. The Jāt looks to the south for his affinities in religion and marriage, but the Rājpūt regards the Jammu Hills with their ancient principalities of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Jammu as his ancient home. And from Jammu and Kashmir the lower castes are also intermixed. Of the Jāts of the western submontane Sir Denzil Ibbetson writes:

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

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

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*I A work of great value, despite its incorrect typographical errors.
The eastern plains.

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

13. Physical Divisions of the Eastern Plains.—A broad strip parallel to the submontane zone partakes in a lower degree of its ample rainfall. It is traversed by the upper Sutlej, the Ravi, the Bāri Dīb Canal, and many smaller streams which bring down with them and deposit fertilising loam from the lower hills, irrigation from wells is everywhere easy, and the tract is even superior in fertility, security of produce, and population to the submontane zone itself. It includes the Ambā and the Thānsar tahsil now in the Karnāl district, the northern portions of Patīla and Nābha, the whole of the Ladhīā, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts and of the Karnāl State, and so much of the Gurdāspur and Siālkot Districts as is not included in the submontane zone. Its area is some 6699 square miles and the population about 1,001,387 souls.

14. The next fertile strip is that running along the eastern border of the Province parallel to the river Jumna. It enjoys a fair average rainfall; it includes the low riverain tract along the Jumna itself where irrigation is easy, the Saraswati and its tributaries inundate a considerable area, and much of it is watered by the Agra and Western Jumna Canals, so that it is for the most part well protected against famine. It comprises the whole of the Delhi Division with the exception of the Kaithal and Rewāri tahsils of Karnāl and Gurgun, together with the small state of Patanāli and the Mohāna and Sāmpā tahsils of the Rohtak District; its area is about 1870 square miles, and its population some 1,577,451 souls.

15. Along the southern border of the tract runs the Hisar District, with the small states of Dujāna and Lohārū, the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozpur, the Rohtak and Jhajjar tahsils of the Rohtak District, the Rewāri tahsil of Gurgun, and some outlying portions of Patīla, Jīāl and Nābha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Rājputānā desert, the soil is often inferior, the rainfall always scanty and precarious, while, except in the south-eastern corner, where alone wells can be profitably worked, irrigation is almost unknown save where the Western Jumna Canal

Ibbetson, § 10.

Ibbetson, § 11.

Ibbetson, § 12.
enters Hissar and the Sutlej borders the Ferozepur District. The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 1,889,600. This and the central portion next to be described are the parts of the Punjab where famine is most to be dreaded.

Ibbetson, § 12.

16. The remaining or great central portion of the tract includes the greater part of the states of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, the Kaithal tahsil of Karnal, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur, the two eastern tahsils of Lahore, and the states of Faridkot and Maler Kotla. Its area is some 9080 square miles and its population about 2,733,630. It occupies an intermediate position in respect of fertility between the two preceding tracts, the rainfall generally being highest and the soil best to the east, west and north in the direction of the Jumna, the Sutlej and the hills, and lowest and worst in the centre and south, while to the north-east the Ghaggar system of hill streams inundates a certain area, and well irrigation is practised along the Sutlej and the northern border.

Ibbetson, § 14.

17. ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN PLAINS.—The plains east of Lahore have thus been split up into zones of varying fertility by lines running for the most part parallel to the hills. But the boundaries which separate religion, race and language are somewhat different from these. A meridian through the town of Sirhind or Sirhind, nearly due north of Patiala and once the capital of a Mughal Saba, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1663 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some 60 years before, roughly divides the Punjab Proper from Hindustan and the Pathanib from the Hindi language, and forms the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion. So much of the Punjab plains as lies east of this line, namely, the Delhi, Gurgón, Karnal, Ambala and Rohilkhand Districts, and the States of Kalsia, Jind and Patialah, differ little in almost the character of its population from the western districts of the United Provinces. Except in the Rohilkhand District, Jats form a smaller and Rajputs a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west; while Cambas, Bors and Gúriars are numerous in Ambala and Karnal, Tagás in Karnal and Delhi, Ansars in Rohilkhand, Delhi and Gurgón, and Mos and Khánzáslos in Gurgón.

Ibbetson, § 15.

The Hissár District, to the north of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in two ways, viz., it lies on the confines of Bikanér, the dialect and people are more akin to those of Rájpútána than to those of Hindustán, Rájpoots being very numerous, and there being a considerable Moslem population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Buddhí. The Síraa tract which forms the western portion of the southern border of the tract was all but uninhabitable till it came under English rule; and it has drawn its settlers pretty equally from Hindu and Hindú.

1 A certain area is also inundated by the present floods of the lower Ghaggar.
2 But the Sirhind Canal opened in 1842 protects a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.
speaking Hissār and Rājpūtāna and from the Sikh and Panjābi-speaking Jāts state of Patiala, while its western portion is occupied by Muhammadan immigrants from the lower Sutlej.

In all the remainder of the tract Panjābi is the language of the people. Immediately below the hills Sikhism has obtained but little hold, and the Hindu element, strong in Hoshiārpur, gradually gives way to the Musulmān as we pass westwards through Gurdaspur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Sisīkot. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phūtkiān States of Patiala, Jind and Nāhba, the States of Faridkot and Māler Kotla, and the Districts of Ludhīnā, Ferozepur, Lahore and Amritsar, and in a lesser degree of Jullundur and Kapūrthala, form the very centre and stronghold of the Punjab Sikhs. Even here however a very large proportion of the population is Musulmān, a proportion constantly increasing from east to west; and it is the Hindu element alone which is displaced by the Sikh. In the matter of race the population of this portion of the tract is very uniform, Rājpūts, Jāts, Gūjars, and their allied tribes forming the staple of the agricultural population, largely supplemented by their attendant menials. Among the Siwāils and immediately under the hills Jāts are few and Rājpūts and Gūjars numerous, while somewhat farther south the proportion of Jāts increases and Gūjars, Sains and Arains, and in Kapūrthala Kānbohs, Mahors and Mustans, and Degras, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Faridkot, and the Patiala States the mass of the population is Jāt; though in Lahore, Ferozepur and Faridkot Kānbohs and Mahors, and in Ferozepur Degras, hold large areas, while in Patiala Jind and Nāhba there is a considerable admixture of Ahrs. The Changars and Sānsis of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Bāvarias of the upper Sutlej, the Rawals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the Ahers of the Delhi Division are curious outcast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindīsan and Rāpurāna into the Province, the Bānia of the Delhi territory gives place to the Kharī of the central, the Sūd of the northern, and the Aresa of the western Punjab.

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

The three most distinctive elements in the population of the eastern plains are the Sikh Jāts of the central districts, the Jāts, mainly Hindu, of the south-eastern districts, and the Rājpūts of the country to the west of the Jumna. The so-called Jāts of the Salt Range and the Western Punjab possess well marked characteristics of their own, but directly we leave the Salt Range behind us and
The Jats of the south-east.

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

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

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

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*Or, more accurately, Jaṭ, the double št compensating for the loss of the long ś.
The difference is purely dialectical and to speak of Jāts and Jaṭs are racially distinct,
as is done in B. II. 1 IV. p. 243, is absurd and misleading. The Muhammadan peasantry
of the Punjab are not necessarily Jats or Jaṭs though many Jāts and Jaṭs are Muhammad-
dans.
The Rājpūts of the south-east.

In the extreme south-eastern corner of the Punjab the Jāts who have come in from the north and west, from Rājpūtāna and the Punjab, are known as Dhe, to distinguish them from the original Jāt tribes of the neighbourhood who are collectively called Hele, the two sections abstaining from intermarriage and having in some respects different customs. In Sīrā, again, that meeting place of races, where the Bāgri Jāt from the Bīkāner and the Sikh Jāt from the Mālwa, and the Musalmān Jāt from the Sutlej valley, meet the Jāt of Hissār, the last are distinguished as Desī and the Musalmān Jāts as Pachhīdī or western; but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There the superiority of the Sikh and Desī Jāt over the stunted Bāgri and the indolent enervated Jāt of the Sutlej is most strikingly apparent.

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

"The Dehias are called after a Jāt tribe of that name, with its headquarters about Bhatiāwar in Sūnpāt, and originally come from the Bābūrān near Delhi. The Haulānia faction is headed by the Ghazals, or Māns Jāts, whose headquarters are Dherka-Ahlīna in Gōhana and who were, owing to their close relation to the Rājpūts, the accepted heirs of the Jāt in those parts. Some of the emperors called them in to assist him in cowering the Musalmān Rājpūts, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehias, growing powerful, became jealousy of the supremacy of the Ghazals and joined the Musalmāns against them. Thus the country-side was divided into two factions, the Gajans and Tātas of the tract, the Jālān Jāts of the Nainītā and the Haulānia Jāts of Rohtak joining the Dehias, and the Haulānia Jāts of Rohtak and most of the Jāts of the tract except the Jālān joining the Haulānias. In the Mūnam district there is a patch in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Māns Jāt of the Nainītā ravaged the Haulānias in the south of the tract. And it appears to me, that to alter my proposed division, I would debar a Dehia village which had blended with Haulānias, and which objected to consequent. The Dehias also called the Jāt, and occasionally the Mandākia faction. Even Sūnh Rājpūts seem to have been unaware of the existence of these factions. The Jāts and Rājpūts seem independently of these divisions, to consider each other as natural enemies; and I have often been assured by Jāts, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Rājpūt village at night."

Mr. Macomachie quoted a Delhi tradition which makes two brothers from Rājpūtāna called Mom and Son the respective ancestors of the Haulānia Rājpūts of the Deh and the Haulānia Jāts of Rohtak.

Here again, in the south-eastern districts the distinction between Jāt and Rājpūt is definite and well-marked, the Jāt nearly always practising and the Rājpūt almost always abstaining from karna; though Ibbetson did not think that here a family could raise itself from the former to the latter caste by discontinuing the custom, as would appear to be possible elsewhere.
20. The Rajput of the Eastern Districts.—The Rajput tribes of this
tract are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined
to the Delhi territory, at least as Rajputs proper, and are roughly
arranged in order from north to south down the Jumna valley, and
then westwards through Rohtak and Hisar. The last four tribes carry
on the series through Patiala, Ferozepur and Gujranwala, and connect
the Rajputs of the eastern with those of the western plains. The first
group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rajputs who,
occupying the Delhi territory, have not as a rule superseded their old
tribal designation by a local name, as has been so often the case in the
west of the Punjab. The great majority of them are descendants of the
Turkwar and Chauhan dynasties of Delhi. Their local distribution is fairly
well marked, the Turkwar being to the north-west of the first group, and
shutting off the Jat tribes of the central plains from the Rajputs of the
Delhi territory, their line being broken only by the Chauhan colony on the
Ghaggar of the Hisar border. Next to them come the Chauhan,
Mandahar and Pundir of the Kurukshetra, and the Rawat, Gaourwa,
Barjugar and Jado of Delhi and Gurgoin followed by the Jatn, them-
selves Turkwar, and the Bagri of Hisar. The Turkwar colour of
Rohtak is an offshoot of the Patwars of the western plains. The Jats
of this tract are very largely if not wholly true Jats, who preserve
strong traditions as to the Rajput tribes from which they claim to be
descended. The Rajput of these parts is a true Rajput. Living in
the shadow of Delhi, the capital of his ancestral dynasties, he clings to
the traditions of his caste. He cultivates largely, for little other
occupation is left him; but he cultivates badly, for his women are more
or less strictly secluded and never work in the fields, while he considers
it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ
hired ploughmen if he can possibly afford it. He is a great cattle-
grazier and as great a cattle-thief. His tribal feeling is strong, and
the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence.
He is proud, lazy, sometimes turbulent, but generally with something
more of the gentleman about him than we find in the more rustic Jat.

21. The Western Plains. The great plains lying to the west of
the Lahore meridian present a striking contrast to those to the east of
that line. They form the common terminus of the two Indian monsoons,
which have exhausted themselves of their vapour before they reach
their goal; and the rainfall, heaviest in the north and east and decreasing
towards the west and south, is everywhere so scanty that cultivation with-
out irrigation is absolutely impossible. But in this very circumstance
they find their security against famine or distress from drought; for their
cultivation is almost independent of rain, a failure of which means little
worse than a scarcity of grass, in itself a sufficiently serious calamity.
In many parts, indeed, more danger is to be anticipated from excessive
floods than from deficient rainfall. The tract is traversed throughout
its length by five great rivers, the Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and

1 Rain, of course, is needed here as elsewhere. But its absence means only a
diminished yield, and not none at all; and so little is sufficient if the fall comes at the
right time, and absolute drought occurs so seldom, that the crops may be said never to fail
from this cause.
The races of the western plains.

Indus; and along either side of each of these runs at a distance of a few miles a more or less distinctly marked bank, which defines the excursions of the river within recent times as it has shifted from side to side in its course. These banks include between them strips of low-lying land which are periodically inundated by the rising floods as the winter snows of the Himalayas melt under the summer sun, or in which the nearness of the sub-soil water makes well-irrigation easy. All outside these narrow boundaries is a high arid plain. Beyond the Indus, and between the Sutlej and the Jhelum and its continuation in the Chenab, it consists of soil which, wherever water is available, is sufficiently fertile save where north of the Sutlej that saline efflorescence which has so puzzled geologists clothes the surface for miles together like a recent fall of snow. But between the Indus and the Jhelum-Chenab and south of the Sutlej it is covered by great parallel lines of rolling sand separated by narrow hollows in which the original soil is exposed.

Pobetan, § 19

The Gujránwala and Wazírabâd talüls of the Gujránwala District secure a fair amount of rain by their vicinity to the hills. Numerous streams, for the most part of intermittent flow, which run down from the Sulaimán mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Sutlej, the Lower Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Indus across the zone of well-irrigation into the edges of the central steppes render cultivation possible along their courses: while wells sunk in the deep hollows of the Thal or sandy desert and the drainage of the Bar or stiff hard salands collected in local depressions perform a similar office. But though some of the finest wheat in the world is grown on the wells of the western Thal, the proportion of the area thus brought under the plough is wholly insignificant. The remainder of the tract is covered by low stunted bush and salicaceous plants and with short grass in good seasons. Over this range great herds of camels which thrive on the same herbage, and of cattle, sheep, and goats. They are tended by a local population which moves with its flocks from place to place as the grass is consumed and the scanty supply of water afforded by the local hollows exhausted, or in search of that change of diet which camels love and the varying local climate afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multán Division and the State of Bahawalpur, the Districts of Shâhâpur and Gujránwala, the greater part of Gujrât, and the two western talüls of Lahore. Its area is some 63,870 square miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole Province, while its population, numbering about 6,885,000 souls, includes little more than one-fifth of the people of the Punjab, and it comprises not one-quarter of the total cultivated area.

1 In physical characteristics parts of Gujránwala, Gujrât and Lahore belong rather to the northern portion of the eastern plains, but as they lie west of the Lahore meridian and their area is small, they have been included in this tract of which they form the north-eastern corner.
The races of the western plains.

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

23. Ethnography of the Western Plains.—Between the Sulaimans and the great sandy deserts of Bahawalpur and the Sindh-Sagar Doab the dominant race is Baloch. Descending from the hills this Iranian people have formed a miscellaneous collection of tribes which, still forming a very large proportion of the population, have been included by their conquerors under the semi-contemptuous term of Jat—here an occupational as much as an ethnological designation—still they have themselves almost forgotten their original race. In the remainder of the tract the divisions of the people are rather tribal than racial, the great majority of them being Jats and Rajputs, or belonging to races, perhaps in some cases of aboriginal origin, which can now no longer be distinguished from them. In Gujrat the importance of the Gujar element is indicated by the name of the district, while Sayyids are numerous to the south-west. The number of clans into which the people of these great plains are divided is enormous. The Daudpur, Jowi, Wattu, Dogar and Mahtans of the Sutlej, the Kharral and Kathia of the Ravi, the Sial and Khokhar of the Chenab, and the Khokhar and Tiwana of the Jhelum, are some of the most important. The curious river-tribes of the Sutlej and Indus, the Jnabel, Kohal and Kutana, also present many interesting features. The Indus Pathans and a certain proportion of the Baloches speak their national Pashtu and Baluchi. The remaining population of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzzaffargarh, Multan and Bahawalpur speak Jatki, a language holding an intermediate position between Panjabi and Sindhi. Panjabi is the speech of the remainder of the tract. The population is essentially Muhammadan, the proportion being largest on the west and smallest to the east and south. Multan is the only town of just upon 100,000 inhabitants, and the population is very markedly rural. There is no manufacture of importance, and the important POWINDAH traffic between India and the countries to the west only passes through the tract.

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

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

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

PRE-HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

Thus India as a whole had no Bronze Age.1 In Southern India the neolithic period passed directly into that of iron, but in Northern India a Copper Age intervened between the neolithic period and the Iron Age. The South was severed from all intercourse with the North, and in 700 B.C. Panini, who was born at Salatana, (Lahor) in the Peshawar valley, knew nothing of the South, but about that time the intrusive northern races began to penetrate the broad and nearly impassable barrier of forest which then covered the natural defences of the Vindhyas and their associated races.

1 This is also Canon Greenwell's conclusion; see Vincent Smith, The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India, Ind. Ant., 1907, p. 53.
The Iranian Dominion.

The Dravidian Element.

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

The Antiquity of the Vedic Culture.

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

The Iranian Dominion.

As we shall see presently the great Persian empire which was overthrown by Alexander the Great had established its power on the confines of the Western Punjab and despatched a Greek to explore or survey the Indus. These facts point to a strong Iranian influence over India centuries after the pre-historic Aryan invasions, and Farishta's History of the Muhammadans in India preserves many traditional details of the Iranian dominion over the North-West Frontier of India and the Punjab and the present writer wishes to invite special attention to his Chapter on the Hindoos. What Farishta tells us has not received the attention it deserves. He is a careful historian and his statements appear to be founded on authorities, lost to us, but trustworthy, and to be handled by him in a critical spirit. For instance he is quite sound in his account of the origin of the Rájpúts. As he says the Brahman and Kshatriya existed from time immemorial, but the Rájpúts are only known since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. They attained power after Vikramājit's demise, something more than 1600 years ago (when he wrote) and he derives their origin from the children of râyás by female slaves, the sons of Rájá Súraj being the first to bear the title of Rájpút.

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

3 Pp. lxiii—iv of Briggs' Translation.
4 Farishta is careful to point out that this is not the Krishna of Mathura.
5 Apparently the Tahmuras, called the Dev-aud of Maçaubinder, of Malcolm's History of Persia, p. 14. He ruled Persia for 20 years and was succeeded by the famous Jamshid, who fell before Zubák.
succeeded him and divided the people of India into tribes (castes). He named the [Rajput] tribes Rahot, Chauhan, Punwar, Bais etc. after the chiefs of each. He kept up a friendly intercourse with Persia, but his nephew Dongur Sain sought refuge with Faridun of Persia and the latter king despatched a force under his son Kuruhashp\(^1\) to invade the Punjab, and Mahrâja was compelled to cede a part of his kingdom—doubtless a part or the whole of the Punjab—to Dongur Sain. Passing by the interesting statement that the islands of Acheen, Malacca, Pegu and the Malabar coast broke away from his empire, Farishta tells us that it was simultaneously threatened by an attack on its north-west frontier and that Mahrâja was compelled to send his lieutenant Mâl Chand of Mâlwa\(^2\) to defend the Punjab but was obliged to cede it to Persia. Some writers, adds Farishta, say that Faridun even possessed the Punjab and that the descendants of his son Kuruhashp held it together with Kâbul, Tibet, Sind and Nâmizdown to the time of Rûstâm, s. e. for four generations.

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

Mahrâja, after a reign of 700 years, was succeeded by Kesu Râi who invoked the aid of Manuchehr against the Râjas of southern India. Sâm, son of Narihâm, was sent to his assistance and they joined forces at Jalandhar in the Punjab. The allies compelled the recalcitrant rulers to pay homage to Kesu Râi. Manûr Râi, son of Kesu Râi, succeeded him in Qudh, but he forgot his debt to Persia and when the

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jumshid</th>
<th>Faridun</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gushasp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narihâm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâm</td>
<td>Pushang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zal</td>
<td>Manushahr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rustâm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are the pedigrees given in Malcolm, pp. 24 and 21. The Tabaqat-i-Nâsiri gives the sons of Faridun as Italiessed and says that Iraij held Iraq with Hind and Sind, while the Rawast-aj-Tâhirîn says he held Khorasân with only a portion of Hind and Sind: T. N., I, p. 308.

\(^2\) Farishta expressly says that it derives its name from Mâl Chand. It appears to be the Mâlwa of Central India, not the tract in the Punjab.

\(^{H}Heraldic prince of Feishtân, according to Malcolm, p. 34.
Turk, Afrasiab, king of Turan, invaded that kingdom, he wrested the Punjab from Zal, the son of Sâm, and made Jálandhar his capital. He acknowledged fealty to Afrasiab and it remained in his possession till Kaikobád deputed Rústám, son of Zal, to reconquer it. Rústám expelled Manir Ráí and placed Säráj, a Hindu chief, on the throne. He gave his sister’s daughter to Rústám, and died after a reign of 250 years! Of his 35 sons Bhai Rája, the eldest, succeeded, and some say that he invested his brothers with the title of Rájpút. But he abandoned the regulations established by Mahrája and incurred the enmity of Kidár, a Brahmán of the Siwálík mountains. Here Farishta or his translator must be alluding to the Siwálík kingdom—Sapádakshá. Kidár defeated him and took his kingdom, but had to pay tribute to his contemporaries Káî-Káus and Káî-Khúsru.

Farishta’s account now becomes confused. Afrasiab re-appears on the scene. He seemed the government of India on Rohát, son of Sankal Rája, of Lakhnauti or Gaur in Bengál, but Rohát dying without issue Mahrája II. a Kachwáhá Rájpút of Márwár, places himself on the throne and his nephew Kidár wrests the Punjab from Rústám’s descendants. He lived for some time in Bshera (? Bhera), but built the fortress of Jamná where he left Durga, the Bálhás, one of his kinsmen, in charge, but Durga allied himself with the Khokars and Chaubea, the ancient Zamindár of the Punjab, and with the hill people between Kábúl and Kandhár and expelled Kidár Rája from the Punjab.

1 Zal-i-zār—Zal of the golden hair—held the city of Zábul, which gave its name to Zábulistán. It was also called the city of Zulik and Vaj—(Tišir, Kúbil and Afshínistas, p. 103)—described by P. Cunet](1). On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the Sar-i-Koh (which Bavery—Notes on Afshínistas, p. 507)—says is the crest of the great range of Mihar Sulaimán, locating the Wihara, etc.—are to be seen, as I was informed, the ruins of a large city, called Zábaka, after the king who reigned there before the time of the Músulmán. The ruins of Zábak appear to lie in the Muhámmedí-Rustam according to Bavery (op. cit., p. 450). For a note on Zábulistán see the Appendix to this Part.

2 Son of Kaikobád.

Sankal Rája, according to Farishta, had Lakhnauti on Bengál, after usurping Kidár’s throne. He maintained a vast army and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, and Pirán-Wīsa, the wazir of Afrasiab, was sent against him with 50,000 Turkish horse, but compelled to retreat. Afrasiab however joined him with his 700 horse and carried off Sankal Rája to Turán, where he was eventually killed: in action by Rústám. Malcolm is completely silent as to this episode. Possibly this is the Shákal, King of Sind, who supplied Bahám Gor with 12,000 or 10,000 sweet-voiced minstrels from his kingdom. They became the ancestors of the present Liri or Lih, the musician gypsy trine, of modern Persia. A. C. Woolner in Punjab Historical Society’s Journal, II, p. 130. Local tradition in Sahráspar preserves the name of a ’Muhammad u Lir‘, named Afrásì, who burnt down the sacred grave in Kaikhal near Hardwár. Çalışka Review, 1874, p. 194.

3 “Which tribe has inhabited that country ever since,” asks Farishta.

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

5 The name Chaubús is extremely puzzling: conjecturally it is misreading of Jóyla but this is very uncertain. We and Chaubús as a Parthian name (Malcolm I, p. 51, note). But Bahám who took possession of the Persian throne in 59) A. D.—at a much later period—was also called Chaubús, or the ‘stick-like,’ probably from his appearance (ibid) p. 152, note 2).
These tribes, hitherto separate, now formed a single powerful state and Farishta imagined them to be those now called Afgháns, though he quotes no authority for his theory. After Kidár's death Jai Chand usurped the throne. He was contemporaneous with Bahman and Darab. Dahla, his brother, usurped the throne and founded Dehli. He was however attacked by Phúrúr, a Rája of Kumann, and taken prisoner. Phúrúr refused to pay the Persian tribute and opposed the inroad of Alexander, according to the 'the Brahmiirical and other historians.' After Phúrúr's death Sansár Chand (Chandra Gupta) made himself master of India, but sent tribute to Gúdarz, king of Persia, until Juna, nephew of Phúrúr, regained the throne. He was a contemporary of Ardashir Bábegán who invaded India but was induced by Juna's presents of gold and elephants to stay his advance on the frontier. Juna reigned at Kanauj and was succeeded by his son Kulián Chand.

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

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

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

1 Uncle of his infant son and no doubtless Jai Chand's brother.
2 Farishta did not see this statement from a Persian source. Cf. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 77.
3 Gudurr is the only one of the Ashkanian kings mentioned by Farishta, p. 87, and he must have reigned long after Chandra Gupta's time. There were possibly two kings of this name: Bahram Gudurr the third of the Arsakids, who reigned after Christ, and Gudurr, son of Pellus: Malcolm, op. cit., pp. 85-87.
4 Artaxerxes, the Sassanian, 226-240 A.D., p. 93.
5 Ardeshir II (acc. 381 A. D.) has clearly been confused here with Ardashir Bábegán.
7 Bahram V, acc. 421 A.D.
8 This tale is also noticed by Malcolm, op. cit., p. 118.
9 Rámdeo then reached Shikot Pindi, situated at a small distance on the top of the neighbouring hill at Nagarkot. There he summoned the Rája to meet him at the temple of Durga, whom goddess he venerated. The Rája bestowed a daughter on one of Rámdeo's sons—in acknowledgment no doubt of his suzerainty.
10 Acc. 458 A.D.
11 Acc. 468 A.D.
The 'unrecorded Persian invasion.'

Rámdóo's death civil war again ensued, and his general, Partáb Chand, a Sisodia, seized the throne. He refused the Persian tribute and Naushirwán's ambassador returned empty-handed, so Persian troops invaded Múltán and the Punjab. Partáb Chand submitted and paid the annual tribute thenceforth without demur. After his death each of his generals seized a province. Of these Anand Deo, a Bais Rájput, was the most powerful, but his power did not extend Apparently over the Punjab, He lived in the era of Khusráu Parvís and died after a reign of 16 years. At this time, says Farishta, a Hínáu, named Máldeó, collected a force in the Doáb and seized Delhi and Kanaúj, but he left no son fit to succeed him and civil war ensued everywhere on his death. After him no single rája ruled over India, and Mahmúd of Ghazni found it divided thus:—

Kanaúj, held by Kúwar Rai.
Mífrat, held by Hardat Rai.
Maháván, held by Gúlechandr Rai.
Lahore, held by Jaipál, son of Hatpál.

In 1070 Ibrahim bin Masá'ud I Ghaznavi having extended his conquests to Ajudhán (now Pák Pattán) returned to Rudpál—a fort on the summit of a steep hill. Thence he marched to Dera, whose inhabitants had originally come from Khorássán, having been banished thence for frequent rebellions. They had formed themselves into a small independent state, and cut off by nearly impassable mountains from intercourse with their neighbours, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. Dera was well fortified and remarkable for a line fort about a parasang and a half in circumference. The Muhammadians took it and carried off 100,000 persons into captivity.¹

This closes Farishta's account, but in this connection Mr. Vincent Smith may be quoted. After the decay of the Kushán power, as he points out, coins of Vásudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Shaikhpur I), the Sassanian monarch who ruled Persia from 233 to 260 A. D. Bahram (Varaḥrán) II is also known to have conducted a campaign in Sístán between 277 and 291; and ² two great paramount dynasties, the Kushán in Northern India and the Andhira in the Deccan tableland, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsakian dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events were in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushán coinage of Northern India should be

¹Acc. 581 A. D.
²Malcolm says that the empress of India and China exerted Naushirwan's friendship, and he describes the magnificent presents sent by the former (op. cit., p. 144). The tribute was, however, refused to his unworthy successor (p. 151). Naushirwan's power, it is implied, only extended to the Indus (p. 159).
³A. D. 591-628.

According to the Rághvarája, Rághu carried his arms into Persia Indian Shipping, p. 65.
explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But Farishta appears to preserve the records of the revival of Persian influence during the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the Kushán power and the Muhammadan invasions.

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

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

But however strong may have been the Iranian element in the population of the Himun Kush and on the north-western frontier many indications show that it was not advanced in civilisation. The tribes which occupied the modern Káfiristán, Gilgit and Chitrál were called Pisácha or 'eaters of raw flesh,' and traditions of ritual cannibalism still survive among the Shins of Gilgit the Wai and Bashgál Káfirs and in Dárdistán. Indeed the Durs of Gilgit had a reputation among the Kashmíris for cannibalism as late as 1866. It must, however, be pointed out that very similar legends of ritual cannibalism are very common all the world over and that cannibalism was supposed to exist in Muzaffargarh as late as 1850. The Romasa or shaggy and the Sringi-nara or horned men are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as if they occupied the same seats as the Madrakas and Pahlavas, and if so they must have been settled in the plains or at least in the sub-montane.

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

1 Early History of India, pp. 254-5. For the countries which appear on Vásadeva's coins, see to Appendix to this Part.
2 J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 1 and 46.
3 See J. R. A. S., 1912, pp. 255-7, and references there given.
4 26, 1905, pp. 285-8. Grierson says that a connexion between Pisácha and the Pashtú Káfirs is phonetically possible, but Pashai is not the name of a septé. It is the name of a valley.
Summary.

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

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

(i) Gandhāra,\(^2\) which included the modern Districts of Peshāwar, Attock and Rāwalpindi. It appears to have derived its name from the Gandhāra tribe which is mentioned as holding with the Yavanaš the Kābul valley and the regions still further west. The Persian satrapy of Gandāria was distinct from those of India, Arachosia (Kandāhar) and Aria (Herāt). It comprised the North-Western Punjab. Its capital was at one time Takshasila, but at others Pushkalāvatī.

(ii) Kamboja, which adjoined Gandhāra, and lay in the extreme north-west, with Dwāraka as its capital.\(^5\) Mr. Vincent Smith however points out that Kambojadesa is the name applied in Nepalese tradition to Tibet.\(^4\) Dwāraka may be the Dārva of Dārvabhisāna, i.e. Dārva and Abhisāra, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, including the modern Rajauri. But this would make Kamboja too far to the east to be in agreement with Rhys Davids' view.

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

(iv) South of the Kurūs and west of the Jumna lay the Mataya or Macchas, possibly represented by the modern Mees of the Mewāt.

(v) The Sūrasenās, whose capital Mathura (doubtless Matha) was in the Jumna valley and who thus lay immediately north-west\(^6\) of the Macchas and west of the Jumna.

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

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

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1 E.g. the Anguttara, and Vinaya Texts. — See Buddhist India, p. 233.
2 Not Kanīshka (as Professor Rhys Davids thinks; op. cit., p. 28) — See Vincent Smith, Early History of India, pp. 34, 35, 25 and 27: also pp. 297 and 300. The kingdom of Gandhāra was overwhelmed by the Huns in 500 A.D. and regained by Mitra-gula, the Hun, from its ruler, perhaps himself a Hun, about 530.
3 Op. cit., p 29: — See also the map at the end of that work. Cf. also Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 53.
5 Clearly not south-west as in Buddhist India, p. 27.
the Kurús, Matyas and Súrásenás did not apparently form kingdoms, but were doubtless rather tribal confederacies, loosely organised and with ever-changing boundaries, like the Mewát or Bhattian of more recent times. At the time of Alexander's invasion these conditions had undergone little change, though the tendency to form kingdoms had become more marked. The Macedonian invaders found the Indus the boundary between India and the Persian empire.

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

Elsewhere, in the territories not included in the Indian satrapy, the conditions described above had undergone little change, though the tendency to crystallise into organised monarchies had become decidedly more marked in the northern or submontane tracts of the Punjab. Peukalavatí (Pushkalávati, the capital of Gandhára), the capital of a tract (also so called after it), which corresponds to the present Yúsufzai country, was overrun by Alexander's generals, who were accompanied by Omphis 'Taxiles,' the king or feudatory chief of 'Taxila.' Alexander himself advanced from near Jalalábád into Bajaur by the Kúnar valley. In Bajaur he encountered the powerful Aspasiás, and took Nýsa, a town and hill-state which probably lay on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor. Thence he crossed the Gourias (Panjákora) and attacked Massaga, perhaps Manglaur, the old capital of Swát, in Assakenian territory. This was followed by the capture of Aornos.

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

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

1 Or Kaspáryos; possibly Kasyapapura (Multán), which was, we must conjecture, a dependency of Gandhára.
2 Just as Ámbi (Omphis) assumed the title of Taxiles on his accession to the throne of Taxila, so Arakes, the ruler of Udraka, would appear to have taken his name from his realm and the Pathán chiefs of the present day in Dir and Swát have a precisely similar system. In much the same way tribes like the Katech and Dogra derive their names from the territories which they occupy or in which they are dominant.
Abissares indeed sent convoys to Alexander, but he was in secret league with Poros, the Paurava, who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenab. After defeating his forces in a great battle probably on the Karri plain, just above Jhelum, Alexander crossed the Chenab to attack another Poros, nephew of the former and ruler of Gandaris, which may have corresponded to the modern Gondal Bār. Poros was not however absolute ruler of this tract for it was partly held by independent tribes, and adjacent to it lay the Glausai or Glausaniokoi.

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

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

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

1 The guess that Poros might be Paurava says Mr. Vincent Smith, 'is not very convincing'; op. cit., p. 56. In the Sasanian chronicles the name appears as Far.

2 The Kathaioi have been identified with the modern Kāthās who settled in the Montgomery district about 11 generations ago from Kāthās. The Kāthās never had any settlements east of the Rāvi according to their own traditions. —See Montgomery Gazetteer, 1899, pp. 82-3.
But in this emergency the two tribes formed an alliance, cemented by a wholesale exchange of brides, and endeavoured to combine against the invaders. But Alexander acted too promptly to allow their forces, which united would have formed an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 horse, with 700 or 900 chariots, to collect. Crossing the Bâr, even at that period a waterless steppe, between the Chenâb and Râvi, he surprised the Malloi in their fields. Those who escaped were shut up in the fortified towns, one of which, with a citadel situated on a commanding height, was stormed and 2000 of its garrison slain. Pushing on Alexander caught up the flying Malloi at a ford across the Râvi, and inflicted further severe loss upon them; and, crossing the river into the Montgomery district, he took a Brahman stronghold, perhaps Shorkot, the ancient Shor.\(^1\)

The Malloi too had still another stronghold in a small town 80 or 90 miles north-east of Multân. This offered a desperate resistance. Alexander was wounded in the assault; in revenge all its inhabitants were massacred. At the confluence of the five rivers with the Indus, or possibly at their confluence with the Hakrâ, Alexander founded a city. In its neighbourhood lay the independent tribes styled Abastanoi, Kathai (Oxathroi, ? Kathariya) and Ossadoi by Arrian. Curtius, however, says that Alexander came to a second nation called Malli and then to the Sabarcaî,\(^2\) a powerful democratic tribe without a king, who numbered 66,000 warriors with 500 chariots. Further south the extremity of the modern State of Bahâwalpur lay within the dominions of Monsikano.

Thus the political conditions in the Punjab were, as we shall always find them, strongly marked and deeply contrasted. In the Punjab Proper ruled dominant tribal democracies,\(^3\) the tribes or tribal confederacies of the Malloi, Oxydrakai, Kathaioi, the precursors of the Sikh commonwealth; while the hills which encircled them were held by petty chiefs, Saubhuti, Ambi of Taxila, Abisesar, Arsakes and the two chiefains or kinglets designated Poroi. Siud then, as often later, formed a kingdom or group of principalities.

Of the states in the north-west Punjab few were of any great extent. The dominions of the elder Poroi between the Jhelum and Chenâb only comprised 300 townships,\(^4\) whereas the country from the former

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\(^1\) Shor was identified by Cunningham with Alexandria Soriana, but Dr. Vogel has shown that its Sanskrit name was Shibipura. Shibî was a tribal name, often mentioned in Sanskrit literature and Chinese Buddhist tradition places a Shibi-râja in the Upper Swat valley.—Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, 1, p. 174.

\(^2\) Diastros calls these Sambhasti, and says that the Sindhi and Massanoi occupied both banks of the river (? Indus).

\(^3\) The Kathaioi were not ruled by kings like the tribes which lay nearer the Indus (in the Salt Range and other hills), but were autonomous, each of the communities into which they were divided being self-governed;" McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 37, n., in which the words in italics are apparently the editor's own deduction. No authority is cited, and from Note L to his Jargon of India, p. 347, it would appear that the note is based on Arrian, who speaks of the Kathaians and other tribes of independent Indians, which does not necessarily imply that the Kathaians were autonomous at all. Strabo indeed expressly says that they chose as king the handsomest man, probably meaning that no one physically deformed could succeed to the kingship. But in any event the rule of a king would be quite consistent with the existence of "autonomous" village communities.

\(^4\) Ancient India, p. 35, § 10 (Strabo).
The conditions under the Mauryans.

river to the Beas was held by no less than nine nations with 5000\(^1\) townships, though the latter number may be exaggerated.

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

Under the Mauryan dynasty\(^2\) the Punjab became a mere province of the empire, and with Kashmir, Sind and the territories west of the Indus formed a viceroyalty governed from Taxila. Yet few traces of the Buddhist code imposed on its people remain. Again from the time of Demetrios (180 B. C.) to the overthrow of Hermaios (c. 56 A. D.)—a period of two centuries and a half the Punjab was dominated by Greek or Greco-Bactrian influences which have left still fewer traces, although it was signalised by the reign of Menander (Milinda in Prákrit), the king whose brilliant capital was at Ságala (Siálkot) and who was converted to Buddhism. Ságala lay in Mādharattha, the country of the Maddas, the Madras or Madrakas of Sanskrit literature. With the Madras and the people of Ságala, the Kshudrakas and Málavas were all included in the general term Bāhika\(^3\), and the inhabitants of Ságala itself formed a class of the Bāhika called Jártika. The Greco-Buddhist civilisation was destroyed by the Parthians, and they in turn fell before the Indo-Seythian dynasty, whose greatest ruler, Kanishka, also became a convert to Buddhism. But the Buddhism of his time was that of the Mahávāna or Great Vehicle,\(^4\) largely of foreign origin and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements, chiefly made possible by the unification of the Roman world under the earlier emperors.\(^5\) The centre of the Indo-Seythian power lay in Gandhára and Kashmir, and Kanishka’s capital was Pura-íṣapura (Pesháwar), but his great Buddhist council sat at the Kuvana monastery at Jálándhar, and in Kashmir.\(^6\) Sir John Marshall is now in possession of proof that Kozoulo-Kalpísh’s (I) was reigning in 79 A. D. so that Kanishka was reigning in the 2nd century of our era. This should settle the controversy regarding Kanishka’s dates.

From Kanishka’s time date the Gandhára sculptures, many of whose characteristic features are due to the cosmopolitan Greco-Roman influence.

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\(^{1}\) Ancient India, pp. 9 and 49: but in the Periplus of Indici, p 112, the number is given as 500—clearly an error, for Strabo (iv. 6) says 5000.

\(^{2}\) Dr. D. B. Spooner regards Mauryan as equivalent to Mervan and observes that the founder of the dynasty, Chandragupta, was certainly not a Buddhist: J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 414 and 416.

\(^{3}\) References to the Bāhika, Bāhika or Vehika are frequent in Sanskrit literature, but it is difficult to locate them with precision. Cunningham (I. S. R., i. p. 148) placed the Bāhika country, which was named after Bāhî and Bîka, two dvaras of the Beas river, in the Jálándhar Doab, while Lassen, on the authority of the Tarkastha Sêkh, says the Bāhika are the same as the people of Trigarta. Cunningham apparently followed the authority of the Mahâbhíshama, but that poem also describes the Matra as also called Bāhika and Jártika, ib. V. p. 15. They must not be confused with the Kshudra or Pállava as has been done by a writer in J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 296. It is tempting to suggest that they are represented by the modern Bâns of Siálkot.

\(^{4}\) Or Northern School, which still prevails in Japan, China and Tibet, in Spiti and, in very impure form, in Ladh and Kashmir.

\(^{5}\) Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 283.

Early History of India, p. 274: it probably sat at Jálándhar in the cold weather and in Kashmir in the hot season (cf. p. 229 for the treatment of the Chinese hostages).
The Kushān power in the rest of India undoubtedly decayed under Vāsudeva, whose name shows how thoroughly Indianised the invaders had become; but in the Punjab and Kābul they held their own until they were overthrown in the 5th century by the Ephthalites or White Huns. But about the middle of the 3rd century the Kushān coinage became Persianised, and possibly this is to be ascribed to the unrecorded Persian invasion, discussed above, pp. 24-5.

During the Gupta ascendency the Punjab, with Eastern Rājputāna and Mālwa, was for the most part in the possession of tribal democracies, or confederacies, which had subsisted through all the dynastic changes and invasions of the preceding centuries. The Madrakas still held the Central Punjab, but a new tribe, the Yaundheyas (Joīyas), now appear as occupying both banks of the Sutlej, while the Abhiras with the Mālvas held part of Eastern Rājputāna. The Kushāns, eventually confined to Gandhāra and Kābul, maintained diplomatic relations with Saumdragupta, but neither their territories, nor the Punjab as a whole, was much influenced by the Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period.

The White Huns assailed the kingdom of Kābul and thence poured into India in 435-436 A.D. Ten years later they overwhelmed Gandhāra under the leadership of Toramāna, whose son Mihirakula made Sāgala (Siīlkot), his capital. His reign was chiefly remarkable, as far as the Punjab is concerned, for his persecution of the Buddhists, and a great massacre of the people of Gandhāra on the banks of the Indus, the king being a bigoted worshipper of Shiva, his patron deity. But he died soon after, in 549, and his kingdom did not long survive him, for in 565-7 the Turks and Persians overthrew the White Huns in the Oxus Valley, and thus destroyed the root of their power in India. For nearly 500 years India now enjoyed almost absolute immunity from invasion of her North-Western Frontier, but during this long opportunity she failed to create any organised State powerful enough to protect her when the tide of invasion once more flowed in upon her. Nothing is known of Punjab history in the latter half of the 6th century, but by 604 A.D. we find a powerful kingdom established at Thānesar (Sthānvisvara) in the holy circuit of the Kurukshetra. Here, towards the end of the 6th century, Prabhākara-vardhana had raised himself to eminence by successful wars against the Hun settlements of the North-West Punjab and the clans of Gurjara (Gujrāt). His son Harsha, who reigned from 606 to 648, established a great kingdom over Northern India from the Himalaya to the Narmada, but its administration compares unfavourably with that of the Guptas. Violent crime was rare, but the pilgrim Huen Tsang was more than once robbed by brigands.

Imprisonment of the cruel Tibetan type was now the ordinary penalty, the prisoners being left to live or die, but mutilation was often inflicted for serious offences—such as filial impiety—though it was sometimes commuted into banishment. Ordeals were much in vogue. Nevertheless the civil administration was founded on benign principles. The rent of the crown lands, fixed in theory at 1/4th of the produce, was the 1Kartri pura, a place which gave its name to a kingdom embracing Kumason, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra, is identified by Fleet with Kartarpur, but that town appears to owe its origin to the Sikhs. Hutchinson mentions Brabmapura as a more ancient kingdom comprising British Garhwal and Kumason: Chamba Gazetteer, p. 69.
The connection with China.

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

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

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

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

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

**The Parthian Influence.**

Closely connected with the migrations of the Sakas and allied nomad tribes was the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakidan kings. Mithradates I (171 to 138 B.C.), king of Bactria, had extended his power as far as the Indus and possibly to the east of that river, and the Saka chiefs of Taxila and Mathura took the title of satrap, presumably because they had become feudatories of the Parthian monarchy. About 120 B.C., Manes or Manus attained power in the Kabul valley and the Punjab. The most famous of his successors was Gondophares, and the coins of his nephew Abdagases are found in the Punjab only, but those of his successor Orthaganes are more widely spread. The Indo-Parthian princes were however expelled from the Punjab by the Yueh-chi by the end of the first century A.D. Towards the close of that century Appollonius of Tyana visited Taxila and found it the capital of a sovereign who ruled over what was of old the kingdom of Purna. He bore the name of Phraates, apparently a Parthian name, but was an Indian king, who had been educated by Brahmans and married the daughter of a king beyond the Beis. Appollonius was the bearer of a letter from the Parthian king Bouldanes at Babylon, and this he presented to the satrap of the Indus at its crossing, and he, although no officer of the Parthian king, supplied them with boats and a guide to the Ravi out of regard for him. Thus appears that the Parthian power did not then extend even to the Indus at Attock. Appollonius' object was to study the rites and doctrines of the Brahman and Brahman, and he found many monuments of Alexander’s invasion and considerable traces of Greek influence.

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

**The Central Asian Inroads.**

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

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1 It might be tempting to suggest some connection between Vanaes and the Mavis of the Sima hills if the former name did not appear as Moga.

2 Cf. Phraetes, a Parthian name.

3 Indian and Rome, by Pius Curtius, pp. 11-12 etc.

The term Indo-Sayan, which appears to the present writer wholly unjustifiable and misleading, appears to be due to the fact that, as Herodotus records, the Persians termed all Scythian nomads Sakai. But the Saka originally held territory to the west of the Wu-sun hordes, apparently situated between the Chu and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers to the north or south of the Alexander mountains. From those seats they were expelled by the Yueh-shi. Moreover, as Dr. D. P. Spooner has now pointed out, even Herodotus used the term Sakai in more than one application and for long periods Shaka denoted Iranians, not Scythians at all. As Dr. Fless has contended there were no Scythians in the north of India in early times and Shakyamuni should be translated 'Iranian sage.'
ended with the Mughal invasions. The earliest of these invaders were the Sakas who overran the valley of the Helmund and gave their name to that country, so that it became known as Sakastané or Sistán after them, some time after 130 B.C. Other branches of the horde, penetrating the Indian passes, established satrapies at Taxila and Mathura, which were closely connected. Very little is known about the Saka civilization. They adopted, it would appear, the religion of the Persians, presumably Zoroastrianism, for according to Taranáth, Harsha of Thánesar in the 7th century A.D. built the great monastery of timber near Maitán, but eventually set fire to it and burnt all its heretical denizens as already described. But as a ruling race the Sakas probably disappeared from the Punjab before the great Yueh-chi invasion under Kadphises I, who was chief of the Kushán section of that tribe. He probably conquered Kából about 60 A.D. and his successor, Kadphises II, finally extinguished the Indo-Parthian power in the Punjab and Indus valley.

Thus these nomads, who may have been a Mongolian or Turk stock or a mixed race known as the Yueh-chi, had established themselves in Kipin, probably north-eastern Afghánistán if not Kashmir, and in the Kából territory by 60 A.D., and the kingdom of Kadphises I doubtless included all modern Afghánistán and extended to the Indus. Between 90 and 100 A.D. the Yueh-chi dominion was extended all over north-western India, and the Kushán dynasty lasted till 225, a period of nearly two centuries. But the Turki Shahiys of Kából were, or at least claimed to be, descended from Kanishka, the Kushán, so that the Turki element apparently held its own at Kából from A.D. 60 to c. 800.

As a race the Yueh-chi were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pink complexion and large noses, resembling in manners and customs the Hiung-nu, a tribe of Turki nomads of the same stock. They came originally from the province of Kan-suh in north-western China and must have comprised, at the time of their defeat by the Hiung-nu, about 500,000 or 1,000,000 souls with 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. What were the numbers which accompanied Kadphises I and Kadphises II into the Punjab we have no means of knowing. All that is known is that their great successor, Kanishka, wielded a military power so vast that he was able to visit Kásghir, Yarkand and Khotân from China. He embraced the Buddhist faith and founded at Pesháwar, his capital, the Kanik-chaitiya which Al¬leuní admitted to as late as 1080 A.D. But though Kanishka was a Buddhist the coins of the Kusháns continued to bear images of Zoroastrian deities, such as Mithra, the Sun, Váta, the Wind, and the Water-gods. But other coins bore the names and figures of non-Iranian gods, and those of

1Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of this as an Indo-Parthian dynasty and some of them bear Iranian names, e.g. Omans. But many of these are believed to be Scythian names and Prof. D.R. Burnardkar would regard them as Sakas, some of whom assumed Iranian names just as Greeks took Buddhist and even Hindu names. Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 13, n. 15.
2The Tibetan historian of Buddhism.
3F. 32 supra. See Early Hist. of India, p. 273. The text gives a very imperfect idea of the probable extent of Zoroastrian influences during this period. Reference can only be made to Dr. D. H. Spoonton's valuable paper on The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History in J. R. A. S., 1915, page 405.  
4Early Hist. of India, p. 217. The Hiung-nu were not Huns or Ephthalites.
Vásudeva are restricted in their types to the more or less barbarous representations of a few non-Zoroastrian deities. Almost all the coins of this Kushán, like those of Kadphises II, exhibit the figure of Shiva with the bull Nandi.

**CHINESE AND TIBETAN INFLUENCES.**

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

Of the Mons little is known as they were overland by the Dard migrations, except in Zangskar, even before the Central Tibetans overwhelmed them. In Zangskar all Indians, Kashmiris or Dogras are called Mon and Mr Francke thinks that the ancient Mons were an Indian tribe, but it is not necessary to assume this. The khang, the wild sheep and the wild yak had their feeding grounds much farther to the west than they are nowadays and though Tibetan nomads may have extended as far as Gilgit as far back as the time of Herodotus, it appears more probable that the Mons came not from India or the south but from the west and represent a stream of direct Aryan migration rather than one which had filtered through Kashmir from India. However, this may be, the Mons had some connection with pre-Lamaist Buddhism, as imposing remains of ancient Buddhist art are found among the ruins of their settlements in Zangskar and Ladákh. Of the Dards a good deal more is known, but though their influence in Western Tibet must have been enormous they cannot have affected the population of the Punjab or more than very slightly that of the Indus Kohistán.

About 500 A.D. however Chamba was subdued by a race of foreigners called Kira who were probably Tibetans, while Kulu seems to have often been liable to Tibetan inroads and for centuries it remained tributary to Ladákh. Kashmir and Kishtwár had also a later period of Tibetan rule.

**THE HUN AND TURKISH ELEMENTS.**

If historical material for the third century A.D. is lacking very little is available for the history of the second half of the sixth century, but after the golden age of the Guptas, which had lasted from 370 to 455 A.D., the Huns must have poured into India in ever-increasing numbers. These White Huns or Ephthalites held a comparatively short lived supremacy over Northern India for the Turkish tribes...
in alliance with the Persian king destroyed them between 563 and 567 in the Oxus valley and the Turks were soon able to extend their power as far southwards as Kapisa and annex all the countries once included in the Hun empire. But soon after the Huns came the Gurjaras who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gurjaras are never heard of until near the end of the 6th century, as the records frequently bracket them with the Huns. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihāra (Parīhārā) clan of the Rājputs was really only a section of the Gūjārās and this fact raises a strong presumption that the other 'fire-born' Rājput clans, the Solanki (Chalukya), Punwār (Paramārā) and Chaubān (Chahāmānā) must also be of Gūjāra origin. The Tūnwar (Tomarās) must be assigned a similar origin. The Gūjāra empire was of great extent. At the beginning of the 9th century it included or dominated the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kurma, Yadu, Yavana, Gaundhāra, and Kīra kingdoms, practically the whole Punjab. It certainly comprised the modern district of Karnāl and extended to a point below Jullundur. The Gūjāra gave dynasties to Kamanī, Ajmer, and other states and from their ruling clans are descended the mass of the modern Rājput clans.

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

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1 Vincent Smith, op cit p. 278
2 J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 73.
3 I. a., pp. 258, 266.
6 Attock Gazetteer, 1907, p. 61.
of 'the Gujar origin of the Rájputs.' Assuming that pratihráśa means 'durward' that surname may have been adopted by a Gurjara family which attained to Rájput or gentle rank, but it would not follow that all Pratihrás were Gurjaras and still less need it be assumed that all the Rájput clans were Gurjaras.

Farther the theory leads almost of necessity, to other theories still more difficult of acceptance. It follows that if the Rájputs were Gurjaras all tribes of Rájput origin must be Gurjara too. For example the Kanets would be Gujars by blood, but Sir George Grierson would restrict that origin to the Rāo (Kahru) Kanets and assign to the Khasha or Khassia a Khasha descent. The Khshas are frequently mentioned as a northern tribe addicted to cannibalism like the Pisáchas, in the Mañábhára and many later works. They appear to have been once settled in Western Tibet, but in historical times they were restricted to a comparatively limited region, the valleys lying immediately south of the Pir Panjál range between the middle Jhelum and Kunthwar, all now in Kashmir territory. That they spread further eastward over the hills of Chamba and Kangra into the Kulu valley can only be conjectured from the similarity of their name to that of the Khshia Kanets. The different groups among the Kanets have no traditions of different descent, indeed their divisions appear to be sectarian by origin. This is at least true of the Kuran Kanets of the Simla hills. The Khshas of the Jhelum valley are almost certainly the modern representatives of the Khshias, but if the Khshia Kanets are to be identified with them it would appear equally probable that the Khshai or Khakhai Pathans, progenitors of the Yúsafzai, Tarkhání and other Pathan tribes, are Khshas also.

In the eastern hills the Gujara strain may have amalgamated much more readily with the indigenous tribes Grierson indeed suggests that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himálaya tract, known as the Sapádálskha, were the Khshias who spoke a language akin to the Pisácha languages of the Hindú Kush. These are now represented by the Khasa clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khshias were conquered by the Gurjaras, who are now represented by the Rájputs, and also by the Ráo (Kahru) clan of the Kanets which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits but remained cultivators - whence their claim to be of pure Rájput descent. Over the whole of Sapádálskha Gurjaras and Khshias amalgamated gradually and they now speak a language mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the original Khsha population.

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

1 Accepted in Vol. III, p. 300 supra.
2 The Pakhorí Language, in Ind. Ant., 1915.
4 So Grierson, but it is suggested that the tide set in much earlier, in the time of the earliest Moslem invades.
to the present writer to have extended right round the Punjab, Grier son suggests that during the period in which Rajput rule became extended over the Punjab the Rajput (Gurjara) fighting men were accompanied by their humbler pastoral brethren.

The Kuran Kanets appear to be looked down on by both the Khash and Rahu Kanets on religious grounds as will appear from the following valuable note by Mr. H. W. Emerson:—

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

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

The Huns.—The first recorded invasion of India by the Huns is ascribed to the reign of Skandagupta, and must have occurred between 455 and 457 A. D. It was repulsed by their decisive defeat, but this first incursion must have been made by a comparatively weak body since about 500 A. D. the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed Gandhára. From this new base they penetrated into the Gaugetic provinces and overthrew the Gupta empire. Indeed Toramána, their leader, was actually established as ruler of Málwa in Central India prior to 500 A. D. and on his death in 510 A D his empire passed to his son Mihiragula whose capital was at Ságala in the Punjab. Song-Yun, the Chinese envoy, also found a Hun king ruling over Gandhára in 529, though whether this king was Mihiragula or not is uncertain and unimportant.

again in 547 A. D. Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Gollas, a White Hun king, as lord of the Ind. Mihiragula probably died in 510, but even after his death it is certain that all the states of the Gaugetic plain suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns during the second half of the 6th century and it was in that period that the Rája of Thanesar gained renown by his successful wars against the Hun settlements in the north-west Punjab. In 601 his eldest son had advanced into the hills against them, but he was recalled by his father’s death and we have no record of any final destruction of these Hun settlements. Harsha’s conquests lay in other directions. The Hun invasion thus began in 455 and we still find the tribe established on the north-west frontier in 601—150 years later.

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

Vincent Smith op. cit., pp. 73-8.
A NOTE ON ZABULISTAN.

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

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

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

The name Zábulistán or Záwalistán would appear to mean the 'land of Zábul' and it was also so called, but strictly speaking Zábul was its capital. Its situation has already been described. Cunningham's identification of Jáulistán with Zábulistán is incontrovertible and Bhandarkar takes that to be Zábulistán an assertion which appears hardly open to dispute. It is equally probable that the Jávula Toramána of the Pehewa inscription derived his title from Zábul, not beyond that it appears unsafe to go. The coins of the Shíhi Jávála or Jábula, the Toramána Sháhi Jávála of the Kura inscription from the Salt Range, must be those of this king, but it does not follow, as Hoernle says, that there was a Jávula tribe.2 Still less does it follow that the Jávulas were Gurjaras: or that, as Vincen Smith implies, the title Jánila was a Hun title.3

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

2J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 3.
3Ib., p. 288.
4Tabaqdl-i-Ndsir, I, p. 184.
5Ib., pp. 67, 655-6, and II, p. 1120.
6Ib., II, p. 1222.
7Ib., I, p. 71, and II, p. 1020.
PART III.—THE ELEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB PEOPLE.

THE MUTABILITY OF CASTE.

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

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

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

2. The ruling family of Koti, a feudatory of Keontal State, in the Simla Hills, is a branch of the Kotlehr Rajas. Its gift is said to be Kaudinia, and the children of its founder Ram Pali, being of a Rajput wife, became Rajputs. Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Koti, p. 5.

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


regain their place. Thus if a woman born to a Brâhmaṇa of a Sudra wife married a Brahmaṇ a her issue would rank lower than a Brahmaṇ, but if her daughter again married a Brahmaṇ and their daughter again did so, the issue of the ‘sixth female offspring’ would, even if a son, be regarded as a pure Brahmaṇ.¹ In other words the Sudra taint would be eliminated in seven generations, or as a verse of the Manu-smṛiti says: ‘If (a female) sprung from a Brâhmaṇa and a Sudra female, bear (female²) children to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.’ This is not, strictly speaking, paralleled in British Lāhul at the present day. In that remote canton the Thākurs take to wife Kanet women as surat,³ but not as lahri or full wife; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered pure Thākurs, yet in a few generations they become equal always, we must assume, on condition that they can find Thākur brides.⁴ Very similarly Brahmaṇs also have Kanet women in their houses, and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers, however, will not eat from their hands, though they will smoke with them. They are known as gurū and marry Kanets or women of mixed caste, if they can find any. There are many of these gurūs in Lāhul, but they call themselves Brahmaṇs and are probably accepted as Brahmaṇs in a few generations. In fact no new ‘caste’ of gurūs appears to have been formed. Here we see in operation a principle by which the male descendants of a mixed marriage eventually regained their father’s caste. By an analogous principle women of lower castes could aspire to marriage with men of the highest castes, but not in a single generation. It takes the Ghirth woman seven generations to become a queen, but the Rāthi’s daughter can aspire to that dignity in five. In other words, by successive marriages in a higher grade a Ghirthini’s daughter, daughter’s daughter, and so on, is in seven generations eligible to become the bride of a Rāja. An exact parallel to the Mitâkṣara rule is not found in the modern Punjab, but the analogies with and resemblances to it are striking. It would also appear that in ancient times a Brahmaṇ’s male descendants by a Shûdra woman would in time regain Brahmatical status, just as they seem to do in modern Lāhul, for Manu ordained that “if a Pârashava, the son of a Brahmaṇ and a Shûdra female, marries a most excellent Pârashava female, who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brahmaṇ.” Here we have a new ‘caste,’ the Pârashava originating in a mixed marriage, but never developing; it would seem, into a caste, because its members could by avoiding further misalliances and rigidly marrying inter se regain their ancestral status.

¹ This rule comes from the Mitâkṣara.

² Cap. X, v. 64. It is suggested that by children, female children must be meant. It is not clear that male offspring could regain the full status of a Brahmaṇ.

³ Surat is equivalent to the Panjabi surat, Pashtu surat. Such women are in Lâhul termed chunmā or workers.

⁴ Kângra Geologist, Parts I to IV, 1899, p. 26 of Part III, Lâhul. It is not stated that any such condition is in force, but judging by analogies it is highly probable that it exists.
In ancient times, however, the effect of an union between two
different castes was ordinarily the formation of a new 'caste'. No
doctrine the intermarriage of two castes of more or less equal status had
not such a result1 or at least it only resulted in forming a new group of
much the same status. For instance the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra, surnamed
Rohilladhi,2 had two views, a Brahman and a Kshatriya. His children
by both were called Pratihāra,3 but the sons of the former were Brāhmaṇa
Pratihāras and those of the latter Kshatriya Pratihāras. And the
Pratihāras, in spite of their Gujar origin, became a Rājpūt clan, one
of the four Agnikulas. But while the disparity between the contract-
ing parties was great, or when by what was termed a pratiyoma marriage
a man espoused a woman of higher caste than his own, a new caste was
generally formed. Numerous instances of such new castes could be
cited from Colebrooke's Essays. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson excerpted
the following note from Colebrooke's work:

"It would seem that the offspring of marriage and of illicit inter-
course between different castes were called by the same name; but
this is open to some question (p. 272). Those begotten by a higher
or a lower are distinguished from those begotten by a lower or a higher
class (p. 273). The third is sprung from inter-marriages of the first
and second set; the fourth from different classes of the second; the
fifth from the second and third, and the sixth from the second and
fourth. Manu adds to these tribes four sons of outcastes. The Tantrā
named many other castes (the above are apparently got from the Purāṇas):
(p. 274). Except the mixed classes named by Manu, the rest are
terms for profession rather than tribes; and they should be considered
as denoting companies of artisans rather than distinct races. The
mention of mixed classes and professions of artisans in the Amara Sinha
supports this conjecture (p. 274). The Jāsimāla mentions 282 mixed
castes of the second set (above). They, like other mixed classes, are
included in Śūdrā; but they are considered most abject; and most of
them now experience the same contemptuous treatment as the abject
mixed classes mentioned by Manu (p. 275). The Tantra says, 'avoid
the touch of the Chandāla and other abject classes; and of them who
eat cow flesh, often utter forbidden words, and omit the pres-
ccribed ceremonies.' They are called Mlechhā, and going to the region
of 'Yavana have become Yāvanas.' Again: 'These seven, the Rajaka
(¿ mason), Karmakāra (smith), Nāṭa (dancer, actor!), Barada
(¿ tarūṣēla!), Kavarta (fisherman), Medabhilla4 are the last tribes'
and pollute by contact, mediate or immediate. A man should make obla-
tions for, but should not dally with, women of Nāṭa, Kapāla, Rajakā,

1 The son of a Brahman who married a Kshatriya woman by pratiyoma was apparently
himself a Brahman.

2 This surname surely points to a northern origin.

3 Chamberlaine; šit, door-keeper. This is, however, doubted by Professor Bhandar-
kar. The Pratihāras are represented in the modern Punjab by the Parthār Jāti in Dera
Ghāzi Khān. Pratihāra is the Sanskritized form of Padihār. For the office of pratiyoma,
see Vogel's Antiquités of Chamb., p. 135 and 284.

4 Or rather ' Meda and Bili.' Colebrooke does not explain all these names. Rajaka
is not traceable. Platts gives biratī as a hard or bowman, but it can hardly =powder-
maker.
Nāpita (barber) castes, and prostitutes. Besides their special occupation, each mixed class may follow the special occupation of his mother's class; at any rate if he belongs to the first set (above). They may also follow any of the Śūdrā occupations, menial service, handicraft, commerce, agriculture."

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

The formation of new castes on the principles set forth above was a very easy matter, so easy indeed that new castes might have been multiplied to infinity. But new factors came in to check their unrestricted creation. One of these factors was occupation, another was social usage. These were the two determining factors. Thus a Rájpút who married a Jāt wife did not necessarily sink to Jāt status, but if his descendants tolerated widow re-marriage he certainly did so, and if they took to cultivating the soil with their own hands they probably did so in time, and having lost their status as Rájpúts adopted widow re-marriage as a natural corollary. Countless Jāt tribes claim, doubtless with good right, to be descended from Rájpút ancestors who fell by marrying Jāt women, or Gujar or others of like status. For a converse instance of promotion by marrying a woman of higher status see the case of the Dodái Baloch at p. 43, Vol. II.

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

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1See Vol. II, p. 151, a. e. Chandáli.
3The real Kanets of Patán who are Hindus look down upon the Kanets of Gára and Rangló and call them Botzát and regard them as of inferior caste. But this may be due to the fact that they are Buddhists; see Kángra, Gazetteer, 1897, Parts II to IV, Part III, p. 25, compared with the top of p. 21, Cooke, op. cit., p. 271, accepts the present writer's view that Sir T. H. Holland's conclusions, referred to at p. 456, Vol. II infra, regarding the Kanets are vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mixed and unmixed groups of the Kanets in Láhul.
Professor Bhandarkar illustrates the first-named process by some very interesting historical facts, called from all parts of India. He cites the recently discovered inscription at Beenagar in Gwálior for an instance of a Greek ambassador, a Yavana-duta, with the Greek name of Heliodorüs, erecting a *garuda* column to Vasudeva, god of gods, not as a mere compliment but because he was a Bhagavata of the god and therefore fairly to be described as a Vaishnava and a Hindu. The Yavana men however were oftener Buddhists than Hindus. They were succeeded by the Sakas, also a foreign tribe, whose dynasty ruled Afghanistán and the Punjab. Some of their *kshatrāpas* or satraps were Buddhists, but others affected the Brahmanic religion, as did also many private individuals among the Sakas. At about the same period came the Abhīras, the modern Ahirs, described as bandits and foreigners, but undoubtedly Hindus. One of their sub-castes is closely associated with the cult of Krishna and claims descent from his foster-father Nanda. Abhīra Brahmanas are found in Rājputāna and elsewhere, but not apparently in the Punjab. After the Sakas came the Kushanas, whose kings had Turki names and Mongolian features. After the Buddhist Kanishka the Kushāṇa kings did homage to Shiva and other deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

Of more special interest, however, are the Maṃga or Shākadvīpi Brahmanas who must be assigned to about this period. They were undoubtedly Magi, and were brought into Jambudvīpa by the son of Krishna Samba, who was suffering from white leprosy and was advised by Nārada to build a temple to Sūrya on the Chenab. This temple was erected at Mūltān or Sambapura, one of its earlier names. The Maṃgas were also called Bhojakas and wore an *avyāga* or girdle which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vāsuki, and Professor Bhandarkar points out that the name of their originator, Jarashasta, bears a close resemblance to that of Zoroaster, and he is informed that the *pūjāris* of the temples of Jagadisha and Jawalāmukhi (in Kārga)


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

3 This agrees with Abu Rihān-al-Beruni, who says that the names of Mūltān were Kasht-, Haau-, Bag and finally Sāmb-pur. Mūlīstham was the name of the idol and from it is derived the modern name of the town. The temple of the Sun was styled Aditya. Below it was a vault for storing gold. See Raverty in J. A. S. 14., 1882, Part I, pp. 191 et seqq. Elliot’s translations in his History of India, 1, pp. 14, 15, 35, were incorrect.

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*The sage Rījīva, of the Mihira gotra.*

Sūrya, the Sun x Nakshubhā.

Jarashasta or Jarashabada — equated to Jarashuta or Zoroaster.

Mihira is the Sanskritized form of the Old Persian *mīhr.*

*If Professor Bhandarkar’s information is correct the derivation of Bhojki suggested on p. 107 of Vol. II is untenable and the Bhojki of Kārga are the Maṃgas or Bhojakas.*
Origins of Rájpút tribes.

are Sákadvípi Brahmans, as are the Sewak or Bhojak, most of whom are religious dependants of the Oswál Srávaks (Sarasées) in Jodhpur. These Sewaks keep images of Súryá in their houses, and worship him on Sunday when they eat rice only. They used to wear a necklace resembling the cast-off skin of a serpent. The Paráshíri Brahmans of Puehkar were also originally known as Sewaks and Sákadvípi Brahmans. About 505 A. D. we find the Magas spoken of as the proper persons to consecrate images of Súryá, and c. 550 it is complained that in the Kaliyuga the Magas would rank as Brahmans. In all probability then the Magas came into India about the middle of the 5th century or earlier with Kanishka as his Avistic priests. It may be of interest to add that the presence of the Magian fire-worshippers in the Punjab would explain a curious passage in the Zafárnáma, which states that Timúr found the inhabitants of Sámaúa, Kaithal and Asandi to be mostly fire-worshippers. The people of Tuglakpur, 6 kos from Asandi, belonged to the religion of the Magi (sanámíya) and believed in the two gods Yazdán and Ahrimán of the Zoroastrians. The people of this place were also called Sálún.¹

After the power of the Kushanas was overthrown and that of the Guptas established, India enjoyed respite for about two centuries. During the first half of the 6th century the Húnas penetrated into India with the allied tribes of Gurjaras, Maitrakas and so forth, eclipsed the Guptan power and occupied northern and central India. The Húna sovereign Mihirakula, in spite of his Persian name,² became a Hindu and his coins bear the bull—an emblem of Shiva—on the reverse. The Húnas, undoubtedly the White Ephthalites, or Húns, had come to be regarded as Kshatriyas as early as the 11th century, and became so thoroughly Hinduised that they are looked upon as one of the 36 Rájpút families believed to be genuine and pure. The name is still found as a sub-division of the Ráshbári caste.³ The Gújar, Sanskritised as Gurjara, were undoubtedly another foreign horde, yet as early as the first half of the 7th century they had become Hindus, and some of them at least had actually acquired the rank of Kshatriyas, being commonly styled the imperial Pratihára dynasty. One inscription speaks of the Gurjara-Pratiháras. Among the 36 royal families of the real Rájpút again we find the Badgujar, who represent an aristocracy of Gújar descent and of Rájpút status. The Gújar-Gaur Brahmans are also, in all probability, Brahmans of Gújar-race from the tract round Thánesar. The late Sir James Campbell identified the Gújars with the Khazars who occupied a very prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia, especially in the 6th century, and who are described as "a fair-skinned, black-haired race of a

² Mihirakula is the Sanskritised form of Mihrul, 'Rose of the Sun.'
³ Professor Bhandarkar says that Húna is now-a-days found as a family name in the Punjab, but the present writer has not come across it. He is, however, in entire agreement with Professor Bhandarkar's view that the Rájpút Húnas are Húns by origin, see Mas., 1906, p. 100.
remarkable beauty and stature. Their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad. 22

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

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

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

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

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

2 To the references given by Professor Bhandarkar may be added Ravery's Tabagát v. Náshí, pp. 110, 200, etc. * Nágár of Siwálık * was spoken of in early Muhammadan times. The tract from the Sutlej to the Ganges extending as far south as Hánú was called the Siwálık, and some native writers include the whole of the Alpine Punjab below the higher ranges from the Ganges to Kashmir under the name of Koh-i-Siwálık, ibid., p. 408. As to the Aichhatra, which Jaina works also mention as the capital of Jángala, placed in the Mahábharata near Multipa, it appears to be the modern Arura in Lúdhiana, identified with Aichattá by the late Sir Atar Singh of Bhadaur. But Hátur was also called Aichhata Nagri, as well as Arhapur. Cunningham identified Bhadaur with Arhatpur: Lúdhiana Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 14 and 227.
The 'aboriginal' tribes.

porated, and among others the Vaisya name-suffix Datta is found as a sharman of the Nágár Brahman, just as it is among the Muhiáíl Brah-
mans.¹ On the other hand, the Nágra Játs probably derive their name
from Nagar, a place described as not far from Ahičchhatra, which was
either the Ahičchhatra now represented by Arura (or possibly by Hatúr)
or a place in the Siwálík hills.²

THE ABOРИGINES OF THE PUNJAB.

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

Thorburn records that the Marwat plain was sparsely inhabited
by a race which has left us nothing but its name, Pothi, and this race
appears to have been found in Marwat so late as three or four centuries
ago when the Níázís overran it from Tánk.³

Raverty also notes that the Budli or Budni, who consisted of
several tribes and held a large tract of country extending from
Nangrahár to the Indus, were displaced by the Afgháns when they
first entered Bangash, the modern Kurram.⁴ He deprecates any
hasty conjecture that they were Buddhists, as the Akhund Darveza
says they were Káfirs, that is, non-Mussalmáns, but he does not say
they were Buddhists. Raverty adds that the Budlis were expelled
from Nangrahár by Sultán Bahrám, ruler of Pích and Lamghán.

¹ Vol. II, p. 121.
² Professor Bhandarkar postulates at least three Ahičchhattras, one in the United
Provinces, about 22 miles north of Bádun, a second not located and a third in the Himálayas
in the Jángala country near Mádreyá, which was situated between the Chenáb and Sutlej.
If the Mádreyá is to be identified with the Madra Des, the Jángala would certainly appear
to be the modern Jangal tract of the Máwá country, south of the present Sutlej valley,
and Arura lies in this tract. Probably there were two Ahičchhattras in the Punjab, to
wit, Arura, and one in the Himalayas, possibly in Kángra, in which District Chhatt is still
the name of a village. But a Chhatt is also found near Bánúr in Pátialá territory. And
the place-name may be connected with the institution of chhat and makdn among the
Rájputs.

³ Bánmu or our Afghán Frontier, p. 14. Pothi suggests a connection with Potha-
hár or wár,—a region lying between the Jhelum river and the Indus. But strictly
speaking, the limits of Pothwár are confined to the four ancient parganas of the Átm-Ak-
bhári, viz., Fatchpur Báoir, now Báwalpíndi, Akbarábád Tarkhípari, Dángali and
Phárwhála or Phárhála.—J. G. Delmerick in P. N. Q. I., § 617.

Notes on Afganistán, pp. 880-81.
Tribal nomenclature.

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

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

In the Central Punjab Murray describes the Káthis as "a pastoral tribe, and as Jún, their other name denotes, they live an erratic life." But Sir Alexander Cunningham correctly describes the Júns as distinct from the Káthis, though he says that both tribes are tall, comely and long-lived races, who feed vast herds of camels and black cattle which provide them with their loved libations of milk. Cunningham however appears to be speaking of the Ján, "a wild and lawless tribe" of the southern Bári Doáb, which has apparently disappeared as completely as the Jún, though Capt. J. D. Cunningham, writing in 1819, speaks of the Jans as being, like the Bhattis, Siáls, Karrals, Kathis and other Tribes, both pastoral and predatory: see his History of the Sikhs, p. 7.

In the northern Punjab tradition assigns the whole of the modern Siálkot district to the Yáhrs or Yeers, who lived in junas (jans,) or rude mud huts. The Yeers also held the Jeech and Sindh-Ságar Doáb, and were known as Jhús and Puchedas in the Rechna Doáb, and in the Bári Doáb as Blular, Mán and Her, the three original tribes of the great Ját 'caste'. The Shoon Dul were also recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab in the time of Bikramajit. It is impossible to say whence these traditions were obtained or what substratum of truth there may be in them. The Jhús, Júns or Jans thus appear to have left a widespread tradition, yet they are unknown to history, unless we may conjecture that they preserve the name of Yona or Yavanas, the territory of the Graeco-Bactrian King Milinda whose capital was Ságala.

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

Tribal areas and tribal names.

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

1 History of the Punjab, p. 38.
3 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 186.
4 From the Khattar tribe, according to the Ráwalpindi Gazetteer, 1883-84, but the name appears to be obsolete as applied to the tract held by this tribe.
Tribal areas.

Gahep, literally Upper Gheb, derives its name from the Ghebas. It is held by Ghebas calling themselves Rewals of Mughal descent. The Ghebas also gave their name to Pindi Gheb, a township now held by the Jodhras. According to Raverty, Chakrawal, now Chakwal, was one of the principal places in "the Dhani Gahep"—Dhani being the name of the tract, and Gahep a great Jat tribe. But the Gahep cannot be other than the Gheba and they do not now hold the Dhani, 'west Chakwal' tahsil. The name Dhani appears to give their name to the Dhaniyal Rajputs and to be so called from dhan, 'wealth,' owing to its fertility. The Kahuts have given their name to the Kahutani tract in Chakwal tahsil and the Kahuta hills and town preserve memories of their former seats. The Bugial tract, described by Cunningham as lying on the bank of the Jhelum under Baniath, is also called Baisgram or the 22 villages. Cunningham says it derives its name from the Bugial branch of the Janjus, but as there is also a Gakhkar sept of that name he suggests that the Bugial septs in both those tribes derive their name from the locality—a not improbable conjecture. The Awans hold the Awankari in the Salt Range and a smaller tract in the Jullundur District bears the same name.

In the District of Gujrat, a name which itself denotes the territory of the Gujars, lie the Herat and Jatatar. The latter clearly means the Jat realm, but the derivation of Herat is obscure. It is popularly derived from Herat in Afghanistan, but this derivation is hardly tenable. Cunningham derived Hairat, which he says is the original name of the city of Gujrat, as Hairat-des was of the district, from the Arat. But tempting as the derivation is, it is difficult to accept it. The Arat appears to be identical with the Sanskrit Arashtaka, 'the king-less,' which name is well preserved in Justin's Arestae, Arrian's Adristae, and the Andrestae of Diodorus. But Arat was also equivalent to Madra, Jartitikka, and the 'thieving Bhiba' of the Mahbhurata, as the Kathai of Sangala (7 Siilkot) are stigmatized in that poem. The term king-less might well have been applied to the democratic Punjab tribes of that period, but it is doubtful if the Her Jat tribe derives its name from Arat. The

1 Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 57. Rewal is apparently a mistake, 7 Rawal can hardly be meant.

2 The statement that the Dhanial give their name to the Dhani, on p. 235 of Vol. II, is made on Ibbetson's authority: Census Rep. 1881, § 453. The Dhani is very variously defined. One writer says it is the same as Pothowar: P. N. Q. I., § 380. The eastern Dhani was a lake which was only drained under Babar's orders. It was held by Gujrat graziers from whom the Kahuts collected revenue to remit to Delhi: Jhelum Gazetteer 1904, p. 109. It was called Balu ki Dhan from Bal, ancestor of the Kasars or Maluki Dhan from the Janjua chief Mal of Malot. 66, pp. 107-09. Lastly dhan appears to mean a pool or lake.

3 A. S. B. II, p. 27. For the Bugial mandit, see p. 267 of Vol. II, infra.

4 Gujrat denotes the Gujur tract; Gujranwala the Gujars' village: a distinction overlooked in Baden Powell's Indian Village Community.

5 Ancient Geography of India, p. 179.

6 According to Grierson this is a doubtful explanation: The Pakari Language, p. 6, note 27, in Ind. Ant., 1915.

7 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 216.
modern Jatátar does not quite correspond to the ancient country of the Jártikas whose capital Sákala lay on the Apagá (now the Aik) to the west of the Rávi, if we are to understand that the Jártikas did not extend to the west of the Chenab. But the Madra country or Madrasdes is said by some to extend as far west as the Jhelum, though others say it only extends to the Chenab, so that the modern Jatátar may well represent a Jártika tract of the Madrasdes, if we may assume that the term Jártika was strictly only applicable to the western tribes of the Madrasdes. Cunningham also records that in the Chaj or Chinhátoob we find a Ránja Des, so called from the Ránjha tribe, and a Tárar toabbo, while in the Rachna Doab we have a Chíma Des, to the south and west of Siálkot. The two latter names are derived from the Ját tribes which predominate in those tracts, but all three appear to be obsolescent if not obsolete.

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

In Jullundur the Manj kí Dardhak or Dárdhak, which appears as a mahál in the Ain-i-Akbarí, included the modern tahsil of Ráhon with parts of Phillaur and Phagwára. The Manj or Manjki tract, on the other hand, includes the western part of the Phillaur tahsil and a large part of Nakodar. The modern Grand Trunk Road separates the Manj tract from the Dardhak. It is, however, doubtful whether either tract derives its name from the Manj tribe. Quite possibly the Manj or Manjki is named from the tribe which held it, but it is not impossible that the tribe takes its name from the soil or the situation of the tract.

In Hoshiápur the Khokhars hold the Khokharain, a tract on the Kapúrthala border. And the Jaswán Dúns is named from, or more probably gives its name to, the Jaswán Rájputs.

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

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

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

2 A. S. R. II, p. 50 He also mentions Miáni Gondal but that is only a village.
3 Prinsep (Simlákot Settlement Report, 1865, p. 39) gives the form Bajwánt. This would appear to be the older form of the word: e.g. cf. Pahtánti and Nádaunti. The former appears to be the country round Pahtánkot, the latter the tract round the town of Nádaun. Cunningham, however, calls the country round Pahtánkot Pahtáwat, a name now apparently obsolete: op. cit., p. 144.
4 It is possible that the ancient form of the name was Jaswánt: cf. Bajwánt and Nádaunti.
5 In Kulu the thákurain was the period of the Thákurs' rule.
Tribal areas.

In the extreme south-east of the Province lies part of the Mewát, so called after the Meos, but in its turn it gives its name to the Mewátis, or people of the Mewát. The Mewát further comprises the Dhangalwati, Naiwara and Palatwara, three tracts named after the pils of the Meos which hold them. The Ját country round Palwal is also called the Jatysát, and the Ahír country round Rewári, the Ahírwati. But the latter term is apparently only used by the Ahírs themselves, as the Meos call the country west of Rewári the Háth or Bighauta. The Háth is also said to be distinct from Bighauta and to be one of the four tracts held by the Alanot Chanháns. It was the largest of those tracts, lying for the most part in Alwar, but including the town of Nárnaul, which was also named Nárráshtra. Nárráshtra must, however, be the name of a tract, not a city, and it is suggested that Háth is derived from Nárráshtra. The Háth is said to have lain to the south of Bighauta, which tract followed the course of the Kasatóti river stretching southwards along the west of the modern tahsil of Rewári in Gurgaon. The Dhandotí tract lay between Bighauta and Hariána. It was a sandy stretch of country running from east to west across the centre of the Jhajjar tahsil.—P. N. Q. I., §§ 133, 370, 618.

The Bhatús give their name to at least two tracts, the Bæṭṭiána, which comprised the valley of the Ghaggar from Fatehábád in Hissáir to Bhatner in the Bikáner State, together with part of the dry country stretching north-west of the Ghaggar towards the old bank of the Sutlej: and also to the Bhatióra, a considerable tract in Jhang lying between the Sháh Jiwana villages in the west and the Láli country in the east. The Bhatióra is thus in the Chiniot tahsil, north of the Chenab. Numerous place-names, such as Bhatner, which Cunningham appears to identify with Bhatistála, Pindi Bhatián and Bhatiát, are called after this tribe. According to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the Bhatiávat in Chamba is probably also named from the Bhati caste, but it does not appear that any such caste was ever settled in Chamba. Bhatiávat appears to be a modern form, and Dr Vogel thinks its termination is a Persian plural. It has lately been introduced into official documents, and it is often indicated by the name Bára Bhatián, which points to its having once consisted of 12 parganas. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kängra valley, and it is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army. It is suggested that its name is derived from bhata, a soldier, and that it means 'the 12 fiefs held on a military tenure' or simply 'the 12 military parganas.'

1It is suggested that Palwal may be the Upaplaya of the Mahábhárata. It was the capital of the king of Matya who brought mountain chiefs in his train. Pargiter suggests that the Matyas must have come from the northern part of the Aravalli hills, but it is suggested that they are the modern Meos. Palwal is now-a-days said to mean 'countersign.'
2Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 197. For the folk-etymology of Nárnaul see G. Yazdani's paper in J. A. S. B., 1907, p. 581.
3The derivation of Bhatinda from the tribal name Bhati, put forward in Vol. II, p. 101, must be abandoned. Its ancient name was Tabarhind or possibly Batind. But the latter name can hardly be derived from Bhati. See Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 189.
4The Antiquities of Chamba State, I, pp. 4 and 13.
The disappearance of ancient tribes. 53

The Gondal Játs give their name to the Gondal Bár, the length of which is some 30 kos from north-east to south-west, with a breadth of 20 kos. It is difficult to accept Cunningham's identification of this tract with the Gandaris of Strabo, which was subject to the younger Porus, and it is not correct to speak of the Gundal- or Gundar- Bár Doáb, as this Bár never gave its name to the tract between the Jhelum and the Chenab, nor does its upper portion now form the Gujrát district. The people of Gandaris, the Gandaride, are also said to have been subjects of Sophytes. Gandaris therefore appears to have stretched right across the Chenab from the Jhelum to the Ravi, its western portion being held by Sophytes, while its eastern part was subject to the younger Porus.

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

The whole question of these tribal areas is one of considerable interest and corresponding difficulty. The system under which a tract is named after the tribe which holds it or is dominant in it must be one of great antiquity, as indeed we know it to have been in other parts of India. Yet in the Punjab the only tribal tract-name of any antiquity seems to be Gujrát. In Kashmir the Khasas gave their name to the valley of Khasálaya, now Khaishál, which leads from the Marbal Pass down to Kisẖṯwár. But with hardly an exception the ancient tribal names of the Punjab have disappeared. Thus Varáhamihira writes: 'In North-East, Mount Meru, the kingdom of those who have lost caste, the nomads (Pasu̱pálas, possibly worshippers of Pashupati, or more probably cattle-owners), the KIrás, Kómshuras, Abūsáras, Dáradas (Dáds), Tanganas, Kúlútas (people of Kulu), Sairindhás (who may possibly be 'people of Shírīnd'), Forest men, Brahmapuras (of the ancient kingdom whose name survives in Bharmar in Chamba), Dámaras (a Kashmír tribe, but Dámmars are also found on the Indus), Foresters, Kíráts, Chíñas (doubtless the Shíns of Gilgit, but we still find Chiña and Chíná Játs in the Punjab plains), Kuńindás, Bhallas (still the name of a Khatri section), Pa̱ṯolas (unidentified), Ja̱ṯásuras (? Jāts, or Játh heroes or warriors), Kuńatás, Khahas, Ghoshás and Kuchikás'. Here we have not only tribal names but also occupational terms and Ghoshas and Kuchikas recall the gos̱hfandávál or sheep-folk and kuchis or nomads of Dera Ismáil Khán. There are difficulties in nearly all identification suggested, as for instance in deriving Kánét from Kuńatá or Kuńinda (Kuńinda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kúl people are already mentioned once as Kulútas and we should have to identify the Kuńindás with the Kanets of the hills excluding Kulu. But it is

1 Sir George Grierson writes: 'I never saw the equation Sairindhas from Shírīnd. It looks most enticing.'

2 Sir George Grierson writes in a private communication: 'As regards Kánét having derived from Kaníshtha [ junior or cadet ] the derivation is phonetically possible, but only possible and also improbable. From Kaníshtha, we should ordinarily expect some such word as Kánét, with a cerebral t aspirated, whereas Kánét has a dental t unaspirated. These are isolated instances of such changes, but they are rare. I have a memory of a class of village messengers in Bhír called kánat (bowman, I think, from ádn, 'arrow'). Perhaps Kánét may have a similar origin. That is, however, a matter of history.'
The Iranian Bahlakas.

not necessary to find a racial term in every name. If we insist on doing so the number of tribes becomes bewildering.

To the above several names may be added from various works. Thus the Mañähara classes the Madras, Gandhíras, Vasítis, Sindhus and Sauvitas (two tribes dwelling on the Indus) with the despicable Bahlakas. We have still a Jati tribe called Sindhus and its name can only be derived from Sindh or the Indus, but no trace exists of the Madras, Vasáitís and Sauvitas. To this list remain to be added the Prasthalas whose name suggests some connection with pratisthána and who may have been the people settled round Pathinkot or akin to the Pathin. Then we have the Kankas, Páradas (apparently associated with the Daradas), Tukhâras, all from the north-west1 and Ambashthanas,2 who were close to the Madras, besides tribes like the Arañjas already mentioned.

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

1 Griedson says the Khāshas and Tukhrás were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhishán, the Tukhrás of Muhammadan writers: see his valuable introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey dealing with the Pahari languages published in Ind. Ant., 1915.

2 With the Kaikeyás the Ambashthás inhabited the Hâwalpindi country and Gandhíra in the days of Alexander according to J. Kennedy in J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 512. Possibly Amb in the Salt-Range may commemorate their name and locality. A discursive foot-note might be written on the name of Ambashta. An Ambachás-rája appears in a Páli legend about the origin of the Shákiyas and Koliyas family; ibid., p. 435. He had five wives, of whom three bore astronomical names. He disinherited his sons by his senior wife and they migrated to found a new colony. Does this mean that the Ambashthás were an offspring of the fire-worshipping Iranians who settling in the Punjab were compelled to intermarry so closely that they were reputed to espouse their own sisters? Then again we have Ambashthás Vaidyás, physicians': Colebrooke's Essays, II, p. 160.

3 If the Jârtikas, a clan of the Bahlakas, be the modern Jâti, the latter term may be after all Iranian and the nucleus of the Jâti 'caste' Iranian by blood, a far less difficult hypothesis than the Indo-Scythian theory. Griedson says Bahlakas = outsider (op. cit., p. 4) but is this anywhere stated? It would be quite natural for Brahmanical writers to style Bahlakas cunningly Bahlakas.

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

USHINARA.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Shivi, founder} & \text{Yambeya} & \text{Ambastha} & \text{Founders of two minor kingdoms.} \\
\text{of the Shivis.} & (Joiya). & & \\

\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Madrakas.} & \text{Kalkeyas.} & \text{Sauviras.} & \text{Vrishadarbhas.} \\
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

The legend of Fath Khán and Bibi Rabia is of Kandahári origin. Here a male friend named Karami shares the affections of the husband, an irregularity which leads to the estrangement of Bibi Rabia from her spouse. Meanwhile the Kandaháris attack general Shams-u-Dín, one of the Mughal emperor Akbar's leading soldiers, on his way to India via Ghuzni. The Kandaháris are defeated and Fath Khán mortally injured. On his death-bed he is reconciled with his wife who remains faithful to his memory after his death, refusing to remarry. This also is a very common legend among the Afgháns."

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

At this spot, Hamza, son of Mír Hamza, nephew of the Imán Ali, is said to have given battle to the armies of Langahúr and Soghar, Káfirs, in the time gone by. They were defeated and Hamza is said to have erected this stone to commemorate his victory. It is a time worn block of granite, with a thin vein of quartz running through it, which is looked upon as the mark of Hamza's sword. It is stated that colossal bones are found occasionally in the vicinity, and curiously enough, not many yards from the spot is a line of three enormous
graves, each six paces in length; the head and heel stones are blocks of granite, deeply sunk in the earth, and the intermediate spaces filled in with earth and smaller stones. They have an ancient look, and are confidently pointed out as the graves of Kāfirs. Close by is another block of granite, with a perfect bowl hollowed in it, apparently by water action. This is said to be Hamza's kachkol or fagir's dish. On the edge of the cliff some way up the torrent, which dashes down from the Pāra Chakmauni hills, are the ruins of a village, which is still known as Langahūr, and which are put down as having been a Kāfır's habitation. Coins have been found there, of which however none are forthcoming, but from the description of the figure with Persian cap and flowing skirts, would be probably those of Kadhīses, king of Kābul in about 100 A. D.'

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

Thus an investigation of the traditional aborigines of the Punjab yields results nearly as negative and barren as those given by a study of the historical data. From a very early period it was usual to define status in terms of race. The lower functional groups thus became defined by names denoting impure descent, or by names which connoted unnatural unions. Thus the lowest outcast who performed worse than menial functions was defined as the son of a Brahman woman by a Sudra, and called a Chandál.2 Conversely any man who rose in the social scale became a Jāt or yeoman, a Rājput or Sāhu, i.e. 'gentle', and so on. If a Rājput family lost its status it became Jāt or Kanet, and so on. But it does not follow that it did not adopt a racial or tribal name. Thus, while we may be certain that Rājput was never a racial name and that it is absurd to speak of a 'Rājput race' we cannot be at all sure that there never was a Jāt race or tribe. All that we can say is that when the Dabistān was written more than two centuries ago its author was aware that the term Jāt meant a villager, a rustic par excellence as opposed to one engaged in trade or handicraft, and it was only when the Jātts of Lahore and the Jāts of the Jumna acquired power that the term became restricted and was but still only occasionally employed to mean simply one of that particular race.3

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

1 This seems a different place to the one mentioned in Colonel Leigh's note.
3 Capt. J. D. Cunningham, Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 5. n.
The second Aryan immigration.

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

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

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

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

We may think with Lassen that the Jats are the Jārtikas of the Mahābhārata and it is doubtless quite possible that the term Jārtika meant originally yeoman or land-holder as opposed to a trader or artisan, or was the name of a tribe which had reached the agricultural stage, and that it was then adopted by a mass of tribes which owned land or tilled it and had come to look down upon the more backward pastoral tribes. The modern Khatri is undoubtedly the ancient Kshatrya, though he had taken, like the Lombard, to trade so thoroughly that Cunningham speaks of him as the Katri or grain-seller as if his name were derived from katra or market.\(^1\)

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

The inhabitants of Childas are known generally as Bhūltaí, so called from Bhūlta, a son of Karrár, an Arab, who came from Kāshfīra (Kashmir; where an ancestor of his first settled. The descendants of Karrár are called by the inhabitants themselves Shīn: the Paṭhāns called them Rānā. Four classes now reside in Childas:

Shīn = rānā
Yashkun ?
Kamīn.
Dām.

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

The Shīn are divided into 4 classes,\(^2\) as it were, who divided the country into 4 equal shares and apparently each class gave a portion to the Yashkūn class who perhaps helped the Shīn class to conquer the country. The Yashkūns appear to have more rights in land than the other two classes who only hold small plots by purchase on condition of service, but a Yashkūn cannot sell or mortgage his land without the

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2 Kotannai.
Bīhwat.
Bātaramal.
Bhaltingal.
consent of the Shfn proprietary body nor even leave it without permission.

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

SECTION 1.—THE RELIGION OF THE BON IN TIBET.

It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of the Punjab or North-West corner of India must have been but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was doubtless a form of Nature-worship, combined with magic, whose object was to attain power over the material universe generally and in particular to get children, ensure good harvests, and destroy enemies or at least secure immunity from their onslaughts. A type of this primitive religion may have long survived the Vedic period in the Bon-chos or religion of the Bon-pos. The Bon-chos was also called Lha-chos, or 'spirit cult', and in the gLing-chos of Ladakh we have probably the earliest type of it.¹

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to say what was the principle of this Bon² cult as its literature is relatively modern and an imitation of that of the Buddhists and the only ancient authorities on it which we possess are open to grave suspicion as being Buddhist works treating of the struggles which that religion had to sustain against that of the Bon. But it is generally agreed that it must have been a kind of rude shaman-ism, that is to say an animistic and at the same time fetishistic adoration of natural forces and of good and evil spirits, generally ill-disposed or rather perhaps benevolent or the reverse according as they were satisfied or discontented with the cult vouchsafed to them by means of prayers and incantations, sacrifices of victims and sacred dances—a form of religion close enough to the popular Tâoism of the Chinese which indeed the Bon-pos themselves claim to have founded.

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

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Kesar and his mother Gog-bzang lha-mo.³ But at least as primitive were the pho-lha and mo-lha or deities of 'the male and female principle'⁴ Sun-worship must have been important as the cult was also called gYung-drung-bon’ or the swásti-ka-bon.⁵

But the Bon-pos also recognise the existence of a supreme being Kûntû-bzang-po corresponding to Brahma, the universal soul of the Brahmans, a d t.e Adi-Buddha of the Buddhists, the creator according to some, but only the spectator according to others, of a

¹ A. H. Franke, Antiquités of Indian Tibet, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21.
³ Franke, op. cit., pp. 2 and 65.
⁴ Ibid., p. 21.
⁵ Ib., p. 91. For some further detail see Franke, A History of Western Tibet, pp. 60-7.
spontaneous creation issuing from the eternal void. When the functions of a creator are attributed to him he is assigned a spouse or yün, literally ‘mother,’ representing his active energy with which he engenders gods, men and all beings. Beneath him come Kyüng, the chief spirit of chaos, under the form of a blue eagle, 18 great gods and goddesses, 70,000 secondary gods, innumerable genii and a score of principal saints all eager to fight for mankind against the demons. 1

But the most important personage of the Bon pantheon, more worshipped perhaps than Kántá-hangpo, himself, is the prophet Seurab-Mibo, held to be an incarnation of the Buddha and believed to have been himself incarnated in China in the philosopher Lao-Tseu, the patron of Taoism. To him is attributed the mystic prayer, Om1 ma-trihmou-ye’sa lah-dū which in the Bon takes the place of the Buddhist invocation Om1 mani padme-hüm and whose eight syllables represent Kántá-bzangpo, his Sakti, the gods, genii, men, animals, demons and hell, as well as the sacred dance called that of the white demon, the different kinds of rosaries corresponding to the different degrees of meditation, the offerings of alcoholic liquors made to propitiate the spirits and in brief almost all the necromantic rites relating to funerals, to exorcism and to the means of averting the effects of evil omens. During his long religious career he was served by Vágúpa, a demon with nine heads, whom he had overcome by his exorcisms and converted by his eloquence. The practices inculcated by him form almost all that we know about the actual worship of the Bon-pos who, according to the Lámas, have also borrowed a part of the mystic and magic ritual from Lamaistic Buddhism. The Bon in its animism and demonolatry is very like the cults of the Mongolian and Siberian sháman, in which dances (or sacred dramas acted by mimes), offerings, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and animal sacrifices, especially those of sheep, play a considerable part. They also immolate birds to the spirits of the dead and fowls to demons.

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

1 Milhoué, op. cit., p. 155.
Bon doctrine.

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

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

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

1 Apparently gyana.
2 Or lang-gom.
and the same. To attain to the perfect meditation of the lang-gom
the Bon-po has nine roads, vehicles (yāna) or methods called bon-drang
open to him of which the first four, the p’va-sen, nang-sen, thūl-sen
and srid-sen are called the ‘causative vehicles’; the next four, the
gen-yen, ēkar, tshāl-ṣring and ye’sen ‘the resulting vehicles’; and the
ninth contains the essence of the other eight. The p’va-sen com-
prises 360 questions and 84,000 proofs or tests. The nang-sen contains
four gyer-gom and 4½ tah-rug or divisions of meditative science. The
thūl-sen teaches miracle-working. The srid-sen deals with the 360 forms
of death and with funeral rites, of the four kinds of disposing of the
dead and of 81 methods of destroying evil spirits. The gen-yen
sets forth aphorisms relating to bodies, animal life, their development
and maturity. The ēkar gives numerous mystical demonstrations.
In the ye’sen are described mental demonstrations, and in the kyad-
par, the ninth, the five classes of upadesa or instruction. The lang-
ṣring describes the different kinds of būm or monuments destined to
the preservation of relics. The kyad-par alone can achieve that
which the other eight methods can only effect collectively. Moreover
the four gyer-bom secure the enjoyment of four bhūm’s (degrees of
perfection) of honourable action during several ages. The gen-yen and
long-sring, after having protected the sattvam (animal nature) for
three kalpas lead it on to emancipation. The ēkar and the ye’sen can
procure for the sattvam freedom of the existence after its first birth and
the kyad-par can ensure it even in this life. Bon temples (bon-k’ang)
exist besides the monasteries and though the Bon has long been in
conflict with lāma-ism it has survived in strength in eastern Tibet and
tends more and more to become fused with the doctrines of the adepts
of the Nyigma-pa sect or red lāmas.

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

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

1 ‘There is an error prevalent regarding the dress of Lāmas, viz. that the dress of
Lāmas of the ‘red’ persuasion is red and that of the ‘yellow’ persuasion yellow. The
dress of both is red, with the exception of the one special order of the Galdanpa who, to
my knowledge, only exist in Zangskar, whose dress is also yellow. But Lāmas of the ‘red’
persuasion also wear red caps and red scarves round their waist, whilst in the case of the
‘yellow’ Lāmas these and these only are ‘yellow’.” K. Marx, quoted in Hist. of
Western Tibet, pp. 23-4.

2 In J. A. S. B., 1881, p. 303 f.
3 Francke, op. cit., p. 21.
4 Ib., p. 22.
Bon animism.

relegates a father to a small house when his son marries and a grand-
father to a still smaller one.

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

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

1 Ib., pp. 95 and 105.
2 Ib., p. 105.
3 Ib., pp. 105 and 107.
4 Ib., p. 23.
5 Pandit Tika Ram Joshi, Ethnography of the Bishahr State, J. A. S. Bengal,
1911, p. 596.
6 Francke, op. cit., pp. 65, 72 and 74.
7 Ib., p. 65.
8 Ib., p. 81.
SECTION 2—BUDDHISM.

The study of Buddhism is of more practical importance for the Punjab than its present restriction to a few semi-Tibetan cantons of the Himalayas would indicate. The ideas underlying Sikhism find some prototypes in Buddhism and Macauliff did not hesitate to speak of the 'Gautamist predecessors' of the Sikh gurus although no proof exists that Sikh teaching was directly derived from Buddhistic teachings or traditions. Buddhism, however, did not disappear from Northern India until the Muhammadan invasions and it is difficult to think that its traditions are rapidly forgotten. The interval between its final disappearance about the 10th or 11th century and the birth of Nānak in 1469 was not great, as time goes when religious traditions are in question. In the Himalayas Nāgā-worship maintained its footing and obscure though its connection with latter-day Buddhism may be the Nāg cults certainly preserve a phase of Buddhism.

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

Rise of Buddhism. It is not my intention to attempt any description of tenets of the Buddhist faith. They can be studied in the books mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter. Gautama Buddha was brought up in the strictest sect of the Hindus, he scrupulously followed their hardest precepts, he endured long-continued mortification and penance without finding peace of mind; and in the end his soul revolted against the sore burdens with which the Brahmans would oppress him and the artificial paths by which they would lead him. He proclaimed that their gods were false; that the Almighty was everywhere and everything; that each man must endure the consequences of his own acts, of which prayer and sacrifice were unavailing to relieve him; that all evil sprang from the lusts and longings of the flesh and of the fleshly mind; that peace consisted in final release from the bonds of incarnation and in absorption into the absolute, and that it was to be obtained only by the extinction of desire. "Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology; but rather a system of duty, morality, benevolence, without real deity, prayer, or priest." But unlike Hinduism, it gave its followers a man to revere and imitate whose personal character was holy and beautiful; and for the first time in the religious experience of India it called upon its bearers to change their lives with their faith, and introduced them to the new ideas of proselytism and conversion. The new doctrine was the ne plus ultra of quietism; and though infinitely corrupted and defiled, at any rate in the northern school, by the admixture of other and less pure cults, it still retains many of its original characteristics. Above all things it recognises no hereditary priesthood, and, teaching that all men are equal, admits no distinctions of caste, at least in the countries in which it is now professed; though how far this could now have been said of it had it remained the religion of India, is perhaps a
Ibbetson on Buddhism.

67

doubtful question. The story of how it gradually spread over Northern India, apparently obscuring for a time the Brahminism against which it was a protest, how it attained perhaps its highest pitch under Asoka, how it gradually spread into Tibet, China, Burma, and Ceylon, how it was followed in its victorious advance beyond the confines of Indian peninsula by the resurgent Brahminism, which finally succeeded in expelling it from the country of its birth, or perhaps more really in so absorbing it that it can no longer be traced save in its effect on some of the esoteric doctrines of the Hindu faith, and how it now flourishes as a separate religion only in the foreign realms which it has conquered, is a matter of history in its broad outlines and of the uncertainty of ignorance as to its minor details. Buddha preached about 500 - 540 B.C.,
Asoka lived about three centuries after him, and Buddhism first became the state religion of China in the 4th century of our era, while it disappeared from India some 4 to 5 centuries later. The first Buddhist king of Tibet is said to have reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, but Ladakh, the part of Tibet which borders on the Punjab, would seem to have been converted by missionaries sent by Asoka.

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

1 The attitude assumed towards caste by Gautama is elaborately discussed by Dr. Wilson at pp. 273 et seq. of the first volume of his work on Indian Caste. His teaching would seem to be not very widely removed from that of Baha Nainak, to be described presently. He recognised existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Brahman, taught that all castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums the early Buddhist practice on the subject: "Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahman, that they opposed caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged by them wherever they found that they had been preceded by Aryan rule." (See also Barth's Religions of India, p. 150f)

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

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

4 These two schools are commonly known as the great and the little Vehicle, perhaps because the exoteric and esoteric doctrines to which these names seem originally to have been applied have respectively become predominant in the one and the other.
Ibetsan on Buddhism.

been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tâtrâs and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion.

In the northern school Buddha is still revered, but only as one of many, and not so much as some; while the objects of worship recognised by the most esoteric doctrine include gods and demi-gods, though they stand lower in order of honour than the beatiﬁed saints. But Lamaist Buddhism has gone further than this:—"As in India the Brahmins have declared all the ancient village Thâkurs and Devis to be only so many different forms of Mahâdeo and Pârbatî, so in Tibet the lâmas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poor people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names:—Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tâtrists has been engrained on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswâra and of his blood-drinking spouse,1 while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Budha Saktis, or female energies of the Panîha Dhyâni Buddhás, in which the gom or female symbol plays a prominent part."—(General Cunningham).

The wrath of Kâlî is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples;2 trumpets made of human thigh-bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhás in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lâmas as their only protection against them. The Lâmas are therefore constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."—(Wilson’s Religions of the Hindus.)

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.3 It consists

1 The image of Iswâra has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling his nemesis beneath his foot. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body. D. I.
2 This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham’s Laîâk; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.
3 The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.
of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned in the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village which is turned by water and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its mani or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulae—"These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Lama and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the village mani and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard."

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

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

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

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

However this may be, in the reign of Srongtsan-Gampo—617 to
698—the first authentic ruler of Tibet, Buddhism met with a royal
patron. The king had married two princesses, one Chinese, the other
a daughter of Ansûvarman of Nepal. The latter at any rate was a devout
Buddhist and the king was induced to send his chief minister Thûmi or
Thommi Sambhota to search for Buddhist books and preachers in India.
He returned in 650 A. D. with a certain number of books and an alphabet
adapted to the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. About 641
the king had built at Lhasa the famous temple of Rasa called later
Lhasai-teo-khang or Jowo-khang to receive the sacred images of Akoho-
bbhya and Sâkyamûni brought from Nepal and China by his queens who

1 So Sir J. B. Lyall wrote: "All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas
who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they
would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by
dipping the hand in the same dish."2

2 Ngah-K'ri-bTsan-p2. The name may preserve the suffix -sthamba.
Lha-Tho-thori gNyasu-btsan.
are also said to have built the monasteries of Labrang and Ramoche. But the earliest monastery in Tibet would appear to have been that of Samye built a full century later.

It is clear that if Buddhism was not officially introduced or recognised in Tibet until the middle of the 7th century A. D. the form then adopted as the state religion can hardly have been the pure uncontaminated creed preached by Buddha and his immediate successors. This supposition is borne out by what followed. Srongtsan Gampo was a warlike ruler, yet he was deified as an incarnation of the Dhiāni Bodhisattva Chenresi\(^1\) or Avalokitesvara, a personification of charity and the love of one's neighbour and the patron deity of Tibet, while his queens also received divine honours as incarnations of the goddess Dolma or Tāra, the Nepalese lady under the name of the Green Tāra\(^2\) and the Chinese as the White Tāra.\(^3\) Proof of their divine nature was discerned in their barrenness.

Under Srongtsan Gampo's four successors Buddhism, at grips with the Bon-pos, made no progress and may have been completely driven out of Tibet, and it was not until the reign of Thísrong Detsan \(728\)-\(786\) that it became definitely the state religion, in spite of the opposition of the prime minister and the queen, herself a devout Bon-po. Thísrong Detsan in 744 sent a monk into India to retain Sánta Rak-shita, superior of the vihāra at Nālanda near Buddha-Gaya, whose services were secured in 747. Raised to the dignity of high priest of Tibet Sánta Rak-shita had no easy task. The gods, genii and demons of the country raised up storms, inundations and sicknesses of all kinds against him and he was compelled to ask for the assistance of his brother-in-law the Achárya Padma Sambhava, who was accordingly brought from India by the king's orders. Padma Sambhava was a native of Udyána,\(^4\) a protégé of Indrabodhi, the blind king of that realm, and skilled in magic. All along the road into Tibet he engaged in combats and overcame by the power of his magic charms the numerous demons who had sought to stay him and as soon as he arrived at the king's palace he hastened to convene on the hill Magro the full array of the gods, genii and local demons whom he compelled to take oath that they would henceforth defend Buddhism, promising them in return a share in the cult and in the offerings of the faithful.

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

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\(^1\) Spyan-ras-gzigs. 'The Lord that looks down from on high'; fr. 'avalokita' (looking on) and 'svara' (lord).

\(^2\) Doljhang (Sgrol-ljhang).

\(^3\) Dolkar (Sgrol-dkar).

\(^4\) Millicent says Dardistán, but it also included Swát.
the one at Udantapura with 20 Indian monks and 7 Tibetan initiates. Padma Samghava did not stay long in Tibet. He is said to have returned miraculously to India and to have left concealed in rocks many treatises on esoteric and magic learning to be discovered by sinless saints when human intelligence should have developed sufficiently to understand them—a belief fruitful in sectarianism. Nevertheless the Bonchos was not extinct, for the progress in Tibet of the mystic Maháyána also met with great obstacles in the existence of other Buddhist sects professing various doctrines. To combat a Chinese monk named Maháyána, who preached a doctrine of quietism and inaction, Thisrong Detsan called in a disciple of Santa Rak-shita named Kamala Síla from Magadha who defeated the schismatic in debate. Under that king’s son and especially under his grandson Ralpachan, who brought the Achárya Jína Mitra and many other pandí-s from India, Buddhism made progress and by 899 in which year Ralpachan was assassinated by his brother Langdarma the translation of the 108 tomes of the Kan-jur and of most of the 250 of the Tan-jur had been completed. Langdarma, however, placed an interdict on Buddhism and tried to eradicate its doctrines from his kingdom until he was assassinated by the lama Paldorje in 902.

Thus ended the era of the Nga-dar or primitive Buddhism and began that which Tibetans call the Ch’yi-dar or ‘later Buddhism,’ styled by Europeans Lamaism.

Lamaism.

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

The Kádampa order owes its origin to Atisa who was born in Bengal in 980 A. D. Educated as a Brahman he was converted to Buddhism and initiated into the Maháyána doctrine at Krishnagiri. At the age of 19 he took the vows at Udantapuri under the famous Síla Rak-shita with the religious name of Dipankara-Sri-Jnána and was ordained at 51. Nominated superior of the Vikrama-Síla monastery by the king of Magadha and recognised as hierarch by the Maháyánists of that kingdom, he was invited by Lha-lama in 1088 to undertake reforms in Tibet, but only yielded to the instances of Lha-tsün-pa when he had reached the age of 60. Arriving in Tibet in 1040 he was given as residence the monastery of Tho-ling and devoted his energies to purifying Tibetan Buddhism of the gross and immoral practices imported into it by the Bon-po shamanism allied with mysticism of Téntric teaching. Before he died in 1058 at Ngélbarg le had gathered round
him a number of disciples who formed a sect called Kadampa under Marpa and Domton or Bromton in the monastery at Raseng or Radeng. This sect or order has counted 3000 eminent lamas in its ranks since its foundation and some writers regard it as a restoration of the ancient teaching of Thumi Sambhota. It affected especially the Vidyut with its views of chastity, imposed respect for and worship of the Buddhas and of Sakyamuni in particular, charity and love for all creatures, and practised fervent meditation. It professed the exoteric doctrine of the Void (samyak) and without entirely rejecting mysticism and the Tantric adheres strictly to the teachings of the Kanjur in regard to them. This sect has lost much of its importance since the reforms of Tsong-khapa and has to a great extent merged in the Geluk-pa order or sect.

The Nyigmapa order, incorrectly called Ningmapa in Vol. III, page 171 infra, owes its origin to dissent from Atsu’s reforms. The great majority of the lamas continued their attachment to the lax doctrines of Padma Sambhava and his successors, called themselves Nyig-mapa or ‘ancients,’ of the old school. Their doctrines were based entirely on the Tantras and the treatises and commentaries of Padma Sambhava and his school, and are saturated with the shamanism of the Bon-chos. As Padma Sambhava had professed to draw upon books written and hidden by Nagarjuna which he had discovered by a miraculous revelation from that saint, so the principal Nyigmapa apostles attributed their labours to Padma Sambhava, pretending to discover the writings hidden by him as already described. These books, styled Terma, contain many extravagances and obscenities, some recommending unbridled license as the surest way of attaining salvation.

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

1 Bka’-gy dam-pa.
2 H broun-st on.
3 Lit. ‘ mother’, a term applied to a goddess or any lady of quality.
Karmakhyā, the last three having colleges for the study of astrology, exorcism, magic and divination.

All the Nyigmapas however did not approve of the licentious and dangerous doctrines of the Tertons as the discoverers or inventors of hidden treatises were called and a certain number of them protesting against their pretended revelations constituted under the name of the Sarma school an independent group which while preserving the mystic and Tantric tradition which had become imbedded in religious morals, imposed on itself a strict physical and moral discipline, the rigorous observance of monastic rules as to celibacy, abstinence, obedience and the renunciation of the world, the practice of universal charity and the exercise of meditation. To this group belong the Karmapa, Bhrikhungpa and Dúgpa sub-orders. It possesses the important monasteries of Mindoling, Dorjedak, Karthok, Khamtathag and Sich’en-tsogch’en, each the seat of an independent sub-sect.

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

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

1 Or Dikungpa.
2 Brug-pa; this sub-order is scattered all over the south of Tibet, especially in Bhutan and Sikkim.
3 Smin-grul-gling.
4 Edorje-brag.
5 Garthok.
6 Bkah-brgyud-pa.
7 Sa-skya-pa.
The Dalai Láma

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

The Sakyapa sect or rather order will be found described in Vol. III, pp. 346-7.

The Nyigmapa lámas and the orders which have sprung from it are generally designated ‘red lámas’ or more precisely ‘red caps’—sa-mar owing to the colour of their costume.1 But the Kadampa lámas wear the su-ser or yellow bonnet of the orthodox Gelukpa sect.

The Gelukpa order.—At the very moment when the Sakyapa sect was about to attain the zenith of its power in 1355 a miraculous child, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjúśri, or perhaps even of the Dháni-Buddha Amitábha, was born in eastern Tibet. His intelligence and religious vocation were so precociously developed that the lama Rolpa’orje of the Karmapa sect initiated him at the age of 3, and at the age of 8 he was first ordained by a lama named Tonduo-Rinchen and assumed as his new name the style of Lozang-tagpa or Sumatikirti. Tradition avers that he received instruction from a western monk, possibly a Christian and if so probably a Nestorian. However this may be, Tsongkha-pa—as he is generally called from the place of his birth—soon acquired such a name for piety and learning that he attracted numerous disciples in spite of the severity of his discipline, especially in what concerned the vows of chastity. He recalled his disciples to the inflexible rules of the 253 canons of the Vínáya, to the liturgy and ritual traditions of the primitive Maháyána. He impressed upon them the yellow garb of the Hindu mendicant, to recall by its shape the clothing of the Indian bhikshus and distinguish them from the red-clad lámas and gave them the name of Gelukpa2 or ‘observers of virtue.’ In 1409 he founded the monastery of Galdan,3 the centre of the sect, and after some years those of Sera and Depung. At Galdan he died in 1417 or 1419, leaving the pontificate of the sect to his nephew and chief disciple, Gedün Grúb. His soul ascended to the heaven Túshita, residence of the Bodhisattvas, where he reigns with Nágárjúna at the side of the future Buddha Maitreya, an ascension commemorated by the feast of lamps from October 20th to 25th. He is also the object of a cult as Jápá Nying-po and his relics are worshipped at Galdan. To him is attributed the authorship of numerous treatises, the canons of the Gelág-pa order, the four principal being the Bodhimár, the Tarniménár, the Mánárké and the Lármir. In spite of his great renown he never held in his lifetime any higher official title than that of abbott of Galdan which:

1 Rmaay gives the following as ‘Red-cac’ sects:—
1. Ruikmápa.
2. Urglupa.

2 Dge-lag-pa. The sect is also called Galdan-pa.
3 Dgah-idam,
The doctrine of reincarnation.

his successor also bore until his elevation in 1439 to the rank of Grand Lama. The latter’s pontificate was remarkable for the foundation of the monastery of Tashihkum po in 1445 and the enunciation of the dogma of the incarnation of the Grand Lamas of the Gelug-pa order by which his successor Gedun-Grub-Gyetso was the first beneficiary. It appears however that the only incarnation believed in at that epoch was that of the spirit of the first Grand Lama, not that of a god, and that the only purpose of this tenet, from which the sect has drawn such advantages, was to create for these eminent personages a kind of spiritual heirship in imitation of (or improvement on) the rule of natural heredity observed by the rival sect of the Sakyapa. Nevertheless the office of abbot at Galdan is elective. Apart from the adoption of the title of Gyetso, which means ‘Ocean of Majesty’ and is equivalent to the Mongolian Dalé, Europeanised as Dalai, and the transfer of the head see to Depung, the sect had no history except one of rapid and continued progress during the pontificates of Gedun-Grub Gyetso (born in 1475, died in 1543), Sodnam-Gyatso (1543-1589) and Yontan-Gyatso (1589-1617). ‘Je-Ngawang-Lozan Thubstan-Jigsmed-Gyatso (1617-1682) however was able to raise the Kocot Mongols against the king of Tibet and make the victors do homage to himself. He thus united the spiritual and temporal authority under the protection of China in the hands of the Dalai Lamas who succeeded him. He is also said to have devised the doctrine of the perpetual re-incarnation of the Dhani-Bodhisattva Chanresi (the Sanskrit Avalokiteswara) in the Dalai Lamas which was extended retrospectively to his four predecessors. He also created the dignity of Panchen-Rinpoché, an incarnation of the Buddha Odpagmed (Sanskrit Amitabha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteswara) for his old preceptor the abbot of Galdan whom he also appointed to be the independent pontiff of Tashihkumpo. The Gelugpa have preserved a well-merited reputation for learning. They admit the validity of the magic and sorcery inculcated in the Gyut, the 7th section of the Kau-jär, but in all other respects follow scrupulously the canon of the primitive Mahayana as the Kadampa sect had received it from Atisa. But contrary to its doctrine they admit the existence of the soul though it is not conceived of by them in the same way as it is in Europe. They regard it as immortal or rather as endowed with an indefinite existence and perhaps even as eternal in its essence. In its inception this soul is a light imprisoned in a material body endowed with an individuality which subsists, though to a limited extent, in its transmigrations and permits it to undergo the good or evil effects of its karma. Eventually the corporal envelope wears thin and finally disappears when the man becomes Buddha and enters Nirvana. Nirvana is neither annihilation nor its opposite. It can be attained by three roads, that of the inferior, intermediate and superior beings. For the first named Nirvana is a repose of nothingness. For the superior it is to reach the perfect state of Buddha. In it the individuality of a being melts into a kind of confluence: like SAköymùni himself it is confounded with the other Buddhas. Nevertheless its personality is not totally destroyed, for if it cannot re-appear in the world.
under a form perceptible by the senses it can manifest itself spiritually, to those who have faith. It is in themselves then that they see it.

The Gelugpas worship all the deities of the Tibetan pantheons, but they especially affect the supreme Buddha Dorjechang, the future Buddha Maitreya who inspires their teaching, the Yidams Dorjejunje,⁠1 Demchog² and Sangduṣ³ and the gon-po or demoniac genie Tamdin.⁴ The ceremonies consecrated to the three latter have a magical character and are accompanied by Tantric rites.

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

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

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

¹ Sanskrit Vajrabhairava. ² Sanskrit Samvara. ³ Sanskrit Guhya Kála. ⁴ Grihya Kála. ⁵ Sanskrit Hayagríva.
The Buddhás classified.

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

(ii). The ‘Seven Buddhás of the Past,’ also called Tathágatas, comprise Sákyamú:í and the six human Buddhás who preceded him on earth. They also are to be distinguished by their attitudes. They are Vipáśyan, who combines the attitudes of testimony and imperturbability, Sikhiñ (charity and imperturbability), Visvábhau (meditation), Krákuchanda (protection and imperturbability), Kánákímuni (preaching and imperturbability), Kásyapa (charity and resolution) and Sákyamú (preaching and imperturbability). Like the Dhianis the seven Buddhás can on occasion assume mystic and above all tantric forms when they fulfil the functions of a tutelary god of a monastery, tribe or family.

1 Rnam-par-suṅ-g-mzan
2 Mi-bskyod-dpah.
3 Rin-bhyung.
4 Od-dpg-med.
5 Don-hgrab.
6 Or attitudes, pyag-rgya, Sakt.
7 The right index-finger touching the fingers of the left hand.
8 The right hand hanging and resting on the right knee.
9 The right arm extended and the open hand directed towards the earth as if to attract beings to it.
(iii). The 35 Buddhas of Confession are divine personages addressed to obtain the remission of sins or at least mitigation of punishments. They include the 5 Dhiánis, the 7 Buddhas of the Past, the 5 physicians and 19 other Buddhas who appear to personify abstractions. They are frequently invoked and fervently worshipped on account of their functions as redeemers.

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

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

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

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

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

First come the Dhiani-Bodhisattvas, emanations of the 5 Dhīani-Buddhas personifying their active energies and named Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Ratnapāni, Avalokiteswara or Padmapāni and Vis-

1 Byang-C'ub-Sems-dpah.
2 Kun-tu-bzang-po.
3 Pyag-rdo-r.
4 Pyag-rin-chen.
5 Spyan-ras-gegs; pron. Chanrezi.
wapānī. Three of these are merely nominal divinities, although much prayed to. Only the second and fourth fulfil very important roles both in religious legend and in popular tradition. Vajrapānī enjoys more veneration than genuine adoration, if we understand by that a feeling of gratitude and love, probably because of his demon-like appearance in his Tantric form. On the other hand Padmapānī, 'the lotus-handed' or 'he who holds the lotus in his hands,' is above all the beloved being, venerated, adored, besought in all circumstances in preference to the greatest Buddhas themselves, including even his spiritual father Amitābha.

Many reasons explain the special devotion which Avalokiteswara enjoys. He presided at the formation of the actual universe, and is charged to protect it against the enterprises of the demons and to develop in it the beneficent action of the Good Law. Then he personifies charity, compassion, love of one's neighbour: more than any other he is helpful, and in his infinite kindliness has manifested and still manifests himself in the world in incarnations wherever there is a danger to avert, a misdeed of the demons to repair, or a wretch to save. Lastly he presides, seated at Amitābha's right hand, over the paradise of Sukhāvati whose portals he opens to all who invoke him with devotion, love and faith. He might almost be called the redeemer, if the idea of redemption were not irreconcilable with the Buddhist dogma of personal responsibility and the fatal consequences of one's own acts. As protector and savior as well as in remembrance of his repeated incarnations Avalokiteswara assumes, according to the part attributed to him, very different forms corresponding to his 33 principal incarnations. Generally he is represented seated (or standing to signify action) as a handsome youth, crowned and richly attired. Very rarely he is given a feminine aspect. At other times he has several heads and arms. His most celebrated image has 11 heads, arranged in a pyramid, and 22 arms. In this form he is the recognised patron of Tibet. In his mystic and Tantric cult he has as Shakti the goddess Dolma, a benevolent form of the Shivaistic Kāli, styled in India Tārā the helper. Besides this special office Tārā forms one of the celestial Boddhisattvas in twenty-one transformations, each the object of a fervent cult, for the Mahāyāna assigns a great place in its pantheon to the feminine element—in opposition to the Hinayāna.

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

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1 P'yang-ma-t'sog.
2 Sgrol-ma.
3 Sgrol-ma dkar-po and jiangs ku.
4 Hjam-pal-dbyangs-pa: pron. Jam-jang. His sword of great understanding cut the darkness of ignorance.
The deified lamas and Dākkinis.

so high that he is often ranked as a Dhiāni Bodhisattva, who personifies the transcendant knowledge or wisdom of Buddhism. He is recognised by his flaming sword, held in his right hand, while a book supported by a lotus stalk figures on his left. He is always seated on a lotus or on a lion who rests on a lotus. Among the principal Bodhisattvas also stands Maitreya, the future Buddha, who is seated like a European. Then come the 21 Tarás, saviours and compassionate, Shaktis of Avalokitesvara; and finally the female Bodhisattva Od-zer-chan-ma more usually called R Dorje-p'ag-mo, who is perpetually incarnated in the abbess of Palti and who may be recognised by her three heads, one that of a sow. Speaking generally the Bodhisattvas are intermediaries and intercessors between men and the Buddhas.

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

V.—The Dākkinis.—The Mahāyāna, having borrowed most of its inferior divinities from Shivaism, especially Tantric Shivaism which makes the cult of the Shaktis predominant over that of the god himself, was compelled to give the Dākkinis precedence over the male gods. Sometimes they are represented as beautiful young women, adorned like queens, but more often with fearful visage, with animal heads crowned with flaming hair, and so on, either to indicate that they can torment and ruin those who neglect their worship, or more probably to signify their power to destroy the demons whom it is their mission to combat. Nevertheless all have a twofold character, benevolent and demoniac or maleficent. They are the Yūms of the Yidams, Buddhas etc., but also play most important personal parts. Many monasteries, even among those of the orthodox sect, are consecrated to one of them as tutelary patron, as are many Tibetan families. First in

1 Byams-pa: pron. Champā or Jampa.
The minor gods.

rank stands Lha-mo (Mahá-Kálī), 'mother of the gods'. She is represented in 15 different forms, but especially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end, a skull for cap, and riding on a steed harnessed with human hide—said to be that of her own son killed by her for the sins of his father. Another important group is that of the six Mka'-hgro-ma, of whom the powerful Seng-ge-gdön-gc'an has a lion's head and dances naked on the bodies of men and animals.

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

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

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

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

1 Ch'oe-skhyong.
2 Sin-dje.
3 Dzam-bha-la.
4 Dgra-lha.
THE LAMAISTIC CLERGY.

The term lama is applied indiscriminately to the clergy of Tibet, but strictly speaking it should only be applied to high dignitaries who only acquire it after having given proofs of profound knowledge. In reality the clergy is composed of 5 distinct classes, the genyen¹ or listener, the getulk² or novice, the gelong³ or ordained priest, the lama or superior priest and the khanpo⁴ or overseer (abbott or bishop). Above this hierarchy in which promotion is earned by merit and holiness are two higher ranks conferred by birth, those of khabilgan, the incarnation of a Tibetan saint, and of khitabati, that of a Hindu saint. Finally the edifice is crowned by the two sublime dignitaries, the Panchen Rimpoché and the Dalai Lama.

The attractions of the priesthood are many, but they are strengthened by a law or usage⁵ which compels every family to vow one of its sons, ordinarily the eldest, to the priesthood. The boy is presented at the age of 7 or 8 by his father, mother or guardian in a monastery. After a cursory examination of the family's standing⁶ he is medically examined as any deformity, epilepsy, leprosy or phthisis would disqualify him. The boy is then entrusted to some kinsman in the monastery or to an aged monk who is charged with his literary and religious education. He keeps his lay garb and his hair and can be visited by his kinsmen every week. After two or three years of study, legally two suffice, his gegan or religious instructor asks for his admission as a genyen or catechumen, which necessitates a rigid examination of his conduct and attainments.

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

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

¹ Dge-bshang, corr. to Sanskr. updsaka.
² Dge-tsal, corr. to S. sram-nera.
³ Dge-along, corr. to S. sramana.
⁴ Mkan-po, corr. to S. sthavira.
⁵ Called btsun-gral.
⁶ Certain monasteries only admit candidates of high rank in which case the investigation is very searching.
lamas in the villages. If he passes he is invested with all rights and powers of the finished cleric.

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

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

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

1 Dgs-sos.
2 Rab brgyams-pa.
3 C'os-skyong.
4 C'os-srje, lit. ‘noble of the Law.’
5 The ‘red’ lamas of the Sakya order are permitted to marry.
spiritual and doctrinal authority is frequently disputed by dissenting sects, which nevertheless regard him as chief of the religion and revere him as a true incarnation of Chanresi and his representative on earth.

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

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

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tory or even in the temple during suspensions of the office arranged for the purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He writes:—"Buddhism is the dominant religion throughout the separate valleys of the Bhágá and Chandra. The professors of it in these parts seem to prefer to call themselves Hindus, but this is mere pretension. They are Buddhists, and the majority wish at present to be nothing else. However, in speaking of the now prevailing religions of Láhul, one must not forget that both Brahmanism and Buddhism are still to a great extent pervaded by the demon worship which no doubt alone prevailed in Láhul in early times."\(^2\)

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

\(^2\)Mr. Anderson says elsewhere: "In Láhul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lámas who ought certainly to have been known as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Láhul." These Lámas must have returned themselves as Hindus unless there was some error in the compilation of our figures. The papers were in an unknown character and tongue, and had to be translated orally; but there could hardly have been any confusion about such a plain entry as that of religion; and if there had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Láhul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Láhul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lámas in Láhul in 1872, though there were also 116 cultivating land holders who had taken Lamaic vows but "had very little of the monk about them."—D. I.
Even the transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible. Mr. Anderson writes in another place:—“A Kanet (a Hindu caste) cuts his scalp-lock and becomes the disciple of some Lama, and this may even be after marriage. The Lamas of Lahul may marry, the sons belonging to their father’s original caste. Lamas sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their scalp-locks to grow, and are again received as Kanets. These facts show how intimately Hinduism and Buddhism are connected in Lahul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lamas to be present at weddings and funerals.”

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

Lahul and its pre-Buddhist Religions.

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

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

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

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

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

Between 600 and 1000 A.D. the decline of Buddhism in Kashmir deprived its monks of their revenues and drove many of them to settle
Lamaistic Buddhism in Kanaur.

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

Buddhism seems to have entered Lahul from India in the 8th century A. D. The famous Buddhist missionary, Padma Samdawa, is mentioned in connection with its oldest Buddhist monasteries as well as Hindu places of worship in adjacent provinces. He visited Zahor (Mandi) and Gerha ( = Garzha). Three such temples are known, viz. Gandola at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga, Kangani in Maneshat, and Triloknath in Pangi-Lahul. They are wooden structures with pyramidal roofs and interesting old wood carvings.

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

THE BUDDHISM OF KANAOI.

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

The Tibetan deities and their mantras with explanations.

(1) Namchha (God) or Narayan: is said to be of white complexion with two hands (holding an umbrella in the right, and with the left a mongoose vomiting diamonds), and riding on a lion called Singé. The mantra is: —Om beka-skarmuné svadha. 'May God bless us.'

(2) Langa-darsé or Chho-dak: the deity Ganesha, the remover of obstacles. He is represented as crimson in colour with an elephant head having a human body with four hands, holding respectively a hook used in driving elephants, a noose as a weapon of war, a boan and a lotus, and having only one tusk. The mantra is: —Om zambalé sálinkedé svadé. 'May God cast away all obstacles and bestow upon us wealth.'

(3) Táremá or Chheringmá: the goddess of wealth or long life, equivalent to Lakshmi or Mahalakshmi. She is represented as of golden colour, with two hands, holding in the right a spear, and in the left a diamond cup full of jewels, riding on horse-back. The mantra is: —Om bhimakhe choosam dákhe hám hird háng táre dukhé bhikáma té bimaye svadé. 'O thou mother of the world, be pleased to grant us prosperity and long life.'

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

² Ib., pp. 181-191.

³ Furnished by P. Tika Ram Joshi.
Deities in Kanaur.

(4) Dukar, the Indian Trinity, equivalent to Dattatreyamuni, is represented as of white complexion, with three heads, yellow, white and blue in colour, and eight hands, holding respectively an image of the deity Hophamed, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a boon in the four right hands; in the four left hands, abhaya, a noose, a bow and a nectar-cup respectively, and seated in the Padmasana attitude. The mantra is:—
Oh shri paumam lahitá tátrár tádá hulun hulun húm phat swáhá. 'O thou reverend sage, promote our welfare, and destroy our enemies.'

(5) Páldan-lámó, the supreme goddess, equivalent to Mahakali, is represented as of dark blue colour with three eyes (one in her forehead) and four hands (holding in the right a naked sword and a human skull full of blood, and in the left a lotus and a long trident), wearing a garland of human heads and a snake of green colour as her sacred thread, riding on a mule, with a green snake for a bridle and a saddle of human skin, and with a crown of five human head-bones with a streak of moon in the centre. Her fierce teeth are exposed as is her tongue, and her eyes are full of indignation. The mantra is:—
Oh húm shriyá debá káli káli mahá-káli húm zo. 'O supreme goddess, keep us from all evil.'

(6) Dolmá, a goddess or devi, is described as of white complexion, with two hands, offering a boon in the right, and the left in the Abhya position. She is dressed in a splendid robe wearing many ornaments and much jewellery; seated on a lotus. The mantra is:—Oh tárá tá tárá táré táré táré swáhá. 'O goddess, thou, who art the remover of worldly troubles, bestowest upon us blessings.'

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

O Ningmet-chebe darxen-chang-rázi,
ningmet-khembe wáñgbó-jámbe-yang,
dudpung málu chomdan-sárgwe-dakk,
gásáng-gábe chung-gyán-chung gáfá,
lobzang-dákk-párá shyábláswánde.

(8) (a) Gámbó-chhág-du-gbá, the goddess Tárá, or Tárá-Devi, is described as of blue colour like the forget-me-not, with six hands, a fat short body, three eyes and wearing a lionskin. The mantra is:—Oh sibá húm phat. 'Turn away enemies.'

(b) Gámbó-chhág-jibá, Tárá-Devi, has four hands.

(c) Gámbó-chhág-nibá, Tárá-Devi, has only two hands. In other respects these two are like Gámbó-chhág-du-gbá, and the mantras are the same.
Divination in Kanaur.

(4) Gönkar-chhag-dugdá, Tárá-Deví, is said to be of white complexion, but in other respects is like Ganbó-chhag-dugdá. The mantra is:—Om shum vánti chum mani húm phat swáhá.

(5) Ganbo-penin chhog-jitá xil-zidá, Tárá-Deví, is of white complexion, having four heads and four arms and wearing a garland of human heads, but resembling in other respects Gínbo chhag-dugdá. The mantra is:—Griháña payah griháña payah, húm phat swáhá, händhó bhagwáná bájrá bindéránzá húm phat swáhá, ‘O goddess, be pleased to accept this milk, and shower down upon us thy blessings.’

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

Om bájrá sáto sámáyá manú pálá șińúpá, șiśa șitó mewáwang, supkáyó mewáwáná rajá mewáyrá, sarbá șíată mewaráyang, súdang michió dang, hyáryá húm húm phat phat swáhá.

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

1. Om yámá rájá sáadhá méýá,
yámé dará náyó dáyá,
yadáyó nirá yakkáyá,
chhan táma húm húm phat phat swáhá.

2. Om tán-gya ríká húm phat.
3. Om dekhýa rátí húm phat.
4. Om dan tá ríká húm phat.
5. Om bájrá rátí húm phat.
6. Om muóó rátá húm phat.

Divination.

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

For example:—

1. Fák-pá-jam-pal: the deity Dharmáráj or Dharmarájá means:—‘You will succeed by worshipping your deity.’

2. Chung-mong-bu-thong-má padmínp: a lady with her son:—‘You will get many sons and be successful in your affairs; any trouble can be averted by adoration of your deity.’

3. Sína-ghyá-mallá, Ashwíni-kumára: the celestial physician:—‘You are to attain long life and always succeed, but keep your mind firmly fixed on God.’
4. Dug-dul Nāga Sheshanāga: the cobra:—'This forebodes no good but loss of money, corn and animals, and but danger of illness; by worship of your deity, a little relief may be obtained.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. Bāl-dī: a doddhra-khālga:—'All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with an heir; you are to receive wealth from the king; if there is any trouble, it is on account of your kinsmen, and can be only removed by agreeing with them.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. **Chhu-lāng**: a she-buffalo, *Mukhi*: — 'You have a quarrel with your kinsmen; you are to suffer from some disease; there is no remedy save worship of your deity, by which a little relief may be obtained.'

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

22. **Sītā-Sān-ji**: the golden mountain, *swarna pareata*: — 'All have enmity with you, even your relatives are against you and you are fond of quarrels; there is also fear of illness, which is due to your troubling a woman; should you agree with her, there will be no fear of it.'

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

24. **Mai-khā-ne-cho**: a parrot, *totā or sūnd*: — 'There will be a quarrel; you will have to suffer much by sickness, which is due to your impurity in the god's service: you should worship your deity steadfastly, then you will get some relief.'

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

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

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

29. Chhäng-ná-dar-zé: the deity Kála-bhairava:—'Fortune is to smile on you; you will reap a good harvest, get good servants and quadrupeds; if there is anyone ill in the family, then he will be restored to perfect health by worship of his deity.

30. Dár-zé: the thunderbolt, bairu:—'All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with many sons; the king will favour you, and your enemies will not succeed in troubling you.'

31. Dung: conch-shell: shaktika:—

32. Chá-rok: a crow, káka, kawó:—

33. Gán-kár-bó: the Mánas-lake, Mána-sarovara:—
   all three of good omen.

34. Cháng-ták: the lion, siññhá:—a bad omen.


37. Chá-khyung: the vehicle of Vishnú, gaurá, Vishnú-rátha:—
   a good omen.

38. Teh: a monkey, bandar, vánara:—

39. Fung-rung: a wheel, chakra:—

40. Chhokten-káró: the temple of the man-lion, Nrisíñhá
   mandír:—
   all three good omens.

41. Chyáng-kú-ro-jamá: a lion, siññha:—

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

43. Siññgá: a lion:—a good one.

44. Bong-bú: a camel, ustrák, únt:—a very bad one.

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

46. Chhúmít: a cascade, jala-káró:—a fairly good one.

47. Nar-bú: the fire, Agní:—a very good one.

48. Meri-nák-pó: the smoke, dhúmak, dhúwan:—a bad one.

49. Dhan-jyut-gibá: a cow, gáya, gauh:—

50. Budé: a ram, mésha, khárá:—
   both good omens.
The ruling family of Bashahr is, according to the Shástras, held to be of divine origin, and the Lamaic theory is that each Rájá of Bashahr is at his death re-incarnated as the Gurú Láma or Gurú of the Lámas, who is understood to be the Dalai Láma of Tibet. There is also another curious legend attached to the Bashahr family. For 61 generations each Rájá had only one son and it used to be the custom for the boy to be sent away to a village and not be seen by his father until his hair was cut for the first time in his sixth year. The idea that the first-born son is peculiarly dangerous to his father's life is not confined to Bashahr. Both these legends originate in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which is prevalent in the hills of the North-East Punjab and indeed throughout these Provinces.
SECTION 3.—JAINISM.

The following paragraphs are reproduced from Sir Denzil Ibbetson’s Census Report of 1883 because they illustrate the position of Jainism at that time. Like Sikhism it was rapidly falling into the position of a mere sect of Hinduism. Like the Sikh, the orthodox Jain intermarries with Hindus, especially with the Vaishnavas, and apparently he does so on equal terms, there being no tendency to form a hypergamous Jain group taking brides from Vaishnavas or other Hindus but not giving their daughters in return, on the model of the Kshadári Sikhs described in Vol. II, p. 353 infra:

The affinities of the Jain Religion.—The position which the Jain religion occupies with reference to Hinduism and Buddhism has much exercised the minds and pens of scholars, some looking upon it as a relic of Buddhism, while other and I believe far weightier authorities class it as a Hindu sect. In favour of this latter view we have, among others, the deliberate opinions of Horace Wilson and H. T. Colebrooke, who fully discuss the question and the arguments on either side. The latter concludes that the Jains ‘constitute a sect of Hindus, differing indeed from the rest in some very important tenets, but following in other respects a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances.’ The question of the origin of the religion and of its affinities with the esoteric doctrines of the two rival creeds may be left to scholars. We have seen how much of Hindu belief and practice has been intermingled with the teachings of Buddha as represented by the northern school of his followers; and it is probable that, had Buddhism survived as a distinct religion in India side by side with Brahminism, the admixture would have been infinitely greater. On the other hand, modern Hinduism has probably borrowed much of its esoteric doctrines from Buddhism. It is certain that Jainism, while Hindu in its main outlines, includes many doctrines which lean towards those of Buddha; and it may be that it represents a compromise which sprang into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as Rhys Davids says ‘the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Muhammadan conquest of Kashmir in the 12th century preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to caste and ceremonial observations of the ascendant Hindu creeds.’

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

1 Speaking roughly, the mixed group may be said to be the Bhábras or the main body of that caste in Hoshiápur. The present writer is now inclined to think that the account of the Bhábras alluded to on page 81 of Vol. II gives a clue to the history of the caste. The Bhábras were originally Jains, recruited from Oswál and Khándilwál Bánias. They were reinforced by Sikhs or Sároqis from the Aggarwás. As a title of some dignity and antiquity Bhábras came to be applied to and assumed by the Oswál, Khándilwál, Aggarwál and any other Bánia group whether orthodox Jains or unorthodox, or not Jains at all but Vaishnavas.

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

I think the fact that, till the disputes regarding the Sarógi procession at Dehli stirred up ill-feeling between the two parties, the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Sarógi) Bánias used to intermarry freely in that great centre of the Jain faith, and still do intermarry in other districts, is practically decisive as to the light in which the people themselves regard the affinities of the two religions. I cannot believe that the members of a caste which, like the Bánias, is more than ordinarily strict in its observance of all caste rules and distinctions and of the social and ceremonial restrictions which Hinduism imposes upon them, standing indeed in this respect second only to the Brahmans themselves, would allow their daughters to marry the followers of a religion which they looked upon as alien to their own. I have already explained how elastic the Hindu religion is, and what wide diversity it admits of under the cloak of sect; and I shall presently show that Sikhism is no bar to intermarriage. But Sikhism is only saved from being a Hindu sect by its political history and importance; while Buddhism is so utterly repugnant to Hinduism in all its leading characteristics, that any approach to it, at any rate in the direction of its social or sacerdotal institutions, would render communion impossible. Even in Láhul, where, as we have seen Hinduism and Buddhism are so intermingled that it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends, intermarriage is unheard of. I shall briefly describe the leading tenets and practices of the Jains; and I think the description will of itself almost suffice to show that Jainism is, if not purely a Hindu sect, at any rate nearer to that religion than to the creed of Buddha.¹

¹ It is true that in Rájpútána considerable animosity prevails between the Hindus and the Jains. There is a saying that "it is better to jump into a well than to pass a Jain ascetic on the road;" and another: "A Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant than take refuge in a Jain temple; and he may not run through the shadow of it, even to escape a tiger." So too, many of the later Vaishnava scriptures are very bitter against the errors of the Jains. But hatred of the fiercest kind between the rival sects of the same faith is not unknown to history; and at one time Jainism was the dominant belief over a considerable part of India. In Gójarát (Bombay), on the other hand, "the partition between Hindu and Jain is of the very narrowest description, and cases are not uncommon in which intermarriage between the two sections takes place. The bride, when with her Jain husband, performs the household ceremonies according to the ritual of that form of religion, and on the frequent occasions when she has to make a temporary sojourn at the paternal abode, she reverts to the rites of her ancestors, as performed before her marriage."—Bombay Census Report.
The tenets of the Jains.—The chief objects of Jain reverence are twenty-four beatified saints called Arhats or Tirthankāras, who correspond with the Buddhas of the northern Buddhists and of Vedantic Hinduism, but are based upon the final beatitude of the Hindus rather than upon the final absorption preached by Buddha, and are wholly unconnected with the Gautamī legend, of even the broad outlines of which the Punjab Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first, Rishabhnāth, the twenty-third, Pāramānāth, and the twenty-fourth, Mahāvīr, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Pāramānāth is chiefly venerated. Rishabhnāth is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is worshipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewār by Hindus and Jains in common. But besides these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognise the whole Hindu pantheon, including the Puranic heroes, as divine and fit objects of worship, though in subordination to the great saints already mentioned, and place their images in their temples side by side with those of their Arhats. They have indeed added to the absurdities of the Hindu Olympus, and recognise 64 Indras and 22 Devīs. They revere serpents and the āsana, or Priapus, and in many parts ordinarily worship in Hindu temples as well as in their own. Like the Buddhists they deny the divine origin of the Hindu Vedas; but unlike them they recognise the authority of those writings, rejecting only such portions of them as prescribe sacrifice and the sacred fire, both of which institutions they condemn as being inimical to animal life. Like the Buddhists they deny the Hindu doctrine of purification from sin by alms and ceremonies, and reject the Hindu worship of the Sun and of fire except at weddings, initiations, and similar ceremonies, where they subordinate their objections to the necessity of employing Brahmins as ministers. The monastic system and celibate priesthood of the Buddhists are wholly unknown to them, and they have, like the Hindus, a regular order of ascetic devotees who perform no priestly functions; while their parohits or family priests, and the ministers who officiate in their temples and conduct the ceremonial of their weddings, funerals, and the like, must necessarily be Brahmins, and, since Jain Brahmins are practically unknown, are always Hindus. The idols of the Jain saints are not daily bathed, dressed, and fed, as are the Hindu idols; and if fruits are presented to them it is not as food, but as an offering and mark of

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

2 “In Upper India the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulae from the Tantras, and belonging more properly to the Saiva and Śākta worship. Images of the Bhairavas and Bhairavīs, the fierce attendants on Śiva and Kālī, take their place in Jain temples; and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sarasvatī and Devī.” At Mount Abu several of the ancient Jain inscriptions begin with invocations to Sīva. (Wilson’s Hindu Sects.)

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

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

1 See Bombay High Court rulings Bhagwan Das Tejmal v. Raimal, X (1878), pp. 241 et seq., and rulings there quoted. But see also Privy Council case Shro Singh Lal v. Daiko and Marari, Indian Law Reports, I, Allahabad (1876-78), pp. 688 et seq.

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

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

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

‘A more modern sect is the Dhūndia, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or dhūnd. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or patīs before the mouth originated; and the Terahpanthis and Dhūndias carry their regard for animals to extremes, teaching that no living thing should be interfered with, that a cat should be permitted to catch a mouse, or a snake to enter the cradle of a child. It would appear that the Dhūndias are wholly colibrate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them pujāris or ‘worshippers.’ They are, I believe, confined to the Swetāmbara section, the Digambaras laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it.” By pujāri may have been meant pujera. The priests of the Dhūndias are called puj or sī puj.

Classification of the Jain sects and orders.

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

Digambara  ...  Tera-panthi
          Bis-panthi  }  Mandirpanthi or Pu-  
          Swetāmbara  }  jári.

Swetāmbara  ...  Dhūndia Baístola
          Tera-panthi  }  Dhūndia.

1 Vol. III, p. 343 infra.
2 P. Census Rep., 1911, § 329.
3 This should read ‘Tera-panthi sect of the Dhūndias.’
But, putting aside the non-idolatrous Sthánakwásis and Dhúndias, the idol-worshipping Jains may be tentatively classified as follows:

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

The Digambaras include two great sub-sects:

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

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

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

The Swetámbara have no recognised sub-sects, but their ascetics generally known as sadhus appear to have a special sub-division called Sambegi or Sameghi. The sadhus form a superior order or the superior degree in an order, the jatis being an inferior order or novitiates in the order in which the sadhu holds the higher degree.

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

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

2 Mr. Fagan also affirms that the Bispanthis are the more orthodox. They are divided into 4 sub-sects—Nandi, Sain, Singh and Bir called after the names of their rikhis—according to him: Pb. Census Report, 1892, § 123. But these may be sub-orders. The Bispanthi reverence the guru, the 34 Arhats and the Shadstrás.

On the other hand the Tera-panthis allow the Arhats and Shadstrás, but refuse to acknowledge that there is any guru other than the Shadstrás themselves, a doctrine which reminds us of the orthodox Sikh teaching after Gurd Gobind Singh's installation of the sacred Granth as the guru of the Sikhs.


4 Macleod, § 122.

5 Ibbetson translates Saráwall by 'laity.' Cf. Macleod, § 122.
honorable term Bābāra being reserved for laymen of higher spiritual standing or priority of conversion.

The Jain caste system.

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

According to Sir Denzil Ibbetson "nearly 99 per cent. of the Jains in the Punjab belong to the trading classes and almost exclusively to the Bānias and Bhābrā castes, the latter being chiefly confined to the northern Divisions. I believe that Oswāl Bānias are almost without an exception Svetāmbara Jains, and that such of the Kandeval Bānias and Bhābrās as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwāl Bānias, on the other hand, arc, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The Mahesri Bānias are seldom if ever Jains. Mr. Lawrence Assistant Agent to the Governor-General at Mount Abu, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information collected on the spot at Ajmer, the great centre of Jainism in those parts, tells me that there the Jains are divided into two sects, the Digambaras or Sarāgogis, and the Svetāmbaras or Oswāls, and he confirms the assertion after repeating his inquiries at my request. There is no doubt whatever that 'Oswāl’ is a tribal and not a sectarian name, and is quite independent of religion; and that the term Sarāgogis properly applies to the whole of the Jain laity of whatever sect. But the fact that Oswāl and Svetāmbara are in Ajmer used as synonymous shows how strictly the tribe adheres to its sect. This erroneous use of the words apparently extends to some parts of the Punjab. The Bhābrās of Hushyāpur, who are of course Svetāmbaras, state distinctly that all Jains are Sarāgogis, themselves included; but a Bhābra of Gurdaspur emphasized his assertion that no Agarwāl could become a Bhābra by pointing out that the former were all Sarāgogis. On the other hand Mr. Wilson writes that in Sisra, on the Rājputāna border, the words Oswāl and Sarāgogi, which according to Mr. Lawrence express in Ajmer the two poles of Jainism, are 'used as almost convertible terms.' The matter seems to need clearing up. The real fact seems to be that Agarwāls belong so invariably to the Digambara and Oswals to the Svetāmbara sect, that the term Oswal is used for the latter while Sarāgogis is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only. There is a local tradition that Parasnāth, the probable founder of the Svetāmbara sect, was an Oswal of Osia or Osnagar in Jodhpur, etc.

Ibbetson, § 259.

1 Maclagan, § 123.

2 The very term Mahesi denotes that they are Vaishnava Hindus: H. A. R.

3 So in Singh and Adjarat the tribal name Mahesi is used to distinguish Hindu from Jain Bānias.

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the place from which the Oswâls take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Bénâres and died in Bebar."

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

The Jain philosophy.

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

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

1 Vol. II, p. 51 infra.
2 Ib., p. 940.
3 Sânskr. Nirgrantha. For what follows Jacobi's art. in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics has been freely drawn upon.
Buddha, the author of a new religion are preserved of him. He followed an established faith, became a monk and in twelve years attained perfect knowledge (kevala). His predecessor Parshva, the last but one of the Tirthankaras, has better claims to be considered the founder of Jainism. He died 250 years before Mahavira. His predecessor, Arishthamuni, is said to have died 81,000 years before the latter's nirvana and so can hardly be regarded as a historical personage. He was the 22nd Tirthankara and is connected with Krishna by relationship in the legend.

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

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

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

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

A cardinal doctrine of Jainism is the evil influence of karma. Matter is of two kinds, gross which we can perceive, and subtle, beyond the ken of our senses. The latter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different forms of karma. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into karma pours into the soul by influx (darava). A soul harbours passions (kashaya), which like a viscous substance retain this subtle matter, and combines with it, by banaka (combination). This subtle matter in such combination is transformed into the 8 kinds of karma and forms a kind of subtle body, karanashaktra, which clings to
The soul in Jainism.

the soul in all its future births and determines its individual lot. But as it has been caused, so *karma* in its turn causes painful or pleasant conditions and events which the individual must undergo. Having thus produced its due effect, the *karma* matter is purged from the soul by *nirjāra* or 'purging off.' The *bandha* and *nirjāra* processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After death it goes, with its *karma-nashārā*, straightway to the place of its new birth and assumes its new body, contracting or expanding according to its size.

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

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

The theory of *karma* being the key-stone of the Jain system merits fuller explanation. The natural qualities of soul are *jñāna* (*gyān*, profound reflection) or perfect knowledge, intuition or faith (*darśana*), highest bliss and all kinds of perfections, but these inborn qualities are obscured in mundane souls by the *karma*-matter. When
Jain ethics.

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

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the vitiating action of karma, and this is its developmental or nirādānāka state. But there are other states which refer only to the behaviour of the karma. Ordinarily karma takes effect and produces its proper results: then the soul is in the undayaika state. But by proper efforts karma may be neutralized (āpashamita) for a time, though it is still present, then the soul is in the aypashamika state. When it is annihilated, the soul is in the kshapita state, which is necessary for reaching nirvāna. The kshāyika and aypashamika are the states of holy men, but ordinary good men are in a kshāyopashamika in which some karma is annihilated, some neutral, and some still active. This doctrine has an important bearing on practical Jain ethics. The whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of new karma, and it is also stopped by austerities (tamas) which, moreover, annihilate old karma speedily.

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

1 Jacobi points out that the belief in colours of the soul seems to be very old as evidenced by the expressions, 'a black soul,' 'a bright soul' which were apparently understood in a literal sense.
things, all sinful actions at stated times (saṃyāga); live as a monk on the 8th, 11th or 15th day of the lunar fortnight at least once a month (pauskhaṇḍapāvaśa); and provide for monks. These 4 last vows are called śikṣaṇārtha or disciplinary. Eating by night is forbidden to all Jains, monks or laymen, as are certain kinds of food. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view, vīś to enable laymen to participate in the merits of monastic life without absolutely renouncing the world. Jainism differed from early Buddhism in that it regarded the lay state as preliminary to, and in many cases a preparation for, the monastic life, instead of regarding the laity as outsiders. But in modern times a change seems to have come about in this respect as the monastic order is now recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. Nevertheless the principle that the duties of the laity differ only in degree, not in kind, from those of the monks, has contributed greatly to the stability of Jainism. Monastic discipline is elaborate but not as a rule severe or grotesque. In Jain asceticism yoga means the activity of body, speech and mind through which kārma-matter pours into the soul and to prevent this dārava it is necessary to regulate those activities by the 3 guptis or guardings of the mind etc. The monk must also observe the 5 samītis, i.e. he must be cautious in walking etc., lest he kill or hurt any living thing. He must avoid vices and endure discomfort and hardship without flinching. The last item in his curriculum is tapas or asceticism, but it must be practised in the right way and with right intentions for there are also 'austerities of fools,' bālata tapas, through which temporary or temporal merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god etc., may indeed be acquired, but the highest good can never be attained. Tapas is one of the most important institutions in Jainism, and it is either external or internal. Among the former austerities fasting is the most conspicuous and it has been developed into a fine art. Its usual form is to eat only one meal every 2nd, 3rd, and 4th day and so on down to half a year. Another form is to starve oneself to death. Other forms of abstinence are also practised and to the same category belong also sitting in secluded spots for meditation and the postures taken up during it. Internal austerities include confession and repentance. Greater sins must be confessed to a superior (ālochana) and repented of. In less serious cases penance consists in standing erect in a certain position for a given time (kāyotsarga), but for graver transgressions the superiors prescribe the penance and in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk. Contemplation (āśīdā) is the most important spiritual exercise. Contemplation may be evil or good and the latter is of two kinds, religious (dharma) and pure (śukla). The former leads to intuitive cognition not only of religious truths but of other things hidden from common mortals, and the accuracy of knowledge in all kinds of science claimed in the sacred books and later treatises is to be ascribed in great measure to this intuition. Pure contemplation leads through four stages to final emancipation, and at the last stage when the wordly existence is drawing rapidly to its close the remaining kārma may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called samudghāta. Then in the last

1 For the Kalpa-Sūtra, an old collection of disciplinary rules for Jain monks, see Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 267 f.
stage all karma being annihilated and all activities having ceased the soul leaves the body and ascends to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever. Pure contemplation however is not by itself a means of attaining liberation but only the last link in a long chain of preparation and only kevalins, 'those who have reached omniscience', can enter into the last two stages which lead directly to liberation. The last man to attain kevala was Jambūsvámin, the disciple of Jñáhávira's disciple Sudharmán, and he was liberated on his death. Hence during the rest of the present Avasarpini period no body will be born who will reach nirvána in the same existence though nirvána is necessarily preceded by twelve years of self-mortification of the flesh which should be the closing act of a monk's career. The Jains also attach great importance to the doctrine of the fourteen guṇabhánas or fourteen steps which lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

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

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

The Jain cosmography differs widely from that of the Brahmins, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens. The world has in time neither beginning nor end. In space the Universe occupies the part called Lokákásha as distinguished from the absolute void. It is figured as a spindle resting on half of another, or as a woman with her
arms akimbo. Older still is the comparison with a man: the earth's
disk is in the lower part of the middle and forms the man's waist, be-
low it are the hells and above it the upper regions. These regions are
too numerous to be detailed here, but in the centre of the earth itself
towers Mt. Meru, 100,000 yojanas high, round which revolve suns,
moons and stars. Immediately above its summit begins the threefold
system of heavenly regions called Viñānas, the abodes of the Vaimā-
nikas gods, which number 26 in all. In Ichāsprāgabharā, the highest,
dwell the souls in liberation.¹

As the soul by itself has an upward gravity and will, if cleansed of all
karma, rise in a straight line to this heaven on leaving the body, the Jains
permit religious suicide in two cases, though they condemn būlamāraṇa
or 'unwise death' and recommend panditamarāna or a 'wise death.' In
the first case if a Jain contracts a mortal disease or is in danger of
certain death he may resort to self-starvation and a monk should do so
rather than break the rules of his order or when he cannot sustain
the austerities prescribed. In the second a pious layman may go
through a regular course of religious life, the phases of which are the
11 standards (pratimā), the first being observed for one month, the
second for two, and so on. In the last standard, which he must ob-
serve for 11 months, he becomes practically a monk and at its end
abstains from all food and devotes himself to self-mortification, patiently
awaiting death which will ensue within a month. In the case of a
monk the period of self-mortification lasts 12 years instead of as
many months, but during it he should try to ward off premature death.
At the end of this period he should abstain from all food and the
severance of the soul from the body may be brought about by three
different methods in two of which the movements of the limbs are
restricted.²

A system of theology and mythology so rich in ideas naturally
produced an equal variety of religious symbolism in art and Jain icono-
graphy is as highly developed as Buddhist. But the subject has not yet
been fully studied. Some notes on it are given by Prof. D. R. Bhandar-
kar,³ but complete explanations are lacking. It appears however that a
kaśalini's place in heaven is represented on earth by a kṣaṇinagarī, a
shrine with three ramparts, the innermost of gems with battlements of
rubies, constructed by the Vaimānikas, the second of gold with battlement
of gems, constructed by the Jyotiskas or gods of Sun, Moon, stars etc.,
and the outer of silver with battlements of gold, built by Bhavanapatis.⁴

All the elaborate architecture and art lavished on such a building have
their meanings, as have the processional entries and ritual Animals,
it should be noted, appear to be admitted to the shrin', though not to
its inmost rampart.⁵ The whole picture of such a shrine drawn in the
manuscripts used by Jain artists is an extraordinarily comprehensive one
of all nature joining in the worship of one who has attained to
perfect knowledge and listening to his teaching.

² Id., 4, pp. 484-5.
⁴ Id., pp. 157-8. It may be conjectured that these are the higher animals.
The doctrine of kamma lent itself equally to the construction of countless tales which pointed a moral, inculcating reverence for life in all its forms and the need for self-purification. These tales were embodied in stone reliefs whose interpretation is being slowly worked out by the aid of such Jain scriptures as the Tirthanka/prj just as the Buddhist sculptures are being translated with the help of the Jātaka. The story of the princess who was born a kite for the slaughter of a snake resembling a fowl but was reborn as a princess as a reward for her kindness to a tired Jaina nun in her last incarnation but one will be found in an article on Indian Iconography by Prof. Bhandarkar.

The history of the Jain sects. - Like Buddhism Jainism will have to be studied in its sects. Quite apart from the various schools and orders into which it has been divided it has been rent by no less than eight schisms (māhrana) according to the Swetāmbaras. Of these the first was originated by Mahāvīra's son-in-law Jamālī and the last in 83 A. D. gave rise to the Digambara sect. But the last-named know nothing of the earlier schisms and say that under Bhadrabāhu rose the Anahapālaka sect which in 80 A. D. developed into the Swetāmbara sect. This is the more remarkable in that doctrinal differences are not acute. The Digambaras hold that kevalin, such as the Tīrthankaras, live without food, that Mahāvīra's embryo was not removed from Devānanda's womb to that of Trishalī, that a monk who owns anything, even clothes, and a woman, cannot attain nirvāna. While the Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Swetāmbaras, holding that they were lost after Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa, they recognise one at least of the most authoritative Swetāmbara sūtras. Nevertheless in consequence of their early separation they have an ecclesiastical as well as literary history of their own and their religious ceremonies especially in regard to the laity differ from those of their rivals. With them their list of the patriarchs only agrees in respect of the 1st, Jambu, and the 6th Bhadrabāhu. The latter, they say, migrated to the south at the head of the true monks and from him dates the loss of their sacred literature. According to their modern tradition the main church (mūla-samgha) split into four gānas—Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva—about the close of the 1st century A. D.

The list of Swetāmbara patriarchs begins with Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd, Sāndilya or Skandila. In some cases the names of the disciples of each patriarch, and of the schools and branches (or orders) styled gāna, kula or shākha, founded by or originating with him are preserved. After the 6th, Bhadrabāhu, a great expansion of Jainism took place in the north and north-west of India. In later times gīchekas or schools were founded by individual teachers, theoretically 84 in number and differing only in minute details of conduct. Of these the most important is the Kharatara which has split up into many minor gīchekas, the Tapā, Anchele &c. and the most interesting is the Upakṣa gīchka, "known as the Oswal Jain".

1 A. S. R., 1905-6, p. 141 f.
2 Also called Dīgavanas: E. R. E., Vol. 4, p. 704. Another Swetāmbara version is that in 83 A. D. Suvarabhūti started the heretical sect of the Botālas or Dīgavanas.
3 For details of these four 'orders' see Vol. II, 4afra, p. 344.
who begin their descent from Párvsa, Mahávira’s predecessor. Down to the 9th century A. D. much uncertainty prevails as to Jain history and the legend that the first patron king of the sect was Asoka’s grandson Samprati is very doubtful.

Modern Jain temples.

The Jain temple at Zira is called after the name of Sri Paras Náth, who was its founder. After the completion of the mandir all persons of the Jain sect gathered together and adored Sri Krab Dev, one of the 24 incarnations, on the shudi ikádhí in Maghar Sambat 1448 (7th April 1887). On that day an annual fair is held and the banner of the temple is carried through the town in a great procession. This is called rath játra. The temple contains many images made of metal. Of these, the image of Paras Náth, the finest, is 3½ feet high. The vedi on which the image is installed is also handsome and decorated with gold. The administration is carried on by the Jain community, but pujáris are employed as servants, their duties being to open the mandir, clean it and supply fresh water for the washing of the images &c. Worship is generally performed by Jains, but in their absence it is performed by the temple servants who are Brahmans. As a rule, the pujári must bear a good character and avoid eating flesh, drinking wine &c. It is of little importance whether he be celibate or not. The pujári is not hereditary and is dismissed on infringement of any of the above rules. No special reverence is paid to the chief priest. The usage of charas is forbidden. Sweetmeat is used as bhog, but anything else may also be offered as such to the image. It is important to light the sacred lamp and burn dhúp and incense in the temple. Cash offerings are deposited in its treasury, and are only spent on its upkeep. No other shrines are connected with this. Many pictures of certain gods are hung on the temple walls.

At the mandir of the Saraogis at Tehl in Karnál an annual fair, called Kalsá Jal, is held on the 14th of the light half of Bhádon, and at this the image of Maháráj is carried. The fair was first held in S. 1942, though the temple was founded in S. 1901. It contains marble images of Paras Náth, Mahábíri and Ajat Náth, each 1½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by the Saraoji community, each member taking duty in turn. No special reverence is paid to the pujári on duty and there is no ritual or sacred lamp.

SECTION 4.—THE HINDUS OF THE PUNJAB.

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

But if the non-ethical nature of the Hindu religion is in some respects an advantage to its followers, it has also greatly increased the difficulty of preserving that religion in its original purity. The old Aryan, who worshipped the gods of the Vedas, were surrounded by races whose deities differed from their own in little but name, for both were but personifications of the forces of Nature. What more natural than that, as the two peoples intermingled, their gods should gradually become associated in a joint Pantheon. If the gods of the Vedas were mightier, the gods of the country might still be mighty. If malevolent, it was well to propitiate them; if benevolent, some benefits might perhaps be had from them. In either case it was but adding the worship of a few new gods to that of many old ones; for since neither these nor those laid down any immutable rules of conduct or belief, no change of life, no supersession of the one by the other was necessary. The evils the Hindus feared from their deities were physical; the help they hoped for material and not spiritual. Their gods were offended, not by disbelief and sin, but by neglect; they were to be propitiated, not by repentance and a new life, but by sacrifice and ceremonial observance; and so long as their dues were discharged they would not grudge offerings made to others as an additional insurance against
Brahmanical Hinduism.

The members of the Hindu Pantheon had many ranks and degrees, and among the superior gods at any rate, each worshipper selected for himself that one which he would chiefly venerate. Thus it was easy to add on at the bottom of the list without derogating from the dignity of those at the top; while the relative honour in which each was held presently became a matter for the individual to decide for himself. And so we find that the gates of the Hindu Olympus have ever stood open to the strange gods of the neighbourhood, and that wherever Hindus have come into contact with worship other than their own they have combined the two, and even have not unseldom given the former precedence over the latter. The Hindu of the plains worships the saints of his Musalman neighbours, and calls his own original gods by Muhammadan names unknown to an Indian tongue; the Hindu of the hills worships the devils and deities of the aborigines, and selects for special honour that one of his own proper divinities whose nature is most akin to theirs; both mollify by offerings innumerable agencies, animal, human, demoniacal, or semi-divine, who are not perhaps ranked with the greater gods of the temples, but who may do harm, and to propitiate whom is therefore a wise precaution.

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

I suspect that in many cases the strictly territorial nature of the aboriginal gods facilitated their inclusion in the Hindu worship. It would be less difficult to recognize a deity who did not evenclaim authority beyond certain set bounds, or pretend to rival the Vedic gods in their limitless power; and it would seem especially reasonable to entering a territory to propagate the local powers who might be offended by the intrusion. The gods of the hills were, and many of them are still, unutterably territo-rial—see nara, Hinduism in the Himalayas. It would be interesting to discover whether the aboriginal gods of the plains presented the same characteristic. With them the limits of the tribe would probably define the territory, in the absence of any impassable physical boundaries such as are afforded by mountain ranges.** [Ibseton.]
was absolutely confined to the priestly class. The result was that Hinduism early degenerated from a religion into a sacerdotalism, and would, in its present form, be far better described as Brahmanism than by any other single word; and it is this abject subjection to and veneration for the Brahman which forms the connecting link that runs through and binds together the diverse forms of worship and belief of which I have spoken.

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

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

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

2 I had, after repeated warnings, to fine severely one of my Hindu compilers, a man in a good position, and of education and intelligence, but who positively refused to include scavengers who returned themselves as Hindus in the figures for that religion.
must preserve himself from ceremonial pollution and from contact and communion with the unclean on pain of becoming Apáthema Maranatha. With individuals indeed even these restrictions are relaxed, on the condition that they affect a personal sanctity which, by encouraging superstition and exciting terror, shall tend to the glorification of the priesthood; and the filthy Aghori, smeared with human ordure and feeding on carrion and even on human carrion,¹ is still a Hindu. But the masses must observe the rules; and any who should, like Buddha or Bábá Nának, propose to admit the body of the laity to share in a license which is permitted to the naked ascetic, would at once be disavowed. The Christian and Buddhist recognise no distinction of caste, nor does the Musalmán save where influenced by the example of those whom he has so bitterly persecuted, while all three profess to disregard the Brahan; and for this reason, and not because they worship a different god, the Hindu holds their touch to be pollution. The Sikh has fallen away from his original faith; in his reverence for the Brahman and his observance of caste-rules he differs only in degree from his Hindu neighbour; and I shall presently show how difficult it is to draw the line between the two religions. The Jain I take to be little more than a Hindu sect.

**VEDIC CULTS.**

At a census when a man is asked to say what deity he specially affects, he will often say that he worships all the gods alike. But whatever gods he may name they are not as a rule those of the Vedas or Puránas. Nevertheless the worship of Brahma is still to be found in the Punjab. Thus Adi Brahma is worshipped at Tiri in Kuln. At his festival he is personated by a villager seated in a high-backed sedan chair, with eight masks of metal silvered and gilt at the back. About the chair are stuck tufts of barley and peacock’s feathers and everyone present wears a bunch of young barley in his cap. The man who acts the god affects to answer questions, and his replies often cause much merriment.² Adi Brahma also seems to have a temple at Khokhan Dera in Kuln where he is worshipped at four festivals, one held on the 1st of Baisákh, Sáwan and Asuj and on the full moon day of Maghar, each lasting four days. Brahmán deota also has a temple at a place called Dārewa-i-Dhara in Kotli Tárápur where he is worshipped yearly from Sunday to Thursday in the dark halves of Sáwan, Maghar and Phágan.

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

¹ An Aghori was caught by the police in the Rohá district about 1881 in the act of devouring a newly buried child which he had dug up for the purpose. For other instances of aghorídgya, which seems to be a term for their ritual cannibalism, see Ruseill’s Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, II, p. 15. Also Oman’s Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India, pp. 184-5, there cited.
The cults of Brahma and Hanumán.

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

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

Brahm himself is returned by some, but a man who returns himself as a worshipper of Brahm 2 generally means little more than that he worships the Supreme God,—Parmeshwar ko māntā hai, or Khudā ko māntā hai,—an assertion in which almost all Hindus would join. The term Brahm-pañthi may refer in some cases to Brahmos, but there appears to be a sect of this name with special doctrines of its own. It is found in Hazāra, and was started by a man called Gantam Raghi, and its holy book is termed the Nyāyak Grāth. 3 It worships one God only: its members are recruited from all castes, and they partake of animal food; their object is to associate freely with both Hindus and Musalmáns and they are consequently looked on with disfavour by both religions.

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

The worship of Hanumán or Mahábir, the monkey-god, is closely connected with that of Rām, in whose aid Hanumán fought against the demons of Lanká. He is represented as a red-coloured monkey with a long tail and is worshipped by all castes. He is supposed, however, to be the particular patron of the wandering acrobats of the 1 Wynyard's Ambala Settlement Rep., § 419.

2 Strictly speaking Brahm is pure spirit or atman in the pantheistic sense— pervading all space. Brahma is the manifestation of spirit, and so a distinction should be drawn: Brahm is impersonal, and Brahma conveys the conception of personality.

3 During his residence in the Himalayas Gautama founded the Nyāyak sect: S. C. B., II, p. 430. But the Gautam Raghi of the text may be the Gautama Rikhi, author of the Nyāya or dialectical philosophy described in Colebrooke's Essays, I, p. 380 ff. Gautama was also called Aekānāpa or Aekānāchanā and his followers Aekānāpa, but no trace of such a school is now to be found in this Province, unless it is represented by the modern Brahm-pañthi. A scandalous legend about this Gautama rikhi will be found on p. 136 Sāgra. The term nyāya has many meanings, but its most usual one is 'logic'; Platte Hillustani Dictionary, p. 1164. It is not confined to Hinduism, the Nyāyavāstra of Śiddha Sena Divakara being the earliest Jain work on pure logic.
Himyar district, the Bādfs of the Bāgar and the Nats of the Jangal or Des. A small shrine to Hanumān is often erected near the site of a new well which is under construction, in order to prevent accidents during the process, and also to ensure that the water shall turn out sweet. He is respected for his generosity and chivalry. His followers fast of a Tuesday, and on that day distribute sweetmeats.

At Gurkhi, four miles from Kāūgra town, there is a temple to Anjana, wife of Kesari and mother of Hanumān, whom Anjana bore to Vāyu or Pavana, the wind, not to her husband Kesari, a monkey. Hence Hanumān obtained his metronym of Anjaneya. A fair is held in her honour in October and many years ago a man attending this fair disturbed a bee’s nest and a song was composed to celebrate the event.¹

Bhairon or Bhairava is described infra.

**EARLY SAINTS AND HEROES**—Along with the gods themselves we may notice the names of demigods and rishis to whom special reverence is paid. There are the five Pándavas, the heroes of the Mahābhārata, favourite objects of worship in the east, and sometimes addressed as the Panj-Pir. Many are the legends current about these heroes and they are localised at quite a number of places. The hill of Mokshpuri, just above Dunga Gali, has an elevation of 9282 ft. Its name means ‘hill of salvation’ and on its summit is a Pándavā da Sthalu, or ‘place of the Pándavas,’ where it is said they were visited and tempted by apsaras who still frequent the place. Such sthānas are not uncommon in the Himalayas. They are also known as Panch Pāndu and often consist of a small square enclosure; in this stands a tree, on which rages are hung. At every sankrānti a kind of fair is held for the benefit of those in charge. It is believed that any attempt to build on the site would fail.² Another hero is Shāmjī, the Chaulān Rājā of Gārh Dadna, who gave his head to Krishna and Arjan on condition that he should be allowed to see the fight between the Kaurvas and Pándavas.³ And there is Dhawanantar or Dhanwantr, the old physician, who is still looked up to by the Hindu members of the profession. And there is Daruna, the Achāraj, the guru of the Pándavas, from whom the Achāraj clan, the Brāhmans who accept gifts at deaths and conduct the funerals of the dead, trace their descent. The Kumhārs in the same way reverence their prototype Prajāpati, whether this implies some human or semi-human progenitor, or refers to Brähm, the Lord of Creatures, the Great Potter who shapes the plastic world. Similarly the northern branch of the Kāśthas revere their semi-divine ancestor Chatargupt, the watchet of good and bad actions, who sits with his great register before him in the audit office of the nether world. So also Bījasī, the sage Vyāśa, and a hundred others are still looked up to with respect, and most of the Hindu tribes, and not a few of the Musalmāns, claim descent from one or other of these heroes and saints of early Hinduism.

¹ Calcutta Rev. 1882, p. 58, or Selections from the C. B., VII, 1896, p. 449. See also p. 120 infra.

² Id., VIII, p. 128.

³ This Shāmjī has his shrine at Koṭla in the Jaipur State.
Pându the pale accompanied by his two wives, Mâdri and Kunti or Pritâ, retired to the Himalayas. There they bore the five Pândavas, sons of various gods but acknowledged by him as his own.1

The interesting rock-temples at Mukeswar on the Râvi, five miles above Shâhpur in Gurdâspur, are said to date back to the Pândavas, and to have been visited by Arjan and Pârâbi. A long cleft in the rock a little way up the river is known as Arjan’s chula or hearth.2 Shiv as Achleswar Mahárâj has a temple at Achal a few miles from Batála. It lies in a tank and is ascribed to the same mythical period.3

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

The temple contains 101 stone images, each 1\frac{1}{2} feet high. Marble images of Ganesh, Durga, Bishnú and Súraj Bhagwan stand in the four corners of the temple. Each is 3 feet high. Besides these, there is a marble image of Gaurí Shankar. Annual fairs are held on 1st Baisákh, the mauni and dasni in Kâtak, on every amâwas and on the chetar chaundra (14th of the light half of Chet).

THE WORSHIP OF NATURE.

The chief characteristic of the Vedic mythology is that it is a worship of nature in all its aspects. In the modern Punjab that mythology has disappeared almost completely, but the worship of nature is still a living force in popular religion. Nature is reverenced or propitiated, coerced or bargained with in many diverse ways, but through all the rites with which she can be influenced runs the pantheistic idea. As God is in all Nature so He speaks through all Nature. Everything, living or inanimate, can speak as His mouth-piece with equal authority. Nothing is silent or without its lesson and meaning for mankind—if man has but the wit and knowledge necessary to comprehend its speech or its signification. To the initiated in the varied lore of divination the slightest hints are full of meaning. The flight of birds southwards in autumn is a sign of the approach of winter. In a sense then it ‘predicts’ the coming of winter. Nature supplies countless similar ‘predictions’ to people, who are of necessity in close contact with her. But man’s speculative and rational faculties develop more rapidly than his capacity for accurate observation and

1 S. C. E., VIII, p. 125. He appears to be identical with or confused with Gûga, Châhâsan, or Garh Pâghra. In the Himalayas Panjpiri is often regarded as a single personage and identified with Zâhir Pir or Gûga, but the distinction of personages is also recognised in their representation by five stones placed under a piper and smeared with red lead.
2 Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 17 [15], 26.
3 Id., p. 81.
logical control of intuition. Upon the firm and safe basis that nature provides auguries which are a certain indication of coming events, man has hurried to the conclusion that everything in nature is a portent, forgetting that the happening of such events as the southward flight of birds is explained by readily ascertainable facts which could have no other results and are therefore significant of their causes, but that other events can have no such significance. We who know the causes of an eclipse and can theorise on the cause of earthquakes, are under no temptation to attribute them to supernatural agencies, but to the primitive philosopher or metaphysician it is self-evident that all phenomena in nature, whether trivial or impressive, are due to the working of a force which is immanent in all things. From this theory a whole series of primitive sciences and applied rituals was evolved. Astrology is based upon its application to the stars, and other branches of the science of omens on its application to various natural phenomena of the body or external world. Hence we shall find a science of divination from respiration, sneezing, twitching of the eyelids and the like: from the movements of animals and birds, especially such as are intelligent or uncanny; and from the most trivial accidents in the happenings of daily life. All is eloquent of the world-soul animating it from within, and if from this assumption there arises a mass of pseudo-science which has only come down to us in fragments, we may recollect that as a compensation the worship of nature taught that all life is one, and from this teaching arose much curiously beautiful lore about trees and animals which all found rank, as well as place, a definite relationship to a godhead, a function, as it were, in the spiritual world, and a kind of individuality in addition to their general claim upon man’s mercy.

Had primitive speculation rested there it could have done nothing but good and, by forming a firm basis for the closer study of nature, it would have facilitated progress. But just as divination in the hands of the Roman State authorities became formalised into a set of rules for ascertaining the good-will of the gods and obtaining their sanction for the operations of the community, but which had no scientific basis whatever, no relation to truth and fact,¹ so in the hands of the professional classes which practised divination and codified its laws in verse the promising sciences with which it was pregnant were atrophied and distorted into useless and barren arts.²

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

¹ Thering’s fanciful theory that the study of the flight of birds was prompted by the desire to get information about mountain passes and the course of great rivers during the Aryan migration is unnecessary. A much simpler explanation is suggested. But once started on the path of science by observation of the facts of bird-life, the signs of the weather and the like, man inevitably proceeds to see predictions in everything, even on the shoulder-blade of a sheep, like the Baloch, or in the exu of red puppies which had been smothered.—Cf. Warde Fowler, Religious Experiences of the Roman People, pp. 286 et seqq.

him, not Deva but Devata, a godling, not a god.¹ No shrine is ever built to him, but on Sunday the people abstain from salt, and they do not set their milk as usual to make butter from, but make rice milk of it and give a portion to the Brahman. After each harvest, and occasionally between whiles, Brahman is fed in his honour; and he is each morning saluted with an invocation as the good man steps out of his house. He is par excellence the great god of the villager, who will always name him first of all his deities. After him comes, at least in the east of the Province, Jannah Jī, or Lady Janna. She is bathed in periodically. Brahman is fed in her honour, and the waters of the canal which is fed from her stream are held in such respect by the villagers that they describe the terrible evils which they work in the land as springing "from Lady Janna's friendship." Dharitī Māta, or Mother Earth, holds the next place of honour. The pious man does obeisance to and invokes her as he rises from his bed in the morning; and even the indifferent follows his example when he begins to plough or to sow. When a cow or she-buffalo is first bought or when she first gives milk after calving, the first five streams of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the deity; and at every time of milking the first stream is so treated. So, when medicine is taken, a little is sprinkled in her honour.

The Sun is still widely worshipped in Karnál. Sunday is sacred to him and on that day no salt is eaten, and no milk set for ṭhī, but it is made into rice milk, part of which goes to a Brahman in honour of the Sun. A lamp is always lit to him on Sundays and Brahman fed now and then on that day, especially on the 1st Sunday after Asarh 15th when the harvest has been got in. Before the daily bath water is always cast towards him (arga).²

**THE LEGENDS OF RAJA RASALU.**

Rájá Rasálú, or Rásálú according to Cunningham,³ is even more important in Punjabi folklore than Gúga. According to that authority his legend belongs essentially to the Pothwár, between the Jhelum and the sun-god, however, certainly had temples in India in ancient times. There was one at Taxila: Arch. Survey Reports, II, p. 114; and at Multán; ibid. V, pp. 115 and 120. Parisha says the Hindus used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Suraj (sir) taught them idolatry: Briggs, Ferešhta, l. p. xvi. But in later times images of Sūrya or Aditya were rare: A. S. R., XIII, p. 63. For the absence of temples to the Sun see infra.

¹ This should also be done to the new moon also, on the evening of her appearance: Karnál S. R., p. 147. According to Machagan (§ 43) the worshippers of the sun, according to the manuals, are termed Sauras or Sauraptas and constitute one of the main sects of Hinduism. The old constitutional god Sūrya is, however, little attended to now except in the south and east, where Sūraj Nāraí is almost the sole orthodox deity of the Hindu pantheon who finds a place in the common religion of the peasants.

² A. S. R. II, p. 153. The meaning of the name is not at all certain. Ráši is a present to a friend: Panjabi Dictionary, p. 957. The present writer is inclined to think that Rasálú is derived from riśēla 'a troop of horse,' and that Rasálú means the rider, the charioteer of the sun. But riśēla is a Persian word, not Sanskrit or even Hindu. “The people in Chamba pronounce the name Rasálú. Cunningham identified Rásálú with Sālāvahana, but I see they are supposed to have been father and son. To me it is a tempting supposition that they were identical and that Rásálú is simply Rājá Sālū. Sālā is found in the Bajātarang as short for Sālāvahana—his name ought to be spelt—not Sālāvahana. The change of the terminal ā to a is very common in Indian names. In olden times the title Dātī was in common use for Rájá e.g. Dātī Jhūrdr of Delhi, and I could give many other examples” (Hutchison).
Rajá Rasálú.

and Indus, but is also well-known at Ambá Kapi, near Lahore, the legendary residence of Rajá Sir-kap. Ambá Kapi is the general name for seven places named after three brothers, Rajás Sir-kap, Sir-sukh and Ambá and their four sisters Kapi, Kalpi, Munda and Mandehi. All seven are also described as rakshasas whom Rasálú destroys. Sir-kap is a gambler and his stakes are human heads which he invariably wins until overcome by Rasálú. Past Ambá Kapi flows the Bāgh-bachā stream and Cunningham connects this with the story of Budha’s offering of his body to appease the seven tiger cubs.

Tradition also localises Rasálú’s legend at Mánikpur or Udinagar where the seven rakshasas lived. Every day he devoured a man until Rasálú destroyed all of them except Thera (possibly tēra, the ‘roarer’) whose bellowings are still to be heard in a cavern of the Gandghar hills, north of Attock. Mánikpur is said to lie ‘west of the Jhelum’ and may be Manikāla.

His pedigree is:

Pipa Bhagat, Rajá of Garh Gangaraun or Rajá Gaj. Gākaraun.

Queɛn
Ichhrān x Sālivāhana x Lūnān

Pāran Bhagat, ancestor of the Sānsř Jāśa.

Rasálú x Kokīlan

Jāra x Ulōh, founder of Abohar.

Sir-kap

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

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

“King Rasálú, it is asserted, was a solar myth. No one at all acquainted with the science of comparative mythology can, we are told, for a

1 Or S. C. R., 1896, p. 188.
moment, doubt it. Thus, as the sun in his course rests not in toiling and travelling, so Rasálá’s destiny forbade him to tarry in one place. And as the sun, after a battle, however tremendous, with the elements, shines forth clear and victorious, so Rasálá, after a series of magical thunderbolts hurled at him by the giants, is found, shortly after, standing calm and undaunted. Hence Rasálá is considered as merely another form of the fables of Indra, Savitar, Woden, Sisyphus, Hercules, Samson, Apollo, Theseus, Sigurd, Arthur, Tristram, and a host of other heroes, with one or other of whom every country, civilised and uncivilised, is familiar. Again, one large class of the old nature myths relates to the fortunes of ‘fatal children,’ in whose lives the destruction of their parents is involved—even as the rising sun destroys his parent the darkness, from which he springs. These children are almost invariably the subject of prophecy, and though exposed and made to suffer in infancy, invariably grow up beautiful, brave and generous. Thus, Perseus, who kills Akrisius; Oedipus, who smites his father Laius; and Rasálá, whose destiny it was to slay Salvahni his father. Again, like the early ideal of Samson, and like the later ideal of Arthur, Rasálá is the king of spotless purity. Moreover, as the sun dies in the west but rises again, so Rasálá, in common with King Arthur, is expected to appear once more.

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

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

Púran Bhagat, also called Gyánsarúpa or Purakh Siddh Chauranjwénáth, or Chaurangi Náth, is one of the gurús or hierarchs of the Kapplethta Jogis. Legend makes him a son of Sáliváhana by Ráni Achnrán and Rá já Rasálá’s elder brother. He is beloved by his step-mother Ráni Lúndán1 and is calumniated by her and has his feet and hands cut off. Thrown into a well at Kálovál near Síálkot by his father he is rescued by Gorakhnáth, who has his ears bored and makes him his disciple. He revisits Síálkot and makes the deserted garden bloom again. He restores his mother’s sight, which she lost from weeping for him, and promises Ráni Sundrán a son, giving her a grain of rice to eat, and returns to Gorakhnáth. One version of the story makes Gorakhnáth first send Púran to Ráni Sundrán of Sangaládpí2 to beg alms of her. She would fain make him her husband, but he refuses to rule and even when hidden to accept

1 One variant makes Ráni Lúndán, a Chamár woman. Subsequently Rásálá, seeing the evils of marrying women of low caste fixed limits within which each caste should marry.

2 Temple (Legends of the Punjaib, II, p. 270) would identify Sangaládpí with Síkala-dvipa or Sháka-dvipa in the northern Punjab. It would be the country round Síálkot.
her kingdom by Goraknáth he disobeys his guru and becomes a Jogi, while Sundrán casts herself down and kills herself.1

As Chaurangi Náth Púran visited the Bohar monastery of the Jogis in Rohta k, but was refused food until he brought fodder for their cattle. He obeyed but cursed the place which fell into ruins, only the Ká lá Mahál remaining intact, but no religious rites are performed in that building which is a small arched room with walls 4½ feet thick. It is said to have belonged to the Págál Pá nth of the Jogis. When Chaurangi Náth revisited the place he established his fire or dháni and worshipped there for 12 years. Once a Banjára passing by said his load of sugar was salt. Salt it became, but as he repented of his falsehood, the saint made it sugar again and in gratitude he built a monument over the dháni. This building contains no wood, its walls are 7½ feet thick and its shape suggests layers of sugar sacks. In it a lamp is kept burning day and night.2

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

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

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

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

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1 For details see Temple, op. cit., II, pp. 375 (The Legend of Púran Bhagat), I, p. 2 etc. Also P. N. Q., II, § 350.
2 Rohtak Gazetéser, 1910, pp. 63-4. A similar tale is told of the Ghaslí Pír (ib., p. 69), and a song sung to Báwá Fard has the same theme.
3 Muhammádans do this and then throw the shreds to the right. They also toss a coin into the air. P. N. Q., II, § 254.
4 P. N. Q., II, §§ 255-256.
5 N. I. N. Q., I, § 87. It will be noticed that here the Moon is male.
6 Ib., § 882.
faithful gifts of oil and iron. Sanāchar is the god after whom Saturday is named and the Dakṣāṇe receive their offerings on that day.

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

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

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

In Gilgit Grahn is a giant and a lover of the moon whom he seizes on the 14th of the lunar month when she is in her full beauty leaving untouched only the part which contains a fig tree. At such times the people beat iron pans and cry aloud to make Grahn leave the moon. In the meantime the (threatened) eclipse ends and they rejoice at their success. Grahn also becomes angry at the sun whenever a good king dies or is banished his country, and he then darkens the whole or a part of the sun’s face.

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

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

1 Or, in Gurgaon at any rate they may refer to the worshippers of the small-pox goddess under her name of Budhu.
2 N. I. N. Q., I, § 103.
3 Ghulam Muhammad: On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit, Monographs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, § 691.
5 Ib., p. 107. Apparently this is done once in every lunar month, not only at a lunar eclipse.
6 Princep’s Siālkot Satt. Rep., §§ 128-9. Probably the people have no conception of any electric current at all.
7 See p. 184 of Vol. II.
Thus clouds and lightning on the 1st of the light half (śvāti prātham) of Baisākh presage an abundant harvest as does the concurrence of Thursday and the asterism Rohini in the akhataj or akhti the 1st Baisākh, on which date the accounts of the last harvest are settled.

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

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

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

Ashwani gale, Bhurni gale, gale Jetha Mūl, Pūrāba Khūd dhārūkāa upje adion chūl.

If Ashwani and Dhurni, which fall in May, Jetha and Mūl, at the end of December and in January, all be wet and Pūrvāshādha in January be cloudy, the seven grains will flourish.¹

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

¹ P. N. Q., II, §§ 858 and 706.
Earth-worship.

Meteors are hot coals cast from heaven at the devil who is always trying to ascend to it. This appears to be a Muhammadan belief.

A comet, puchkalwala 'dara or dumdar si'dara, will bring epidemics or famine and if one appears subscriptions are raised to feed Brahmins and faqirs.²

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

But the worst attraction is afforded by an uncle and his sister's son sitting together because the lightning was once born as the daughter of Devki, niece of Kansa, and was struck by her uncle, who cast her to the ground against a stone. She flew up to heaven, but has ever since borne enmity to all maternal uncles.³

The whirlwind contains an evil spirit and to avoid meeting one you should say: —Hānūmān Jodha, teri kār—O warrior Hanumān! thy charmed circle (protect me).⁴ Hanumān is invoked in the same words said seven times if you meet a bhūt, who should be seized firmly by the top-knot. If it is then tied into a noose the spirit will obey you. Do not let him go till he has sworn thrice by Hanumān Jodha to serve you in difficulties.⁵

Dust-storms are avoided by invoking Hazrat Sulaimān thrice, pointing the while with the fourth finger to the direction you wish the storm to take.⁶

The East wind or purwad comes over the sea and is harmful to mankind, though it brings more rain than the pachhwad or west wind which is land-borne.⁷

When the earth is worshipped as Dharti Māta at the first season's ploughing the prayer in common use is: 'keep our rulers and bankers contented and grant a plentiful yield: so shall we pay our revenue and satisfy our money-lender.' The year's ploughing must not be begun on a Monday or a Saturday. A curious form of earth-worship is performed by dacoits, or apparently by any one in desperate case. When they are at bay they take up a little earth and scatter it on their heads.⁸

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

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¹ P. N. Q., III, 153.
² I. N. Q., IV, § 424.
³ Ib., §§ 38, 37. For shrines of the Māma Bāhāna or Uncle and his Sister's Son, see infra, under 1st Ar.
⁴ Ib., §§ 38, 39. A variant is Bhai Pherū, teri kār. Bhai Pheru the numen in the small whirlwinds so common in the Punjab. He is the husband of Devi and is represented as a disciple of Sakhi Sarwar. See Legends of the Punjab, 111, p. 301, and 11, pp. 104 and 106.
⁵ P. N. Q., III, § 685.
⁶ I. N. Qr. IV, § 349.
⁷ Karmāl S. E. p. 168.
⁸ For a parallel in Europe see Whitehead's Gaspard de Coligny, p. 218. The German foot chose the moment of advance to mutiny for pay at Mmeontour in 1568. When pacified they kissed the ground and swore to die with honour.
and penitent. It is meritorious to circumambulate the hill, keeping it always on one's right. The Kailás kund or lake is still held sacred because it afforded an asylum to Vásuki when surprised by his enemy Garuda. The Kailás peak at the source of the Sutlej and the peak of Munh Mahesh, at the head of the Rávi, are both regarded as the home of Shiva, and the gaddis' land is Shivbhúmi.

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

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

Then in an adjoining field they set up a hut made of clods and worship in it a phi-fed lamp. After this they return home, having performed a good work leading to heaven. About 5 miles from Ráwalpindi at the Chir Pahár there is a cleft which tradition says was caused by Rájá Rasálá's sword when he drove a demon in twain. The mark of his horse's hoof is also there.

About 10 miles north of Ráwalpindi is a famous Rāmkund or Ráma's pool, with a Hanúmann kund, a Lachhman kund, a Súraj kund and a Sita kund, but in the last-named no Hindu will bathe though bathing in all the others is meritorious on any holy day and more especially on the 1st of Baisákha at the sunkrant. Two miles to the east of it is a Gupt-Ganga or silent pool in a running stream, which is also a tirath. Such pools are looked upon as sacred to the penance of some rishi or saint throughout the Himalayas. Two miles to the south of Rámkund is Núpur Shálán, where a Muhammadan fair is held on the 1st Thursday after Baisákha 15th. Ecstasy and frenzy (hál) are not unknown on this occasion. The fair begins on the arrival of an offering of every kind of fruit in season from Pesháwar and cannot commence without it. It is held in honour of Sháh-i-Latíf Barri or Barri Sultán, said to have been a pupil of Sayyid Hayát-ul-Nur, Qádria. Barri Sultán used to be supplied daily with milk by a Gujar, but the buffalo which gave the milk always used to die on the day it was milked for the saint. At last the Gujar was reduced to a bull, but the saint bade him milk it too. It also died, and the Gujar only recovered his cattle from the spring to see them all turned into stones, where they stand to this day, because he disobeyed the saint's behest not to look back when he called out their names one by one at the spring.

1 P. N. Q. I., § 199. Raldang = Mahádeo.
2 Ib., III, § 78.
3 Ib., III, § 432.
4 Ib., I, § 561.
5 Vivamitra is said to have done penance at Rámkund, but the orthodox accounts of his penance do not mention the place. Another folk-tale associates it with Réja Mír Singh of Ambar, but it is opposed to all history, though it contains much of interest as folklore: S. C. B., VIII, pp. 119-21.
and historical events.

At the western summit of the Sakesar hill are some rugged rocks called the Virgins—Kunwārī, whose origin is thus described:—In the time of Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, the country was infested by bands of gādās or jāhāns who used to carry off booty and village maidens to their fastnesses in Afghanistān. Some of them visited Bāgh, 'the garden,' a village whose ruins are still traceable, held by the Tarer, a tribe now apparently extinct, and the Tarers put some of their daughters to death to prevent their falling into the bandits' hands, while others sought refuge among the rocks which rent in twain at their prayers and swallowed them up. The Tarers then scattered among the neighbouring villages.¹ Ranithrod in Rawalpindi owes its name to the legend that the Rājpūt women cast themselves over the precipice in the belief that their husbands had been defeated by the Moslems, and that their husbands on their return followed suit.²

How much real but forgotten history is preserved in such legends it is impossible to say, but it appears certain that they often preserve relics of ancient creeds or religious organizations. Thus Gurgaon derives its name from the tradition that it was granted to Drona Achārya, guru of Yudishthira.³ But the best exemplar of this is furnished by the Kurukshetra, an account of which will be found in Cunningham's Arch. Survey Reports.

Attock (Aṭak) on the Indus means a stoppage, and various modern legends attach to it from Sikh times.⁴ Koṭ Bithaur in the hills nearby was Raśa Sir kap's fortress, and by an ingenious suspension bridge he used to cross the Indus to visit a Fair Rosamund until fate overtook him and he fell into the river.⁵

The name Jālandhar, which is found in Kurram and in Kulu as well as in the plains city of that name, appears to preserve the memory of a time when lake formations were much commoner than they are now in North-West India. Various legends are connected with it. In the Pāṇḍavas' time Jālandhara, who reigned from the Sutlej to the Kangra hills, founded it, but it was destroyed and refounded by a faṭr Jālandharnāth, in the days of Vikramaditya.⁶ Many myths are attached to it and its tanks, named Gūpha and Brahmkund. Rāhon was originally Raghpur, and possesses a Surajkund or sun-pool, and an old Hindu temple, while Nūrmahal was once a Rājpūt fort called Koṭ Kahlur or Ghahlur. It has a sacred well called Ganga.⁷

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

¹ P. N. Q. I., § 317. The Tarer are probably the modern criminal tribe called Tārā, see Vol. III, p. 459 infra.
² Ib., III, § 101.
³ Ib., I, § 1056.
⁴ Ib., I, § 1029.
⁵ Ib., I, § 102.
⁶ Ib., II, § 298.
⁷ Ib., § 876.
Averting rain.

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

Bhágau, near Dharmsala, is so called because of the following legend. When Vásuki (Básk) Nág, king of the serpents, robbed Shiva of the bowl which contained the water of immortality Shiva taxed him with the theft, and in his flight Vásuki turned the bowl upside down, and caused the water to flow out. This happened at Bhágau, which is named from Vásuki's flight (bhág).

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

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

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

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

'If I pour not out the oil, mine the sin,
If thou disperse not the clouds, sin the sin.'

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

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

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

"Trigarta—as it should be spelt—cannot bear the meaning of 'three forts.' It is a case of confusing the word gār with ghrā. The latter means 'fort,' but ghrā means a small stream or river. According to Cunningham the three rivers referred to were the Sutlej, Beas and Ravi. Vogel says that ghrā cannot properly be used to indicate a big river, and that Trigarta more probably refers to the Beas, the Kurdi and Naughal—the principal rivers of Kangra—which unite at Sisā fort and flow into the Beas under the name of Trigad which is the same as Trigad. The final ṛā means country or region, and is often found in hill names e.g. Kulāta."
course the clouds dispel. Another and unsavoury method of frightening away clouds is practised by Hindu grain-dealers who have been speculating for a rise. When clouds appear they take a loaf into the fields or place rice, sugar etc. at a cross-road, and then hicie consedens supra panem abun exonerant. Or they lay in wait for people on a dark night and strecore adventientes consultacres: necnon asinorum terga eodem purgamine overtant. These practices are said to be common in the Mánjha and to occur in Ambála.3

In Gilgit sacred springs are used on a similar principle. Sacrifices are offered to them, but if owing to drought heavy rain is wanted the people used to get a foreigner to throw an unclean thing, such as the bone of a dog, into the spring and then it rained until the thing was taken out. For this service the foreigner received a large quantity of grain as the people themselves believed in the power of the spring to inflict harm. 5

On the other hand, rain may be caused by throwing a pot of filth over the threshold of an old woman with a bad temper. If she is annoyed and expresses her feelings rain will come down, but the rite may fail and the crane, keeping her wrath to herself, retaliate in kind. 6 To bring rain girls also pour water in which cow dung has been dissolved on an old woman, or she is made to sit just under the spout of the roof. 7 In Kulu the sleotan are directed by the Rája to send it and they are fined if it does not fall in the time allowed. 8

To Hindus the rainbow is Rám Chandra’s bow: to Muhammadans that of Bába Adam. 7 But in the Punjab it is generally called pikh, the swing or the old woman’s swing, and in Multáni the pingh of Bibí Bai who is very plausibly identified with Sakhi Sarwar’s wife. 8 In Pashtu it is called the ‘old woman’s swing,’ but in the Marwat it is called the bowl (kisub) and in Balochi dfr, a word of unknown significance.

The Milky Way is in Multáni hera da ghna, ‘the path of (Noah’s) boat,’ but is also called Akás Ganga, or the heavenly Ganges, the ‘white gurlan,’ the ‘gate of heaven’ and ‘Bhagwán’s court-house.’ 9

Wells disused and forgotten are believed to be revealed in dreams—at least to dreamers gifted with a special faculty for their discovery. 10

P. N. Q., I, § 539.
*Ib., §§ 573, 833. Bhêton’s explanation, that the use of ohi instead of the cheaper oil and the waste of the tail are intended to show the rain-god that there is no scarcity, is undoubtedly correct. The god is supposed to be withholding the rain of set purpose and the idea is to show him that he has failed in it—so he might as well send it.


* P. N. Q., I, § 791.
* N. I. N. Q., I, § 579.
* P. N. Q., II, § 249.

1 I. N. Q., IV, § 431. In Sanskrit it was either Sakrachápa, or Indrachápa, ‘Indra’s bow,’ and so on. *P. N. Q.*, I, § 1088.

6 P. N. Q., II, § 305.

7 *Ib.*, §§ 1027, 308, 610, (519), 523.

10 *P. N. Q.*, I, § 598.
Earthquakes.

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

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

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

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

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

Worship of the Ganges is distinctive of the Áparántas, but it is not confined to them. Under the name of Bhagirathi it is worshipped very often, and principally by the Ods who claim descent from Bhagiratha, the Puranic hero who brought the Ganges down from heaven.

Yáma, the god of death, is supposed to live in rivers. He is propitiated by making an image of gold according to one's means. This is worshipped and then given to a Brahman.

The worship of the Beás is hardly distinguishable from that of the Rishi Vyása whose shrine is at or near Bashist on the Beás.

1 P. N. Q., I, §§ 117, 118, 119, 244, 245, 694.
2 Ib., I, § 18.
3 Ib., III, § 183.
4 I. N. Q., IV., § 199.
5 Ib., § 489.
6 N. I. N. Q., I., § 591.
7 P. N. Q., III, §§ 180, 179.
8 Macalpine says the Ods often wear a black blanket, either because the Ganges has not flowed to the place where their ancestors' hones repose and so they wear mourning till it does so, or because Bhagiratha's father had sworn never to drink twice out of the same well, but one day he dug very deep and was buried by the well falling in on him—so they wear black blankets and bury their dead: Punj. Census Rep., 1913, p. 105. For a charming picture of Bhagiratha with Shiva and Parvati, see Comarawamy's Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon, Plate 73 and p. 98.
9 Arranger of the Vedas and composer of the Puránas.
in Kulu where Moorecroft and Trabecz found his images, about 1½ feet high, standing against the wall nearest the rock of a temple built a few feet in front of it. Its walls of loose stones form three sides of a quadrangle, the side next the stream being open so as to leave access to it free for its presiding genius, Vyas. By its side stood a smaller figure. Both images were much worn. The Rishi lived, however, at Vyas Ashal (now Bastali) in the Kuraksher, and there the Ganges flowed underground to save him the trouble of going to bathe in that river, bringing too his lota and loin-cloth which he had left there to convince him that the water was really that of the Ganges.  

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

Dr. J. Hutchison regards the minjar ká melā held in Chamba as probably a survival of the aboriginal worship of the river-god, but it is possibly connected with the cult of Mahádeo, to whom are offered ears (minjarā) of basil. 3 This melā is held on the third Sunday in Sāwan. In its main features it is peculiar to Chamba, though the name is known, and some of the ceremonies are observed in other parts of the hills. The essential part of the melā consists in the throwing into the Rávi of a male buffalo as a sacrifice to the river god. A week before the time comes round each person has a silk tassel made which is attached to some part of the dress and worn. This is called a minjar. On the day appointed, the Rájá and his court proceed to the spot, where the melā has been held from time immemorial. There a great concourse of people assembles. The Rájá gives the signal by throwing into the river a coconut, a rupee, durb grass, and some flowers, and thereupon the live buffalo is pushed into the flood. The Rájá throws his minjar in after the buffalo and all the people follow his example. The animal is then closely watched, as its fate is believed to foreshadow prosperity or adversity for the coming year to the reigning family and the State. If carried away and drowned, the event is regarded as propitious, the sacrifice having been accepted. If it crosses the river and gets out on the other bank, this also is propitious—the sins of the town having been transferred to the other side of the river. But if it emerges on the same side, coming evil is portended to the State. Being a devoted thing, the animal, if it escapes, is retained till the following year, doing no work, and is then cast in again, and so on till finally carried away and drowned. The buffalo is provided at the expense of the State. This melā is probably of aboriginal origin, and connected with the earth-worship which was prevalent among the aborigines of the hills. It was probably intended to secure good rains and a bountiful harvest.

Tree and Animal Worship.—Traces of tree worship are still Ibbon, 3 common. Most members of the Fig tribe, and especially the pippal 4 283.

1 Journey to Ladakh, I, p. 190.  
2 N. I. N. Q., L § 662.  
3 Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 191: see page infra, and also under cult of Mahá-
and bar (Ficus religiosa and Bengalensis) are sacred; and only in the direct extremities of famine will their leaves be cut for the cattle. Sacred groves are found in most villages from which no one may cut wood or pick fruit. The jand (Prosopis spicigera) is revered very generally, more especially in the parts where it forms a chief feature in the larger flora of the great arid grazing grounds; it is commonly selected to mark the abode or to shelter the shrine of a deity, it is to it as a rule that rags are affixed as offerings, and it is employed in the marriage ceremonies of many tribes. In some parts of Kangra, if a betrothed but as yet unmarried girl can succeed in performing the marriage ceremony with the object of her choice round a fire made in the jungles with certain wild plants, her betrothal is annulled and the marriage holds good. Marriage with trees is not uncommon, whether as the third wife elsewhere alluded to, or by prostitutes in order to enjoy the privileges of a married woman without the inconvenience of a human husband. The deodar worship of Kulu has been described. Several of the Jat tribes revere certain plants. Some will not burn the wood of the cotton plant, the women of others veil their faces before the utm (Melia Indica) as if in the presence of a husband’s elder relative, while others pray to the tiger grass (Saccharum spontaneum) for offspring under the belief that the spirit of the ancestor inhabits it. These customs are probably in many cases totemic rather than strictly religious (as for example among the Rajputs). The Bishnoi also objects to cutting a tree by a pool or to pruning or lopping a jandi (the female of the jand) as its cutting would lead to bloodshed. The jand and pipal should be watered in Baisakh. Thirthas or holy pools are greatly believed in, the merit of bathing in each being expressed in terms of cows, as equal to that of feeding so many. Some of these pools are famous places of pilgrimage. The Hindu peasant venerates the cow, and proves it by leaving her to starve in a ditch when useless rather than kill her comfortably. Yet if he be so unfortunate as to kill a cow by mishap, he has to go to the Ganges, there to be purified at considerable expense; and on the road he bears aloft the cow’s tail tied to a stick, that all may know that he is impure and must not enter a village, and may avoid his touch and send out food to him. His regard for animal life in general forbids him to kill any animal; though he will sometimes make an exception in favour of owls and even of snakes, and he seldom has any objection to anybody else destroying the wild animals which injure his crops. In the east he will not eat meat; but I believe that in the Punjab proper the prohibition extends to women only. The monkey and peacock are specially sacred.

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

1 P.N. Q., II, § 1080. The pipal is also worshipped as the abode of the Panjpiri and Når Singh, and where there is no pipal the bar or banyan is substituted its., III, § 189.
Tree worship.

The indigo plant is by caste a mehtar or sweeper and so orthodox Hindus have a strong dislike to blue clothes and to growing indigo. It was a disgraceful punishment to have one’s face smeared with it whence the proverb: ni kā ṭikā mushe mat lagwāndā: ‘may I never be anointed with indigo.’

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

Tree worship is practised in several ways. Thus at domestic festivals many Brahmans and Khatris perform rites to the jand (Prosopis spicigera). Some families never put on their children’s clothes made at home, but only those begged off friends, and the ceremony of putting on a child’s first clothes is observed when it is three years old. It is then taken to a jand from which a twig is cut and planted at its foot. A swātika made of rice-flour is made before it, and it is also offered sugar. Nine threads are then cut into lengths and one of them is tied round the twig in Shiva’s or Krishna’s distinctive knot, while another is tied round a piece of dried gur and put on the swātika.

Mantras from the Tājur Veda appear to be recited the while, and finally sugar and rice are given to all the women and children present, for besides the Brahman celebrant no other adult males may be present. The Brahman then puts on the child his first clothes, impressing on them the mark of his hand in saffron, and ties a thread, to which is fastened the purse, which contained his ṣeṭ round its loins. In front this thread has a small triangle of red silk lined with ṣāla —like the only garment of very small girls. This may be done in order to disguise the boy as a girl, and the custom is said to refer to the extermination of the Kshatria boys by Paras Rāma.  

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

The chictra (butea frounosa) is sacred because of its use for funeral pyres.

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1 P. N. Q., III, § 561, § 715.  
2 P. N. Q., II, § 449.  
3 Jh., II, § 564.  
4 Musaffargarh Gazetteer, 1853-54, p. 22.
Tree worship.

The tulsi is worshipped among women by placing a lamp made of flour at its root and saying: Tulsi dho a bāla, Mainun mārdi nūn sambhāla: 'I have lit a lamp for Tulsi and she will take care of me when I die.' The pipal is worshipped in the same way with the rhyme:—

Pāṭte pāṭte Govind baṅkha, tāhni tāhni Deota,  
Mūkhi te Sri Kīshan baṅkha, dhan Brahma Deota.

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

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

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

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

See also under Mahādeo, note 1 infra, and at p. 121 note, supra, under Panjpiri.

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

A babul (Acacia Arabica) or lesūra (Coriaria maura) planted near a house will ruin the dwellers in it. Orthodox Hindus too will not sleep under a babul for it causes sickness. Indeed it is regarded as a very Chamār among trees and its wood is disliked even for burning corpses. But Chamārs themselves use it freely. On the other hand, the shade of a ntīm is very lucky.

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

In Karnāl the leaves of the nīras are especially powerful and after them those of the mango. They are hung in garlands with an inscription on a platter in the middle, and the whole is called a tōfka. The jang is also a very sacred tree.

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1 P. N. Q., III, § 556.  
2 Ib., III, §§ 713-14.  
3 P. N. Q., I, § 352.  
4 Ib., II, § 816.  
5 Ib., III, § 169.  
6 P. N. Q., III, § 90.  
7 Ib., III, § 192.  
8 Ib., III, § 203.  
9 I. N. Q., IV, § 118.  
Besides the babul and laûra the beri and arand (castor-oil plant) are haunted by evil spirits. The pîpal too is said to be so haunted and the kikar unlucky.¹

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

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

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

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

Dyers attribute the accidental spoiling of their dyes to some sin of their own, but it can be transferred to those who have reviled them by telling some incredible tale which will cause their hearers to speak ill of them and thus relieve the dye of its burden.⁷ Potters too are very wicked for they make vessels with necks and thus impiously imitate Brahma's handiwork. They also cut the throats of their vessels.⁸

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

¹ I. N. Q., IV., § 43, 180.
² P. N. Q., III., § 449.
³ Ib., III., § 778.
⁴ I. N. Q., IV., § 68 (13).
⁵ P. N. Q., II., § 782.
⁶ N. I. N. Q., I., § 117.
⁷ P. N. Q., III., § 596, 732.
⁸ Ib., § 715.
⁹ I. N. Q., IV., § 123.
¹⁰ Ib., § 486.
mother, keep us happy.' A woman thus worshipping the cow marks her own forehead also with sandal-wood and red lead. A song sung on this occasion runs:—' O ploughman, thou of the yoke, I recall to thy memory, eat thine own earnings, and credit mine to Harti's account.'

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

Bulls are let loose as scape-goats, the sins of their deliverers' forefathers being transferred to them. They are called Brahmani.

No Hindu will ride on a bull as it is sacred, nor on a mare in foal as it injures the foal whenever conceived.

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

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

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

The horse is commonly given the title of Gházi Mard or Gházi Mián—Conquering hero.

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

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

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

1 P. N. Q., III, §§ 480, 837.
2 I. N. Q., IV, § 492.
3 K. N. Q., I, § 391.
4 N. I. N. Q., I, § 386.
5 The derivation suggested there is from sanadi, the sacred bull of Shiva, but the word addha may come from addh, a whistle, which is worn by Jogis probably as an emblem of Shiva.—II, § 126. Nandia Jogis are found in the Central Provinces (Russell, op. cit., III, p. 262), but not in the Punjab apparently. For the addha of the Jogis see Vol. II, pp. 880, 390, infra.
6 P. N. Q., I, § 8.
7 I. N. Q., IV, § 186.
8 P. N. Q., II, § 1082.
9 I. N. Q., IV, § 3.
10 P. N. Q., IV, § 390.
It is a heinous sin to kill a cat, for it is a Brahmani, and its killing is punished by the slayer's becoming a cat in his next birth. To avert this fate a cat made of gold should be given to a Brahman.  

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

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

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

Pious Hindus consider it a duty to release caged birds, especially on holidays like the amīvas and khādshi of each month.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The parrot is called Ganga Rám by Hindus, and Mián Mitthu by Muhammadans.

A chakor (partridge) is often kept to ward off evil, as it takes upon itself all its owner's misfortunes.

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

The *paptha*, or black and white crested cuckoo, is a bird which sings in the rainy season and is said to have a hole in its throat.\(^2\)

The feathers of the blue-jay are supposed to be soothing to babies that cry, and one tied round neck of a child that gnashes its teeth in sleep—a portent of death to one of its parents—will cure it of that habit.\(^3\) Yet in Muzaffargarh it is a bad omen to see the blue-jay or *čahāh*.

Killing a pigeon is considered unlawful among the Kheshgi Pathāns of Kasār. Some Muhammadans regard it as a Sāyīd among birds, and therefore it is a sin to kill it—though it is lawful food.\(^4\)

The *mahārā* is a bird which causes *muḥkhar*, foot-and-mouth disease, in Multán.

The *malārī*, butcher-bird or shrike, is ill-omened if seen in flight.\(^5\)

The heron standing on one leg is the type of a sanctimonious hypocrite, so it is styled *bagla bhagat*.\(^6\)

Locusts go off to the east, when they die of eating salt earth (rekh).\(^7\)

The large glow-worm which comes out in the rains is in the Murree hills called the *honwāla kīra* because it was in its former life a *faqir* who refused fire to Behmāta or Bidhi Māta, the goddess who records a child’s future at birth and was condemned by her to carry a light for ever. *Hon* is the ‘light’ in the tail—fr. *hon* = *hawā*—apparently.\(^8\)

The many-hued grass-hopper which feeds on the *ak* is called Rāmi ki-gāo or Rām’s cow in Hariāna.\(^9\) The little Indian squirrel is similarly called Rām Chandr kā bhagat because when that god was bridging the sea ‘twixt India and Lanka the squirrel helped by shaking dust from its body on to the bridge. The black lines in its body are the marks of his fingers.\(^10\)

Ants are fed in Kāngra with live articles, called *panjīrī* or *gullar*, for luck.\(^11\)

Sir James Lyall noticed that the practice of beating pots and pans to induce bees to settle in a swarm prevails in Kulu, as it did or does in English country places. The Kulu men at the same time tell the queen-bee and her subjects:—*Besh, Mahārānih, besh*, awr *loē agge jāi, Mahārāni vī drokhi osi;* “Be seated, great queen, be seated, and (turning to the bees) an appeal has been made to the queen against your going any further.”

The *chhūpākī* is an ash-coloured bird, the size of a dove. If you kill one and then touch a person afflicted with itch he will be cured.\(^12\)

Owls and goat suckers, *ghugh*, *nīlāna*, and *huk*, are all birds of ill-omen, especially the *ghugh*, which is called the *Kīrakku ṣhīnh* or

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\(^1\) I. N. Q., IV, § 177.
\(^3\) I. II., III, § 585.
\(^4\) I. III., § 780.
\(^5\) N. I. N. Q., I, §§ 75, 440.
\(^6\) Panjāb Diatry, p. 698.
\(^7\) Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 29
\(^8\) P. N. Q., II, § 855.
\(^9\) Sirsa S. R., p. 255.
\(^10\) P. N. Q., I, § 14.
\(^11\) I. III., § 40.
\(^12\) I. III., § 381.
\(^13\) I. III., § 278.
'Kirār's' tiger,' from the superstitious dread in which that caste holds it.' The chikri or button owl is equally unlucky, apparently on account of its ugliness.

In Muzaffargarh the kite, kil (Hindi chil), is supposed to be male for 6 months in the year and female during the other half. In much the same way the popular belief on the banks of the Indus is that if methra or fenugreek (Trigonella, Foenum graceum) be sown before noon, methra will grow, if after noon assān (Brassica eruca). Under certain circumstances morhi (Erva mur lens) turns into a seed called vāri.'

The king crow, kal-kalichi-kariche or-karakhī is revered by the Shias because it brought water to the dying Imam, Hassan, and also because it is always astir early. Its note is said to be: uṣṭh sōhāgan, chakki pī, 'get up, good wife, and grind corn.'

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

The khan is a black and white lizard with a bluish tinge about which many tales are told. It is found full grown in the belly of a snake, and not born. Though harmless it is supposed to be most deadly. The flesh of another lizard, the sāhnu, is credited with restorative powers.'

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

Various superstitions attach to the snake. For example: After her young are born (hatched) the female snake makes a circle round them. Those that crawl out of it survive, but those that stay in it she devours. If you see a snake on a Sunday you will see it for 8 successive Sundays.'

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

A curious belief exists regarding the man or snake-stone. It is sometimes said to be a fine silky filament spat out by a snake 1000 years old on a dark night when it wants to see. It is luminous. The way to get hold of it is to cast a piece of cow-dung upon it, and its possession insures immunity from all evil and the realisation of every wish. It protects its owner from drowning, parting the waters for him on either side.'

Still stronger is the belief that lightning will strike a tree if it have a snake's hole (barmi) under it. Lightning invariably falls where there are black snakes and it is peculiarly fatal to snakes of that colour as it attracts the lightning.'

The Singhis, or Snake gods, occupy an intermediate place between the two classes into which I have divided the minor deities. They are males, and though they cause fever are not very malevolent, often taking away pain. They have great power over milch cattle, the milk of the

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2. Eb, p. 95.
5. Eb, p. 92.
7. N. I. Q. I., § 256.
8. P. N. Q., I, § 122. A snake should be called shor, 'tiger,' or rassi, 'rope,' never by its proper name.
10. Eb, § 997.
eleventh day after calving is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable. They are generally distinguished by some colour, the most commonly worshipped being Kāli, Hari, and Bhūri Singh, or black, green, and grey. But the diviner will often declare a fever to be caused by some Singh whom no one has even heard of before, but to whom a shrine must be built; and so they multiply in the most perplexing manner. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes, a fact which is revealed in a dream, when again a shrine must be built. If a peasant sees a snake he will salute it; and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. They are the servants of Rājā Bášak Nāg, king of Patál or Tartarus; and their worship is most certainly connected in the minds of the people with that of the pītr or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Sunday is their day, and Brahmans do not object to be fed at their shrines, though they will not take the offerings which are generally of an impure nature. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

Mrs. F. A. Steel vouches for the following account of snake-worship:—During nine days in Bhádon the snake is worshipped by all castes and religions, but at the end of Sáwan Mirási women of the ‘snake’ tribe make a snake of flour, paint it red and black, and place it on a winnowing basket with its head poised like a cobra’s. This basket they carry round the village singing verses invoking Allāh and Gúga Pīr. Every one should give them a small cake and some butter, but generally only a little flour or grain is given, though in houses where there is a newly married bride Re. 1-4-0 and some clothes are given, and this gift is also made if a son has been born. Finally the flour snake is buried and a small grave built over it, at which the women worship during the nine days of Bhádon. The night before they set cards, but next morning instead of churning it they take it to the snake’s grave and offer a small portion, kneeling and touching the ground with their foreheads. They then divide the cards amongst their children. No butter is made or eaten on that day. Where snakes abound this rite is performed in jungles where they are known to be.

That certain persons are believed to be immune from snake-bite is undeniable. Thus in Káŋgra a man has been known to allow himself to be bitten by a poisonous snake once a year in the rains. First bitten by a cobra he was cured by prayers at a shrine to Gúga called Kútiári dá Gúga. Such persons are said to give out a peculiar odour and to feel a kind of intoxication when the time for getting bitten, which they cannot escape, comes round. They recover in a few days. Some people believe that the snake that bites

P. N. Q., II, § 555. Mrs. Steel also declares that the Snake adī or tribe is not uncommon, and that they are Muhammadas of Kasur. They observe all these rites also every morning after a new moon, and further every Monday and Thursday cook rice and milk for the snake, never making or using butter in those days. They are immune from snake-bite and if they find a dead snake give it a regular funeral. Possibly a sect of this kind exists. The Bangális claim the power of recognising disguised snakes—for a snake changes its form and must do so every 100 years when it becomes a man or a bull—and follow them to their holes, where they are to be shown where treasure is hidden. This snakes will do in return for a drop of blood from the little finger of a first-born son. But see also III, § 418.
Snake-worship.

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

That snakes hibernate appears to be recognised by the following custom: after the Diwāli in Kāngra a festival, called Nāg-kā-pūjā, is held in November to say good-bye to the snakes. At this an image of the Nāg made of cow-dung is worshipped, but any snake seen after it is called niṣgrād or ungrateful and killed forthwith. Many Hindus take a lamp used at the Diwāli to their houses to scare snakes away from them for the next six months; and the chhāri-saareh or chhāri-saaroj, the fragrant Arumia eleana, is also kept in houses to frighten them away. A curious by-product of snake-worship is the prohibition against giving milk to a dying man, as it will make him a serpent at his next birth.

The existence of a two headed snake (dwaṇaṇa) is believed in and any person once bitten by such a snake will be regularly sought out and bitten by it every year afterwards. Such an experience confers immunity even from poisonous snakes though insensibility ensues. Certain simples are used to cure snake-bite, but a purely magic rite consists in taking a handful of shoots and, while praising the snake's ancestors, fanning the wound with them. This is called dādi dāni and is done in Kāngra. Pouring water and milk down a snake's hole is a preventive of snake-bite.

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

1 P. N. Q., II, § 895
2 Ib., III, § 175.
3 Ib., III, § 858.
4 Ib., III, § 176.
5 Ib., III, § 177.
6 Ib., III, § 584.
7 Ib., III, § 291.
8 Ib., III, § 452.
9 Ib., III, § 788.
10 Ib., II, § 872.

See Sir J. G. Frazer's valuable article on The Serpent and the Tree of Life in Essays presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1914, p. 413 ff. Support to his theory will be found in the following account of a primitive Nāg cult in the Simla Hills recently thus described by Mr. H. W. Emerson: "In the remote tract called Tilrā, which lies near the source of the Pabur, the people were warlike and ferocious down to a century ago. Their country is subject to a confederacy of five gods, called the Pānch Nāga, who hibernate during the winter, going to sleep at the first fall of snow and only waking up again at the Phag, the festival which corresponds to the Holi in the plains, when they are aroused by their worshippers. Each temple has a small aperture cut through an outer wall of the second storey and opening into the chamber where the god's couch is laid. A miniature image is placed below the window inside the room. A few days previous to the full moon two parties are chosen from the subjects of the god, each composed of from 8 to 10 men. One party represents the god's defenders, the other his awakener; but the members of both have to prepare themselves for their sacred duties by fasting until the appointed day arrives. On that day they arm themselves with a large supply of snow-balls, the snow being brought from the hills above, if, as rarely happens, it has melted from round the homesteads. The assailants stand about 50 paces from the window, while the rest take up their position immediately below it. All hold their snow-balls ready in the skirts of their long coats and at a given signal go into action, but whereas the god's support-
Snake-worship in the Simla Hills.

Another rain god of serpent origin in the Simla Hills is Bashru. Once a woman was cutting grass when her sickle struck a three-faced image of gold. She took it home and placed it in her cow shed, hoping that her herds would multiply. But next morning the shed was full of water and the cattle all drowned. So she gave it to a Brahman who put it in his granary. But next morning too it was filled with water and so he set the people to build the image a temple a mile or two away whence the god still controls the weather according to the wishes of his votaries. As he had no village green he drained a lake by coming down in spate one night and cutting a deep channel. On the sward his festivals are now held. At the one in early spring the god is rejuvenated by being carried to his birth-place and there laid on his side so that he may be recharged as it were with the divine essence which still emanates from his natal soil. This process takes 6 or 7 hours, during which his bearers lie prostrate and his worshippers keep strict silence, but his musicians play—to assist the ascent or transmission of the divine spirit, as well as to relieve the tedium of the god's inactivity. No sacrifices are offered.

On the Upper Satlej a snake goddess gave birth to seven sons, the territorial gods of as many valleys. They had no father, or at least his name is not known. Her own home is a spring situate in a forest glade dedicated to her use, and there her watchman, Gunga, the dumb man, keeps guard over her sanctuary from a holly bush. Should any one cut down a tree or defile the sacred spring he curses him with dropsy. Not even the sons can approach their mother without pelt his adversaries they are themselves safe from attack and the other party must aim at the open window. Should no ball fall into the room where the deity reclines before the stock of ammunition is exhausted the throwers have to pay a fine of several rams, since their indifferent skill has then defeated the very object of the mimetic battle. The god sleeps on unconscious of the efforts made to break his slumber and other means are taken to rouse him from his lethargy. Men creep up the staircase carrying trumpets and conch shells and when all are ready blow a mighty blast in unison. Others hang the door and rattle its massive chains shouting to the god to bestir himself. This at best is but a poor way of awakening the Nag, as annoying to the worshippers as to the god. The latter would fain sleep on, but if he has to wake—and wake he must—he would rather have a snow-ball hit him, cold and painful though the awakening be, than have his dreams disturbed by an unseemly din outside his chamber door. So if the throwers succeed as they usually do in placing a missile through the window the omens are considered most auspicious. They then leap and dance with joy, shouting that the god has risen from his bed. The fidei defensores, on the other hand, feign to be horror-stricken at the sacrilege, and pursue the culprits with a running fire of snow, clods, stones, abuse and even gun shots. The chase continues through and round the village until at length a truce is called. Both parties agree to accept the ruling of the god and repairing to his temple consult the oracle. The spirit, refreshed and invigorated by the winter's rest, descends upon the diviner, who shakes and shouts under the full force of the divine afflatus. Having explained the situation to his master he interprets the divine decision. This is always to the same effect. The Nag, while commending his supporters for their spirited defence, thanks his assailants for their kindly thought in rousing him now that the time of winter cold has passed and the season of spring time is at hand. Thus every one is pleased and the assembly prepare to listen to the further sayings of their god. The god will tell the story of his journey from Kashmir and the many incidents which happened on the way. Then he foretells the future, prophesying what fortune will attend the rules of the neighbouring States, which crops will flourish and which fail, whether the herds and flocks will multiply, what domestic sorrows will befall his subjects, and in general whether the year will be a good or evil one. The announcement of harvest prospects and the interpretation of omens is a special feature of the oracles which often continue for many hours. On its completion the audience commence a feast which last for several days. Drinking, dancing and singing are its main features, and the god as usual joins heart and soul in the merriment.
his leave. If one of them has lost his vigour his followers bring him to Gunga, and having obtained his consent, carry the god to the spring and lay him there in his litter, prone on his side. Such energy cozes from the fountain that in a hour or two he is reinvigorated for several years and can bestow blessings on his people until his strength runs down again. Some say that the snake herself appears in serpent form and men have seen her licking the suppliant’s face. (Pioneer, January 14th, 1916.) For the sacred serpent licking a patient’s sores see Richard Caton’s The Temples and Ritual of Asklepios, London, 1900, p. 30.

## The Nāg Cults in Chamba

Dr. J. Hutchison describes the Nāg and Devī cults as the oldest in the Chamba hills, and Dr. Vogel regards the Nāgas as water spirits, typifying the alternately beneficial and destructive power of water. This theory, however, does not adequately explain how the Nāgas of Brahmanic and Buddhist literature and the Nāgs of the Himalayan valleys came to be regarded as snake gods. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham’s theory¹ that the so-called snake-gods and devīs are the deified rulers of the people has little to commend it, and is based on the assumption that the hooded snake was the racial emblem of the ruled. It is safer to regard both the Nāgs and the devīs as emblems of the powers of fertility and reproduction.

The Nāg shrines in Chamba are very numerous, and there are also Nāgūi shrines, but the latter are not common. The image in these shrines is usually of stone in human form, with the figure of a snake entwined around it and a serpent canopy over head. The shrine also contains figures of snakes in stone and iron, with a tirsul or trident, a lamp, an incense holder, a gurj or weapon like a sword, and finally the iron chain or sangal with which the cheta scourges himself. This is said to be an exact copy of that shown in the hand of the Egyptian god Osiris. Springs of water are believed to be under the control of these snake godlings, and, in some parts of the hills, to such a degree are springs and wells associated with snake influence in the minds of the people that Nāg is the name in common use for a spring of cool and refreshing water. A spring will usually be found in proximity to a Nāg temple. Many of the Nāga godlings are believed to have the power to grant rain, and in times of drought they are diligently propitiated. Jāgras or vigils are held in connection with the temples, incense is burnt and sheep and goats are offered in sacrifice. The pujāra gets the head and the cheta the shoulder, while the low caste musicians are given the entrails and cooked food. The rest of the animal is taken away and consumed by the offerer and his family or friends. Money offered is equally divided between the pujāra and cheta; also dry grain. If people belonging to a low caste offer cooked food, which is not often done, it is given back to them after being presented to the Nāg. A jāgra or vigil is always held at the time of a mela, which as a rule takes place once a year at each shrine.

The Nāg and Devī temples are all erected on much the same plan and are usually situated in a clump of cedar trees near a village. Such

¹The Sun and the Serpent.
trees around a temple may not be cut down, and are regarded as the property of the deity in their midst. Sometimes a temple is erected within the interior of a forest or in some mountain ravine, standing quite alone. The usual pattern is a square resting on a raised platform of stone. The building itself may be entirely of wood, or of the wood and stone style of architecture so common in the hills. It generally consists of a central cella with an open verandah around it and a small door in front. The whole is covered in with a pent-roof of wood which either slopes on two sides from a central ridge, or on four sides from a surmounting cap or ball. This roof is supported on cross beams resting on wooden, or wood and stone, pillars one at each corner of the platform, with intermediate supports if necessary. Sometimes the verandah is entirely closed in, with only a doorway opposite the door of the cella. The cella remains the same from age to age, and is not renewed unless it becomes ruinous, but the roof is frequently renewed as a mark of respect to the deity within. This, however, is not now done as often as was the custom in former times, and in many cases repairs are carried out only when absolutely necessary. The wood-work of the verandah is covered in with carvings of a grotesque character, while hanging around are the horns of animals which have been offered in sacrifice, with bells suspended over the doorway, and sometimes a pole in front, called dhuj. The image is inside the cella. The temples have probably remained much the same in shape and structure since the earliest times. Occasionally they consist of a small cella only of the simplest kind, with no verandah. Often too the image may be seen resting in the open, under a cedar tree, with little to indicate its character except the paint and oily appearance from the ghi with which it is besmeared.

The rites of worship are similar at both Nág and Deví temples. Bloody sacrifice holds the foremost place. On ordinary occasions incense is burned, and circumambulation of the cella within the verandah is performed by the priest. There is also the ringing of bells, and the sounding of the conch shell, accompanied by the beating of drums. A mela is usually held once a year at each temple, when a great concourse of people takes place on the green near the shrine, and all are seated in prescribed order according to ancient custom—a special place being reserved for the officials of the parāgana in which the temple is situated. Music and dancing, and often drinking, play an important part at these melas. Each temple has a pujāra or priest, who may be of any caste, and a chela who is usually a low caste man. The god or goddess is supposed to speak through the chela, who is believed to become inspired by the deity. Seated at the door of the temple, he inhales the fumes of burning cedar wood from a vessel held before him, while he is fanned by a man standing near. The drums are beaten furiously; soon he begins to quiver and tremble, and this trembling increases till the entire body shares in the incessant motion, this being the recognised sign of the god having entered into him. Continuing to work himself into a frenzy, he springs to his feet and dances madly, scourging himself all the time with the sangal or tirail which he holds in his hand, sometimes with such severity as to draw blood. The harsh and discordant music gets louder and wilder, and others join in the dance, forming a circle with the chela in their
midst. A goat is then brought forward and presented to the god, and water is thrown upon it and put into its ear to make it tremble, this being the sign that the victim has been accepted. Forthwith the head is struck off and presented to the god, and in some cases the chela drinks the warm blood as it flows from the quivering carcasse. The dancing proceeds more wildly than ever till at last the chela calls out that the god has come. All are then silent and questions are asked by the people and answered by the chela, as the mouthpiece of the god. Having done this part, the chela sinks on the ground exhausted, and is brought round by fanning and sprinkling of water on his face and chest. The people then disperse to their homes.

The temples may be visited in times of drought and famine, or pestilence in men or beast, also by individuals on account of any special circumstances such as sickness or for any family or personal reason. These are called jātra, and on the way to the temple round marks are made with rice water on the stones by the wayside, probably to indicate that the pilgrimage has been performed. Only special Nāgs have the reputation of being able to give rain, and in time of drought those shrines are much frequented, the same procedure being adopted as that already described. Sheep and goats are freely offered at such times. If rain falls too abundantly the Nāg shrine is again resorted to with offerings, to constrain the god to stay his hand.

There are many traditions current in the hills which point to human sacrifices having been frequent at Nāg and Devī temples in former times. In Pāngi and other parts of the Chandra-Bhāga Valley a singular custom obtains in connection with Nāg worship. For a fixed time every year in the month of Śāwan, and sometimes for the whole of that month all the milk of the village is devoted to the local Nāg and is then said to be suchā (pure).

The villagers do not use it themselves, that is, they do not drink it, and they are very unwilling to supply milk to travellers during the period. The milk is churned as usual, and ghī is made from it, the butter-milk being stored and used up at feasts held on certain days during the month. Every few days any offering of milk and sweet bread is made to the Nāg, some of the milk being sprinkled over it. It is also smeared with ghī.

A final feast is held at the end of the month. In Pāngi only 15 days are observed, and this only in the lower part of the valley.

Generally speaking, the foundation of the Nāg and Devī temples is ascribed to the era of Rājā Mūsha Varma, A. D. 820-40, but most of them probably are of much older date. Three temples, two of Mahal Nāg and one of Jamun Nāg at Baini, are said to have been built in the time of Rānā Beddda.\footnote{A famous Rānā of the olden time who lived in Barnota gargana, date unknown.}

Further the pujāras and chelas are most commonly Rāthis by caste, but, in a good many cases, only the pujāra is a Rāthi, the chela being a Hāli, as in the temples of Kālād Nāg and Manovar Nāg at Bhāram, Mahal Nāg at Bāthula, Nandyāsar Nāg at Puddhra, Tarewan Nāg at Luukh, Him Nāg at Bharawin, Mahal Nāg at Bāiri and Bāiro, Muthal Nāg at Gulera, Nandalu Nāg at Sirha, Suāna Nāg at Bharoga, Khul
Nág at Nabi-Bhuta, Parha Nág at Singaki Bani and Charas Nág at Tikri.

In some cases the *pujára* is a Hálí, e. g. at the temples of Bhudhu Nág at Lambota, Parbhat Nág at Andwás, Sri Nág Stújli at Sudlaj, Thainang Nág at Gung Rás, Kahan Nág at Khulandar. At Sri Potir Nág’s temple at Bhinan the *pujára* and *chela* are both Kolis; at Kalian Nág’s temple at Chilli they are both Bhalbra Gaddis; at Handol Nág’s temple at Chandrola both are Battan Gaddis; at Sagta Nág’s at Bani Sagwari both are Sapahi Gaddis.

Brahmans are incumbents of the following temples:

Mahal Nág’s at Bani (Brahmans of the Paddha *gót*, with Hálí *chelas*), Thainang Nág’s at Dirog and Mahr Nág’s at Manglana (of the Kalian *gót*, also *chelas*), Mahal Nág’s at Jamohar (of the Kalian with Hálí *chelas*), at Thainang Nág’s temple at Khairont (of the Ratan Pál *gót* with Ráthi *chelas*), at Thainang Nág’s temple at Bahnota (of the Kalian *gót* also *chelas*), at Hau Nár’s at Tálhán (of the Káshab *gót*, also *chelas*); at Nág Belodar’s and Mahal Nág’s at Jangal Bani (of the Kalian *gót*, also *chelas*); at Sindhu Nág’s at Sundhár (Gaur Brahman, also *chelas*), at Bajog Nág’s at Sírba (Gaur Brahman, also *chelas*), at Balodar’s at Baldruni the *pujára* is a Kandu Brahman, at Mahal Nág’s at Talai he is a Tharatu Brahman, at Karangar Nág’s in Sanaur he is a Lecha Brahman, with a Ráthi *chela*, at Sindhu Nág’s in Suri a Kalian, also with a Ráthi *chela*, at Sar Nág’s in Sarsara he is a Káshab, at Jamun Nág’s at Bari Jamuhr he is a Kalian with a Ráthi *chela*, and at Ráh Nág’s temple in Rah he is a Káshab with a Hálí *chela*.

In Pángi Brahman *pujáras* officiate at the shrines of Mindhal Kantu Nág at Re, and Markula Devi at Tindi and Udaipur: Ránás are the *pujáras* at Kílár and Sállí, and Ráthis with Hálí *chelas* at all the other shrines.

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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
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<td>Balodar</td>
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<td>Budhu</td>
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<td>Band-Bagar</td>
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The following are some of the legends associated with special Nága Legends:

Básak Nág was brought from Bhadraváh 100 years ago, because disease was prevalent among the cattle of the State. Básan Nág and Nágini were also brought from Bhadraváh on a similar occasion, and Díghu Nág from Pángi.

Indru Nág derives his name from Indra. Tradition says that a Ráná from Suket came to Kanyára in Kángra, thence to Korási, and thence to Sámra, the Nág and his mujára accompanying the Ráná. The Nág’s disciple, Dhand, was drowned in Dalnág, and his idol was also cracked in its temple. In one of its hands it holds a trident, in the other a chain, with which the chelas beat themselves.

Kalihar Nág, his original name, now better known as Kelang, came from British Láhul 15 or 16 generations ago when cattle disease was prevalent at Kurgi, and the people of that village had vowed to hold a fair if it abated. Tradition says that Kelang, in the form of a serpent, rode on the horns of a ram from Láhul, and stopped at Dúghi two miles

1 Indru Nág has a temple in Kángra also—see infra p. 154.
from the present temple. Remaining there for three generations, he went to Darùn at the source of a stream, a cold place difficult of access, so the people petitioned his chela to remove lower down, and the Nāg, through his chela, told them to cast a bhānd ¹ from the place, and to build a new temple at the spot where it stopped. By digging the foundations they found a three-headed image of stone, and on removing it a stream gushed forth. This was many generations ago. This image is in the Padmāsān attitude. ² Rājā Śri Singh presented a second image of eight metals (aṣṭāṇātā) which stands upright, holding a līṭhī or pole in its right hand. Its head is covered with figures of serpents, and it wears a necklace of chaklas with a jānec and taragi or waistbelt or pasar (loin cloth), all of serpents. This temple is closed from Māgh 1st to Bāsakha 1st. At other times worship is performed every Sunday, but only sheep and goats are accepted as offerings.

The following is a list of the Nāgs worshipped in the various villages of Brahmaur and the southern portion of the Sadr wīsārāt with the dates of the fairs and vigils held at each, the castes to which the pujādas and chelas belong, and the Rājās in whose reigns the worship is said to have been introduced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of Fair</th>
<th>Pujādas and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badyāla Nāg</td>
<td>Aurāh</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td>Siwan 5th</td>
<td>Kurēto Gaddis, Lachhīni Varma.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāsek Nāg</td>
<td>Dhīr or Bāskaher</td>
<td>Sāmrī</td>
<td>Baisākhl 4th and 5th</td>
<td>Sulāhí Sarsuta, Rāj Śingh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāsaki Nāg</td>
<td>Ser</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Baisākhl 4th, 5th</td>
<td>Shipnete Brahamans, Hālis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāsan Nāg</td>
<td>Dhīr or Bāskaher</td>
<td>Sāmrā</td>
<td>Baisākhl 4th, 5th (Jāgrā on 1st of Baisākhl).</td>
<td>Sārsuta, Hālis</td>
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<td>Bījk Nāg</td>
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<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Daljārā</td>
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<td>Benglā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Jāgrā on 10th of Sāwan</td>
<td>Swalh Brahamans.</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanobhūhū Nāg</td>
<td>Ghēchar</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frāntega Gaddis.</td>
<td>Mūh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Sāmrā</td>
<td>Kohli Ranhā</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Kālēti Gaddis, Bhogelu Brahmanas, Bāthī.</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Urāi</td>
<td>Kohli Ranhā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tīlārū Brahmanas.</td>
<td>Mūh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Lāmu</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Lunteu Brahamans.</td>
<td>Mūh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Kuwārī</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st &amp; Asānj 1st.</td>
<td>Prāma ḍa ḍī, Gaddis, Hālis. Jeś Brahamans.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Thonklā</td>
<td>Kohli Ranhā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of Fair</th>
<th>Pejdras and ohelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nāg</td>
<td>Sulākhar</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kharauhtu Brahmana</td>
<td>Yugākar Varma, New.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalīhār or</td>
<td>Kugti</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sāsāi (Dinnatatreya)</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēlāng Nāg</td>
<td>Chobhiā</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sādgrandu Brahmana</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuthera Nāg</td>
<td>Kugti</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td>Asauj 2nd</td>
<td>Sāsāi Brahmana</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēlāng Nāg</td>
<td>Kalāh</td>
<td>Trehtā</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Maghar Ist</td>
<td>Kālāth Gaddis</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuthera Nāg</td>
<td>Pālni</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pālnel Gaddis</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lētu Nāg</td>
<td>Panjāi</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td>Bhādon Ist</td>
<td>Auren Gaddis</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēhal Nāg</td>
<td>Rāchnā</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Nāg Panchni of Hār</td>
<td>Bhresān Gaddis</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēhal Nāg</td>
<td>Bhāniāh</td>
<td>Mahālā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baisakh 1st</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēhal Nāg</td>
<td>Kulwāra</td>
<td>Bakān</td>
<td>Hār 10th-15th</td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohāl Nāg</td>
<td>Bhāmal</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jhalānu Brahmana</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punu or Indu</td>
<td>Satkar</td>
<td>Trehtā</td>
<td>Asauj 2nd</td>
<td>Padn Brahmana</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūr Nāg</td>
<td>Gawari</td>
<td>Brahmar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Barān Gadda</td>
<td>Yugākar Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhōla Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khātelu</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāmāsi Nāg</td>
<td>Bagrā</td>
<td>Mahāla</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Bhādon 15th</td>
<td>Rānās</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōhā Nāg</td>
<td>Sīner</td>
<td>Sāmri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chhinglwāna Gaddia</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satūbhar Nāg</td>
<td>Tur</td>
<td>Basu</td>
<td>Baisakh 15th-</td>
<td>Mūkwa Brahmana</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khugēchar Nāg</td>
<td>Kēvādi</td>
<td>Basu</td>
<td>16th.</td>
<td>Chate Gadda</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītāhār Nāg</td>
<td>Shīkronā</td>
<td>Līl</td>
<td>Baisakh 9th</td>
<td>Ghukān Gaddia</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītāhār Nāg</td>
<td>Bandāl</td>
<td>Līl</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Pīgas Brahman, Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūśā Varma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**The following is a list of the Nāgs in Pāngi:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dantu Nāg</td>
<td>Darwās</td>
<td>Darwās</td>
<td>Chanir Nāg</td>
<td>Parmaur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusir Nāg</td>
<td>Darwās</td>
<td>Darwās</td>
<td>Bamba Nāg</td>
<td>Shor</td>
<td>Sāčh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobār Nāg</td>
<td>Surāl</td>
<td>Kilār</td>
<td>Kidaru Nāg</td>
<td>Mindhal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunek Dēo</td>
<td>Kilār</td>
<td>Kilār</td>
<td>Mindhal Devī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mirkul Devī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagesar Nāg</td>
<td>Sāch</td>
<td>Sāch</td>
<td>Kālka Devī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pror Nāg</td>
<td>Heler</td>
<td>Heler</td>
<td>Sīṭā Devī</td>
<td>Tiūdī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal Nāg</td>
<td>Kūtal</td>
<td>Gisal</td>
<td>Mīh Nāg</td>
<td>Bajun</td>
<td>Lāhul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joryun Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arwā Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durgal Panhār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nīlet Nāg</td>
<td>Bajun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Māh Nāg</td>
<td>Bajun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuttāsa Nāg</td>
<td>Sālīhī</td>
<td>Sālīhī</td>
<td>Bhanī Nāg</td>
<td>Silgrōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīru Nāg</td>
<td>Sālīhī</td>
<td>Sālīhī</td>
<td>Bhaṛī Nāg</td>
<td>Margrōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jatru Nāg</td>
<td>Machīm</td>
<td>Machīm</td>
<td>Rāsher Nāg</td>
<td>Tunde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doār Nāg</td>
<td>Hēlān</td>
<td>Hēlān</td>
<td>Nīsār Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūn Nāg</td>
<td>Rē</td>
<td>Rē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kand Nāg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The legend of Det Nág at Kilár is that he was originally located in Láhub, and human victims were offered to him. The lot had fallen on the only remaining son of a poor widow, and she was bewailing her misfortune when a Gaddi passed by, and, hearing the tale of woe, offered to take her son’s place. He, however, stipulated that the Nág should be allowed to devour him, and on his presenting several parts of his body in succession without any result he got angry and threw the Nág into the Chandrabhága. It got out of the river at Kilár and being found by a cowherd was carried up to the site of the present temple, when it fell from his back with the face on the ground. A shrine was erected and the image set up with its face looking inwards: and a clump of cedar trees at once grew up around the shrine.

Kathura Nág is a godling associated with pulse just as Sandhóla Nág is with barley. The offerings to a Nág are an iron mace (khandá) a crooked iron stick (kudí), both of which are left at the shrine, a sheep and cakes, which are shared by the priest, the chela and the worshipper and eaten.1

### The Nág Cults in Kángra

In Kángra where snake-worship is not uncommon Nág temples are rare, but the following is one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indrá Nág founded by</td>
<td>Jéth 1st</td>
<td>The image of a snake is engraved on a slab. A yag or a jagra is celebrated at each harvest and the poor are fed. A nagdeh is also observed at each harvest, and 16 goats are sacrificed at the Rabi and 13 at Kharif, sádhás and jagras being entertained. The ritual of sacrifice is conducted according to the behests of the chelas who go into trances and manifest the gods concerned. The Durga pãth is recited during the Naúrātra festivals. The popular belief is that the prosperity of the harvests depends on this god whose displeasure is said to cause hail and drought.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In ñhána Kántal is a shrine to Nág Jamwálán or ‘Nág of the Jamwál tribe’ (or possibly ‘the people of Jammu’). At this snakebite is cured and goats etc. are sacrificed. Besides Shesh Nág, who supports the world on his head, there are 7 Nágás, viz. Takshak, Básuki, Bajr Daneshan, Karkotak, Hemmalli, Sankhu and Kali Nág. The Nág Takolak plays an important part in the Mahábhárata and Vásuki is also well known in Hindu mythology. Kali and Sankhu Nágás are found in Kulu. Vajra-damchána may be the Sanskrit form of Bajr 2

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

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

At the mandir of Nág Bari in Chatroli no fair is held. The temple was founded by Rána Kalás of Núrupur some 1500 years ago, but was afterwards built by Rájá Jagat Tani. He enshrined in it a stone image of a snake. It is managed by a Brahman pujári whose gót is Sapule. Fruit etc. is offered as bhog morning and evening after worship and a lamp is lit every evening.

THE NÁG CULTS IN THE SIMLA HILLS.

The deola Nág² in pargana Kandaru.—Nág is one of the most powerful deolas in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three deolas held the part of the country which is now the Nág's dominion. These were Dadru in pargana Kandaru, Bathindlu in pargana Chadára in Keunthal, Malánsar in Madhán State (at Kiári), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhán, Keunthal and Kumbhásain had already established themselves when Nág appeared and there was a State called Koth or Rájána, apparently in Kandaru pargana, whose rulers belonged to the family of Sírmúr. Some people say that the Bain Thákur family of Madhán having died out, a prince of Kahlúr (Biláspur), ancestor of the present chief, was brought in to rule over Madhán soon after Nág appeared. Nág's history is that five Brahman brothers named Kálú, Gájan, Moel, Chánd and Chánan once lived at Bhárána, a village now in Madhán. Kálú, the eldest, was a hermit. Once a sálkhu came to Bhárána and put his ásan under a kelo tree, cooked some food and asked Kálú to eat it with him. He gave Kálú four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the sálkhu's invitation Kálú stayed the night with him, and at midnight saw carpets spread before the sálkhu's ásan, torches lighted and pairis, Rájá Indra's dancing girls come and dance before the sálkhu. Kálú watched this with amaze, but before daybreak the sálkhu and all had disappeared. Kálú returned home, but was intent on finding the sálkhu again, as he believed him to be Rájá Bhattari himself. He climbed to the top of Tikkar hill where his brothers grazed their sheep, but they could tell him nothing and bade him return home and fetch food. When he reached home Kálú found his daughter-in-law at work, and on his asking her to give him some flour she said that she was in a hurry to milk the cows and so he returned to Tikkar empty-handed. In his disappointment and from love for the sálkhu he fled like a mad man leaving his cap, topa, on the Tikkar peak, and throwing his two remaining loaves which had turned into black stones, to the shepherds. While roaming far and wide in search of the sálkhu Kálú flung away his clothes and everything he had on him one by one

¹ Kangra Gazetteer, 1904, p. 108.
² Deola Nág. "This combination," writes Dr. Hutchison, "must be wrong. The first name may be Diuta or some such word, but it cannot be deola. The Deetas and Devis are quite distinct from the Nág. A Nág therefore cannot be called a deota or deeta."
at different places, and at last died. It is believed by the people that when he gave his brothers the stones, they and the sheep also turned into stones and that Kálú when he died became a sareli (a big snake).

This sareli devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadára, Madhán and Kandaru—the then Koṭi State, until the people begged the deotá Dodru, Bathindlu and Malánshar for protection, but they declared weeping that they could not subdue the Nág that had appeared in the form of a sareli. Such a terror to the countrysides had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath. Hártú fort was then in possession of Sirmúr and its officer sent 32 men to Ruper to fetch supplies. On their return they saw a cave where they intended to halt, but found themselves in the monster’s mouth. Four Siū brothers, Kaláš, of Keltí village, volunteered to kill the sareli and collected people for the enterprise. They found it sleeping in a Nálá, with its head at Keltí and its tail at Khingshá, a distance of over 5 miles. It was arranged that one of the Kaláš should enter its mouth with an iron jamdar or spear in his hand, so that if the sareli shut its mouth the jamdar would keep its jaws open, and another man might enter its throat and thrust his jamdar through its neck, while others mounting its back might see the spear head and avoiding that spot hack on every other side until it was cut to pieces. Led by the Kaláš the people acted as arranged and the monster was killed, the escort from Hártú emerging alive from its stomach. In the monster’s huge head were found two images of Múl Nág, as the deotá had said. This image is jet black with a singhasan on which the Nág reposes, two Bhagwati Devís sitting on either side with hands clasped and also on each side a tiger watching. One of the images in the temple is at Dhar village and the other is at Jadun temple in Chadára pargana. Some say three images were found. Hundreds of people collected and Brahman who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nág spirit spoke through them saying that he claimed the dominion of the three deotás and should be carried first to Kiári. Besides others Pargi of Keltí, Moel Brahman of Bhrana, Faqir Pujára of Jadun and Sádi Rámm Pujára of Dhar (Kandaru) accompanied the Nág to Kiári and asked Bhonklu Chand, Thákur of Madhán, and his brother Kela to accept this new deotá. The Thákur said that none but Malánshar was his god and that the image was nothing but a newa or páp and so he hesitated to treat the Nág as a god. The people said that the Nág would strike like lightning. The Nág then left Kiári, but rested in a cave called Shungra near it until some three months later a man named Gori of Kharal gave him dhūpā and ḍhī and thus encouraged Nág soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed Malánshar deotás temple. The Thákur’s Ráni was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their bed and

1 Sareli. In Chamba the word is sareli with the same meaning.
2 This Koṭí State should not be confounded with the present Koṭí State near Siúla.
3 Some say that the Hártú men were not Bórd Bishá, i.e. 12 + 20 = 32, but Bórd Bishé, i.e. 12 × 20 = 240 men. Hártú is more commonly called Haratú or Hátu.
4 Kiári was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhán State, Dharampúr being chosen later on.
rolled down to the obra (cowshed), serpents appeared in the milk and
worms in the food served to the family. Deota Malānshar confessed
that he had no power to check the Nāg and the Thākur of Madhān was
compelled to acknowledge him as his family god instead of Malānshar
who fled to Pujari where a temple was subsequently built for him. Nāg
became chaunikādeo, i.e. god of the gaddi and chaun. Some people say
that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhān was suc-
cceeded by a Kahlūr prince. When acknowledged as gaddi deota of
Madhān, Nāg returned to Chadāra and asked the people to build him
a temple at a place shown by ants. Jadun was indicated and here the
Nāg's temple stands. It is said that Nāg is not fond of gold orna-
ments, so he never accepts gold, but the two loaves turned into stones were
placed in the temple. Bathindlu deota was also forced to abandon his
dominions to Nāg and he took up his abode at Chotha in Bhajji. Besides
the Jadun temple Nāg wanted a temple at the spot where the sādhā
had appeared and Kālū had received the two loaves, so there, too, a temple
was built and in its enclosure stands the kelon tree beneath which there
was the dance. A fourth temple to Nāg was built at Dhar in Kandara.
Dodru deota's temple which stood below Kamali village was destroyed
by lightning. Dodru fled to Madhān and Dobra is named after him. A
Thākur of the Sirmūr family ruled Koṭi in Kandara, and his family god
was Narotu, a deota which had come with him from Sirmūr. Muli,
commonly called Padoi, had also accompanied this prince from Chunjar Malān
vevar (cave) near Mathiāna. This Thākur was hard pressed by the
Rājā of Kulu who was building a fort on Tikkar, so he invoked the
Nāg for help. A small deori (temple) had already been built at
Tikkar for Nāg close to where the fort was being built by the Rājā of
Kulu, and Nāg performed miracles which deterred him from building
the fort. The negi of Kulu used to go to sleep at Tikkar and awake to
find himself at Malag, 5 miles away in Bhajji. For some time a mys-
terious spirit carried him to Malag every night and at last when sitting
on a plank at Tikkar he found it sticking to his back. Dismayed at
the power of Nāg deota the Rājā's camp left Tikkar and returned to
Sultānpur in Kulu, the plank still sticking to his negi's back. Dis-
tressed at this sight the Rājā begged Nāg to pardon his negi, promis-
ing to present him with an image and copper nakāras and also to
sacrifice goats to him wherever he himself or any of his negis passed
through the Nāg's dominions. As soon as this vow was made the plank fell
from the negi's back. When anything clings to a man the proverb goes
Kalwa Nāg re jee takhti, "like the plank of Kalwa Nāg." The Kulu
Rājā sent a pair of copper nakāras and an image still kept in Dhār
temple called Mān Singh (presumably the Rājā's name). When the
Kulu negi left Tikkar the Thākur of Koṭi affected Nāg more than ever
and gave him a jāgir in several villages. The name of this Thākur was
Deva Singh, but whether he was the Dothainya who came from
Sirmūr or a descendant of the Sirmūr Dothainya is not known.

1 Apparently this word should be deori, but that would mean a porch, not a temple.
   But both deori and deora are said to mean 'temple.' The rest of this account is far from
   lucid. We are not told the Kulu Nāg's name. Kalwa derives his name from Kālū,
   Brahman, apparently.
2 For Dothainya (= heir-apparent) see Vol. III, p 11. It is the Sanskr. Dwisanīya (cadet).
Deota Nág has the following bhárs (servants), and certain Bhagwatis are his companions:

(1) Bhors (as he is commonly called).—It is said that Kálu, Brahman, in his wanderings tore a hair out of his head and threw it away at a place called Loli (hair). It became a spirit and joined Nág when he appeared from the sareli's head. He acts as a watchman and is given a loaf by the people: when there is a khín at Loli he is given a khaíd or sheep.

(2) Khorn.—This bhár appeared from Khoru thách (a plain near Ránipur, two miles to the east of Tikkar hill). Kál had left something at this thách, and it too turned into a spirit and joined Nág when he appeared. This bhár protects cattle, and is given an iron nail or ring called kanaíla as an offering by the people.

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

(4) Sharpál is considered a low class bhár and worshipped by Kolis etc.; his spirit does not come into a Kanet or puára, but a Koli is inspired by him and speaks. His function is to drive away evil spirits, bhút, parét etc. Nág does not go into the house of any low caste man and so Sharpál is sent in his place, Nág's harqi (iron staff) accompanying him. A loaf is given for him. When returning the Nág's harqi is purified by sprinkling on it milk and cow's urine. This is called shasherna (making pure).

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

(6) Than is also a bhár: he originated at Kiári and came with Nág when he was acknowledged by the Madhán gaddí. He also drives away bhút, parét etc.

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

(1) Bhagwati Rechi.—A few years before the Gurkha invasion Ranjí of Bashahr came to Jadun and Dhár and plundered Deota Nág's treasury, some of whose images he took to Bashahr. Doota Nág punished him by his power and he found his ribs sticking out of his sides and the milk that he drank coming out through the holes. One of the Láma Gurús told him that his spoliation of Nág's treasury was the direct cause of his complaint, so he returned all what he had taken from the temple. Bhúma Kálí of Saráhan in Bashahr also gave Nág a pair of chamhá wood dhols and a karádīl together with a kálí shut up in one of

1 No such word as harqi is traceable in Tika Rám's Dicty. of Pahori Dialects. J. A. S. B., 1911. He gives scherno : to purify. Sharijhend = wist karánd.
2 Ranji = wasir commonly called Ranji and great-grandfather of Ram Bahádur. wasir of Bashahr, who conquered Dodra Kowar.
3 Karánd = A long straight trumpet fluted at the mouth. Kál or káli = A small drum shaped like an hour-glass.
the dhols. When the instruments were put in Nág’s temple they played of themselves at the dead of night. When people asked Nág the reason he said that the Káli sent by Bhíma Káli sounded them. The Káli of Bashahr, however, could do no further mischief as she was subdued by Nág and hidden to dwell at Rechi, the hill above Sandhu, on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, where a chauntira (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to Nág and protects women in child-birth.

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

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

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

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

(6) Devi Bajlshi Bhagwati appeared from Ránipur where something fell from Kálu and became this Bhagwati. She protects people from famine and pestilence.

(7) Bhagwati Tikkar lives with Nág at Tikkar. Tikkar Nág is the same as Jadun and Dhár Nág. This same Nág has separate images at Jadun, Kiári, Bharána, Dhár and Tikkar. As generations have passed away, people now think each a separate and not the same Nág. The different pargana each worship the Nág of their own pargana.

People say that Kálu left his topa at Tikkar and that it turned into this Nág. Dhár Nág calls Nág of Tikkar his guru. Jadun Nág calls Dhár Nág his dêda or elder brother. Dhár Nág calls Jadun Nág his bhii or younger brother, and Bharána Nág is called by him bakadrú or brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nág is the central spirit of the other Nág’s, because it was here that Kálu became the sareli and his shepherd brothers with the sheep and the two loaves all turned into stones. There are two temples on the top of Tikkar. On the following teohárs which are celebrated on Tikkar people collect at melas: (i) the Salokri in Baisék: (ii) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nág’s stay there at night and all the residents of the countryside bring a big loaf and ghi and divide them amongst the people. This loaf is called saond: (iii) at the Riháli, when 11 images called the 11 mills are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to Dhár at night. The puñáras feast the people and next day two images (kanarti) go to Kamáli village to receive their dues and two

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1 This is the ridge which is seen from Simla to the north and from which the Shílí peak rises. This ridge stretches north-east from the Shílí and between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Máiá and Keonthal and the northern between Bhajji and Kánhírsain. The boundaries of four States meet here.
images go to Neori village for the same purpose. These two images are the Deo ki Mohra and that of Män Singh of Kulu: (iv) at the Nág Panchmi in Bhádon the observances resemble those at the Salokri; (v) at the Mágh or Makkar Shankrânt when three goats are sacrificed, one given by Kumbhársain State, one by the samindâras and a third by the villagers of Loli. Deota also gives alms. One of the temples at Tikkar belongs to the Kandari people and the other to those of Jadun and Madhân.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nág Deota at Kandi koshí, in Suket, who is an offshoot of the Deota Kalwa Nág. The legend is that a Brahman of Bharána village went to Charag, a village in Suket, and asked women who were husking rice to give him some for his idol of the Nág as bhog (food): the women scornfully declined to give him any, so the image stuck to the shhát and warned by this miracle they gave it some rice. At this time a bhût which dwelt in a large stone used to devour human beings and cattle so the people called on the Nág for help, and he in the guise of lightning broke the stone in pieces and killed the bhût. The people built the Nág a temple which had 11 rooms. Another Nág’s temple stands at Hemri in Bhajji. Crows destroyed the crops in this village and so a Bharána Brahman brought an image of Nág and established it at Hemri. Dum Deota, who also lives there, made friends with the Nág. The place where they live is called Deothán. At Neori village Dhái Nág slew a bhût who used to kill cattle. It lived in a stone close behind the village and a Neori woman secretly worshipped it, but Kalwan Nág destroyed the stone with the devil inside it and overwhelmed the house of the woman who was killed together with her three sheep. When the Nág goes to his village he sits on the spot and speaks to the people. Every third year the Nág goes to Bharána and there drinks milk from a vessel. In Kelo, a village in Bhajji, there lived an old man and his wife who had no son, so they asked the Nág for one, and he told them to sit there one Sunday at a place which had been purified by cow’s dung and urine, and thereon present a goat for sacrifice and think of him. This they did, and the Nág appeared in the sky in the form of a large eagle. Descending to the place he placed in the woman’s lap a male child and took away the goat. The old woman found her breasts full of milk and nursed the baby. This family is now called the Ludi Parwar or egg’s family. This miracle is said to have occurred 700 years or 17 generations ago. Another miracle is thus described:

Some people of Dhár who were returning from the plains through Kunhíár State halted at Kunhíár for the night. As they were singing the bár (songs) of the Nág, he as usual appeared in one of the men, who began to talk about state affairs in Kunhíár. The Ránâ asked them about their deota and his powers and they said that their Nág Deota could work miracles. So the old Ránâ asked the Nág for a son and heir (tikka) and vowed that if by the Nág’s blessing he had a tikka he would invite the Deota to Kunhíár. The Ránâ was blessed with an

1 Deo, i.e. Deota and sthán a place, i.e. the Deota’s place.
Deota Nag of Dhari in Pargana Chebishi.

Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the zamindars of Dhali had broken up some land for cultivation. A deota there harassed them and the Brahmins said that he was a Nag, so they began to worship him and he was pleased: they then brought his image to Shailla village and built him a temple. When Padoi Deota passed through this village a leper was cured by him and the people of Shailla began to worship him, so the Nag left the village and Padoi took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhali took the Nag to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padoi is now the family god of the Shailla people and the Dhali men regard Nag as their family god. The Nag's image is jet black and a Bhagwati lives with him. A dhol and a nakara are his instruments of music and he also has a jagunth or small staff. He visits his old place at Tilku every year on the Nag Panchmi day. He is only given dagupta once a month on the Shankranti day. The Brahmins of Barog, which lies in another pargana, worship him, as they once lived at Khecheru near Tilku. This Nag has no bhor and holds no jagir from the State. He has no connection with Kalwa Nag, the Nag of Kandaru.

Deota Nag of Dhanal in Chebishi.

Another Nag Deota is he at Dhanal in Chebishi pargana. Nearly 500 years ago he appeared in a field at Nago-thana, a place near Pati Jubar on the Shangri State border, where there was an old temple. A man of Dhanal village was ploughing his field near Nago-thana when
he found a black image. He took it home, but some days afterwards it began to persecute him and the Brahmans said that it was the Nág who wished to be worshipped. So the Dhanal people began to affect him. This deota too has a ghóli and karnál but no jagunth. No khín is given him. The Dhanal people regard Malendi as their family god yet they worship Nág too in their village, thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no bhor and holds no jágír from the State. The people of Kandaru think that these Nágs in Dhanal and Dhalí are the same as Kalwa Nág. The spirits came here also, but the Chebíshi men do not admit the fact. This Nág has really no connection with Kalwa Nág of Kandaru.

Deota Nág of Ghunda.

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

Many generations ago there lived in village Charoli (Kot Kháí) a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Nág Nali forest in KumhárSain and loved to play in a maidán near Kháí (in KumhárSain). Cows grazed in the maidán and the serpent sucked the milk from them. The cowherd was duly reprimanded by the people for his carelessness, but at last he found how the serpent used to suck the milk. A faqír in Kháí village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the maidán at noon tide, and cut the serpent into three pieces, but was burnt alive whilst killing it. Some days later a woman who was digging clay found images into which the three pieces of the serpent had turned. One of these images was brought by Brahmans to Ghunda village, another was taken to Báí (a village in Chajoli, in KumhárSain) and the third was taken by the Brahmans of Bhamraja, a village in UbdeShí pargana of KumhárSain. Temples were built to Nág in these villages. The Ghunda Nág (though Nág is usually dudhadhári) is not dudhadhári and goats are sacrificed to him. Every third year a baltipája melá is held, but no annual fair is held. The people of Ghunda, Charhayayna, Kháí, Kháí and Katálí, especially the Kolis, worship him. ‘Nág Deota has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-6 a year from KumhárSain.

Sharvan and Chathla Nág.

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

A woman named Bhuri of Macroti, a village in the Kot Kháí idáqa, gave birth to a snake (nág). She was terrified but the snake told her not to be afraid but to go and live in the upper storey leaving the lower one to him and to give him milk through a hole. She did as the snake told her, and after six months he had grown so large that he
filled the whole room. He then told her of his intention to quit her house for good, and said she would get something for her maintenance, if she brushed his body with a broom when he moved. This she did, whereupon gold fell from his body but when she saw it, thinking to keep the wonderful reptile, she caught hold of its tail and pulled it towards her. The serpent, however, gave a jerk and threw her into the air, so that she fell on a rock at Mähon in Kumbhárnsain and was killed. She is worshiped there to this day. The snake afterwards settled in a ravine in Kothi, a village in Kumbhárnsain, and lived on the milk of the cows which came there to drink. When the samindârs of Kothi saw how their milk went, they cut the snake in three pieces with a sword. One piece fell in Chattha village, where it was at once changed into an image, another fell in Ghunda, in Kumbhárnsain, and the third in Pál, a village in Balsan, and they have all been worshipped ever since.

**THE NÁG GOLI OF KOT KHÁL.**

This Nág originally dwelt in Kulu where for generations he sent rain and sunshine in due season. But suddenly he began to send nothing but rain, so his followers one day cast his idol, images and litter into the Satlaj, as a hint that they were no longer satisfied with his rule. Some days later however one of his images was washed up on the river’s bank and there a villager from Farog found it on his return from a trip to Kulu. Thinking he had only found an ornament, he passed through a hamlet where a jág was being held in honour of the goddess and joined in the merry-making. The sacrificial victims however would not shiver, even when sprinkled with water, in token that they were acceptable to the goddess, and when the priests consulted the oracle they were told by the goddess that a greater than she had cast a spell upon them. She also revealed the stranger’s possession of the Nág and when a goat was sacrificed to him he lifted the spell which lay upon the animals and they were duly sacrificed. The villager then went on his way home, where he was constant in worship of the Nág but he kept his possession of the image secret. In those days the goddess was worshipped through all the countryside, but when the villager got home she was away on tour collecting her usual offerings, and when on her return journey she reached a deep ravine the rain began to pour in torrents and in the middle of the stream the goddess and her escort were swept away by a sudden spate. She was never seen again, and her escort also perished. The deluge too continued, causing ruin of harvests and landslides until the people through the diviners discovered the Nág’s presence in their midst. Him they installed in the Devi’s old temple and now he only occasionally turns summer into winter or brings rain at harvest time. For long his fame extended no further than the adjoining villages and once a large serpent dammed up a narrow torrent during the rains, until its pent-up waters threatened to overwhelm a Thákur’s castle and township though perched high above them. The villagers’ own god, preoccupied with the preservation of his own shrine, was powerless to save them, so they invoked the aid of Nág, promising him grants of land and an annual festival. Already the waters had invaded their own god’s temple and his idol had fallen on its face, when Goli Nág flew to the rescue. A ball of
fire smote the serpent, rent it into a thousand pieces, and released the stream. Goli Nág also became the patron deity of the Ráñas of Kot Kháí by a similar feat. One of them was attacked by the ruler of Kulu who besieged him in his fort. In this desperate strait he sent for the priests of all the neighbouring gods and pledged himself to serve him whose priest could eat two loaves, each containing half a munda of barley flour. Goli Nág's Brahman at once passed the test and him the Rána sent to plead his cause with the Nág. In answer to his prayers a great thunder cloud fell on the Kulu Réjá’a camp and a flash of lightning blew up his magazine. As his men fled the Nág pursued them with thunderbolts and drowned many by rain spouts or the swollen torrents which overwhelmed them. So Kot Kháí fort still stands on its isolated rock, a monument to Goli Nág’s power. But the late adherence of these two states to his cult gives his first worshippers precedence over them and so when he patronises their festivals he only sends his smaller images, carried in a miniature palki, while his tours among his senior votaries are regal progresses in which he rides in a palquin decked with a full panoply of images and trappings. Once a Thákur made him and his escort prisoners and mockingly challenged him to fill a huge vessel with water in the drought of May. Not only did the Nág achieve this, but the rain changed to sleet and then to snow, until the hills around were capped with it. In vain the Thákur tried to appease him with gifts. The Nág cursed his line and his territories were annexed to another state. But descendants of its former subjects assert that the Thákur was forgiven and that his gifts were accepted, as they still hang on the walls of the Nág’s temple in token of his victory.1

The Snakes of Brua.

Brua is a hamlet on the Baspa, a tributary of the Sutlej, and the story goes that once upon a time a man took to wife a girl from Paunda. When she went to visit her mother the latter noticed that the girl looked thin and ill, and learnt from her that Brua, which is perched a thousand feet above the river, was so far from any stream that the women had to fetch all the water for the village from the Baspa. So she captured some snakes and put them in a basket which she handed to her daughter with injunctions not to peep inside the basket on her way back and to place the snakes in a corner of her lower storey. Just before she reached the village however curiosity overcame her and she opened the basket. One snake slipped out there and before she got home two more escaped in a similar way. At each place streams gushed forth, and to this day refresh the wayfarer. At the corner of the room where she placed the basket on her arrival at the village a fountain sprang up so that she no longer had to fetch water from the Baspa. When the other housewives of the village noticed that she no longer went to the river to bring water they asked her why she did not go with them. Then she told them all that her mother had done, and how that in the lower storey of her house a never-failing spring was flowing. But an ill-natured hag became jealous that a stranger should be spared the toil of her sisters, cursed her with an evil eye and hatched a plan to bring misfortune upon her. She bade her offer incense to the sacred snakes which had caused

1 Condensed from the Pioneer of July 6th, 1913.
the springs to flow and told her to mix filth with oil and earth and burn it at the fountain. This she did and as the smoke ascended the snakes swelled out in anger, growing to huge serpents, and darted to the door by which she was standing. In fear for her life she slashed at the nearest and cut it into fragments, thereby committing a grievous sin, for the lāmās say when a snake is killed the world of serpents is plunged in mourning for the next 8 days, and none will taste of food. As a punishment the spring disappeared, but to this day grass grows in the corner of the cattle-shed. The three other snakes escaped unharmed. One crossed the pass to Pekian where it became warder of the god Chasrālu. The second made its way to a neighbouring village of which it became the god, but the third elected to remain at Brua. The girl picked up the remnants of the fourth and cast them down a precipice where they reunited. This Nāg, now of fabulous dimensions, climbed up the slopes behind the village until it reached a plateau where it made for itself a lake in which it now dwells. To this lake the local deities are sometimes carried and then the Nāg reveals his god-head by entering into one of the god’s diviners who becomes as if possessed. The Nāg of Pekian is a mere lieutenant of Mahāsu, and not long ago the people of a hamlet close to Brua took their god to pay him a ceremonial visit. Having exchanged greetings the visitor returned across the pass in the great central chain of the Himalayas which separates Kanour from the territory in which Mahāsu’s cult predominates. After his return this god’s diviner manifested all the symptoms of divine afflatus, and declared himself to be possessed by Mahāsu who had returned with the party and demanded a welcome and a shrine. This incident is paralleled in the hills by the popular belief that a powerful deity can accompany his female votaries to their married homes, and the adhesion of a god to a brother deity appears to be a mere variation of this belief. Indeed so frequently does it occur that a god attaches himself as it were to the party which carries a brother deity back from a place of pilgrimage that this habit has led to certain pilgrimages being discontinued. In the midst of the lofty peaks which border on Garhwal and Tibet is a sacred sheet of water that has given birth to many gods, and during the summer months it used to be a place of pilgrimage for them. The votaries of any snake gods that had emigrated from the lake used to visit it and bathe their deity therein. But on several occasions it happened that when the pilgrims returned to their own villages they found that the strange divinity had become incarnate in the person of the temple oracle who invariably insisted that an alien spirit from the lake had attached himself to his companion. As the intrusion of a new divinity in a village involves the erection of a new shrine to house him and heavy expense upon the villagers, there is considerable reluctance now to take gods to this lake for bathing as of yore. To this rule however the men of Sangla, a large village in the Baspa valley, are an exception, for they still take their deity every 3rd or 4th year to his native lake and the visit invariably results in the supernatural seizure of his diviner. Indeed the people are now so used to this visitation that they halt half-way on their return and there after the diviner has ascertained the nature and needs of their self-invited guest they propitiate him with sacrifices and then beg him courteously but firmly to return whence he came. This lack of hospitality is justified, for the temple is already endowed with
so many godlings that they could not afford to entertain another. As a rule the new god recognises the reasonableness of their request and goes in peace, but sometimes he refuses to do so, and then the people make a gift of him to some neighbouring hamlet. Several temples thus owe a minor deity to the Sangla pilgrimage, but the villagers have usually made it a condition of acceptance that the new-comer should remain subordinate to the family god, that is to say to the existing incumbent of their village temple. But new deities, especially gods of position like Mahāṇa, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place, and so the people of Kanaur, in a vain attempt to check the progress of that god, are only too likely to ostracise the only community which acknowledges him within their borders. This ostracism may take the form of refusing to take wives from the villages in which the new god has been installed. But the difficulties of limiting the jurisdiction of an enterprising deity are increased by yet another method. Since an article once dedicated to a god’s service remains his property for ever, it follows that if a sacred vessel be removed by theft or ignorance to another village the god goes with it and once having gained a footing in it he soon discovers a means of making it his permanent abode. (Condensed from the Pioneer of June 13th, 1913).

THE NĀGS IN KULU.

In the Saraj or highlands of Kulu we find Chamaun Nāg worshipped at Bhunga. Once, it is said, a Brahman went to bathe in a hill-stream. As he bathed a huge snake came towards him, raised its head and declared itself to be Ses Nāg, promising happiness and prosperity to any who might worship it. Its temple was built in the dwāpar yuga and contains an idol of stone 3½ feet high by 2½ in breadth. Its manager is a Kauc of the Kāshel gōt, but its pujārī is a Gautama Sārsut Brahman. This Nāg seems distinct from Chamaun.

Badi Nāgan has a mandir with a Sārsut Brahman pujārī. It was built in the tretā yuga. Once a shepherd went forth to graze his sheep and found a large tank whose existence he had never before heard of. It was revealed to him in a vision that the Nāgan had come from Patāl and that the folk should worship her.

At Balugohār is a temple to Balū Nāg and the following is the legend of its foundation:—Once a Brahman of Chatarka went to Mandi to buy salt and on his road he found a child, but four months old, who bade him follow it. The Brahman took it up and travelling all night reached Balū forest. There the child bade him dig and he did so, finding a black stone image in the sand or bālu. Then the child disappeared, but in the morning a Kumhār came to graze his sheep in the forest and to him the Brahman told his tale. In a trance the Kumhār declared that he was himself the Nāg, but the Brahman declared that he could not believe him unless the Nāg bestowed a son upon him. The temple, founded in the dwāpar yuga, contains the black pindi or idol dug up by the Brahman and is ministered to by a Sārsut Brahman of the Gautama gōt. The appearance of the Kumhār (Shiva) points to a Shiva origin of the cult or an attempt to affiliate it to Shiva teaching.
Kirtná Nág has a mandir at Shiluli. He is called after the name of the village of Kirthá which had a tank to which thirsty kine used to resort, but in it lived a snake which used to suck the cows dry. When the owner went to kill it, it declared it was a Nág and should be worshipped in order to earn blessings for the people. The people pay more respect to its chela or gur than they do its Brahman pujári.

Járu, the deaf Nág of Pháti Túnan, has a curious legend. This god was born at Surápá in Bashar, the chief of which place had a daughter who was sent out one day to graze his sheep. She found a beautiful tank with nine flowers floating on its surface and, tempted by their beauty, gathered them all. But no sooner had she done so than she became unconscious and so remained nine days in the forest. Subsequently she gave birth to nine gods, called Nágas, and bringing them home kept them in a basket. One day when she was sent out with food for the labourers in the fields, she warned her mother not to touch the basket, but when she had gone her mother’s curiosity overcame her and she opened it, only to find the nine Nágas which in her fright she casted into the fire. All escaped unhurt, save one whose ear was burnt so that it became deaf. The injured Nág fled first to Tárápāur and thence to Khargha where a Rána’s cow stopped to give it milk. Then it went to Deohri Dhár where cows again yielded it their milk. The people of both places then began to worship it as a god. Its idol is of black stone, sunk in the ground and standing two feet high. Its pujári is a Kanet, and its gur is specially revered because in his trancees he gives oracles. Two fairs are held annually on the puramáshi and naúrdras in Chet. The former is held at Khírgá and the latter at Deohri Dhár. At these 14 bo-goats are sacrificed and visitors are fed free. Another fair, held on the 10th and 11th of Jēth, is frequented mostly by people from the surrounding States.

Sharshá, the Nág of Sharshá, has the following tradition:—Once four women went to draw water from a spring called Náí. Three returned home safely, but the fourth could not recover her pitcher which had sunk in the spring. At its edge was a black stone image to which she made a vow for the recovery of her pitcher. It was at once restored to her, but she forgot her vow and it rained heavily for seven days. Then she told the people, and they brought the idol to the village and founded a temple in the treta yuga. The idol is 24 feet high and masks of gold and silver adorn its chariot. The temple walls are painted with pictures. Its pujári is a Bhárdwáj Brahman and only a Brahman is allowed to worship the god, whose gur answers all questions put to the Nág and is more respected than the pujári himself.

Danwi Nág of Danw, a village in Manjhadesh pátí, Kothi Nartingarih, is a brother of Sarshá Nág. Both have Kanet pujáris according to another account.

Pane Nág is also called Punún and Kungash. Once a Ráni; Bir Nán, wife of the Thákur of Ránikot, was told in a vision that she would be blessed with a son if she built a temple to the Nág at the corner of a tank called Punún. In the morning the Thákur saw a snake swimming on the surface of the tank and it told him that it had come from the Krukshetr, being of the Kaurava and Pândava race. So the Thákur
Nāga in Kulu.

built a temple in which the Nāg appeared of his own accord in the form of a pīndi of stone which still stands in it. This occurred in the ḍvāpur yuga. The pujāri is a Śārṇīt Brahman.1

The Nāg Kui Kangha has several temples.2 Sri Chand, Thākur of Srigarh, had a cow which used to graze at Kangha, but was sucked dry by a snake. The Thākur pursued it, but from its hole a pīndi appeared and told him that it was a Nāg, promising that if worshipped it would no longer suck the cow's milk. So a temple was built to the Nāg whose image is the metal figure of a man, one foot high. Its fair at Kui Kangha is held every third year on a day fixed by the votaries. At Srigarh it is held every year on a similar date, and at Kotā Dhrā on any auspicious day in Jeth. It also has a temple at Kanūr or Srimālsar.3 Its pujārī is a Bhārdawāj Brahman. This Nāg also appears to be worshipped as Kui Kangha in Shiogi. Its temple was founded by a Thākur of Katabar, regarding whom a similar legend is told. The pujārī however is a Bhārdawāj Brahman and its guru is selected by the god himself who nods his assent to his appointment.

Chamaun Nāg has a temple at Kaliwan Deora. The story goes that once a thākur, named Dabli, was a votary of Hanumā. He went to bathe at that place of pilgrimage, and while bathing he saw an image emerge from the water. It directed him that it should be installed at the place inhabited only by Brahmins and blessed by the presence of kēlo trees. Accordingly it was brought to Kaliwan where a temple was built. Religious importance also attaches to the water from which the image emerged. The date of foundation is not known. The temple contains the stone pīndi of the god. Its affairs are managed by a kārēr, by caste a Kanet. The pujārī is a Gaur

The following are the dates of the fairs of the Nāg deotas in Sārāj not given in the text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chamaun Nāg</td>
<td>Annual fairs are held in Chet, during the naurīras in Baisākh, on the bādēpūra in Bār, on the nāg panchmi in Bādōn, and in Māgh and Phāgān. The practice is to choose auspicious days for the fairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādi Nāg</td>
<td>A fair is held annually on 7th Baisākh and 15th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badū Nāg</td>
<td>The fairs are held on 20th Baisākh and on the pāramadshī in Bādōn every year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiratha Nāg</td>
<td>One fair lasts from 15th Poh to 2nd Māgh, another is held on 1st Phāgān and the third on 20th Sāwan. These fairs are held annually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shārahī Nāg</td>
<td>The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 3rd Assaj and at the Dewāli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paneo Nāg</td>
<td>The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 12th Assaj and on 10th Mānjar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui Kangha Nāg</td>
<td>The fairs are held annually on the sakrānte of Jeth and Bādōn at the Diwāli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shankhū Nāg</td>
<td>The two fairs are held, one on 1st Bādōn and the other on 1st Phāgān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takrāni Nāg</td>
<td>The annual fairs are held on 1st Jeth, 10th and 12th Sāwan and on 1st Poh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temple of Kui Kangha Nāg are at:

Tandi (in Pehlī pāde), Natauda in Phāti Lot, Himri, and Rama below Kachhi, and Pehlī Dhrā in Pehlī pāde: as well as at Shiogi in Pehlī pāde, at Shagoli, Kota- dhar, Srigarh Madhērī, in Bāngul pāde; and at Kui Kangha in Himri—Common to two koṭhīs.

Sriwālsar is in Jalauni koṭhi and there is no temple there: Kui Kangha Nāg used to go there, but does not now do so.
Snake-worship in Kulu.

Brahman of the Bhandawaj ghat. They are not celibate. A bhog of milk, rice &c. is offered every morning. A Brahmabhog or free distribution of food is also held in Baiasakh. No other shrine is connected with this one. The annual fairs are held on 8th Baiasakh, 1st Har, and on an auspicious day in Sawan.

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

The Nag Takras of Takrasi cursed a Thakur, so that he died. The Thakur’s cow used to yield its milk to a stone image and when he went to break it, a snake sprang out to defend it. The Thakur went home only to die, but his cowherd worshipped the image and a temple is built to it. Connected with this is the shrine at Mitharsi.

Chatri Nag was originally worshipped by the Thakur Sadhu of Shudha who heard a strange cry coming from a forest and going into it found a stone image which he brought home to worship. Its pujari is a Kanet.

Snake-worship in Kulu.

In Batahar village, Kotli Nagar, there is a snake deity called Basu Nag (basu = to dwell). The story is that the deota Basu Nag had a wife Nagani, who, when near her delivery, took refuge in an unbaked earthen vessel. A Kumbhar came and lighted a fire underneath it, whereupon seven young ones were born, who ran all over the country. Nagani then became a woman with the tail of a snake. The seven sons were (1) Shrigan Nag or Sargun, who came out first (? head foremost, from sir, head), and went to Jagatsukh, as did (2) Phal Nag, who lives now near the Phal Nala; (3) Goshali Nag, lives at Goshal, he is also called andha or blind because he lost an eye in the fire, his other name is Gautam-Rikhi; (4) Kali Nag, who got blackened, went to Raison Kotli; and (5) Piuli (Pili) Nag, the yellow snake, was the smallest of all, and went to a village near Batahar; (6) Sogu Nag went to the Sagu Khol, a precipice near Balha; and (7) Dhumbal Nag (Dhum Rikhi), so called because he came out of the spout in the jar from which smoke came, and went to Halan. It will be noticed that the most of these have distinct names, while the rest have only the names of the places in which they now live, and though Goshali Nag is also called andha, the latter name seems little used now. The proverb in Kulu runs: Athara Nag, athara Naraain, so that there are in theory ten other snake temples in Kulu. Basu Nag’s temple is at Naraian-di-dera, which looks as if Nag were only another name for Naraian. On the other hand Sir James Lyall described Kali Nag as leaving a standing feud with Naraian, with whose sister the Nag ran away in olden days. So whenever a fair is held in honour of Kali Nag the enemies fight on the mountain top and the ridge on the right bank of the Beas and the deodar grove at Aramag in the Sarwari valley are found strewn with their iron arrows.

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

Báski Nág appears to be distinct from Básu Nág. He too had seven sons, by Devi Bhotanti, his second ránī. Of these six were slain by Bhágbatí and the seventh escaped to Kiání where he has a temple and is called Kiání Nág.

Báski Nág had a brother, Turu Nág, who has a cave upon a high hill. Like his brother this Nág gives rain and prevents lightning. He also gives oracles as to rain, and when rain is about to fail water flows from his cave.

Other Nágs in Kulu are Káli Nág Shirár, Bhálogu, Phahal, Ramnúin, and Shukli. Another Nág is Bhálogu Nág at Dera Bhálogi Bhal. In Jalse Jalsú Nág is worshipped with Jamlú on the 2nd and 3rd of Sáwan.

In Súket Máha Nág, the 'bee' Nág, got his name by resuming Rájá Sham Singh in the form of a bee: Gesellzer, 1904, p. 11. Other Nágs in Mandi are Kumarù who stone idol at Váchan goes back to Pandva times. It is said to avert epidemics. Barnág is important in Saner: Mandi Gá, p. 40.

The Nág generally appears to be conceived of as a harmless snake, as distinguished from the sámp or poisonous one, in the Punjab hills, where every householder is said to have a Nág's image; which he worships in his house. It is given charge of his homestead and held responsible that no poisonous snake enter it. No image of any such snake is ever made for worship.

Nágs in Gilgit.

Traces of Nág-worship exist in Gilgit in the Nagís. One of these goddesses was Nági Sukhumi who had at Nangan in Astor a stone altar at the fort of Nághish hill. A person accused of theft could take an oath of compurgation here. The ritual had some curious features. For instance, the men who attended it returned home by night and were not allowed to appear 'in daylight' before others of the village under penalty of making good the loss. The case awaited the Nági's decision for some days and if during that period the suspect incurred a loss of

The following are the dates of the fairs held at the temples of some of these Nág�:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nág</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pahal Nág at Bharka Vera</td>
<td>1st to 14th Assauj and Maghar, and on the 3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Sáwan and Bhádón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Nág at Dera Kal Nág</td>
<td>1st of the lunar month of Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Nág at Matiero in K. Har Khándi</td>
<td>4th Baisákh, besides a yog on 1st Bhádón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Nág Shirat at Kat. Káli Nág</td>
<td>(1) 1st of mawrá in the light half of Chet, (2) light half of Jeth, (3) a yog (Narmédh) is performed every third year in the light half of Sáwan (4) 1st of Mág, (5) 1st of Phágan, (6) 1st of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidli Nág at Batáhar Vera in K. Nágar</td>
<td>1st of Phágan, 1st day of Phágan and 1st of Chet, four days in the light half of Chet at the beginning of the new year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargún Nág</td>
<td>31st Bhádón to 2nd Assauj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramnúi Nág at Kohli Aga</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Chet, 31st Sáwan to 3rd Bhádón and 1st to 3rd Assauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shukli Nág at Naulia Dera</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Assauj and for two days from full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²P. N. Q., III, §477.
any kind he was adjudged guilty.1 Nagi Sochemi’s sister is Sri Kun and she lived at Shankank near Godai in Astor. To her the villagers used to present goats and pray for the supply of their wants, but her followers were forbidden to keep cows or drink their milk under penalty of loss of flock, herd or crop.2

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

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

**GÚGA as a SNAKE-GOD.**

Under serpent-worship may be classed the cult of Gúga but for no better reason than that he has a peculiar power of curing snake-bite. Of him Ibbetson6 wrote as Gúga Pîr, also called Zahir Pîr the ‘Saint Apparent,’ or Bágarwâla, he of the Bágar, from the fact that his grave is near Dadrewa in Bikánér, and that he is said to have ruled over the northern part of the Bágar or great prairies of Northern Rájpátána. He flourished about the middle of the 12th century. He is really a Hindu, and his proper name is Gúga Bîr or Gúga the Hero (cf. Sîr Latin). But Musalmáns also flock to his shrine, and his name has been altered to Gúga Pîr or Saint Gúga, while he himself has become a Muhammadán in the opinion of the people. He is to the Hindus of the Eastern Punjab the greatest of the snake kings, having been found in the cradle sucking a live cobra’s head; and his chhari or switch, consisting of a long bamboo surmounted by peacock feathers, a cocoanut, some fans, and a blue flag, may be seen at certain times of the year as the Jogis or sweepers who have local charge of it take it round and ask for alms. His worship extends throughout the Province, except perhaps on the frontier itself. It is probably weakest in the Western Plains; but all over the eastern districts his shrines, of a peculiar shape and name, may be seen in almost every large village, and he is universally worshipped throughout the sub-montane tract and the Kángra hills. There is a famous equestrian statue of him on the rock of Mandor, the ancient capital of Jodhpur.

In Hisáár he appears to be also worshipped, at Karangánváli and Kágdána, under the name of Rám Dewa. Fairs are held at those places on Mágh 10th. The legend is that Rám Dewa, a Bágari, disappeared into the earth alive seated on his horse and he is still depicted on horse back. His cult, once confined to the Bágris, has now been adopted by the Jâts, and Brahmans and the pujařs at these two temples belong to those castes respectively.

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1 Ghulam Muhammad, *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gúga*, Asiatic Society of Bengal’s Monographs, I, p. 106. The account is a little vague. Suchemi or Sochemi may derive her name from such, ‘true’, or ‘truth disclosing’.

2 *Ib.* p. 111.

3 Sir Harold Deane, *Notes on Udyána*, I. L. A. S., 1886, p. 661; the Saidgai is probably meant.


5 *Ib.* p. 15.

6 *Ib.* p. 226.
THE CULT OF GÚGA IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

A vast body of folklore has clustered round Gúga, but the main outlines of the story can still be traced, and will be made clearer by the following table of his descent and family:—

Sawarai, sister of Jewar, brother of Newar.

* x

Báchhal, sister of Káchhal

Gúga Arjan Surjan.

Suril or Sural, daughter of Singha, Rájá of Káránrúp, Kararu Des in the south.

In the following notes an attempt is made to summarise all the legends concerning the cult of Gúga already published. To these summaries are appended some variants, not hitherto published.

THE STORY OF GÚGA ANALYSED.

Two legends of Gúga have been published, both in the Legends of the Punjab, by Sir R. C. Temple. The first is found at page 121 of volume I of that work, and may be analysed as follows:—

1.—Analysis of the miracle play of Gúga, the Rájput of the Búgar country.

Beginning with an invocation to Sárad or Saraswatí this play opens with a dialogue between Jewar and his queen Báchhal, who lament that they have no children. Their family priest, Pandít Rangachár, consoles them, saying they will have three sons, a prophecy which is not apparently fulfilled, as will be seen later. Meanwhile the gardener announces the arrival of Gorakhnáth, the saint, and Jewar goes to see him, while Báchhal sends her maid to find out what has caused all the excitement. The maid, Híra Déf, hears that it is due to the arrival of Gorakhnáth from the door-keeper, and takes Báchhal to visit the saint.

The plot here is obscure. Báchhal begs the saint to vouchsafe her a son, but he makes no promise, and the scene changes abruptly. Káchhal, who is undoubtedly Báchhal’s sister, enters and conspires with her slave-girl to visit the saint too. But when she goes to Gorakhnáth, he detects her evil heart, and refuses her request for a son.

According to the published text Káchhal, however, persists in her prayer, to which the saint assents, but I take it that Báchhal is meant—on page 138 of the text. However this may be, Báchhal again comes to the saint (see page 137) and he appears to tell her that she is not destined to have a son. But all this part (up to page 138) is very obscure, and only intelligible in the light of other versions. To resume—

Káchhal appears on the scene, and is promised two sons, which she will bear if she eat two seeds, according to the ordinary version, but in this text (page 139) the saint merely gives her two flowers.

Again the scene changes so abruptly as to suggest that the text is very incomplete, and Báchhal appears and receives a promise that she
too shall have a son, but the saint curses Kachhal for her deceit, and declares that she shall die at the birth of her twin, and that they shall only live 12 years. Kachhal now appears on the scene no more, and it may be convenient to pause here and note what other versions say about her.

Sir Richard Temple’s text assumes that Kachhal is Bachhal’s co-wife, and this appears to be far the commonest version. But in another account I find Kachhal represented as the wife of Newar, brother of Jewar. This idea I believe to be a late addition to the story, but that is a point for further discussion.

Kachhal’s conduct is much more lucidly set forth in other versions. According to them she learns that the saint has given Bachhal an appointment for the evening, at midnight one at least says, and she manages to borrow her sister’s clothes, on some pretext not explained, and personates her before the saint, receiving his gift of the twins. Various other details are added, as that Bachhal serves the saint for six months before she can induce him to promise her a son, and so on.

To return now to our published text. We find (page 148) that Jewar’s sister, Sabir Dei, by name, makes mischief. She poisons Jewar’s mind against his wife, and eventually he sends her away to her father’s house at Ghazni. On the road the cart, in which Bachhal is riding, is halted for the midday rest, and the oxen are taken out, whereupon a snake bites them both and they die. This introduces snakes into the drama.

Guga now makes himself heard, and his power over snakes felt, though he has yet to be born. Bachhal weeping at the loss of the oxen falls asleep, and in a dream Guga directs her to cut a branch from a nim tree, and calling on Gorakhnath to heal the oxen. On awaking Bachhal does so, prays to Gorakhnath, repeats the charms for the 8 kinds of snakes and sings the praises of the charmer. The oxen are forthwith cured and come to life again.

In our present text Bachhal goes on to Gajni Fort, as Ghazni is called on page 155, and falls into her mother’s arms. She tells her all her story, and adds the curious detail that though 12 months have elapsed, Guga is not yet born. Guga again speaks, and protests that he will be for ever disgraced if he is born in his maternal grandfather’s house, an idea which is quite new to me. In the Punjab it is the rule, at least in certain parts, for a wife to go to her parents’ home for her first confinement. He implores them to show his father some great miracle in order that he may take back his mother.

1 Gajni or Gajnipur, the ancient name of Ravalpindi, may be indicated; not Ghazni—which was then Muhammadan.

2 Dr. Hutchinson notes:— ‘The explanation probably is that from ancient times till quite recently no Rajput maiden after marriage might ever again return to her father’s home. And under no circumstances might she or her husband be in any way indebted to his hospitality—not even for a cup of cold water. This custom was abandoned within the last 10 or 15 years chiefly, I believe, on the initiative of the Mahrája of Kashmir. Even at the wedding in November 1915 the Mahrája had all supplies for himself and his special attendants—even to their drinking water—sent from Jammu. The bridegroom and his friends were of course the guests of the Chamba State as well as the general company of wedding guests.’
Again we have an abrupt change of scene, and find ourselves back in Jewar's palace. Jewar laments his harshness towards Báchhal, and his vazfr advises him to depute him to fetch her back. The vazfr sets out to Gajni, where he is met by the king Chandarbhán, who, we thus learn, is Báchhal's father, and Jewar takes Báchhal back with him without any miracle or fuss of any kind, an instance of the playwright's entire lack of literary skill.

On their return to Jewar's capital, a place called Gard Darera later on in the poem, Gúga is at last born at midnight on the 8th-9th of Bhádon. Pandit Bangachár thinks this an auspicious date, and avers that Gúga's votaries will use fans of flowers and blue flags, which they of course do, and all the land of Bágar rejoiced. Rájá Jewar bids his vazfr acknowledge Gúga as his heir by putting on him the sign of royalty, although Káchhal's twins had presumably been born before Gúga. However this may be, I take it that by putting on the sign of royalty can only be meant the mark which would make Gúga the tika or heir-apparent to Jewar. But it is important to note that Jewar for some reason or other hesitates to make this order, and after Gúga's birth two months elapse before he is thus recognized.

A considerable period, nearly 12 years at least, now elapses, and in the next scene we find Gúga out hunting. Tortured by the heat he rides up to a well and asks a Brahman woman to give him some water to drink, but she refuses on the ground that her pitcher is an earthen one and would be defiled, apparently, if he were to drink from it. Gúga, vexed at her refusal, invokes Gorakhnáth and shoots an arrow, where- with he breaks both the Brahman woman's pitchers, so that the water drenches her body. Weeping, she curses Gúga, and his children, but Báchhal endeavours to atone for the insult. Why the insult was such an inexplicable one is not clear.

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

Báchhal is greatly distressed at this breach of faith, and on learning the cause of her grief Gúga goes to the forest, and there sings the mode of defiance and war. His flute-playing charms the beasts and birds of the forest. Básak Nág, the king of the Snakes, sends his servant Tátit Nág to see who it is.

1 Whether this is a rain-charm or not I am unable to say. A similar but expanded version of the rite occurs in the legend of Rájá Basáli, who first breaks the pitchers of the women of the city with stones. They complain to Sáliván who bids them use pitchers of iron, but these he breaks with his iron-tipped arrows.—Legends of the Punjab, I, pp. 6-7. Apparently a fertility charm is hinted at. Possibly a man who could succeed in breaking a jar of water poised on a woman's head once acquired a right over her. According to Aryan usage a shave might be unmanned by his own pouring over his head a pot of water, with grain and flowers, and the custom of pouring out water was observed in all ceremonies accompanying the transfer of property; for instance it took place when land was sold, and when a father handed over his daughter to her husband. Witnesses to the examination before a fire and a jar of water. See Barnett's Antiquities of India, pp. 128 and 126. We find the custom again in the Dám legend—see infra—current in the Simla Hills.
Gúga's legend analysed.

Gúga informs Tátig Nág that he is the grandson of Rájá Amar, and that his village is Gard Daréra; he adds his name of Gúga was given him by Gorakhnáth, but says nothing about its popular form gúgal, bdellium, a plant commonly used for incense. He tells, however, of the broken betrothal, and Básak places Tátig Nág's services at his disposal.

Gúga accordingly sends Tátig Nág to Dhúpnagar, a place across 7 rivers, where Siriál, as she is now called, lives in the country of Kári, whose patron goddess is Kamachhya, and whose people are great wizards. At Dhúpnagar Tátig Nág finds Siriál in her garden, and, assuming the guise of a Brahman, he gains access to her, then suddenly resuming his own form of a snake he bites her, while she is bathing in the tank. But it is perhaps important to note that he only succeeds at his second attempt, for on first resuming his snake's form he climbs a tree and thence attempts to bite Siriál, but is detected by her before he can effect his object.

A maid hastens to inform Sánja of his daughter's peril, and Tátig Nág, again taking the form of a Brahman, goes to the palace, where he meets the pankári (or female water-carrier) who appears to be the maid-of-all-work there, what has happened. She tells him and he sends her to tell the Rájá that a snake-charmer has come. When ushered into the Rájá's presence, Tátig Nág exacts a promise in writing that the betrothal shall be carried out if Siriál recovers, and then cures her, taking a branch of the nim tree, and using charms, but showing practical ability by sucking all the poison down into her big toe. Sánja does not openly repudiate his promise, but fixes the wedding 7 days ahead, yet in spite of the shortness of the time Gúga is miraculously transported to Dhúpnagar in time for the nuptials, with an immense retinue which it almost ruins Sánja to entertain. Siriál takes a tender farewell of her mother and on reaching Gard Daréra is presented to Báchhal by Gorakhnáth.

We now come to the last act in the drama. Gúga goes to see his twin cousins, Arjan and Surjan, the sons of Káchhal. They, however, demand a moiety of the property, but Gúga objects to any partition. Then they persuade Gúga to go out hunting with them, and treacherously attack him, but Gúga slays them both, and returns home with their heads tied to his horse's saddle. He then returns home and shows the heads to Báchhal, who upbraids him for his deed, and says:—'See me no more, nor let me see you again.' Gúga takes her at her word, and appeals to the Earth mother to swallow him up. But the Earth refused on the curious ground that he is a Hindu and should be burnt, only Muhammadans being buried. So she advises him to go to Rattan Háji and learn of him the creed of Isláim. Now Háji Rattan was a Muhammadan of Bhaftinda, but the Earth is made to direct Gúga to Ajmer. Thither Gúga goes, meets the Háji and Khwája Khízir, the Muhammadan water-spirit, and from the former learns the Musalmán creed. He then returns to Gard Daréra where the Earth receives him. This ends the play.

The song of Gúga given in Volume III of the Legends of the Punjab purports to be a historical poem, though its history is now what
mixed. It plunges in mediae res, commencing with a fuller and very interesting account of the quarrel between Gūga and his twin cousins.

In the first place, we notice that Bāchhal has adopted Arjan and Surjan, who ask:—“Are we to call thee Mother or Aunt? Thou art our dharma ki mātā, i.e. adoptive mother.” Do the cousins base their claim to a moiety of the property on this adoptive relationship? I think the answer must be ‘yes.’ Bāchhal urges Gūga to make them his land-brothers, but describes them as her sister’s sons. Gūga retorts that they are not the sons of his father’s brother, a statement which is quite irreconcilable with the idea that they are the sons of Newar, Jewar’s brother, alluded to above. It seems clear that for some reason or other the twins are of doubtful or extraneous paternity.

The twins, however, are bent on enforcing their claim, and they set out for Delhi. In response to their appeal, the emperor Firoz Shāh takes a large force to reduce his contumacious feudatory to obedience. Gūga, taunted by Sīrīal, goes forth to fight, with all the ceremony of a Rājput warrior. But, interesting as this passage is, we need not dwell upon it, as it does not affect the development of the plot. After a Homeric combat, Gūga slays the sons of his mother’s sister, defeats Firoz Shāh, and returns to his palace. There Bāchhal meets him and demands news of the twins. Gūga says he has no news, but eventually shows her their heads tied to his horse’s saddle, whereupon she bids him show his face no more.

A third version is current in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces, and was published in the Indian Antiquary.

**The Bijnor Version.**

Under Prithvī Rājā, Chaubhān, of Delhi, there ruled in Māru-dēsa, now called the Bāgar, a king named Nār Singh or Mār Singh (called Amar Singh further on), whose family stood thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amar Singh</th>
<th>Kānwar Pāl of Sirsa Patan in Bijnor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewar</td>
<td>Bāchhal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gūga.

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

1 Yet, we are assured, the phrase dharma bāp is never used for adoptive father.

2 For the thām bād or earth brother in Karnāl see infra, under fictitious kinship. A stranger might be adopted as a thām bād; but by so doing he lost all rights in his natural family—Karnāl Gazetteer, 1890, p. 138. The story points to a conflict between the agnostic and cognatic principles.
Gorakh has her beaten, but Káni Pawá protests, and induces Gorakh to go to Bhagwan, who says that Báchhal is not destined to beat a son. Gorakh replies that he is well aware of that, and that is just why he has come. So Bhagwan rubs some of the dirt out of his head, and Báchhal divides it into four parts, giving one to a Brahmani, one to a sweepere’s wife, a third to a gray mare, and keeping the fourth for herself. All four females, hitherto barren, now become fruitful. 1

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

On the road back to Jever’s capital, Gúga makes Rájá Vásúki acknowledge his power by performing kandárí, a form of worship to Fátima. 2 Finally in due course, Gúga is born as Zábir Pé, simultaneously with Nara Sínba Pánre to the Brahmani, Patiýá Chamár to the sweeppress, and Bachrá, the colt, to the mare.

One day Gúga goes to Búndí and finds Surail, king Sanjai’s daughter, in the garden. He plays dice with her and finally wins her. But when Sanjai sends the signs of betrothal Arjan and Surjan object that, owing to an old feud with Búndí, it cannot be accepted. In this Amar Singh agrees, but Gúga insists on its acceptance, and eventually says the wedding procession will start on the 9th of Bhádou bádi. Meanwhile as Amar Singh will not go, Báchhal tries to get her father to attend the wedding, but he declines. It appears that by this time Jever is dead, and so Gúga falls back on Gorakh, who calls him ‘Káni Pawá’s brother, Záhir Pé,’ an unexplained title.

After his marriage, while out hunting one day, Gúga shoots a deer, but Arjan and Surjan claim it. Then they say that half the kingdom is theirs, because their mother and Gúga’s were sisters! They also claim Surail because to them Búndí had sent the signs of betrothal, and not to Gúga, a fact not stated before. They then complain to Píráhví Rájá, and he sends an army to help them, but Gúga kills Surjan with an arrow, wherever Arjan cries like a child, and so Gúga kills him too. On his return Gúga tries to put his mother off, but at last he shows her the heads and challenges her to say which is which. Reproached by her Gúga makes for the forest. In Sāwan, when newly-wed brides dress up in their best and swing, Surail weeps, and Gúga says to his steed: “Let us go and see thy brother’s wife, who is weeping for thy brother.” 3

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1 This scene vividly recalls the piece of Greco-Buddhist sculpture in the Lahore Museum which formed the subject of Dr. Vogel’s paper in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, 1, pp. 185-40. There we have the mare with her foal, the woman with her child, and the groom with some horses heads. The simultaneous birth by similar miraculous power of a prince, his brothers and attendants, and even the animals who serve him is a stock incident in folk lore which would appear to be derived from the Buddhist teaching that all life has a common origin. An instance of its occurrence will be found in the legend of Magneshwar from the Simla Hills—infra.

2 In which males have no part.

3 If the steed was Bachrá, he was in a sense Gúga’s (half) brother, so by ‘thy brother’ Gúga means himself.
The Sirsa and Nábha versions.

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

The Rájpútána version.

According to Tod 1 Gúga was the son of Vachá Chauhán, Rájá of Jangal Des, which stretched from the Sutlej to Hariána, and whose capital was at Mehera, or Gúga ká Mairí, on the Sutlej. Gúga, with his 45 sons and 60 nephews, fell in defence of his capital on Sunday, the 9th of the month. 2 Oaths are sworn on his sáká. His steed, Javádiá, was born of one of the two barley-corns which Gúga gave his queen. The name is now a favourite one for horses.

A variant from Sirsa.

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

Umar (sic), Chauhán, a chieftain of Bágar in Bikánér.

Jhewar x Báchhal.

Ugdi-Gúga, who was born at Dadréra, in Bikánér, about 50 miles from Sirsa, and who flourished as late as the time of Aurangzeb (1658—1707).

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

A variant from the Nábha State.

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

1 Rájaštán, II, 413. For further data from Tod see p. 16 post.
2 A day held sacred to the manes of Gúga throughout Rájpútána, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gúga-ka-thál.
Chauhan Rájpút. The story runs that Gorakhnáth came to the Rájá’s garden, where he lit a fire and subsequently bade his disciple Ogar take some bhabáti (ashes) from his wallet and scatter them over the trees and plants which had all dried up. The ashes caused them to bloom again. Jíwar’s queen Báchhal, seeing this begged the saint to bestow children upon her. But after serving him for 12 years, on the very day that her prayer was to be granted, Achhal borrowed her clothes and went to Gorakhnáth from whom she received two barley-corns. She gave birth to twins in due course, but meanwhile Báchhal had to serve the saint for yet another 12 years, after which period he went in search of a son for her. With Shiva he went to Rájá Básak, who had 101 sons, and asked him for one of them, but his queen refused to give up a single one of them. This incensed the Rájá who foamed at the mouth, and Gorakhnáth promptly saturated some gúgal in the saliva. This gúgal he gave to Báchhal, and she ate some of it herself and gave the rest to her Brahman’s and sweeper’s wives, and a little to her mare. Báchhal in due course gave birth to Gúga, the Bhabmaní to Nársingh, the sweepress to Bhajú, and the mare to a blue colt.

When Gúga grew up, the sons of his mother’s sister claimed a share of his father’s estate, but this he refused them. They appealed to the court, and a force was sent against Gúga. In the fight which ensued, Nársingh and Bhajú were both killed, but Gúga cut off the twins’ heads and took them to his mother. She drove him from her presence and he went 12 kos into the jungle, and dismounting from his horse found an elevated spot, whence he prayed to the earth to swallow him up. She replied that as he was a Hindu she could not do so. Instantly the saints, Khwája Muli ud-din, Rátn Háji and Míran Sáhib, appeared and converted him to Islám. Gúga then recited the kalima and hid himself in the earth. His tomb is shown on the spot and an annual fair is held there on the 9th bádi Bhádon. Its guardians are Muhammadan Rájpúts, but Muhammadans are said not to believe that Gúga was a Muhammadan, though some low-caste Muhammadan tribes believe in him too. Many people worship him as king of the snakes, and sweepers recite his story in verse. It is said that Hindus are not burnt but buried after death within a radius of 12 kos from his shrine. Close by it is the tomb of Nársingh at which libations of liquor are made: and that of Bhajú, to whom gram and he-buffaloes are offered.

A NEW VERSION FROM GÚGAON.

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

Mr. Longworth Damos suggests that the prevalence of burial among the Bhabnols who are found in the very tract, the Búgar, referred to in the legends of Gúga, must be connected with the legend.

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

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

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

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

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

When he had grown up Gúga married Seral. His twin cousins did all they could to prevent this match, but Nārsingh ādh and Kaila

1 On Tuesday, the 9th of Bhādon, in Sambh 593, Vikramajit, in the reign of Rāi Pithora.
bīr¹ assisted him. Another version is that the twins attempted
to trick Rājā Sindha into giving Seral to them instead of to Gūga.
One day on his return from hunting he saw Nārī, the wife of his
parokhit, drawing water from a well, and, as he was thirsty, he bade
her give him some to drink. Thinking he spoke in jest she was going
away without doing so, when he shot an arrow at her pitcher, which
was broken and all her clothes drenched with the water.

Eager to revenge this insult the parokhit demanded a whole village
as his fee for services at Gūga’s wedding. This Gūga refused, as he
had already given the Brahman 101 cows, and on his persisting in the
demand Gūga struck him with his wooden shoes. Thereupon the
Brahman went to Gūga’s cousins and urged them to demand a partition
of the joint estate. Gūga told them they could have full enjoyment of
the whole property, but at a sign from the Brahman they persisted in
their demand for its division. Gūga accordingly bade Nāreṅgh bīr, his
familiar, seize the twins and recast them into prison, but at his mother’s
intercession they were released.² Instigated, however, by the Brahman
they went to lay their suit before Pirthī Rāj, king of Delhi, and he
deputed his officer, Ganga Rām, to effect the partition. But Gūga
having had Ganga Rīm beaten and his face blackened turned him out
of the city.

This brought Pirthī Rāj on to the scene with an army, but when
he bade the parokhit summon Gūga that mischief-maker advised the
king to seize Gūga’s cows and detain them till nightfall. Seeing that
his kine did not return at evening Gūga mounted his horse and attacked
the king. His forces comprised the men of 22 neighbouring villages
together with Gorakhnāth’s invisible array. Presenting himself before
the king Gūga offered to surrender all he had, if any one could pull
his spear out of the ground. No champion, however, accepted this
challenge, and so the battle began. Gūga smote off both his cousins’ heads
and tied them to his saddle. He then drove the defeated king’s army into
Hissār town, and though the gates were closed against him he forced a
way in, whereupon the king submitted and sued for pardon.

On his return home Bāchla asked which side had won, but Gūga,
parched with thirst, only replied by casting his cousins’ heads at her feet.
At this sight Bāchla bade him not show her his face again. In his
distress Gūga stood beneath a champā tree and prayed the Earth to
swallow him up, but it bade him learn yog of Rātī Nāth,³ Jogi at
Bhatinda, or else accept the kālīma. On the way thither he met
Gorakhnāth who taught him yog, and in the Dhaulī Dharī the earth
then answered his prayer, engulfing him with his horse and arms, on the 14th bādi of Asauj.

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

¹ Two of the 300 disciples who accompanied Gorakhnāth.
² According to one account Bāchla, their own mother, is said to have died, where–
on Bāchla adopted them both as her own sons.
³ Bābā Rāhī Śāhib of Bhatinda, more correctly called Hājī Abul Raza Rān Tabrindī or Tabarhindī.
spear. Next morning she told her old nurse, Sandal, of the dream and was advised by her to pass the rest of her life in devotion. As a reward her prayers were heard and the Almighty bade Gūga visit his wife every night at midnight. Gūga obeyed, but stipulated that his mother should not hear of his visits. Once, however, at the ti j festival in Sāwan all the women, dressed in their finest, clothes, went to Bāchla to ask her to permit Gūga’s wife join in the festivities, and Bāchla sent a maid to call her. She came, putting off all her ornaments, &c.—which she was wearing in anticipation of Gūga’s visit,—but the girl told Bāchla what she had seen. Bāchla, suspecting her daughter-in-law’s fidelity to Gūga’s memory, urged her to tell her all, and when she refused to reveal the truth, beat her. Under the lash she disclosed Gūga’s visits, but still Bāchla was incredulous and exacted a promise that she should herself see Gūga. Next night Gūga came as usual, and Bāchla ran to seize his horse’s bridle, but Gūga cast his mantle on the ground and bade her pick it up. As she stooped to do so, he put spurs to his horse, reminding her of her own command that he should show his face to her no more, and disappeared.

Thus ends the legend of Gūga. It is added that when Muhammad of Ghor reached Darūhera on his way to Delhi, the drums of his army ceased to sound. And hearing the tale of Gūga the invader vowed to raise a temple to him on the spot if he returned victorious. Accordingly the present mārī at Darūhera was erected by the king.

In his Custom and Myth Mr. Andrew Lang remarks that there are two types of the Cupid, Psyche, and the ‘Sun-Frog’ myths, one that of the woman who is forbidden to see or to name her husband; the other that of the man with the vanished fairy bride. To these must now be added a third variant, that of the son who is forbidden to see his mother’s face, because he has offended in some way. Again Mr. Langs would explain the separation of the lovers as the result of breaking a taboo, or law of etiquette, binding among men and women, as well as between men and fairies. But in the third type of these myths this explanation appears to be quite inadequate, as the command to Gūga that he shall see his mother’s face no more must, I think, be based upon some much stronger feeling than mere etiquette.

Gūga in Kulu.

Gūga was killed by the dāins. He will re-appear in the fold of a cow-herd, who is warned that the cattle will be frightened at his re-appearance, and that he must not use his mace of 20 maunds. When he appears, however, the cattle are terrified and the cow-herd knocks him on the head with his mace. Hence Gūga only emerges half-way from the earth. His upper half is called Zāhir Pīr and his lower Lakhdāta. The former is worshipped by Muhammedans and the latter by Hindus.

Gūga’s pedigree in Kulu is given thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bāchla, sister to Kāchla.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gūga</td>
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</table>

¹ Doubtless a diminutive of Jaur.
Mundlikh in Chamba.

The two brothers looted a cow, called Gogo, which belonged to Brahma and this led to their fight with Guga. In Guga's temple (makán) at Sultánpur which belongs to Chamars Guga and his wazír tribal are mounted on horses and Gogri on a mare while Naír Singh, Kaila Bìr and Gorakhnáth are on foot.

The Cult of Mundlikh.

The deified hero of the Mundlikh cult in Chamba is doubtless the valiant Rájput champion, Guga. Chauhán1 who lived at Garh Dander, near Bindraban, in the time of Pirthví Ráj, the last Hindu King of Delhi, A. D. 1170—93. Guga is said to have fought many battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last his head was severed from his body, hence the name Mundlikh from munda head, and likh a line. He is said to have continued fighting without the head, and by some to have disappeared in the ground, only the point of his spear remaining visible. The legend is sung to the accompaniment of music by the hill bards, and with such pathos that their audiences are often moved to tears. Mundlikh's death is supposed to have taken place on the ninth day of the dark half of the moon in Bhádón, and from that date for eight days his shrírāda, called Guggnáih, is yearly observed at his shrines. He is represented by a stone figure of a man on horseback, accompanied by similar figures of his sister Guggari, a deified heroine, his wazír, Kailu, and others. The rites of worship are much the same as at Devi temples.

Mundlikh has a mandar at Garh in pargana Tísá, another at Palewar in Sahu, and Guga Mundlikh-Siddha has one at Shálú in Himgari. The temples are of wood and stone.

The images are of stone, but vary in size and number, that at Garh being about a foot high, and that of Palewar containing four idols mounted on horseback, while at Shálú, Gugga Mundlikh is represented by the statue of a body of twelve. There are no incumbents at Garh, but at Palewar the chela and pujíra are weavers, in whose families the offices are hereditary. Guga's chela and pujíra are Chamars, and their offices are also hereditary. The Mundlikh of Garh goes on tour for eight days after the Janam Ashtami in Bhádón. He of Palewar goes on tour for three days after, and Guga's chain and umbrella (chhatar) are paraded through the villages for the eight days after the Janam Ashtami.

Rána Mundlikh, otherwise called Guga Chauhán, was a Rájput Chief whose kingdom called Garh Dadner is said to have been near Bindraban. His father's name was Devi Chand and his mother's Báchila. His parents had been married a good many years, but no son had been born to them, and this was a cause of grief, especially to the wife. One day while using the looking glass Báchila noticed that her hair was becoming grey, and overcome with sadness she burst into tears. Her husband coming in at the moment asked her the reason of her grief, and she told him that all hope of offspring had died out in

1 Fide Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. xiv, pp. 81-84, and xvii, p. 169. Jaya Chandra, the last Rájá of Kanañí, was also called Mundlikh by the Chauhán bards. He fell in battle with the Muhammadans, A. D. 1194. Fide also Kangra Gazetteer, p. 102.
hear. If no one was born while she was young, how could she expect now that age was stealing over her. The husband tried to comfort her, but she refused to be comforted, and insisted on leaving the palace and retiring into the jungles to practise _tapas_ or self-mortification, in the hope of thereby having a son. Thus 12 years went past and Báchila was reduced to a shadow of herself by her austerities. One day a visitor came to her but and announced himself as Jogi Gorakhnáth. He asked why she was undergoing such self-denial and she replied that he might judge for himself as to the cause of her distress. As the wife of a Rájpút chief she had all things—money, jewellery and position—but all these were held in light esteem for no son had come to bless their name. He replied that her _tapas_ had earned its reward, and that she should return to her home and come to him in three days when the boon she craved would be granted. Báchila then went back to her palace and told her story which caused much rejoicing. Now Báchila had a sister name Káchila, the wife of the Rája of Garh Mályá, and she too was childless. On hearing of her sister’s return Káchila at once came to visit her and on learning of the promised boon from Gorakhnáth she determined to secure it for herself, by personating her sister. Having purloined Báchila’s clothes and jewellery she on the following day—one day before the appointed time—presented herself before the saint and demanded the boon. He found fault with her for coming before the time, but she said she could not wait longer, and that he must give what he had to give now. Accordingly he handed to her two barley seeds and told her to go home and eat them and two sons would be born to her. This she did, and in due time her sons—Arjan and Surjan—were born.

On the day fixed by the Jogi, Báchila presented herself before him and craved the boon promised. Gorakhnáth, not knowing of the deceit practised on him, blamed her for coming again, after having already received what she asked. Being annoyed at his answer and thinking he was disinclined to fulfil his promise, she turned away and went back to the jungle where she resumed her _tapas_ and continued it for 12 years more. At the end of that time Gorakhnáth again came to her and promised that she should have her reward. He then put some ashes into her hand and told her to keep them, but being annoyed at the form of the gift she threw them away and from them sprung Nurya Siddh and Gurrya Siddh, who began to worship the Gurú. Gorakhnáth then said “Why did you throw away the boon? You have done wrong, but in consideration of your great _tapas_ it will begin a second time.” He then gave more ashes and told her to take them home and swallow them. She, however, ate the ashes on the spot and at once her belly swelled up, from which she knew that she had conceived. On returning home, Devi Chand, her husband, seeing her belly swollen, said “You have brought a bastard from the Jogi or Gosaín.” She remained silent, and vexed at her reception and ordering a bullock-cart started for her parents’ home. Now her father was Rája Kripál of Ajmer, and on the way to his palace the oxen stopped and refused to go on. Then a voice came from her womb saying:—“Return to your home or I will remain unborn 12 years.” On turning the cart the oxen at once started off towards Garh Dadner and Báchila resumed her place in
the palace. In due time her son was born, and when he was 7 years old his father abdicated and he became Ráná. A daughter named Gugeri was also born to Báchila. Mundlíkh's birth took place on the first Sunday in Mágh, and in the morning Báchila had a brother whose name was Pithoria (Prithwi Rájá).

The next event of importance was Mundlíkh's betrothal, and this was arranged through a Brahman, with Surjila, the daughter of the Rájá of Bangála. Now Surjila had already been betrothed to Básak Nág, king of the Nágés. In due time Mundlíkh set out for Gaur Bangála with a large retinue to celebrate his nuptials. In his train were 52 Bírs, including Kailu Bír, his Kotwál, and Hanúmán Bír with an army of 9 lakhs of men. In the course of their journey they encamped on the bank of a river, and great deal of smoke was observed on the other side indicating another large encampment. Thereupon Mundlíkh called for a Bír to cross and ascertain the reason for such a gathering. Kailu Bír volunteered for this duty. Mounting his steed Agandúariya he struck it once, and at one bound was transported across the river. Dismounting Kailu left his horse in concealment and assuming the disguise of a Brahman, with a book in his hand, he entered the encampment, and encountered the principal officer. On enquiry he was told that Básak Nág on hearing of Mundlíkh's betrothal had come with an immense army to contest his claim to Surjila, who had in the first instance been betrothed to himself. Kalihár said to Kailu Bír: "He will destroy Mundlíkh's army, and first of all Kailu Bír, his kotwál, shall be killed." On this Kailu's anger was kindled, but pretending to help he said: "Conceal yourselves in the tall grass and attack Mundlíkh's army as it marches past. This they did, and then Kailu throwing off his disguise mounted his horse, which came running towards him. He struck it once and it pranced and reared. At the second stroke sparks came from its hoofs and set fire to the grass in which the Nág army was concealed and all were completely destroyed. At the third stroke he was transported across the river into Mundlíkh's camp where he related all that had happened.

The wedding party then went on to Bangála and on arriving at Gaur Mundlíkh was met by a sorceress sent by Surjila to cast a spell over them so that the Ráná might not wish to return to Garh Dadner (the reason of this presumably was that Surjila did not wish to leave her home). The sorceress cast a garland of beautiful flowers round Mundlíkh's neck so as to work the enchantment: but Hanúmán Bír—who alone seems to have understood the real object—gave a cry and the garland snapped and fell off. This was done thrice, and on the third occasion not only did the garland break but the sorceress's nether garment became loose, leaving her naked. She complained bitterly to Mundlíkh at being thus put to shame, and Hanúmán was reproved for acting like a monkey. At this Hanúmán took offence and said he would return to Garh Dadner, but that it would be the worse for Mundlíkh who would have to remain in Bangála for 12 years. Hanúmán then departed and Mundlíkh entered the palace, and the marriage ceremony was performed and a spell cast on him and his company. Mundlíkh was overcome by love of his wife and became
indifferent to everything, while his followers being also under a spell were led away and distributed as servants etc. all through Bangālā, and there they remained for 12 years.

While Mundilīk and his army were thus held in bondage great distressbefell Gārh Dādner. His cousins, Arjan and Surjan, having been born through the efficacy of the boon granted to Bāchila, regarded themselves as in a sense Bāchila’s sons, and therefore entitled to a share in the kingdom of Dādner. Just then too a wonderful calf called Panch Kaliyāni was born in Gārh Dādner. This they wanted to possess, and hearing of Mundilīk’s absence and captivity they thought it a good time to invade the country. They therefore sent to invite Mahmūd of Ghazni to help them in their invasion, and he came with a great army. All the military leaders and fighting men being absent with Mundilīk the conquest was easily effected and the town was captured with much looting and great slaughter of the inhabitants. But the fort or palace, in which were Bāchila and her daughter, Gugerī, still held out. Looking from the ramparts Gugerī saw the town in ruins, and frantic with anguish she roamed about the palace bewailing their lot and calling Mundilīk. Just then a letter came from Mahmūd demanding the surrender of the fort and promising life and safety to all on condition that Gugerī became a Muhammadian and entered his harem, otherwise the place would be taken by assault and all would be massacred. In her despair Gugerī went from room to room and at last entered Mundilīk’s chamber, which was just as he had left it. His sword in the scabbard was lying on the bed and his pagri lying near. Invoking her brother’s name the sword came to her hand, and donning his pagri she ordered the gate to be opened. Then alone and single-handed she attacked the enemy and routed them with great slaughter.

On her return to the fort Gugerī bethought her of a friend and champion of her brother’s named Ajia Pāl, who lived on his estate not far away. To him she sent a message, imploring him to seek and bring back Mundilīk. Ajia Pāl had for some time been practising tapas, and in his dreams had seen Mundilīk fighting without a head. On receiving Gugerī’s message he started for Bangālā, accompanied by 5 Bīrs among whom were Nārsingh Bīr and Kāli Bīr and two other Bīrs. On arriving in Gaur they went from door to door as mendicants, singing the songs of Gārh Dādner, in the hope that Mundilīk would hear them. He was still under the influence of the spell, and never left his wife or the palace. One day singing was heard in the palace which excited him. Surjila tried to soothe him into apathy, but he insisted on seeing the singers, and at once recognised Ajia Pāl. The spell was now broken, and on hearing of the disasters at Gārh Dādner Mundilīk determined to return. The retinue of Bīrs etc. were all brought out and set free, and accompanied by his Rānī, Surjila, Mundilīk returned to Dādner and resumed his place as Rānā.

Mundilīk is said to have fought many battles, some say 18, with the Muhammadians, and carried the Guggiāna āhūtī to Kābul. In the last of these battles his head was severed from his body by a chakra or

1 More probably 'foal.' The term panch kaliyāni is applied to horses.
discuss which came from above, but the head remained in position, only the line of the chakra being visible, hence the name Mundlikh, from musada head and neck and likha, a line. Seated on his horse Nila-rath he went on fighting, and behind him was Ajia Pál, who watched to see what would happen, having recalled the dream he had had before starting for Bangála. It was believed that if the head remained in its place for 2½ gharis Mundlikh would survive, and 2 gharis had gone. Just then four kites appeared in mid-air saying "Behold what wonderful warfare is this! Mundlikh is fighting without his head." Hearing these words Mundlikh put up his hand to his pagri and looked back towards Ajia Pál, whereupon his head lost its balance and rolled off and he too fell dead from his horse. His death took place on the 9th day of the dark half of the moon in Bhádon, and during that month and from that date for eight days his shrádha is observed at his shrine every year.

An addition to the legend is that Surjila after her husband's death refused to put off her jewellery etc. and don a widow's garb, averring that Mundlikh was alive and visited her every night. On one occasion Gugeri was allowed to stay concealed in the room in which Surjila was waiting, and at midnight a horse's tramp was heard and Gugga dismounted and came into the rooms. Gugeri then quickly withdrew, and on reaching the court found the horse Nila standing waiting for his master. Clasping him round the neck she remained in this position for some distance after Mundlikh had remounted and ridden off. At last he detected her presence and told her that having been seen by her he could not come again.

The above version of the Gugga legend is current in the Chamba hills, and it is noteworthy that in it there is no mention of Gugga having become a Muhammadan or of his having any intercourse with Muhammadans: it may therefore be assumed to represent the older version of the legend. As to the historical facts underlying the legends it seems not improbable that by Gugga is indicated one of the Rájpút kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Ráí Pithor, or Prithwi Rájá, the last Hindu Rájá of Delhi, makes this probable. He reigned from A. D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlikh was probably a title given to Rájpút warriors who distinguished themselves in the wars of the time. There were five Rájpúts who bore this title among the Chudasama princes of Girná in Káthiwár, the first of whom joined Bhíma-deva of Gujrát in the pursuit of Mahmúd of Ghaznî in A. D. 1023.

From the Chauhán bards, who were his enemies, we learn that Jáya Chandra Bāthor, the last Rájá of Kanauj (killed in A. D. 1194), also bore this title. He had taken a leading part in the wars with the Muhammadans, whom he again and again defeated, or drove them back across the Indus. But at last enraged with Prithwi Rájá of Delhi he invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Punjab, with the result that both Delhi and Kanauj were overthrown and the Muhammadans triumphed. Jai Chand was drowned in the Ganges in attempting to escape.
Gūga in Kangra.

Tod1 says that Gūga or Chuhán Gūga was son of Vachā Rājā who acquired renown by his defence of his realm against Mahmūd's invasion. It lay on the Sutlej and its capital was Chihera. In the defence of it he perished with his 45 sons and 60 nephews. Briggs notes that Behera (? Bhera) was a town in (on) the Gāra (Sutlej) often mentioned in early history: it belonged at the first Moslem invasion to Gūga Chauhān.2

The shrines of Gūga are called māri and it seems very usual for them to have one small shrine on the right dedicated to Nār Singh and another on the left to Gorakhnāth, whose disciple Gūga was. Nār Singh was Gūga's minister or dīwān. But in some cases the two subordinate shrines are ascribed to Kāli Singh and Bhūri Singh, Nār Singh being a synonym of one or both of these. In a picture on a well parapet in a Jāt village Gūga appears seated on a horse and starting for the Bāgar, while his mother stands in front trying to stop his departure. In his hands he holds a long staff, bhāta, as a mark of dignity and over his head meet the hoods of two snakes, one coiling round the staff. His standard, chhari, covered with peacock’s feathers is carried about from house to house in Bhādon by Hindu and Muhammadan Jogiś who take the offerings made to him, though some small share in them is given to Chūhrās.3

In Karnāl and Ambāla Jaur Singh is also worshipped along with Gūga, Nār Singh, and the two snake gods. He is explained to be Jewar, the Rājā who was Gūga’s father, but the name may be derived from jora, twin, as Arjan and Surjan are also worshipped under the name of Jaur.4 A man bitten by a snake is supposed to have neglected Gūga.

By listening at night to the story of Gūga during the Dīwālī a Hindu prevents snakes from entering his house.5

The following table gives some details of two Gūga temples in Kangra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pujāri</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Gūga in Saloh, Pāsampur thāna. Gūga manifested himself in 1899 S., and the temple was founded in 1900 S.</td>
<td>Girth ...</td>
<td>Besides small fairs held every Sunday, a fair on the jannam-ashṭami in Bhādon.</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Gūga, Gūgrī, and Gurā Gorakhnāth, each 3 feet high and mounted on a horse. A bāng of water and earth is distributed among the votaries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Bájasthán II, p. 447.
2 Briggs Verista, p. lxii.
3 P. N. Q. I., § 3. Hanūmān and Bhaīron’s shrines are occasionally found together on one side, and Gorakhnāth’s on the other: ibid., § 212.
4 Ib., I, § 8.
5 Ib., IV, § 178.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pujārī</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandīr Shibo dā Thān in Barmar, in Koīla shāna. Some 600 years ago Shibo, a barber, used to worship Gūga, who, pleased with his devotion, directed him to build a temple. So he erected a mandār in which was enshrined the god’s image. Next Gūga conferred on him power to cure snake-bite, saying that whoever drank the water, with which the image had been washed, would be cured. The cure is instantaneous. The descendants of Shibo have similar powers.</td>
<td>Barber … Each Sunday in Sawan.</td>
<td>The temple contains 6 stone carvings of men on horses, height ranging from 1 to 3 feet, and 11 stone pindīs whose height is from 1 to 2 inches. The pindī of Shiva is a foot high and the carving of a cow 2 feet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this district Gūga not only cures snake-bite, but also brings illness, bestows sons and good fortune. His offerings are first-fruits, goats, cakes etc. At Thān Shibo the worship of Gūga appears to have been displaced by that of Bāba Shibo himself for the ḍaṇḍī in charge lays the sufferer from snake-bite in the shrine, says over him prayers in the name of Bāba Shibo and makes him drink of the water in which the idol has been washed. He also makes him eat of the sacred earth of the place and rubs some of it on the bite. Pilgrims also take away some of this earth as a protection. The legend also varies somewhat from those already given. The Rājā’s name is Deorāj and Kachlā has a daughter named Gugri. Gūga is brought up with the foal and taking it with him goes to woe a beautiful maiden with whom he lives, being transformed into a sheep by day and visiting her by night. In his absence a pretender arises who is refused admittance by a blind door-keeper who declares that on Gūga’s return his sight will be restored. Hard pressed Gugri sends a Brahman to Bangāhal to fetch Gūga and escaping the hands of sorcery he mounts his steed, also rejuvenated by the Brahman’s aid, and arrives home. The door-keeper’s sight is restored and Gūga and Gugri perform prodigies of value, the former fighting even after ‘he has lost his head. He is venerated as a god, always represented on horse-back, and his temples are curious sheds not seen elsewhere.\(^1\)

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

\(^1\) P. N. Q., II, § 120.

\(^2\) Kangra Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 102-3. Gūrānmāṭh on p. 103 should clearly be Goralbhānāṭh.
Gúga as an ex-god.

this for the worship of Nársingh, one of the Pir's followers, and outside the wall a socket for, the reception of a bamboo with peacock's feathers on the top. At Bahrah one Sheo Lál, Rájpút, has lately fulfilled a vow for a son bestowed in his old age and built a shrine to Gúga Pir, facing of course the east, with a shrine to Gorakhnáth facing east, and one to Nársingh Dás (sic) west towards the Bágar.

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

But in Ludhiána at Ráikot, where there is a mári to Gúga, a great fair is held on last day but one (anánt chaudás) of Bhádon. This fair, however, is said to be really held in honour of Gúga's cousins. North of the town lies a tank, called Ratíána, at which ever since its foundation a mud hill has been built on that date and Gúga worshipped—owing, it is said, to the fact that a grove full of serpents existed there. The temple was built in fulfilment of a vow for recovery from fever. Once a snake appeared on the mud hill and at the same time a girl was possessed by Gúga and exhorted the people to build him a temple. Its pujáris are Brahman who take the offerings. But the temple fell into ruins and the fair has been eclipsed by that at Chhapár. The latter, also called the Sudlákhan fair, is also held on the anánt chaudás or 15th Bhádon sádi. At a pond near the mári people scoop out earth 7 times. Cattle are brought to be blessed and kept for a night at the shrine as a protection against snakes. Snake-bite can also be cured by laying the patient beside the shrine. The offerings in cash (about Rs. 300 a year) go to the Brahman managers of the shrine, but Mirásis and Chubrás take all edibles offered by Muhammadans and Hindus respectively.

A very interesting explanation of Gúga's origin makes him the god of an ancient creed reduced to the position of a godling subordinate to Vishnu. A gána (Dwárapála) of Mahá Lukshmi was embodied as gúga

1 Said to be derived from Pers. mári, snake.
2 Called chawki bharwánd.

By Pandit Hem Raj, Government High School, Jhelum, who also writes:—

"Folk-etymology makes Gúga a compound of gu (earth) and ga (to go), and says he was converted into gum and reappeared as a man with the power of vanquishing himself into any shape. When his wife saw that his eyes did not move, she asked him his caste and then he disappeared. Some people fast in memory of different forms of Gúga and consider the anánt chaudás and adgaanach as holy." This may explain why the day after the jyasaamití Hindu of Paní Udán Khán tie a yellow thread on their right leg and during Sáwan fast for one day in honour of Gúga. In the rainy season Hindu women in Jhang prepare chári, grated bread mixed with sugar and butter, fill a dish with it and, putting some guw thereon, go to the Cuenab. On an ol beri (pujára nágari) bush on its bank they sprinkle water and place some chári and raw thread at its roots with the following incantation: "Oh Gúga, king of serpents, enter not our homes nor come near our beds." When they go home they take with them a cup of water and sprinkle it over their children and others of the family who come in contact with them.
(the gum of a tree), and reappeared a Sesh Nāg by the auspicious glances of Gorakhnāth, who is known to have the power of controlling Gūga. Gūga is believed to guard hidden treasures. People sometimes offer milk and shkarbat when he appears at their houses as he is believed to dwell in the sea of milk so when he thinks that Vishnu, Lord of the Kḥīr Samundar, approaches he quits the place. He is known by nine names:—Anant, Wāsuki, Sesh, Padm, Nabh, Kambal, Shankhpal, Dharatrasrāth, Takhī and Kāli.

Some believe that he who recites these names morning and evening is immune from snake-bite and prospers wherever he goes.

The classical story of Sesh Nāg is well known, but it is strange to learn that Gūga in the Satyuga, Lāchhman in the Tretā, Baldeva in the Dwāpur and Gorakhnāth in the Kalyug are all forms of the same god. This accords with Dr. Vogel’s suggestion that Baladeva was developed from a Nāga. The Bhāgāratas, like the Buddhists before them, sought to adapt the popular worship of the Nāg as to their new religion.\(^1\)

Sir Richard Temple regards Gugga as “a Rājpūt hero who stemmed the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni and died, like a true Rājpūt, in defence of his country, but by the strange irony of fate he is now a saint, worshipped by all the lower castes, and is as much Musalmān as Hindu. About Kāngra there are many small shrines in his honour, and the custom is, on the fulfilment of any vow made to him, for the maker thereof to collect as many people as he or she can afford, for a small pilgrimage to the shrine, where the party is entertained for some days. Such women as are in search of a holiday frequently make use of this custom to get one: witness the following:—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga:
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga,
Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation
Let us soothe our hearts with a little conversation,
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga.\(^2\)

**The Jain version of Gūga.**

In the time of Nandibrahma who reigned 2431 years ago Chandkosia, a huge venomous snake, lived in a forest near Kankhal. Whate
erver he looked at was burnt to ashes so that not even a straw was to be seen within 1½ miles of his hole, and no passer-by escaped with his life. When the 24th Autār Mahābīr Swāmi turned mendicant, he passed by Chandkosia’s hole disregarding all warnings, and though the serpent bit his foot thrice he was not injured. Mahābīr asked him:—

“What excuse will you give to God for your ruthless deeds?” Chandkosia on this repented and drawing his head into his hole only exposed the rest of his body so that the way should be safe for travellers. Thenceforth he was regarded as a snake-god and wayfarers and milkwomen sprinkled ḍhī, milk, oilseeds, rice and ḍassī (watered milk) when they

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passed that way. The ants too assembled and wounded his whole body, but the serpent did not even turn on his side lest they might be crushed. He now became known as Gúga.

According to the Sri Mat Bhágwat the rishi Kapp had two wives, Kadro and Benta. Kadro gave birth to a snake and Benta to a garur which is the vehicle of Bhagwán. The snake, who could transform himself into a man at will, was called Gúga. So Hindus regard both the garur and snake as sacred.
SPIRIT WORSHIP.

VENERATION OF THE HOMESTEAD AND ANCESTORS.—The earth (Prithi) is a common object of worship in the south-east of the province; but it usually appears in the form of Bhúmísa, or the god of the homestead, whose shrine in the village consists either of a small building with a domed roof or of nothing more than a masonry platform. This deity is more especially adored at the return of a marriage procession to the village. A similar deity is the Khéra Deota, or Chanwand, who is often confused with Bhúmísa, but who is said to be the wife of Bhúmísa and has sometimes a shrine in a village in addition to that of Bhúmísa and is worshipped on Sunday only. In the centre of the province the most conspicuous object of worship of this kind among the peasants is the jathera or ancestral mound; and the jathera represents either the common ancestor of the village or the common ancestor of the tribe or caste.

One of the most celebrated of these jatheras is Kála Mahab, the ancestor of the Sindhu Jats, who has peculiar influence over cows, and to whom the first milk of every cow is offered. The place of the jathera is, however, often taken by the tech or mound which marks the site of the original village of the tribe.

The four deities Suraj Deota, Jamsa Ji, Dharti Mátá and Khodja Khizer are the only ones to whom no temples are built. To the rest of the village godlings a small brick shrine from 1 to 2 feet cubic, with a bulbous head and perhaps an iron spike as a finial, is erected, and in the interior lamps are burnt and offerings placed. It never contains idols, which are found only in the temples of the greater gods. The Hindu shrine must always face the east, while the Musalmán shrine is in form of a grave and faces the south. This sometimes gives rise to delicate questions. In one village a section of the community became Muhammadans. The shrine of the common ancestor needed rebuilding, and there was much dispute as to its shape and aspect. They solved the difficulty by building a Musalmán grave facing south, and over it a Hindu shrine facing east. In another village an imperial trooper was once burnt alive by the shed in which he was sleeping catching fire, and it was thought well to propitiate him by a shrine, or his ghost might become troublesome. He was by religion a Musalmán; but he had been burnt and not buried, which seemed to make him a Hindu. After much discussion the latter opinion prevailed, and a Hindu shrine with an eastern aspect now stands to his memory. The most honoured of the village deities proper is Bhúmísa or the god of the homestead, often called Khéra (a village). The erection of his shrine is the first formal step by which the proposed site of a new village is consecrated; and where two villages have combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the people of the one which moved still worship at the Bhúmísa of the deserted site. Bhúmísa is worshipped after the harvests, at marriages, and on the birth of a male

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1 The sun-god, however, certainly had temples in India in ancient times. There was one at Taxila: Arch. Survey Reports, II, p. 114; and at Multán: ibid. V, pp. 116 and 120. Pariahs used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Naraj (step) taught them idolatry: Briggs Parsi, i, p. ixviii. But in later times images of Surya or Aditya were rare: A. S. B. XIII, p. 69. For the absence of roofs to temples to the Sun, see infra under ISLAM, Hypothetical shrines.
Ancestor-worship.

child, and Brahmans are commonly fed in his name. Women often take their children to the shrine on Sundays; and the first milk of a cow or buffalo is always offered there.

The above paragraphs are reproduced here as they stand, but the present writer's information appears to justify some modifications in them. The Bhūmīa is hardly the god of the homestead. He is the godling of the village. And it is very doubtful whether the jathera is ever the common ancestor of the village. He is essentially the tribal ancestor or at least a prominent member of the tribe. The worship of the jathera is a striking feature of the Jāts' religion, though it is not suggested that it is confined to them. A full account of it will be found in Vol. II, p. 374, post. The following details are of more general application:

In Gurgao the Bhūmīa is generally one of the founders of the village, or in one instance at least the Brahman of the original settlers. The special day for offerings is the chawdas or 11th of the month. Some Bhūmias are said to grant their votaries' prayers, and to punish those who offend them. Some are easy and good-tempered, but they are neglected in comparison with those who are revengeful or malignant. To these offerings are often made. A somewhat similar local deity is Chanwand, or Khera deota. Sometimes described as the wife of Bhūmīa, other villages seem to place her or him in his place, but Chanwand is worshipped on Sundays and his shrine is often found in addition to that of Bhūmīa in the same village.

Among the minor deities of the village in Rohtak the Bhaiyon is by far the most important. The shrine of the god of the homestead is built at the first foundation of a village, two or three bricks often being taken from the Bhaiyon of the parent estate to secure a continuity of the god's blessing. It is placed at the outside of the village, though often a village as it expands gradually encircles it. A man who builds a fine new house, especially a two-storied one, will sometimes add a second storey to the Bhaiyon, as at Badli, or whitewash it or build a new subsidiary shrine to the god. Every Sunday evening the house-wives of the village, Muhammadans included, set a lamp in the shrine. A little milk from the first flow of a buffalo will be offered here, and the women will take a few reeds of the gandhar grass and sweep the shrine.

1 Bhūmīa, should, by his name, be the god of the land and not of the homestead. But he is most certainly the latter, and is almost as often called Khera as Bhūmīa. There is also a village god called Khetripil or the field nourisher, and also known as Bairoon; but he is not often found. In some places however Khera Deota or godling of the village area is also called Chanwand and alleged to be the wife of Bhūmīa (Channing's Gurgao Settlement Report, p. 34; see also Alwar Gazetteer, p. 70). It is a curious fact that among the Gonds and Bhils the word Bhumīa means priest or medicine man, while among the Korkas, another Kolian tribe, Bhumīka stands for high priest. It is also said to mean a village bull somewhere. For Kala Mohar see p. 233 infra.

2 Chanwand appears to be also found in Sirmaur under the name of Chawind. The local legend current in that State runs thus:—A girl of Manon, a village in Sirmaur, was married in Keonthal State. Returning when pregnant to her father's house on the occasion of some festivity, she was seized with the pangs of labour while crossing the Giri and gave birth to two serpents, which fell into the stream. For some hours the serpents remained in each other's embrace and then separated, one going to Tarboch, in Keonthal and the other to Dihala Deothi in Sirmaur where it died shortly afterwards. It is now worshipped as Chawind deota, and a temple was erected at Deothi, which means a 'place dedicated to a god,' or 'the abode of a god.'
and then praying to be kept clean and straight as they have swept the
shrine, will fix them to its face with a lump of mud or cow-dung.
Women who hope for a child will make a vow at the shrine, and if
blessed with an answer to the prayer, fulfill the vow. At Lobháheri
vows for success in law-suits are also made here. The Bhaiyon is the
same as the Bhúmian or Bhonpál of adjacent districts. Bhonpál is said
to have been a Ját whom Išar could not make into a Brahman,
but to whom he promised that he should be worshipped of all men.

Each village has its Panchpír in addition to its Bhaiyon. Often
this is no more than a mud pillar with a flag on the top or similarly
marked spot, and generally seems to be near a tank or under a jat tree
and away from the village, but at Asauda it is much more like a
Bhaiyon in appearance. In Naíábás it is said that the first man to die
in a village after its foundation becomes Panchpír, the second Bhaiyon.
Little seems to be known of the worship of this deity.

In Gurgaon the Saiyid-ká-thán or Saiyad’s place is to the Muham-
madan village what Bhaiyon is to the Hindus, but Hindu residents in
the village reverence it, just as Muhammadans do the Bhaiyon. Though
built in the form of a tomb it is erected whenever a village is founded.

The spirit of a Saiyid like that of a bhad must not touch the
ground. Sometimes two bricks are stuck up on end or two tent pegs
driven into the ground in front of his shrine for the spirit to rest on.

In Gurgaon the Bündela is a godling who is only worshipped in
times of sickness, especially cholera. In the last century cholera is said
to have broken out in Lord Hastings’ army shortly after some kine had
been slaughtered in a grove where lie the ashes of Harndiá Lála, a
Bundelkhand chief. The epidemic was attributed to his wrath, and his
dominion over cholera being thus established, he is in many villages
given a small shrine and prayed to avert pestilence when it visits the
village.

Ancestor-worship is very common in the hills, at least in Chamba
where it takes several beautiful forms. The root-idea seems to be that
the living acquire pun or merit by enabling the dead to rejoin their
forefathers. The commonest form of the worship is the placing of a
stone or board, called pítr, in a small hut beside a spring. On it is cut
a rough effigy of the deceased. This is accompanied by certain religious
rites and a feast to friends. Sometimes the board has a hole in it with a
spout for the water, and it is then set up in the stream. Other forms of
this worship are the erection of wayside seats or of wooden enclosures in
the villages for the elders, bearing in each case a roughly cut effigy of the
deceased. One of the commonest forms, especially in the Chandrabhága
valley, is the erection of a dhaúj or monolith near a village, with a rough
figure of the deceased cut on it, and a circular stone fixed on the top.
Many such stones may be seen near villages. Some are neatly carved,
but as a rule they are very crude. Their erection is accompanied by

3Slesman places this event in Bundelkhand and says it occurred in 1817. He speaks of
Háráwál Lála as the new god, and says that his temples sprang up as far as Lahore:
Rambáta, I, p. 210-11. His worship is common in the United Provinces; for his songs
see N. I. N. Q., V., § 468. He is also called Haris or Harí Lála; I. N. Q., IV, § 798.
religious rites and feasting on a great scale, involving much expense. These rites are repeated from time to time.

This custom also prevails in Kulu, Mandi and Suket, but is restricted to the royal families of those states and regarded as an exclusive privilege. It must however be of ancient date, for it is found in one at least of the Ráñá families whose ancestors held rule in Kulu before the Rájá obtained supreme power. Mr. G. C. L. Howell mentions one such family, that of Nawání, which still observes this custom; and we may conclude that it was observed by this family when in independent possession of their lands. I have not seen the Kulu and Suket stones which are said to be near the respective capitals of those States. The Mandi monoliths are probably the most ornate of any in the hills. It is possible that such monoliths also exist in Biláspur and other Hill States of the Simla group.¹

Sir Alexander Cunningham thus described the Mandi monoliths:

"The sati pillars of the Mandi Rájá and their families stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nála, a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are 6 and 7 feet high and all are carved with figures of the Rájá and of the women who became sati with them. Each Rájá is represented as seated above with a row of rvitas or queens, also seated, immediately below; still lower are standing figures of khwásis or concubines and rakhítis or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Rájá and the date of his death, as also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments are valuable for chronological purposes as fixing with certainty the date of each Rájá's decease and the accession of his successor from Hari Sen A.D. 1637 down to the present time." The number has been added to since Cunningham's visit, though no satís have taken place since the annexation of the Punjab or rather since 1846, when Mandi came under British control after the First Sikh War. These pillars therefore are not pure sati pillars, but are rather of the nature of monoliths in memory of the death similar to those of Pángí, and are probably consecrated with similar rites. At Nagar in Kulu similar monoliths are found which are described as follows by Colonel Harcourt in Kooloo, Lahou and Spiti, page 357:—"There is a curious collection of what resemble tombstones that are to be found just below Nagar Castle. They are inserted into the ground in four rows, rising one over the other on the hillside; and in all I have counted 141 of these, each ornamented with rude carvings of chiefs of Kulu, their wives and concubines being portrayed either beside them or in lines below. One Rájá is mounted on a horse, and holds a sword in his hand, the animal he bestrides being covered with housings just as might be a crusader's charger. A very similar figure to this is carved in wood over the porch of the Dungri temple. The report is that these stones were placed in position at the death of every reigning sovereign of Kulu, the female figures being the effigies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed sati at their lord's demise. If this be the true state of the case then the human sacrifices must have been very great in some instances, for it is not uncommon to find 40 and 50 female figures crowd-

¹ This and the following paragraph are by Dr. J. Hutchinson.
ing the crumbling and worn surface of the stones. At the death of the late Rāi Gāyān Singh, the representative of a once powerful family, his servants executed a rude effigy of him, and this will take its place beside the other funeral relics of his ancestors. The Buddhist wheel appears in several of the stones, but the people about Nagar positively declare that none of these rough sculpturings are over 200 years of age. Here however I think they are mistaken and they know so very little about the history of their own country that anything they say that refers to dates must be received with great caution.” There can be no doubt that Colonel Harcourt was right in believing that these stones date back to a remote past and are the sāti pillars of the Kulu Rājās. It would be interesting to have an account of the Suket monoliths.

In the Himalayas is to be found a variety of shrines and heaps of stones erected by the roadside in fields and on the mountain passes. Their purposes are as varied as their structures. First of importance are those erected in honour of the dead, and the memorial tablets placed by the side of a stream or a fountain have proved of considerable archaeological value owing to the inscriptions on them. In the Simla Hills inscriptions are rare and the memorials are usually in the form of small slabs of slate or stone on which the figure of the deceased is rigidly carved. The rites which attend their erection vary. Thus the soul of a man who has died away from home or been killed by accident without administration of the last rites will require elaborate ceremonies to lay it at rest and many, but not all, the memorial stones commemorate such a death. The ideas underlying them appear to be twofold. In the first place when the tablet is merely attached to a cistern or well the disembodied spirit seems to require merit from the act of charity performed by the dead man’s descendants. Secondly it is believed that the spirit by being provided with a resting place on the edge of a spring will be able to quench its thirst whenever it wishes. The attributes assigned to serpents as creators and protectors of springs suggest that the selection of a spring as the site for a memorial tablet may be connected with Nāg worship. But in the Simla Hills at any rate the Nāgs are not now propitiated generally in connection with funeral rites. Nor is it believed in these hills that snakes which visit houses are the incarnations of former members of the family. The snake’s incarnation is only assigned to the exceptional case of a miser who during his life-time had buried treasure and returns to it as a serpent to guard it after death. This idea is of course not peculiar to the Himalayas. In the Simla Hills the peasant cares little for the living reptile beyond drawing omens from its appearances. If for instance a snake crosses his path and goes down-hill the omen is auspicious, but if it goes uphill the reverse. Should a poisonous snake enter his house it is welcomed as a harbinger of good fortune but if it is killed inside it, its body must be taken out through the window and not by the door.

Some ghosts are more persistent than others in frequenting their former haunts. Such for instance are the souls of men who have died without a son and whose property has gone to collaterals or strangers. The heirs anticipating trouble will often build a shrine in a field close to the village where the deceased was wont to walk and look upon his crops.
These shrines are unpretentious structures with low walls of stones piled one upon another and sloping roofs of slates. They are open in front and a small recess is left in one of the walls in which earthen lamps are lighted at each full moon by pious or timid heirs. Similar are the buildings often seen in fields at a distance from the village, but these are usually involuntary memorials to departed spirits extorted from reluctant peasants by a kind of spiritual blackmail. It sometimes happens that a man marries a second wife during the life-time of the first without obtaining her permission and the latter in a fit of jealousy takes poison or throws herself down a precipice. Then soon after her death the husband becomes ill with boils or other painful eruptions, proving beyond doubt that a malignant spirit has taken up its abode in his body. Brahmins have many means of searching out a mischief-making spirit of this kind and the following may be recommended for its simplicity. The peasant chooses a boy and girl both too young to be tutored by the Brahman who plays the chief part in the ceremony of exorcism. They are taken to the peasant’s house and there squat on the floor, each being covered with a sheet. The Brahman brings with him a brazen vessel in which he puts a coin or two and on top of which he places a metal cover. On this improvised drum he beats continuously with a stick whilst he drones his incantations. Sometimes this goes on for hours before the boy or girl manifests any sign, but as a rule one or the other is soon seized with trembling, an indication that the desired spirit has appeared and assumed possession. If the boy trembles first the ghost is certainly a male, but if the girl is first affected it must be a female spirit. When questioned the medium reveals the identity of the possessor, which usually turns out to be the spirit of the suicide. A process of barter ensues in which the injured wife details the deeds of expiation necessary to appease the spirit whilst the husband bargains for terms less onerous to himself. The matter ends in a compromise. The husband vows to build a shrine to house the spirit and to make offerings there on certain days in every month. He may also promise to dedicate a field to her and hence these ghostly dwelling-places are often situated in barren strips of land because no plough may be used on a field so consecrated. When the shrine stands on uncultivated land a piece of quartz may gleam from its roof or one of its walls may be painted white. Such a building serves a double purpose. Not only is the unsubstantial spirit kept from inconvenient roaming, but the gleam of white also attracts the envious glances of passers-by and so saves the crops from being withered up. (Condensed from the Pioneer of 16th August 1913.)

Ancestor-worship also takes the form of building a bridge over a stream in the deceased’s name, or making a new road, or improving an old one, or by cutting steps in the rock. In each case the rough outline of a foot or a pair of feet is carved near the spot to show that the work was a memorial act. In former times the worship took the form of erecting a paniśhār or cistern. In its simplest form this consisted of a slab with a rough figure of the deceased carved on it and a hole in the lower part, with a spout, through which the stream flowed. The boards above des-

1 See the Antiquities of Chamba, I, fig. 8 on p. 21 for an illustration of such steps.
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dcribed is clearly a degenerate modern form of these cisterns. Sometimes
the slab was of large size and covered with beautiful carvings, but for a
description of these reference must be made to Dr. Vogel's work. That
writer describes their purpose. Their erection was regarded less as a
work of public utility than as an act of merit designed to secure future
bliss to the founder and his relatives. The deceased, either wife or
husband, for whose sake the stone was set up, is often named in the in-
scriptions. The slab itself is invariably designated Varuna-deva, for the
obvious reason that Varuna, patron of the waters, is usually carved on it.
This name is no longer remembered. Such stones are called naus in
Pāngi, nau in Lāhul and panhiyār or 'fountain' in the Rāvi valley.

Far otherwise is it in Sirmūr, where the cult of the dead is some-
times due to a fear of their ill-will. Thus in the Pachhād and Rainkā
tahsil of that State when an old man is not cared for and dies
aggrieved at the hands of his descendants, his pápra or curse is usually
supposed to cling to the family. Whenever subsequently there is
illness in the family, or any other calamity visits it, the family Brahman
is consulted and he declares the cause. If the cause is found to be
the displeasure of the deceased, his image is put in the house and
worshipped. If the curse affects a field, a portion of it is dedicated to
the deceased. If this worship is discontinued, leprosy, violent death,
an epidemic or other similar calamities overtake the family. Its cattle
do not give milk or they die, or children are not born in the house.
Indeed the pápra appears to be actually personified as a ghost which
causes barrenness or disease, and if any one is thus afflicted a Bhāt
is consulted, and he makes an astrological calculation with dice thrown
on a board (sānchī). There the sufferer summons all the members
of the family, who sound a tray (thāli) at night, saying 'O páp
kisi upar utar a,'—'O soul descend on some one,' and (though
not before the third or fourth day) the pápra or imp takes possession
of a child, who begins to nod its head, and when questioned explains
whose ghost the pápra is, and shows that the patient's affliction is
due to some injury done by him or his forefather to the ghost, and
that its wrongs must be redressed or a certain house or place given up
to a certain person or abandoned. The patient acts as thus directed.
The costliness of ancestor-worship is illustrated by the cult of Pālu
in Sirmūr. He was the ancestor of the Hámbi Kanets of Hábon and
other villages, and is worshipped at Pālu with great pomp. His
image, which is of metal, is richly ornamented.

The spirits of young men who die childless are also supposed to
haunt the village in Gurgāon, as are those of any man who dies dis-
contented and unwilling to leave his home. Such spirits are termed
pīta, 'father,' euphemistically, but they generally bear the character
of being vindictive and require much attention. A little shrine, very
much like a chhauka or fire-place, is generally constructed in their honour
near a tank and at it offerings are made. Sometimes a pīta descends on
a person and he then becomes inspired, shakes his head, rolls his eyes

Lit. 'sin.'
2 Pāp is of course a diminutive.
and reveals the pita's will. This is called kholan or playing, as in the Himalayas. Occasionally too a Brahman can interpret a pita's will. In Chamba a person dying childless is believed to become a bhut or antar and to harass his surviving relations unless appeased. For this purpose a jantra is worn by adults, consisting of a small case of silver or copper containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An antar necklet of silver, with a human figure cut on it, is also commonly worn. Another form is the sad, of silver or copper, and shaped like an hourglass. An antar must also be propitiated by a goat-sacrifice, and the deceased's clothes are worn for a time by a member of the family: a soap-nut kernel is also worn hanging from a string round the neck.

The Bhābras have a custom which, to judge from many parallels, is a relic of ancestor-worship. Many of them will not marry a son until he has been taken to the tomb of Bābā Gajju, a progenitor of the Bá Bhābras, at Pipnākh in Gujrānwāla, and gone round the tomb by way of adoration.

The Worship of the Sainted Dead.—The worship of the dead is universal, and they again may be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead. First among the sainted dead are the pita or 'ancestors.' Tiny shrines to these will be found all over the fields, while there will often be a larger one to the common ancestor of the clan. Villagers who have migrated will periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the original shrine of their ancestor; or, if the distance is too great, will bring away a brick from the original shrine, and use it as the foundation of a new local shrine which will answer all purposes. In the Punjab proper these larger shrines are called father, or 'ancestor,' but in the Dehli Territory the sati takes their place in every respect and is supposed to mark the spot where a widow was burnt with her husband's corpse. The 15th of the month is sacred to the pita, and on that day the cattle do no work and Brahmans are fed. But besides this veneration of ancestors, saints of widespread renown occupy a very important place in the worship of the peasantry. No one of them is, I believe, malevolent, and in a way their good nature is rewarded by a certain loss of respect. Gūgā beḷa na deya, tan kuchh na chhin lega—"If Gūga does not give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me." They are generally Muhammadan, but are worshipped by Hindus and Musalmāns alike with the most absolute impartiality. There are three sants who are pre-eminent in the Punjab.

2 Doubtless a male is meant: Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 195. See also Vol. II, p. 270.
3 Fr. aputara, sonless.
4 P. N. Q., III, § 89. No mention of the Bar Bhābras will be found in Vol. II, pp. 80-82. Pipnākh has a curious legend. His Rāja is said to have been Pipā, the Chaunu - (Rājput), whose daughter Lāmān was sought in marriage by Sā baldan of Siālikot. When Pipā refused the match his city was destroyed, and it has been called Pipnākh ever since. Pipā appears to be Pipa, the Bhagat.
5 Father is clearly derived from jēṣ, an elder, especially a husband's elder brother and the phrase dādēra jēṣera means 'ancestors on the father's side.' The classical type of the widow sati is Gandhāri, wife of Dīrsādēra and mother of Duryodhāna. When her husband was consumed by the force of his yoga a Sāmpurostha, near Hardwār, she too sprang into the flames, and the god gave her this boon, that she should be worshipped as the protector of children and the goddess of small-pox: N. I. N. Q., IV, § 654.
and thousands of worshippers of both religions flock yearly to their shrines.

But the sati was only a particular case of a general idea—the idea of devotion and fidelity transcending the love of life. Men who sacrificed themselves were called sati, and cases of such self-immolation are recorded in North Rájpútána. Generally ladies of rank were attended on the funeral pyre by attached female slaves, as occurred at the cremation of Mahárájá Ranjít Singh. But the highest grade of all was attained by the mū-sati or mother-sati who had immolated herself with her son.¹ These mū-satis were of all classes from the potter-woman to the princess. At Pañauli the most conspicuous cenotaph is that of a Jaisalmír Maháráni who came to her father’s house accompanied by her young son. He was thrown from his horse and killed, and she insisted on ascending the pyre with him.² It is also said that occasionally when the widow shrank from the flames the mother would take her place.

No doubt sati worship is very prevalent in the Delhi territory, but it is also found elsewhere, especially among tribes which appear to have a Rájpút origin or at least claim it, such as the Mahton. It is rare among Játs. In Gurgián the sati is often propitiated as a possibly malignant spirit. Thus in the village of Rojkar Gujjár there is the shrine of a Gujjarí sati who has constituted herself the patroness of the Brahman priests of the village, and unless they are properly looked after she gets angry and sends things into the offenders’ bodies, causing pain; and then on the first day of the moon the Brahmanes have to be collected and fed at her shrine.

The child is also depicted in the case of a mū-sati. Cunningham noted that sati monuments were almost invariably if not always placed to the west of a stream or tank but that they faced east.³ In Kárñál the monument appears not to be a slab, but a regular shrine larger indeed than any other kind, being 3 or 4 feet square. Lamps are lit and Brahmanes fed at them on the 11th or 15th of Káthak. The shrines are also regarded as tutelary guardians of the village. Thus in one case some Tágrás who had migrated from their old village used to go 10 miles to make annual offerings at their old sati, but eventually they carried away a brick from her original shrine and used it for the foundation of a new one in their present village.⁴

In the Chamba hills if a man falls over a precipice or is accidently killed on a journey in such a way that his body cannot be recovered a pile of wood is gathered on or near the spot and each passer-by adds a stick to it as if it were funeral pyre. In the case of one of the Rájájs who was killed along with his brother by his own officials, the spot on which the assassination took place has remained uncultivated since A. D. 1720. As both brothers died childless they were regarded as

¹ The term mū-sati appears to be used, but mahádsati is perhaps commoner.
⁴ Sati monuments are ordinarily slabs of stone stuck in the ground with the figure of the sati carved on them, either sitting or standing.
Auters. - And a temple was erected near the place. Chamba Gaz., p. 95.

In Kangra the people bear the name of Kirpal Chand in reverential memory. He appears to have been childless, and to have devised the construction of the canal called after him as a means of perpetuating his name. His liberality to the people employed was munificent. To each labourer was given six erset of rice, half a erset of dal, and the usual condiments; and to every pregnant woman employed, he gave an additional half allowance in consideration of the offspring in her womb. The people believe that he still exercises a fostering influence over his canal; and some time ago, when a landslip took place, and large boulders which no human effort could remove choked up its bed, the people one and all exclaimed that no one but Kirpal Chand could surmount the obstacles. They separated for the night, and next morning when they assembled to work, the boulders had considerably removed themselves to the sides, and left the water course clear and unencumbered! *

THE WORSHIP OF THE MALEVOLENT DEAD.—Far different from the beneficent are the malevolent dead. From them nothing is to be hoped, but everything is to be feared. Foremost among them are the gyals or soulless dead. When a man has died without male issue he becomes spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village small platforms may be seen with rows of small hemispherical depressions into which milk and Ganges water are poured, and by which lamps are lit and Brahmans fed to assuage the gyals, while the careful mother will always dedicate a rupee to them, and hang it round her child's neck till he grows up.

The jealousy of a deceased wife is peculiarly apt to affect her husband if he takes a new one. She is still called sunkin or co-wife and at the wedding of her successor oil, milk, spices and sugar are poured on her grave. The sunkin mara or rival wife's image is put on by the new wife at marriage and worn till death. It is a small plate of silver worn round the neck, and all presents given by the husband to his new wife are first laid upon it with the prayer that the deceased will accept the clothes &c. offered and permit her slave to wear her cast-off garments, and so on. In the Himalayas if one of two wives dies and her churel or spirit makes the surviving wife ill an image (muhra) of the deceased is made of stone and worshipped. A silver plate, stamped with a human image, called chanka, is also placed round the haunted survivor's neck. *

Another thing that is certain to lead to trouble is the decease of anybody by violence or sudden death. In such cases it is necessary to

* 1 believe them to be identical in purpose, as they certainly are in shape, with the emblems which have lately exercised the antiquaries. They are called thorka in the Delhi Territory.
* P. N.Q., III, § 200.—The mora appears to be a meret 'image,' or p. naibiy mahur, 'omen.' According to Mrs. F. A. Steel Muhammadans also propitiate the deceased sunkin: ibid., § 113.
prostitute the departed by a shrine, as in the case of the trooper already mentioned. The most curious result of this belief is the existence all over the Eastern Punjab of small shrines to what are popularly known as Sayyids. The real word is shaishi or martyr, which, being unknown to the peasantry, has been corrupted into the more familiar Sayyid. One story showing how these Sayyids met their death will be found in § 376 of the Karnal Settlement Report. But the diviners will often invent a Sayyid hitherto unheard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The shrines are Muhammadan in form and the offerings are made on Thursday, and taken by Musalmán faqirs. Very often the name even of the Sayyid is unknown. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent, and often cause illness and death. Boils are especially due to them, and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid Bhrúa, of Bari in Kaithal, shares with Mansa Devi of Mani Májra in Ambála the honour of being the great patron of thieves in the Eastern Punjab. But Jain Sayyid in Ferozepur is a bestower of wealth and sons and an aid in difficulty. Offerings vowed to him are presented on a Sunday or on the first Sunday of the Muhammadan month. He also possesses women, and one so possessed is in much request by women to perform a baithak or chauki on their behalf. She first bathes in clear water, perfumes and oils her hair, dyes red clothes and dyes her hands and feet with henna. Then, seated in a Mirásan's house who sings songs in Jain Sháh's honour and thereby pleases him, she begins to shake her head violently. While she is thus possessed the suppliants make their offerings and proclaim their needs. These the medium grants through the Mirásan, mentioning the probable time of fulfilment. She also foretells fortunes. The Mirásan takes the offerings. The efficacy of a Sayyid's curse is illustrated by the legend of Abohar. It was held by Rájá Abram Chand and the Sayyids of Uch carried off his horses, so his daughter carried out a counter-raid as he had no son and the Sayyids came to Abohar where they formed a mela or assembly and threatened to curse the raiders unless the spoil was surrendered. But the Rájá held out and the Sayyids came from Uch to seek their lords who thereupon called down curses upon all around including themselves. The tomb of the women in the cemetery and that of the holy men in the sand-hill still exist. Sirsa Settlement Report, page 195.1

Many of those who have died violent deaths have acquired very widespread fame; indeed Gúga Pir might be numbered amongst them, though he most certainly is not malevolent; witness the proverb quoted anent him. A very famous hero of this sort is Teja, a Ját of Mewár, who was taking milk to his aged mother when a snake caught him by the nose. He begged to be allowed first to take the milk to the old lady, and then came back to be properly bitten and killed. And on a certain evening in the early autumn the boys of the Delhi territory come round with a sort of box with the side out, inside which is an image of Teja brilliantly illuminated, and ask you to 'remember the grotto.' Another case is that of Hará Lála, brother of the Rájá of

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1 No 4 Ml Q. L. § 768.
The spirit after death.

Urchar in Bundelkhand. He and Teja are generally represented on horseback. So again Harshu Brahman, who died while sitting dharma,¹ is worshipped everywhere east of Lahore.

But even though a man has not died sonless or by violence, you are not quite safe from him. His disembodied spirit travels about for 12 months as a parcel, and even in that state is apt to be troublesome. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down to a respectable second life, he becomes a bhūt, or, if a female, a churel, and as such is a terror to the whole country, his principal object then being to give as much trouble as may be to his old friends, possessing them, and producing fever and other malignant diseases. Low-caste men, such as scavengers, are singularly liable to give trouble in this way, and are therefore always buried or burnt face downwards to prevent the spirit escaping; and riots have taken place and the Magistrates have been appealed to to prevent a Chāhra being buried face upwards. These ghosts are most to be feared by women and children, and especially immediately after taking sweets so that if you treat a school to sweetmeats the sweet-seller will also bring salt, of which he will give a pinch to each boy to take the sweet taste out of his mouth. They also have a way of going down your throat when you yawn, so that you should always put your hand to your mouth, and had also better say ‘Nārains!’ afterwards. Ghosts cannot set foot on the ground, and you will sometimes see two brick or pegs stuck up in front of the shrine for the spirit to rest on. Hence when going on a pilgrimage or with ashes to the Ganges, you must sleep on the ground all the way there so as to avoid them; while the ashes must not rest on the ground, but must be hung up in a tree so that their late owner may be able to visit them. So in places haunted by spirits, and in the vicinity of shrines, you should sleep on the earth, and not on a bedstead. So again, a woman, when about to be delivered, is placed on the ground, as is every one when about to die. Closely allied to the ghosts are the aśritis or fairies. They attack women only, especially on moonlight nights, catching them by the throat, half-choking them, and knocking them down (? hysteria). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They are Musalmān, and are propitiated accordingly; and are apparently identical with the Parind or Peri with whom Moore has made us familiar. They are also known as shāhpuri, but recent being so called; and no woman would dare to mention the word.

¹ If a Brahman asks aught of you and you refuse it, he will sit at your door and abstain from food till he gain his request. If he dies meanwhile, his blood is on your head. This is called sitting dharma. Or he may cut himself with a knife and then you will be guilty of Brahamati or Brahman-murder. A Brahman who commits suicide may become a Deo in the Simla Hills,—see p. 445 infra. Per contra when the use of a house has been forbidden in those houses by a bhūt or Brahman, the latter can remove his ban by sprinkling some of his own blood on the place; Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bausahár, p. 34. Another instance is Tirn of Junga—p. 447 infra. But a Brahman does not always attain Desecration by such a suicide. Thus Kulu Brahman of Harog regarding himself as oppressed by a Hāmā of Baghat cut off his own head, and it cost the State a good deal to put matters right. The suicide need not be a Brahman—see for instance the account of Gambhir Nāo at p. 467 infra. A great deal of information regarding suicide by Bhūts and Chārans will be found in the late Mr. R. V. Russell’s Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Aghoris, II, pp. 14-5, 164, 175, 256. It is known as chandō or trāga which term is used in the Punjab in a different sense.
The classes of spirits.

Malevolent deities are appeased by building them new shrines or by offerings at old ones. Very often the grain to be offered is placed the night before on the sufferer's head. This is called orra. Or the patient may eat some and bury the rest at the sacred spot; or the offering may be waved over his head; or on some night while the moon is waxing he may place it with a lamp lit on it at a cross-road. This is called langri or nagdi. Sometimes it suffices to tie a flag on the sacred tree to roll in front of the shrine or rub one's neck with its dust. To malevolent or impure gods kuchhi roti, generally consisting of chirrma or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with gur and ghf, is offered. Brahmans will not take such offerings.1

Resuscitation from death is believed to occur, and people who have come to life say they went to Yamraj, the kingdom of the dead, and found they had been mistaken for some one else, so they were allowed to return.2 The ashes of great personages are carefully watched till the 4th day to prevent a magician's tampering with them, as he can restore the dead to life and retain power over him thereafter.3 Illiterate Hindus believe that the soul is in appearance like a black bee. It can leave the body during sleep.4

Spirits are of many kinds and degrees. A Bramh rikhas is the ghost of a Brahman who has died kumaun and is a very powerful demon, malignant or the reverse.5 Hada is a spirit that gets into the bones and cannot be exorcised.6

It is difficult to define a bhuti. It is sometimes equated with pret as the spirit of one who dies an ill death, kumaun, i.e. by violence or an accident.7 But it is also said that every man dying on a bed becomes a bhuti and every woman so dying a churel.8 In Kangra a bhuti is also called a batal or 'demon' and he may be charmed into servitude, for once a Brahman's chela by his magic made a bhuti cultivate his land for him, feeding him on ordure and the scum found on rivers the while. But one day in his absence his womenfolk fed the slave on festival food, which so annoyed him that he went and sat on the inscribed stone at Kaniara and devoured every living thing that came his way. On the Brahman's return he nailed him to the stone with a charm whose words form the inscription, and it is called bhuti sila or 'ghost-stone' to this day.9

Bhuts have no temples, but are propitiated by offerings in sickness or misfortune, a basket of food, fruit and flowers being passed round the patient's head and then carried out after dark and placed on the road leading to the house or village, to appease their anger. The sickness will seize on any one who tampers with the basket.10

1 Karmal Jot. Rep., §§ 362, 360, pp. 146–145. To the benevolent gods or ancestors only pakki rofi, i.e. cakes or sweets, fried in ghf, may be offered.
3 Id., § 221.
5 Id., III, § 196.
6 Id., III, § 197.
7 Id., II, § 667.
8 To die at your own time is maut marni: P. N. Q., III, § 196.
9 P. N. Q., I, § 680.
10 Id., III, § 266.
Spirits and witches.

live just like human beings, but do everything by night. They rear families, and the whole earth is strictly parcelled out among them. A bhūt casts no shadow as he moves, and ceremonial purity is the only safeguard against his attacks. On the other hand, bhūts are said to cook at noon, as well as at evening; so women should not leave their houses at those times lest they be molested by bhūts over whose food they have passed.

In Gurdaspur and the adjacent parts of Jammu bhūts and witches (dāin) are believed to haunt the living and victimise the weak. Every imaginable disease is attributed to witches, and any woman can become one by learning a charm of 24 letters. Chelas are exorcists of these witches, and they cure a patient by placing some ashes on his forehead and making him swallow the rest, or in serious cases water is used instead. Each chela has his thān, a raised spot in the corner of the house sacred to the deota by whose power he overcomes witches and bhūts.

Churels are of two classes—(1) the ghosts of women dying while pregnant or on the very day of the child's birth; (2) those of women dying within 40 days of the birth. But the worst churel of all is the ghost of a pregnant woman dying during the Diváli. Churels are always malignant, especially towards members of their own family, though they assume the form of a beautiful woman when they waylay men returning from the fields at nightfall and call them by their names. Immediate harm may be averted by not answering their call, but no one long survives the sight of a churel.

To prevent a woman's becoming a churel small round-headed nails, specially made, are driven through her finger-nails, while the thumbs and big toes are welded together with iron rings. The ground on which she died is carefully scraped and the earth removed. Then the spot is sown with mustard seed, which is also sprinkled on the road by which the body is carried out for burning or burial, and it is also sown on the grave in the latter case. The mustard blooms in the world of the dead and its scent keeps the churel content, and again, when she rises at nightfall and seeks her home, she stops to gather up the mustard seed and is thus delayed till cock-crow when she must return to her grave. In her real shape the churel has her feet set backwards and is hideous to behold.

In Kangra the churel is believed to long for her child, but to be a curse to all others. On the way to the burning-ground a sorcerer nails her spirit down and the mustard seed is scattered along the road to make her forget it.

1 I. N. Q., IV, §§ 189-190.
2 P. N. Q., II, § 500.
3 Ib., III, § 192.
4 Or 10 days in Kangra.
5 P. N. Q., II, § 905.
6 Ib., § 994. Mustard seed is said to be often scattered about a magistrate's court to conciliate his sympathies; III, § 104.
The spirit on earth.

The chapel of a dead co-wife sometimes haunts her surviving rival and makes her ill, in which case an image of the deceased should be made of stone and worshipped, and a silver plate, stamped with a human image, called chautki, is also worn by the sick survivor round her neck.\(^1\)

Jinns have a right to share in the fruits of the earth, and if they do not get it the crop will be worthless. Once a jinn employed a mortal as a teacher and in reward promised\(^2\) to exempt his grain from this tax—so that land now yields four times what it used to do.\(^3\) Jinns have no bones in their arms and only four fingers and no thumb.

Archeology records instances of people being buried as ‘guardians of the gate,’ because it was believed the spirit would survive and do watch and ward over the city wall or the entrance through it. A similar belief led to a custom recorded by Martyn Clarke. When the country was unsettled valuables were very commonly buried and when they were at all considerable, misers were in the habit of burying a child alive with them, in the belief that its bhūṭ or spirit would protect them. On an auspicious day the miser dug a pit to which was fitted a tight-shutting wooden lid. A child was then decoyed, sometimes from a considerable distance. He had to be a male, aged 6 or 7, healthy and handsome, and he was well fed and kindly treated until the night, fixed by consulting the stars, arrived for burying the treasure. Then he was purified, dressed in white, and made to acknowledge the miser as his master. He was then lowered into the pit with the treasure and a lamp, a lōṭa of milk and a basket of sweets placed beside him. Finally the lid was fastened down and the boy left to his fate. As a result of this practice, or of the belief that it existed, finders of treasure trove often will not touch it, fearing lest the bhūṭ in charge would do them some evil.\(^4\) This idea of the guardian-spirit may explain many folktales in which the artificer is rewarded by being sacrificed by his patron, ostensibly to prevent his skill being employed by a rival. The legends that Gugga, the workman who built the temples at Brahamaur in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right hand cut off by the Rānā whose house he had built and then accidentally killed by a fall from the temple porch after he had all but completed the building, are doubtless further examples of this type.\(^5\)

Evil spirits are very fond of fresh milk, and if a Punjabi mother has to leave her child soon after she has given it any she puts salt or ashes in its mouth to take away the smell.\(^6\)

They are also fond of the scent of flowers, and it is dangerous for children to smell them as the spirits, always on the look out for children, will draw them away through the flowers.\(^7\)

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1 P. N. Q., 111, § 300.
2 N. I. N. Q., i, § 668.
3 ib., i, § 678.
4 P. N. Q., II, § 251. Similar beliefs are very common among the Slavonic peoples; cf. Balston’s Songs of the Russian People, pp. 135-8. The game called ‘London Bridge is based on the same idea. See also p. 288 infra.
5 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 398.
6 I. N. Q., IV, § 198.
7 ib., IV, § 262.
During prairie fires and at dead of night lonely herdsmen in Sirsa used to hear the cries of those who had been killed in old forays and people used to be afraid to travel save in large parties for fear of encountering these supernatural enemies.\(^1\)

In order to avoid becoming bhûts after death some Hindus are said to perform their own funeral rites during life.\(^2\) In Chamba two modern cases of suicide were procured by their performance. If you see the ghost of a dead kinsman give alms in his name, or he will do his best to make you join him.\(^3\)

Any demon can be exorcised by placing red paint (roli), red lead, incense, sweetmeat, flesh, fish, spirits, betel-nut and rice on a tray, with a lamp alight, under a pîpal, at a tank or cross-roads, or on a burning-ground, but only if a man does so, not a woman. The man must have been sprinkled first with holy water and then worship the offering. If it be placed under a pîpal 1, 5, 11 or 21 nails should be driven into the tree and after the rite a string with 3, 5, 7, 11 or 21 knots should be worn until it drops off. Hair from the head buried in a bottle will also drive away spirits.\(^4\)

Witchcraft.—Recitation of 2½ (i.e., 3) verses of the Qurán backward enables a witch to take out a child's liver and eat it, and in order to do this more effectively she must first catch a tark, a wild animal not larger than a dog, feed it with sugar and yîk and ride on it repeating the charm 100 times. A witch cannot die until she has taught this charm to another woman, or failing her to a tree.\(^5\) It makes a witch powerless to extract her two upper front teeth.\(^6\)

Sorcerers write charms or spells on a bit of paper and drop ink on it. Flowers are then placed in a young child's hands and he is bidden to look into the ink and call the four guardians. When he says he sees them he is told to ask them to clean the place and summon their king who is supposed to answer questions through him, but no one else sees or hears the spirits. This is called hazrat.\(^7\)

Virgins are in special request for the performance of all spells and charms. If an iron platter be thrown by a young girl out of the house it will cause a hailstorm to cease.\(^8\)

Some witches are liver-eaters—jîgar-khor. But when one has succeeded in extracting a liver she will not eat it for 2½ days and even after that she can be compelled by an exorciser to replace it by an animal's liver.\(^9\)

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1 Sirsa Sett. Rep., p. 32.
2 N. I. N. Q., I, § 44.
3 Ib., I, § 118.
4 P. N. Q., III, §§ 188, 199.
5 Ib., III, § 81.
6 Ib., III, § 30.
7 N. I. N. Q., I, § 564.
8 P. N. Q., III, § 582.
The evil eye.

Sickness and death.—In Chamba sacrifice is often made for the sick in the belief that a life being given, his life will be preserved. Nails are driven into the ground near a corpse and its hands and feet fastened to them with a cord, to prevent the body from stretching and becoming a bhút or evil spirit. Sometimes too a thorn is put at the crematorium lest the spirit of the deceased return and trouble the living. The spirit returns to its abode on the 10th, or 13th, day after death, any unusual noise indicating its presence. If a child die the mother has water poured over her through a sieve above its grave, to secure offspring. The water used must be from a well or stream whose name is of the masculine gender.

If a woman's children die she must beg átá or flour from seven houses, and when her next child is born this átá is baked into a large cake, from which the centre is cut out, leaving only a circular rim. Through this hole the infant is passed seven times to ensure its living. Similarly a new-born child may be passed seven times through the chûlho, or fire-place. With the same object is the nostril pierced immediately after birth and an iron nose-ring inserted. Or the infant is given to a poor person, and then taken back to break the continuity of the ill luck. Another curious recipe for this purpose is thus:—Take the bark of 7 trees and water from 7 springs all with masculine names. Boil the bark in the water and after dark let it be poured over the woman at a cross-roads. She must then change her clothes and give away those she had on at the ceremony, and the evil influence will go with them.

Two places, in Tariod purgana and Hubár, have a curious reputation. When a woman, owing to an evil influence, called parchína, has no children or they die, she visits one of these places, and after certain rites or ceremonies creeps thrice through a hole artificially made in a stone, and only just large enough to admit an adult, and then bathes, leaving one garment at the spot. This is believed to free her from the influence. Sunday morning is the proper time for this and Bhäuser and Mágh are the best months. At Hubár the woman bathes besides a Muhammadan nav-gaza (nine yards long) grave.

The evil eye.—The evil eye is the subject of various beliefs, which cannot be described here in full, though it is too important a factor in popular usage to be passed over in silence. The term 'evil eye' is generally accepted as a translation of nasár, but that word denotes a good deal more than the evil effects of an 'ill-wishing' person's gaze. It connotes the subjective effect of the gaze of any one, however benevolent or well-disposed, when that gaze has induced complete satisfaction in the mind with the object observed, whether animate or inanimate.1 Thus low-caste persons may cast nasár upon a man of higher caste, not because they are of low caste but because of the envy of him which they are supposed to feel. Children are peculiarly subject to nasár because they may induce a feeling of pride or satisfaction in those who gaze on them, and for this reason their faces are left unwashed for six

1 P. N. Q., I, § 954.
years, among the poorer classes. To avert it the Gujars of Hazâra use amulets of batikg wood (? Celtis Austrahts) and they are also tied round the necks of cattle.

On the same principle anything beautiful or charming, when looked upon by a person bent on mischief, prompts him to do harm, while anything ugly in itself is safe from the evil eye. Hence anything beautiful is daubed with black so that the eye may fall on the daub and not on the thing itself. Accordingly an iron vessel is hung up when a house is building as a nazar-wattu or averter of nazâr, or a blackened pitcher will serve equally well. Such pitchers are often hung permanently on a conspicuous part of a completed house also. The pattern on ornamental clothes is spoiled by introducing a marked irregularity somewhere for the same reason. Iron is not in itself a protection against nazâr, unless it is black, and the efficacy of arms as prophylactics against spirits appears to be based on the idea that an armed man or woman should have no fear of anything. To avert the evil-eye a small black stone with a hole in it is often worn on the shoulder or round the neck and to this the term nazar-wattu is specially applied.

The evil eye is firmly believed in, and iron is the sovereign safeguard against it. While a house is being built, an iron pot (or an earthen vessel painted black is near enough to deceive the evil eye, and is less expensive) is always kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel a charm, used on other occasions also, the principal virtue of which lies in a small iron ring. Mr Channing thus described the theory of the evil eye:

"When a child is born an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother keeps one breast tied up for forty days while she feeds the child from the other, in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the endowment of the evil eye, and whenever a person so endowed looks at anything constantly, something evil will happen to it. Amulets worn for protection against the evil eye seem to be of two classes; the first, objects which apparently resist the influence by a superior innate strength, such as tigers' claws; the second, of a worthless character, such as cowries, which may catch the eye of their beholder, and thus prevent the covetous look."

A father was once asked, "Why don't you wash that pretty child's face?" and replied "A little black is good to keep off the evil eye." If so, most Punjabi children should be safe enough. It is bad manners to admire a child, or comment upon its healthy appearance. The theory of the scapegoat obtains; and in times of great sickness goats will be marked after certain ceremonies, and let loose in the jungle or killed and buried in the centre of the village. Men commonly wear round their necks amulets, consisting of small silver lozenges containing sentences, or something which looks like a sentence, written by a faqir. The leaves of the sirsal (albizia lebbeck) and of the mango (mangifera indica) are also powerful for good; and a garland of them hung across the village gate with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle, and a plough beam buried

1 P. N. Q., II, § 268.
2 Ib., I, § 597.
3 Ib., I, § 599.
4 Ib., I, § 557. In slang a nazar-wattu is a worthless fellow—of no use except to keep off the evil eye.
Witches or spirits.

in the gateway with the handle sticking out, show that cattle-plague has visited or was dreaded in the village, and that the cattle have been driven under the charm on some Sunday on which no fire was lighted on any hearth. An inscription made by a ḍāghā on an earthen platter, and then washed off into water which is drunk by the patient, is a useful remedy in illness; and in protracted labour the washings of a brick from the chakabha (chakra bhyu) fort of Amin, where the "arrayed army" of the Pândus assembled before their final defeat, are potent; or if anybody knows how to draw a ground plan of the fort, the water into which the picture is washed off will be equally effective. When a beast gets lame, an oval mark with a cross in it, or Solomon’s seal, or Siva’s trident, or the old mark of the Aryan need-fire, in general shape like the Manx arms, is branded on the limb affected; or a piece of the coloured thread used by the Brahman in religious ceremonies is tied round it.

In Sirmur a person endowed with the evil eye is called dāg or dagni, and to avert his influence seven kinds of grain are mixed with cow-dung and plastered on the house door, an obscure mantra being recited. Dains are witches or the spirits of women, which inflict injury in unknown ways. To avert their influence a charm is written on a sheet of paper which is held over burning incense and then tied round the arm or neck of the person possessed. These charms also contain pictures of Bhairon or Mahānābīr (Hanumān) with a charm inscribed in a circle. Another method of averting the influence of a dāg or dain is to call in a Bhát or Dhaki who has a reputation for skill in such matters. He first cooks a loaf which is placed on the patient’s head. Then a lamp of ghi with four wicks is lighted and certain mantras recited thrice, the loaf being waved round the patient’s head meantime, and finally placed on the ground. A he-goat is then decapitated and the blood caught in a tambā, which, with the goat’s head, is also waved round the patient’s head. Lastly, the loaf, the lamp, and tambā with the blood and goat’s head are all placed by night at a spot where four roads meet.

In Jubbal the dākan is a witch and in former days if so adjudged she was banished from the State. Only a Brahman can detect a dākan and he judges by marks on her face. A popular way of detecting one was to tie her up hand and foot and cast her into a pond. If she floated she was proved to be a witch.

In Chamba belief in evil spirits exerts a powerful influence on the popular imagination. Evil spirits and fairies are believed to have a special liking for fair-complexioned children, and so a black mark is put on a child’s forehead to keep them away, and also to protect it from

1 The virtue of the fort is due to its standing on the edge of a pond in which the Sun was born, and where women who wish for sons go and bathe on Sunday.

2 The sign is often drawn at the door of a house or shop to keep off the evil eye.

3 The dāg is also a spirit or witch. In the Simla Hills the evil eye is called dāg: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumbharsain, p. 12. But the term is also applied to ghosts connected with fields from which they are supposed to flich the crops; Simla District Gazetteer, p. 43. The dain makes Bhādun unhealthy because she threatens for blood in that month and to avert its evil days Brahmans give their flock threads on the Rakshri or Solomon day. On Asauj 1st or 6th is the fête day which marks the close of the bad month: Manali Gazetteer, p. 85; see also infra.

Some spirits and godlings.

the evil eye. The idea seems to be that malign influences affect beauty more than ugliness; charms are also used to avert bhūts or evil spirits and the evil eye. These are made of leopards' and bears' claws, and the teeth of pigs, in the belief that as they belong to fierce animals they will frighten away anything harmful. A cowrie, a shell or the bone of a crab has the same virtue. For the same reason brass anklets, called rehāru, are put on children. A person dying soon becomes a bhūt or autar-aputra (sonless), and troubles his surviving relatives, unless duly appeased: so adults wear a jauntra, a small silver or copper case containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An autar or silver necklet with a human figure cut on it is also worn. Another form is the núd, of silver or copper and shaped like an hour-glass. An autar must also be propitiated with the sacrifice of a goat, and for a time his clothes are worn by one of the family—a soapnut kernel is also carried on a string round the neck. Iron about the person protects one from evil spirits. A woman outside her house should be careful not to bathe quite naked, as she is liable to come under the shadow of an evil spirit. A child whose jālu or first hair has not been cut, must not be taken to a melā, as the fairies who go to fairies may exert an evil influence. A piece of netted thread hung above the doorway will keep out evil spirits during labour or sickness.

Asā Harā is a godling in Gurdaspur to whom cairns are erected in large uninhabited jungles.

Bahro is a male spirit, ugly in form, who causes disease and must be appeased.¹

Banāṣat, a female spirit who lives in forests and on high mountain slopes. As a guardian of the cattle she is propitiated when the herds are sent to the summer grazing grounds. She also presides over quarries and cuttings and must be propitiated before work is commenced. A goat must be killed over a lime-kiln before it is lit, an offering made to her before a tree is felled in the forests, and grain cannot be ground at the water-mill without her consent. She is apparently a Jogini, and much the same as the Rākshani.²

The Banbirs are deified heroes or champions of the olden times. They are said to live in the pomegranate, lime, tān, fig, kaṅth, simbal and walnut trees. They also haunt precipices, waterfalls and cross-roads and are propitiated on special occasions at those spots. They can cause sickness, especially in women, and some of them, such as Kāla Bīr and Nārsingh, visit women in their husbands' absence. If the husband returns while the Bir is in human form he is sure to die unless a sacrifice is offered.³

The banshīrā thūt of the Simla Hills is doubtless the bīnsīrū or headless demon, so common in folk-tales. He haunts the jungles whose king he is supposed to be.⁴ But he also haunts old buildings, valleys and mountains, and like a ghost is propitiated in some places, by sacrifices of goats and in others of earth or gravel.⁵

¹ Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 192
² Ib., p. 191.
³ Ib., p. 191.
⁴ Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumbhārsain, p. 12.
⁵ Ib., pp. 48-9.
Bhir Batál is a water-sprite whose habitat is in every river and stream. His ancient name was Varuna, but he now bears also the name of Khwája Khizr. Khwécher, soaked Indian corn, 3 balls of moss, 3 of ashes, 8 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour-sheep are offered to him. The Minjarán ká mela is held in his honour. A bridge is likely to be unsafe unless a sacrifice be made in his honour, and the opening of a water-course requires one also.1

Chungu is the male demon found in walnut and mulberry trees and under the karangora shrub. He is worshipped or propitiated. He is under the control of a sorcerer whose messenger he is.2

In the Simla Hills he brings things to him and also drinks the milk of cows, to whose owners too he brings milk, ghi etc.3

In Chamba sorcery and witchcraft are still very commonly believed in. Various diseases are caused by witches, either directly by incantations, or indirectly through the malevolent spirits under their control. Cattle disease is also ascribed to witchcraft, and even the ravages of wild animals such as leopards. Formerly when witchcraft was suspected the relatives of the person affected complained to a court or to the Rájá. An order was then issued to a chéla who was reputed to have the power of detecting witches. Accompanied by a musician and a drummer he went to the place. A pot of water (kumbh) was first set over some grain sprinkled on the ground and on this was put a lighted lamp. Ropes were also laid besides the kumbh. The musicians played, and when the chéla had worked himself into a state of afirmus, he asked the people standing by if they wished the witch to be caught, warning them that she might be one of their own relatives. They would, however, assent. This went on for three days, and on the third the chéla standing by the kumbh would call out the witch’s name and order his attendants to seize her. Picking up the ropes they would at once execute his order and she would be seized and bound. In olden times witches were cruelly tortured to get confessions of guilt. One of the methods was that once customary in Europe. The witch was dipped in a pool, the belief being that, if guilty, she would rise to the surface, but would sink if innocent. Guilt being proved, she was banished, and sometimes her nose was cut off. The chéla received a fee of Rs. 12, part of which went to the State. Chelas can also exorcise evil spirits by making the person afflicted inhale the smoke of certain herbs. Though the belief in witchcraft still survives, the detection of witches and all the cruel practices associated with it are now illegal, and have been entirely discontinued.

The list of hobgoblins and spirits in Chamba is endless, for there is hardly anything the hillman does or attempts to do which is not

1 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 191, and supra, p. 185. Also infra p. 267.
2 Ib., p. 128, and Vol. II, p. 270 infra for the offerings made to him.
under the control of one or other of the presiding genii of the mountains, without whose good will and favour all his efforts will be attended with failure; while the neglect of the customary offering may bring disaster on himself and his family. When sickness or calamity is believed to have been caused by any of these malevolent spirits the sick person, or some one for him, goes to the local chela who tells them which spirit ought to be appeased, and acts as the medium of cure. This he professes to do with the help of the godling whose chela he happens to be. All such diseases are called opari, that is, from supernatural influences—as distinct from those that are sarfri, or connected with the body.

Gunga is the disease-spirit of cows, and also their protector within the village cattle-shed, just as Banásat is on the high pastures.¹

Gwála was a holy man in Kángra. His legend runs thus:—One day as he was sitting in a lofty hill near Baroh, a wedding procession passed by and he said to the bride: ‘Thorns on this side and on that: she who wears the red veil is my wife.’ The bridegroom challenged him to jump down from the hill and he did so, but was killed. The bride then took his head in her lap and said to the bridegroom: ‘You gave me to him; I burn on the pyre with him.’ This resolve she carried out, and the cairns erected in memory of Gwála’s bravery exist to this day.²

In Chamba jakh is a godling under whose control are the products of the cow. Each cow has her own jakh, and when buying one it is necessary to ask its name so that its demands may be properly met.

In the Sibá jángir of Kángra the jakhá are local deities to whom first fruits are offered symbolically. The offerings actually made consist of milk, curds and clarified butter made from the milk of the animal to whom a male calf has been born. If a female buffalo-calf be born a young he-goat is also presented. Clarified butter is never sold before the first fruits have been offered, but in the case of milk and curds the usage has broken down. Moreover, the Rájá leases out the right to collect the offerings to the jakhá, but the bids seldom exceed Rs. 25 a year. He also leases out the right to dispense music at festivals, weddings and the like.³

Joginis, rock spirits, as they seem to be in Chamba, may be identical with the banásats or rákshasins.⁴ But in Kulu the joginis is a fairy of the woods and seemingly ranks as high as any deuta. Some joginis exercise wide powers. Thus at Phangni joginis’s command smoking, wearing leather and the use of bedsteads are forbidden in the Sarwari

² P. N. Q., III, § 15.
⁴ For the offerings made to them, see Vol. II, p. 270, infra.
valley, and the order is obeyed. But other joginis appear to be merely malignant spirits which haunt water-falls and hill-tops, as well as woods, so that the gray moss which floats from the branches of trees in the higher forests is called 'the jogini's hair.' Some of these spirits resemble the Nâgs in function, for she of the Chûl, a peak in the Jalauri range, sends hail to destroy the crops if the villagers below fail to make a pilgrimage to her peak and sacrifice sheep on the appointed day.

The Jaljogans inhabit wells, springs and streams. They cast spells over women and children, causing sickness and even death.

Kailu or Kailu Bîr is the numen of abortion. His elaborate worship during pregnancy will be found described at p. 270 of Vol. II infra.

To him are offered a red cap, an iron mace and a kid, the cap and part of the kid go to the priest, the rest to the worshipper. He is worshipped on Thursdays. He lives on the mountain slopes and when unapproached rolls landslips down into the valleys.

Kailung is a Nâg and father of all the Nâgs. He is worshipped only on Sundays, whereas other Nâgs are worshipped on Thursdays also. Like Shiv he is worshipped under the form of the dand or sickle. He is associated with wheat. His offerings are a mace, a goat and a red cap.

The god Kailo has in some villages a platform, and it is believed that snake-bite can be cured by lying down on it.

Mandân or maskân is a goblin who haunts burning-places, at any rate in the Sinla Hille, and chirkhu-masân is a male spirit which swings—whence its name—and haunts cross-roads, frightening passers-by, in Chamba.

Râkshasas appear to be quite distinct from the râkshanas mentioned above (p. 213). In Chamba they are also called râkshas and as spirits of the mountain are all dread realities to the hillman. In his disordered fancy every peak and pass is the abode of these demons, and they

1 Lyall, Kangra Setl Rep., § 94. Phugai in Mandi is a devi : Gazetteer, p. 40. The jogini will be discussed further infra, p. 243. As the dains render all Bhâdon unhealthy (p. 211, supra), so the joginis of the four points of the compass make the 16th of that month a very critical day. On that night they meet the deotas in fight on the Kambogir, a ridge in Mandi, and if victorious famine may be expected. On that night too cattle are brought down from the ridge lest the joginis kill them and Hindus distribute rape-seed to avert their influence: Mandi Gazetteer, p. 41.

2 Kangra Gazetteer, Pt. II, Kulu, pp. 46, 47.
3 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 192.
5 Ib., pp. 151, 155.
6 J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 148. Like kûyana and râkshas—as names for goblins—masân gives its name to a Kanet sect—see pp. 78, 305 and 417 of Vol. III infra. Mandân, a wasting disease of children in Sirmûr (Gazetteer, p. 25), may be derived from it. It is said to be a corruption of Sanskrit kamashâna by Maya Singh, Punjabi Diety, p. 738. For masân or ashes as a disease and the cure for it see p. 106 supra.
control the winds and the storms. When the tempest rages on the mountain summit he believes the rākhas are contending with one another, the falling rock and the avalanche or the weapons of their wrath. In ascending a snowy pass the coolies often refrain from all noise till they reach the top, lest they should inadvertently offend the spirit of the mountain, and bring destruction on themselves; and no Gaddi would think of crossing a pass without first propitiating the pass-deity to secure fair weather, and a safe passage for flocks. A cairn with flags hanging from twigs fixed on the top is found on the summit of almost every pass and represents the pass-deity.\footnote{Chamba Gazetteer, p. 191}

‘Marmot’ records a curious rite practised during an eclipse of the moon in Pāngi. The Pāngwāls stood in a circle on one leg, holding each a big stone poised on the right shoulder while with the other hand they pinched the left ear. This was done to propitiate the rākhasas, and the posture was maintained until the eclipse was over.\footnote{* P. N. Q., II, § 121.}

Elsewhere not only do rākhasas inhabit trees, as we have seen (p. 139 supra) but it is also wise to halt at sunset when on a journey lest they lead you astray during the night. Further, if you are eating by lamp-light and the light goes out you should cover your food with your hands to prevent them from carrying it off in the dark.\footnote{Ib., II, § 796.} Like the presas or ghosts they dwell to the south. In the earlier mythology the rākhasas seem to have been giants and it was they who snatched the book of learning from Saraswati’s hands when she came down from the hills to beyond Thānesar and made her in shame become a river which sank into the earth and go to join the Ganges.\footnote{Ib., III, pp. 215, § 196.}

In Kulu the jalpāri are of two kinds: jal jogni and batāli or churel. The influences of the former are averted by offering flowers and a lamb by the side of a water-course. The former is said to meet humankind very seldom: but when she does get hold of a man she takes him to her lodging and at night cohabits with him: if he will not obey her wishes she will kill him but otherwise she does no harm to him. There is no means of opposing her influence. The nahas pari are offered rice to get rid of them. Women are apt to be influenced by them because they are generally weak minded.\footnote{Chhiddar, Sanskr. chhīdra, means ‘hole’; J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 14. But ddin, a synonym of dāī, does not appear to be connected with dāī, dāini, a den or large hole in a rock: id., p. 157. In Kulu chhīdra seems to mean an oath or obligation and to be a synonym of chāwa.}

As the jogni are supposed to live on mountains and the churel in ravines the use of red clothes is avoided on both, especially on the mountains.

In the Simla Hills, besides the gods, spirits of various kinds are believed in and propitiated. Such are the bhūtas or ghosts, pari, especially the jal-pari or water-sprites, also called jal-matris, the chhīdras,\footnote{Chhiddar, Sanskr. chhīdra, means ‘hole’; J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 14. But ddin, a synonym of dāī, does not appear to be connected with dāī, dāini, a den or large hole in a rock: id., p. 157. In Kulu chhīdra seems to mean an oath or obligation and to be a synonym of chāwa.}
and banāhīra. The bhūt is the ghost of the cremating ground. Pret is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the deceased; rishi its name from the end of that year to the fourth. Jal-paris are conceived of as female forms, some benevolent, others malevolent. To propitiate the former a sacrifice is required. The chhīdra is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard seed. The banāhīra haunts old buildings, valleys and peaks. It is propitiated by sacrifices of goats, or in some places by offerings of dust or gravel. In lieu of sacrifice a pūja, called kunjhaṁ, is offered to Kālī and to pari or mātrīs. A tract of hill or forest is set apart as the place of this worship, and even if the rest of the forest is cut down the part consecrated to the goddess or spirit is preserved for her worship, none of the trees in it being cut, or their boughs or even leaves removed. Dāga are the demons specially associated with fields. If the crop yields less than the estimated amount of produce it is believed that the difference has been taken by the dāga. The dūdadhāri or mānashāri spirit is one which haunts burning ghūṭs and is averted by wearing a silver picture round one's neck. If possessed by the former one should abstain from meat. Gaṭālā or Gaṭerū is a demon known in Dhāmi. He is said to possess people and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a khaḍhū (ram). He is embodied in a stone which is kept in the house and worshipped to protect the cattle from harm. He is said to have come from Bhajji State. The fair of the gādīn or fairies at Bamsan in Nādaun (Kāngra) is held on the first Tuesday in Hāḍ and on all Tuesdays in other months. Only women attend the fair to worship the pari who inflict boils on children. The fair has been in existence from time immemorial, but the special worship on Tuesdays dates from the birth of Rāja Bhīm Chand's son.

Bahāwalpur is equally rich in spirits. There in addition to the pari, bhūt, dīt (ś dat), rākhōsh, dat, churet and pari, we find the pashāj, dākan, bhākan and deo. To these are mostly ascribed diseases of the brain and womb in women, but they occasionally possess men too. Khetrpal's temple at Uch is a famous place for casting out spirits. Many of the disorders of children are ascribed to demons, such as the vinn-vin-saliān or 'mother of children,' who causes convulsions. Such diseases are believed to be connected in some way with low castes, and so Bhangāls and Chūhrās are employed to exorcise them. If anything goes bad it is believed to be bewitched (banāhīrd) by an enemy, apparently through the agency of a spirit, and those skilled in combating magic by charms are generally called in to undo the mischief, but sometimes it can be remedied without such aid. Thus a dyer whose indigo has got spoilt can make it regain its colour by relating some gosip he has heard in a highly coloured form.

1 Fr. rākhi, a sage.
2 In that State gafeš is said to mean ghost; J. A. B. B., 1911, p. 183. In Sirudr Ghatrīlā is a goddess—see p. 300 infra.
3 Clearly the pīdēcha or cannibal demon. The word deo has had a long and interesting history. It is curious to find it used here of an evil spirit, apparently, because in the Punjab Himalayas deo = deota.
4 Bahāwalpur Gazetteer, p. 187. Sometimes a labāna, a kind of insect, is tied round the neck of a child suffering from convulsions. This may be done because the Labāna is a low caste; but cf. p. 4, Vol. 111, infra. The labāna is also said to be used to cure worms.
In the hands of one who has by fasting etc. attained to bidding mustard seeds are very potent and can be used to kill a healthy enemy, cure a sick friend or recover stolen property. For the latter the recipe is: take a gourd and some mustard seeds, rub them between four fingers, repeat charms over them and throw them at the gourd. It will then float away in the air to the spot where the booty is concealed.

Ibbetson, § 334.

AGRICULTURAL SUPERSTITIONS.—The superstitions connected with cattle and agriculture are endless. No horned cattle or anything appertaining to them, such as butter or leather, must be bought or sold on Saturday or Sunday; and if one die on either of those days it is buried instead of being given to the menials. So the first beast that dies of cattle-plague is buried. Cattle-plague can be cast out across the border of one village into the one which adjoins it in the east. All field-work, cutting of grass, grinding of corn and cooking of food, are stopped on Saturday morning; and on Sunday night a solemn procession conducts a buffalo skull, a lamb, stias sticks, butter-milk, fire, and sacred grass to the boundary, over which they are thrown, while a gun is fired three times to frighten away the disease. Last year a man was killed in an affray resulting from an attempt to transfer the plague in this manner. A villager in Gurgaon once captured the cattle-plague in its material shape, and wouldn’t let it go till it promised never to remain where he or his descendants were present; and his progeny are still sent for when murraim has fastened on a village, to walk round it and call on the plague to fulfil its contract. The sugar-press must be started, and a well begun on a Sunday. On Saturday night little bowls of water are set out round the proposed site, and the one which dries up least marks the exact spot for the well. The circumference is then marked, and they begin to dig, leaving the central lump of earth intact. They cut out this clod, call it Khwája Ji (appealing to Khwája Khizr) and worship it and feed Brahmins. If it breaks it is a bad omen, and a new site will be chosen a week later. The year’s ploughing or sowing is best begun on a Wednesday: it must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, or on the 1st or 11th of any month; and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. So weeding should be done once, twice, thrice or five times: it is unlucky to weed four times. Reaping must be begun on a Tuesday and finished on a Wednesday, the last bit of crop being left standing till then. When the grain is ready to be divided, the most extraordinary precautions are observed to prevent the evil eye from reducing the yield. Times and seasons are observed, perfect silence is enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain is avoided.1 When sugarcane is first sown, sweet-

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1 You cannot measure grain without all kinds of precautions. It must not be measured at all on a new or full moon (pará) day, and Saturday is bad. Begin at dawn, midday, sunset, or midnight, when the spirits are busy. Let 4 men go inside an enclosing line with an earthen vessel—and no one else till they have finished. Let them face the north. Keep silence during the measuring and avoid counting the number aloud. Tally being kept by putting down small heaps of grain called bokali. Once the grain is measured it is safe from the evil eye. The measuring is made systematically, doubtless to avoid confusion and cheating or quarrelling. See p. 173, §§ 435-6 of Ibbetson’s Kanál Sett. Report, and pages 196 ff and 236 ff of Vol. I. of Elliot’s Races of the North-Western Provinces.
ened rice is brought to the field and with it women smear the outside of the vessel. It is then given to the labourers. Next morning or when it is planted out a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on to a spindle; and when it is cut the first fruits are offered on an altar called makāl built close to the press, and sacred to the sugarcane god, whose name is unknown unless it too be makāl and then given to Brahmans. When the women begin to pick the cotton they go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which they spit on to the field toward the west; and the first cotton picked is exchanged at the village shop for its weight in salt, which is prayed over and kept in the house till the picking is over.

When the fields are being sown they sing:

'A share for the birds and fowls, a share for wayfarers and travellers:
A share for the passers-by, a share for the poor and mendicant.'

On the 9th of the light half of Kāțik both men and women walk round a town early in the morning, re-entering it by the same gate that they left it by. During this circumambulation they sing hymns while the women scatter satudja by the way, saying:

'Friend husbandman, take thy share,
Our share we write down to God.'

To protect grain from lightning it should be sown with wheat—at least this is believed to be the case in Kāngra. apart from the benefits of a mixed crop.

The threshing floor is naturally of considerable importance in folk-religion. From the time the grain is cut until it is formally weighed it is exposed to the rapacity of demons and bhāts. But they are only of mediocre intelligence and can easily be imposed upon. It is only necessary to draw a magic circle round the heap and place a sickle on top of it to keep them off. Or in Montgomery and the other parts of the south-west the village mahōin or holy man writes a charm which is stuck in a cleft stick in the heap. For this a fixed fee, called rasīlswīth, is paid. Special care has to be taken when the winnowing begins. Friday being the goblins' holiday should be avoided, or the grain will vanish. At a fit time the workers go to the spot and a couple of men are posted to prevent any living thing from approaching. Winnowing is carried on in silence. If by evening it is not finished the charm is left on one heap and the other is pressed down with the winnowing basket. Goblins sleep at night, but a somnambulist can do harm if this plan is not adopted. The same precautions are observed in dividing the produce.

The agricultural superstitions in Bahāwalpur are of special interest because in that state disease is personified and even trees become anthropomorphised.

1 Karnāl S. E., p. 191. This custom is falling into disuse.
2 P. N. Q., IV, § 85.
3 Ib., III, § 481.
4 Ib., II, § 477.
5 N. I. N. Q., IV, § 588.
6 Purser, Montgomery S. E., p. 100.
Harvest and cattle charms.

Charms for crops and cattle.

If a crop of wheat, gram or maize be attacked by insects (kungi or tola) a charm (kalām) is recited to avert injury, or a camel's bone burnt so that the smoke may drift over the crop, a kalām being also read. The following charms are in use:—

Kungi, Kira, Mula, Bakhra chāre bhain bhira,
Hukm Khuda de nāl āi havā ate guṇḍā.

"Kungi, Kira, Mula, and Bakhra are brothers and sisters (of the same family); by the command of God a wind blew and drove them all away." This is spoken over sand, which is then sprinkled over the crop. The following verse is recited and blown over the diseased crops:—

Kungi, Kira, Bakhra tariye bhain bhira.
Roti te nimāz di guī wa'ndā.

"Kungi, Kira, Bakhra are all three brothers and sisters. The bread of one who does not pray (nimāz) was carried away by the wind." Meanwhile the owner walks round the field, eating fried wheat. If he meets any one while so doing he gives him the wheat, but must not speak to him. When grain has all been threshed out by the cattle the owner digs round it a trench (kar), which he fills with water. No one may enter this circle, which protects the crop from evil spirits. Blight is averted by hanging up a pot on a long stick, in the field, the pot being filled with earth from a saint's tomb. In selecting a place for a stack of corn, a pit is first dug and the earth excavated from it put back again. If it exactly fills the pit, the place is unpropitious and another place is chosen. But if some earth remains over the corn is stacked and the grain winnowed there. Many cultivators set up a plough in a heap of corn, and draw a line round it with a knife to prevent genii from eating the grain. If when corn has been winnowed the grain appears less than the husks, it is believed that some evil genii has got into the heap and stolen the grain and a ram or he-goat is killed and eaten jointly by the farmers to expel it. Such genii assume the shape of ants or other insects, and so, when the husks have been separated from the grain the ground around the heap is swept and no insect allowed to get into it. When cattle &c. are diseased they are commonly taken to a shrine, and in a dream the owner is told what means will effect a cure: or the mujādar of the shrine hears a voice from the tomb or the cattle get frightened at night and run away, in either of which cases it is expected that they will recover. In the Ubbha the following mautar is used in cases of foot and mouth disease:—

Suraṇjīt de tre beṭe, Dar, Dathar, Buhāra,
Bīwī bāś de pāp ḍubban je dhan wuch kare pasāra.

"Suraṇjīt had three sons, Dar, Dathar and Buhāra. The sins of Bīwī Bāś shall sink her down (i.e., she will be annihilated) if she lives at all in this world."

In the Lamma this disease is called mautās and to cure it the shrine of Jētha Bhūṭṭa is much resorted to. If grass does not agree
with the cattle the following mantra is recited 7 or 11 times and the mullah blows into each animal’s ear:—

Kāla pāṭhītha pahīhar wanmān,
Zimtī wīc hīk salu upannān,
Na kar pāṭhītha ēda mānān;
Mān bhi terī sāt pickhānān.
Ant nagri, ant gor,
Māre pāṭhīthā te jīna dhōr.

On the other hand Sawant appears to be a benevolent spirit who casts out diseases. Buntari gave birth to Sawant beyond the river, whereby ulcers, abscesses, tooth-aches, ophthalmia and swellings of the breast departed’, runs the couplet. If the right breast be swollen the left is exorcised and vice versa. In a somewhat similar way scorpion-bite is cured by proxy. A man goes on the patient’s behalf to the exorciser who blows a spell on the water which the proxy drinks, and then the sufferer recovers.1

If a young tree is peculiarly flourishing or vigorous, it is dedicated to a pīr or even called after his name, and offerings are made to it. Villagers often visit such a tree in small groups. Gradually the tree is supposed to be the saint himself and to distinguish it a flag is fastened to it. The pīr chosen in such cases is the one most implicitly believed in by the villagers.2

MINOR SUPERSTITIONS.—Good and bad omens are innumerable. Black is unlucky, and if a man go to build a house and turn up charcoal at the first stroke of the spade, he will abandon the site. A mantis is the horse of Rām, is very auspicious, and always saluted when seen. Owis portend desolate homes; and the koīl (Enhydrmys orientalis) is also especially unlucky. Chief among good omens is the dogar, or two water-pots one on top of the other. This should be left to the right, as should the crow, the black buck, and the mantis; but the snake to the left. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after. So when a man sneezes his friends grow enthusiastic and congratulate him, saying ‘live a hundred years’! On the other hand it is said that sneezing is always a bad omen among Hindus and a sneeze from any one near him will always prevent a Hindu’s starting on a journey or any important business. He will sit down for a while before recommencing and if he should fail even then he will attribute it to the sneeze.3 But after sneezing you may eat, drink or sleep, only you must not go on a visit.4 Odd numbers are lucky:—‘Numero Deus impuri gaude.’ But three and thirteen are unlucky, because

1 Jaffawiyyah Gazetteer, pp. 188-89.
2 For the spell, which is an invocation of the Name (of God), see ib., p. 187. Some believe that the Prophet permitted the practice of hanging rags (on the Pilgrims’ tree) and explained the peculiar name of the expedition called Ṣat-ul-rākā’s (place of shreds of cloth) by supposing it to be a term for a tree to which the Muslims hung their ex-voto rags. The Turāk-i Tabāris mentions it as a practice of the pagan Arabs and talks of evil spirits residing in the date-tree. Burton’s Al Madīna (1868), p. 155.
3 Ib., 1, § 776. The Buddhist idea is the same and a Tibetan proverb often said when a man sneezes runs—

Ochering nammet Panchung shokh,
Lorgdy thung-nang tonggy thukk,
Tendā dēbār soerd thukk.

‘May God prolong your life, and avert the evil omen’.

4 Ib., 1, § 940.
they are the bad days after death; and terah the is equivalent to 'all anyhow'. So if a man, not content with two wives, wish to marry again, he will first marry a tree, so that the new wife may be the fourth and not the third. The number five and its aliquot parts run through most religious and ceremonial customs. The shrine to Bhúmia is made of five bricks; five culms of the sacred grass are offered to him after child-birth; five sticks of sugarcane are offered; with the first fruits of the juice, to the god of the sugar-press, and so on without end; while offerings to Brahmans are always $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{5}{4}$, whether rupees or sors of grain. The dimensions of wells and well-gear on the other hand are always fixed in so many and three quarter cubits; and no carpenter would make or labourer dig you any portion of a well in round numbers of cubit. In Stálkot wáhí (apparently fr. wádham, to increase) is always used in counting for tin. Elsewhere in counting báhu is used for it and the sthíham with its 3 leaves is a type of utter failure. 12, on the contrary, is peculiarly lucky, and complete success is called pao bára. 52 also appears to be a happy number, and appears in Buddhism as the number of 'the divisions of thought, word, and deed.... all the immaterial qualities and capabilities which go to make up the individual'. Both 12 and 52 occupy a conspicuous place in the organisation of caste. A báto, or group of 22 villages, is, like bára and bawan or groups of 12 and 52, respectively, a favourite term for a tribal settlement containing about that number of villages. So too 32 is in Buddhism the number of 'the bodily marks of a great man' (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV, p. 116). But indeed all the twos, 22, 32, 42 etc. are favourite numbers. On the other hand 8 does not appear to be a lucky number, though it is the number of prostrations made in the worship of the Bhagat-panthis. The 8th child is unlucky.

But for three persons to act together as a council or committee is unlucky, at any rate in Baháwalpur. Trchwh fánštá di májís khoti, i.e. a committee consisting of three members is unlucky (lit. counterfeit). On the other hand to be five in council is thrice blessed, for the proverb goes: pánchho men pir, puj paráddán or pano men parmeshwar, there is god in the 5 leaders, or in 5, i.e. their decision is final. But panch may mean that you will have to go to the authorities (pancháyat) for redress, and sat is an omen of sati, a quarrel, so transactions of the 5th and 7th are put down as of the 4th and 6th.

Amongst Hindus the 9th year is angint, or without a number, and is so called, but there is no objection to returning it at a Census under that name. Again in the case of boys the 8th and 12th years are unlucky and also called angint. The unlucky numbers, however, do not appear to be unlucky at all when used of ages. Thus 9 is neither lucky nor unlucky, though it is a multiple of 3 which is quite disastrously unlucky. 5 is very lucky and 1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 25, 31, 41.

1 Bhaya-David, American Lectures on Buddhism, p. 156. But in the hills 2 is distinctly unlucky and a désilla, two ears of wheat, barley or maize in one, is ill-omened, while in any calculation if 2 be the balance it is unlucky and called pdeh, lit. 'hanging', J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 156, 219. In ancient India 13 was not ill-omened: J. B. A. S., 1916, p. 360 ff.

2 Just as the 8th month of pregnancy is unlucky.
Omens.

51, or 101 are fortunate as indeed are all odd numbers (except 3), but in the Kurram 3, 13 and 16 are peculiarly unlucky.

For an interesting account of numbers in Punjab folklore see Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, preface to Vol. I, pp. xxiii—iv: 2, 4, 8, 16, 3 and 7 are common, but 12 is the commonest of all: 6, 18, 24, 36, 48 and 9 also occur. 5 is also frequent, while there are instances of 13, 14, 19, 20, 21 and 22, while 60, 70 and the old Indian magic number 84 are also found. See also pref. to Vol. II, pp. xix and xx, for some further details. In religion we have the 33 creos of gods, the 84 Sidhs, the 9 Náths, the 64 Jognis, the 52 Víras (Bírs), the 6 Jatis—or, among the Jains, 7 Trumpp's *Translation of the Adi-Granth*, Introd., p. xlix.

Besides sneezing other bodily affections are ominous. Thus a movement of the right eyelid or a singing in the right ear means joy; of the left, grief: a movement of the flesh in the right upper arm or shoulder means that you will soon embrace a friend, but one in the left portends a debilitating sickness. A tingling in the right palm means a gain of 2 or 3 rupees at least: in the left it means money to be paid away. In the sole of either foot tingling denotes a journey or that you will put your feet in the mud—a serious calamity. Shaking one's leg while sitting on a chair or couch means loss of money. Yawning is very unlucky and to avert evil Muhammadans say lá hauá wa lá qwata ilá billáh. Biting one's tongue means that some one is telling tales against one.

Twitching (tand) of the right eye is a lucky omen in Kángra, and the general science of its omens is summed up in the lines:

"If the lower left lip twitch, know there will be a blot on the happiness. If the upper lid twitch, say all will be delightful and pleasure. If the outer lids, it will be wealth and gain: but if the inner, loss. For the right it will be the reverse."7

Omens.—A large number of omens are naturally connected with the horse, probably because he is both a valuable animal and used to be the representative or vehicle of the Sun-god. His actions, colour and form therefore are all full of significance. If you go to buy a horse and he shakes his head it is a warning to you against purchasing him, but the reverse if he paws the ground in welcome. The normal points of a horse are not regarded, or rather his 'points' consist in the numerous marks and signs on him which are auspicious or the reverse. The classical work on this science is the *Parasnáma-i-Rangín* or treatise by

1 P. N. Q., I, § 127.

2 According to another account twitching of the right upper eyelid in a man portends good, but in the lower it is just the opposite, and in a woman twitching of the left eyelid is a sure source of joy: P. N. Q., I, § 927.

3 Ib., § 849.

4 Ib., III, § 27.

5 Ib., III, § 683.

6 Ib., III, § 781.

7 Ib., III, § 111.

8 Ib., I, § 680.
Unlucky horses.

Rangin (Sa‘dat Yar Khan) who regards the horse as one of a captive yet god-like race. The matter is of grave practical importance as it seriously affects the selling value of a horse. Thus in Bahawalpur the following horses are unlucky:

(a) A horse or mare, with a white spot, small enough to be covered by the thumb, on the forehead. Such a horse is called ida-peshdani, or starred on the forehead.

(b) A horse or mare with three feet of one colour and the fourth of another. A white blaze on the forehead however, counteracts this evil sign. Such an animal is called arjal.

(c) A horse with a black palate (sidh kum asp in Persian).

(d) A horse with both hind feet and the off forefoot white. But a white near forefoot is a good omen, as in the Persian couplet:

Do paish sufed-o-yake dast-i-chap,
Bunad latiq-i-shahii-i-dili naab.

"A horse with two white (hind) feet and a white near forefoot is worthy to be ridden by a king”

(e) A horse or mare which is wall-eyed (manki) or which has an eye like that of a human being, is called taki and is ill-starred.

Translated by Lt.-Col. D. C. Philpott, Quetta, 1912. After describing the horse Rangin proceeds to enumerate the five grand defects of the horse. First and worst of these, transcending spavin, exceeding malformation, and even ill manners (which last are looked upon by Rangin as inherent) are placed ‘The Feathers.’ ‘The Feathers’ are those whorls where the different currents of hair meet, to them the first section of the book is given, and the pre-eminence is one of which they are certainly worthy considering that their influence are momentous, predestined, and to a large extent sinister. It is a science akin, in its minuteness and intricacy, to palmistry; it is also exact as becomes a table of laws from which there is no appeal. If there be only one feather in the centre of the forehead it is not to be regarded as an ill-mark; but if there be two on the forehead avoid that horse and do not dream of buying it. If there be 3, 4 or 5 feathers on the forehead Persians will not even look at the horse; others call it a ram, saying ‘it will but you misfortune.’ The battle of the good and evil feathers continues from head to tail. A feather low down on the forearm, if it points downward, is called ‘Driver-in-of the Peg’ and is lucky, but if it points upward is called ‘Up-rooter-of-the-Peg’ and is baleful. A feather under the girth is lucky and is called ‘width of the Ganges.’ A feather under the saddle is unlucky: “Buy not a horse with such a feather. Do not even keep him in your village” (Strange that in Ireland also there are turns of the hair that are accounted fortunate, both in horses and in cattle). The colours are doomy and precise in their anger as the feathers themselves—”If there are in the blaze hairs the colour of the rest of the body, shun the horse; experts call that horse a scorpion. A white spot on the forehead, sufficiently small to be concealed by the tip of the thumb, is called a star. This mark is sinister and ill omened unless there is also some white on the legs. If a horse has either the near or off hind white, it is defective and is called arjal. If the seller says to you, ‘Oh but there is white on the forehead too,’ do not give ear to his specious words, for the Prophet has said that an arjal is bad: what else then is there to be said?” The best colour for a horse is bay, the second khadi dan, the third a dun with a black mane and tail, called samand. This last would, with the addition of a black strip down the back, be identical with an Irish ‘shan brul’ and of an Irish ‘shan brul’ it has been said (in illustration of its adroitness and agility) that he ‘would bend a sister.’ We are with Rangin in his high estimation of the samand. Low on the list comes the grey; many on this side of the world would give him (and preferably her) a higher place, and it is not long since that an Irish dealer of exhaustive experience averred that his fancy was for greys and that he had seldom had a bad grey horse and never a bad grey mare: Times Literary Supplement, 1912, p. 71.

Bahawalpur Gazetteer, p. 184.
Travel portents.

But the panch-kalida or horse with 5 white blazes, one on the forehead and one on each foot, is apparently lucky, and the hero's horse is often named Panchkaliand in folk-tales.

So too when buying a buffalo, cow or bullock it is a good sign if it defecate, but do not buy if it urinate. If a buffalo lows (ringdi) it is a good omen, but the reverse if a bystander sneezes 1

If an owlhoot thrice on a man's house he must quit it for 3, 7 or 11 days, placing thorns at its door and feasting Brahmans, sacrificing a goat and offering a broken coconut before he re-enters it. 2

A kite settling on the roof of a house is unlucky. 3

Dogs are peculiarly gifted for they can see evil spirits moving about and so their howling is a portent of evil. If out hunting a dog rolls on its back-game will be plentiful, but if it lies quietly on its back in the house it is praying for help and some calamity is imminent. 4

When out shooting it is very lucky to meet a guar, a name applied in the Punjab to a small king-fisher with bright blue plumage, which is let out of its cage at the Dashehra as a sacred bird. 5 A cat or a crow throwing water over itself denotes a coming guest. 6

The perils of travel have led to the development of something like a science of augury in regard to it. Before starting on an important journey a Hindu will consult a Brahman as to what day will be propitious and if he cannot start on that day he will send on a paisra, a small bundle of necessaries, to some place near the gate by which he intends going, and start himself within the next two days. 7

When starting on a journey if a Brahman or Durnaa is met, or any one carrying an empty pot (ghara) or basket (killa), the omen is unfavourable, and the traveller turns back. If a child is met or a person carrying full ghara the omen is favourable. For a journey or any work of importance a Brahman is consulted to ascertain the sat or lucky moment, and if the person is unable to start on the day and at the time fixed, his walking stick or bundle is put outside the door, and this is looked upon as equivalent to his departure.

After seeing a bier or touching a scavenger good Hindus will bathe, and the scavenger must also wash his clothes himself. 8

If when setting out on any purpose you meet a person carrying an empty ghara it is an ill omen, but good if the water-pot is behind you. So too it is unpropitious to meet a person carrying wood, but the reverse if he comes behind you. 9 It is unlucky to meet a widow but a good omen to meet a woman with a male child. 10

In Dera Ghazi Khan it is lucky to meet a man at starting, but a

1. P. N. Q., 11, § 490.
2. Jb., 11, § 119.
wom... failure in your purpose. So too it is unlucky to encounter a shrive on the left hand, and Baloch calls this chha� or 'sinister', turning back to make a fresh start. But to meet one on the right is propitious. The neighing of a horse or the braying of a he-ass is a favourable omen. In this district auguries are also taken by kicking one's shoe into the air while walking. If it falls on its sole it is a good, but if it turns over, a bad sign.\(^3\)

In Dera Ismā'il Khān the Muhammedan Játs and Baloch have the following omens:—

To meet a woman when starting on a journey is a bad omen. For any one to recall a man as he starts is also a bad omen. Shikāris consider it unlucky to meet a jackal when they start. If a man who is ill and is setting out to obtain treatment, meets a snake it is a bad omen if he fails to kill it but a good one if he succeeds in doing so. If a she-jackal (pavi) call behind the house of a sick man he is certain to die—

\(\text{Ráthi bulāe kuhr} \quad \text{"By night if the cock,}~
\text{Te dehen bulāe skighar} \quad \text{By day the jackal calls}~
\text{Ekki baḍi Sáhibī} \quad \text{A king changes}~
\text{Te ekki pondā kál} \quad \text{Famine befalls."}~

If a sick man hears a stallion neigh at night it portends his recovery. A smut or dirt in the left eye is ill, in the right, good luck.

It is unlucky to drink water before starting, but auspicious to eat sugar in any form.

But in spite, it would seem, of all omens, prosperity in travel may be secured by saying:—

\(\text{Sítá Rahúpat Rám ke tamak bānāhlo kháth,}~
\text{Áge áge Har chaṭe, pichhe Har ká sáth}~

'Join hands in praise of Sítá and Rám
And God will precede you, and you will follow God.'\(^5\)

To see a partridge on one's right is lucky provided that one is going to a field, to meet a friend or homewards: \(\text{Khet, mól, ghar ahane;}\) but bānwan bani j beopár, i.e. it is better to meet it on the left when one is going on business. On a journey homewards again or to meet a friend it is auspicious to meet a Bhāgan or any woman of very low caste, or one with two gharas on her head.\(^6\) But it is always unlucky to meet a load of wood or a Brahman, and if one meets the latter one should try and pass to the left, letting him pass on the right.\(^7\)

To meet a Chúhra is lucky, the more so if he has a basket or broom in hand.\(^8\)

\(^1\) In Jātki speech malikā, in Balochi gyānebh: P. N. Q., I, § 1019.
\(^2\) Ib., § 1020.
\(^3\) Skighar is the male jackal.
\(^4\) Sāhibī = "ruler."
\(^5\) P. N. Q., II, § 670.
\(^6\) This omen may be connected with the superstition referred to in the account of Gōga.
\(^7\) P. N. Q., II, § 150.
\(^8\) Ibid., II, § 849.
Meeting omens.

Never proceed on a journey begun if you are called back at starting. So strongly is this believed to be unlucky that relations will send things accidentally left after a traveller rather than call him back. 1

If when going anywhere with an object you meet a jackal it is a good omen, but two are better; provided the animal does not cross your path—when your object will be frustrated. 2

To hear a jackal barking is, in Dera Ghazi Khan, most unlucky. It is known as bhândâ. 3 In Rohtak it is lucky to hear a jackal howling on the left, but not on the right, 4 and the jackal should not be spoken of by his proper name as gidir, but as Jambu. 5

In Bahawalpur to hear a donkey bray behind when one is starting on a journey, or a partridge call on the left is an omen that the journey will fail in its object. But a partridge calling on the right is lucky. Also it is fortunate to meet a sweeper carrying filth, or a coffin, when setting out on business. It is a good omen to see the bird, called matláda, on the right hand early in the day and later on the left, and vice versa. If a thief, when going to steal, hear a pheasant on the left he considers it a bad omen and returns. If a maina or a lâli be heard warbling on the roof, the women reply, Aâ dâ piñá pílâ he, ja mânhân kon lid. "The flour is ready ground, go, fetch the guest," i.e. a guest is expected. The bird’s note is supposed to be pîhâ pîhâ, the imperative of pîhá (pisna), to grind. If a man sneezes when starting on a journey, the journey will be unsuccessful. Similarly it is a bad omen for a marriage procession to hear the roar of thunder or meet with a gale of wind on their way to the bride’s house. Any additions to a house are made by the Hindus in front of, or in line with, the buildings that exist, not in their rear. A new building at the back of the house is calculated to bring some calamity on the owner’s head. A crow on the coping of the house-wall denotes that a relation is coming on a visit, or at least that news from one will soon arrive. On the other hand, if a woman gets hurt she will put it down to having heard a crow cawing on the coping. A kite sitting on the house is unlucky, so a black hándi or scare-crow is usually hung on the loftiest part of the roof.

In Kângra it is also lucky to meet a married woman, a pot full of water, a corpse in a doli, flesh, fish, a cow with calf, a mongoose, or the sound of music, a wild parrot perching on your body, a blue jay, a peacock, a kurla (lizard) or a chîpâlî (white lizard). But it is unlucky to meet an ass, a bull-buffalo, a sweeper with refuse, any one carrying salt or earth, a potter, a Brahman bare-headed or one who does not return your greeting, a widow, an empty pot, a blind or wall-eyed man, a bairâgi or a fasîr smeared with ashes, an oil-crusher (? a Teli) with his pot, a crow, a jackal, or a cat.

1 P. N. Q., IV. § 270
2 T. o. § 606.
3 T. o. § 1019.
4 T. o. § 160.
5 T. o. § 181.
6 P. N. Q. III, §§ 109, 110. In Attok it is unlucky to meet any man with a bare head, any Brahman or a matláda, any one weeping or smoking, a fire, a crow flying towards one, a widow, any one carrying a broken pot, a gardener with an empty basket, a cat, a goat, a cow, or any black animal, a snake or an empty vessel if carried. To hear the sound of weeping or a person sneezing while on a journey is most unfortunate, and the latter omen will almost always occasion a delay at any rate: Gazetteer, p. 107.
Omens from crows.

Eat curds, and go where you please, but do not eat pickle or anything sour when going to visit an official, or you will either fail to see him or not gain your purpose. Success on a journey to pay such a visit or for any important business may be assured by observing the simple rules:—

Jo sur chāle, vohi pag dije,
Potī patra kabhi na lije,

i.e. if you find that your right nostril breathes more quickly than your left start with you right foot, and vice versa: 'never mind books and almanacs.' Should you chance to see a useless man or a barren woman do not let them cross you or you will fail in your undertakings.¹

The study of omens from crows alone is almost a science:—

"When going on a journey if a crow caw to the left,
Know for certain that you will prosper.
If (a crow) on a journey go before you cawing;
I tell you the crow is saying that you will get a wife.
If a crow caw to the right and go cawing to the left,
I tell you it is telling you that you will lose your wealth.
If it caw first to the left and go cawing to the right,
The crow is bringing you wealth and honour above all.
If a crow caw to the left and go upward,
Your journey is stayed, and you should stop at home.
If a crow caw to the left and turn its back upon you,
It is bringing grief and trouble upon you.
If a crow stand on one leg with its back to the sun
And preen its wings, some great man will die.
If, when you are eating in the field, a crow caw,
You will obtain riches out of the earth.
If a crow flutter both its wings on high,
Though you try a thousand plans you will suffer loss.
If a cawing crow sit on the back of a buffalo,
You will surely be successful in your labours.
If a crow pick up a bone from the ground and throw it into water,
Know that in a few days you will be beneath the sod.
If a crow lower its head towards the north,
It is bringing on a disturbance and lightning.
If crow lower its head to the north and preen its wings,
It is exiling you from your country.
If a crow keep on cawing, I tell you what will happen:
He is calling a guest from a foreign land.
If on a journey a crow caw with a piece of meat in its mouth,
Trouble is over, and you will enjoy the fruit of happiness."

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 815. ² P. N. Q., II, § 801. These verses are attributed to one Jai Singh
- Crows always pray for more children in the world as they get sweets from them. 1

In Kánpura it is lucky to meet a Brahman telling his beads or saluting you with his tilak (sectarial mark) on. 2

"If you meet one Sudra, and as many Bánias, three Brahmans, and four Chhattris—nine women coming in front—don't go on: I give you this omen. 3 

If on the road you meet milk and fish, two Brahmans with books, 'tis a good omen and all wishes will be granted you. 4

Quarrels are caused by mixing fire from two houses, standing a broom in a corner or allowing a child to turn over a dirty ladle, 5 or by clattering scissors. 6

The loan of a comb or kerchief causes enmity. 7

If while kneading flour a bit of the dough gets loose, a guest is coming. 8

If unleavened bread rise while being baked on an iron plate it means that the person for whom it is being made is hungry. 9

Finding gold is unlucky at any time, and metal found on a Saturday, when it is unlucky to find anything, is given to a Dákaut or Mahá-Brahman. No real Brahman takes alms on that day. 10

Put the fingers of both hands to your forehead and look down to where the wrists join the hands: if they appear to slip from the wrists your death is near. 11

It is lucky to have one's crop trodden down by a superior, as it will yield the more. 12

If, when one is thinking of a person or wishes to see him, he turns up it forebodes long life to him. 13

A change of garment will change one's luck, and it is sufficient to change the right shoe to the left foot and vice versa, to secure good sport. 14

1 P. N. Q., III, § 451.
3 N. I. N. Q., I, § 238.
4 Ib., § 239.
5 Ib., II, § 1089.
6 Ib., II, § 798.
7 Ib., III, § 682.
8 Ib., III, § 779.
9 Ib., III, § 29.
10 Ib., IV, § 483.
11 Ib., IV, § 84.
12 Ib., II, § 740.
13 Ib., III, § 504.
14 Ib., I, § 16.
Tabus.—Eating the leavings of another’s food causes 100 generations to burn, and is nearly as bad as back-biting which condemns countless generations to the flames.¹

Muhammadans object to beating a brass tray as the dead might be awakened, thinking the Last Day had arrived.²

Some Hindus will not wear a white turban as long as their father is alive.³

Red food is said to be avoided by Hindu Bánias as it resembles flesh; P. N. Q., IV, § 193.

It is sometimes said that Hindus consider it unlawful to eat food cooked by an unmarried person.⁴

However, this may be some tabus are clearly based upon delicacy of feeling. Such is the prohibition which, regarding it as a great sin to accept any help from a daughter or to make any use of her property, tabus even a drink of water from her well or a rest under the shade of the tree among high-caste Hindus. Brahmins will often not even drink water in a son-in-law’s village. And among high class Khatri families such as the Seth, Khanna, Kapür and Mihrota sections of Dhaíghar status a mother will not even use her daughter’s fan.⁵

Among Brahmins and Khatris a daughter invariably receives a present at a festival. An elder brother too going to visit a married sister will not accept food or water from her. If he does not take them with him he must pay for them, in addition to the usual gift which he is bound to make to her.⁶

Among the Rájpúts in Karnál the village into which a girl is married is utterly tabu’d to her father, elder brother and all near elder relatives, and even the more distant elder relatives will not eat or drink from her husband’s house, though they do not tabu the whole village. The boy’s father in turn can only go to the girl’s village by her father’s leave.⁷

The tabus on new vessels of metal among Hindus may be removed by letting a horse eat out of them. Some orthodox Hindus will also, after this, rub them with ashes to purify them from the touch of their low-caste makers.⁸ The horse is here probably symbolical of the Sun-god.

Among Brahmins and other high-caste Hindus no food that has been in the house during an eclipse of the sun or moon can be eaten and it must be given away. But to avoid this necessity halwáis keep some kusa or dásí grass, cynodon dactylon, in the baskets of sweet stuff during an eclipse.⁹

A widespread tabu is that placed upon buildings of burnt brick or stone.¹⁰

¹ N. I., N. Q., I, § 242.
² Ib., I, § 114.
³ Ib., I, § 619.
⁴ P. N. Q., I, § 870.
⁵ Ib., I, § 1002.
⁸ P. N. Q., II, § 887.
⁹ Ib., I, § 705.
¹⁰ Ib., I, § 765.
In the plains milk should not be churned on a Thursday by either Hindus or Muhammadans as that day is held sacred to the Muhammadan saints. Part of that day’s milk is used, and the rest given away to mendicants.¹

The Gazetteer of the Simla Hill States thus describes the taboo on the use of milk which is found among the Khetis:—“Amongst Khetis the belief is universal that if a man drinks the milk of his own cow or gives it to others to drink he will incur the displeasure of his deota in a practical form.¹ But no evil consequences attach to the making and selling or eating of ghī from this milk. As a consequence of this idea those who arrange for supplies to visitors have to get milk from Kolis as it is said that although the milk of a Koli’s cow may not be drunk by the owner himself, it may be safely given to other people. Sceptics say that Khetis have often been compelled to furnish milk for distinguished visitors when Kolis’ milk was not available, and that no evil has resulted. They call the story of the god’s wrath a convenient fiction designed to ensure owners of cattle the full benefit of the profitable industry of ghī making and to protect them from exaction.”

Following up this clue Mr. H. W. Emerson has elicited the following data regarding this interesting and important taboo:—

“Now the custom is so widespread and presents such interesting features that a fuller account of it may free the hill-folk from the aspersions cast upon their sense of hospitality. In the first place the belief is far from universal amongst Khetis. The restriction in fact depends upon the dispensions and dispositions of various gods. Some there are who insist on their full rights and forbid the use of milk in any other form than ghī. Others content themselves with a formal recognition of their prerogative, whilst not a few allow their worshippers both to drink themselves and give to others.

As an instance of the autocratic despot we may cite the case of Dūm, a god who exercises sway around Nārkanda. He will not permit his devotees to deal in any way with pure milk or curds and even the ghī must be properly clarified. Cases have occurred in which a new-born child whose mother has died in childbirth has had to wait hungry until a milk cow could be brought from Kula or some other district where the local god imposed no veto. For it is an old feature of the superstition that prohibition or freedom to use the milk are dependent on the origin and lineage of the animal that gives it. A cow imported from the jurisdiction of an alien deity remains subject to the rules and regulations of its ancestral god. Neither she nor her offspring can acquire the liberties or incur the disabilities as the case may be, of naturalised subjects of the new divinity. The principle is indeed applied to objects other than the sacred cow, for if the offerings made to certain deities pass from their spheres of influence the gods go with them and thus often gain a footing in villages which have neither known them in the past nor want them in the future. “The god holds what the god has

¹ L.N.O., IV, § 351. Very different ideas prevail elsewhere. Thus the Brahū and Baloch nomads of Peshawar will give milk in exchange for other commodities, but deem it a disgrace to make money by it, and among the Bedouin in Arabia ṭabbāda or ‘milk-seller’ is a term of disgrace; Burton’s Al-Madinah, I, p. 316.
held" is the motto of celestial beings in the hills. Dūm, like the majority of interdicting deities, is a fearsome deity of whom the peasants stand in awe. Originally he was a human being, born to a childless peasant by the mercy of the goddess Devi, but on his death his spirit showed a strange perversity. It would not rest in peace, but liked to vex the people. So in despair they defied it and popt him fairly quiet. He still retains however some traces of his ghostly devilry and if his worshippers transgress his orders, calamity will surely fall upon them. The udders of their cows dry up, the crops are blighted, and their children die, until at length they expiate their sin by generous sacrifices.

Passing to the next type of supernatural beings who play the rôle of benevolent monarchs we find that such are satisfied with a mere acknowledgment of their supposititious rights. They exact only the performance of the following ceremonies from their worshippers. When a calf is born the mother is not milked until the fourth day after birth. The milk is then placed in a vessel and left to curdle. When firmly set it forms part of a sacrifice offered to the animal's ancestral god. Ghi, curds and milk are poured upon the idol's head; incense, flowers and sweetened bread are laid before it. The owner offers up a prayer that the cow and calf may prosper and asks the god's permission to use the produce of the former. The bread is eaten by the suppliant and after he has sacrificed a goat he may assume that the deity has vouchsafed the liberty to use the ghi and milk as he deems fit. Since the cattle are mostly of local breed the rites are usually performed within the village temple. But this is not invariably the case, for where the cow or her progenitors have been imported a pile of stones is built to represent her family god. There the goat is slaughtered and the votive offerings paid. Sometimes when the local temple is at a distance the offerings are poured over the horns of the cow itself, and this is always done if, though the animal is known to be of alien stock, all record of its god has been forgotten.

The third class of democratic deities who impose no terms upon their clients are not uncommon, but they can grant no privileges for beasts other than their hereditary property. For example milk from the progeny of any cow, once owned by a worshipper of Dūm, has the same pains and penalties attaching to its use as though it lived within his jurisdiction. And this is so although its present owner lives far outside the limits of Dūm's sway and the original stock was imported several generations back.

With reference to the Kolis the issues are obscured to some extent by the fact that a number of the caste cannot afford the luxury of either milk or ghi. Also in the olden days it was the policy of the rulers to depress their menials and if the noise of churning was heard within the Koli's house, he was assuredly fined. This much seems certain that the superstition is not so general among Kolis as it is amongst Kanets. Where it applies the cause can usually be attributed to the worship of some deity adopted from the pantheon of the superior caste. Where both castes worship the same god, the nature of the veto is the same for both. Sometimes in a village the Kolis are under the disability whilst the Kanets are free; more often the reverse is found to
be the case. The custom does not appear to be aboriginal; the Kolis have learnt it from the Kanets and not the Kanets from the Kolis."

Dr. J. Hutchison has found that similar customs prevail as far north as the Tibetan border, but are said not to exist in Ladakh or Eastern Tibet. He writes:—

In the Rávi Valley the procedure is somewhat as follows:—After calving the calf is allowed to drink all the milk for three days. This seems to be the period most generally allowed. After the third day a certain quantity of milk—usually one half—is put aside for the calf and the rest is put into a vessel called dudhár after each milking. When the vessel is full the milk is churned and butter is made which is also stored and when enough has been accumulated it is made into ghi. The milk is not drunk by the family and is said to be suchcha—that is forbidden. This period may last from a few days to three, six or even more months if the cow goes on giving milk according to the will of the owner. During this time butter is made at regular intervals and then converted into ghi, which is stored for the merchants who come round to purchase it, but none of it is used by the family until certain ceremonies have been performed. The impression is general that the procedure is observed purely for financial reasons, there being a brisk trade in ghi all through the Rávi Valley. Caste seems to make no difference and the custom prevails among high and low, rich and poor. When the period which may range from the 9th day to the 9th month has expired, the owner of the cow makes an offering to the local deota Nág or Devi, under whose special protection the cow is considered to be and who is called jakh, after which the milk ceases to be suchcha and may be used by the family. Nowhere did I hear of any instance in which the owner was entirely debarred from using the milk of his own cow, except during the period I have indicated. The offering made to the jakh consists of curds, milk, butter and ghi, which are generally rubbed on the face of the image. Incense is also burnt and sweet bread is also presented and if it is a first calf a goat is sacrificed.

The custom is almost certainly of aboriginal origin and has come down from a time long anterior to the appearance of the Bages on the scene. I am inclined to agree with what seems to be the general belief among the people around us that the custom is practised for profit only. One need not call it mercenary, for it is simply in keeping with the ordinary trade practices in these hills.

The above description applies chiefly to the Rávi Valley and the outer mountains. In the Chandra Bhága Valley, especially in Pádar, Pángi and Lábuhl the milk is kept suchcha after calving only for 9 to 12 days. Then an offering is made to the Nau gráh and local deity in much the same way as in Cbhamba, except that instead of a live goat the imitation of one in áta is offered presumably to save expense. The milk is then freely used.

There is, however, another interesting custom which seems to be peculiar to those regions. In Pádar for the whole month of Sáwan, and in Pángi for 15 days in that month, all the milk of the valley is regarded as suchcha or devoted to the local Nág or Devi. The cows are milked as usual and the milk accumulates in the special receptacle called uðhí.
It is churned at intervals and the butter so procured is made into ghi which is stored up, while the buttermilk is drunk at special gatherings. On special days also some of the curds, milk and ghi are offered to the Nág. All this is done when the cattle are up in the puháli or high mountain pastures. At the end of the period special offerings are made and a sheep is sacrificed for the whole village and then the milk becomes common again. On such occasions it is hard for travellers to procure milk as the people are very unwilling to give it. This custom does not prevail in Lahul. The object probably is to lay in a yearly supply of ghi at the time of year which is most convenient to themselves and where the pasture is at its richest and the milk consequently most abundant and of good quality. In Lahul the cattle remain in the village all the year round and are not sent to a puháli or mountain pasture. The ghi made in the Chandra Bhág valley is for domestic use only.

Omens.—To return to the topic of omens, it is even less easy to explain many of them than it is to account for Átáuk. Thus in Áttok meeting water when starting on a journey is lucky, because water is much prized, and sweepers may be good omens as they are humble, honest and useful. But if Brahmans and muiláha are seldom met without their asking for alms it might be supposed that their blessing would outweigh the loss of the money bestowed on them.1

Good and bad omens are much regarded in Chamba. If a chakor (Greek partridge) coockles on the roof, it forebodes death to one of the family. An owl or kite settling on the roof, or on a tree close by, portends calamity. Bad omens also affect cattle. If a cow lies down while being milked, or blood comes from her teats the animal must be sent away. A poisonous snake entering a house portends good, and the Nág is regarded as specially auspicious. If killed in the house a stake must be removed by the window and not by the door, or one of the family will die. If a cock crow in the evening it should be killed at once lest it should crow thrice, portending death to some one in the family. Twin calves are unlucky. A white spot on a horse’s forehead is called átra and is unlucky to its purchaser. Hair growing the wrong way on a horse’s neck is a bad omen called puțha bált, as is also a tuft of hair anywhere on the animal. White hair near the hoofs or on the forehead, called panjkalyánt, is considered auspicious.2

On maize 4 or 5 cobs on one stalk are a bad omen. If a snake crawls past a heap of grain it must be given away. An injury to any one at the burning ghat is ominous, and an offering must be made to avert calamity. An adult sneezing at the commencement of any work or when starting on a journey is ominous, but good in the case of a young girl. The sight of a centipede means that some one is speaking evil of the person who sees it. A sudden tremor of one part of the body points to impending disease, and the side is touched with a shoe to avert it. Itching in the right palm indicates coming wealth, and in the sole of the foot that a journey is near. Singing in the right ear means pleasant news in prospect, but bad news if it is in the left. If hiccup is slight some relative is thinking of you: if troublesome, some one is abusing you. If the eyelid quivers grief is near. A spider on the body means good clothing or a friend in prospect.

1 AÁtkoq Gazettet, p. 107.

2 See p. 336 supra.
Dreams.—If a person dreams in the early morning the dream will come true. If in a dream a dead relative appears and mentions a date on which the person dreaming will die, some measures are taken to defeat this evil influence. A chela is called on the date mentioned, who dances, and he and the friends try in many ways to divert the man’s attention till the critical time is past. The omen is inauspicious if in a dream copper or iron is given to the person dreaming. A dog coming towards the person to bite him is also ominous, and is called grah. An elephant in a dream means that Ganesha is angry and must be appeased. If a little child appears saying pleasant things Kali is benignant, but if something unpleasant is said Kali needs to be appeased. If a boy appears Mahadev is signified. A snake coming towards the dreamer to bite him is a bad omen. If some one is seen to leave the house the person dreaming will die, but if a living relative is seen dying he or she will recover. Crossing a stream in a dream points to some coming difficulty.

A dream should never be mentioned to any one as it is most unlucky to do so, but to dream during the afternoon or at noon is harmless however bad the dream may be.\(^1\)

Dreams naturally are often ominous, for good or evil. To see one’s self riding on a male camel, ass or buffalo means death, which is imminent if one sees one’s self climbing a tree to gather fruit—probably because the ashes of a burnt corpse are hung on a tree. To see raw meat portends sickness, and to be falling from a hill or rock calamity as well. To swim in clear water and gain the shore predicts recovery from a long illness. To see smoke, rain, mud or dirty water or to laugh in one’s sleep means grief. To dance and sing means calamity as well. To see ashes, bones or cowries portends grief and loss. To be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the left side means loss, and to see the bed of a dried-up pond or river, loss of salary. To climb to a hill-top means profit, and to see one’s self or another eating meat or curds or to be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the right side, wealth. To ride on an elephant or a white horse means promotion and to be in prison is to be soon a ruler, while to see one’s head cut off or the sun or moon rising is to be soon a king. A naked sword or a road portends an unexpected journey. The happiness of one’s ancestors is assured by the vision of a faqir or sadhu.\(^2\) A dream during the latter part of the night is however auspicious as it is then that the gods are roaming and you are sure of gain.\(^3\) Dreams may be cured by reciting a common invocation to Hanuman.

Shoes lying over each other are a sign of travel and if you see a broom upside down put it right way up or you will suffer somehow. It is lucky to find silver but not gold, and on a journey it is lucky to meet a sweeper, a snake or a corpse, but the reverse if one meets a Brahman, a village headman or a washerman.\(^4\)

DIVINATION, POSSESSION, EXORCISM AND CHARMS.—Such being the varied choice in the matter of malevolent spirits offered to

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\(^1\) P. N. G., III, §§ 690-1.
\(^2\) Id., I, § 769.
\(^3\) Id., I, § 780.
\(^4\) Id., I, §§ 789-90.
the Punjab peasant by the belief of the countryside, it may be supposed that divination and exorcism are practised widely, and possession and the virtue of charms firmly believed in. Of witchcraft proper one hears but little, and it is, I believe, chiefly confined to the lowest castes; though some wizards are commonly credited with the power of causing a woman to die if they can obtain a lock of her hair, and then bringing her to life again for their carnal enjoyment. Illness is generally attributed to the malignant influence of a deity, or to possession by a spirit; and recourse is had to the soothsayer to decide who is to be appeased, and in what manner. The diviners are called 'devotees' (bhagat) or 'wise-men' (syana), and they generally work under the inspiration of a snake-god, though sometimes under that of a Saiyad (see above). The power of divination is generally confined to the lower and menial (? aboriginal) castes, is often hereditary, and is rarely possessed by women. Inspiration is shown by the man’s head beginning to wag; and he then builds a shrine to his familiar, before which he dances, or, as it is called by the people, 'sports' (khelna, khal nina). He is consulted at night, the inquirer providing tobacco and music. The former is waved over the body of the invalid and given to the wise man to smoke. A butter-lamp is lighted, the music plays, the diviner sometimes lashes himself with a whip, and he is at last seized by the afflatus, and in a paroxysm of dancing and head-wagging doffs the name of the malignant influence, the manner in which it is to be propitiated, and the time when the disease may be expected to abate. Or the diviner waves wheat over the patient's body, by preference on Saturday or Sunday: he then counts out the grains one by one into heaps, one heap for each god who is likely to be at the bottom of the mischief, and the deity on whose heap the last grain falls is the one to be propitiated. The malignant spirit is appeased by building him a new shrine, or by making offerings at the old one. Very often the offering is first placed by the patient's head for a night or waved over his body, or he is made to eat a part of it; and it is sometimes exposed on a moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax, together with a lighted lamp, at a place where four cross-roads meet. Sometimes it is enough to tie a rag taken from the patient’s body on to the sacred tree—generally a jand (prosopis pectigera)—beneath which the shrine stands, and such trees may often be seen covered with the remnants of those offerings, blue being the predominating colour if the shrine be Musalmán, and red if it be Hindu.

The Jats and Baloch of Dera Ismāil Khān and Mianwāli are firm believers in magic:

A useful charm is to get 4 men to write out at the same time but at separate places, the Muhammadan creed. The whole is worn as an amulet. It is said to be of general efficacy, and to safeguard the wearer from hurt, though Hassain Khān, Baloch, who told me, got a sword-cut all the same from a Wazir near Pezu in Edwardes' time. Passing a hut in Multān an old woman came out and cried 25.

1 In the hills, however, magic is said to be common; and in the plains certain men can charm the livers out of children, and so cause them to pine away and die. Englishmen are often credited with this power.

2 The term Bhagat, I believe, properly applies only to the devotees of the goddess Durg. But it is locally used by the villagers for any wise man, or diviner.
"Oh blue man, blue man—what shall I give my child for the cough?" I did not know the answer and foolishly promised some medicine. She told me I ought to have bid her steal something from a neighbour's field or house, as that would have cured the cough. There are many other spells of this class but people will not own to any knowledge of them.

Earth taken from a sweeper's grave or from a Hindu burning place, moulded into the shape of an enemy and the Surat Yasān read over it, is supposed to be fatal to him. To call up the devil himself it is only necessary to repeat the creed backwards. Within the memory of several men whom I know a Sayyid from Multān who could control the jīmes appeared at Lea and Bhakkar in Miānwāli. He produced cooked food from the air, pomegranates out of season, pots of ghāi and at the instigation of a Lea money-lender, rupees. It is admitted that a man who possesses a full knowledge of the great names (śīms) of the Deity, who knows how to combine them and the demons affected by each, can render them obedient to himself or to the ring on his little finger. But only the learned and scrupulously pure can attain to this knowledge. Certain of the śīms repeated before going into court, or before a hākim are certain to gain favour for the sayer.

Amulets are much used. A headman to prevent the anger of a justly incensed hākim from falling on him sat with an amulet tied conspicuously on his nīfr. He admitted the reason when asked.

Whereas possession by the god is, as a rule, invoked, possession by evil spirits is dreaded, and various remedies resorted to for their expulsion. Such spirits are known by various names, but Bhairoṇ and Kāli are also believed to cause demoniacal possession. When a man becomes thus possessed, the pujārī ascertains by astrology whether the possession is really due to evil spirits, and if this appears certain, he takes the man to the temple of the god. The people assemble and invoke the god with incessant cries, the pujārī remaining still and silent for a time. Soon he begins to tremble and nod his head. He then asks the god to cure the sufferer. Casting rice at the people he curses them until in terror they offer to propitiate the god with sacrifices of goats etc., whereupon he advises that sacrifice be made. He then offers rice to the god and says that the evil spirit will depart. Dhūp is not offered, nor is music played, and as a rule no mantraś are read, but in rare cases Kāli is thus invoked:

Kāli chari chari ké t kāi,
Dehī ko khāi,
Pānt bāhi samudar kā, bhāi,
Chuṛi bhassam ho jāi.

"Kāli has arisen and devours the sacrifice. Let the ocean flow, let ghost and demon turn into ashes."

Ibbsen, § 285.

TASTS AND FESTIVALS.—Religious festivals play a great part in the life of the peasant; indeed they form his chief holidays, and on these occasions men, and still more women and children, don their best
clothes and collect in great numbers, and after the offering has been made enjoy the excitement of looking at one another. The great Hindu festivals have been described in numberless books, and I need not notice them here. But besides these, every shrine, Hindu and Musalmán, small and great, has its fairs held at fixed dates which attract worshippers more or less numerous according to its renown. Some of these fairs, such as those at Thánesar on the occasion of an eclipse, those of Bábá Faríd at Pák Pattan, and of Sákhí Sarwar at Nigáha are attended by very many thousands of people, and elaborate police arrangements are made for their regulation. There are two festivals peculiar to the villages, not observed in the towns, and therefore not described in the books, which I will briefly notice. The ordinary Díwáli or feast of lamps of the Hindus, which falls on Káthik, 11th, is called by the villagers the little Díwáli. On this night the pítr or ancestors visit the house, which is fresh plastered throughout for the occasion, and the family light lamps and sit up all night to receive them. Next morning the housewife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in a dust-pan and turns them out on to the dunghill, saying, dalader aír ho: 'May thriftlessness and poverty be far from us!' Meanwhile they prepare for the celebration of the great or Gobardhan Díwáli, on which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of a cowherd, and which all owners of cattle should observe. The women make a Gobardhan of cow-dung, which consists of Krishna lying on his back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains, in which are stuck stems of grass with tufts of cotton or rag on the top for trees, and by little dung-balls for cattle, watched by dung-men dressed in bits of rag. Another opinion is that the cottage loaves are cattle and the dung-balls calves. On this are put the churn-staff and five whole sugarcanes, and some parched rice and a lighted lamp in the middle. The cowherds are then called in and they salute the whole and are fed with rice and sweets. The Brahman then takes the sugarcane and eats a bit; and till then no one must cut, press, or eat cane. Rice-milk is then given to the Brahmins, and the bullocks have their horns dyed and get extra well fed. Four days before the Díwáli, i.e. on Káthik 11th, is the Devtháni Gýáras on which the gods awake from their four months' sleep, which began on Háy 11th. On the night of the devtháni the children run about the village with lighted sticks and torches. During these four months it is forbidden to marry, to cut sugarcane, or to put new string on a bedstead on pain of a snake biting the sleeper. On the 15th and 11th of Phágán the villagers worship the aonla tree, or phyllanthus emblica, mentioned by Huen Tsang as being so abundant beyond Delhi. This tree is the embolic myrobalus, a representation of the fruit of which is used for the finial of Buddhist temples. Its worship is now connected with that of Shiv: Brahmins will not take the offerings. The people circumambulate the tree from left to right (prákámma), pour libations, eat the leaves and make offerings, which are taken by the Kánpháte Jógis. Fasts are not much observed by the villagers, except the great annual fasts; and not even those by the young man who works in the fields and cannot afford to go hungry. But sugar, butter, milk, fruits and wild seeds, and anything that is not technically 'grain' may be eaten, so that the abstinence is not very severe.

'Dalader = 'thriftless, lazy', and so 'poor'/'
The south is a quarter to be especially avoided, as the spirits of the dead live there. Therefore your cooking hearth must not face the south, nor must you sleep or lie with your feet in that direction except in your last moments. The demon of the four quarters, Dīsāul, lives in the east on Monday and Saturday, in the north on Tuesday and Wednesday, in the west on Friday and Sunday, and in the south on Thursday; and a prudent man will not make a journey or even plough in those directions on those days. So when Shukr or Venus is in declension, brides do not go to their husbands’ homes, nor return thence to visit their fathers’ houses. On the Biloch frontier each man is held to have a star, and he must not journey in certain directions when his star is in given positions. But when his duty compels him to do so he will bury his star, i.e. a piece of cloth cut out in that shape, so that it may not see what he is doing. It is well not to have your name made too free use of, especially for children. They are often not named at all for some little time; and if named are generally addressed as bija or buji, ‘Baby,’ according to sex. If a man is rich enough to have his son’s horoscope drawn a few days after his birth, the name then fixed will be carefully concealed till the boy is eight or ten years old and out of danger; and even then it will not be commonly used, the everyday name of a Hindu, at least among the better classes, being quite distinct from his real name, which is only used at formal ceremonies such as marriage. Superiors are always addressed in the third person; and a clerk, when reading a paper in which your name occurs, will omit it and explain that it is your name that he omits. A Hindu peasant will not eat, and often will not grow onions or turnips, as they taste strong like meat which is forbidden to him. Nor will he grow indigo, for simple blue is the Musalmán colour and an abomination to him. He will also refuse to eat oil or black sesame if formally offered him by another, for if he do he will serve the other in the next life. A common retort when asked to do something unreasonable is kyā, main ne tere kāle til chāhe hain? : ‘What, have I eaten your black sesame?’ The shop-keeper must have cash for his first transaction in the morning; and will not book anything till he has taken money.

The months of Chet, Poh and Mágh are regarded as unlucky, and are called kāle mahine or black months. The people like to hear the name of Chet first from the lips of Punnas, and the name of Mágh is best heard from a class of Brahmans called Basbars, who come during that month from the plains to sing and beg. An infant should not be taken outside for the first time in these months, this being unlucky. If a cow has a calf in Bhadon, both it and the calf must be given away to avert misfortune. Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday are unlucky days for celebrating a marriage, for if a marriage takes place on Sunday the couple will not agree with one another, if on Tuesday, the husband will soon die; if on Saturday, there will be much sickness in the family.

But it would appear that there is a unanimity in the motions of these stars which reduces the rule to one of dates. Thus, on the 1st, 2nd, 11th, and 12th journeys must not be made towards one quarter; on the 3rd, 4th, 13th, and 14th towards another; on the 5th, 6th, 15th, and 16th towards a third, and on the 7th, 8th, 17th, and 18th towards the fourth. On the 9th, 10th, 19th, 20th, 29th, and 30th the traveller is free to face as he pleases.
A woman must not wash her head on a Friday, or her brother will become sick. This is called gal lagi. Cow dung should not be offered to anyone on a Friday, or the cow will become sick and its milk will dry up. On Wednesday and birthdays nothing should be given away unless in the form of dar, otherwise good luck will cease. A journey should not be begun on Sunday, Tuesday or Friday, but Monday, Wednesday and Thursday are lucky days for such a purpose, especially Wednesday. Sunday is good for entering on anything requiring haste.

Saturn being a planet of bad omen, no oil should be put on the head on Saturday. On that day a little oil—enough to see one’s face in—is put into the palm of the hand and then given to a Brahman. Some diseases are believed to be due to the malign influence of the planet Saturn, and to remove them kichari (a mixture of dal and rice with spices) is cooked and passed round the sick person’s head and then given away, the idea being that the disease is thus transferred to the person who eats the kichari.

Again a woman should not wash her head on a Saturday, or her husband will become sick. There are five days in each month called panchak, which are unlucky, and on them no work should be done. If work is in progress a holiday should be given, and no new work should be commenced on any of these days, or it will be attended with loss. If any one dies on one of the days of panchak cloth dolls, corresponding in number to the days still remaining, are made up and laid alongside the corpse and burnt with it, otherwise more members of the family will die. This custom is called panchak shanti. If a buffalo calves on a Wednesday it is unlucky, and the calf must be given away. A child born on a Tuesday will be attended with misfortune in the marriage state in after life. There is also a special day in each year, called gurbar, usually a birthday, on which no work must be done: the special day is indicated by a pandit.

Every Saturday the Bania of Multan pours oil and gram over small raised spots where streets cross. This is done in honour of San or Saturn.

On Sundays and Tuesdays salt should never be eaten. By refraining the gods are propitiated and will supply all wants.1

In some parts of the Punjab salt is not eaten on a Sunday. At Multan all Hindu shops were closed on Sundays.2

Friday is an unlucky day for sport in Rawalpindi.

Saturday, Sunday and Tuesday are all unlucky days for the sale of cattle or ghi, lending or borrowing money, and shaving. The last-mentioned leads to one’s own death or that of a son. Tuesday is also a very unfortunate day on which to return home from a journey.3

Sawan ghori, Bhadon gí, Mág màs jo bhains bijác, Hí se jác, khasmen khác.

"The mare that foals in Sawan, the cow that calves in Bhadon and the buffalo in Magh, will either die or kill her owner."4

1 P. N. Q., IV, § 498.
2 Ib., III, § 409.
3 Ib., II, §§ 735-744.
A mare foaling in the day-time too is unlucky. In Bahawalpur to avert the evil effects the ear of colt or filly is bared or the tip cut off. But strangest of all is the idea prevalent in the hills north of Gurdaspur that the character of the monsoon can be forecasted from the number of kittens born in a litter during the preceding cold weather; thus, if the usual number is 4 or more the rains will be ample; if 2 it will only rain for 2 months; if one, then the monsoon will fail utterly.\(^1\)

It is in the Derajat unlucky to give away money on a Sunday, and Hindus will not even pay wages on that day. Travelling in any direction on a Wednesday is regarded as very unlucky, but the objection to travel north etc. on certain other days is not much regarded.\(^2\)

Lucky days appear to depend largely on the state of the moon, but this does not explain the various and often conflicting beliefs regarding days of the week. Thus in Attuck some cultivators will not begin ploughing on a Sunday or Tuesday, while others consider the latter the best day because Adam began to plough on that day. Both days too are considered most lucky for beginning legal proceedings. It is unlucky to set out on a journey northwards on Tuesday or Wednesday but lucky on Monday or Friday. To start southwards on Thursday is bad, but on Wednesday good. Do not go east on Monday or Saturday or west on a Sunday or Thursday, but choose Sunday or Tuesday to go eastward or Monday or Saturday to go west.\(^3\)

The Pathans of Kohat have few beliefs about unlucky days. Saturday is khali, i.e. devoid of all blessings: one should not shave on a Sunday: or begin a journey on a Friday, because it is a day of public prayer and the journey will be unsuccessful. But if compelled to start on an unlucky day a Pathan notable will have his travelling bag sent beforehand out of the house on a lucky day to the village shrine in the direction of his journey. This is called parasthán.\(^4\)

As a rule, in Dera Ismail Khan, both ploughing and harvesting are always begun on a Sunday. It is however unwise to cross the

\(^1\) Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 63. It might be suggested that some instinctive anticipation of a sufficient food-supply increases proliﬁcence, but statistical evidence is wanting. Such an anticipation is credited to the fattir or plover who is said to build its nest low down by the stream when the monsoon will fail but high above it if the rains are to be good. The beliefs noted on the text are fairly general but in Attuck it is also considered very unlucky for a cat to kitten in Jeth, donkey to have a foal in Sawan, a camel to have young in Baisakh, a goat in Poh or a dog in Chet. Probably at one time a complete pseudo-science of this kind existed. In Attuck a Brahman or a mulah is consulted as to what should be done to avert these omens: Gazetteer, p. 107.

\(^2\) P. N. Q., II, §§ 987, 988.

\(^3\) Mongol Buddh na fîdiye pa hô
Jîh bâsi diye hô.

\(^4\) Go not north on Tuesday or Wednesday,
Even if you win, it will cause you loss.

\(^5\) Attuck-Gazetteer, p. 106.

\(^6\) Lit, "living elsewhere": of pâsit-dân in Dera Ghazi Khan.
Unlucky times.

Indus on that day:

Aj Itwá, aá langen pár,
Matte píttá dweq hár.

"To-day is Sunday, do not cross,
Or you will lose what you have won."

Monday and Thursday are the best days to begin making new clothes, which should be worn for the first time on a Wednesday or Friday and in the morning rather than in the evening. For shaving, depilation or cutting the nails Monday is good, but Hindus prefer Sunday and Mahomedans, Friday. Like Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday are unlucky for these acts.

As we have seen, Tuesday is an unlucky day, and inauspicious for beginning a new work or starting on a journey—

Budh, Sántchar kapta, gahna Aitwár,
Je sukh sutta loryen manji uní Somwár.

"Put on new clothes on Wednesday and Saturday, and jewellery on a Sunday;

If thou desirest happy sleep weave thy couch on a Monday."

On the other hand many acts are lucky if done on certain days. Thus on Sunday eat betel (pása) and go which way you will, you will get what you wish. On Monday look at your face in the glass and you will prosper. On Tuesday eat a clove and good fortune will attend you when you set out on business. On Wednesday eat sweet stuff, and on Thursday drink curds—a chitád will suffice. On Friday eat new bread and on Saturday white salt. By eating thus you will always reach your goal in safety.¹

Cock-crowing at noon is very unlucky and Mahomedans will always kill one that does so.

The early morning is a risky time for various things if done by particular persons. Thus it is then unlucky for a tailor to mend clothes, for a kháází to sell batásas (sugar drops), for a bádz or clothier to sell red cloth (qand), for a Bání to sell gí, a pásórí paper, a Kasera zinc, or for a Sáráf to deal in gold.²

Midday and evening are bad times to begin a new work or start on a journey.

Just as every day has its good and bad times so the day itself is unlucky for certain events, such as hearing a horse neigh. A child born at noontide is also unfortunate.³ How far these ideas are based on astrology it is difficult to say.

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 20.
² Jf., III, §§ 711-12.
³ Attock Gazetteer, p. 107.
Beliefs and Superstitions connected with Unlucky Days.

Both Hindus and Muhammadans believe in the jagaids or chihil abdal. The chihil abdal are forty saints who live in different directions on various dates. Their number is invariably forty. If one of them dies, a new saint takes his place. To undertake a journey in any direction on the dates when the saints are in that direction is unlucky. Agriculturists also do not reap a crop facing in the direction in which the saints are. The following figure shows the different dates when the saints are believed to be in each direction:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Bid\b (North-west)} & \text{North } (8) & \text{Jado (North-east)} \\
\hline
\text{West } (4) & \text{East } (7) & \\
\hline
\text{South-west } (9) & \text{South } & \text{South-east } (10) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Note.—The numbers within brackets inside the square denote dates, while those on the corners and within the brackets outside the square signify directions.

1 There is a 'sect' of Muhammadan jagaids in Kangra called Abdal who appear to be bard to the Hindu chiefs. They are also said to be found in Chamba. It is just possible that there is some connection.
The following lines give the dates on which the chihil abdáls are in the different directions:

Pahli, náwín, súrán, chawí, kakani1 wich pehehán.
Do, dákh, satárá, púnjá, nairat² sh.k na án.
Tarai, chhbí, aśhára, gyára wich jandé ján,
Chár, bárá, sántí, ánt, maghríb shak na án,
Panj, tere, w.th, turai disháre, baíb³ de wich ján,
Chhe, ikki, aśháwi sach much wich Isán⁴ pekhán,
Sat, chauda, unłatírî, báwi mashraq gáíb ríjal,
Aṭh, pandra, tarth, tarej rekhnde wich shimál.

That is, the chihil abdáls occupy kakani (kakni) on the 1st, 9th, 16th and 24th, the nairat on the 2nd, 10th, 17th and 25th, the south (jandá) on the 3rd, 26th, 18th and 11th, the west (maghríb) on the 4th, 12th, 27th and 19th, the baíb on three dates, viz. the 5th, 13th and 20th, the isán on the 6th, 21st and 28th, the east (mashrig) on the 7th, 14th, 29th and 22nd, the north (shamál) on the 8th, 15th, 30th and 23rd.

It is asserted that the chihil abdáls were originally saintly persons whose prayers were acceptable to God, but that credulous Moselems have by degrees identified them with the Hindu jogíán. But it must be confessed that the jogís are said to be 64 in number,¹ whereas the abdáls are generally said to be 40 in number though some accounts make them 7 or 70.

The following tradition, which is said to be only oral, ascribes the origin of the 40 abdáls to the Prophet himself. One Dáyá-Kalbi had no children, and on his plaint the Prophet for 40 days gave him a daily charm, which he in his ignorance of their use kept, until all the 40 had been given him. Then he washed them and gave them to his wife, who in due course bore 40 sons. Appalled at this event Dáyá-Kalbi exposed 39 of the children in the desert, but on his return home he missed the 40th also, so he went back to the desert and there found all the 40. Seeing that they were inseparable he kept them, and they lived under a dome not built by human hands. Presently a plague smote Medina, and it was revealed to the Prophet that it was caused by the 40 abdáls, but on his announcing himself as Muhammad they refused to discuss matter with one so proud, and only when he proclaimed himself as

¹ Kakaí is not explained.

² Nairat, Sanákr : fr. miríttí = south-western ; Platte, 1163. It is also said to mean red, originally, and hence south-west.

³ Baíb is said to be derived fr. ba or wa, wind, and to mean the corner whence the wind comes = Sanákr. wáyu-kánn or rágí koś (Platte), the wind corner or N.-W. (In Hind baíb = 'at a distance, a far off'.)

⁴ Isán is said to mean 'rising' in Sanákr.; hence = 'north-east.' It is also a name of Siра : (Platte, p. 113).

⁵ E.g. in the Granth, cf. Macauliffe, Life of Guru Nának (p. 32.) For the legend among the Gujarás of Hazério etc. cf. F. N. Q., II, §§ 1071 ; also § 1071, and 1130.
Muhammad the Poor, would they acknowledge him. He then gave them a piece of illuminated cloth, from which each made a girdle without diminishing its size, and they all entered Medina. The disease promptly escaped in the shape of the goat, which the abdáls caught and devoured, all except the tail. This they threw skywards, judging that men would forget God if there were no diseases. So now the tail revolves round the earth, and wherever it chances to be disease breaks out. But the 40 abdáls now plundered Medina and evoked the Prophet's curse, under which they wander round the world, occupying certain regions at fixed times, on specified dates of the lunar months.

The orthodox Hindu belief in the jogintán is based on astrology. They are believed to occupy the following points of the compass on the tithi or lunar dates specified:

N.
2, 10

\[ \text{N. E. 8, 15 (amáwas)} \]

\[ \text{N. \( \frac{15}{15} \) (Púranmási) N. W.} \]

14 W.

\[ \text{E. 1, 9} \]

\[ \text{S. W.} \]

\[ \text{4, 12.} \]

\[ \text{S. E.} \]

\[ \text{3, 11} \]

\[ \text{S.} \]

\[ \text{5, 13} \]

That is to say they start from the E. on the 1st, and reach the N-E. on the 8th. On the 9th they again start from the E. Or, as an account from Ambála puts it, they go from E. to N., S.-E., S.-W., S., W., N.-W., and N.-E., on the prithmá to the ashtami, and again from the nauni to the purimá and amáwas.

It is unlucky to travel in the direction in which the jogintás are on any given day, but this omen may be evaded by the device called pastáná¹ in Dera Gházi Khán. This consists in throwing salt, or one of

¹Of. parasáthán in Kohát.
The things to be taken with one, in the direction of the intended route on a day prior to that fixed for starting, and when the jogans are in a different direction. Hindus also throw rice, sugar etc. with a pice, tied up in red cloth.

The dikshul or point at which a spear is hanging is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chhiil Abdal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On Sunday in the E. ... ... W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Monday in the W. ... ... E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Tuesday and Wednesday in the N. ... N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Thursday in the S. ... ... S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Friday in the E. ... ... W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Staturday in the W. ... ... E.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For facility of comparison the directions in which, according to a Persian quatrain, the chhiil abdal, or rajat-ul-ghaib, are found are also given. Their E. and W. day are the converse of those assigned to the Hindu dikshul. It is suspicious, when on a journey, to one’s wealth to have the chhiil abdal on the left hand, and if they are behind one all enemies will be destroyed. But if on the right they augur loss of property, and if facing one risk to life. This is in precise accord with the Hindu quatrain saying regarding the jogans which runs:—

Agge jogan kadi na rās.
Pichhe jogan paunche ās,
Dāhne jogan yās dhare,
Bānhwēn jogan ās dhare.

"If the jogan be in front it is evil, but if it be at your back there is hope; if it be on the right, you will be disappointed, but if on the left you may hope."

1 Of which one version runs:—

Ba yakshamāb-o-Jumah maghrub marau,
Ba doshambah-shambah-mashraq marau
Ba sikshambah-o-clashambah shamāl
Jāwābī taraf panjshambah wabāl.

This is rendered in the Western Panjābi of Dera Ghāzi Khān thus:—

Chanchan Som na jīvīn mashrig,
Adit Juma gureb;
Mangal Budh shamāl do no wanjīn
Khāmis jundīb.

But in Dera Imsāl Khān both the Baloch and Jāțā say:—

Khāmisā dī dīdāri lamme na wanjān,
Mangul, Budh ubbe na wanjān;
Adit wa jumā dīdār na wanjān,
Suhar te Chanchan dīdāri na wanjān.
The joginiṣṭas are 64 in number, but only 8 of them are of importance. The following diagram shows their names and the directions in which they stay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isātīn</td>
<td>Nairrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E.</td>
<td>N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.E.</td>
<td>Wayu'Kor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yogni</td>
<td>Shākni</td>
<td>Dākhni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baitāl Kāmni</td>
<td>Kākhni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yākhni</td>
<td>Rākhni</td>
<td>Hākhni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The joginiṣṭa (or joga) play an important part in astrology and are of much help to astrologers in forecasting the results of games, epidemics, rains, storms, fires, earthquakes etc.

This belief is illustrated by the following instances:

1. The jogini, by name Yoga or Jogeshri, along with the Moon, completes its revolution round the earth in 24 hours or 60 ghāfīs. If during its revolution it joins with Chandramāna (Moon), Budh (Mercury), Shukra (Venus) and Brihaspati (Jupiter) in a Jūl-rāshī, i.e. in one of the signs—Kīrk (Cancer), Min (Pisces), Kumbh (Aquarius) or Makar (Capricorn)—the result is rain; if with the Sūrya (Sun) and Mangal (Mars) in an Agni-rāshī, i.e. in one of the signs—Mēkh (Aries), Singh (Leo) or Brīhak (Scorpio)—the result is fire; if with Chandramāna (Moon) and Shaniśkar (Saturn) in a Vāyu-rāshī, i.e. in one of the signs—Tula (Jultuat)
or Dhas (Sagittarius)—the result is a storm. And if with Rāhu (a planet) anda Sanchar (Saturn) in a Prithvi-rādi, i.e. in one of the signs—Kanyā (Virgo), Mithān (Gemini) or Brihī (Taurus)—the result is an earthquake.

(2) The jogini known as Shārdūl also completes its revolution in 60 ḍhaṇī. If it is facing the hunter while out hunting, he (or she) is likely to sustain an injury, but if it is behind or on his right he will make a bag.

(3) The jogini called Vījaiy or Pakhsh completes its revolution in 15 days. In the bright lunar half it travels towards the east and Agni Kon (south-east) but in the dark half in the opposite direction, vis. Ḍānak (north-east) etc. Its situation is observed when proceeding on an expedition in war. It is unlucky while it is facing one, but otherwise it is auspicious.

Similarly, there are other Joginis, such as Bālā, Shāvid, Sankránti, Grah, Laṃti etc. of minor importance which are believed to control or affect the success or failure of all human enterprises and undertakings.

According to the belief in Kāṅgra the joginis’ head-quarters are in the—

East in the month of Kātaṅ.
South-east in the months of Jeth and Maghar.
South in the month of Śāwan.
South-west in the months of Hār and Phāgan.
West in the month of Bhāṣon.
North-west in the months of Chet and Māgh.
North in the month of Asū.
North-east in the months of Baisaṅk and Poh.

The Moon too like the Joginis, Dihāsūl or Rāku Chakra has good or evil effects on earthly bodies during her revolution. She also plays an important part in astrology and her situation is ascertained when fixing lucky hours and days for journeys, voyages, enterprises, expeditions or ceremonies.

The Moon completes her revolution round the Sun in a month, taking 24 days to pass through each of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, as is apparent from the following diagram:

![Zodiac Diagram]

- Leo
- Libra
- Sagittarius
- Aquarius
- Pisces
- Taurus
- Gemini
- Aries
- Capricornus
- Cancer
The moon in astrology

The Moon while revolving in four directions passes through the following signs of the Zodiac:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) East</td>
<td>Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) South</td>
<td>Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) West</td>
<td>Libra, Aquarius and Gemini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) North</td>
<td>Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the Moon takes 2 1/2 days to travel through each sign she takes 125 gharis in all to revolve in the eight directions as will appear from the diagram below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 Gharis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Gharis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Gharis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Gharis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Gharis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 Gharis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Gharis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Gharis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the Moon is in front of or facing one, hope is fulfilled; if on the right, it gives health and wealth; if behind, there is likelihood of loss of life; and if on the left, loss to property. It is a strong belief that while proceeding on a journey if the Moon is facing one all the evil effects whatsoever of the joginián, disháshul, kál-chakra etc., are fully counteracted.

Like the joginián and the Moon, the nakshatras, which are 28 in number, also play an essential part in astrology. They too have good or evil effects, in their movements, on earthly bodies. But as educated people of the present day are losing faith in these beliefs, the nakshatras are losing ground, as compared with the jogs and the Moon. Still people even now pay some regard to them in ascertaining lucky or unlucky days.
The nakshatras.

unlucky days. The following diagram will throw some light on the nakshatras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samvat (Direction)</th>
<th>Nakshatra</th>
<th>Fīth.</th>
<th>Day.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Mūl</td>
<td>(1st)</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Rohni</td>
<td>(6th)</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Purva</td>
<td>(4th)</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Hast</td>
<td>(2nd)</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādīn (N.-E.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do. Saturday,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akūt (S.-E.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thursday Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būth (N.-W.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālra (S.-W.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Friday  Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To avert the evil effects of dīśaśālikō, one should on the following days take the things noted against each, before proceeding on a journey:

- Sunday: (chī (clarified butter))
- Monday: Milk
- Tuesday: Jaggery
- Wednesday: Sesameum
- Thursday: Curd
- Friday: Barley
- Saturday: Urd (mūsth)

In a month five Sundays forecast epidemic,
"" Tuesdays "" terror and fear.
"" Saturdays "" famine or drought.

Each month has been divided into—

(1) the sūdi (bright lunar half) and (b) bādi (dark lunar half).

During the bādi the days from the purva (1st) to panchmī (5th) are lucky and from the panchmī (5th) to the amāvas (15th) mediocre or middling. Those from the ekam (1st) (of the bright half) to the panchmī are deemed unlucky, from the panchmī to the dākhmī (10th) mediocre, and from the dākhmī to the pūrammāshī (15th) lucky.

Like the Dīśaśālikō, Rāhu Chakra or Kāl Chakra has its evil influences. Hence it is essential to ascertain its situation also while
going on a journey. The belief is that Kāl Chakra while in front or on the right is very inauspicious and dangerous, but otherwise propitious. The following diagram shows its situation on different days of the week:

If you get yourself shaved on a—

Sunday, your age will decrease by 1 month.
Saturday, " " " " " 7 months.
Tuesday, " " " " " 8 "
Wednesday, " " " increase " 5"
Monday, " " " " " 7 "
Thursday, " " " " " 10 "
Friday, " " " " " 11 "

Certain hours of the days of the week are also considered lucky. These are termed zakki or chaughari-mahurat. The following lines

* The Indian day (and night) has four degrees of auspiciousness:—(i) zakki A., good; (ii) baṭa A., intermediate; (iii) rih, air; and (iv) ṭārg A., burning. Of these the effects of rih are ephemeral, passing by like the air: and those of ṭārg are most baneful. The following is the scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday (night)</td>
<td>Rih Zakki Zakki Bain</td>
<td>Ihrāq</td>
<td>Ihrāq Bain</td>
<td>Rih</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday (day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday (night)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ihrāq Zakki Zakki Bain</td>
<td>Rih</td>
<td>Bain</td>
<td>Ihrāq</td>
<td>Ihrāq Zakki</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday (night)</td>
<td>Ihrāq</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bain</td>
<td>Rih</td>
<td>Zakki</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ihrāq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday (day)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lucky days and unlucky names.

give the lucky hours of the various days:

Zakki, *Ait* (or Sunday), Jumma, Khamis pahr ðhayan pîchheke.
Adha pahr thin pîchche Chanchhan jô koî zakki puochheke.
Dekh pahr thin pîchche zakki Mangal bujh Sawâr.
Ampal sârâ âkhâr adhâ zakki hai Budhâr.

The *zakki* hours on Sunday, Friday, and Thursday begin at 2½ pähre after sunrise (a pahr = 3 hours); on Saturday, half a pahr after sunrise; on Tuesday and Monday 1½ pähre after it; and on Wednesday the whole first pahr and half the last pahr are *zakki*.

The hours other than those mentioned are considered unlucky. Works undertaken in the hours given in the above lines are believed to end satisfactorily and well.

**The earth sleeps.**

Another superstition is that the earth sleeps for 7 days in each lunar month, and so anything done on those days would turn out badly:

*Sankrât miti din panchwên náwnen sâtwen so*

*Das ikkis chaubts din, khat din prithust so*

"On the 1st, 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st and 24th days of every lunar month the earth sleeps."

In those days ploughing or sowing should not be begun, though once begun they may go on.

In Chamba town the names of certain places are regarded as unlucky and must not be mentioned in the morning. These are Núrpur, Basohli and Jammu. This prejudice doubtless arose in consequence of the frequent wars with these States in olden times. If it is necessary to refer to Núrpur, the phrase Sapparwâla Shahr or the 'rocky town' is used, while Basohli and Jammu are spoken of as pârâl mulk, that is 'the country across the Râvi.' This superstition is very common in all the north-eastern Punjab, e.g. in Hoshiârpur, where it is also ascribed to the fact that some of these unlucky places were the sites of Sikh toll-peste and so on. But the new name, which must be used before breakfast, is not always more auspicious than the old. Thus Talwâra where Goler and Núrpur used to meet Dáda Síva and Datârpur in flight is styled Kaliâdh or the place of the fight, kalha, or Barapinj, the 'big village,' or Chandrapind, the 'unlucky' one."

Wasting diseases are often attributed to a form of witchcraft called *shôd* or *masân*. A woman will collect ashes from a *masân* or

1 Chanchhan in the south-west Punjab = Sanjchar, Saturn or Saturday.

* A Jullundur version is:

*Sankrâtmitti din panchwên, náwnen, sâtwen le,*

*Das, ikkis chaubtsen, khat din prithust sêce :*

that is on the sanÂkram 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st and 24th, six khat days, the earth sleeps: according to Purser *S. E.*, § 15.

*Hoshiârpur Gazetteer, 1934, p. 74. Kalha does not appear in the Panjab Dictionary, but it may be connected with the word ghâla-ghâra—S. in *P. 879.*
burning-ground and cast them over an enemy’s child, causing it to waste away, while her own child thrives. Hence the proverb: Śāhu-kar ko ḍasān, bhikā ko māsid— the banker battens on the peasant, like a child on ashes. To ascertain if a child is suffering from ṣāyā, take a new earthenware pot and fill it with water from 7 wells, bury it under the threshold and dig it up after 7 days. If the water has dried up, the child is afflicted by ṣāyā. This affliction is also called Ānih and can be cured by passing the child seven times under a vessel filled with well-water, which should be thrown away on waste land as it would destroy any crop.

Hiccoughing (bīrkt) is attributed to recollection on the part of some relative or friend who, if mentally identified at the time, can stop the affliction. To cure it then it is only necessary to go through the names of them all and it will cease when you hit on the one who is thinking about you.

Hiccough may also be cured by shock—by thinking of something that disturbs the mind.

Closely connected with the healing properties of many quaint and often unwholesome edibles are the magic properties possessed by articles of various kinds. Thus the jackal’s horn, sidāl sīng or ẓīdar sīng possesses the power of conferring invisibility. It is also said to be the tiny horn carried by the jackal that leads their howls and when worn prevents any one scolding its wearer from being scolded, for which reason it is much sought after by Government servants. It sells for Rs. 50 or even Rs. 100, and is a recognised article of commerce among shikārīs.

The white or pink rock salt of Kālābāgh is believed to cause impotence, so the black Kohat salt or that of the Sambar Lake is preferred.

When a goat kills a snake it devours it and then ruminates, after which it spits out a bead (maṅka) which applied to a snake-bite absorbs the poison and swells. Dropped then into milk it is squeezed and the poison drips out. This cures the patient. If not put into milk, the maṅka will burst.

Among other quaint remedies for sickness are pea-fowls’ legs, for fever and ear-ache: soup made from the white paddy-bird (baqila), for asthma: the tip of an ibex horn soaked in boiling water, which is then drunk for rheumatism.

Piles can be cured by winding a thread of 5 colours, white, red, green, yellow and black, thrice around the thumb, and then putting it round the big toe at night, for a fortnight ending on a Tuesday, the day sacred to Hanūman.

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1 P. N. Q., III, § 992. For Ḍisān see Kusan, Vol. II, p. 572 ṛṣya. In Sirmūr maṇḍān is a wasting disease the cure for which is described in the Gazetteer of that State, p. 26.

2 Ib., IV, §§ 110, 109. Ānih is not traceable in the Punjabi Dīasty.

3 Ib., II, § 664.

4 P. N. Q., II, § 805.

5 Ib., III, § 778.

6 Ib., I, § 708.

7 Ib., II, § 27.


9 P. N. Q., I, §§ 700-01.

10 Ib., I, § 792.

11 Ib., II, § 1088.
Cures of disease.

Tiger's flesh has magical qualities. Khatriis always keep a little by them dried and when a child is attacked by small-pox they burn a little near him to propitiate the goddess. Hence when that disease is raging in a town the house of a Hindu who has tiger's flesh is frequented by people begging for small pieces of it.

Hare's blood in a lump of cotton is used in many ailments, the cotton being soaked in water and the blood extracted given to the sick. It is said to be most efficacious in fits of various sorts. ¹

Owl's flesh, particularly the heart, is a potent love-philter, making the recipient fall violently in love with the giver. Nothing can destroy the affection thus engendered. ² Every owl has in its body a bone which will empower its possessor to make others subservient to his will. Keep an owl wide awake for two days and a night and it will tell you where this bone is to be found.³

For spleen use the flesh of the ugga or peewit, a bird which, it is believed in the Mānjha, will cause the death of any animal if it fly round it seven times, unless the following charm be used: its owner must strip himself naked and draw a line of cowdung round the animal and then setting fire to some grass run round it quickly with the burning grass in his hand, calling on his landlord, headman and king against his plunderer.⁴

Epilepsy is cured by administering a snuff made from dried worms snorted out by male camels during the rutting season, and which are believed to live on the animals' brain.⁵

In the hills a curious belief exists regarding the akār bel or 'heavenly creeper,' as it is called in Punjabi. ⁶ Crows are said to pluck twigs of the Cuscuta reflexa⁷ and anguina and drop them into water, when they turn into snakes and so furnish the crows with food. The possession of the root of this plant is also believed to confer invisibility.

Blindness, provided it is not congenital, may be cured by antimony, applied for 8 days. Antimony is obtained at the Karangli hill near Pind Dādan Khān. Once a faqir turned that hill into gold, but the people feared lest it should lead to wars for the sake of the gold, so he turned it all into antimony which still exists on its inaccessible summit and is washed down by the rains.

Scorpion-sting may be cured in various ways by simple remedies, but charms are also used. Draw a pentathlon in ink thrice over the wound at intervals of 5 minutes and the pains will disappear: or hang a scorpion's sting up in the house where children are playing and they will never be stung. Indra and Gaurja Devi are also invoked in a rhyme which will send the poison into the Kumbhi, the lowest hell.⁹

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 262.
² Ib., I, § 699.
³ Ib., III, § 451.
⁴ Ib., II, § 888.
⁵ Ib., II, § 900, where Millett suggests that as epilepsy is attributed to erotic causes in the Dar-uṣh-shafā this cure is probably explicable (on the principle that 'like cures like').
⁶ Punjabi Dict., p. 20.
⁷ Or air-plant known in Balochi as home — P. N. Q. II, § 406.
⁸ P. N. Q., IV, § 38.
⁹ Ib., III, § 870.
Cures of disease.

To cure obstinate sores a little curdled milk is put over them and a dog allowed to lick them. They will be cured in two or three days afterwards. This has led to a belief that English men kill dogs for their tongues which contain amrit or ambrosia, a cure for sores of long standing.\(^1\)

Remittent fever may be cured by taking a spinning-wheel and placing it on a cot in the sun.\(^2\) The wheel, doubtless represents the sun.

For tertian ague take a saucepan lid and stick on to a wall with dough, saying: ‘Don’t come out of it.’

For ague take a spider, cover it with cotton and tie it round your neck. You will be cured when you forget all about it.

To cure lumbago it is only necessary to have the painful part touched with the right foot of one who was born feet foremost. And if that fails, to get it touched thrice with the peg to which a she-buffalo is usually tied.\(^3\) A whitlow can be cured by any sidian or wise man. Place the hand on the ground palm downwards and keep it as steady as possible while the sidian sits before you and hits the ground hard with a shoe, muttering a charm and calling on the demon of the whitlow with implications to withdraw. If your hand moves in spite of you, the disease will be cured.\(^4\) To cure ague take a grass stalk of your own height and cast it into a well some hours before the next attack is due, and this will stave it off. For tertian fever take five shreds from a scavenger’s tomb on a Sunday and tie them round the patient’s neck. Another cure consists in putting juice of the madár (asclepias gigantea) on his fingernails, secretly, so that no one else sees it done and on a moonless (nichanda) Sunday. For a quartan fever tie a thread seven times round a kikára tree early only on a Tuesday morning and then let the patient embrace the tree once. But for a woman it suffices to cover up her spinning wheel with a cloth and remove her to another house.\(^5\)

To cure sore-throat get a person whose right little finger and forefinger will meet over the backs of his two middle fingers to rub your throat with them in that position: or take a piece of salt to a potter and get him to stroke your throat with it seven times, and then bury the lump of salt under an unbaked earthen pot. As the salt melts your sore-throat will go.\(^6\)

A strange cure for tertian fever is to make a pretence of burying your village headmen or, if you have only one in your village, those of adjacent villages. Very small graves suffice, but they must be smooth and neat, a place about half a mile from your house being chosen, and no one should see you going or coming.\(^7\)

To stay tertian fever get a mantra written on a ppat leaf, wash it and drink the water.\(^8\)

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\(^1\) P. N. Q., I, § 1029.
\(^2\) Ib., I, § 361.
\(^3\) Ib., I, § 898.
\(^4\) Ib., I, § 897.
\(^5\) P. N. Q., I, § 983.
\(^6\) Ib., I, § 361.
\(^7\) Ib., I, § 898.
Hydropathy is practised throughout the Punjab Himalayas. Young children are placed under small artificial cascades, so that the water may fall on the brain. This is done for several hours in the hot weather and less in the cold. Children not so treated are said to generally die, and this āla or hydropathy is alleged to cause steady bowels, healthy eyes, free action of the throat, and a less inclination to small-pox.  

Another instance of treatment by shock is furnished by the Bāniās who in a case of lingering sickness recite the kalīma or Muhammadan creed to the patient. The shock is said to accelerate his departure from this world; but probably it is believed to bring about his recovery. The Christian creed is also said to be recited at the death-bed of a bhagat vāsī or groom.

Lingering labour may be relieved by giving the school-boys in the village a holiday, or by administering water in which the udārā or girdle of a Rājā or holy personage has been washed.

In cases of lingering illness Hindus recite the Bhagavad Gita or Vishnu Sahasrānam to the patient for 3, 4 or 7 consecutive days. Sikhs recite the Adi Granth instead. The patient ought to die or recover on one of these days.

Relief from sickness, or at least a painless death, can be obtained by performing tutalāmin, in which rite the rich sufferer is weighed against silver and the seven kinds of grain called satnāja, while the poor may be weighed against copper and coarse grain. The coins and grain go to the Daksats. It is also well to break a cocoanut that rattles over the satnāja, so that its milk may be sprinkled all over it.

Bathing in the Rāvi is regarded by Hindus in Lahore as a sure cure for obstinate dyspepsia, that river being very sacred.

Sayyids and Pathāns feed fishes when any one in the household is ill, especially if it be the master of the house or any one of importance. Every member of it makes a pill of bread in which is placed a charm, generally one of the 99 names of God. The women throw these pills into the nearest tank or river.

To cure toothache, which is due to a weevil, take a bit of paper and write on it 786, the numerical value of the invocation Bismillāhī-r rahmān-r-rahmān and under the figures write the charm Iḏ saḥaq la nā 'O Changer of colour'—all in Arabic. Fix the paper to any tree except the sacred pipal and banyan (cor) by a nail through the qaf in saḥaq. This causes instant cure if done first thing in the morning.

Just as trees have castes, so have fevers, and the first step in their cure is to ascertain the caste of the disorder. Some fevers are scavengers (mīhtar), some farmers, others Gūjars or cowherds, and so on. A Gūjar
fever is cured by giving plenty of milk. If it is a miktar, make the patient sweep the floor; if zavindar, let him plough; and so on. If the fever spirit be a thief, go at midnight to the graveyard and get a clod of earth, put it to sleep with the patient and next morning hang it on a hikar tree. This is an infallible remedy as it hange the fever-thief. This caste of fever comes stealthily by night. But if the night-fever be not of this caste, a good plan is to put the dirty spoon out of the cooking-pot on the patient's pillow, so that will disgust him, so that he will not sleep with the patient. Among Muhammadans a light may be lit and taken to the mosque at night by the patient who pretends to be looking for something until an inquisitive passer-by asks what he is looking for. Then the sufferer should throw down the lamp and reply: 'find it yourself.' The fever will then leave the patient and go to the passer-by.  

A stye can be got rid of in a very similar way. Go at nightfall and knock at a neighbour's door. At the cry, 'Who is there?' reply that you have given and they have taken the disorder. When the inmates rush out to abuse you, you must escape their pursuit.  

Vaccination is also objected to by some Muhammadans because it is believed that the Imam Mahdi will be born with milk in his veins, and vaccination would reveal this child by puncturing its arm.  

The causes and cures of disease in animals differ only in detail and not in principle from those of disease in men. In the Delhi District branding Chamars on the back has been resorted to as a means to extirpate cattle-disease. The victim appears to be entitled to a fee. He must turn his face away from the village and not look back. This should be done on a Saturday. It may also be got rid of by volley firing near the animals affected.  

Transference of cattle-disease is effected by a rite called rond daind or nikalne, rond being the articles carried in procession to the boundary of the infected village and thrown into the confines of the one adjacent to it. In one case under a jogi's advice they consisted of a buffalo's skull, a small lamb or pig (carried by a sweeper), vessels of butter and milk, fire in a pan, wisps of grass, and sticks of siras (scacta speciosa). This must be done on a Sunday and on that day and the preceding Saturday no field work must be done, grass cut, corn ground, food cooked or fire lighted. The village to which the murrain is transferred must lie to the east of that which transfers it. A Brahman should be present and a gun fired off three times. A simpler method is to get a faqir to write a charm on a wooden label, hang inside a pot like the clapper of a bell and hang it over the village gate. It will ring when the wind blows and stay the disease.
Cures of disease in cattle.

Should a bull die of murrain, it should be wrapped in a cotton and buried in a road leading to the village over which the sick cattle will pass. This will stay the disease.

Tána or tôná is the generic name for physical prayers of this character. A murrain may be stayed by getting a faqirá to bless a long string by reciting passages from the sacred books over it and attaching to it potsberds and bits of red rag on which charms have been written. It is then hung up across the village-gate, and the cattle passing under it will be cured.

For the disease called sat it suffices to tie up one of the stricken cattle outside a shrine. But in Hazará a more elaborate rite is used by the Gójars against cattle-plague. The infected animals are placed in a circle and a muulláh or some person of saintly descent goes round them thrice. Each animal is then passed under a long piece of cloth in which a Qurán has been wrapped. The bones of dead animals are occasionally buried in another stable to which it is hoped to transfer the disease. Elsewhere a kár or circle is drawn round the herd and a holy man rides round it, sprinkling water and repeating the creed.

A galled bullock may be cured by applying the ashes of a lizard killed on a Sunday and burnt.

The disease of horses called simuk is cured by killing a goat or fowl and letting its blood flow into the horse's mouth, or if this cannot be done quickly, it is sufficient for a naked man to strike the horse's forehead 7 times with his shoe.

When the pods open and cotton is ripe for picking women go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which is spat on the field towards the west. This is called pharakná. The first cotton picked is exchanged for its weight in salt which is prayed over and kept in the house till the picking is over.

Catarrh in horses is cured by burning blue cloth in a lota and making him smell it.

Múla or blight may be expelled from a crop by enticing a Hindu named Múl Chand or Múlraj into the field and thence kicking him out or driving him away with blows.

Madness in dogs is ascribed to their eating bones on which a kite has dropped its excreta.

Sikhs believe that recitation of the words om sat nám will cure rheumatism, cough and biliousness. They procure salvation in the next world and safety in this. Recited after meals they help digestion and bring good luck.

1 P. N. Q., I, § 1015.
2 Jh., II, § 278.
3 Jh., II, § 500.
4 Jh., III, § 796.
7 Montgomery S. E. (Purser), p. 82.
8 P. N. Q., III, § 539.
9 Jh., II, § 246.
The worship of Shiva.

MODERN HINDUISM.

SHAIYAS AND VAISHNAVAS.—The grand distinction in actual practice between Shaivas (including Shaktis) on the one hand and Vaishnavas on the other does not lie in any of the numerous theoretical differences noted in the books written on the subject so much as in the fact that the former have not, generally speaking, any objection to the eating of meat, while the latter have. "In Hindustán," as the author of that very curious book, the Dábitán, puts it, "it is known that whoever abstains from meat and hurting animals is esteemed a Vaishnava without regard to the doctrine." The Shaiva may worship Vishnu, and the Vaishnava Shiva, but the Vaishnava will not taste meat, while the Shaiva may partake of meat and drink spirits. It is sometimes said that the worshippers of Deví are of two classes,—those who worship Vishnu–Dví and who are in every respect Vaishnavas being in the one class, while those who worship Káli–Dví and to whom the term of Shiv is more applicable constitute the other. Of antagonism between the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas we hear very little in the Punjab; and the distinction here is less one of religion or of the god worshipped than of practice and ceremony and the manner of food eaten. Outwardly the main distinction lies in the tilak or forehead mark: those of the Vaishnavas being generally speaking upright, while those of the Shaivas are horizontal. The rosaries of the one sect will be of tulsi bead; those of the other of the rudraksh plant. The Vaishnavas worship in the Thákurdwáras where Rám or Síta or Lachman is enthroned; the Shaivas in Shiválas or Shirdwálas where the ling is the central object of worship. There is more gladness and comprehensiveness in the ideas of the former; more mystery and exclusiveness in those of the latter. The Bání is almost always a Vaishnava; the Brahman, unless he belongs to a clan which has Bánias for patrons⁴ (jajmáns), is generally a Shaiva.

THE SHAIVAS.

The terms Shaiva and Shakti.—A worshipper of Shiv is not necessarily, in the ordinary sense of the term, a Shaiva by sect, nor is a person necessarily to be termed a Shakti by sect because he worships Deví. The term Shaiva is generally applied not to any worshipper of Shiv, but to those only who are more or less exclusively devoted to his worship or who perform certain ceremonies or adopt certain customs which may or may not be specifically connected with the worship of this deity, but which are at any rate in strong contrast to those which are followed by the Vaishnavas. Similarly, the word Shakti, though applicable in the wide sense of the term to all worshippers of Deví, is in its narrower meaning applied only to those who have been initiated in, and have been allowed to witness and partake in, the more secret worship of the goddess; but as these more mysterious ceremonies are in popular estimation of a somewhat disreputable character, there is a certain bad odour about the term Sháktik, which induces many true members of the cult to return themselves merely as Deví worshippers.

¹ I have changed 'clients' here to 'patrons'; the term jajmáns means, literally, 'he who gets a sacrifice performed.'—H. A. R.
Shiv.—The wonderful mingling of attributes in the great deity Shiv, the strange coalescence of death and mystery, and lust and life, is forcibly described in one of the most powerful of Sir Alfred Lyall’s poems. The god is reverenced under each of his many characters and many attributes. To some he is the great primeval cause, the origin of creation, the “Sadá Shiv,” the god that ever was and ever will be. His worshippers, following the Musalmán terminology, sometimes term him Bábá Adam. To others he appears as the pattern ascetic; powerful by his austerities and terrible in his curses: he feeds on flesh and drinks strong drinks; he lives on bhang; he takes one-and-a-quarter maunds of bhang every day. To a great part of his worshippers he appears less as a god than as a strenuous devotee, all-powerful with the gods. To another part he is an unseen influence, personified in the ling or conical stone, which in its origin represents the regenerative power of nature, but which to nine-tenths of its present adorers has probably no meaning whatever beyond the fact that it is a representation of Shiv. In the plains the ling forms the central object of worship within the dark, narrow cell which constitutes the ordinary Shivála or Shiv temple: and it is only in the hills that it is commonly to be seen outside or by itself; but in the Panjab, generally speaking, the worship of the ling is not so prevalent or prominent as in Benáres and other places, where the worship of Shiv is in greater force.

Shiv has 100 names, but the commonest of all is Mahádeó, or the Great God, under which name he was most frequently designated by his followers at the Census. They also termed him Mahesh,—Mahesh-wara, the Great Lord, and Shambá, the Venerable One. They call him also Sheonarain, and his following is known as Sheo-mat, Sheo-dharm, or Sheomarg. His strongholds are mostly outside these provinces, at Benáres, Rámeswar, Kidárnáth, Somnath, Baijnith etc. The Ganges, which flowed from his matted hair, is specially sacred to his followers. Their chief scriptures are the Shiv Puró and Ulta Purón. They worship at the Shivála with offerings of flowers and water and leaves, with the ringing of bells, and the singing of hymns. Their sectarian marks are horizontal across the forehead, and they will often wear necklaces of the rudráksha.

All castes are worshippers of Shiv; but he is not a popular favourite in the same way as Vishnu or Krishna. It has been before pointed out that the worship of Shiv is mainly a Brahman worship, and it is undoubtedly most prevalent where the Brahmins have most power—a fact which conflicts somewhat with the theory sometimes put forward that Shaivism is a remnant of the aboriginal religions of the country: The following of Shiv is in these provinces confined mainly to the high class Brahmins and Khattrís, and the example of the latter is followed by the Sunárs, or goldsmiths, and the Thátheras, or copper-workers; the Maháeri Báníás are also his devotees: but among the ordinary agricultural community the worship of Shiv is uncommon and the Shiválas in the villages of the plains are almost always the product of the piety of money-lenders and traders, not of the agriculturists themselves.

In the Himalayas Shiv is worshipped extensively, especially by all the lower castes. The home of Shiv is believed to be the peak of Kháskar.
in *pargana* Takpa of Barhahr, and music is at times heard on its summit. Old men say that on the smallest of its peaks, visible from Chhini, is a pool surrounded by mountains amongst which lie Shiv’s temple and the homes of the other deotas. Many years ago a holy *faqir* came to this mountain to worship Shiva and accomplished his pilgrimage, but by returning to ask some favour of the god, incurred his displeasure and was turned into a rock which can be seen from Kailás north of Chhini. This rock has a white tint at sunrise, a red at mid-day, and a green at sunset. Kailás itself is the abode of the dead.

On Sri Khand, a peak 13,626 feet above sea-level, is a stone image of Shiv, called Sri Khand Mahádeva, which is worshipped by placing a cup of *charas* in front of it and burning the drug to ashes. Everything offered to the god is placed under a stone. Six miles further on, in Kulu, is Nil Kanth Mahádeva, a peak visited by *sádhus* only on account of its inaccessibility. It has a spring of red water. Barmaur again is a Shiva-bhúmi or ‘territory of Shiva,’ and hence, it is said, the Gaddis of Chamba are Shaivas.

The prevalence of Shaivism in the Himalayas may be gauged by the following note by Dr. Vogel:—“There are no less than 49 places of worship (44 being temples proper) in Mandi, and of these 24 are Cívalayas, 8 Deví temples and 2 are dedicated to Civaistic deities. This shows the preponderance of Cívism in Mandi. The number of Thákurdwárás (Vishnu shrines) is seven only. Among the cívalayas most are Linga-temples, but the oldest are dedicated to Civa Pancavaktva (i.e. the five-faced) whose curious images are remarkably numerous in Mandi.” Writing of Kángra, Dr. Vogel says:—“Though Cívism no doubt prevails everywhere and all the principal temples and *tirthas* are dedicated to Mahádeo or Deví under various names, there seems to have been a great deal of Vishnu (or Krishna) worship among the Rájáis. At least I found this with regard to those of Kángra and Núrpur, who may be considered to have been the more important ones. It seems that while the popular religion was the grosser Sívism, the Rájáis took to the higher form of Vishnuism. This seems to be the most obvious explanation, though it is quite possible that there were other causes and the Rájáis perhaps introduced Vishnuism from the plains. It is curious that a Krishna image in the Fort at Núrpur is said to have been brought from Udaipur in Rájpút-áná.”

Similarly, in Kulu, Thákur Gopál, the cow-herd (Krishna), is worshipped by the former Gurus of the Rájáis, though Sívism is prevalent in the Kulu Valley, and in the Simla Hills the cult of Vishnú is said to be entirely confined to immigrants from the plains, the indigenous population being wholly Shaivas or Sháktaks.

The following are accounts of some Shiva temples in Kángra:—

*The Shrine of Bálak Rúpi, near Súdápur in Kángra.*—One Ganesha Brahman, a *paráhit* of the Jaswál Rájás, gave up his office and took up his abode in Dhár Bálak Rúpi, whence he repaired to Har where the temple of Bábá Bálak Rúpi now stands. His grandson, Jogu, when he was about 10 or 13 years old, one day went to his fields with a plough on his shoulder. In the jungle he met a young Gosálín.  

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1 He is so called because the Bábá manifested himself while yet a child (*bátak*).
who asked him if he would serve him. Jogu consented, whereupon the Gosán instructed him not to tell anybody what had passed between them. Leaving the Gosán Jogu went to the fields where other men were working, and on his arrival there began to dance involuntarily, saying that he did not know where he had left his plough. The men rejoined that the plough was on his shoulder and asked what was the matter with him. Jogu told them the whole story, but when he had finished telling it he became mad. Ganesha, his father, thereupon took some cotton-thread and went to a Gosán, by name Kanthar Náth, who recited some mantras, blew on the thread, and told him to put it round the neck of Jogu, who on wearing it was partially cured. Kanthar Náth then advised Ganesha to take the lad to Bábá Lál Púri, a good Mahátma who lived in the village of Ganyar Ganjhar, which he did. Lál Púri let him depart, telling him that he would follow him. He also declared that the Gosán whom the mad lad had met was Bábá Bálok Rúpi, and that he had been afflicted because he had betrayed the Bábá. Ganesha went his way home, but Bábá Lál Púri reached Hár before him. Thereafter both Bábá Lál Púri and Jogi Kanthar Náth began to search for Bábá Bálok Rúpi. At that time, on the site where Bálak Rúpi’s temple now stands, was a temple of Gugga, and close to it was a rose-bush. Bábá Lál Púri told Ganesha to cut down the bush and to dig beneath it. When he had dug to a depth of 4 or 5 cubits he discovered a flat stone (pindu) against which the spade, with which he was digging, struck (the mark caused by the stroke is still visible) and blood began to ooze from it till the whole pit was filled with gore. But after a short time the blood stopped and milk began to flow out of it. Next came a stream of saffron which was followed by a flame (got) of incense (dhúp), and finally by a current of water. Bábá Lál Púri said that all these were signs of Bábá Bálok Rúpi. He then took the idol (pindu) to Neogal Nádi or Kund in order to bathe it, whereupon milk again began to issue from it. The idol was then taken back to its former place. While on the road near Bhochar Kund (a tank near the temple on the roadside) the idol of itself moved from the palanquin, in which it was being carried, and went into the tank. Bábá Lál Púri and Kanthar Náth recovered it and brought it back to the place where it had first appeared. During the night it was revealed to Bábá Lál Púri in a vision that Gugga’s temple must be demolished and its remains cast into the Negal Kund or used in building a temple to Bálok Rúpi on the same site. This can only mean that the cult of Bálok Rúpi is, or was, hostile to that of Gugga. Accordingly the idol was stationed on the place pointed out Bábá Lál Púri said that Jogu’s eldest son and his descendants should have the right to worship the idol, while the out-door duties would be performed by Kanthar Jogi’s descendants. At that time Sasrám Chand Katoch was the Rájá of that territory. Rájá Abhi Chand was the first to make a vow at the temple of Bábá Bálok Rúpi in order that he might be blessed with a son. When he begot a child, the Bábá began to be resorted to more eagerly.

A Patiál Rájpút girl was once told by her brother’s wife to graze cattle, and on her refusing, the latter said:—‘Yes, it is beneath your dignity to graze cattle because you are a Ráni; be sure you will not be
married to a Rájá.' The girl in distress at this taunt untied the cattle and led them to the jungle. At that time Bábá Bálak Rúpí had again become manifest. The girl supplicated him and said that she would not believe him to be really Bálak Rúpí unless she married a Rájá, adding that if her desire were fulfilled, she would offer a bullock¹ of copper at his temple. Five or seven days had not elapsed when a Rájá of the Katoch dynasty chanced to pass by where the girl was herding cattle, and seeing her he bade her to be taken to his seraglio, where he married her. Unfortunately the girl forgot to fulfil her vow, and so a short time after all the Ránís in the seraglio began to nod their heads (kheññá), as if under the influence of a spirit, and continued doing so day and night. The Rájá summoned all the saññás and chelas. One of the latter said that the cause of the Ránís' being possessed by spirits was that a vow to Bábá Bálak Rúpí had not been fulfilled. The Rájá replied that if all the Ránís recovered, he would take all his family to the temple and present the promised offering. The chela then prepared a thread in the name of the Bábá and when this was put round the neck of the persons possessed they recovered. This all happened on a Saturday in Jeth. Thereafter a bullock was made of copper, and the Rájá also erected a temple. When the bullock was offered (jib-dán), the artist who had made it died forthwith.²

Whenever any misfortune is about to befall the Katoch dynasty the copper bullock is affected as if by fear. This occurred on the 29th of Hár Sambat 1902 and Rájá Partáb Chand died on the 15th of Sáwan in that year. On that day Bábá Bálak Rúpí's idol also perspired. For these reasons the bullock is worshipped and vows are made to it.

The játris (offerers) who make vows at the temple of the bullock on the fulfilment of their desires offer jopu topu and botna and rub the bullock with the offering. They also put a bell round his neck. These offerings are taken by the Jogi on duty, there being several Jogis who attend by turn.

Four fairs, lasting eight days, are held in Bálak Rúpí's honour on every Saturday in Jeth and Hár. Those who have vowed to offer he-goats present them alive, while those who have vowed to sacrifice he-goats slaughter them at a fixed spot within the temple precincts. The head, fore-legs and skin are given to the Jogi on duty, and some rice and a pice are also paid to him as compensation for ancestor-worship. The he-goats brought to be slaughtered are killed at Neoga Kund, and also cooked and eaten there. But sometimes the people take the cooked meat home and distribute it as a holy thing.

The ceremony of jamnédálu (or shaving the hair of a child for the first time) is usually performed in Bálak Rúpí's temple and the hair is then offered at the temple. Even those who observe the ceremony at home often come to the temple and offer the hair. An additional present, the amount of which varies from two pice to any sum that one's means allow, is also made. All these offerings are taken by the Jogi on duty. Játris who make offerings (e.g. of a human being such as

¹ Clearly the bull (kail) of Shiva.
² Cf. the story on p. 207 supra.
Siddh Bairág Lok.

a child, or of a buffalo, cow, horse etc. according to their vow), give it, if an animal, to the Jogi on duty, but in the case of a child its price is paid to the Jogi and it is taken back. Besides these, cash, curds, umbrellas, coconuts and ghī are also offered. The offerings are preserved in the bhāndār (store-house).

The people living in the vicinity of the temple, within a distance of 15 or 20 kos, do not eat fresh corn (termed nawan, lit. 'new') unless they have offered some of it at Bālak Pūrī's temple. Fairs are held on each Saturday in Jēth and Hār.

There is another temple to Bālak Rūpi at Nagroṭa, but no fair is held there. It has been in existence for about 12 generations, and contains a marble image of Mahādeō, 4 fingers high. A Gosāin pujaři manages it. His caste is Puri and got Usab. He may marry, but a chela always succeeds his guru. Worship is performed morning and evening, fried gram in the morning and bread in the evening being offered as bhog. Ārī is also performed in the evening and a sacred lamp lit.

In Mandi Bālak Rūpī is described as another famous temple of Shiva in Bangāhal. He is worshipped in severe illness and is also supposed to remove ailments of all kinds. As a Siddh he has a shrine at Bālak-Rūpi in Kamla, and a smaller one at Hati, both visited for the cure of diseases. Bālak Nāth, the son of Shiva, appears to be quite distinct from Bālak Rūpī.

The shrine of Siddh Bairág Lok near Pālampur.—The founder of the shrine, when a boy, while herding cattle, once met a Gosāin who told him never to disclose the fact of their friendship or he would no longer remain in his place. Keeping the secret, however, made him ill, and so at last he told his parents all about the Gosāin. They gave him satī for the holy man, but when about to cook it the boy complained that he had no water, whereupon the Gosāin struck the ground with his gaja (an iron stick) and a spring appeared, which still exists. The Gosāin did not eat the food, saying his hanger was satisfied by its smell. The boy then caught the Gosāin by the arm, upon which the latter struck him with his hand and turned him into stone. The Gosāin himself disappeared in the earth. The boy's parents searched for him for 5 days, until one night the secret was revealed to one of his family who was directed to erect a temple a little above the spring. Another story is that a few days later a Bhat Brahman became possessed and saw all that had occurred. So a temple was erected and the place called Bairág (Gosāin) Lok, from alap, disappearance. As Bairág Lok had been a herdsman, he became peculiarly the god of cattle and fulfils vows made regarding cattle. The fair is held on Hār 3rd. He-goats and corn are offered. In this temple there is also an image of Gorakhnāth, placed therein by a Goleria Mīān in Sikh times. The stone idol of the boy has disappeared. The followers of the shrine regard the Gosāin as Gorakh-

1 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 41.
2 Ib., p. 40.
3 Ib., p. 33; see infra under Hinduism in the Himālayas, for the cults of Shiva in Mandi.
nāth himself. The keepers of the shrine are Gir Gosāins and Bhāt Brahmans.\(^1\)

If in the above examples Shiva is disguised almost beyond recognition, those tabulated below are often connected with Shiva by the slenderest of ties, such as the mere presence of his image in the fane:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pujāri</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhaustr-Shirji Gandhurb in the only remaining bastion of the Gandhurb fort which was destroyed in the Sikh times.</td>
<td>Brahman, got Samkariye and gotar Atri.</td>
<td>Shīrādi on Phāgan bādi chaudas. Vows are made for relief from periodic fevers and rot offered.</td>
<td>Bhat in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daudh-Shirji, founded in Sikh times by a Rājput.</td>
<td>A Brahman is employed under the Rājput pujāri.</td>
<td>None, but on 14th Phāgan sudi people assemble to look at the idol of Shiva which is a span high and seated on a ja-lekhi.</td>
<td>Fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Baij Nāth at Pālampur. The story is that Rāwan meditated here and consequently obtained success in every undertaking.</td>
<td>Bhājki and Brahman. The pujāri is a Brahman, caste Samiti, got Kondal.</td>
<td>A fair lasting 4 days on the chas das in Phāgan.</td>
<td>It contains a stone ling of Shiva which is one foot high above the ground. A sacred lamp is kept lit day and night. Connected with this are the shrines of Lachmi Narānī and Siddh Nāth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) For other Siddh shrines see p. 278 infra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pujari</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sūraj Kund mandir</td>
<td>A Girī Gosāī, got Atlīs</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The largest building contains a stone picture of Śhiva, one span high; also an image of Man Mahesh seated by its side, 3 cubit high. The place is one of great sanctity and people come to bathe and pay devotions here. Worship is performed twice a day, morning and evening. Fruit in the morning, rice at noon and bread in the evening form the bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir or Thākurdwārā of Gupt Ganga</td>
<td>Brahman, Lagwāl, got Gūrīg</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Śhiva, Ganga and Narbada made of marble. That of Śhiva is 4 fingers high and that of Ganga one cubit. Both are adorned with gold and silver ornaments. Fruit is offered as bhog morning and evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Kapālī Bhairo in Kangra town</td>
<td>A Jogi, got Alakh</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main tank is called Sūraj Kund. Near it are three small tanks, called the Rām Kund, Sītā Kund and Lachhman Kund. These buildings and tanks have been in existence about 550 years or from the time of Jahāngīr. The tank here is fed underground from the Manikarn spring and so it is called Gupt Ganga. Two other kwāds to its north and east are called the Shīv Kund and Gaurī Kund, respectively. The temple was founded in S. 1922.
### Place and name of temple | Pujari | Dates of fair | Ritual
--- | --- | --- | ---
The mandir of Bir Bhadar Shûr, the subordinate god of Shiva, was founded in the Sat Yûg. It is held in great sanctity. | A Brahman, caste Bhoura, got Bhârdawaj. | None... | It contains a black stone image of Shiva seated on a father and one span high.
The mandir of Chakar Kund: the disc or chakar which killed the rakhsasa Jalandar fell on this spot; hence it was called Chakar Kund. | A Gosain, caste Pûri, got Bhorua. | None... | The temple contains a stone pindi of Shiva, one span high. The Pûkar temple is connected with it.

### THE CULT OF MAHÁDEO.

Mahádeva is the originator or creator of many castes, generally of the lower grades, Brahma being the progenitor of the higher castes, such as the pure Brahmans, while Mahádev created such castes as the Bhâts and the Chârans. He created the former to attend his lion and bull, but they would not prevent the lion from killing the bull which vexed Mahádev as he had to create new ones. He therefore formed the Châran, equal in devotion to the Bhât, but of a bolder spirit, and placed him in charge of his favourite animals. Thenceforth no bull was ever destroyed by the lion.¹

Sleeman relates a story of an informant who naively declared that the British Government was nothing but a multiplied incarnation of Shiva. The god himself had so declared through his oracles and had announced that his purpose was to give his people impartial Government and prevent internecine warfare.² The flattery was not so gross as it might appear.

To Mahádeo are offered daily leaves of the bel, Ægle marmelos, called bil-patri, and tulsî ki minjarâni or ears of the sacred basil,³ while ambergris is also burnt before him daily. To him in particular is sacred the pîpol, though Shiva is found in its branches together with Brahma and Vishnu. The banyan tree is similarly sacred to Vishnu and the âtm to Devi as Káli Bhíwâni.

² Sleeman’s Rambles, II, p. 241, quoted in P. N. Q. III, pt 401. The story recalls the one told to Sir G. Robertson when he asked if Yush, the chief of the devils, resembled himself, and was informed that he did not, but that he was like the English private soldier, i.e. of a reddish colour.
³ Dr. Hutchison connects the minjarâni ki meîa of the hills with the cult of a river-god; see p. 318 supra.
Cult of Mahádeo.

Cult names of Mahádeo are numerous. In the Simla Hills he is called Bhoteshar, from Bhothi, the name of a village in which his temple is situated.

The cult of Mahádeo is not only deeply seated in Kángra, but it is also varied in form. Mahádeo being worshipped under various names. At Jawáli he appears as Kamteshar, as Kalishar in Kuthiára, as Narbadeshar in Sujánpur, as Bilikeshar in Sapra (Nádaun), as Tameshar in Nádaun, and so on.

The real history of the shrine of Bábá Baroh Mahádeo, near Jawáli Mukhi, is not known, but the story goes that under a banyas or barí tree (whence the name baroh) appeared an idol of stone still to be seen in Danáya, by name Káli Náth, whose merits Bábá Lál Púri preached. In 1740 S. Dhián Singh, wazír of Golé, was imprisoned at Kótá and a soldier at the fort, a native of Danáya, persuaded him to make a vow to Bábá Baroh, in consequence of which he was released. The wazír however forgot his vow and so fell ill, until he made a large pecuniary offering to the shrine. In that year the small old temple was replaced by the present larger one under Bábá Lál Púri. The followers of Bábá Baroh keep a jholí (cloth bag), an iron chain, kharáwís (sandals), and a choli or shirt, in their houses. Grain is usually offered at the shrine, with flour, ghí and gur for the bullock (there appears to be an image of a bullock also). If a he-goat is sacrificed, the skin and a hind-leg are offered up, the rest being eaten by the játri on his way home. Sometimes a kudhi or living he-goat is offered, as the substitute for a life in case of sickness, or by one who is childless. Women can enter the shrine.

Gowála was a holy man in Kángra. His legend runs thus:

One day as he was sitting on a lofty hill near Baroh a wedding procession passed by and he said to the bride: 'Thorns on this side and on that: she who wears the red veil is my wife.' The bridegroom challenged him to jump down from the hill and he did so but was killed. The bride then took his head in her lap and said to the bridegroom: 'You gave me to him; I burn on the pyre with him.'

1 A temple to Mahádeo may owe its foundation to a trivial cause, e.g. the image of Mahádeva of Purag was found in a field named Majhoni. It resembled Shiv in appearance and hence it was called Mahádeva.

2 Ascribed to the time of the Pândavas, this temple contains a stone image called Gang Mahádeo, one span high.

3 Also ascribed to the time of the Pândavas. Before that Káli performed austerities at this spot.

4 Called after a conical stone or ling brought from the Narbada, the temple was founded by Bání Pansam Devi, wife of Rájá Sansár Chand of Kángra. Founded in 8. 1870 it was completed in 8. 1882. On each side of it are 4 small shrines: a sun temple, containing an image of a man on seven-headed horse, 2½ ft high; a Ganesh temple; one Chatarbhujá Devi; and one to Lachhmi Náráin. Each of these contains a stone image 3 ft high. Bhog is offered five times a day, misri, milk, kudhi, gurr etc. being given.

5 Said to be called 'after the Bidas and the Kanah.' It is said that 10,000 years ago the Pândas or gods began to erect the temple by night. This was noticed by some men and so the gods left it half-built. It was finished by Rájá Bhom Chand.

6 Founded by Rájá Abhi Chand (date not known). It contains a stone ling 4½ cubits high. Connected with it is a temple of Sitála containing 4 images.

7 This shrine seems independent of the cauris near Baroh.
This resolve she carried out, and the cairns erected in memory of Gowa l a’s bravery exist to this day.

The following is a list of temples in this district to Mahádeo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujári</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giri Gosain, got</td>
<td>Shivaratri</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of Gang Bhaire Mahádeo on a black stone, 1 span high and 4 in circumference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma Gosain, got Lashi</td>
<td>Shivaratri</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>It contains an image of Shiva, of white stone and 1 foot high. Worship is performed morning and evening when fruit or food cooked by the pujári is offered to the god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman Bhojki, The manager of the endowment is a Giri Gosain by got a Rátaash, who is celibate.</td>
<td>Shivaratri</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Rice in the morning only. The temple contains a black stone image (piṣádi) of Shiva, 4 ft. in circumference, and 4½ ft. high. It is held sacred and worshipped largely by the people of Rihim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place.</td>
<td>Pujari.</td>
<td>Date of fair.</td>
<td>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Kanjesar Mahadeo in Palampur was once the site of a grove of bel trees amidst which a crane made its nest. From its nest sprang Mahadeo and manifested himself. He was named Kunj after the crane. One night it was revealed to Rajá Láláwar Chand of Kangra that if he built a temple in honour of Shiva, he would be blessed with a son. Accordingly he made a search for the pisi of Shiva in the bel forest and it was found among the trees where the temple was built. It was not long before the Rajá begot four sons. In fulfilment of his vow he celebrated a great fair.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A party of pándas who attend the temple in turns. Their got is Kondal. The pujari is always chosen from the pándas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shivratri in Phagau.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhog of dál, bread and rice etc. is offered in morning. In the evening soaked gram is offered and distributed only among the low caste people, such as Chamás, Juláhás etc. But these low castes are not allowed to make offerings to the temple, nor are they admitted into it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mandir of Indar Shúr Mahadeo in Kangra town. Once Rajá Indar in a procession passed Durbar Rishi who offered him a garland which the Rajá, considering it beneath his dignity to wear, put on his elephant. The devotee in anger at this cursed him and ere long the Rajá was utterly ruined. So he resorted to the devotee and begged him to restore his lost blessings. He recommended him to worship Devi Barashwari and she pleased with his devotion restored his fortunes. |

A Bráhman, caste Sárdal got Ko. |

None ...

The temple contains a black stone pisi of Shiva 4 fingers high and 3 cubits in circumference; and two images of Pánu Nath etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place.</th>
<th>Pujari.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Nandi Kashur Mahadeo in Jadrughal is situated on the bank of the Ban Ganga river. It is said that Nandi-ji practised devotional exercises here and enshrined an image of Shiva whence the temple is called Nandi Kashur. It is said to have been founded by a Suket Rani.</td>
<td>Its affairs are managed by a pujari and a supervisor, both Giri Gosains, got Atlas. One is celibate and the other not; so succession is governed both by natural and spiritual relationship.</td>
<td>A fair is annually held on the Shivaratri in Phagun.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone image of Shiva seated on a jathari and 14 spans high. It is said that above this image (without any support) hang the image of Nandi, whom the Rani once visited to do it homage. Seeing the miraculous suspension of the image, she hesitated to enter the temple, lest it should fall on her. So she built a supporting wall before she entered it. It is held in great sanctity by the Hindus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindi—Jur Mahadeo ...</td>
<td>A Bhatti Jogi, got Marichh.</td>
<td>No fair, but people gather on the Shivaratri to look at the image.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone pindi of Shiv-ji. It is a cubit high and a foot in circumference. It stands on a jathari. Either got or soaked gram is used as bhoj in the morning. In the evening only driti is performed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guga Mahadeo and Indarshur Mahadeo at Chhara founded by the same Rajput who founded Kidar Nath’s temple at Shurah.</td>
<td>A Gosain of the Sisnath got.</td>
<td>Jeth 13th</td>
<td>Sugar or fruit is offered as bhoj in the morning and evening. The image of Indar Shur is a cone of stone ¼ cubit high and a foot in circumference. Guga is mounted on a horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaniara—Mahadeo, Indashar, founded by a Bharthi Gosain in time of Ranjit Singh, some 200 years ago (!)</td>
<td>A Bharthi Gosain who is elected from the chetas.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The temple contains a white stone image, 6 fingers high, brought from the Narbada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place.</td>
<td>Pujari.</td>
<td>Date of fair.</td>
<td>Ritual, offerings etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal Kaseri—Mahadeo Gharhbiria: no temple.</td>
<td>A Jogi, by gotar Alakh.</td>
<td>Though there is no temple, a pindi of Shiva exists, and though no fair is held, people resort to the place for bathing on the aśkti of the Śukal pachṣ in Bhidon when the hill is clear of snow. The place is called after the image.</td>
<td>Bhog is offered and hogs etc. sacrificed in bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmśila—Warweshwar Mahadeo.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosain ... Sudi aśkti in Bhidon.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day morning and evening. Something cooked is offered as bhog at noon. The black stone pindi of Mahadeo, 2 spans high, is said to have created itself. On the birth of a calf, people offer milk, curd and gāh which are called jakh. A young goat is also sacrificed, its head and horns being taken by the pujari as his perquisite.</td>
<td>Bhog is offered twice a day, rice or bread in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmśila Mahadeo Bhagau Nath: called by the Gaddia Bhagau Nāg, by others Bhagau Nath, his real name is Bhagwahar.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosain by gotar Atasan, who is celibate.</td>
<td>Durga-nāṁṣī. Sudi Bhidon. On the day of the fair, offerings of curd, gāh, milk or grain are made. Thread is also offered in lieu of a jāne or sacred thread.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the mandir of Mahā Kāl in Palampur the god Kāl performed devotions. The fair is celebrated on the date on which the building was completed. It has been in existence for 100 years and was founded by Sāh Chand, a Katooh.</td>
<td>Bhalman, got Bhoodal.</td>
<td>Nirjāl aśkti in Jeṭh.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone ling of Shiva, ½ foot above the ground. Bhog is offered at noon and evening, and then distributed among jagirs, the pujari etc. The temple is held in great sanctity and the dead of the adjacent towns and villages are brought to be cremated here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cult of Shiva being so widespread in the Himalayas, it is interesting to find that in the remote tract of Saraj in Kulu few temples of Mahadeo are reported to exist. At Shangri Isahr Mahadeo has a temple which came to be founded in this wise: One Chandi, a Kanet, went on a pilgrimage. On the way he met a faqir who joined him. When evening came on they halted for the night in Dhamoli, but there were no houses, but only a few deodar trees. The faqir told the Kanet that he had meditated there in the Duapar Yug. Meanwhile a Brahman had joined them, and they asked him to dig at a certain spot where a pindi would be found. It was found accordingly and the faqir then disappeared. The temple was built at this spot and the pindi installed therein. The pujadris are Sarasut Brahmans.

Shamseri Mahadeo derives his name from Shamsher, a village where he has five temples. A stone ling, resembling Shiva, appeared beneath some dryb grass and was brought to a village by the Brahman who founded the temple in which it is enshrined. Four fairs are held here, the Bhoda in Poh, the Shand on an auspicious day in Maghar, the Jal on the amaras in Phagan and the Parbat on Chet 3th. At the first-named two 400 hc-goats must be sacrificed, but at the last two 40 suffice. Three of the five temples are built of stone and two of wood. There are ten stone idols, each 6 feet high, and a stone ox also. A few masks of brass representing human faces are also used in decorating the god.

Bini Mahadeo similarly derives his name from Bin, the village in which his temple stands. It is called Bindehra. Legend has it that in Bin lived two Thakars, named Jaun and Tadashu. A dispute arose between them and they fought at Malgird gra, until a mahant or saint came out of the stream and bade them cease. Thakar Jaun asked him whence he had come and whither he was going. The saint replied that he had come from the land of the Kaurus and Pandavas. The Thakar begged him to settle the quarrel and when he had done so he and Jaun started for the Bihas. On the road they were annoyed by a man at Sholad, so the saint cursed the people of that village, and it was burnt. Next day they reached a spring and the saint vanished in the water. At night a voice was heard saying that a temple must be built in the village which should be named Bin after him. So the temple was built and a ling of Mahadeo appeared in it of its own accord.

Jagesar Mahadeo has two temples in Saraj, one at Dalash on the Sutlej and one at Rohru. The Shand is celebrated every 30 years at Dalash, and there are annual fairs at each temple. The story is that in the Duapar Yug a devotee, Jagad Rishi, came down from Kailas and meditated here. A black stone idol soon manifested itself to him, and he was so overjoyed at its sight that he became its votary. One night it was revealed to him in a vision that it was Mahadeo himself, who was born on the 5th of Bhadon. In the morning the rishi found that he was blind, so he made a vow to Mahadeo, and as his sigh was restored, he built the temple and fixed the date of its fair. The other temple at Rohru was built later. The temple is managed by Jinwar kardar, but the pujari is a Sarasut Brahman. Special reverence
is only paid to the guru or disciple of the god, because he goes into trances and answers all questions put to the god.

Budā Mahádeo has a temple at Netar Dera. The story of its foundation is that Kapál Dip, an aged devotee, meditated at its site for many years. At length he disappeared beneath the earth and thenceforth he was known as Budā Mahádeo. Once Rájá Parichat pitched his tent on the site of the temple. Next morning he found himself blind in both eyes. In reply to his supplications he was told of Kapál Muni (sic) and he sought his aid. When his sight was restored he built this temple which was called Netar Dera or the 'place of the eye.' The annual fair lasts from the end of Sáwan to the 15th Bhádon. Prába, a kind of fair, are also held in Chet, Phágán, Jeth, Sáwan, Bhádon, Asúj and Poh. Low caste people are not allowed to make offerings.

Basheshar Mahádeo1 has a temple at Nirmand on the Sutlej. A cow was observed to yield her milk to a pinjá hidden in long grass and so it was worshipped and a temple eventually built over it. The people of Nirmand use no milk or ghí till it has been offered to the pinjá.

The temple of Bongru Mahádeo and Devi Harvá in Pháti Chanúl is known by many names, such as Gashwál Deori, Deori Deori, and Shiglú. Annual fairs are held on the Shivratri in Phágán, lasting for 15 days; during the three days after the Holí; on the Naurátri in Chet and Asúj; on the 9th and 12th Baisák; the 20th and 25th Hár; on the Puniyá in Sáwan; the 2nd, 4th and 5th Asúj; the 16th Kátká; and on the 5th Maghar.

The story of its origin is that a Ráná when hunting reached the summit of a hill, and found a yogi deep in meditation, who told him that he came from Shivpuri and was Shivá himself. At the Ráná’s prayer the yogi accompanied him to his home at Kahá where he asked the Ráná to build him a temple, but when it was built he would not sit in it and took from his pocket a small box out of which sprung a beautiful maid called Harvá Devi. He then desired that a temple should be erected for this goddess also, and so a shrine was built in her honour.

Kulchhetar Mahádeo has a temple at Alwá, a village founded by Paras Rám after he had extirpated the Khatris. A few Brahmins settled in it, and to them he gave a metal kals for worship. It was enshrined in a temple, and stands three cubits high.

At the temple of Bhaná Mahádeo fairs are held at every Diwálí and on the 1st Baisák. The Bhundá is celebrated every 40 years, and is said to be followed by a Shánd which is held every 12 years. The story of its origin is that a Thákur, Raghú, had a cow which was grazed by a blind boy on the further side of the river. A snake sucked the

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1 The temple of Basheshar, Sánekr. Vishveshvara, Mahádeo at Bajaur in the Kulu valley appears to give its name to that place. It probably dates from the 17th century when the Rájá of Kulu vigorously promoted the worship of Krishna and itámas. Arch. Survey Rep., 1909-10, p. 30. It is suggested that the promotion of this worship was connected with the importation into Kulu of the militant Bairágis recorded by Lyall: Kangra Sett. Rep., §§ 82 and 94, on p. 86 as having been made under Rájá Theðl Singh, cor. v, 1758.
Cows' milk for many days, until, to the cowherd's great joy, when he reached the other side of the river, his sight was restored. The news reached the Thákur's ears. The snake was found, but ere long it disappeared under the ground whence rose a metal image which said that it was Mahádeo himself. The Thákur then built a temple in which it was enshrined. The pujári is a Gaur Bráhman.

In Kulu proper Mahádeo has some ten temples. His cult names are Bijli Mahádeo or Bijleshar, the lightning god, at Malthán Dera, Jawanu, Larain or Larani at Laran, Manglishar, Siáli, Sangam and Shibrhárajah, besides Gauri Shankar and Nilkanth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Mahádeo</th>
<th>Chohki Pera</th>
<th>9th of the light half of Maghar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bijli Mahádeo</td>
<td>Malthán Dera</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 1st of Hág, 1st to 7th Asúj, five fairs from 1st to 5th Baiśák. Pípal Játá for 13 days at Sultánpur, 18th Baiśák and 18th Baiśák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Gauri Shankar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Dawala Washál Wangar</td>
<td>Shivrátri in the dark half of the month of Phágán for 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jawanu Mahádeo</td>
<td>Pera Jawánu Mahádeo</td>
<td>1st and 2nd Chet, during the same month in the light half of Parwa and Dutia, 1st to 3rd Baiśák, 1st and 2nd Sáwan and 1st to 3rd Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Larain Mahádeo</td>
<td>Laran Pera</td>
<td>In Phágán, 2nd Chet, new year's day 1st Baiśák, 1st Jeth, 1st Bhádon, Janam-sáhtmi and 1st Asúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Manglishar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Chhanwar Pera</td>
<td>6th Baiśák and a yag every 2nd year from 1st to 4th Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilkanth Mahádeoji</td>
<td>Known by the name of its deity</td>
<td>On the Shivrátri, the 4th of the dark half of Phágán and Káli Púja from 1st to 4th of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangam Mahádeo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>No fair, but two festivals called Yirá Rátri and Shiv Rátri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Siáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>Pera Siáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>26th of Phágán on the Shivrátri, 12th and 18th of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Shibrhárajah</td>
<td>Pera</td>
<td>1st of Phágán.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi Nangol Mahádeo in Lad has countless natural idols of Shiva. A Gáidi who had incurred his wrath was also turned into stone.¹

¹ Mandi Gauśteer, p. 41.
Kot Ishwar.—Kot Ishwar Mahadeo (Shiva) originated from the temple of Durga at Hát Koṭi. (Durga’s own history goes back to the times of the Mahābhārata.) When Kot Ishwar Mahadeo began to oppress the people in Hát Koṭi the Brahman thought that the god had become a rākṣasa (devil), and two Brahmins, Obu and Shobu, by magic shut him up in a tumbi and corked up its mouth. The tumbi with the god and goddesses and two mātris in it they intended to throw into the Sutlej 40 miles from Hát Koṭi, which lies on the banks of the Pabū. When they reached Paroi Bāl, two miles from the Sutlej, the Brahman who was holding the tumbi stumbled and let it fall. As it broke in pieces the imprisoned god, with the two mātris, escaped. Kot Ishwar Mahadeo took shelter among the bana and bhekhal bushes; one of the mātris soared to the top of the Tikkar hill, now called Kecchéri, where she took up her abode in the kail trees; and the other flew across the Sutlej halting at Kheksu. Kot Ishwar again began to trouble the people in the form of a serpent. He would suck milk from the cows and they blamed the cow-boy who was much alarmed, when one day he saw a serpent suck milk from his cows. He told the owners of the cattle, and a Brahman of Batsāra, a village near Kumbhārsain, went to the spot and called on the serpent to appear if he were a god, threatening to burn him by magic as an evil spirit or devil, if he did not. So the god walked into his presence and the Brahman bowing before Kot Ishwar invited him to his village where he lived for 12 years. No Rājā then ruled this part of the hills which were held by the mawanna or murvī. Sunu, a powerful mawanna, heard of the god’s miracles and began to worship him. Once he dreamed that the god did not wish to live at Mathana Juba where a temple was proposed for him, but would prefer Pichla-tiba, now called Koṭi; so a temple was built there for him. Long after, his present temple was built on a larger scale at Madholi. At first he was represented by a single askī dhūl idol, but subsequently some 15 more idols of mixed metal were added as its companions. A rath (palanquin) was also made and the god seated in it at melas. Bhūra, another contemporary mawanna, came to a melu organised in honour of the god by Sunu mawanna. He was dressed in ape skins. But Sunu did not allow Bhūra to come before the god or touch his rath, so Bhūra returned to his home at Bhūra, scarcely 3 miles from Madholi, in disgust. One day after his return, when breaking up new land he found a gold image, and for this he made a rath. Seated in it this deota was brought to Madholi as he desired to live there with Kot Ishwar, and Sunu and Bhūra abandoned their feud. Kot Ishwar was a terror to the countryside. He would kill any mawanna who did not obey him. Some indeed say that the gold image which Bhūra found was Kot Ishwar himself in a new form, and that Bhūra was killed by him. When the Brahmins of Hát Koṭi learnt that Kot Ishwar had become a good spirit and was displaying miracles at Madholi, two of them came to Lathi village, where they have been settled now for 77 generations. Bhūra deota appeared about the same time as Kot Ishwar. His worshippers offer him only gold or mawru cloth while Kot Ishwar can accept anything. Goats are usually sacrificed. The following melas called jāgrās are held in honour of these deotas:
Temples to Mahádeo in the Jumna valley.

(1) Bharasa on the 1st Jeth; (2) Madhauni on the Rakhari Punja in Bhadon; (3) Madholi on the Purnamashi day in Bhadon; (4) Pati Juba on the 6th or 7th Asar; but at several places the jagir are held in Baisakh and Sawan on any day that may be fixed.

Kot Ishwar ruled this part of the hills before the Giri or Giaru family settled at Karangla. Some time later the Giri brothers quarrelled over the partition of the kingdom, and so a cow-girl divided it into two parts, viz., Karangla and Kumbharsain.1 When the first Thakur came to Kumbharsain the country was made over to him by Kot Ishwar, who showed him favour so that State has given him a jagir worth Rs. 506, and pays the expenses of his jagir. Six generations ago Thakur Rana Singh of Kumbharsain fought with Rana Pirthi Singh of Keonthal and the Thakur gained a victory by his aid. Every third year the deota's chari or staff is taken to all the baisas, and when a new Rana ascends the gaddi the deota himself tours the country in a rath. Every house presents 4 pathas of grain. Kot Ishwar is the Kula Deo or Kul deota (family god) of the chief of Kumbharsain.

MAHÁDEO IN GURGAON.

The deota Sherkoth of Kumbharsain has his temple in the palace at Kumbharsain. He is none other than Kot Ishwar himself, but is called Sherkoth. None but members of the Rana's family and the State parshits, who are called Sherkothu Brahmans, can go into his temple. It is said that the original idol of Kot Ishwar is kept here, and that the image at Mandholi is only a duplicate.

The temple of Bindeshwar Mahadeo at Firozpur-Jhirka in Gurgaon is peculiarly interesting because its administration vests in 4 Hindu and as many Muhammadan Jogis families, appointed by the Hindus of the town. Their duty is to keep it clean and watch it by night. The offerings are taken by all the Jogis according to their shares, but they are distributed by the Hindus, Muhammadans not being allowed to touch them. There is no mahan. The Muhammadan Jogis are Bar-Gujars by tribe and 'Isma'il' (sic) by paath or sect. They can enter the temple, but may not touch the image and take no part in the worship, doing only menial duties. All the Jogis are at liberty to marry. The image came out of the hill 1000 years ago. West of the image stands a minaret.

The fair of Swami Dyali is held at Swambik in tahsil Nuh on Katak saadi 13th and 14th. An old man, Swami Dass by name, used to worship here, so when he died a temple was built and called after him. The village was founded afterwards and was named after the temple. Its management vests in the Hindu Khatri's who keep the place clean and take the offerings. Their got is Jangar. Another temple connected with this stands inside the village, but its administration vests in the Muhammadan land-holders of the village and they take the offerings. In the time of the Nawab of Hathin some thieves robbed people at the

1 Har decision is said to have been:—Jis Kepu tis Kañar, Jis Khekhar tis Dalar—"He who gets Kepu will get Kañar and he who takes Khekhar shall have Dalar." (Kepu and Khekhar are villages on the banks of the Sutlej and Kañar and Dalar are villages high up the valley. A stream, the Sawari Khad, divides the country.)
fair held at the temple outside and so this small temple was built in the village. The fair is now held there. A drum is beaten on every Sunday and lamps are lit. At the fair a chàdár or piece of cloth is offered on the grave, and offerings of cows and cash are also made. These are taken by the Muhammadan Rájpúts, who also take a share of the offerings to the outer temple. The courtyard of the inner temple has a grave at each of the four corners. The offerings on all these are taken by the Muhammadans.

At the temple of Bábáji, situate in Bajhere, a fair is held from Kátak súdi 14th to Mangár bádi 1st, lasting 3 days. It begins at Swámká whence the people come to Bajhere. The temple was built 119 years ago by the Rájá of Bhartpur. It contains no image and has no pujaí, but there are 4 bedsteads, one in each corner of the temple, and offerings are made upon them. Its administration is carried on by the Hindu Tákurs of the village whose got is Khajáí. A chàdár is lit by a Gaur Brahman every evening at each bedstead and the offerings consist of rice, sweets and other eatables. Some 6000 or 7000 people visit the fair. They are mostly Chamárs, but they only come to see the sights and make no offerings. The four bedsteads represent the four Bábájis or faqís. The eldest was the swámi, the next his son, the other two his grandsons.

At the temple of Mahádeo at Náb a fair, called the Jal Jhálí, is held on 11th Bhádon for 4 gháris in the evening from 4 p.m. The temple was built by Rújra, a Gaur Brahman, 10 years ago. Before that the fair was held at a tank close by. The offerings are taken by Jogi.

The Siddhs.—A cult of very great antiquity is that of the Siddhs. In the Mahábhárata they are seemingly associated with sister-marriage and Pársí funerai rites which might indicate a Zoroastrian origin. They are described by Monier Williams as semi-divine supposed to possess purity. They probably represent deified ascetics of ancient times. They are propitiated in the same manner as the Nágs and Devíś.

In Chamba there are temples to Siddhs at Chhattari, in pargána Koháj, at Alla in Pichhla Diur, at Ghorní in Kihar, at Jharoli and Saroga in Kihar, at Siddhkádera in Pángi, and to Nanga Siddh at Rájnagar and at Mua in that pargána. It will be seen that all but the latter are nameless Siddhs. The temple at Chhattari is a square building one storey high, built of wood and roofed with slates, and is said to have been built in the reign of Músha Varma. It contains three images of stone, each the miniature of a man, riding a horse of stone. The hereditary chélá and pujaí are Ráthís by caste. The temple contains 10 iron chains and 3 maces, which are taken from village to village during the 8 days after the janam-ashtami. The god is supposed to make a tour during this period, and villagers, who are under a vow, then make offerings which serve as his bhóg throughout the year. Bhóg is offered to the god, and he is worshipped once a day. The other Siddh temples resemble that at Chhattari in construction, and all are said to date from the time of Músha Varma. Their images are precisely

1J. B. L.â, 1916, p. 440. This description refers to Uthara Kuru.
the same in character, but vary in number, there being 4 at Alla, 2 at Ghorai, 5 at Sabil, 2 at Jharoli and Saroga, 1 at Rájnagar, and 3 at Moa (Moa). The chelas and puḍāras are hereditary, but of different castes, being Chamáras at Alla, Ráths at Ghorai, Sabil Brahmans at Jharoli, Ráths at Saroga and Rájnagar, and Hális at Moa. In only one instance it will be seen are they Brahmans. The Siddhs of these places also go on tour precisely like the Siddh of Chhatri and at the same period. In some cases the chela and puḍara divide the cash offerings, reserving those in kind for the Siddh.¹

Dewañ Siddh.—The Siddhs of the Himalayas do not appear to be connected with the Jogis, though they may be spiritual relations of Gorakhnáth, as the following account of Dewañ Siddh shows:—

Bába Bálañ Náth was born in the house of a Gaur Brahman at Girnár Parbat, a famous place of pilgrimage for a sect of faqir² in Káthiávar. He was the disciple of Kídigrí Santíswí and wandered to Changar Talai in Biláspar where he became the cowherd of a woman of the Lohá caste. Some Jogis³ attempted to convert him and pierce his ears by force, but he refused to abandon his faith and called aloud, whereupon a rock close by split open and he disappeared into the cleft, in which he is supposed to be still alive, though he was born 300 years ago. A sacred fire (vihúmi)⁴ is kept burning in the cave, which was made by enlarging the cleft and reached by a ladder placed against the cliff. The priests are Girí Góssáns who are celibate, and Brahmans, who receive ¼ of the income while the rest goes to the Góssán chief priest. The itinerant chelís collect offerings in kind, such as flour, out of which rot or large loaves are made for the other Siddhs. The followers of Dewañ Siddh carry a small wallet (jholí) and a Jogi’s crutch (jágorí). Hindus, Muhammadans and low-caste people alike offer sacrifice: for example Bangálí snake-charmers offer cocks, and Hindus a goat which must shake itself to show that the sacrifice is accepted. Adherents of the sect (for such they may be called) should visit it every third year, and Sundays, especially the first in the month, are the best days for worship. Women cannot⁵ enter the cave, but they may make offerings to the lesser images of the Siddh at the foot of the ladder. In the cave itself are three images of the Siddh, one of stone, said to be the oldest and about a foot high, one of white marble, and a very small one of gold. The cliff is covered with carvings of Hindu gods etc. Connected with this shrine are those of the brothers

¹ Chamba. Gazetteer, 1904, p. 165. For the offerings to a Siddh among the Gaddis, see Vol. II, p. 299 infra. They clearly denote their character, being suitable to wandering devotees.

² They are ‘akin to the Jogis’ (Punjab Census Report, 1892, § 46, p. 107).

³ Another story is that a party of Góssáns tried to persuade him to join their sect because they saw his sleeping form overshadowed by a cloud while the rest of the land was exposed to the sun. But he fled and when pursued disappeared in the earth. At the spot a Brahman and a Ját afterwards found a lamp burning: who use his name of Dewañ. The cave is reached by a flight of 18 steps and a platform on which some 300 people can just stand.

⁴ On this the food or food of the Siddh is cooked.

⁵ Another account says they can. Probably they cannot enter if ceremonially impure.
of Dewat, Bálik Rúpi near Sújánpur and Baráh Mahádeo near Jawa Khá Muki, in Kángra; and other Siddh shrines have been founded at Banga, in Jullundur, and in Mandi, as the cult is spreading and its popularity increasing. The legend points to some old dissension between the Jogí worshippers of Shiva and those of Bhairava, the earth god, and the fact that a cave is used as the temple also points to earthworship. In Hoshíárpur Dewat Siddh is said to have sucked milk from an uncultivated cow (doubtless a form of parthenogenesis) and his shrine is consulted for sick children or cattle.

But the accounts of the Siddh’s origin are so discrepant that nothing certain can be predicated of his cult. The fact that his fair is held annually on the Gágá Naumí, the day after the Janam-oshthi in Bhádon, points to some connection with Gúga. Again it is said that only men of good caste are permitted to worship at the cave, and that the Siddh changed his abode and appeared in five different places during a recent famine, but returned at length to his first home.

Dewat Siddh must not be confused with Siddh Deota who, according to Oldham, has numerous small altars and slabs of stone in the Kángra valley. On these are sculptured foot-prints of Buddha, known as Siddh-pát, and they are often seen decked with flowers. Oldham identified Siddh Deota with the Bodhisattva Manjusri and speaks of images of Siddh or Buddha at Bajñáth and another temple to Shiva, as well as of a Siddh deota of Siddh Kót, a very ancient and popular cult. The sign of a Siddh in Chamba also is a pair of foot-prints and to him a pair of sandals are offered. But the correctness of Oldham’s deductions is open to question. He describes a new image of Buddha which its priest, an orthodox Brahman, called Siddh deota. It is doubtful if the image was one of Buddha if new, though an old image might be revered as that of a Siddh. In Hoshíárpur, where there are 10 or 12 Siddhs and the one at Barátri is of some importance, the cult is said to be a branch of Shiv worship, and as local divinities of the outer Himalayas all their shrines are found on the tops of the green hills.

At the Shivíla known as Siddh-Sínghwíla in Moga a fair is held at the Shivrátri. This temple was built in S. 1934 by Sidh Singh, Ját. It contains an image of Shiva made of stone. Its administration is carried on by a Sáníási sáhu who is celibate. The pujári washes the ling or symbol of Shiva twice a day and performs áarti morning and evening.

Rosaries.—The Hindu rosary in the Punjab is called jaymála and contains 108 beads, excluding the sumer or head bead, but each sect has its special type of bead, as the following table shows:

Shaivas ... rudrakṣha ... the dark brown seeds of the rudrakṣha = Clooeacarpus ganitrus.

1 P. N. Q., III, § 253.
2 Ib., § 362. According to the Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur, p. 11, a favourite offering to Dewat Siddh is a small pair of wooden sandals, and stones so marked are his commonest symbol.
3 Hoshíárpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 68. For Siddh Bairág Lók, see p. 111 supra.
Hindu Rosaries.

Shaivas ... bhadrapākha ... the brown seeds of the bhadrapākha.

Vaishnavas ... tulsi-māla ... the white seeds of the tulsi = Ocimum sanctum.

Do. ... chandana-māla ... sandal-wood stained red.

Shāktas ... narldrāk ... yellow beads made of turmeric root.

All Hindus ... kadam-ki māla ... of white beads made of kadamba = Nuxica cadamba wood.

Rajputs ... pramāl ... red coral.

Wealthy Brahmans, Khatris and Bānias muktamāla ... white pearls.

Bānias and lower castes ... kamaldoda ki the black seeds of the kamal māla dāda (?)

Tribal Deities.

Most of the tribal deities appear to be forms of Shiv or semi-mythical ancestors equated to Shiv.

Bājwa.—Apparently Bába Báz (or Báj) was an ancestor of the Bajus. He was a very holy faqir who worshipped on the bank of the Chenáb at Chak Khoja, near Phuklian. Ishwar in the shape of Lakhmanji appeared to him out of the river. So did the Jal Pīr. Then he became a Siddh (i.e. a famous saint). When he died he was buried, not burned, and his samādhi is there. Near it is a temple or thākurīwāra of raghunāthji. The principal mūrat in it is one of Thākurji, but there are smaller mūrats of Shiv, Vishnu, Krishan and Devī, Lakhmanji, Rām Chandar and others. When Báz was recognized by the gods and became a Siddh the Bajus all put on necklaces of tulsi in token that they were followers of Báz.¹

Chāhil.—At the mandir called Jogi Pīr at Kuli Chāhilān in tahsil Moga a fair is held on the 4th navātra in Chet. This temple is called after a Chāhil Jāt. It contains no image, and the worship is only offered to Jogi Pīr. A faqir keeps it clean, but the offerings go to a Thākur Brahman in whose family this office is hereditary.²

Gill.—At the temple of Rájā Pīr in Rajiana, tahsil Moga, in Firozpur two fairs are held, one on the chaudas of Chet, the other on 1st

¹ The Bājwa have a curious rhyme:

"Unche pingon ati Mihā Dēdu Dīa;"
"Teja Mānak, Manna, Nār Singh, Nārān dīa;"
"As bhi dīa, as bhi dīa;"
"Bas ?" "Bas bhi dīa."

"Mihā Dēdu Dīa, a Mūrāti, s m. from Unche Pind and said to the ancestor of the Bājwas; "Nārān as gives you Mānak, Manna and Nār Singh." The Bājwa said:" "Bas ?" "He has given you Bas also." Bas being a daughter of the Bājwa. Hindus of the clan may not say Bas and after a meal they say "mand hegayd."

² Jogi Pīr is alluded to in the article on the Chāhil in Vol. II, p. 146 infra.
Baisákh. Rájá was a Ját.¹ The date of its foundation is not known, but it is said to have existed before the settlement of the village. It contains no image, only a platform of burnt brick. Its administration is carried on by the Gil Ját, its notaries. They bring a Gil Ját chela to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings. Chúri or kardh pemsahad is offered, but only by Gil Ját. No sacred lamp is lit. At the fair both men and women dance before the sanctuary.

Gordya.—In Rupána, a village in Muktsar tahsíl, lived one Bàla Dín, a Muhammadan and a Goráya by tribe. He was a faqir who used to make charms etc. and was very popular, so the fair held there was called Goráya after his tribe. On his death on 20th Phágán S. 1953 a brick platform was raised on which his tomb rests. It contains no image. The administration vests in a darwesh who lights lamps at the tomb. The fair is held on 20th Phágán and sweetmeats etc. are offered.²

Mallhi.—At the temple known as Mári Lachhman at Pabbián in Ludhíana a large fair is held annually on the day after the Chet chowdas. The villagers who are Játs of the Mallhi got thus describe its origin:—At Charkh in the Kalsia State a large fair is held on this date, and as the Mallhi Játís are entitled to the offerings made there, those of Pabbián claimed a share in them, but the Mallhis of Charkh refused it. So about 300 years ago the Mallhis of Pabbián sent Sháman, their mirádas, to Charkh to bring two bricks and two oil lamps belonging to the mári from that place clandestinely. With the bricks the foundation of the mári at Pabbián was laid in the time of Rái Qarar of Talwanḍí, and the fair which now attracts about 10,000 people every year was inaugurated. The mári is a large dome-shaped building of brick, 22 feet square and about 43 feet in height. It is two-storied with an open court-yard on all sides which with the mári building occupies 12 biswas of land in all. Inside the mári is a platform of 10 bricks, 4 feet 9 inches long and 3 feet 3 inches wide, but no image of any sort. Several hundred bighas of uncultivated land are attached to the mári for holding the fair, and no one uses any wood standing on this land for his own purposes. There is no mahant or manager, but the Mallhi Játís collectively take the offerings. The only form of worship is that men and women of the village gather there every Thursday and distribute sugar in fulfilment of vows. At the fair people from a distance also offer presents which they had vowed to present, if by the grace of the Máriwála Pír their desires have been fulfilled. People also bring cattle to get them cured by a night’s stay at the mári. Inside the mári is another but smaller dome known as the temple of Bhaíron. He, it is said, was a devotee of Lachhman by whose name the mári is known.³

This fair is clearly connected with the one thus described:—At the temple of Lachman Siddh at Mári village in Moga tahsíl a fair is held annually on 14th Chet. Lachman was a Mallhi Ját. The temple

¹ He was a Gil and so specially affected by the Wairí Gils: Vol. II, p. 300, infra.
² This fair is not alluded to on p. 303, Vol. II, infra, and is not apparently a tribal one.
³ In the article on the Mallhi Játí (Vol. III, p. 68, infra) this mári is described as that of Tilak Ráj, ancestor of the clan.
contains no image. Only a round platform which is kept covered with a sheet. A lamp is lit every evening by a Mālhi Jāt of Mārī. No pujaṇi is employed, but one of the tribe is chosen to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings.

Sindhu.—At the place called Kālā Paia or Kālā Mohar1 in Kohar-Singhawala in Firozpur tahsīl no fair is held. Tradition says that Kāla, a Sindhu Jāt of Rājā Jang in Lahore, was a cattle thief who ravaged all the countryside between Faridkot and Koṭ Kapūra, until he met 5 saints to whom he gave milk to drink. They named him Kālā Paia. A few days after this, he died and was burnt at this spot which is held sacred. His descendants founded many villages named after them, such as Kohar-Singhawala, Jhok Thel Singh etc. The custom of the Sindhu Jāts is to lay one brick on this spot when any of them visits it. A bride and bridegroom also do obeisance to it and offer gur etc. Kohar-Singhawala village was only founded some 60 years ago. A mirāsī lives at the place, and the Sindhu Jāts make offerings of gur etc. which are taken by him. At the mārī or tomb of Mana Singh, zaildar, a fair is held on the Baisākhi every year. He was a Hindu Mahtam who died some 20 years ago, and his descendants built him a mārī of brick. The fair is attended by 1000 or 2000 people, the Granth being recited and karah parshād distributed among the visitors. Lamps are lit at the Baisākhi, Diwālī and Amavas.

According to a legend current in Siālkot Kāla Pīr came from Ghazni in Central India, and settled in the Punjab. As his eyes were never closed when he slept, people thought he was always awake. He had two servants (lāgīs) a Brahman and Mirāsī, who were with him day and night. His enemies first asked the Mirāsī when he slept, and he replied that he never slept. Then they asked the Brahman who betrayed the truth that he slept with his eyes open. So with the Brahman’s connivance they came and killed him, and his head fell at the spot where he was slain, but his body continued fighting sword in hand until some women met it and said one to another: — “Look at a headless body is fighting.” Then it fell to the ground and Kāla Pīr declared that his offspring would never trust Brahmins. So wherever Sindhu Jāts live they build a place to Kāla Pīr in their village according to their means, and at a wedding bring the bride and bridegroom there to salām. They also give a goat, a rupee and other gifts according to their means to the Mirāsī.

How these tribal deities come to be regarded as emanations or manifestations of Shiva cannot as yet be explained. Possibly some light on the problem could be obtained from Professor Chatterjee’s work on Shaivism in Kashmīr, but despite repeated efforts no copy of that work has come into the compiler’s hands.

It is, in this connection, curious to note that Sir Denzil Ibbetson said: — “Shivālas are not at all uncommon in the villages, built almost without exception by Bānias. The priests are gadāsūs or jogīs, generally of the kathha or ear-pierced clan, and they take the offerings. No Brahmins can partake of the offerings to Shiv, or be priests in his tem-

1 ‘Black pice’ or ‘Black mohar,’ literally. No explanation of this curious name is given. It appears on p. 425 of Vol. III as Kālā Miur, but Kālā Mohar must be more correct as Kālā Paia is its synonym.
ple, though they will worship him and sometimes assist in the ceremonies, thus deviating from the strict rule of the original cult. On the Sheorátris on the 15th of Sáwan and Phágán such people as have fasted will go to the Shivála; but it is seldom entered on any other days.\(^1\) The Bánias are essentially a caste of the south-east Punjab. On the other hand, the cult of Sakhi Sarwar, "chiefly worshipped by the Gujars and Rájpátes," is apparently dissociated from Shaivism, for its great festival is held on the Salón, in the south-east of the Province, and this festival falls on the 15th of the light half of Sáwan, a day not apparently devoted to Siva, for it is auspicious for the consecration of amulets, or rakhis, which are then put on. Brahmans and Bairágís take the offerings to Vishnu, and there would not appear to be any Shiva Brahmans in this part of India, though they exist elsewhere, one of their number having founded the Jangam sect.

It appears to be impossible to reduce the ritual of any cult to hard and fast rules, but that of Shiva in Kārnl offers most varied features. Thus the shivála at Kirmch Chak is visited on the bādś ashtami in Bhádon, while that of Jagan Náth is visited on the tarostis in Sáwan and Phágán, and the chabátra or platform of Shiva in Dáúdpura only on the tarosti in Phágán. This last only contains a stone image of Shiva, one foot high. A Jogi only attends at the fair and he takes all the offerings. No puári is employed and no scented lamp is lit. On the other hand, the temple at Kirmch contains 15 stone images of Sálíg Rám and 4 brass images of Lál Ji, while an image of Hanúmán stands in a small temple to Thákár in the precincts of the main mandir. Its administration is carried on by a Bairigí. That of Jagan Náth contains a stone image of Shiva 15 inches high, one of Párbati 13 inches high and an effigy of Hanúmním is painted in vermilion on the wall. Its administration vests in a Brahman. Occasionally it is said of a mandir that its puári must be a Brahman, but he may generally be a Gosáín or a Jogi and may celebrate all the offices of the temple like a Brahman. A puári may be hereditary or elected, or his office may go by spiritual descent if it vests in any order. But a Brahman puári is generally hereditary.\(^2\) The greatest differences are found too regarding the bhog, the use of a scented lamp and the maintenance of fire. How far all or any of these divergences in ritual are due to the various deities associated with Shiva it is impossible to say, but the gods and godlings found in his temple vary infinitely. For example, at the Shivá of Ek Onkár at Kārnál the annual fair, held on the dukhi sudi Bhádon, is frequented both by Hindus and Muhammadans who pay their devotions alike. Founded by Báva Kirpál at the charges of Maharája Ranjít Singh, in S. 1873, it contains a stone image of Mahádeo, 14 feet high and 2 feet thick, a stone image of that god only 6 inches high, and one of Síta 14 feet high: also stone images of Párbati (9 inches high), of Láchhman (14 feet), one in red stone of Asht-bhuji (10 inches high),

\(^{1}\) Karnál Sett. Rep., 1883, § 364.

\(^{2}\) Ibid., § 392.

\(^{3}\) That is to say, a Brahman if appointed puári would transmit his office to his descendants. There may seem incompatible with Ibbsen's view, but probably a Brahman who becomes a Jogi or Gosáín is eligible: or appointment in a Shiva temple as he loses his Brahmanhood by entering one of those orders and yet retains his hereditary sanctity.
and small stone images of Sálíg Rám, Ganesh and Gomti. A clay image of Hanúmán stands in its outer wall. The pujári, who is always selected from the Gosáins, is held in great respect, and performs all the rites of worship. The use of charas is ceremonial and all the adhúní are provided with it. Bhog is offered morning and evening. A dhúní or sacred fire is always kept burning and votaries also light lamps at the temple.

The mātī of the Gir Gosáins at Karnál is said to have been in existence for 300 years. It contains stone images of Deví and Shiva. Bhog is offered in the morning, and a sacred lamp lit in the evening is kept burning all night.

The astal or mandir of the Bairágis at Karnál is visited on the Janmashtmi in Bhádon. It is said to be 500 years old and contains images of Krishna and Rádhika made of brass; a copper image of Hanúmán and a stone image of Sálíg Rám; and another image of Hanúmán made of clay and set on a wall. Its administration vests in a Bairágí pujári, by sect a Mimánadi and by got a Rájput. He is celibate and held in great respect. He performs all the rites. Bhog is offered on the janmashtmi in Bhádon and distributed among all the visitors. A sacred lamp is lit every evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes.

At the mātī of Gosáin Báwa Bhagwángir no fair is held, but the place is visited on each Monday in Sáwan and on the Shivochaudas in Phágán; on which occasions offerings of water are made. Said to be 400 years old, it contains 4 stone pindis of Shiva, varying in height from 4 to 6 inches and 3 stone images of Deví, each 2 inches high. The Gosáin pujári is held in great respect and as such is styled mahant. He performs all the rites of worship. The use of charas is not ceremonial. Bhog is offered in the morning. Sacred fire is kept burning. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the Gosáin dhera in Pánsána.

At the asthāl of the Bairágis no fair is held, but the place is visited by people who fast on the bádi ashtmi in Bhádon and make offerings of water. The story is that Vishnu dwelt here for some time and after his departure a cow lived on the same spot and in her honour the temple was eventually built. It has been in existence for 200 years, and contains a brass image of Krishna, with two brass images of Balmokand Ji, all 4 inches high, while that of Deví is 6 inches in height. Three brass images of Narain each 2½ inches high stand under a canopy. The height of a brass image of Hanúmán is 2½ inches. There are also small oval-shaped stones which are called Salíg Rám. The administration is carried on by a Bairágí who is a Vaishnava. He is celibate and the senior chela or disciple always succeeds his gurú. The mahant is held in great respect and performs all the rites. The use of charas is ceremonial. Bhog is first offered to the images in the morning and evening and then distributed among all present at the shrine. Sacred fire is always kept burning but a lamp is lit in the evening only. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the dhera in Parthali. The
Shaivism in Karnál.

sawādī or asthal of Devī Dās Bairāgi has existed since the settlement of the village, 100 years ago. It contains brass images of Hanumān, Śālig Rām, Khāniyā, Rādhika and Shivji. The administration is carried on by a Bairāgi.

Another Gosān mandir is that of Bāba Sāhib Mohini in Barota who died in S. 1893. Founded in S. 1901 it has no fair, but it is built of brick and contains his tomb with a few brass and stone idols placed round it. Sacred fire is always kept burning. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. A Shivala is connected with it.

The akhāra of Bāwa Sehjgil in Halka Uncha Sewana was erected in commemoration of the Bāwa after whom it is called. It contains the tombs of many saints, and has a shivala in its precincts containing a stone image of Gaurān Pārbati and one of Śālig Rām, both 1½ feet high. A sacred lamp and fire are both kept burning in the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the akhāra of the same Bāwa in Karnál.

A shrine of obscure origin is the mutri of Saiiddīl Singh in Karnál. No fair is held here, and nothing is known of its history. It contains no image. Its administration vests in a celibate Jogi. No bhog is offered, but lamps are lit on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The sawādhis of Bābas Sital Puri and Bāl Puri at Kāithal date from the Mughal times. The place is visited on the Dasera and pūramāds of Phāgan, when sweets are distributed among the visitors. The mahant is a Gosān. Connected with these are 5 shivalas:—

(i) called Gobha, a very old building, containing a black stone image of Mahādeo:

(ii) of Nanda Mal, which contains the ling of Mahādeo, also of black stone:

(iii) of Dāni Rāi, which also contains a black stone ling of Mahādeo and a white stone image of Vishnu which is 3 feet high, with an image of Ganesā 1 foot in height:

(iv) of Janta Mal Chaudhuri:

(v) of Bhāi Sher Singh.

These two last are modern, being only about 60 or 70 years old. They contain similar lings.

Other Puri shrines are:—

(i) the Derā of Brij Lāl Puri at Kāithal which contains an image of Bhan Bhangwān and a ling of Shiva. The priest is a Gosān who is in special request at weddings and funerals. Connected with it are:—

(a) two mandirs of Thākar Jī, each containing stone images of Rādha and Krishna 1 cubit high:

(b) two small shivalas, each containing a stone ling of Shiva; and

(c) a mandir of Devī Kāli which contains an image of the goddess, 1 cubit high.

(ii) the sawādih of Bāba Rāj Puri where an annual fair is held on the ikādsī in Assauj.
The shrines or samādhis of Rāmthali are of some interest. The original samādhis are those of Bhāshisth-puri Saniśā and his disciple Darbār-puri, but Bhāshisth-puri does not seem to have founded the succession, for we are told that at Kaithal and Delhi are the samādhis of Sītal-puri who was the spiritual forerunner of Darbār-puri: in Agondh is the samādhi of Lāl-puri, the spiritual great-grandfather of Darbār-puri; in Kheri Ghulām Ali is that of Deo-puri his disciple; while at Baram, Bhūna, Chikā Nābha are samādhis of other disciples of his. In several villages of Pataīla also samādhis of his disciples are to be found. Nothing seems to be known of Bhāshisth-puri or Darbār-puri’s other predecessors, but he himself is said to have been a Kāyasth by caste and a grandee of Shāh Jahān’s court about 350 years ago. He resigned his vāstiship and was offered 12 villages in muḍī, but only accepted one, Rāmthali, to which place he brought the remains of Bhāshisth-puri from Pasawal, a village some miles away. Here Darbārī Lāl, as his name was, settled down as the ascetic Darbār-puri, his fame gaining him thousands of followers. The Dewal or brick building over the samādh was built in the time of Mahant Nirbha-puri about 100 years ago. It is an octagon facing east and about 40 feet high, surmounted by a guilt kalas. Its interior is 12 feet square and contains the samādhis of Bhāshisth-puri and Darbār-puri. It opens to the north where there are samādhis of Anpūrna, the sister of Darbār-puri and of his wife. No images exist. The samādhis are all circular, standing about 4 feet high above a platform and some 6 feet in circumference. Numerous other samādhis stand on the platform. Five smaller dewals stand on the east and south of the larger one and a temple to Sīvaji (Mahādeo) is situated on the platform to the south of it. Two fairs are held, one on the phag, the day after the Holi, commemorating the day of Bhāshisth-puri’s demise; the other, the ḍhānagara on the 7th of Sāwan badi the date of Darbār-puri’s death. The administration is carried on by a mahant who is the spiritual head of the sect, elected by the other mahants and members of the brotherhood. No Brahmans are employed. A supervisor (kārbārī) looks to the cultivation of the land and other matters not directly under the management of the sādhīs. Another man is in charge of the stores and is called kothar. But it is the pujārī’s duty to look after everything that appertains to the dewal. The whole of this administration is carried on by the mahant and under his supervision—external affairs he manages with the consent of his kārbārī and others fitted to advise him. The position of the chief mahant is that of the manager of a Hindu joint family. As the spiritual head of the sect he is the only man who can admit disciples, do worship at the phag and on Sāwan budi satmi and perform the hawan on Chet suḍi ashtami.

The ritual is as follows:—The whole of the dewal and the platform is washed daily at 4 a.m. at all seasons. The samādhis are also washed and clothed. At 8 o’clock chandam and dhip are offered to all the shrines and to Mahādeo. Bhog is offered first to the samādhi and then the ḍhānagar is declared open at noon. At 4 p.m. dhip is offered to all.

1But the same account also says that Darbār-puri obtained a grant of villages originally granted to Sītal-puri of Kaithal. This was about 350 years ago. The institution then appears to have been originally at Kaithal.
the *samādhes*. *Arti* begins at sunset, *bhog* is offered at 8 p.m. and then the doors are closed. The ceremonial offering of *bhang* at the *samādhes* is in vogue, but there is no ceremonial use of *charas* or any other intoxicant in the sect. In Phagun on the *phag* day as well as in Sāwan on the 7th *bada* a special *bhog* is offered to the *samādhes* which consists of fried gram and *rotra* (flour and sugar) and this is offered as *prasad* to any one that worships the *samādhes*. A sacred lamp is kept lit day and night throughout the year. A special feature at Rāmthali is that the doors of the *langar* are not closed against any body, equality being the guiding rule, the *mahant* and men of the highest caste taking the same food as the lowest, excepting Chamārs and sweepers who are not allowed to ascend the platform but may worship from the ground. Offerings are not accepted from a Dūm, Bhrāri, Chhrā or Biṣa. The shrines at Kaithal, Agondh, Baran, Kheri Ghulām Ali, Bahūna Chika, Mansa, Kishangarh, Khandepat, Radhrana, Masinghan in Patāla, Nātha town, Delhi town and Chhota Darieba are all connected with this shrine.

**Panipat.** The *asthal* of the Bairāgi in Trikūh is connected with the Trikūhu bathing fair founded by Bairāgi Sohlu Rām, a great devotee; it has been in existence for 500 years. It contains stone images of Krishna, Rādhika and Bal Deo, 1½ spans high and all set on a small square. Below them stand brass idols of Rādhika and Krishna, each 1 span high. There are also 4 brass images of Bāla Jī, each a span high, just before which are seated 6 brass idols of Gopāl Jī. A few stone idols of Sālig Rām also stand in front of them. The Bairāgi in charge is by caste Nīyāvat and by got an Óchat. A *bhog* of milk or sweetmeat is offered morning and evening, but the sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. *Arti* is performed morning and evening when all the images are washed and dried. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines in Dāher, Lotha, Rehr, Brahmanmājā, Alipur, Tārā, Lohari, Gangtha and Mondhlawā in Rohtak and Hāt in Jind. These are all governed by the *mahant* whose disciples are appointed to each temple. He goes on tour and examines all the accounts of income. At the election of a new *mahant* a free distribution of food or *bhandār* is celebrated.

The Trikūh Tīrath at Pānīpat is visited on the *sonti-amāwās*, a bathing fair, to which great religious importance attaches. Trikūh means 'three-sided,' but its other meaning is 'to wash away the sins of all those who bathe in the tank.' The Tīrath dates from the time of the Mahābhārata. West of it is the temple of Jaksha which is very old. It contains the images of Jakhash and his spouse Jakhashni.

**Karnal.** At the *mandir* of Tīrath Parālsar in Balopura fair is held every year on the *ikādehi*. In the desert, where this temple now stands, Palāra Rishi used to meditate. After his death the place was depopulated, but the pond dug by him was frequented by the people. The temple has only been in existence for 30 years. In the precincts of the main building are 3 smaller *mandirs* and a tank. The image of Shiva is of stone, one span high. Of those of Rāma and Sīta, Sālig Rām, Gopāl, Durga and Hanumān, the first five are of metal and each is a cubit high. The
last named is of clay. The administration is carried on by a Gosain, by caste a Bhuigam and got Atras. The use of charas is ceremonial. Bhog is offered and then distributed among those present. Sacred fire is kept burning but a lamp lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the dehars of the Gosains at Hardwar and Karnal.

The mandir of Jugar Kishor in Guli is old having been in existence for 400 years. It contains 145 metal images of Radha, Krishna and Sahaj Ram, each 11 feet high. Its administration rests in a Bairagi pujari, a Vaishnava, by got Achtar. The use of charas is ceremonial. Bhog is offered and then distributed among all those present. The sacred lamp is lit in the evening. Connected with this are the shrines in Sari, Purana, Karnal, Janpali, Gangu, Nismali and in Tabirsa.

The Katas fountain is a Tirath. Of the temple built round it the oldest is the one called Raghuinath ji ka Mandar. Here the Katas Raj fair is held on 1st Baisakh, and the neighbouring villagers bathe on the somawat samawasi and at solar and lunar eclipses. Katas is derived from katas, an eye, because at the creation water fell from the eye of Shiva at this spot and formed the spring. When the Pandus reached it all but Yadubi drank its water and became senseless, but he sprinkled some of the water on them and restored their senses. Hence it is also called Amarkund. On the north-west the water is very deep and is believed to be fathomless, so Katas is also called Bharti ka netri or 'the eye of earth.' Stone images of Ram Chandar, Lakhman. Sita and Hanumana stand in the Raghuinath mandir. They are 5 ft high. The temple is in charge of Bairagis who recite Raghuinath's mantra. Other temples have been built by Rajas and private persons and shivalas are attached to them. The pujaris are Brahmans.

The peak in Jhelum called Tilla is 25 miles south-west of the town Tilla of that name. Guru Gorakhnath settled at Tilla in the Tretyug Jogian. after Ramchandar and adopted Bal Nath as his disciple. Bal Nath underwent penance on Tilla hence it was called Bal Nath's Tilla after him. Raji Bhartari, a disciple of Guru Gorakhnath, also learnt to practise penance from Bal Nath at Tilla and a cave at Tilla is named after him to this day. It is said that owing to a dispute between the Raj and his fellow disciples he cut off part of Tilla and carried it to Jhang where it forms the Kirana hill. Tilla is the head-quarters of the Jogis and from a remote period all the other places of the Jogis in the Punjab have been under it. The ancient mandirs on this hill were all destroyed during the Muhammadan invasions, and the existing temples were all built in the reign of Raji Man. A fair is held here on the shivratri, but as the road is a difficult one and the water bad, people do not attend it in great numbers. Most of the Jogis visit the place on a shivratri in order to see the cave, and laymen go too there. Food is supplied by the gaddinashti but some people use their own. A lamp has been kept burning in one of the temples for a very long time. It consumes a ser of oil in 24 hours. Jogis chant a mantra when they go to see it, but this mantra is not disclosed to any one but a Jogi. It is transmitted by one Jogi to another.

Kohat town possesses a tha Jogi which is visited by Hindus from Kohat and Tirah. Its geet dress in red and have their ears torn.
Near Bawana are the shrines of Darnath and Lachi Ram. At the former Hindus assemble to bathe at the Baisakhi instead of going to Khusbhalgarh. At the latter gatherings take place several times a year.

The mandirs of Nagar Ji and Gopal Nath Ji in talaul Dera Ismail Khan were founded nearly 500 years ago, by Agui Ji Brahman. After his death his son went to Sindh where he became the disciple of a Gosain and acquired power to work miracles. On his return home he brought with him an image of Sri Gopal Nath which he enshrined in the temple in S. 1600. The temples were once washed away by the Indus, but the images were afterwards recovered and enshrined in new temples in the town. One of the temples contains a brass image of Nagar Ji, 1 foot high, seated on a throne. The other temple contains a similar image of Gopi Nath. Nagar Ji’s temple is managed by Gosains and Gopi Nath’s by a person employed by them. A Brahman is employed in each temple to perform worship etc. Bhog of sweetmeat, fruits and milk with sugar is offered thrice a day. A sacred lamp or jat is only kept burning in the mandir of Nagar Ji. Twelve mandirs and shivadas are connected with these.

The thela or wallet of Keval Ram.—Keval Ram left Dera Ghazi Khan for Dera Ismail to become a devotee. There he dwelt in a secluded corner of Gopi Nath’s mandir, and spread out his wallet on which he sat absorbed in meditation. This thela (wallet) has been worshiped for 400 years. Hindus have their children’s hair cut here and make offerings in fulfilment of vows. The chola is also performed here. The Brahman officiating at the temple takes all the offerings except the sugar which is first offered to the wallet and then thrown amongst the gathering to be carried away. The sugar thus taken is considered sacred. The place is visited on the Baisakhi, in Chet and in Bhadon.

SAIVA CULTS IN THE HILLS.

THE CULT OF SHIRIGUL OR SHIRIGUL IN SIRMUR.

Siva is not extensively worshipped under that name in the Punjab Himalayas, but two cults, those of Shirigul and Mahasur, appear to be derivatives of Saivism. That of Shirigul is especially interesting and is described below. The home of this god is on the Chaor (Chur) Peak which is visible from Simla. But he is worshipped chiefly in Sirmur, from which State comes the following account of his myth, temples and cult:

Shirigul (or Sargul,² fancifully derived from sarv cold) has special power over cold, and, according to one account, is propitiated by a fair in order to avert cold and jaundice. In some dim way this attribute appears to be connected with the following version of the Shirigul legend:—Shirigul’s expeditions to Delhi were made in quest of the colossal vessels of brass which the Muhammadans had taken away. On his return his mother’s sister-in-law brought him satlu (porridge) to eat, and, as he had no water, it gushed out near a field at Shaya, a village in the Karli

¹ See article in the Imperial Gazetteer of India.
² The name is probably a corruption of Sri Guru;
ulaga. Having washed he was about to eat the sattu when suddenly he saw some insects in it and at once refused to eat it. After rescuing his kinsmen from the snake he went again to Delhi and attacked the Turks single-handed, killing great numbers of them, but suddenly seeing a stone tied to a bor, or banyan tree, he knew that it had been sent by the wife of his servant (bhūri), by name Churū, as a signal of distress. Shirigul at once returned and found that all the members of Churū’s family, except his wife, had been transformed into one body by the serpents, and even to this day any branched stone is supposed to be Churū’s family and is much venerated.

The following is another legend which is current regarding the origin of the cult: —One Bhakarū, a Rajput, of Shāyā, had no offspring and desiring a son he journeyed to Kasamir where dwelt Panūn, a pandit, whose house he visited in order to consult him. The pandit’s wife, however, told Bhakarū that he was sleeping, and that he used to remain asleep for six months at a stretch.

Bhakarū was disappointed at not being able to consult the pandit, but being himself endowed with spiritual power, he created a cat which scratched the pandit and awoke him. Learning that Bhakarū had thus had power to disturb his sleep, the pandit admitted him and told him he was childless, because he had committed Brahman-hatti, or Brahman-murder, and that he should in atonement marry a Brahman girl, by whom he would become the father of an incarnation. Bhakarū accordingly married a Bhāṭi girl of high degree and to her were born two sons, Shirigul and Chandēsār, both the parents dying soon after their birth. The boys then went to their maternal uncle’s house and Shirigul was employed in grazing his sheep, while Chandēsār tended the cows. But one day their uncle’s wife in malice mixed flies and spiders with Shirigul’s sattu or porridge, and when he discovered this, Shirigul threw away the food and fled to the forest, whereupon the sattu turned into a swarm of wasps which attacked and killed the uncle’s wife. Shirigul took up his abode in the Chūr Dhār, whence one day he saw Delhi, and, being seized with a desire to visit it, he left Churū, a Bhūrī Kanēt by caste, in charge of his dwelling, collected a number of gifts and set out for the city. Halting near Jhil Rāin-kā, “the lake of Rainkā”, his followers were attacked by a tiger which he overcame, but spared on condition that it should not again attack men. Again, at Kolar in the Kiārā Dūn, he subdued a dragon which he spared on the same terms. Reaching Delhi he went to a trader’s shop who weighed the gifts he had brought, but by his magic powers made their weight appear only just equal to the pasang or difference between the scales, but Shirigul in return sold him a skin of silk which he miraculously made to outweigh all that the trader possessed. The trader hastened to the Mughal emperor for redress and Shirigul was arrested while cooking his food on his feet, because in digging out a chuīd he had found a bone in the soil. In the struggle to arrest Shirigul his cooking vessel was overturned and the food flowed out in a burning torrent which destroyed half the city.

1Probably bāhr, ‘servant,’ is meant, and, if so, we should read “Churū, the bāhr, a Kanēt by caste.”
Eventually Shirigul was taken before the emperor who cast him into prison, but Shirigul could not be fettered, so the emperor, in order to
defile him, had a cow killed and pinioned him with the thong of its hide.
Upon this Shirigul wrote a letter to Gūgā Pīr of the Bāgar in Bikānēr
and sent it to him by a crow. The Pīr advanced with his army, defeated
the emperor, and released Shirigul, whose bonds he severed with his
teeth. Shirigul then returned to the Chūr Peak.

During his absence the demon Asur Dānūn had attacked Churū,
completely defeating him and taking possession of half the peak. Shirigul
thereupon cursed Churū who was turned into a stone still to be
seen on the spot, and assailed Asur Dānūn, but without success, so he
appealed to Indra, who sent lightning to his aid and expelled Asur
Dānūn from the Churū. The demon in his flight struck his head against
a hill in Jubbal, and went right through it; the hill cave still exists to
testify to this. Thence he passed through the Sanj Nādi and across
the Dhārla into the Tens river, by which he reached the ocean. The
Dhārla ravine still remains to prove the truth of the legend.1

Another account says nothing of Shirigul’s visit to Delhi, but makes
Bhakarū the Rānā of Shāyā. It further says that Shirigul became a
bhagat or devotee, who left his home to live on the Churū Peak upon
which Siva dwelt. Gaining greater spiritual power from Siva, Shirigul
cured all the boys of the neighbourhood to be afflicted with worms
while he himself assumed the form of a Bānat and wandered from village
to village, proclaiming that if the boys’ parents built him a temple on
the Dhār he would cure them all. The temple was built on the Churū
Peak and Shirigul began to be considered a separate deity.

The temple of Shirigul at Churudār is square and faces east. It has but one storey, nine feet in height, with a verandah,
and its roof consists of a gable, the topmost beam (khinwar) of
which is adorned with brass vessels (anda) fixed to it by pegs. Outside the temple is hung a necklace (mūlā) of small pieces of wood
(khurūri). There is only one door, on which figures etc. have been
carved. Inside this temple is another smaller temple also of devolār,
shaped like a dome, and in this is kept the ling which is six inches high
and four inches in circumference. It is made of stone and is placed in
a jalākhi or vessel of water, which, too, is of stone. No clothes or
ornaments are placed on the ling.

1 An instance of the countless legends which explain natural features by tales of Siva’s
prowess, or attribute them to his emanations. Below is one attributed to Shirigul himself.
The Sikan ka Pānī legend says that in the old times an inhabitant of Jhojar village went
to Shirigul at the Churū Peak and asked the deolār to give him a canal in his village. He
stayed three days at the peak and did not eat or drink anything. Shirigul appeared in a
monk’s garb and gave him a tumāl full of water, which the god covered with a leaf telling
the man not to open it on his way home, but at the place where he wanted the canal to run.
On reaching Sikan the man opened the tumāl and found in it a snake which sprang out
and ran away. Water flowed behind the snake, and a small canal still flows in Sikan and
waters several villages. Being thus disappointed, the man again went to the Chur and the
god again gave him a tumāl, telling him to throw the water and say, Nahe Jhojar, Upar Jhajal— Jhojar village below and a waterfall above it, and he should have plenty
of water. But the man again forgot and said Upar Jhojar, Nahe Jhajal—Jhojar above
and the waterfall below. This mistake caused the water to flow below the village and that
only in a small quantity.
A worshipper brings with him his own Bhát, who acts as pujári. The Bhát must not eat until he has performed the worship and made the offerings. He first bathes in the adjacent spring, puts on clean clothes and lights a lamp, burning ghí, not oil, before the idol. Then he takes a brass lofá of fresh water, and sprinkles it over the idol and the floor of the temple with a branch of the chikhon or chhánbar shrub. He next fills a spoon with fire, ghí, and the leaves of the katharchál and láhésí odoriferous plants found on the Dhár, and burns them before the idol, holding the spoon in his right hand, while he rings a bell with his left, and repeats the names of tirathás and avatárs only. After this office he blows a conch, terminating it with a prostration to the idol. It may be performed at any time. The játí or worshipper now bathes, puts on clean clothes, and prostrates himself before the idol. After this he may make the offerings which consist of a rattí of gold or silver, money, ghí (but not more than two chhidás), a piece or two, small vessels, andas of pewter or copper, which are hung on the temple, and a he-goat. The benefits sought are secular, not spiritual, and the worship is expected to ward off evil.

Jága or unbroken worship for a whole night can only be performed at the temple, as the ling must not be removed from it. A lamp in which ghí, not oil, is burnt, is placed all night before the ling, and in the course of the night three offices are performed, one at evening, another at midnight, and the third at morn. At this last the pujári feeds the god; water is poured over the back of a he-goat, and if the animal shivers, it is believed that the god has accepted the offering and the goat is killed. The head is offered to the god and taken by the pujáris on his behalf, the remainder being cooked and eaten. Or the goat is not killed but let loose, and it then becomes the property of the Dewa. 3

Another account says the two men, a pujári and a Dewa, accompany the worshipper, the former receiving the goat’s head, and the latter the other offerings. 5

Other temples to Shirigul.

1.—At Mánal.

Shirigul has also a temple at Mánal, which was built by Ulga and Jojra, Dewás, as the following legend tells:—

In order to enhance his sanctity Shirigul made an effigy. This he

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1 Rattí is a weight equal to eight grains of rice or 1⁄4 of a grain (Eng. weight).
2 The Dewás are a class of Kanets or Bháts, held to be peculiarly the men of the god.
3 The pujári kindles fire on a stone and offers incense, made of ghí, pág and katharchál leaves, while he recites the following mantras:—:\n: Aum wanaspāḥ punarwar biró mākuta, sarb such, soji. . . . barchhás bha nang, hom, nam, gama saagam, chāre hótí, mārsangāma, namu namu āncho, māmsā, jīya bhamān, māndar ni kōti, odarka tari gāre, nemi māmi, mīya saagam, bāragam, jāmar, jāmar, bhošá jamāndwar, nīsāt hār, parbām, parbānaun, hastī parārā, parbāsaun, korsauti, shamaun shantī, nēsā kōli, daun shantī, bhūrātari, pātri jhāri, kārā dabe, sargal deotā ki kārā dabe, Bijal. Bijal ki kārā dabe dhub, wa mur wa Diligadh kārā dābe. Chār bhāi Mahābāho, kārā dabe, Ganga, Hardwār, Badri Kidār kārā dabe, pātri jhāri.\n---
placed with some lamps in a basin which he floated on the Jalal stream in Bhédon. The basin reached Shukhal village in Pachhíd tahsil, and there a Rājpút of the Sāpila (= sāpīlā or snake-charmer) family of Chanálag saw it. Struck with amazement, he challenged it to float on if a demon, but if a deity to come to the bank. The basin came to the bank where he was standing, and the Rājpút took it to his home. Some days later it was revealed to him that the image was that of Shirigul, that it would never be revered by the Rājpúts who were ignorant of the mode of worship, and that it should be taken to Bakhuta where it was duly worshipped, and hence a Dewá, Bidan by name, stole it and brought it to Mánal.

A fair is held on the Hariáli,¹ and another on any three days of Sáwan at Gelayon, a small plateau in the lands of Nahra, at a kos from Mánal. Men and women here dance the qi, a hill dance, and people exchange mora (wheat parched or boiled), maize, rice &c.

The temple at Mánal is square, 24 cubits high, with three storeys, each provided with a stair to give access to the one above it. The property of the god is kept in the middle storey. Outside the door there is a wooden verandah, on which figures are carved and which is furnished with fringes of wooden pegs, undas are also fixed on to it. The highest storey contains the idol, and has the khingar or gable like the Chur temple. The whole of the woodwork is stained with gurú. The temple faces south-west.

The temple contains 12 images of Shirigul, all placed on wooden shelves (gambar) in the wall, and the principal of these is the idol brought by Bidan. This is made of a, rt-dhát² (bell-metal), and is five fingers high by two fingers broad with a human face. It is clothed in masrú or silk cloth, with a piece of broad-cloth, studded with 100 rupees and 11 gold motars round its neck. The remaining 11 images are of brass, and are of two classes, four of them being a span in height and 9 fingers wide, with a piece of masrú round the neck; the other seven are 10 fingers high and 7 broad. The images are thus arranged:—

3, 3, 3, 3 2, 2, 1 2, 2 3, 3, 3,

the original image being in a silver chukki (throne), with a small umbrella over it.

2.—At Deona and Bandal.

The temples at Deona (Dabóna) and Bandal are similar to the one at Mánal. Each has a bhandár or store-room, in charge of a bhandári or store-keeper. These bhandárs are rich, and from them the pujáris, bágis, and bhandáris are paid, and pilgrims and sádhús are fed. The Dewás also are maintained from the bhandárs.

The second class images of the Mánal and Deona temples can be taken home by a worshipper for the performance of a jágá, as can the

¹ Hariáli is the last day of Hár, and the Sankránt of Sáwan, and derives its name from hárda, 'green.'
² L. eight metals.
first class image from that of Bandal. The image is conveyed in a copper coffer borne by a bare-footed pujaří on his back, and followed by 10 or 12 Dēwās, of whom one waves a chauni over the coffer. The procession is accompanied by musicians and two flag-flags of the god.

On arrival at the worshipper's house, the place where the image is to be placed is purified, being sprinkled with Ganges water. The image is removed from the coffer inside the house and placed on a heap of wheat or maudva. The arrival should be timed for the evening. The jātrī ritual is that already described. Next day the god is fed and taken back to his temple. The worshipper has to pay to the pujaří and būjgi each Re. 1, to the bhandařī annas 4, and to the Dēwā Rs. 2 or Rs. 3.

3.—At Jámná.

There is also a temple of Shīrigul and Jámná in Bhoj Māst. Here the god is worshipped twice daily, in the morning and evening. The pujaří is a Bhāt, who, with the būjgi, receives the offerings. When a he-goat is offered, the pujaří takes the head, the būjgi a thigh, while the rest is taken by the jātrī himself. The temple is like an ordinary hill-house, having two storeys, in the upper of which the god lives. The door of the upper storey faces west and that of the lower eastward. There is also a courtyard, 15 feet long by 10 feet wide, on this side. The forefathers of the people in Jámná, Pobhār, K/bindōn, Chāwag and Thāna villages brought a stone from Chūr Jhār and built this temple as a protection against disease. It contains an image which was obtained from Junga, and is furnished with a palanquin, canopy, singhāasan or throne and an omrāt or vessel used for water in the ritual. The Bisu fair is held here from the 1st to the 5th of Baisākha, and both sexes attend. It is celebrated by songs, dancing, and the thoda or mock combat with bows and arrows.

4.—In the Pāontá Taḥsil.

Shīrigul has no special maundar in Pāontá Taḥsil, but he has several small maundars in villages. These contain images of stone or a mixture of lead or copper. He is worshipped to the sound of conches and drums; leaves, flowers and water being also offered daily, with the following mantra:—

Namōn ād ālā, namōn brahm balā.
Namōn ad Nātthī, namōn shankha chakra
Gadā padam dhārī.
Namōn machh kachh barāh awatārī
Namōn Nāhar Singh kurb kī dhārī.
Namōn asht ashtengī, namōn chhait kārī
Namōn Sṛi Suraj deotā, namōn namskārā.

'I salute thee who wert in the beginning, who art great and supreme Brahma, who wert Lord of all that was in the beginning, who holdest
the couch, mace, quoit and lotus (in thy four hands) who revealest thyself in the forms of a fish, a tortoise, a bear, and a man-lion, who hast eight forms and who art beneficent. I also salute thee, O Sun! thou art worthy of adoration.'

5.—At Naoni.

There is another temple of Shirigul at Naoni village in the tahsil of Nahan. A fair is held here on the day of Hariáli or first of Sáwan. He-goats, halwa or ghi are offered. The people dread him greatly.

6.—At Sanglán.'

There is also a deothali or 'place of the god,' Shirigul, at Sangláhan. The pujári is a Brahman and the mode of worship and offerings are similar to those at Jawála Mukhi's temple. Goats are, however, not sacrificed here, only halwa being offered. The fair is held on the Ghas day, the Katik sunki ikálshí of the lunar year, and the 30th of Katik in the solar year. Only men and old women, not young girls, attend this fair.

In Jaitak also there is a temple of this god.

The Story of Sri Gul Deota of Churi Dhar in Jubbal.

In the Jubbal State, which lies to the north and east of the Chaur Peak, a variant of the Shirigul legend is current. This variant is of special interest, and it appears worth recording in full:

In the Dwápar Yuga Krishna manifested himself, and, after killing the rákshásás, disappeared. Some of them, however, begged for pardon, and so Krishna forgave them and bade them dwell in the northern hills, without molesting god or man. This order they all obeyed, except one who dwelt at Chawkhat, some seven miles north of Churi Dikár. In the beginning of the present age, the Kali Yuga, he harassed both men and cattle, while another demon, Neshíra, also plundered the subjects of Bhokrú,1 chief of Shádgá, in the State of Sirmúr. The former asur also raided the States of Jubbal, Taroch, Balsan, Theog, Ghond etc. The people of these places invoked divine protection, while Bhokrú himself was compelled to flee to Kashmir, and being without heirs, he made over his kingdom to his minister Dévi Rám. For twelve years Bhokrú and his queen devoted themselves to religious meditation, and then, directed by a celestial voice, they returned home and performed the aswamedha, or great horse sacrifice. The voice also promised Bhokrú two sons who should exterminate the demons, the elder becoming as mighty as Siva, and the younger like Chandéshwar and saving all men from suffering. Ten months after their return, Bhokrú's queen gave birth to a son, who was named Srí Gul. Two years later Chandéshwar2 was

1 The Bhakrú of the Sirmúr version. Shádgá and Shiyá would appear to be on the same place.

2 The Chandéshwar of the Sirmúr variant.
born. When the boys were aged 12 and 9½, respectively, the Rája resolved to spend the evening of his life in pilgrimage and went to Hardwár. On his way back he fell sick and died, his queen succumbing to her grief, at his loss, three days later. Síri Gul proceeded to Hardwár to perform his father’s funeral rites, and crossed the Chúri Dúr, the lofty ranges of which made a great impression on his mind, so much so that he resolved to make over his kingdom to his younger brother and take up his abode on the peak. On his return journey he found a man worshipping on the hill, and learnt from him that Síva, whose dwelling it was, had directed him to do so. Hearing this, Síri Gul begged Chúhrú—for this was the name of Síva’s devotee—to wait his return, as he too intended to live there. He then went to Shádgá and would have made his kingdom to Chandéshwar, but for the remonstrances of his minister, who advised him to only give his brother Nabula village, i.e. only a part of his kingdom and not the whole, because if he did so, his subjects would certainly revolt. To this Síri Gul assented, making Déví Rám regent of Shádgá during his own absence.

Síri Gul then set out for Delhi, where he arrived and put up at a Bhábrá’s shop. The city was then under Muhammadan rule, and once when Síri Gul went to bathe in the Jamna, a butcher passed by driving a cow to slaughter. Síri Gul remonstrated with the man but in vain, and so he cut him in two.” The emperor sent to arrest him, but Síri Gul killed all the soldiers sent to take him, and at length the emperor himself went to see a man of such daring. When the emperor saw him he kissed his feet, promised never again to kill a cow in the presence of a Hindu. So Síri Gul forgave him. He was about to return to the shop when he heard from Chúhrú that a demon was about to pollute the Chúr Peak, so that it could not become the abode of a god. Síri Gul thereupon created a horse, named Shanalwi, and, mounted on it, set out for Chúri Chaudhrí. In the evening he reached Búriya, near Jagádhari, next day at noon Sírmúr, and in the evening Shádgá, his capital. On the following day he arrived at his destination by way of Bhil-Khári, where he whetted his sword on a rock which still bears the marks. Thence he rode through Bhairóg in Jubbal, and halting at Kálábágh, a place north of Chúri Choťí, he took some grains of rice, and, reciting incantations, threw them on the horse’s back, thereby turning it into a stone, which to this day stands on the spot. Síri Gul then went out to Chúri Choťí and there he heard of the demon’s doings. Next morning the demon came with a cow’s tail in his hand to pollute the Peak, but Chúhrú saw him and told Síri Gul, who killed him on the spot with a stone. The stone fell in an erect position, so the place is called Aúrfípotli ¹ to this day. It lies eight miles from the Chúr Peak. After the demon had been killed, the remainder of his army advanced from Chawkhat, to attack Síri Gul, but he destroyed them all. Then he told Chúhrú to choose a place for both of them to live in, and he chose a spot between Chúri Choťí and Kálábágh. Síri Gul then sent for Déví Rám and his

¹ Aúrfí means an erect stone, potli, the hide of a cow or buffalo. It is also said that the cow’s hide which the demon had in his hand, as well as the stone which Síri Gul threw at him, are still to be seen on the spot.
Shrigul in the Simla Hills.

The minister's) two sons from Shadga, and divided his kingdom among them, thus:—To Devi Ram he gave, i.e., assigned, the State with the village of Karli; to the elder son Rabbu he gave Jorna, the pargana of Bhahal, Jalkholi in Jubbal State, Balsan, Theog, Ghond and Ratesh States, and pargana Pajhota in Sirmur, and to Chhun, the younger son, he allotted Sarhan, with the following parganas: Hamil, Chhatta, Chandlog, Chandna, Satotra, Panotra, Newal, Shakt, Chantu, Bargon, Sunita, in Jubbal State, and Taroch, with Ladda and Kangra, in the Sirmur State, as far as that part of Jamsar which is now British territory. Devi Ram and his two sons built a temple to Sri Gul between Chot Churi and Kalabagh; which is still in existence, and the younger brother also built a baoli, which held no water until Sri Gul filled it.

When the three new rulers had finished building their ras-dhanis, Sri Gul sent for them and bade them govern their territories well, and he made the people swear allegiance to them. On Devi Ram's death, his third son, by his second wife, succeeded to his State. Sri Gul bade the three rulers instal, when he should have disappeared, an image of himself in the temple at each of their capitals, and side by side with them to erect smaller temples to Chuhuru. He also directed that their descendants should take with them his image wherever they went and to whatever State they might found, and there install it in a temple. With these instructions he dismissed the ministers and their subjects. After a reign of 150 years, Sri Gul disappeared with Chuhuru, who became known as Chuhuru Bir, while Sri Gul was called Sri Gul Deota.

Two centuries later, when the descendants of Rabbu and Chhun had greatly multiplied, those of them who held Jorna migrated to Manal in the Bharmaur ilaga, where they built a temple for Sri Gul's image. The Raja of Sirmur assigned half the land of the pargana for its maintenance. Some of Chhun's descendants settled in Deona, a village in Sirmur, where they, too, built a temple.

According to this qudsi-historical legend Sri Gul was a king, who was, we may conjecture, supplanted in his kingdom by his chief minister's family. This minister's sons divided the kingdom into three parts, each of them ruling one part—precisely what happened about a century ago in State of Bashahr. The old capitals of Jorna, Sarhan (in Jubbal State), and Shadga (apparently in Sirmur) are, with Deona, to this day the centres at which the grain collected on behalf of the god is stored. A patha is collected from every house.

1 Should probably read:—To Devi Ram he assigned his own State of Shadga with the addition of Karli; to Rabbu, Jorna, as his capital, with Bhahal etc., and to Chhun Sarhan as his capital, with etc.

2 Royal residence or capital.

3 The god in Jorna is called Gowanu, from gon, 'sky' in the Pahari dialect. He has one eye turned towards the sky, and hence is so named.

4 The god in Sarhan is called Bijat.

5 The patha is a basket-like measure made of iron or brass and holding some two sheers of grain.
Every year the descendants of Babbú and Chínú, who settled in Sirmúr, take the god's image from Saráhan or Jorna in Jubbal to their own villages, in which temples have been built to him. Some 50 kárdárs (officials) and begáris (corde labourers) accompany the god, and each house offers him Re. 1 and a patha of grain, but if any one desires to offer a gold coin, he must give the kárdárs, musicians and pujáris Rs. 6, Rs. 12, or even Rs. 25. Anyone who refuses to make a dhíánkra or offering will, it is believed, meet with ill luck.

Like many other gods in the hills, Sír Gull exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction. Anyone doing wrong in his capital has to take the god to Hardwar, or, for a petty offence, pay him a gold coin. Oaths are also taken on the god's image at Saráhan and Jorna, in cases in which enquiry has failed to elicit the truth, by parties to cases in the States of Jubbal, Balsan, Taróch and Sirmúr. The god reserves judgment for three or six months, during which period the party who is in the wrong is punished by some calamity.

Connected with the cult of Shirigul is that of the dual god Bijat and his sister Bijáí.

The legend of Bijat, the lightning god, which is connected with that of Shirigul, relates that when the Asur Agyasur, the great demon who were hostile to the gods, assailed the Chúr peak and the temple of Shirigul thereon, the god fell upon them in the form of lightning, whence an image fell to earth at Saráhan in Jubbal, and at that place a temple was built for the image, which was placed, with other images, in it. From Saráhan a Dêwá, the ancestor of the present Dêwás of Deena, brought a stone idol of Bijat to Deona, and this is now the principal image in the temple, and is considered to possess the most power. There are 27 other images, all of brass.

The stone idol is to the left of all the minor images, and is never clothed or ornamented. Of the rest four are covered with old silk (mastrú), and have pieces of woollen stuff round their necks, studded with 80 rupees, and 15 gold mohars. The remaining 23 have no clothes or ornaments. All have human faces.

The fair of Bijat is held on any three days between Baisákh 1st and the end of Jeth. It is called Bisu, because it is usually held in Baisákh, and is held annually in Deona, and every third or fourth year in Chokar, Sanej and Andherí villages. It resembles the fair at Mánal, and the thóda game is played.

The temple of Bijat at Bándal was founded in this wise. The Dêwás at Deona multiplied, and so one of them came to Bándal with a brass image of Bijat from the temple there, and built a separate temple. There are now 52 images of Bijat in the Bándal temple. All

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1 _Pecordence of deities in a temple._—The presiding image is that which is the most powerful, and is placed in the centre, the others being placed on either side of it in the order of their powers, the more powerful being seated near the presiding image, and the others further from it. Dependants occupy lower seats in front. All the images face to the west in the high hills.
are of brass, with human faces. Only the five primary images are
clothed, and these have garments studded with rupees and gold mohars.
They are considered to possess more power than the remaining 47, and
the principal of them, the one brought from Deona, is placed in the
centre and reposes in a silver chauki.

Bijai, as a goddess, has a temple, seven storeys high, at Batrol
where the image is of brass and has a woman's face. It is clothed in
silk and ornamented. The Bhâts, but not the Kanets, serve as pujârîs.
A pilgrim to the temple is fed once on behalf of the god. When a
he-goat is sacrificed the blood is sprinkled over the temple. For a
jâgâ the idol is taken to a worshipper's house where a he-goat is killed
and the flesh distributed among those present. The ritual resembles
that of Shirigul, but there is no fair.

Closely connected with the cult of Bijat is that of the goddess
Ghatriâli, 1 who has a temple at Panjâhan in Rainkâ tahsil, similar to
that of Bijat at Batrol. The ritual is also the same, and no fair is
held. The legend regarding this temple avers that a certain Kanet
chieftain, Bijâ by name, of Tathwa village, once salved forth with
eighteen of his followers to attack his enemies in Dâhar. When
the assailants reached Dâhar they were seized with a sudden panic
and fled homeward, but on reaching Bholâ, a mile from Dâhar,
they met some women bearing pitchers. On asking who they were,
they were told that the women belonged to Jam-log, a village at
which a jâgâ in honour of Bijat was being celebrated, and that
they had come to fetch water. Bijâ asked if he and his companions
could see the jâgâ, and was told that they could come and see it, but
must show no fear of what they saw even when offered seats of serpents
and scorpions by the people of Jam-log. The women also said they
would be offered grains of iron to eat and gave them rice which they
could eat instead, concealing the iron. Lastly, the women said that
if they were desired to take the image to their house for the celebration
of a jâgâ, they should seize it and flee with it, but must on no account
look back. Accordingly Bijâ and his men went to Jam-log where they
found three images being worshipped with great pomp, and were told
that the finest image to which the greatest reverence was paid was that
of Bijat, the second that of Báji, and the third that of Ghatriâli. Bijâ,
on the pretense that he desired to worship the images, was allowed to
draw near with his companions, and they then seized the images and
fled. The men of Jam-log pursued them without success, but Bijâ's
eighteen companions looked back and perished. Bijâ, however, reached
his house in safety, and concealed the image in his granary, which was
nearly empty. When he opened the granary in the morning it was full
to overflowing. Bijâ fell senseless at this portent, and was only revived
by the sacrifice of eighteen he-goats over him. Then one of the three
gods took possession of a man, who began to nod his head, saying
he was Bijat, the god, and could not remain in Tathwa, as it was not
becoming for him to live with his sisters, so the image of Bijat was
sent to Sarâhan in Jubbâl where it still remains. The people of Tathwa
then separated, dividing their property, some going to settle in Kândî.

1 In Dhâmi Ghatriâlu is a ghost: see p. 217 supra.
The twin-god.

and the others remaining in Tathwa. The image of the goddess Bijáí fell to the men of Kándí, and is now at Batrol of Dasskná bhog, while Ghatriáli remained at Tathwa and her temple was established at Panjáhan in Thakri bhoj.

Every year Bijat gives his sister Bijáí a rupee for sweetmeats, and whenever either of them goes to visit the other, the host entertains the guest with a be-goat, and gives him or her a rupee. Bijat always gives Bijáí twice as much as she gives him.

It is not expressly stated that Bijat and Bijáí are twin deities, but there is a similar pair in Bhur Singh and his sister, and Bhur Singh appears to be identifiable with Bure Singh and Bhúri Singh the twin of Káli Singh.

At Pejarlí in Sirmúr is a temple dedicated to Bhur Singh and his sister Debi (Devi), the children of a Bhát of Pánwáh village. When their mother died the Bhát married again, and their step-mother during his absence from home used to treat them harshly. Once she sent Bhur Singh to tend cattle in the forest, and as on his return home in the evening one of the calves was missing, she sent him back to find it by hook or by crook. When the Bhát reached home he found his son had not returned, and in going to search for him found him and the lost calf both lying dead at the spot where the shrine now stands. Meanwhile Debi, who had been given in marriage to a one-eyed man, was, in her mortification, returning home; she passed the place where Bhur Singh lay dead, and stricken with grief threw herself from her doli over the cliff. The brother and sister are now worshipped together as Bhur Singh. There are two temples, one at Pejarlí, the other on the high hill known as Bhur Singh kí dhár. The pujárits are two Bháts, one for Bhur Singh and one for Debi, and at the fair, on the Kátik sudi ikádsí, no one dances save the pujárit of Debi, and he dances by night in the temple so that the people may not see him, and at midnight coming out of the shrine leaps on to a great rock above a high cliff. Standing there for a few moments he gives one oracle, and no more, in answer to a question. On returning to the temple he swoons, but is speedily and completely revived by rubbing. Meanwhile, when the secret dancing begins the men of the Panál family form a line across the door of the temple, and those of the Kathár temple rushing upon them with great violence break the line and enter the temple, but leave it again after touching the idol. As Bhur Singh is known to live on nothing but milk, animals are never sacrificed.

In Karnál and Ambála Jaur Singh is worshipped with Gugga, Nár Singh, Kála Singh and Bure Singh. He is said to be Rájá Jemar, the usual name of Gugga’s father, but the twin jota) brothers of Gugga, Arjan and Surjan, are also worshipped as Jaur.

Káli Singh and Bhúri Singh sometimes have twin shrines and Nár Singh is said to be another name for one or both of them.
The head-quarters of this god are at Sion, a village in Rainka tahal, where he has a temple on a small hillock, at the foot of which flows the Giri. It is close to the village and shaped like a hill-house with two storeys only. The ground floor has a door facing to the north, while the upper storey has no door, and one ascends by small steps through the first storey. It is only lighted by sky-lights. The gods are kept on a gambir or wooden shelf. There is one large brass idol and several smaller ones. The idols are shaped like a man's bust. The big idol is in the middle, the others being placed on either side of it. On the left the second place is held by the god Sirmúrį, who is the god of Sirmúrį, but who is not independent, being always found in the company of bigger god, and has no temple of his own. There is also an image of Dévi Shimlásan. The idols on the immediate right of the big one only go to Hardwár and other places; while the rest are stationary. They go out because they are kept clean for that purpose. The others are in a dirty state. All these idols, except those of Sirmúrį and Shimlásan, represent Mahásu. The middle one is the most important, and there is no difference in the others. Milk and goats are offered in the temple, which is only opened every Sunday and Wednesday and on a Sankránt. Worship is held at 11 a.m. and at sunset in the same way as in Shirigul’s temple, but there is one peculiarity, in that the devotees of Mahásu who own buffaloes generally offer milk on the day of worship. If there is a death or birth in the family of the Déwá, the temple must be closed for 20 days because neither a jātri nor a Déwá can enter the temple within 20 days of a domestic occurrence. The Déwá must not indulge in sexual intercourse on the day of worship or two previous days, and hence only two days in the week are fixed for worship. The morning worship is called dhúp déna and the evening sanakhá. Legend says that one morning the god Mahásu appeared in a dream and told the ancestor of the present Déwá to seek in the Giri and build him a temple in the village. Accordingly the Déwá went to the Giri and found on its banks the big idol, which is also called jalásan (i.e. set up in water). Mahásu is not so widely believed in as Shirigul or Paras Rám. The present Déwá says he is 12th in descent from the man who found the idol.

The Jagra of Mahásu.—This festival, which is peculiar to Kángra in Tahsíl Rainka, is celebrated on the 4th and 5th day of the dark half of Bhádón. On the third of the same half the deotá's flag is erected on the bank of a stream, and on the 4th people arrive, who are served with free dinners. On the night between the 4th and 5th the people do not sleep the whole night. On the 5th, at about 3 p.m., the deotá is taken out of the temple. But if it is displeased, it becomes so heavy that even four or five men cannot remove it. The music is played and prayers offered. At this time some men dance and an oracle has descended on them. They show their superior powers in curious ways. Some play with fire; others put earth on their heads. They answer questions put by those who are in want of the deotá's help. Some
one among these dancing men explains the cause of the displeasure of the deotā, and then pilgrims and pujařis make vows, whereupon the deotā gets pleased and makes itself light and moveable. Now a procession is made, headed by the deotā's flag, which when brought to the stream, is sprinkled with water, after which the procession returns to the temple, where dancing is kept going till morning. A good dinner with wine is given to the people in the temple yard.

THE CULT OF MAHĀSU IN THE SIMLA HILLS.¹

Mahāsu, who has given his name to the well-known hill near Simla, is a deity whose cult is making such progress that he is bound soon to take a foremost place in the hillman’s pantheon. His history as told by the manager of his temple at Anel, the head-quarters of his worship, is as follows:—When vast portions of the world were ruled by demons, between the Tons and Pabar rivers dwelt a race of evil spirits whose chief, Kirmat dāsu, loved to wallow in human blood. Twice a year he claimed a victim from each hamlet in his jurisdiction. In Madrat, a village above the Tons where the demons held their sports, lived two pious Brahmins to whom the gods had granted seven sons. Six of them had already been slain on the demon’s altars and he had cast his eye on the seventh. His aged parents waited in dread for the half-yearly sacrifice, the more so in that he was the only son they had left to liberate their spirits at the funeral pile. But several months before the sacrifice the wife became possessed. A trembling fell upon her and in a piercing voice she kept on shrieking—“Mahāsu—Mahāsu—Mahāsu of Kashmir will save our child.” Her husband, Una Bhāt, could not interpret the portent for he had never heard Mahāsu’s name, so he asked her what her raving meant. Still in her trance of inspiration she replied that in Kashmir there reigned Mahāsu, a mighty god who would save their son from the demon’s clutches if he himself would but plead before his shrine. But Kashmir was far away and Una Bhāt very old, so he laughed in sorrow at her fancy. “How can I,” he asked, “who am stricken in years and weak of body make a pilgrimage to such a distant land? The boy is already dead if his life depends on such a journey.” But his wife did not heed his weakness and at length her possession grew so violent that the Brahman set out on his lonely journey, more to soothe her than from any hope of succour. He did not even know the road until a neighbour told him that at the famous shrine of Devi in Hātkoṭi there was a Brahman who had seen the holy places of Kashmir. Thither then he turned and begged information from the priest. But Pandit Nāg, the Brahman, scoffed at the idea of such an enterprise. “Your eyes are dim,” he said in scorn, “your legs tottering and your body worn and wasted; you will surely die on the way. I, who am strong and in the prime of life, took full twelve years to do the pilgrimage.” But Una Bhāt having once left his home was eager to do his utmost to save his only remaining son; and at last the Pandit set him on his road with a blessing.

As the old man toiled up the hill path, his limbs were suddenly filled with youthful vigour and his body lifted into the air. Next he found himself by a tank beneath whose waters the great Mahāsu dwelt,

¹ By H. W. Emerson, Esq., C. S.
though he knew it not. And as he stood in wonder on its margin one of the god’s worthy, Chekurya by name, appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Una Bhāt in eager words told him how a race of cruel demons vexed his country, how their chief had slaughtered six of his sons upon their altars and purposed to take the seventh, and how his wife had trembled and called upon Mahāśu’s name. When Chekurya had heard all this he bade the Brahman retire to a field behind the tank and there wait in silence for the coming of Mahāśu who would help him in his need. He had been gone but a short time when suddenly from the ground beside him arose a golden image which he guessed to be Mahāśu. He clutched it tightly to his breast, pouring out a pitiful appeal. “I will not let you go”, he cried, “until you pledge your word to rescue my only son. Either take my life or come with me.” Mahāśu comforted him with a promise of succour. “I have heard your prayer”, he said, “and will surely save your child from the demon. Return now to your home and there make a plough of solid silver with a share of pure gold, and having put in it a pair of bullocks whose necks have never borne the yoke loosen well each day a portion of your land. On the seventh Sunday hence I, with my brothers, ministers and army will come and rid your people of those noisome spirits. But on that day be careful that you do no ploughing.” These words were scarcely uttered when the image slipped from the Brahman’s grasp and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself once more within his village. There having told of the wonders that had happened on his way, he made, in obedience to the god, a plough of solid silver with a share of burnished gold. Therein he yoked a pair of bullocks which had never drawn plough before and each day ploughed deep a portion of his lands. On the sixth Sunday after his return he did his daily task but had only turned five furrows when out of each sprang the image of a deity. From the first came Bhotu, from the next Pabasī, out of the third rose Bāshāk and Chaldū from the fourth. All these are brothers called by the common affix of Mahāśu. From the fifth furrow appeared their heavenly mother and all about the field the god’s officers and a countless army, sprang-like mushrooms through the loosened earth. Chekurya, the minister, was there with his three colleagues, Kaplā, Kailu and Kailāt, as well as Chaharya who holds a minor office. When the Brahman first saw them he fell senseless on the ground, but the god’s attendants soon revived his courage and bade him show them where the demons dwelt. Then he took them to a deep dark pool where Kirmat ḍānu held his revels and there they found the demon king attended by his hosts of evil spirits. Forthwith Mahāśu challenged him to mortal conflict and a sanguinary battle followed which ranged along the river bank and up the neighbouring hills. But the evil spirits had not the strength to stand before the gods so they were routed with much carnage and in a short time only their leader Kirmat ḍānu still lived. Alone he fled across the mountains until he reached the Pabar hard pressed by his relentless foes. They caught him at Nīwāra in the Ohādi State and hacked him up to pieces upon a rock, which to this day bears marks of many sword cuts.

In such wise was the land rid of the demons, but the lowlanders say the hillmen still have the manners of their former rulers. Their habits

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1 There is a Kaila in Chamba also.
are unclean, their customs filthy, they neither wash nor change their clothes nor understand the rites of true religion. However this may be, the army came back in triumph to Madras, where the four brothers parcelled out the land between them dividing it to suit the physical infirmities of each. For a misadventure had marred to some extent the glory of their enterprise. Maháśu, it will be remembered, had pledged his word to Una Bhāt that he would come and succour him upon the seventh Sunday but either in impatience or through a miscalculation of the date, the god arrived a week before his time. Thus the mother and her sons were waiting buried underneath the earth for Una Bhāt to break its sun-baked crust and as he drove his plough three members of the family were injured by its blade. Bhoṭu was damaged in the knee so that henceforth he was lame; Pabasí had a small piece cut out of his ear; whilst Bāshik's vision was obscured by the thrusting of the ploughshare into his eye. The fault of course was not the Brahman's, for if the very gods select the sixth of any period to embark on a venture, they must expect the ill-fortune which attends the choice of even numbers to find them out. St Bhoṭa henceforth preferred to rest his injured leg within his temple at Anel and thence he exercises away around its precincts. A portion of the Garhwál State fell to Pabasí's lot and there he spends a year in turn at each of his six country seats. To him was allotted part of the tract now comprised in British Garhwál and though defective eyesight prevents his making lengthy tours he journeys in successive years to the four main centres of his worship. Chaldu, it was justly felt, being sound in every limb could well fend for himself, so to him was granted no specific territory; so long as he observed his brother's rights, he was free to exercise dominion wherever he could find a following. Experience justified this estimate of Chaldu's powers, for his worship now extends over a wide expanse of country. It is he who is venerated in the Sirmáo States, where his devotees are growing more numerous each year. Twelve years on end he spends in wandering amongst his subjects, and, every house must then give Rs. 1-8 to his ministers. The priests and temple managers take the rupee for their own use, or current charges, but store the annas in the god's treasury. Besides this the peasants have to provide instruments of music and ornaments of silver in honour of their deity and also grain and other offerings to feed his following. They must therefore feel relieved when the long touring season is completed and the god can spend an equal period at ease within his shrine, which was built in a village close to where his brother Bhoṭu lives.

Chaldu Maháśu is the member of the family revered or dreaded as the case may be by many villages in Bashahr, but the people of that State tell a different story of his advent to those parts. The dynasty, they say, ruled in Kashmir where the first-born held his court attended by his brothers, ministers and hosts of minor deities. The only blot upon the brightness of his glory was the presence of a rival god, by name Chaszrálu, with whom he long had carried on a bitter feud, but one day Maháśu lured his foe within his reach and drawing his sword smote him, below the belt. With a gaping wound Chaszrálu fled in terror taking his life with him, whilst Maháśu with his whole army of retainers rose in pursuit. But the chase
was long, for the fugitive was fleet of foot and had gone some distance before his enemies had grasped the situation. Over ranges of snow-clad peaks, down winding valleys and through dense forests for many days the hue and cry chased close behind the fleeing god, gaining slowly but surely on him until at length he was all but in their grasp. Chasrálu spent and worn was just about to yield his life when he espied a cavern with a narrow opening, going deep into the rocky mountain side and into this he darted as his nearest foe was in act to cut him down. There he lay concealed, gathering new strength and courage, whilst his ancient enemy held counsel with his ministers. 'Who of all my many servants', asked Mahásu, 'is bold enough to drive Chasrálu from his lurking place'? But no one had the courage to assault the god thus entrenched in his stronghold; only a minor deity whose name was Jakh proposed a plan. 'Let the accursed dog', he said, 'stay in his gloomy cavern doomed to eternal darkness. I with four other of your gods will stand as sentinels upon the five approaches to his burrow, so that he cannot take flight either by the mountain passes or by the valleys or by the river. We will be surety for his safe keeping, if in return you grant us sole jurisdiction over our respective charges and pledge your word to leave us undisturbed.' Mahásu would have liked to see his ancient enemy withered up before his eyes, but in default of any other way to wreak his vengeance he at last approved Jakh's plan, renouncing all control over the actions of his former servants. Then departing with his brothers and the rest of his court he found a heaven after many wanderings in the village of Anel which has ever since remained the centre of his worship. The five wardens of the marches on their part remained behind to keep unceasing watch and ward upon all exits from the cave. Jakh, who dwells in Janglik, watches the mountain passes to the north; Bheri Nágh of Tangnu keeps guard upon the Pábar river and a valley to the west; whilst if the prisoner should escape his vigilance and hasten to the south he must pass the watchful eyes of Chillum and Naráín who have their temples in Dudi and Ghoswári. The last custodian is Nágh of Peka or Pekian who stays as sentinel upon the road.

Though Chasrálu, cribbed, cabined and confined on every side had thus to stay within his dungeon yet as the years passed by he won his share of glory and renown. For up to recent times his cave contained a famous oracle where wondrous portents were vouchsafed upon the special festivals held in his honour at recurring intervals. On such occasions a skilled diviner went inside the cavern and as he prayed with tight shut eyes, held out the skirts of his long coat to catch the gifts which tumbled from the roof. Sometimes a calf would fall, a most propitious omen, for then the seed would yield abundant increase, the herds and flocks would multiply, and the peasantry be free from pestilence or famine. Sometimes again a pigeon came fluttering down, proving to be a harbinger of sickness and disease, whilst if a snake fell wriggling in the coat the luckless villagers were doomed to never-ceasing trouble until the year was over. Occasionally it happened that as the sorcerer muttered his prayers and incantations apparitions of the living passed before his eyes and though their human counterparts were well and healthy at the time they surely died within
The fate of Chasrálú.

the year. The oracle was also efficacious in pointing out spots where hidden hoards lay buried. The would-be finder first sacrificed a goat and laid before the entrance of the cave its severed head, through which the god conveyed his message to the lefthand diver who alone could comprehend its meaning. The people say the clues thus given led sometimes to the finding of hereditary treasure and then the lucky heir made dedicatory offerings of a field or house or other article of value to his god.

But Chasrálú’s days of glorious miracle have vanished for Mahásu has declared that the god no longer lives within the cave. Some 20 years ago one of his priests, a man feared for his knowledge in the magic art, came to the group of villages where the five guardians were worshipped, and intimated that his master’s ancient enemy had been dissipated into space. He did not blame the warders since the prisoner had not escaped through any lack of vigilance nor indeed escaped at all; he had melted into nothingness and merely ceased to be. But he argued, with unerring logic, that since there was now no prisoner to guard, it did not need five deities to hold him fast. Therefore his master, so he said, would deign to come amongst them and resume his former rule. The villagers were very angry at this wanton breach of faith and coming out with sticks and staves swore they would not allow Mahásu in their hamlets. Also they handled roughly the god’s ambassador, threatening him with divers pains and penalties if he ventured in their midst again with such a proposition, so that he had to flee in haste vowing vengeance as he ran. And from that day misfortune and calamity commenced and never ceased until the people gave their grudging homage to the forsaken god, through fear of whose displeasure they shrink from asking at Chasrálú’s oracle. Jákhl of Janglík has suffered in particular from the advent of his former lord, for previous to his intrusion there was an offshoot of Jákhl’s worship in the isolated sub-division of Dódra Kawár. There the local deity is also Jákhl and till a few years ago a regular exchange of visits took place between the nameakes and their bands of worshippers. Now the people of Kawár deny that there has ever been affinity between the two but when hard pressed admit the bonds were broken when Mahásu entered into Janglík. They fear the Kashmir deity too much to run the risk of his invasion into their lonely valley, so they will neither take their god to any place within his sphere of influence nor allow the Janglík deity to come to them. The terrible Mahásu, they opine, might fix himself to one or other of the deities and it is easier to keep him out than drive him off when once he comes.

The superstitious terrors inspired by Mahásu and the methods he pursues may be illustrated by the following instance:—At one place the mere mention of Mahásu is anathema, for the village is the cardinal seat of Shálú’s worship, a deity with whom the Garhwál god is waging bitter war, the cause of which will be explained anon. In the adjoining hamlet also stands a temple to the glory of the local Shálú, and the brazen vessels, horns and rags hanging to its walls give testimony of the veneration extended to the god by former generations. But a sanctuary to Mahásu is near completion, so that in the near future the
devotions and offerings of the peasants will be divided between the rival claimants, although the family deity is likely for some time to come to get the major share. The manner in which the interloper has gained a following and a shrine in typical. For some years the curse of barrenness had fallen on the women, crops and herds. Few children had been born within the village whilst those the wives had given to their husbands before the curse descended had sickened suddenly and died. The seed sown on the terraced fields had failed to yield its increase, or if by chance the crops were good some heaven-sent calamity destroyed them ere they were garnered in the granaries. The sheep had ceased to lamb and the goats to bring forth young, nay even the stock the peasants owned was decimated by a strange disease. At night-fall they would shut their beasts safe in the lower storeys of their houses, but in the morning when they went to tend them some half dozen would be either dead or dying despite the fact that on the previous evening they had all seemed well and healthy. At last a skilled diviner, to whom the lengthy story of misfortune was unfolded, was summoned to expound the meaning of these long continued omens of a demon's wrath. With head thrown back, fists tightly clenched and muscles rigid he kept on muttering the incantations of his art, until successive tremors passing through his frame showed that some god or demon had become incarnate in his person. Then in a loud voice he told his anxious listeners, that unknown to them some object sacred to Mahāsū had come within the village boundaries and with it too had come the god, for Mahāsū never quits possession of any article, however trsfing, once dedicated to his service. The oppression he had wrought upon the hamlet was but a means of signifying his arrival and until a fitting dwelling place was ready for his spirit, the inhabitants would fail to prosper in their ventures. Hence the half-built shrine above the village site. Strangely enough the diviner in this instance, as in many others, was not connected with Mahāsū's cult in any way and as the oracle was therefore free from interested motives it would seem that the general terror of Mahāsū's name has obsessed the soothsayers as strongly as it has the people.

In the adjacent village distant but a mile or so, a former generation had raised a temple to Mahāsū. It stood close to the road and facing it upon a narrow strip of land, once cultivated but long since given over to the service of the god. Within the courtyard were planted several images each consisting of a thin block of wood, with the upper portion cut into the uncouth likeness of a face. These were supposed to represent the five divine _waṭris_ and a large pile of ashes heaped before the lowest proclaimed him as the fifth attendant, for ashes from the altars of his master or superiors are the only perquisites which come his way; from which it would appear that, like their human counterparts, the under-waiters of the gods received but little. Mahāsū had remained contented with his shrine for many years, following a course of righteous living as became a well-conducted deity, but of late he had grown sullen, developing a tendency to vex his worshippers. Crops had been indifferent on the lands for several seasons especially in the early harvest, a fact for which their northern aspect would afford sufficient explanation to any but the superstitious natives of the hills. They, of course, assigned the failure of the harvests to a supernatural cause and to their cost
The caprices of Mahasu.

called in the inevitable diviner. Mahasu, it then transpired, had nothing much to say against the fashion of his temple, it was soundly built, fairly commodious and comfortable enough inside; indeed it was all a god could reasonably desire: if the site had only been selected with a little more consideration. That was objectionable, for situated just above the public road it exposed his sanctuary to the prying eyes of the passing stranger, a fatal drawback which any self-respecting deity would resent. Now a little higher up there was a nicely levelled piece of land promising an ideal situation for a sacred shrine. Yes, he meant the headman’s field, the one close to the village site, richly manured twice yearly so as to yield two bounteous harvests. If this were given to his service and a convenient sanctuary built thereon his present dwelling place would come in handy for his chief wasir, less sensitive, as became a servant, to the public gaze. Indeed in this connection it was hardly suited to the dignity of a mighty god, that his first minister should be exposed to piercing cold in winter and burning heat in summer without some covering for his head; and that was why the headman had lately dedicated to the god one of his most fertile fields within whose limits for the future no man would ever turn a furrow or scatter seed. The villagers too were only waiting for the necessary timber to erect a new and better sanctuary, a further act of homage which they were vain enough to hope would keep Mahasu quiet for some time. They apparently had overlooked the other four wasirs for whose comfort fresh demands were certain to arise and as Mahasu never asks but of the best one could only hope that he would cast his envious glance upon a field belonging to an owner rich enough to bear the loss. Shil is one of the earliest seats of worship of Mahasu in Bashahr in which State he gained a footing through the misplaced credit of a miracle in which he played no part. Several hundred years ago it happened that the ruler of Garhwal set out upon a pilgrimage to the temple of Hatkoji, a very ancient shrine situated on the right bank of the Pabar. He was as yet without an heir, whilst Devi, the presiding goddess, was and still is famous for bestowing progeny on those who seek her aid. The Rajá had given timely notice of his royal pleasure to the local ruler who had issued orders to the sailldar of the district and headmen of four adjacent villages to make all necessary preparations for the comfort of so powerful a prince. Either through carelessness or contumacy they shirked their duties and the Rajá with his suite suffered no little inconvenience in obtaining the requisite supplies,—a fact which ought perhaps only to have added to the merit of the pilgrimage. The chief however did not take this pious view and though he had no jurisdiction in the territory, this mattered little in the good old times when might was right, so after he had begged his boon and paid his vows, he seized the sailldar and headmen, carrying them with him to his capital. There he threw them into a gloomy dungeon, whose inky darkness knew no court of day or night, to meditate in sadness on the ways of half-starved princes. Now in the dungeon there were other prisoners of State, natives of Garhwal who owned Mahasu as their god, and from their lips the foreign captives heard many stories of his mighty deeds. As the months passed by without a sign of succour from their own ancestral god or ruler the sailldar and his friends began to ponder on the wisdom of turning to
Mahasu and Devi.

a nearer quarter for deliverance. Accordingly, at last, they swore a solemn oath that if Mahasu would but free them from their bonds, they would forsake their ancient gods and cleave to him alone. By chance a few days later Devi vouchsafed an answer to the intercessions made by the prince before her altars, for to his favourite Rani an heir was born whose advent was received with feelings of delight throughout the State. A day was set aside for general rejoicing and on it by a common act of royal clemency all prisoners were released, the saildar and his friends amongst the rest. Mindful of their oath, they ascribed their freedom to the mercy of Mahasu, not to the power of the goddess Devi to whom the merit actually belonged, and when they journeyed to their homes they carried with them one of his many images. This they duly placed in a temple built to his honour at Sanadur, and in addition each introduced the ritual of Mahasu's worship into his own particular hamlet. The saildar on returning to his home at Shil also told the people how a powerful deity had freed them from imprisonment and persuaded them to adopt his worship as an adjunct to the veneration paid to Shillu, their ancestral god. But neither he nor they accepted Mahasu as other than a secondary deity and when a shrine was raised to him, it was placed outside the village site, upon a plot of land below the public road. For some years sacrifices were duly offered to the stranger god and his wazirs, but as the memory of his timely aid began to fade, the peasants showed a falling off in their devotions, offerings were but few and far between, his yearly festival was discontinued and his very dwelling place fell into disrepair. This culpable neglect remained unpunished for some time until once a cultivator's wife fell ill, manifesting every sign of demoniacal possession. In the middle of a sentence she lost all power of speech, her lips moved but no sound came forth and as she struggled inarticulate a trembling seized upon her limbs. Then suddenly she fell prostrate in a swoon upon the ground, but almost at once leapt up again, her body still quivering and shaking as she gave utterance to fearsome shrieks which pierced the ears of all who heard. Then as suddenly she regained her sanity, showing no symptom of her temporary madness. For several days she went about her duties in the house and fields as usual, but all at once the same wild frenzy came upon her, and moreover as she shrieked her cries were echoed by a woman in another quarter of the village who too became as one possessed. As before the mania of both was followed by a brief period of complete recovery, but on the next outbreak the two were joined by yet a third and so the madness spread until at length some half a dozen women made the hills and valleys re-echo with their hideous cries. Then it was deemed advisable to summon to their aid a wise diviner who might read the riddle of the seeming madness. Standing bareheaded in their midst, his frame racked by the paroxysms of divine possession, he told the people that Mahasu the terrible was angry, that his altars had remained so long neglected and his temple left to fall in ruins. If now they wished to check the mad contagion they must purchase expiation by raising a finer edifice, added to the sacrifice of many goats, both to the god and his wazirs. The price was promptly paid, so now womenfolk are free from evil spirits whilst a fairly modern sanctuary stands on the ruins of the ancient shrine.
But Mahásu still remains dissatisfied and the reason of his discontent is this:—Shálu, the hereditary god, dwells in a lofty temple, built in the centre of the village by a former generation which had never even heard the name of the great Mahásu. But the latter would evict the local deity and take possession of the shrine, founding his claim on the oath the erstwhile saśidrā swore that if the god but freed him from the darkness of the dungeon he would forsake his other gods and follow him alone. Shálu however is himself no weak-kneed godling to truckle to the self-assertion of any interloper from another land. He too commands a numerous following of pious devotees whose zeal is strengthened by a firm belief in the miraculous story of how he first revealed his godhead to their fathers. When in early summer the iron hand of winter has relaxed its rigors and the snows have melted on the lower passes it is the practice of the shepherds to drive their flocks up to the Alpine pastures. The owners of a group of hamlets collect their sheep and goats together in a central village, where they celebrate the massing of the flocks, before they speed the herdsmen on their journey to the dangerous heights where the dread Káli loves to dwell. It was after such a gathering held in dim ages long past the memory of living men that the nomad shepherds of Pandarásan purgana set out upon their wanderings. Marching by easy stages in the early morning and late afternoon, they gave their footsore beasts a welcome rest during the midday heat, whilst at night their massive sheep-dogs crouching at the corners of the huddled square gave ready warning of the approach of man or leopard. Proceeding thus, they reached a level plateau, forming the truncated summit of a lofty mountain and tempted by the richness of the pasturage they resolved to make a halt until the luxuriant herbage should be exhausted. The sheep and goats were left to browse at will amongst the pastures whilst the men built for themselves rough shelters of piled-up stones for protection from the cold at night. That evening the dogs were set as usual to ring the straggling beasts, but a continued sound of barking soon warned the shepherds that something was amiss. Fearing lest a panther had pounced down upon a straggler from the flocks they hastened to the spot, where on the edge of the plateau they saw a full-grown ram stretched calmly on the ground, indifferent to the onsets of the dogs which were rushing round him snarling and snapping in their vain attempts to move him. The men added their shouts and blows to the efforts of the dogs but all in vain, the ram still lay as though transfixed. At length angered by the obstinacy of the beast one of the men drew his axe and slew it as it lay. Another bent down to lift the carcass from the ground, but as he raised it, there lay revealed two dazzling images of an unknown god, whilst from a stone close by a supernatural voice was heard. Ere they could grasp the smaller image it started moving of its own accord, slowly at first but gathering speed as it went, until it reached the edge of the plateau down which it tumbled into a mountain torrent that bore it swiftly out of sight. The larger and finer idol still remained and this they carried to their halting place, first offering to the rock from which the mystic sound had rung the slaughtered ram, through whose inspired obstinacy the god had chosen to reveal his presence. At dawn the following morning they set out towards their starting place, for not one
among them was skilled in the lore of heaven-sent signs to read the secret of the omen. On arrival there the wondrous news spread quickly through the countryside and a gathering of peasants larger even than that which had sped them on their way, assembled to hear from the shepherds' lips the oft-repeated tale and to see with their own eyes the precious image. A soothsayer too was summoned from a neighbouring village and he told them that the portent was propitious, for the god, who had revealed his presence to the lowly shepherds, would deign to live amongst them guarding them and theirs from harm if only they would forthwith build a spacious and lofty temple in honour of his coming. Willing hands soon raised the sacred edifice and on a happy day with the full ritual prescribed for installation of an idol the Brahmans placed the image in the upper storey of the temple. At the same time they gave the name of Shalu to the god, for in the language of the hills shál is the term used for the grand assemblage before the sheep and goats are driven to the Alpine pastures. This first temple to the glory of this god was built in the centre of the confederacy of villages, and though many local sanctuaries have been erected, as at Shil, this still remains the main seat of his worship: It is hither that the flocks converge each year, and as in the olden days, so now, a general gathering of the countryside precedes the exodus to the upper mountains. From here too the shepherds take with them in their journey the hallowed emblem of their god, lent them each year from the temple treasury. This is a drum-shaped vessel, sealed at either end, containing sacred relics of the deity whilst round the outer surface a goodly number of rupees are nailed. Only the leader of the herdmen is privileged to carry it, slung by chains across his shoulders, but when the camp is reached it is unslung and placed with reverence in the midst of folds and shepherds and then both man and beast can sleep in perfect safety secure from all chance of harm. At nightfall the shepherds worship the sacred symbol, and at certain stages in their wanderings they sacrifice a goat, or ram of which by ancient right their headman takes a shoulder as his private portion. Moreover when the grazing ground is reached where stands the stone, the former dwelling of the god, a customary offering of one rupee is added to the accumulated tributes of past years. The recognition of Shalu as a pastoral deity is shown in yet another way, for when he goes on progress every other year amongst his subjects it is his privilege to claim a ram each day, and though his journeyings continue for full three months he never asks in vain. With such old-time memories cementing in a common bond the interests of god and peasant it is not surprising that the villagers even of a secondary seat of Shalu's worship are loath to oust their deity from his ancestral shrine in favour of a stranger. And in the meantime Mañáśu carries on a relentless warfare which has been raging now for some ten years, during which time the owners of the houses which immediately adjoin the disputed sanctuary have experienced to their sorrow the power of his vengeance. Several families have vanished root and branch, others have been oppressed with sickness, whilst most have sunk into the direst poverty. A signal warning of the demon's wrath occurred some six or seven years ago. Almost next door to the shrine, perched on the edge of a precipitous slope, stood a building occupied by several humble cultivators, adhe-
rents, like the other villagers, of Shálu their ancestral god. One night, only a few days after the annual festival in honour of Mahásu had been duly celebrated, the master of the house was ladling barley from his store-bin. His wife stood by his side holding open the bag of goat-skin into which the grain was being poured. A second man, a near relation, had just crossed the threshold of the outer door. Suddenly without a moment's warning the building started to slide slowly down the steep hillside and before the inmates could make good their exit the roof collapsed pinning them beneath the beams and rafters. For a hundred yards or so they travelled with the débris, until a clump of pine trees arrested further motion. So noiselessly had the incident occurred that their neighbours did not know until the morning what had taken place: then, descending to the mass of ruins they bewailed the loss of friends or relatives. But as they wept a voice came from the heaped-up pile of wood and stone, proclaiming the glad intelligence that one at least of the victims still survived. Quickly the stonework and beams were thrown aside and from beneath them issued the men and women a little bruised but otherwise unhurt. Mahásu, however as though to demonstrate his powers over life and death had killed the household goats which were tethered in the lower storey of the building.

The present saídár, a lineal descendant of the perjurer who brought such catastrophes upon the hamlet, repudiated this story of Mahásu's 'playing', as he termed it and at the end in answer to a question maintained his firm allegiance to the cause of Shálu. But, as an afterthought, he added with a chuckle, that as his house was in a lower portion of the village, the 'playing' of the jealous god had so far affected neither him nor his. A survivor of the landslide was also present at the time and was asked whether he too would like the home of Shálu delivered over to his rival, so that henceforth the people of the quarter might live without the apprehension of impending evil. With a bold and sturdy spirit he answered that Shálu was the ancestral deity not to be renounced without good cause: if the god himself consented to deliver up his ancient sanctuary, then well and good. But otherwise he would remain faithful to the family god. Believing firmly as he did that Mahásu had toppled down his house, brought desolation or extinction to many of his neighbours, and that the tyranny would not cease until the sacred dwelling-place was handed over, this simple rustic with his devotion to his ancient faith displayed a heroism worthy of a better cause.

The latest incident in this battle of the gods had been the building of a smaller shrine a year ago to house Mahásu's chief wáslí, the people blindly hoping that this fresh concession would appease the anger of the mighty spirit for some little time. The quarrel can however have but one issue. Mahásu's victory is assured and in all likelihood it only needs an unforeseen calamity to fall upon the saídár or his family to accelerate an unconditional surrender.

The justice of this forecast is indicated by the history of a village a little further on. Here too one of the liberated headmen incurred guilt or earned merit by the introduction of Mahásu's cult, its entrance in the village being followed by a bitter feud with the native deity. This was
Nágeshar, lord of serpents, who at the outset warned his worshippers that they would find it difficult to serve two masters with equal loyalty to both, bidding them beware lest the new divinity should prove a greater tyrant than the old. And so the sequel proved for the villagers, less stiffnecked than their neighbours, the followers of Shālu, had not the courage to hold out against a series of misfortunes succeeding one upon another in all of which Mahásu’s hand was clearly visible. So since several generations Nágeshar had been termed the family god only by courtesy, whilst the real worship of the village has centred round the shrine of the invader. The ancient temple stood dilapidated and forlorn, the single offering of a metal pot nailed on its roof and long since blackened by exposure to the rains of many summers, only adding to its desolation. The buildings raised to the glory of Mahásu, on the other hand, filled up a portion of the village green and the neat group of arbours, granaries and smaller shrines which clustered round the main pagoda testified alike to the number of his votaries and the frequent calls on their devotion. Even the walls and gables of the newest shrine—erected for a minor minister some dozen years ago to check a cholera epidemic—were covered with the horns of sacrificial victims and other votive offerings. Thus if Mahásu had so far refrained from seizing on the temple of his rival the only reason was because he would not deign to grace a dwelling fallen to such low estate. Indeed the people said that the two were now the best of friends and this perhaps was so, for Mahásu could afford to be magnanimous towards a foe completely crushed and beaten. They denied also that the goddess Deví had played any part in rescuing their ancestors. Though the Rájá of Garbhál, they said, had come to seek an heir, it was not at the shrine of Deví that he sought him, but from the hands of the ruler of Bashahr. For his only son had led some months before an army into Bashahr to join the local forces against the common foe from Kulu. The youth had cherished honourably in battle, but his father in his frantic grief would not listen to the truth and insisted that the people of Bashahr were concealing him for their own ends. And so he took away the sahibdr and his comrades to hold as hostages and cast them into prison, binding them first with iron fetters. But Mahásu in answer to their prayers broke their chains asunder and burst aside the dungeon doors so that they escaped again to their own country. However this may be, the peasants of this hamlet were eloquent in praise of their imported god, protesting that he was the mildest mannered of all divinities, provided always that his modest demands were promptly met, for he was slow to brook delay and ever ready to accept the challenge of an opposition were it human or divine. Nor, in truth, is he without the grace of saving virtues for he cannot tolerate a thief nor yet a tale-bearer, and sets his face against the prayers and offerings of those of evil livelihood.

In the month of Bhádon each year the fourth day of the light half of the moon is set aside in honour of the god. Early in the morning the temple priests carry the images and vessels hallowed in his service to a neighbouring stream or fountain where they bathe them reverently according to their ancient rites. Wrapped in folds of cloth the images are carried on the shoulders of the Brahmans and so secured against contamination from the vulgar gaze. The company of worshippers
watch the proceedings from a distance, for if they ventured near a curse
would fall upon them. The rites completed, the images and vessels are
conveyed in similar fashion to the temple and are placed in parda; except
one small image which is set upon the car and left all day within the
courtyard where the subsequent ceremonies occur. At night time it
too is put inside the shrine safe from the hands of sacrilegious revellers.
A high straight pole, cut usually from the blue pine tree, is planted
firmly in the ground and bears a flag in honour of the deity. Another
pole, shorter and thicker, cut off at the junction of many branches is
also driven in the earth. The forking branches are lopped at a distance
of several feet from the parent stem whilst in between them rough slabs
of slate are placed so that the whole forms an effective brazier. At the
approach of nightfall a ram and goat provided by the general communi-
ty are sacrificed, the first beside the brazier, whilst the latter is led in-
side the shrine, for a goat is deemed a nobler offering than a ram. But
the victim is not actually despatched before the altar, for the family of
Mahásu has a strong aversion to the sight of blood, so after the god has
signified acceptance of the offering through the trembling of the beast
it is led outside again and slaughtered in the courtyard. When darkness
falls the worshippers of either sex, with lighted torches in their hands,
dance for some little time around the brazier on which they later fling
the blazing faggots. All through the night the fire is fed by branches
of the pine tree which flash the flaming message of Mahásu’s fame
throughout the chain of villages which own his sway across the valleys
and along the hills, whilst the men and women spend the night in
merry-making, joining together in their rustic dances and time-honoured
songs. At intervals, as the unceasing rhythmic dance circles around the
fire, a villager drops from the group and manifests the well-known signs
of supernatural possession. Then he must make an offering of a sweet-
ened cake of wheaten flour, with a little butter to the god’s wafir or, if
well-to-do, must sacrifice a goat or ram. Sometimes a votary, snatching a
burning torch from the fire, clasps it tightly to his breast, but if his
hands are injured in the process, he is proved a low impostor and the
sighted god exacts a fine of several annas and a kid. Also if many
villagers become inspired there is a murmur that divine possession is
growing cheap, implying that the would-be incarnations of the deity are
simulating ecstatic frenzy. The general riot is heightened by a plentiful
supply of home-brewed spirits, but the women do not drink nor is
debauchery looked upon with favour. No one who tastes intoxicating
liquor is allowed within the temple, and the priests who abstain them-
selves keep watch upon the portal. But when the revelry is at its zenith
it sometimes happens that, despite their care, the drunken worshippers
cluster around the porch and some fall helplessly across the threshold.
Then the god inflicts upon the culprits the penalties imposed on mere
pretenders to divine afflatus. At the break of dawn such of the merry-
makers as are well enough to eat enjoy a common feast for which each
house provides a pound of wheaten flour and half a pound of oil. This
ends the ceremonies and Mahásu is left in quiet for another year to
prosecute his silent schemes by which he hopes to forge a few more
links in the ever-lengthening chain that binds his worshippers in bonds
of superstitious dread.
Shiva as whistler.

Sindhū Bṛ.-—Sindhū Bṛ is the whistling god, whose cult is found in Jammu, in the Kāngra hills, and in the Jaswān Dūn of Hoshiarpur, and whose whistling sound announces his approach. Sindhū is apparently an incarnation of Shiva conceived of as the storm-wind in the hills, and there may be some connection between this cult and the Jogi's whistle which is worn as denoting an attribute of the god. Sindhū is generally regarded as a malignant deity, causing madness and burning houses, stealing crops and otherwise immoral. But he is only supposed to burn down the houses of those with whom he is displeased, and the corn, milk, ḍhi etc. stolen by him is said to be given to his special worshippers. He can, however, be mastered by charms repeated at suitable places for 21 days. On the 21st he will appear after whistling to announce his approach, and sometimes with a whistling noise through his limbs, and ask why he was called. He should then be told to come when sent for and do whatever he is bidden. On the 22nd day a ram should be taken to the place of his manifestation and presented to him as his steed.

In places where the houses are liable to sudden conflagrations the people who come to beg in Sindhū's name are much dreaded and if they say they belong to his shrine they are handsomely rewarded. He is popularly believed to assume the form of a Gaddi, with a long beard, whence he is called Dāñšāla, and carrying a long basket (kīra) on his back, whence he is Kīromāla. But he has several other titles: such as Lohe or Lohān Pāl, 'Lord of metals,' Sanghūnī Pāl or 'Lord of Chains' and Bhūmī Pāl or 'Lord of the Earth.' In the form of invocation recorded in Kāngra we find him addressed as grandson of Ngār Bṛ, Chatarpāl, Lohpāl, Agripāl, Sangalpāl, Thikarpāl ('He of the potsherds'), daughter's son of Bhūnīpāl, son of Mother Kuthardi and brother of Punja. And the invocation ends with the words: 'Let the voice of Mahādeo work.'

Sindhū's principal shrine is at Basoli in Jammu territory, but he has smaller ones at Dhar and Bhangūr in Gurdaspur and at Gungtha in Kāngra. Most Hindu cultivators in these parts have a lively faith in the Bṛ, and offer him a karāhi of halwa as sweetmeat at each harvest. Not only can he be invoked for aid, but he can also be directed by any one who has mastered his charms to cohabit with any woman, she thinking she is in a dream. Whenever a woman or a house or a man is declared by a jogi, locally called chela, to be possessed by the Bṛ, offerings of karāhi, a ram or he-goat should be made to him to avert illness. Those who have mastered his charms can also use him to oppress an enemy at will.

A very interesting feature of Sindhū's mythology is his association with the pairs of goddesses, Raši and Braši, said to be worshipped in Chamba, Andlā and Sandlā, two hill goddesses, the exact locality of whose cult is unknown, and Chāhri and Chhatrāhri, also said to be worshipped in Chamba. The duality of these three pairs of god-

2 See the Song of Sindhū Bṛ, Ind. Ant., 1909, p. 295. Lohe, pl. lohas, is said to = metal, not iron. Sindhū is said to have a chain (sangal) always with him, and so his votaries also keep one at home.
Sindhi’s two spouses.

Bhairon or Bhairava, the terrible one, is a deity whose personality it is a little difficult to grasp. He is in the orthodox mythology the same as Shiva; Bhairon or Bhairav being one of the many names of that deity. But he appears also as the attendant of Kālī, and as such is said to be specially worshipped by Sikh watermen. At Benares his staff is revered as an anti-type of that earthly deity, the Kotwāl. More commonly he is represented as an inferior deity, a stout black figure, with a bottle of wine in his hand, whose shrine is to be found in almost every big town. He is an evil spirit, and his followers drink wine and eat meat. One sect of fagirs, akin to the Jogis, is specially addicted to his service; they besmear themselves with red powder and oil and go about the bazaars, begging and singing the praises of Bhairon, with bells or gongs hung about their loins and striking themselves with whips. They are found mainly in large towns, and are not celibates. Their chief place of pilgrimage is Girnar-parbat in Kāthaśwār, and the books which teach the worship of Bhairon are the Bhairavashīṭak and the Bhairava-stotār. That very old temple—the Bhairon-kā-sthān—near Iechra, in the suburbs of Lahore, is so named from a quaint legend regarding Bhairon, connected with its foundation. In the old days the Dhinī girls of the Riwārī tahsīl used to be married to the god at Bāododa, but they always died soon afterwards and the custom has been dropped. As a village deity Bhairon appears in several forms, Kāl Bhairon, who frightens death, Bhūt Bhairon, who drives away evil spirits, Bhatak Bhairon, or the Child Bhairon, Lāth Bhairon, or Bhairon with the club, and Nand Bhairon. Outside a temple of Shiv at Thānesar is a picture of Kāl Bhairon. He is black and holds a decapitated head in one hand. In the eastern Punjab he appears as Khetrpāl, the protector of fields, under which name he is worshipped with sweets, milk etc. When a man has built a house and begins to occupy it, he should worship Khetrpāl, who is considered to be the owner of the soil, the ground landlord in fact, and who drives away the evil spirits that are in it. He is also worshipped at weddings. Sometimes the Khetrpāl is said to be an inhabitant of the pipal tree and to him women do worship when their babies are ill. Sometimes again he is considered to be the same as Shesh Nāg, the serpent king. In Ferozepur he is known as Khetrpāl, but his cult is probably more widely spread than the small numbers of his worshippers returned would appear to indicate, for in Gurdaspur the Hindu Kātīl Rājputs are said to consult Brahmanas as to the auspicious time for reaping, and before the work is begun 5

1 This goddess is said to have a temple in Bhat or Bhūtān also. Sindhi is described as well-known and worshipped in Tahul and to affect mountainous regions generally.

2 This picture is faced by one of Hanumān whose shrine is sometimes connected with one of Bhairon. Sometimes too a shrine of Gīga will be found with a shrine to Gorāsknāth on one side and connected shrines to Hanumān and Bhairon on the other.

3 East of the Jumna Kāl Bhairon is worshipped to a considerable extent, offerings of intoxicating liquor being made at his shrine by his votaries who consume it themselves. Vaishnavas, some of whom also offer to him, do not however offer him liquor but moles and milk.
or 7 leaves of bread, a pitcher of water, and a small quantity of the crop are set aside in Khetrpál's name. In Chamba too Khetrpál is the god of the soil, and before ploughing he is propitiated to secure a bountiful harvest, especially when new ground or tract which has lain fallow is broken up. A sheep or goat may be offered or incense is burnt. In the centre and west Bhairon is almost invariably known as Bhairon Jai, or Bhairon the chaste, and is represented as the messenger of Sakhi Sarwar.

**The Cult of Deví.**

Closely connected with the worship of Shiv, and far more widely spread, is that of his consort, Deví. This goddess goes by many names—Durgá, Káli, Gaurí, Asuri, Párbatí, Kalá, Mahesrí, Bhimáni, Asht-bhojí, and numberless others. According to the Hindu Šástras, there are nine creces of Durgá, each with her separate name. The humbler divinities, Sífala, the goddess of small-pox, Māsáni and other goddesses of disease, are but manifestations of the same goddess. She is called Mahádeví, the great goddess, Maháráńí, the great queen, and Deví Mái or Deví Mába, the goddess-mother. She is known, from the places of her temples, as Jawála, Maná Dévi, Chintápurú, Náina Dévi, and the like. In Kángra alone there are numerous local Devis, and 360 of them assembled together at the founding of the Kángra temple.

Deví is a popular object of veneration all over the Province, but her worship is most in vogue and most diversified in Ambála, Hoshsíárpur and Kángra. The celebrated shrines of Deví are for the most part in those districts. At Máná Dévi, near Manimára, in the Ambála district, a huge fair is held twice a year, in spring and autumn, in her honour.

Mánsa Dévi, sister of Shesh Nág, counteracts the venom of snakes. She is also called Jagadgaurí, the world's beauty, Nitya and 'adama-
vati. Her shrine is at Maní Mária west of Kálka. With Sayyid Bhrá, whose shrine is at Bári in Káithal, she shares the honour of being the patron of thieves in the eastern Punjab, but it is at his shrine alone that a share of the booty appears to be offered.

At Budhera in Gurgaon at the temple of Máná Dévi a fair is held twice a year, on Chét sudí 7th or Asauj sudí 7th. This temple is about 125 years old. It is two yards square and the roof is domed. From the dome projects an iron bar from which hangs a dhája or small flag. Of the 4 images of the goddess, two are of brass and two of marble, each about 15ths of a yard high. They stand in a niche facing the entrance.

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1 Or rather, her cult names are used as place names.

2 One of Deví's ten incarnations, assumed to receive the thanks of gods and men for the deliverance she had wrought.

3 *S.C.E.* VIII, pp. 263, 277 and 286. Bhur is a title of Shivá.

4 *Mánsa* in Hindi means the desire or object of the heart.
Devi in Kângra.

At Chintpurni, in Hoshiárpur, there are three fairs in the year, and the puja are make large profits at the shrine. A large fair is held in Chet at Dharpur in Hoshiárpur, and Nainá Devi, in Biláspur State, on the borders of the same district, is also a favourite place of pilgrimage. At Kângra is the renowned shrine of Bejissari Devi, which Mahmúd of Ghaznái and Firoz Tughlak plundered in days gone by, and which is still one of the most famous in India. And at Javálamukhi, in Kângra, is another and equally famous temple, where jets of gas proceeding from the ground are kept ever burning, and the crowds of pilgrims provide a livelihood for a profligate miscellany of attendant Gosána and Bhojkis.

Javálamukhi.—This Devi is the chief object of worship to the Telraj or Teliraja fagis who appear to be found chiefly in the United Provinces. The sect was founded by Mán Chandra, Rájá of Kângra. He was attacked by leprosy, so the Devi bade him turn ascetic and beg from Hindu women whose sons and husbands were living a little oil to rub on his clothes and body. By so doing he expiated the sins of a former existence, and was cured in 12 years. He retired to Kângra and founded the order, Sri Chandra, a Brahman, being his first disciple. Initiation consists in paying a fee of Rs 5, or a multiple of that sum, and feeding the brethren. The novice then sips some sherbet upon which the gur is breathed. Some of Telrijas are Sikhs, others Hindus, but Devi Javálamukhi is their principal deity. They beg oil from Hindu women who have only one son and put the oil on their clothes. When dead they are cremated. Some marry, others do not, and the only outward sign of the sect is that their clothes and bodies are smeared with oil.1

1 Devi is worshipped under various other names in Kângra, e.g. as Janirá, in Samlohi, Bilásá in Biláspur, Bharári in Siál, Jâlpá in Jawâli, Bâla Sundári in Harser, Baglã Mukhi at Navhandi,7 and Koša and Chanda at Koša and elsewhere. It is impossible to reduce to rule anything connected with these temples. The priest is usually

2 W. Crooke, N. I. N. Q., V., § 247. The Kaskarían (literally gravel or pebbles) fair is held in Már Koša on Anant saû 91h. When pilgrims set for Javálamukhi to make the promised offerings, people accompany them on foot without shoes, so that pebbles may be trodden by their naked feet.

3 From Jauára village or ' from certain bushes which grew near by.' This temple was founded by Rájá Tej Chand some 400 years ago. It is managed by a Bhojki.

4 Founded by Rájá Dalip Singh in S. 1728.

5 Founded by Fauja Wazir 200 years ago. Devi directed him to enshrine it in 'any stone on which people sharpened axes.'

6 Founded by Rájá Shamsher Singh of Goler in S. 1458.

7 The story is that Rájá Hari Chand of Goler once when out hunting near Harser, fell into a well. The goddess directed him to build her a temple on the spot, but he refused to do so as it was in foreign territory. This enraged the Devi and she prepared to punish him, caused him to fall into the well. In it again he remained 13 days worshipping the Devi and making vows to her. By chance some merchants passed by and one of them being thirsty went to the well and finding the Rájá pulled him out. He then built a temple here to Devi Bâla Sundari. It is said that the merchants also settled here. The Devi is only worshipped by the chiefs of Goler.

8 Founded by Rájá Hari Chand of Goler in 16th S. With this are connected the shrines of Shiva and Chatarbhuj.

9 Founded by Khatari of Amritsar in 1942 S.
Devi in Kangra.

a Brahman but may be a Jog or a Saniasi. They may contain a single image or a number of images, varying in size and material. The ritual is equally diversified. For instance Devi Bharari is only worshiped on the Baisakhi, and on that day only is bhog offered and the lamp lit. As a rule the lamp is lit morning and evening or at least once a day. Bhog may be offered only once a day, but is generally offered twice. It is very varied. For instance Bala Sundari gets flowers in the morning and sweets &c. in the evening, but to Jalpa are offered rice and dal at morn and fruit at eve, and to Bagla Mukhi the morning bhog is offered after the images have been washed and in the evening patakan and gram after the aarti.

Devi is usually regarded as an activity of a god, but at Lagpata is a temple to Kaniya Devi the virgin goddess, whose fair is held on 9th Hari. Her Brahman puja is a Bhojki and bhog is only offered and a lamp lit in the evening.

Other temples to Devi in Kangra are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Puja Date</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hari Devi in Bagroli Naurpur Tahsil</td>
<td>Gursain, got Attari</td>
<td>In Chot during the navratri</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of an 8-sided figure on stone. Connected with it are temples of the Thakurs and a tomb at which worship is performed simultaneously. These shrines contain stone pindis called Nar Singh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raja Nag Dev of Garh Gaznavi had 4 sons and a daughter. Raja Bhoom Asar asked him for his daughter's hand which he refused, thinking it was not safe to marry a girl to a demon. So he abandoned his country and came here with his children. His daughter asked him to build her a temple so this one was built by one of her brothers and she turned herself into stone. It was founded by Raja Gadi Raja in the Dwakapur Yuga some 5000 years ago.</td>
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</table>

Some of the Brahman gots mentioned in the accounts received do not appear in any list of Brahman gots in the notes furnished on that caste. E.g. Bilasa Devi's puja is described as a Brahman of the Chhapal Balamk got.
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devi, Thak (fr. ‘atul, sierul’).</td>
<td>Brahman, got Mitte, gobar Kahan. The 11 groups of puja take it in turn to manage the affairs of the temple.</td>
<td>Baisakh 8th</td>
<td>Parshad or gari in the morning and bhāš (boiled rice) in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Bhagwati Kirpa Sundari in Bir is said to have been founded by a Raja of Bengal.</td>
<td>An Oasti Chandial Brahman.</td>
<td>The 3 days after the Holi in Phāran.</td>
<td>No bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Channabahal Devi of Jadagal.</td>
<td>A Bhojki Brahman, caste Balūtī and got Gautam.</td>
<td>On the Shivrātri the people gain a sight of the goddess who is said to have killed the demons Chand and Mund.</td>
<td>The temple contains an image of the Devi engraved on a slab, 6 spans long and 8 broad. On it are also engraved images of Manthānār and Rakat Bij. The Chandial and Gokhar Brahmanas revere the goddess as their family deity and perform the jannu ceremony here. Five sweet bābra (cakes) in the morning and fried grain in the evening form the bhog. Saadhūr (vermillion) is also offered monthly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mandir of Mata Devi Bajar Shārīrat Kangra. Once Brahma with other gods went to do homage to this goddess. Their example was followed by other gods but they could not gain access to the Devi. So they resolved to Brahma who founded this temple where the goddess was enthroned. Many additions were made to it by rich votaries and Rāj Chand Kaur, widow of Kharak Singh, gilded the dome etc.

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhojki Brahmanas, whose castes and gots are:</td>
<td>A great fair during the navaratras in Chet and Asuaj.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day, morning and evening. Milk, fruits, sweets, rice &amp;c. form the bhog which is offered five times a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste.</td>
<td>Got.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Devi in Kāṅga

The following mandirs are connected with this:


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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Jatanti Devī at Nandrol stands on a high ridge south of the Kāṅga fort. The meaning of the name is that the Devī killed all the rākṣasas which used to vex the gods, so in return they worshipped her.</td>
<td>A Brama, Bhojki, got Bhārdwaj.</td>
<td>None, but people come to see the image on the Shivrātri.</td>
<td>The Brahmanas and Rājputs in the neighbourhood adore the Devī as their family deity. Worship is performed morning and evening. Bhog of tūḍā or pēra is offered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Ambā Devī in the Kāṅga fort dates from the times of the Pāndavas. This Devī is the family deity of the Kākoī family.</td>
<td>Brahman, caste Sarāi, got Sāndāl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The usages of bhog and lighting a lamp have ceased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjani Devī’s temple at Ghāśā Kalān. This Devī was a daughter of Gautam who, for unknown reasons, caused her to bear a son during her virginity, whereupon she abandoned her home and came here for devotion in seclusion. The temple was founded by Jamadār Khushāl Singh of Lahore in 8, 1899.</td>
<td>Udāsī</td>
<td>Jēṭh 20th</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone slab on which are engraved images of Anjani and the hoof marks of the cows which gave her milk. Behind it are 3 baolts or springs formed by her miraculous power. Worship is performed morning and evening. Milk in the morning, rice at noon, and fried gram in the evening form the bhog. A sacred lamp is lit daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Sitlā Mahādev in Tīka Bagdī. The mandir of Sitlā Devī in Pālampur.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosāl, got Aṭās.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>It contains a pīṇḍi of Shiva, one span high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhojki</td>
<td>Each Tuesday in Jēṭh and Hār.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone pīṇḍi of the goddess. No bhog is offered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The shrines of Devī in other districts have seldom more than a very local reputation: the most famous, perhaps are the Bhaddar Kālī temple at Nizābīg near Lahore, the Jogmāya temple in Multān, where offerings are made and lamps lit on the 1st and 8th of every month, and the old Jogmāya temple at the Mahrauli where the Hindus of Delhi hold their yearly festival of fans, the ‘Paukhā melā’.

There are, however, temples to various Devis scattered over the eastern districts and other parts of the province. Often associated with other cults the most important of these Devis are Saraswati at Pehowa, Śīvānī at Tānesar, Mansa Devī in Gurgāon, Jhandka in Dera Ismaīl Khān and others:

The most important old temples in Pehowa are those of Devī Saraswati, Śvāmī-Kārtikā and Prithivishwarn Mahādeva:

1. The two fairs at Saraswati’s temple are held on Chet 1st, chaturdashi Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, Kārtikā shukla-pakṣa and pūrūmāsī. It is named after the daughter of Brahma and the stream on which it stands. When the Śvāmī Vishvāmitra in his jealousy of Śvāmī Vasishtha invited Oghawati-Saraswati to bring his rival to him the goddess carried the land on which Vasishtha sat to his abode, but divining his intention she bore the sage back again. Thereupon Vishvāmitra cursed the stream, that her water should be turned into blood
and be no longer worthy of life. But Vasishtha invited all the gods and drew into the stream water from the Arupa nadi. When the gods assembled the sthāpaṇa of the goddess was first set up and the temple founded on the 14th of Chaitra. The junction with the Aruna was effected on the same date, and since then the water of the Saraswati became amrit, and the blood, which was food for evil spirits, was purged away. The confluence of the two streams removes all sins and a pindaśana at the Kund purifies even the pishācha form. Hence the chatuṅgashī in Chaitra is also called Pishācha-Mochani. And a pindudakakarma on that date at the temple and stream according to Hindu belief releases the souls of pitras from Pretayoni and gives them moksh or emancipation. The fair has been held on that date every year in commemoration of the event. The second fair lasts 5 days in Kārttiṅk from the ekādshi to the piyaraṇmāsi. It is held in the Krittikā nakshatra piyaraṇmāsi and to bathe in the Saraswati in that period gives health, wealth, prosperity and birth of children. It is impossible to guess the temple's age. The building is a small one and only contains an image of Saraswati riding on a swan and made of Makrana stone. The officiating Brahmans are Goats of the Kananjia got.

2. The temple of Kārttikeya is visited on the piyaraṇmāsi in Kārttiṅk. It contains his image but is dedicated to Kārtu Skanda, the god of war, and was founded when the Mahābhārata was about to begin. The image of Kārttikeya has 6 faces as that god was named after his 6 nurses who form the stars of the Krittika asterism, the Pleiades, and is mounted on a peacock. Vermilion and oil are invariably offered as acceptable to the god. Two lamps are kept burning continually.

3. No fair is held at the temple of Prithivishwara Mahādeva, who is also called Prithūdakshewara, 'lord of Prithudaka,' or Pehowa. Prithivishwara means 'lord of the earth.' The temple was founded by the Mahārātras during their ascendance, and it is also said to have been repaired by one Kripālupuri Śwāmī about 100 years ago. Over the building is a large dome and its interior is 6 yards square. It contains a stone image of Mahādeva about 2 feet high. A sidhu pujārī, who is a Sanyāsi, is appointed and kept by the panchāyat of Brahmans and is removable at their will. The Brahmans also do pujā.

At the Bhawānī Dwāra at Thānesar the Devi's image is seated in a small building in the precincts of the main temple. It is 8 fingers high. Small images of Kāli and Bhairon (Bhairav) also serve to decorate the temple.

At Pari Devī's temple in Banpuri in Gurgāon a fair is held on the 6th suddi of Chet and Asauj. The offerings are estimated at Rs. 400 a year. Nearly 30 years ago one Jawāla of Fatehābid built the temple but the precise date of the year is not known. A chirāgh fed with ghī is lit twice a day during Chet and on each aśṭamī a virgin girl is fed with karāh or confection prepared for the occasion. When a goat is offered to the mandir, the pujārī paints its forehead with sandhūr and turns it loose. It is generally taken by the sweepers.

1 The story goes that Kārttikeya on being deprived of the leadership of the deotas tore all the flesh from his body leaving only the bones. But the image does not appear to depict this. There are said to be really two images, one of stone, the other of wood.
of the village. The idols are of marble, one being 27 inches long and the other 18. The former is mounted on a lion. The administration vests in a Gaur Brahman who offers 

bhog and lights a lamp twice a day, morning and evening.

In Kohá, Deví has her abode on more than one peak. Thus Hukman Deví occupies a peak in Shakkardarra which is visited by Hindus at the Baisákhi. Chuka Máí is the highest peak on Shinghár, and Hindus from afar visit it on the naurdas and asktami. Khumari Deví is found in the village of that name and Aśa Deví in Nar. Muhammadánás also visit this village and call it sidrat Okhla.

The classical myths of Deví are very numerous and divergent. As Saraswati she is the goddess of learning, wife of Brahma in the later mythology, and personified in the river Saraswati in Karnál which was to the early Hindus what the Ganges is to their descendants. As a destructress she is Káli, as genetrix she is symbolised by the yoni, as a type of beauty she is Uma, and as a malignant being Durga. But she is also Sáti, 'the faithful' spouse, Ambiká, Gauri, Bhawáni and Taá. As the wife of Shíva she is Párvati, 'she of the hills,' her home is with him in Kailásha the mountain and she is the mother of Ganesha and Kárttikéyá. In orthodox Hindu worship the Earth is worshipped in the beginning as an 'Athar Shakti' or supporting force, and in several other forms of worship Earth is taken as a personification of some goddess or other. But the worship of an Earth mother goddess is not very prevalent in this province except as part of some other worship.

But Káli or Durga must not be regarded as merely as a personification of lust for blood. Deví obtained her name of Durga by slaying the giant of that name. He had obtained Brahma's blessing by his austerities, but grew so mighty that he alarmed the gods. The legend may recall in a dim way the extirpation of some tyrannical form of priest craft. But Deví's achievement did not end with the slaying of Durga. According to the Márkandéya Puráña, the goddess assumed ten incarnations, including Káli the terrible and Chhinna-mastáka, the headless. In the latter guise she gained her famous victory over the rákshasa Nisumbha. Even the Káli incarnation was assumed in order to overthrow Raktavíja, the champion of another rákshasa, Sumbha, just as that of Taá, the saviour, was assumed to destroy Sumbha himself. Deví also overcame a Tunda rákshasa, but his death is ascribed to Nahusha, the progenitor of the Lunar race, and his son Vítná was killed by Deví as Durga, the 'inaccessible.'

1 Similarly Chashma Bábá Nának in Hangu is frequented by Hindus on the Baisákhi.
2 B. D. Martín, The Gods of India, p 90. For an account of her temple see infra.
3 In the Simla Hills besides the Greater (Başı) Káli we find a Lesser (Chhośi) whose functions are not at all clear. The Başı Káli hants the 'hills.' She is worshipped with sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps. The difference between the Başı and the Chhośi Káli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4. Similarly in these hills we find a Younger Lonkra and a chhośi Diwáli festival. All attempts to obtain explanations of these reflected in duplicate gods and festivals have failed.
4 B., p. 179 f.
5 B., p. 183.
6 Chhinna-mastáka is the modern Channunda or Champa. 
7 S. C. B., VIII, p 276.
But in Kulu the legend regarding Tunḍī Bhūt is that he was a daity or
demon at Manāli (in Kulu) who having conquered the dotaas demanded
a sister of theirs in marriage. Bāsu Nag on this proposed to deceive
him by giving him a mason or Thawī’s daughter named Timbār
Shackha, who appears in other tales as a rākhsha, and Manu the Khiṣi
consented to make Tunḍī accept her. He overcame the daity at Khokar,
north of the Rohtang pass in Lāhul, but in memory of his victory a
temple was built to him at Manāli, south of that pass. He compelled
Tunḍī to marry the girl. Tunḍī is in legend a demon who devoured
men, until Manu put logs into his mouth and killed him. In front of
this temple stands a pile of huge spruce logs, on an altar. These are
said to be replaced three at a time every three years. At the annual
fair called Phāgali—a khepra or mask (lit. evil form)
of Tunḍī rākhsha is carried about.¹

Kālī as Chāmunda, carrying her head in her hands, is worshipped
at the Hoi, eight days before the Diwālī. At the beginning of the
Kuljug death, pestilence and famine desolated the world although
Brahmans prayed and fasted on the 7th of the dark half of each month.
They would indeed have lost heart and given up that practice but for
a Jhīwarni, who came and sitting in their midst encouraged them to
persevere. After a while Kālka appeared and declared that as the ills
prevailing were due to mankind’s loose morals, it could only be saved
by a fast on the 7th of the dark half of Kātik till moonrise or on the
8th till starlight. During this fast the Jhīwarni is exalted to a place
of honour. She is petted by the ladies of the house who act as her
tire-woman. After the house has been plastered with cow-dung, figures
of a palanquin and its bearers are made in colours on the walls and
worshipped in the usual way, offerings of radishes, sweet potatoes and
other roots in season being made. This is the account given in the
Atātik Māhinā where Virthiv Rāj asks Nārada to account for the
Hoi, and the sage tells him the above story. But another account is
that Hui or Hoi was a Brahman maid of seven whom the Moelims
tried to convert by force. She took refuge in a Jhīwarni’s hut and
when her pursuers overtook her disappeared into the earth. Since then
the water-carriers have looked upon her as a goddess, other Hindus
following their example.²

This goddess’ name appears to have been transferred to Bāba Chūda
Bhandāri whose shrine at Batila is affected by the Bhandāri section of
the Khatris³ and the ear-piercing rite is performed there by its members.
At some fight in its neighbourhood he lost his head, but his headless
trunk went on fighting, sword in hand, into the town. In the streets
it fell and there its shrine was built.⁴

Legends of headless men are also common in other connections.
Thus when Parjadat, the Kumhār (potter), began to build Pānīpat its
walls and buildings fell down all night as fast as he built them by day

¹ N. I. N. Q., IV, § 35. The late Prof G. Oppert explained the story as a legend-
ary account of the suppression of Kali worship, with its human sacrifices, by a purer faith,
but it looks rather like an account of the extermination of an old Tibetan demon-worship
by a cult of Kali herself.
² P. N. Q., II, § 799.
⁴ E. C. R., VIII, p. 266.
Devi's personifications.

and so the Brahmins and astrologers made him place the head of a Sayyid (Shahid) in its foundations. By chance a Sayyid boy came straight from Mecca and him the people slew and put his head under the foundations. This drew down on them the vengeance of his kin, but the boy's headless corpse fought against them on the side of his murderers. Cf. also the legend of Brahman, infra.

But Devi has yet another attribute, that of self-sacrifice. The classical story is that Uma's spouse Shiva was not bidden to a great sacrifice offered by Daksha, her father. From the crest of Kailasa she saw the crowds flocking to her father's court and thither she betook herself, but on learning of her husband's exclusion she refused to retain the body which he had bestowed upon her and gave up her life in a trance. Vishnu cut her body into pieces to calm the outraged deity by concealing it from his view or, as other versions go, Shiva himself picked up her corpse in his trident and carried it off. Portions of it fell at many places, such as Hingula (Hinglaj) in Balochistan where the crown fell.

The Punjab can however not boast many of the sites at which fragments of the Devi fell. The top of her neck fell at Kasmira, her tongue at Jalandhara, her right breast at Jalandhara, and her right ankle at Kurukshetra.

The days most holy to Devi are the first nine days of the waxing moon in the months of the Chetr (March-April) and Asauj (September-October). Some persons will fast in the name of Devi on the eighth lunar day (avatam) of every mouth, and perform special ceremonies on that day. Sometimes they will light lamps (jol) of flour, and when a Brahman has read the Devi-path, he will prostrate themselves before the lamps. Sometimes it is customary to distribute rice and sweetmeats on this day to unmarried girls; and goldsmiths will often close their shops in honour of the day. The greatest ashtamis of all are however those in the months above-mentioned; and of the two great yearly festivals, that of Asauj, the navaratna properly so called, is the greatest, following as it does immediately after the completion of the annual shraddha or commemoration of the dead. It is the custom in some parts of the country for worshippers of Devi on the first day of their festival to sow barley and water it and keep a lamp burning by it, and on the eighth day to cut it and light a sacrificial fire (hom), breaking their fast next day.

Devi is personified in a girl under ten years of age twice a year and offerings are made to her as if to the goddess on these occasions On the 3rd of Chet sam, there is, in Hissar, a special rite, unmarried girls making an image of Gangor of clay or gobar, which is loaded with ornaments and 'then, after its marriage ceremony has been performed, cast into a well. It is characteristic of the close connection between the peoples of the eastern hills and Rajputana that this rite should be found in Kangra, under the name of Bali worship. Images of Siva and Parbat are made by girls who perform their marriage and then throw them into a pool or river. The ceremonies commence in Chet and end on the sankrant of Daiisakh and are traditionally supposed to commemorate the

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1 S. O. E., VIII, p. 268.
3 Special feasts are given to little girls twice a year and they are given fees, as if they were Brahmins, P. N. Q., III, S 416.
The Rali fair.

suicide of a woman married to a boy much younger than herself, but a different explanation has been suggested. The deities Siva and Pārbatī.

Kânga Gasehâer, 1902. Golden Bough, II, p. 109. The legend goes that once upon a time a Brahmin gave his full-grown daughter in marriage to a child. When the ceremony was over and the bride was sent to her husband's house, she saw how things really stood. So in her despair she stopped her goli bearers on the road by a river, and called out to her brother Bastu: "It has been my fate to be married to a child, and I live no more. But in future in memory of my wretched fate, let girls make three toy images of earth, one of me, one of my husband, and one of you, my brother Bastu, and let them worship these images for the whole month of Chait (March–April) every year until they are married. Then let them marry those images, as I was married, on the 1st Baisakh, and on the 2nd or 3rd day thereafter let them take the images in a goli to the banks of a river, and there let them drown them in it. And let this be done in honour of me, Rali the bride, Shankar, my husband, and you, Bastu, my brother. The blessing that shall spring forth from this rite shall be that she who performs it shall never marry an unsuitable husband." Saying this she sprang into the river, and was drowned, and in their grief at this, her husband and brother drowned themselves also. Ever since the worship of Rali, Shankar and Bastu, has been universal throughout the district of Kangra. The three chief fairs in honour of Rali are held at Baij Nâth, at Dâda, half way between Pâlampur and Dharamsâla, and at Chari, three miles west of Dharamsâla. Many songs are sung by children in honour of Rali, and the images are adorned with wild flowers. The children bathe every day during the month of Chait, and fast on the 1st, 2nd and 4th Mondays of that month. The images are dressed up according to the means of the parents, and are finally thrown into a river with songs and ceremonies.

This legend raises an interesting question. 'Did a custom ever exist of taking to wife an adult woman destined to be the bride of a grandson or grandnephew? As to this problem see Dr. W. H. R. Rivers' Kinship and Social Organisation, 1914, pp. 33, 34, 37 and 56, and of the Simla Hills proverb:—

Chis chandla gujhi biyha; bâna chandla totâ;
Rali yuge ra pûrnâ lûdâ; aâdi lâi-guad potâ.
'A dove is perched on the top of a pungi, and a parrot on the top of an oak;'
'Tis said of this iron age, that a grandson has taken away a grandmother.'

Cf. the following note from the Indian Antiquary, Volume XI, p. 297:—The Rali is a small earthen painted image of Siva or Pârvati. The Rali ka melâ or Rali fair is a long business, and occupies most of Chait (March–April) up to the Sankrânt of Baisakh (April). Its celebration is entirely confined to young girls, and is in vogue all over the district. It is celebrated thus:—All the little girls of the place turn out of their houses one morning in March and take small baskets of dub grass and flowers to a certain fixed spot, where they throw them all into a heap. Round this heap they stand in a circle and sing. This goes on every day for ten days, until the heap of grass and flowers reaches a respectable size. They then cut in the jungles two branches having three prongs at one end and place them, prongs downwards, over the flower heap so as to make two tripods or pyramids. On the single uppermost points of these branches they get a chitara or painted image maker to construct two clay images, one to represent Siva and the other Pârvati. All these girls join in collecting the clay for these, and all help as much as they can in the construction of the images themselves, this being a 'good work.' The girls then divide themselves into two parties, one for Siva and one for Pârvati, and set to work to marry the images in the usual way, leaving out no part of the ceremonies, not even the bârdi or procession. After the marriage they have a feast, which is paid for jointly by contributions solicited from their parents. After this at the next Sankrânt (Baisakh) they all go together to the riverside, and throw the ralis into it at any point where there happens to be a deep pool and over the place, as though they were performing funeral obsequies. The boys of the neighbourhood frequently worry them by diving for the ralis and rescuing them and warning them about, while the girls are crying over them. The object of this fair is to secure a good husband. These fairs are held on a small scale in all the principal places in Kangra, but the chief ones are at Kangra itself, where the Kangana is the river used for the disposal of the ralis, and at Chari, a village 10 miles from Kangra, and on the river Dharamsâla, on the river Pabbar. The largest fair is held there.

This recalls a rite practised by Hindus in Attok with a not dissimilar object, viz. to obtain rain in time of drought. In it boys and girls collect together; two dolls are dressed up as a man and a woman, they all say: guddhi gudda margia; and then they burn them with small sticks and lament their death saying:—

Guddhi gudda sârdâ
Was mââ kâdia;
Guddhi gudda pîsštia,
Was mââ chîfissta;
Kâla patthar chîfis roor,
Baddal pia giramwâzâ kâl.

Dolls we burnt to ashes down,
Black cloud! soon come down;
Dolls well we bewailed,
Do, white rain! set in;
Stones black and pebbles white,
Cloud (rain) felt near village site.'
are conceived as spirits of vegetation, because their images are placed in branches over a heap of flowers and grass, but this theory leaves many points unexplained.

The worship of young girls as Devīs is always cropping up. Some years ago some enterprising people of the Kapūrthala State got two or three young unmarried girls and gave out that they had the power of Devīs. The ignorant accepted this belief and worshipped them as goddesses. They visited various parts of the Jullundur District and were looked up to with great reverence everywhere, but as good results did not follow, the worship died out.

Those who are particularly the followers of Devī are called in an especial sense Bhagatas, and the Bhagatas of our census returns are probably worshippers of this goddess. The sacred books of the sect are the Devī Purāṇa, a part of the Mārkanda Purāṇa, the Chandi Pāṭh and the Purāṇ Sahastranām.

In the west of the Province at any rate the Devī-upasak are chiefly Sunārās, Khatrīs, Jogīs, Saniāsās etc. who follow the books specified above. Their places of pilgrimage are Jwālāmukhi, Vaishno Devī in Kashmir and further afield the Vindhyā hills, and Kāli Devī near Calcutta. They are divided into two sects, the Vaishno Devī who abstain from flesh and wine and Kāli worshippers who do not. They worship the image of Devī in temples, revere Gaur Brahmanas, and pay special attention to sacrifices by fire (homa), fast every fortnight, and on Mondays break their fast by eating food cooked on the Sunday night and 'lighting a flame worship Devī.'

The Bām-mārgis.—The most notorious division of the Shāktikas, as the followers of Devī are called, is that of the Bām-mārgis or Vāma-chāris, the 'left-handed' worshippers of Kāli. They are found in many districts, but they are said to be mostly prevalent in Kāṅgam and Kashmir, and they are chiefly recruited from the Saniāsās and Jogīs. The sect is said to have been founded by the Jogī Kanpā; their rites are as a rule kept very secret, but it is generally understood that their chief features are indulgence in meat and spirits and promiscuous debauchery. The Kundā-marg or Kundā-panthi preserve no distinctions of caste in eating, and they worship the fire. The Konsamarg appears to be called Kola-panth, Kola-marg or Kola-dharma, in the Punjab, and to be identical with the Kola-chāri who are worshippers of Saktī according to the left-hand ritual. They preserve caste distinctions, in so far as they eat from separate vessels, and they worship Devī under ten separate names, to wit, Matangi, Bhwaneshari or Bhavaneshari, Baglamukhi, Dhunawai, Bhairavi, Tāra, Chensara, Bhagwati, Shāma and Bāla Sundari. Each man has one of them as his ishā or peculiar patron goddess, and the Jogīs and Saniāsās are said to affect more especially Bāla Sundari. The book of the sect is called the Kahanara, and their creed claims to be founded on the Śiva-Tātra.

1 The word “Mārg” means nothing more than one who follows a “path” or “sect.”
2 It may in some cases be a euphemism for Bām-mārg, but the greater part of the Mārgis of our returns are from the Multān district, where the term is said to be applied generally to a class of followers of the Jain religion.

* P. N. Q., II, §§ 648-650. An account, full but very inaccurate, of the Kolā-chāri by Sirdāru Bahārī, of Kāṅgam.

* Or Dhunawati or Lalita-Dhunawati.

* (Lalita ?) Kālik, Kamale and Vidiya are given as variants of these four names or titles.
There are further and still more disreputable sections of the Bám-márgis, the nature of whose orgies is indicated by their names, such as the Cholf-márg and the Birajpání, whose peculiarities had better be left undescribed.

Orthodox Hindus will not sleep with their feet to the north, out of respect for the Deví who dwells in the Himalayas just as they will not sleep with them to the east out of respect for the Ganges.¹

The Baurias sacrifice to Deví in a manner which is very common in the hills and is doubtless the normal rite everywhere. They immolate a goat, of either sex, at harvest time.² It must be healthy. They make it stand on a platform of earth plastered with cow-dung. They then secure its hind legs with a rope to a peg and taking a little water in the palm of the hand pour it on its nose. If it shivers after the manner of its kind, it is a token that the goddess accepts it and its head is at once struck off by a sudden blow, jhatká, of a sword. A few drops of its blood are offered to the goddess and its carcass is distributed to the by-standers. If the goat does not shiver, it is rejected and another is tried.

A circle is the sign of Deví, and a mark of it is made by women on a pilgrimage at every few yards, upon a stone, or some object near the road, with a mixture of rice-flour and water. These marks are called likhna.³

Akás Deví, 'the goddess of Heaven,' also called Gyásí Deví, is worshipped in the villages round Ambála. Her cult is said to be based on a passage in the Deví Bhágavatí Purána. Her temples contain no image. She is worshipped with the usual objects of procuring sons, effecting cures, and so on. Her temple stood originally at Jatwár village, but in a dream she had the headman of Bibiál transport five bricks from the Jatwár temple to Bibiál so that she might find a resting-place there. He did so, and built round them a mud shrine, giving the offerings of corn etc. to a sweeper whom he appointed to look after the shrine. He also used to present coin to Brahmans. The fairs are held on the 8th and 14th súdi of Chet and on the same dates in Asauj súdi are called Gyásion ká mela.⁴

Behmáta is the goddess who records an infant’s future at its birth. It is a deadly sin to refuse her fire when she demands it, and a faqir who did so was turned into a glow-worm and obliged to carry fire behind him for ever in his tail. Behmáta is Bidhimáta or Bidhúná, and the glow-worm is called honwála kíra (from hóm or havan).

Kanyá Deví, who is worshipped in the Kángra valley, was the daughter of Brahmá Rájá, who was so enamoured of her beauty that he would not give her away in marriage. When pursued by him, she

¹ I. N. Q., IV, § 192.
² P. N. Q., III, § 721.
³ Shib’s mark is a circle with a line through it; a Sidhí has a pair of foot-prints, cf. Oldham, in Contemporary Review, 1885, reprinted in P. N. Q., III, § 102.
fled to a small hill, wherein was a huge rock which split as under and gave her a refuge. At her curse the Rájá was turned into a stone. Her shrine stands to this day on the hill near Nagrota and close by it lies the stone which, disintegrated by the noon-day heat in summer, becomes whole again in the rains. The Rájá’s city too was overwhelmed by the mountains, and the tract on which it stands is a rocky and barren one to this day. It is called Munjeta or Pápnagara. Kaniyá Deví is worshipped like any other Deví.\footnote{P. N. Q., II, § 668.}

A shrine very similar to that of Bhúmia (but clearly one erected to a manifestation of Deví) is called Paththarwálí in Gurgaon. When a man who has in sickness put on the cord of Deví recovers he has to perform a pilgrimage to Nagarkoś or Jawálamukhi in Kánga, taking with him a bhagat or devotee of the goddess. While he is absent, the women of his family worship Paththarwálí.

**DEVÍ CULTS IN CHAMBA.**

The worship of Deví assumes the most diverse forms in the hills. It is not by any means always ancient, and though often of great antiquity appears to be quite distinct from that of the Nágis. Thus in Chamba the Devis are female deities, and are believed to have power to inflict and remove disease in man and beast. They are not associated with springs like the Nágis. It is common to find a Nág and a Deví temple side by side, and similar attributes are ascribed to both. Some of them, like the Nágis, have the power to grant rain. The worship is similar to that at Nág temples, and the offerings are disposed of in the same manner. The image is usually of stone in human form, but snake figures are not as a rule present. The temple furnishings are similar to those of Nág temples. In front of the Deví temples may usually be seen the figure of a tiger in stone: this is the váhana or vehicle of the goddess. The most famous Deví temples are those of Lakhshana Deví at Brahmaur, Shaktí Deví at Chhatrari, Chamunda Deví at Chamba and Deví Koðhi, Mindhal Deví in Pángri, and Mirkula Deví in Lálhul. Sen Deví at Shah in Sámrá has a temple ascribed to Músha Varma. Its fair is held on Baisákhi 3rd, and her chelas are Ráthis.\footnote{For some further details see Vol. II, pp. 213, 214, 269 and 271. On pp. 214 and 271 Chaund is undoubtedly to be Chámdána Deví.}

The following is a list of the principal Devís worshipped in Brahmaur and the southern part of the Sadr wizárat of Chamba:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Pujaás and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bil Bhairon and Ban-khandi</td>
<td>Bhairongháti</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Charpat Jogia Agánsí Gaddis</td>
<td>Sáhil Varma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{footnote} P. N. Q., II, § 668. \end{footnote}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Puja as and chairs</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bharāri</td>
<td>Tcohā</td>
<td>Trehtā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shipyānu Brahmanas</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharāri</td>
<td>Chanhotā</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharāri</td>
<td>Gāglā</td>
<td>Kalundrā</td>
<td>Katak, 6th-7th</td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmāni</td>
<td>Brahmsār</td>
<td>Brahmsār</td>
<td></td>
<td>Malān Gaddi</td>
<td>Sājan Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmundā</td>
<td>Sirnā</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Chet 30th</td>
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<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chāmundā</td>
<td>Gawārī</td>
<td>Sāmrā</td>
<td>Asārh 7th or 8th</td>
<td>Rānas</td>
<td>New</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chāmundā</td>
<td>Sher</td>
<td>Brahmsār</td>
<td>Bhādun 3rd</td>
<td>Khapri Brahmanas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmundā</td>
<td>Sanāhan</td>
<td>Sāmrā</td>
<td>Asārh 1st or 2nd &amp; Asanuj 2nd or 3rd</td>
<td>Uren Gaddis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatrārhi or Adahakti</td>
<td>Pīura</td>
<td>Jāgrā on the 8th shukal pakh of Bhādon and 9th, 10th and 11th</td>
<td>Sārsut Bhārdwāj Rātan Totsan Gaur</td>
<td>Prithvi Singh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hīrimbā</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thitān Brahmanas, Ghuksān Gaddis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhnā</td>
<td>Ghimā</td>
<td>Brahmsār</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mogn Gaddis</td>
<td>Yungākar Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Kareri</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Sāwan 1st</td>
<td>Pehnān Gaddis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Sāwan 1st</td>
<td>Ghuksān Gaddis, Thulāyān Gaddis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>Hari 5th-9th</td>
<td>Ghuksān Gaddis</td>
<td>Prithvi Singh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Pargana</td>
<td>Date of Fair</td>
<td>Pejáras and chelas</td>
<td>Founded in the reign of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jálpé</td>
<td>Bhashyánk</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Baisákh 9th</td>
<td>Dumar Brahman</td>
<td>Músah Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jálpé</td>
<td>Khandráram</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Hari 10th-12th</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jálpé</td>
<td>Girrer Mhowa</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Baisákh</td>
<td>Latmán Gaddás</td>
<td>Músah Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabrá</td>
<td>Baloth</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthás</td>
<td>Músah Varma</td>
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<td>Kaloháli</td>
<td>Kulethá</td>
<td>Trehté</td>
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<td>Hilák Brahman</td>
<td>Músah Varma</td>
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<td>Kalbotá</td>
<td>Líl</td>
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<td>Gádalas Gaddás</td>
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<td>Líl</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthás</td>
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<td>Louná</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Jógrá on Sáwan 4th.</td>
<td>Aurel Gaddás</td>
<td>Músah Varma</td>
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<td>Auráh</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Sáwan 6th</td>
<td>Kurete Gaddás</td>
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<td>Leunídi</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Liundial Gaddás</td>
<td>Kirit Varma</td>
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<td>Tundáh</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Jógrá on pará masí in Bhádon or Asanúj</td>
<td>Chhataryán Brahman</td>
<td>Suvarna Varma</td>
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<td>Thalá</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
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<td>Dáhrán Gaddás</td>
<td>Sáhil Varma</td>
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<td>Mándhá</td>
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<td>Brahmanstu Brahman</td>
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<td>Kóthi Ranbu</td>
<td>Bhádon 4th</td>
<td>Boti Brahman</td>
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<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Sáwan 4th</td>
<td>Bhugáhsan Brahman</td>
<td>Bijai Varma</td>
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<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Asanúj 10th and Bhádon 11th.</td>
<td>Sárnút Ráñátu Brahman of the Bhempál gót</td>
<td>Mora Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Bhada r Káli)</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Badgráin</td>
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</table>
## Devi in Chamba

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Pujastras and ochias</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Jandrot</td>
<td>Piurá</td>
<td>Daljátras in Bhádon or Assaj</td>
<td>Kalán Brahmanas</td>
<td>Mósh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shiv Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Bakán</td>
<td>Bakán</td>
<td>Jágrá on Háy 13th.</td>
<td>Báthís</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tungsán Devi</td>
<td>Gosan</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Bhádon 1st</td>
<td>Ramén Gaddés</td>
<td>Yugákarp Varma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brahmani Devi's history is this. A Brahmani had a son, who had a pet chakor (partridge), which was killed by a peasant. The boy died of grief, and his mother became sáti, burning herself with her son and the partridge, and began to afflict the people, so they built her a temple.

In Pángi only four Devis are noted—Singhássan Deví at Suráit in pargana Darwás, Shil at Sákhi, and Chaund at Ré, Manghássan at Purthí, all three in Lách.

Deví Chámanda of Gáwári revealed herself in a dream to Rája Sri Singh, and ordered him to remove her from Prithvíjor to this place. The temple at Sri was built by Rája Úggar Singh who vowed to make it, if it ceased raining, it having rained incessantly when he had gone to bathe at Maní Mahesh.

Deví Chhatráhári or Ádshakti, "original power," has a curious legend. A land-owner suspected his cowherd of milking his cow in the forest, so he kept watch and found that the cow gave her milk at a spot under a tree. The goddess then appeared to him in a dream, and begged him to bring her to light. Searching at the spot the man found a stone pindi or image, which he was taking to his home, when it stopped at a certain spot, and there its temple was built.¹ Rája Bala Bhádra (A. D. 1589 - 1641) granted it 36 lákris of land whence the Deví was called Chhatráhári.

The legend associated with Mindhal Deví is as follows:—The spot where the temple stands was originally occupied by a house, consisting of an upper and a lower storey, as is usual in Pángi, belonging to a widow with seven sons. One day in early autumn while she was cooking in the upper storey a black stone appeared in the chula causing her much annoyance. She tried to beat it down but in vain. At last she was seized with a trembling, and thus knew that the stone was a Deví. Rushing outside she called to her sons, who were ploughing in a field with two oxen to a plough, that a Deví had appeared in the house. They made light of the matter and asked tauntingly if the Deví would enable them to plough with one ox, or give them a sásan. Immediately the widow and her sons were turned to stone, she in the

¹ This temple was erected in the reign of Rája Mér Varma (A. D. 680—700).
house and they in the field. From that time only one ox to a plough has been used in ploughing at Mindhal and the place has been a ṭāsan grant for many centuries.  

**Devi Cults in Sirmik**

There is a temple of Devi Jawalamukhi (‘goddess of the flaming mouth’ ) at Isa Na Rawana, concerning which the following legend is told:—Mahant Twar Nath and the Devi met at Hardwar, where they had gone to bathe, and, when leaving, the mahant asked the Devi when he should meet her again. The goddess promised to meet him after two years at Rawana, and duly manifested herself in his mouth, but the mahant being unaware of her advent struck his mouth and thus caused the goddess to flee from him. Simultaneously the whole surrounding forest caught fire, and the people, thinking the mahant must be an evil spirit who had enraged the goddess, called in Brahman who found out the truth. It is said that the stones are still black from the fire which consumed the temple. The place having been purified, a temple was built and a Brahman pujaari appointed. The pujaari offers incense and bhog every Sunday morning and on the first day of the month (saṅkrānti).  The fair is held on the Durgā Ashtmi day in Assuj.

*Nagarkoṭi Devi* has her home at Shāyā Pajotha and Sharauli, and the legend states that the Pāndavas on their way from Kailās to Kurukshetra stopped at Shāyā, and built a temple here for the goddess, or, as some say, brought the goddess here. The temple faces south, and on the eighth day of the bright half of the month offerings are made to the goddess. Sapāra is also associated with Nagarkoṭi Devi, but the place is one of peculiar sanctity whether the goddess be present or absent from it. There is also a Nagarkoṭi Devī at Dalāhān, known also as Dalāhān Devi.

Bis Nāna is the home of Bhartī Devi, who is said to have been brought from Kidār Nātha Badri Narain in Dehra Dún. She is also called Kūshikī Devi.

There is a temple of Devī on the hill of Lai, built by Bhīma Rāngar, the famous robber. Worship is performed here on the saṅkrāntis and every Sunday and naurātra in Assuj and Chet.

Devi Bhangain has a ling temple in Dhār village, a mile north of Bhung. The legend runs that certain cowherds used to graze cattle in a forest, and their children, seeing a pointed stone, broke it in pieces, but next day the pieces had joined together and all traces of injury had disappeared. This occurred several times, and so the cultivators of Dāśakna, convinced of the ling’s miraculous power, erected a temple there. The Shiv Ling, four inches high and as many in girth, is known as Devi Bhangain, and is never clothed or ornamented. There is no special pujaari, and pilgrims bring their own Brahman. The offerings consist of milk, ghī and he-goats. The flesh of the latter is eaten by the pilgrims, the head being given to the Brahman pujaari. The fair  

1 The people believe that if two oxen are used one of them will die.

2 The term Rāngar or Rangbar used to be much more wide-spread than it is now. It was used, for example, of the people of Morinda Bhangainwala in Ambala and of those of Sahidā and Bātā in Gurdaspur: Khasān Singh, *Philosophic History of the Sikh Religion*, Pt. 1, pp. 211, 216.
Devī in Sirmūr.

It is held on different dates in Asāř, and is attended by the goddesses Bhāṭs and Ghatrīāli. Only the people of Bhojes Thakari and Dasākna attend.

The arrangements for the worship of Nāśa Devī at Bālla are of interest. The pujařis belong to eight families of Deva Bhāṭs, each family taking the duties for a month in turn and receiving a share of the produce at each harvest from the neighbouring villages. If the pujařis perform their service inefficiently and fail to exhibit in a convincing manner the virtues of the goddess, they receive no dues. The Devī has no temple, but her images are kept in the house of a Bhāṭ. The original image, when brought from Keonthal, was first placed in that house, for which reason the people do not venture to place it elsewhere. The images are 15 or 16 in number, the oldest being fixed (asthāpanā). It is about a foot in height, with four hands, but only the bust is carved. It has a canopy of silver, and wears a necklace of rubies, silver ornament (ṣis-phul) on its head and a silver necklet (gal-sira) and has also a silver pajauquin. The fair is held on the Rānwi Dār above the village on the first three days of Sāwan, and is attended by the men of Karāli and the neighbouring bhōjes, who sing and dance. On each evening of the fair, the image of the goddess visits Thauntha, Mashiwa and Tatiāna villages, but in the day-time it remains at the fair. It is believed that if cholera or any other epidemic breaks out in a village it can be stopped by taking the image there.

The fair of the goddess Lā is held in the jungle near Naglā Toka on the autohrānt of each month. The temple is small and of great antiquity, containing a stone image of the goddess. She is worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadan Gūjars.

About sixty years ago the people of bhōj Bajga proclaimed the appearance of the goddess of Tilokpur at Shākūr, so they built a temple to her as the new goddess. At her fairs on the autohrānt of each month the goddess possesses a Kanet who dances in the temple, and then coming outside shows himself to the assembled multitude who hail him with shouts of jai-jai, and bow before him. In his ecstacy he prescribes remedies for afflicted men and beasts.

The goddess at Kawāg on the dhār of that name is worshipped by Bhāṭs alone, and only Bhāṭs dance in her honour. Her ritual is the same as that of the new goddess. The temple is old, and now roofless.

The goddess at Belgī is known under that name, but is also worshipped as Simlāsan.

Devī Kudīn has her temple at Dūdam in Tahsil Pachhād. The legend is that she was a daughter of Sur Purkāsh, Rājā of Sirmūr, who was blind, and lived in Neri Jāgilā. When the Rājā refused to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor the latter sent a host against him through Dehara Dōn, which was met by the Rājā’s army under the princess herself. The Sirmūr forces were annihilated in the battle, and the parohī of the princess brought her head to Dūdam where he erected a temple and began to worship the princess. Another version says that the
princess fell in an attack on Delhi, and after her death revealed to the parohit that he would find her at a certain spot, at which after a search the parohit found the image now in the temple. The fair is held on the ikalshik before the Diwali, on which day the image is placed on a singhāsaon or throne. This is also done on each Sunday in Hār.

At Nāog, now in Patisālā territory, lived Lagāsan Devi, the sister of Kudin. Her temple is at Khargāon. Her fair is held on the ikalshik before the Dewali. It is said that she appeared at the source of the river Gīri, but others say she appeared from that river at Khargāon.

At Tilokpur is the temple of Devī Bāla Sundri. There is held a large fair in her honour in the month of Chet when the Rājā attends and a buffalo and several he-goats are sacrificed. She is as commonly worshipped by hillmen as by people of the plains.

The goddess Katāsan has a temple at Barābhān, seven miles south of Nāhem on the road to Paunta. In a battle between the Rājpūts and Ghulām Qādir, Rohilla, a woman appeared fighting for the former, when their defeat seemed imminent, and the Muhammadians were routed. The temple was built to commemorate the Rājpūt victory. On the sixth day of the mautakāras in Asuṣ and Chet āhan is performed in the temple, and the Rājā occasionally visits the temple in person or deputes a member of the royal family to be present.

Devī in the Simla Hills.

Devī Adeshakti or Durga Mātā.—A Brahman of the Sakteru Pujāry family relates that more than 190 generations ago his ancestors came from Kāshi (Benares) and settled at Hāt Koṭi; and that one of them came to Kachet village with Adeshakti Bhagwati. This goddess, with her sister and Koṭ Ishwar, were shut up in the lāmī as has been told in the account of Koṭ Ishwar. Adeshakti flew to the top of Tikkar hill above Ghāmán, a village in Kuhārsain and settled there in the form of a līṅg. Her presence was revealed to a mawānna of Tikkar in a dream, and the līṅg was found and placed in a temple. The other pujāris of Kachet say that Adeshakti, commonly called Bhagwati Mātā, no doubt came from Hāt Koṭi, but that she was never imprisoned in a tūmbi, and that when the pānda of Hāt Koṭi had shut up Koṭ Ishwar in the tūmbi the two Durga sisters accompanied him, one walking ahead and the other behind him, looking for an opportunity to release him. When the pānda fell and Koṭ Ishwar escaped the two sisters also flew away. First they went to Kachet village and thence to Hātū, Durga Mātā settled at Tikkar in which neighbourhood Bhuria, once a powerful mawānna, had fallen into difficulties. He consulted Brahmins and then sent for a number of virgins and, having made them sit in a row, cried aloud that the spirit that distressed the mawānna, whether he were a god or a devil, should appear and reveal through one of the girls why he had harassed the mawānna. One of the girls began to dance in an ecstasy and said that Bhagwati Mitā was lying on Tikkar hill in the form of a līṅg and that of the two sisters one lived on Kandā, the top, and the other at Munda, the foot of the hill. The mawānna and his
Brahmans excused themselves saying that they had not known of their presence, and they promised to build a temple for the Māṭā. The girl in a trance walked up the Tikkar hill, the other virgins, the Brahmans and the navanna following her. The girl pointed out the spot where the ling lay, and on that spot was built the temple called Māṭī Deori, which still exists. At that time Polas, a Brahman from the Sindhu Des, came to Lathi village and began to worship Durga Māṭā. He came to look after Kot Ishwar who would not appear before him, but at last after 12 years he revealed himself and then the Brahman began to worship him. Kot Ishwar gave the pujāris of Batara village to Bhagwati Māṭā for worship. These pujāris are said to have come from Koru Desh. The Mateog Brahmans were settled in Batara and they worship Kot Ishwar daily, but at the four Sankrants in Baisakh, Sāwan, and Māgh and at the Diwāli the Sherkoṭu Brahmanas officiate.

Kirti Singh, the first Rānā of the Kumbharsain family, acknowledged Durga Bhagwati as sister of Kot Ishwar and built her a new temple at Kacheri. Every third year a Pūja mela is held and the State pays the expenses.

According to the custom of the Kumbharsain family the jadola ceremony (cutting the hair of a son or wearing nose or earring by the girl) is performed at Māṭī Deora. The Rānā and his Rānis go in person to this temple with their children for the ceremony. Similarly on ascending the gaddi the new Rānā with his family attends at the Māṭī Deora ceremony called the Jawāla Jātra. Bhagwati Māṭā holds a petty jagir from the State and also has a small kalan (deodār) forest. Goats are sacrificed to her, and every third year or when desired buffaloes are also killed before her at Māṭī Deora. Some people believe that though Māṭā has temples at Māṭī Deora and Kacheri she is always sitting at her brother Kot Ishwar's side at Madholi. Benu and Bhuri are two bhora or servants of the Māṭā. Benu was a Chot from Bena in Kula and Bhuri came from Jō Bag at Halta. The latter is a female attendant and was originally a ghost. Both attend at the gate of the temple.

With the shrine of Devi at Hāt Koṭi many wonders are associated. One of these may be cited. On one side of the portal of the goddess stands a large bronze vessel battered and soiled with age upon a metal plinth. Formerly its fellow stood on the other side, but one night in Bhādōrī when the river below was in spate, the pair of vessels moved from their pedestals of their own accord. Rocking jointly from side to side they took their way through the narrow gate of the courtyard until they reached the river bank and plunged with shrill whistles into the torrent. The priests pursued them, but were only just in time to rescue one and the second disappeared. The one thus saved is now securely chained to an image of Ganesh sitting in the temple, but sometimes still in the stormy nights of Sāwan and Bhādōrī it rocks upon its pedestals straining at its chains, and whistling and moaning as though pleading to be allowed to join his lost companion. At other times the peasant when planting out rice in the fields adjacent to the shrine sees the operation of a brazen vessel, mirrored in the water, which eludes his grasp as he tries to seize it.
Devis in Sardij.

Devi Kasumba at Kheksu—Kheksu is on the north bank of Sutlej in Kulu. Kōṭ Ishwar’s other sister, Kasumba Devi, settled here when he escaped from Pro. One of the Chhabisi Brahman of Goan, a village in Kulu Sardij, saw in a dream a pinū or ling. The goddess then told him of her presence, and desired to have a temple built for her at Kheksu. The people say that the artisan who made the image of Hāt Kōṭi Durga was called in to make her image. When he had finished that image the mawana of Hāt Kōṭi had cut his right hand so that he might not make any more like it, but with his left hand he made a similar image at Kheksu. Rānā Kirtī Singh acknowledged this Devi as Kōṭ Ishwar’s sister and gave her a jāgīr worth Rs. 42-2-9. The original intention was that 9 bhāruo of kiar land at Khekhar and goats should be given by the State on both the ashtamis, in Chet and Baisākh. This Devi also holds a jāgīr from Kōṭgarh and Kulu. When Kōṭ Ishwar has any jōg she comes to Madholi and joins in it. A Devāli mela is held at Kheksu. There used to be a bhūnda every 12 years at Kheksu, but Government has forbidden it owing to the risk of human life.

Rājgar Deo is the bhor or servant of Kasumba. He was brought from Jundla in Kumbārsin and was originally a devil.

In the Simla Hills was a goddess, who first settled in the Tūnā forest (a part of Chambi Kūpar) without any one being aware of her advent. But in the time of Rānā Narāin Singh of Kōṭ Khāi she came in a woman’s shape, but dressed in old and ragged clothing, to Hālā (a village near Khāri) where the Rānā had some fields. When he went to see his fields, he took her for one of his labourers, and abused her for her idleness, whereupon the Kāli transformed herself into a kite and flew away saying—

Tūnā ki Kālia Kiāri dekhan di.
Narāin Singh Thākure rope rūm de lai.
‘Kāli of Tūnā came to see Kiāri.’

But Narāin Singh Thākur employed her to transplant rice plants in his kārī (irrigated fields).’

From that time Kāli has been worshipped in the forest and is considered the most powerful of all the Kālīs.

Devi Gayāshin’s idol was brought to Shāmnā village in Mahālog State by Surjā Brahman of Bāgrī in the Kuthār State. All the members of his family had been killed by Badohi Kanets, who were at that period troublesome dacoits, so he left his village for ever and settled at Shāmnā where he built a temple for the Devi image. Her fair is held on the first Tuesday in Chet.

Devi cults in Sardij.

Durga Devi, sister of Lachhmi Narāin, is also called Devi Dhār. Once a girl appeared at a spring near Daogī, and declared herself to be the goddess and Lachhmi Narāin to be her brother.

Devi Gāṛ Durga’s legend illustrates the disgrace which attaches to a girl’s marriage with an inferior. Once a Thākur was having a house built and the mason asked him to promise him whatsoever he might demand on its completion. When it was finished the mason
demanded the hand of the Thákur’s beauteous daughter in marriage; and bound by his pledge, the Thákur bestowed her upon him. The pair took their road to the mason’s house, but on the way the mason bade his bride fetch him water from a stream. Unable to bear this disgrace she threw herself into the water, and when he went to look for her he found nothing but an image lying on the bank. This he brought home and worshipped.

Deví Barí has a temple in Koṭhi Dhauli. She first manifested herself at Charakh near Barí by taking the milk of a Ráná’s cow. Convinced of the truth of his herdsman’s story of this miracle the Ráná went to the spot and then had a black stone image made and placed in a temple. This idol is 2 feet high, and there are also masks of brass and silver in the temple. The pujaří is always a Kanet and the Deví has a gur.

Dará Deví has a temple at Dará. A Thákur’s grain was all carried off by ants to the Deví’s pinda, and so a temple was built in her honour.

Deví Kohla or the Deví of Kowel has a curious origin. The cows of the villagers used to graze near Nirmand, and one of them was found to be giving milk to a cat. So the people began to worship the cat and an image of her was made. It is of black stone, 2 cubits in height. The pujaří of the temple is always a pánda.

Pachlá Deví of Srígarh has also a curious tradition. Pichá Chand, Thákur of Deohari, saw in a vision a black stone image which bade him go to see it lying at Kashta. He did so and brought it to Kashta and thence to Deohari, where he worshipped. Thákur Jog Chand, his rival, in jealousy at his devotion, quarrelled with him and Pichá Chand made a vow on the goddess to kill him. He succeeded and built a temple to the goddess who was named Pichlá after him. This Deví has four temples: at Deohari, Kashta, Cháláma, and Rúni. One fair at Deohari is held at the Diwáli in Maghar and another fair on the ashtami in Asauj at Kashta. At Deohari a khand is celebrated annually.

Kasumbha Deví has two temples on the Súi Dhár or range, one at Khakso, the other at Ruhra. A Rájá of Bashahr used to live at Khakso, and in order to get a son he used to recite the pāth of Káli. She manifested herself to him in the form of a black stone image and bade him worship it, so he founded the temple at Khakso and named it after himself. It contains a black stone image, 1 cubit high, and a female figure, 3 cubits high, in metal. The pujaří is always a Sársut Brahman. The goddess selects her own gur.

Deví Chebri’s temple was founded by Deví Káli who killed a number of demons who used to devour the children of the neighbourhood. The idol is of black stone, 2 cubits high, and represents the goddess. There are other images also in the temple, but they are only one or two spans high.

Dhanah Deví has a similar legend. Káli defeated the asurs or demons and in her honour the people of Dhanáh built her a temple.

Deví Pujaří’s temple is ascribed to a Brahman who, when ploughing his field, turned up a metal mask which he placed in a niche in his house. Soon after he fell ill and went to his former Deví, Ambiká,
but she told him that her daughter had manifested herself to him and that he should make a vow to her for his recovery. The temple contains an image of black stone, 2 feet high. Ambikā's own temple at Nirmand is well known and Chandi Devī is said to have slain two rākkhasas, Chand and Mund. Her temple dates from the same year as that at Nirmand.

Naina Devī owes her temple in Kothi Banogi to the discovery of an idol with beautiful eyes by a girl who was herding cattle near a stream. Its eyes became the object of the people's veneration. It is of black stone, 3 feet high. Its pujārī is a Nola Kanet.

Devī Bāri owes her temple at Bāri to Brāsanū, a Brahman who lived in Bāri phati. He was childless, and in order to get a son, used to recite paths to Kāli, on the bank of a stream. One night, it was revealed to him that beneath the earth lay a black stone image of a goddess. She also bade him worship her, and he was blessed with a son. The Brahman then in fulfilment of a vow erected this temple in her honour, and it was named after him. Soon after this, the Rājā of Suket became a votary of Kāli and built a temple in her honour at Chhikianā.

Three fairs are held annually at as many places, one on the 9th of Baisākh at Bāri called the Tarshūn fair. The Divālī is held at Suket, when the Janamashtmī festival is also observed. The Shând is observed every 12 years.

The cult of Devī Bāli Durga is associated with that of Mārkanḍa Deota. The temple at Mārkanḍa was founded by a Sādhū from Triloknāth.

At Bārgāli is the mandir of Devī Durga called mandir Baggān Deora. A fair is held from 1st to 3rd Phāgan annually and is followed by the naurūtas in Chet and Asanv during which girls are fed. On the Rikh Puniya a jag is celebrated. This temple has existed for a long time, but the date of its foundation is not known. It contains a stone idol of the goddess. A Mārdār by caste a Kanet manages its temple affairs. The pujārī is a Sāreut Brahman. The ohela or gur is a Kanet. Their offices are hereditary.

In Kulu proper the cult of Devī is even more popular than it is in Sarāj. Her cult names are numerous. She is called Bhaga Sidh, Bhanthali, Bharari, Chamunda, Dasmi Bards, Garanpuri, Haran Jagan Nāthi, Jaishari or Mahī Kashar, Jawālamukhi, Kāli Auri,1 Kāli Mahī Khasuri or Phungni, Khandāsan, Kodanta, Kowanah, Mahā Máyā, Mahā Māj Jagñi, Nainān, Phungāni and Phangani Bari Shakh, Sri Rānī Neoli, Sanohia, Sarwari, Singhāsan, Tripura Sundari and Rupashnā.

1In Kulu there is at Harchandi village in phāti Nathān (Kothi Nagar) a temple to Kāli, the idol consisting of a stone or image. Auri means a picture, monument etc. and is commonly applied to the stone put on end by a man on first visiting one of the numerous places in Kulu, e.g. Auri Dhar means the "Ridge of the monuments." Such stones are very numerous on all places in Kulu, and are set up on the occasion described, and a sheep or goat is killed and given to the companions, or some food is distributed. It is said to have once been customary to write the name on the stone, and the shapes certainly suggest the idea that once they were carved roughly in human shape.

The Devī Kāli is said to have put the stone as her image at Archhandī.
## Devis in Kulu

The following is a list of the Devi temples in Kulu, their seats and the dates of their fairs and festivals. It is interesting to find a Siddh Devi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhágá Siddh¹</td>
<td>Named after the goddess</td>
<td>12th and 13th Baisákh and for 8 days from 31st Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhágá Siddh</td>
<td>Pera</td>
<td>7th Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhágá Siddh</td>
<td>Pera Dughí Lag</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd of the light halves of Phágán and Chet, 1st of Baisákh, Jēth, Bhádon and Assaj, and on the full moon day of Maghar.¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Hirmá</td>
<td>Dhungri Pera</td>
<td>Dhungri jātra on the 1st Jēth for three days, on the Phágání, on the 4th Mágí, 1st of Sáwan and Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Harman</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th and 15th Mágí, 1st Baisákh and 1st Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Kálí Auri</td>
<td>Deví in Kothí Mángárh</td>
<td>1st Baisákh, 1st Bhádon and 3rd Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kálí Auri</td>
<td>Archhamá Pera</td>
<td>1st and 2nd of Chet, 1st to 3rd of Baisákh, 1st of Bhádon and 1st of Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kálí Mahí Khasuri, Kálí Auri or Phungni</td>
<td>Pera Deví in Kothí Raisan</td>
<td>1st of Baisákh and Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungní</td>
<td>Pera Phungání in K. Mándálgarh</td>
<td>5th and 7th of the lunar months of Baisákh and Phágán and on Wednesday and Thursday in the light halves of Sáwan and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungání</td>
<td>Pera Deví Phungání in Bisaar.</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd and 5th of the light halves of Baisákh and Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungání</td>
<td>Tiun Pera in Kothí Mángárh.</td>
<td>In addition to fairs in Sáwan, Assaj, Maghar and Phágán, a fair is held on the 3rd, 5th and 7th in the dark half of Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Bhotanti</td>
<td>Parí Pera in Kothí Chung.</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Assaj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The temples of the goddess Chámundá, of Nérain, Doli Nág, the goddess Índarol and Dharat Pál are connected with this.

² South of the temple is a bhaundár (storehouse) of the goddess and to the west are two rooms for cooking food. At 100 paces in the latter direction is a marásh where a fair is held in her honour.

³ Two temples are connected with this, those at Bháti Pera and Garán Pera. The goddess visits these temples on the occasion of the fair.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name of Devi</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Shanthali</td>
<td>Banthali Pera</td>
<td>7th of Jeth and 1st of Aasanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Bharari</td>
<td>Mel</td>
<td>3rd Aasanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Chāmunda</td>
<td>Dabogi Pera at Nashāla</td>
<td>On the duddśhi (12th) in the light half of Phāgan, 1st Chet, new year’s day, 1st to 4th Baisākh, 1st Jēth, 1st Bhādon and 1st Aasanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Chāmunda</td>
<td>Nālar Pera</td>
<td>1st Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri Devi Dasmi Bara</td>
<td>Kalar Pera</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Chet, 31st Chet to 3rd Baisākh, 8th to 3rd Hār, 31st Sāwan to 5th Bhādon and a yag every 13 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Ducha and Mucha</td>
<td>Gajjan and Karjan Pera</td>
<td>The gajjan on the 4th Jēth and the chakrapati on the full moon day of Chet, lasting four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Garan Puri</td>
<td>Naraini Garan Pera, Upar Kela Pera and Ringu Pera</td>
<td>1st Phāgan, 1st Baisākh, 8th Baisākh, Ganesh chaudas in Sāwan, in Hār, 1st of Poh and 21st Baisākh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Jagannāthi</td>
<td>Jaggannāthī Pera</td>
<td>8th to 11th of the light half of Baisākh, 7th to 10th of the light half of Hār, and 7th to 10th of the light half of Aasanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Jagannāthi Ji</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baisākh shuddi aśṭami 3 days, Hār shuddi aśṭami 3 days, Aasanj shuddi aśṭami 3 days, besides 15th Phāgan, 1st Chet, 1st of new year, 1st Baisākh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaishari or Mahi Kashur</td>
<td>Hat, in Bajaura Koṭhi</td>
<td>9th of Baisākh and 8th of Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawālamukhi</td>
<td>Pera Pali Sari in Koṭhi Hurang.</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh, Jēth and Hār, and on the 2nd of the light half of Sāwan. A grand yag is performed every 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawālamukhi</td>
<td>Shanuki Pera in Koṭhi Khokhan.</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh, Sāwan and Aasanj, and on the full moon day of Maghar. Each lasts one day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Another temple called Pera Nisha is connected with this. It contains an image said to be that of the goddess Bhīgā Sīdh and it is worshipped in the same room as the other goddess.

3 The temples at Dham Pera and Sangal Pera are connected with this. The god’s chariot is taken to these at a festival.

4 The temple also contains an image of Bhole Nāth. It is of stone, one cubit high. It is worshipped along with the goddess.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi.</th>
<th>Site of temple.</th>
<th>Dates of fairs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devi Khandásan</td>
<td>Naumi Pera</td>
<td>The Japari jātra in the beginning of the new year in the light half of the month of Chet for four days, and Sáwan jātra on the 31st of Sáwan for four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Kudaula³</td>
<td>Gohi Pera</td>
<td>2nd, 12th, 13th and 14th Baisákh, and 2nd Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowanaí</td>
<td>Pera Soil</td>
<td>The skindrātri on the 4th of the dark half of Phágan, Phágil on the ikkāhāri of Phágan, chhodūpoli on the full moon day, on the bir atri on the 1st of Baisákh, the kapo on the 1st of Jēth, the shevno on the 1st of Sáwan and the sari on the 1st of Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Mahá Máya</td>
<td>Mahá Māyā</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Phágan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Mai Jagní</td>
<td>Choppur.</td>
<td>1st of Baisákh, Sáwan and Bhádon, each lasting one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nainau</td>
<td>Bhulang Pera in Kothí Khokhan.</td>
<td>3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phungí Bari Sakhí</td>
<td>Pera Phunguí</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 7th of the light half of Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phungí</td>
<td>Pera Phunguí Gauñani in Hauñani.</td>
<td>4th to 7th of the dark half of the month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Ráni Neoli</td>
<td>Ráni.</td>
<td>Naumi (9th) of Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Sandhí</td>
<td>Pera Devi Sandhí</td>
<td>1st to 16th Jeth, 1st of Assaj, Durga ashtami in Assaj, 3rd of the light half of Poh, one day in the light half of Chet, 2nd and 3rd Baisákh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarwari</td>
<td>Shuru Pera</td>
<td>1st of Baisákh and illuminations on the tīj (3rd) of Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devta Singhasan</td>
<td>Singhásan Devi Pera</td>
<td>1st Baisákh and yag every 3rd year on 2nd Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura Sundari</td>
<td>Nagar.</td>
<td>1st Baisákh and yag every 3rd year on 2nd Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ No temple is connected with this, but fairs are held on the 21st Maghar and 21st Sáwan when the gods and goddesses visit the fair and return in the evening.
The Bhunda sacrifice.

Bhotānti Devī's original temple is at Jari in the Pārbatī valley. She and Parei Devī both have temples at Parei.

There is also a goddess of fire (or else the goddess is typified by fire) for when high-caste Hindu ladies bear a fire hissing they will say bhākh nindia karanvā ṭ mānu, 'consume the back-biter', because the hissing expresses the wrath of the goddess at the evil habit of back-biting.1

In Outer Sārāj Nirmand in the Nūrupur Valley on the Sutlej Devī Ambkā is worshipped, the great triennial fair being held in her honour. Every 12th year this fair is celebrated on a very large scale and is called the Bhunda. The following is an account of it:

In the era of the Rishis, there were three kinds of sacrifice: the gamedi, gamedi, and assumedi, or sacrifices of men, kine and horses. These great sacrifices were performed by any one who had subdued the whole world, e.g. the Pāndavas performed the horse-sacrifice. All the Rishis of renown used to assemble and sacrifice, and at the end of the they used to slaughter the man or animal, calling on the deotā's name and burning the flesh. Then the bones were collected, and their prayers had such efficacy that the man or animal was restored to life. But after their era, goats and sheep began to be sacrificed, and, instead of killing a man, he was lowered on a rope, leaving it to chance whether he was killed or not. The Bhunda molā is the old navmeli jag, and the customs and rites are the same. This great fair is held at Nirmand, because Jamdaggān Rikhi being angry for some cause with his wife Ambikā, mother of Paras Rām, ordered the latter to beat her, and he did so. In expiation Paras Rām gave lands to the Brahmins of Nirmand who in return agreed to spend one-tenth of the produce on this Bhunda fair. As the Beḍa caste was appointed as before to ride down the rope, the fair was called Bhunda, though some say Bhunda is a corruption of bhandār or temple treasure-house. It is only held at fixed periods at Nirmand; elsewhere it is held when enough money &c. has been saved. The Nirmand fair is held in the same year as the Kumbh fair on the Ganges, i.e. once in 12 years. Three years after each Bhunda is held the Bharoji jag; three years after that the Bhatpur jag occurs; and again three years later, the Shānd jag. These though attended by several deotās are of much less importance than the Bhunda. They have no connection with Paras Rām and a Beḍa is not lowered on a rope.

Before the recent Bhunda at Nirmand there had been Bhundas at Nithār (Buddha Mahādev), at Shamsar (Mahādev) in Naraingarh, at Bāhna (Mahādev) in Sirigarh, and in December, 1892, at Gorah in Rāmpur State, at which latter a Beḍa had been lowered on a rope.

The rope for the sacrifice is made of grass, cut at a propitious time, with music, two-and-a-half months before the fair, and the Beḍa himself makes it, performing constant ablutions while working at it. When

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1 P.N.Q., II, § 984. This is another instance of fire being a witness.

2 This account was written in 1898.
it is made the right length it is placed in the temple, and if any one steps across it he is fined a goat, which is sacrificed, and the rope must be re-made. No one may approach it with shoes on or with anything likely to defile it. It is reverenced as a deotā. On the day of the fair it is lifted with great respect on the heads of men and taken to the cliff, where it is securely fastened. At every stage a goat or sheep is sacrificed to it, and when fixed the Beda is placed on it. No other caste can make or ride it and the Bedas regard this as a privilege and deem it disgraceful to refuse the descent. It is a profitable venture, as the Beda is fed by the people for a year, besides obtaining Rs. 84 in cash, jewellery and clothes with other presents for his wife also. Sacrifices are begun in temples where means are available for a Bhunda 2½ years beforehand. Four Brahmans pray and sacrifice daily by burning rice, fruit, ghi and goat's flesh, the fire being placed in an earthen vessel sunk some four feet in the ground, an image of Kāli being set up opposite to it, and small brass images of that goddess being placed near it. This vessel is called nīthē kund, and it is only opened for the Bhunda, a large stone being placed over it on which the sacrifices at the Bhundas &c. are performed. Before the fair the deotās are summoned, and the ceremony cannot take place until they come. The mohra or image of a deotā does not attend, the kats or silver vessel full of water alone being brought. The deotās who must attend are those of Khán, Mahel (in Suket), Nirt Nagar (in Rāmpur) and Nirmand (in Kulu). These are said to be five brothers. In addition there of Lalsah, Dādsah, Sanīr and Sanglah (in Rāmpur) (called the ṭadi deotās) should also attend. Others may do so.

On a fixed day, called chhilbhchhil, a picture of a pine tree is made of sindūr (vermilion) on a clean place in front of the temple, and the deotā who is to commence the fair is worshipped by the Brahmans. At this place also a fight takes place, and then all the kalsās of the deotās are collected and prayers recited. All the deotās then go into the kothi of the temple (where the treasure-house &c. are) on to the upper storey, and a ruth of Shibji of white thread and a similar tree-picture to that outside are also made on the ground. On top of this is put a plate of kansi filled with rice, and a cocoanut wrapped in silk clothes is placed on top of the rice. In places on the picture are put cakes, rice and māsh cakes with lamps at each corner. The kalsās are brought in and placed in order round the gōl or ruth, and if any mohras of the deotās have come they are placed on a clean spot near the wall. Grain is then given to the people from the temple store-house. This is called chhambhani or invitation. Next day the deotā's gur (guru) comes with the weota and the people cook cakes and worship round the village (asarhee) in which the temple is. Goats, sheep, and sungar (a kind of small pig) are killed, and again a mock struggle occurs, any one who likes taking an animal. When the circuit of the village is complete a number of sheep and goats are cruelly lain in the kothi of the temple. On the third day the rope is worshipped, and goats &c. sacrificed to it. The rope is then fastened on a cliff as described before, one end high up and the other lower down. The Beda bathes and is taken to the kund (of sacrifice). The Brahman worships him, and he is considered a god, the same worship being paid him as is paid to a deotā. Five valuable things (punchātn) are placed
in his mouth, as is done at the death of a Hindu. Then he is clothed in a pagri and kurta, and being placed on a goal is taken outside the temple. The Beḍa gives presents to the people, and is next made to ride on the kāndatā' (manager of a temple) back, and music is played as at a funeral. His wife and children, unclothed, sit beneath the rope and lament. At the top of the rope four kumbha or vessels are placed, over which a board is put. The rope is fixed in the earth, passing over the board. A wooden saddle, like those used on jhilas or rope bridges, is placed on the rope, and on this the Beḍa sits, being firmly tied on to the rope. Skins of earth of equal weight are placed on each thigh and a white handkerchief is placed in his hand. He is lowered at first with ropes to test the balance, and then some barley is tied to his waist. These ropes are then cut and the Beḍa slides down. He is taken off at the bottom, and he and his family beg of the people, taking whatever they touch. He and his wife are taken to the temple, Rs. 84 and jewellery &c. being given them. They are danced two-and-a-half times round in a circle and dismissed. On the fourth day, after the temple gives presents to the deud’s and people, the fair ends. This is called the Beṣā jag.

In 1893 a goat was lowered in place of a man, with the usual accompaniments. The rope is called borto and one account is that the mūṇaṣīḍās of the temples usually make the rope. The Beḍas are a low caste of dancers. These fairs are held at Nirmand (Devī Ambkā), Nithar, Dalāsh, Diamsa in Bashahr, and certain other places—all on the slopes running down to the Sutlej. Bhundas do not take place in Kulu itself, but very similar ceremonies (Gaṇer), in which grass ropes play a conspicuous part, are common, and there is a tradition that men used to be lowered over the cliffs on the Beṣas on ropes of their own making. Their names are recorded in the temple records and are remembered with honour. Further at kī te (Sk. khāyā ?) festivals the panchraīn or five precious things are placed in a man’s mouth.1 The man who was sacrificed was called jīḍi.

There is an account of a “Bhoonda” in Traill’s Statistical Account of Kumān, p. 69. (Reprinted from Asiatic Researches, Vol. XLI, in Batten’s Official Reports on Kumān, 1851.) Captain Harcourt also gave a short account in his Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahouli and Spiti, 1874.

The goddess Hirna, who is said to be a sister of Jamlu,2 is worshipped or at any rate invoked at the Kāli-ri-diḍi which is celebrated in Poh3, late in December, not in November like the Diwāli in the plains. It is, however, essentially a feast of lamps, for, according to one account it is inaugurated on the previous evening by a gathering of the men on the village greens where they sing indecent songs till a late hour, ending with a chorus in favour of Hirna. The dance is circular, each performer dragging his neighbour towards the inside or outside till one gets exhausted and lets go, sending

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1 N. I. N. Q., IV. 1893, § 144.
3 The Diḍi in Kulu proper takes place generally in Poh on the Amāwas or last day before the new moon. But in Kālī pusti it occurs from Magh 7th—14th and is called the saṣīḍi, a corruption of saṭ didi. Diḍi is said to mean house of mercy.
all the rest sprawling. On the evening of the festival lighted torches are shown at every house, the signal being given from the castle at Nagar and caught up and down the valley. Three days later comes the Ganer. The Ganer (from gūm, a knot?) is performed on the 13th or third day of the new moon, i.e. three days after the Diáli. In former times, it is said, huge grass ropes used to be made and great feasts held, the people jumping over the ropes in sport. The Míáns of Kulu used to have ropes stretched between two posts and jump their horses over them, the people holding the posts, shaking them as they did so, so that sometimes the rider was killed at the jump, his horse catching in the rope.

But at one festival the people of Barágrán, a village on the west bank of the Beás (where it is also customary to hold it), got drunk, and the rope they had left lying about turned into a snake and went on to Nagar—across the river. As the snake went along, a dumb boy caught hold of its tail, and it coiled itself round him, but the Deotá Jiv Naráyan was on his way to Nagar, and one of his disciples seized the snake by the head, and it straightway became a rope again by the Deotá’s power. Then the Nagar people insisted that the ceremony should be held henceforth at Nagar and not at the Rájá’s race-course, and so the practice of stretching it on posts and jumping horses over it was discontinued. It then became, or still continued, customary to drag the rope down to the cliff overhanging the Beás, four men of Jána village and four of Nagar racing with it to the cliff. If the Jána men won, they had to pay the Nagar people a goat and two loads (bhára) of rice; but if the Nagar people won, the Jána people had to pay them Rs. 500. It is said that this racing was discontinued many years ago. The people of Nagar and Jána now simply run three times with the rope a few hundred yards towards the Beás, bringing the rope back each time. It is then broken, the Jána people taking one part (the head of the snake) and the Nagar people the other (its tail).

At this ceremony a ram’s horns are placed on the head of a Chamár (currier) of a particular family of Nagar. This man is called the jathídī and has a sort of headship over the other men of his caste, who are called his sewak or disciples. He gets an extra share of the clothing given to the Dágis from the body of a Hindu at his burning. He is chosen every year, and the same man is often re-elected. When the horns are placed on his head, the negi, or headman of the kotí says—

He su mangal, kesu hāth.
He su mangal, Rájá hāth.
He su mangal, rī’āyat hāth.
He su mangal, sawād hāth.
He su mangal, dhāriti hāth.
He su mangal, Hirma hāth.
He su mangal, kesu hāth.

“Oh god (and) blessed one, aid the fruits of the earth, the Rájá, the people, the princes, the land, the goddess Hirma, the fruits of the earth.”

1 Kánga Gazetteer, Pt. 11, Kula, p. 45.
2 N. l. N Q., IV., § 1.
The *negi* then places a rupee in his mouth as is done to a dead
man. (This is also a feature of a similar ceremony).

After this every one sings and dances, and a feast is held. No
offence is taken at anything said. The Dágans, or wives of the out-
caste Dágis, abuse the better caste officials of the village, blowing pieces
of grass at them out of their hands, and getting some money as a
present. This part of the festival is called *kalagi*, lit. “tuft of the
munát (pheasant) feathers” worn in the head-dress. It is said that in
former times the high caste men used to sit and eat with men of any
caste at the Diwáli when Shakti (Bhagwati) was worshipped, but this is
not the case now. There is a story about the ram whose horns are
used. When the Pál kings from Jagatsukh attacked the Ránás of
Nagar, a ram fought for the latter, who were conquered, and the Páls
captured him; but as he had fought so bravely, they honoured him by
taking him to the Jagatipat or sacred stone (brought to Nagar by
deities in the form of bees), and putting a rupee in his mouth they
killed him. His horns are now kept in a little temple close to Nagar.
At this same fight certain *wazís* who fought for the Ránás were also
captured. The Pál king pardoned them and made them dance before
him as a sign of subjection to him. Their descendants still dance at the
Ganer, and are presented with a rupee each. The family is called
Andráo, *i.e.* ‘inner counsellors.’ At the *kalagi* ceremony an indecent
song is still sung.

Appended is a portion of one of the songs sung at the *kalagi*:

*Jai Deví, Hirma Māí.*

*Victory Mother-goddess Hirma.*

*Teri kheī, kheīnī lái.*

*We begin to play thy game.*

*Posha māh, Poh parāh.*

*The month of Poh, Poh is the month of rice straw ricks.*

*Iho riq bhosi, bahu jāi.*

*Mágha māh, chūnī lomi.*

*In Mágh the crocodiles are long.*

*Dérnā yār, k̄hāri kōmī.*

*Phágun māh, ita pilā.*

*In Phágun, all is mud.*

*Khanyu láuḍ, thoku kēla.*

*Chethr māh, gāh garī kā.*

*In Chethr the place is dug.*

*Mosēn johā, lesh potikā.*

*As big as the flail, or pole for husking rice—memirum virtus erectum est.*

*Baisākhu māḥ, bāthe kāpu.*

*In Baisākh the cuckoo calls.*

*Pahle, pical mauke laurā chāpu.*
Devī as disease-goddess.

Sejñá máh, gurí sīgā.
Jihun kúchú, tihun piđá.
Sháká máh, bhaṅ ronī.
In Háṛ, the rice-beds are full.
Bhaṅe máññá bhaṅgsr naṅśí lenī
and so on. The lines not translated are hardly fit for translation.

It is clear that the whole festival is older than the myth, which is equally clearly in part historical and in part an attempt to account for the rites.

Devi as the small-pox goddess.

Sītalā,1 the small-pox goddess, also known as Máta, or Deví, is the eldest of a band of seven sisters by whom the pustular group of diseases is supposed to be caused, and who are the most dreaded of all the minor powers. The other six are Masání, Basanti, Máññá Máñ, Polamde, Lāmkari, and Āgwaṇí, whose small shrines generally cluster round the central one to Sītalā. One of them is also called Pahārwǎli, or she of the mountains. Each is supposed to cause a specific disease, and Sītalā's speciality is small-pox. These deities are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children, enormous numbers of whom attend the shrines of renown on Sītalā's saptami, the 7th of the light half of Sāwan, when only light food is eaten. Every village has its local shrine also, at which the offerings are all impure. Sītalā rides upon a donkey, and grain is given to the donkey and to his master, the potter at the shrine, after having been waved over the head of the child. Fowls, pigs, goats and coconuts are offered, black dogs are fed, and white cocks are waved and let loose. An adult, who has recovered from small-pox, should let a pig loose to Sītalā, or he will again be attacked. During an attack no offerings are made; and if the epidemic has once seized upon a village all worship is discontinued till the disease has disappeared. But so long as she keeps her hands off it, nothing is too good for the goddess, for she is the one great dread of Indian mothers. She is, however, easily frightened and deceived; and if a mother has lost one son by small-pox, she will call the next Kurria, he of the dunghill, or Bāharu, the outcaste, or Māru, the worthless one, or Molaṛ, bought, or Mangtú, borrowed, or Bhagwánā, given by the Great God; or will send him round the village in a dust-pan to show that she sets no store by him. So too, many mothers dress their children in old rags begged of their neighbours till they have passed the dangerous age.

In Rohtak, where Sītalā is also called Gauwāli, her great days of worship are the Tuesdays in Chet,2 though in some villages Mondays appear to be preferred. At Rabra again the Wednesdays in Háṛ are

1Sītalā means 'cool,' from sī, and so small-pox is also known as Tlaṅgī, 'cold.' Cold water and cold food are offered at her shrines, either to propitiate her or as suitable food: P. N. Q., I, § 2. According to Steeman, burning the bodies of children, who die of small-pox, aggravates the disease. Rambles, I, pp. 216 et seqq.

2In Mālaṛ Kōṭia the Máta Rāṣi fair is held on the fourth Tuesday of Chet. Máta, the goddess of small-pox, is then worshipped and sweet bread and rice offered to her.
The small-pox goddess.

auspicious and at Anwali there is a great day in Asauj. At her shrine in Rohtak the concourse in Chet is a large one, and food is distributed to Brahmans, but the offerings are taken by sweepers. Sick or well the worship is carried on, and the rupee often seen on a boy’s neck is frequently put on when he is supposed to be attacked by Sitala. It is particularly favourable to have a shrine at a crossways, and the goddess is then called Chaugawwa, ‘she of the four villages’, or Chaurasta, ‘she of the four ways’, Matar. At Ukhalchana and Koali in Rohtak Lakaria, 1 her sister goddess, is also represented at her temple, but her shrine faces west. This title may, however, be only another name for Sitala, for she is said to live in the hajar (acacia arabilis) and its roots are consequently watered night and morning by Hindus. Her vehicle, the donkey, is for the same reason fed with wet gram and fried eatables, the idea of cooling thus coming into play. 2

The shrines of Sitala, which are to be found near almost every town and village, are about 2 feet high and are generally built by Banias after a patient has recovered, as a thank-offering. All through the small-pox season, which is generally in the cold weather, and especially during an outbreak of the disease, women may be observed going about carefully watering each shrine in a group to cool the goddess and so, vicariously, any patient they may be interested in, or to gain her favour. 3 Her shrines are called Sitalaghar or in Gurgaon Siyar, and the lamps burnt at them are of the eknukha type, a pan with one light, and are lit on Mondays and Tuesdays. In the South West Punjab a mass of clinker, strongly reminiscent of a countenance deeply pitted with small-pox, may sometimes be noticed covered with ghi, flowers and grain. These are offerings to Sitala, the clinker being used as a shrine or rather altar possibly because in a country where Islam is dominant shrines could not be built.

At the temple of Sitala at Danath in Gurgaon fairs are held on the Wednesdays in Chet. 150 years ago a fair used to be held at Kharbala, but one Udham, a Jat 4 who used to worship the goddess, saw her in a vision and she bade him to remove her temple to Danath, using some of the bricks of the old one. The temple is administered by the headmen of the village and they take all the offerings. Their ghat is Shali. The story is that a Jat used to beg in faqir’s clothes and so his descendants came to be called Shali, and have been professional beggars ever since. Every Wednesday a lamp is lit in the mandir. A sacred lamp is kept burning during Chet and it is also said that a lamp is lit ‘after midnight.’

1 Lamkara appears to be another term for this goddess.—vide p. 350 supra.
2 I. N. Q., IV, § 150.
3 P. N. Q., II, § 646. When a child has small-pox, Hindus will also feed an ass as Sitala’s chosen vehicle. In Kasir this ceremony is said to be called sandipuja: III, § 686, IV, 150, Ibid., III, § 686.
4 In Gurgaon Jats take offerings to Sitala. There is an obscure tradition in that part of the Province that the Jats are descended from ‘Bhaddar, brother of Bhil’ but no connection with Bhaddar kali is suggested.
Quite distinct from Sītāla is Kandi Mātā, so-called from the ring of spots which forms round the neck when the particular pustular eruption due to her takes place. Her shrine is usually smaller than Sītāla's, but they are commonly many, not one. At Beri in Rohitak an avenue of them leads up to Devī's temple, as these shrines are usually built on recovery in fulfilment of a vow. The second Sunday after recovery is especially suitable for worship and Rs. 1-4-0 are usually spent on distributing sweets. Regarding worship during health, customs vary in different villages, it being held every Sunday in some and in others only on those which fall in the light half of the month, while others only hold it on these days during an attack of sickness. In Bahādurghā the 5th of Sāwan is a great day for the Bānias women to worship this goddess at hair bushes, on the road to the station, by sticking gram on the thorns and giving chapatis etc. to Brahmans. It is becoming usual, especially with Bānias, for the bride, bridegroom and bridal party to do pūjā at this goddess's shrine. Her shrines at Chirānā are of peculiar interest. The Jāts and Dhānaks have separate rows of them and the Jāts have one regular temple of the Kandi in which is an image of the goddess, without a head. As a rule her shrines contain no images. They are often to the north of the village, because the disease is supposed to have come from the hills. Occasionally worship is offered by sprinkling gram before them in times of plague. But the plague goddess is one Phūlan Devī, whose half-completed shrine at Jasamur attests her ill-will or inability to stay the disease. Jagta is a shrine similar to that of Kandi, and it too appears to be erected to a goddess. It is worshipped at weddings with a prayer for offspring, and also when a disease, which seems to be eczema or itch, appears.

Masānī's shrines are hardly distinguishable from Sītāla's. Most villages in Rohitak possess one. Masānī is a disease that causes emaciation or atrophy in children, and she is propitiated to avert it. It occurs in Sirmūr where one of the two cures in vogue consists in burning mustard and other oils in a lamp called guina, with 32 wicks and a hollow in the centre. In this hollow pistachio nuts, flowers and perfumes are placed. Seven marks are made with vermilion on the lamp and one on the child's forehead. All the 32 wicks are then lit and after it has been waved round the heads of both mother and child it is carried out beyond the village boundary and placed in the forest. This may be in reality a rite in the worship of the goddess.

So also in Gurgaon, the chief fair held in the district is that of the goddess of small pox, Masānī, whose temple is at Gurgaon. A small mela takes place there every Tuesday, except in Sāwan, but the largest fairs are those held in Chet. The temple is held in great repute throughout this part of the country and is visited every year by pilgrims from the Punjáb and United Provinces to the number of 50,000 or 60,000. The offerings which often amount to Rs. 20,000 were formerly appropriated by Begam Samru, but are now a perquisite of the land-owners of Gurgaon. Pilgrims visit the shrine on Mondays throughout the year but the biggest gatherings, amounting sometimes

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1 Cf. Pahārywali, above, as a title of one of Sītāla's sister devīs.
2 For the other see Sirmūr Gazetteer, p. 35.
to 20,000 souls in one day, occur on the four Mondays in Chet. Tradition thus describes its origin:

There was a shrine sacred to the goddess Devi, locally known as Masani, at the village of Keshopur in Delhi. Some 250 years ago the goddess appeared in a dream to Singha a Jat, of some influence at Gurgaon, and saying that she wished to leave Keshopur directed him to build a shrine for her in his own village. At the same time she authorised the fortunate Singha to appropriate all the offerings at her shrine, so her orders were promptly carried out. The shrine flourished until its fame reached Benares. A visit to it is an antidote to small-pox, and women from great distances flock to it with their children to obtain this benefit all the year round. Singha and his heirs enjoyed the offerings for 200 years. The Begum Samru, when the paraga was under her rule, took the proceeds for a month in each year, but now they are again the perquisite of the village headmen. The temple is called the mand or temple of Masani, mand generally meaning the domed roof of a temple. The origin of the name Masani is not known, but probably it is connected with the disease of manda, to which children are very liable. Another story of its foundation is that the wife of the great saint Dronacharya, the guru of the Pandus and Kurus, knew of a specific for the cure of small-pox, and so after her death this temple was raised to her memory. It has no pretensions to architectural beauty, being almost on a level with the ground. It comprises a main room some 8 ft. square with a small room at the back about 5 to 6 ft. sq. which is used for storing valuables.

There are 5 dharma-dalas near it, all built by charitable persons and all far superior in beauty to the temple itself. They accommodate about 1000 pilgrims. The image of the goddess is of mixed metal bronzed over and about 9 inches high. It is not always kept in the temple but remains in the custody of a Brahman who takes it home and only puts it in the temple on fair days. In the centre of the temple is a small platform of ordinary brick about a foot high and on this the image after being clothed is placed in an ordinary wooden singhasan. A Brahman is employed to wash the image but his office is not hereditary. No special ritual is prescribed. Offerings consist of fruits, sweet, cash, flowers, live animals, cowries etc., and no distinction is made between the rituals of different castes. A lamp is lit on fair days and only kept burning as long as the fair lasts. The fact is that the administration is carried on purely business lines. The annual contract for the offerings is put up to auction every year and the money realized is distributed amongst the landholders of Gurgaon in proportion to their shares in the village lands.

A Masani fair is also held at the temple of Sitala or Budho in Mubairkpur. As at Gurgaon the largest gatherings take place in Chet and Baisakh, but people come to worship the devi at all times of the year except in Sawan and Asauj. The fair is held on every Tuesday in Chet and continues till 10 a.m. on Wednesday. The

1 Whence the name Budho. But a more rationalistic explanation is that Mubairkpur lies about 13 miles from Gurgaon, so pilgrims to the Masani at Gurgaon from the Delhi and Rohilkhand usually visit the Mubairkpur shrine after they have worshipped the Masani at Gurgaon. Generally they can only do this on a Wednesday, and so the maddi has come to be called Budho:\n
But now of course Wednesday is deemed sacred to the goddess.
image is worshipped at night. Flowers, Mansúri tákka, ladhí and cocoaanuts form the chief offerings. It is said that seven sisters became goddesses: one is at Mubárikpur, another at Basant, the third at Gurgaon, the fourth at Kálka in Delhi while the whereabouts of the rest are unknown. The temple is 6 yards square. It has a dome and two doors and is surrounded on all sides by a platform two yards wide, the whole being enclosed by a wall. It is said that 200 years ago a fáqir came here and asked the Ját villagers to build a temple at the place where the platform stood of old. He said that there was a goddess there, who would be of great use to them, that her fair will be held every Wednesday and that she would be called Budho. In the western wall of the temple facing the door is a small platform 6 yards wide and 4 long. On this stands an arch containing a painting in several colours. This is worshipped, there being no other image. Once it was proposed to set up an image but the goddess appeared to Basti Rám Já, who enlarged the temple, in a dream and forbade him to do so. The management is carried on by the pujári who sweeps the temple every morning and washes the painting. He is a Já, by got Sahrawat, and takes the offerings but bears all expenses. The small mándásí outside the temple are also worshipped by the pilgrims.

A local account from Ambálá says that there are 10 Mahábídias or Adhaktís, ‘chief goddesses’, one of whom is Mátangi Shaktí, the small-pox goddess. She has eight names, Ranká, Ghranká, Melá, Mandá, Sítála, Sidála, Durgá and Shankara Deví. Ky Masání is meant Mátangi Deví and she is the protectress of children suffering from small-pox. Her ears are as large as a winnowing fan, her teeth projecting, her face hideous, eyes huge and mouth wide open; she rides an ass, carries a broom in one hand and a pitcher and ewer in the other and has a winnowing fan on her head. The offerings made to her are taken by Jogis as well as scavengers, but many people content themselves with plastering a small space with cow-dung and putting on them such flowers and eatables as they can afford. Her shrines are about 6 feet high, and consist merely of upright masonry slabs with triangular tops and a projection in front on which to place the offerings. There is always a niche for the chírág or lamp.

Deví is in Hissár essentially the small-pox goddess, and the rites to cure the diseases are all based on this belief. If a child be suffering from a mild attack, the disease is called Shukar (Venus), and gur is placed under a gharwání, or stand on which pitchers are kept, and songs are sung. This is termed nám-rakhá, or ‘naming’ the disease. In the case of a severe attack it is termed dúrí Shukar, and on a Sunday a Brahman woman makes the child wear a rakhi, or amulet with a gold bead, kapúr (mercury), and marjan (a precious stone), fastened with red thread. Bhát or coarse wheat-flour is given in alms in the afternoon, and that night the mother and, child sleep on the ground. The former keeps the Monday as a fast and bhát and rice are cooked in the evening. On the Tuesday the child’s forehead

1 P. N. Q., II, § 547.
is marked with cow’s urine and young girls are fed with the bhāt, with rice and milk, and pieces of kaurts given them. On Sunday and following days the mother pours lassi, or milk mixed with water, on a jand tree, sprinkling some also on the ground on her way to and from the tree. Girls are again fed on the Wednesday and on Thursday morning, and the mother again pours lassi on the jand tree, asking its forgiveness for her act. She should also sprinkle lassi on this day on every tree on her road, and round a kiln as well. On the Monday night following bhāt is given in alms and finally women go in procession to Devī’s temple, carrying an umbrella of paper, and accompanied by musicians. Chhand or hymns are sung daily to Devī, but the name of Rām may not be uttered, so he is addressed as Jaidewa. One of the lines sung is:—‘O Devī, thou ridest a tiger under the shade of a canopy and a snake is thy whip.’

As long as the disease lasts dhūp grass and the dung of an elephant or sheep is burnt, and the child should wear a piece of tiger’s flesh tied in a rag round its neck. Ghī may not be eaten in the house after the last visit to the jand tree, and the mother must avoid ghī for forty days, and fast every Monday. Visits of condolence, or receiving bhāṣji or food distributed at marriages are forbidden, and if any one comes to enquire as to the child’s welfare he asks ‘mahā māi khusk hai’ ‘is the goddess pleased?’ and the reply is ‘mahā māi mihr hai’, ‘she is kind.’ The child is called ‘mahā māi kā gola’ or slave of the goddess.

Here again we find girls feasted as incarnations of the goddess, and the attempt to transfer the disease to the jand tree, with due apology, is an orthodox treatment in cases of sickness. The other rites are less easily explained. Clearly there is some connection between the tiger’s flesh worn as a charm and the conception of Devī as riding a tiger, but the exact train of ideas is obscure.

The worship of Devī Māṭa, who is propitiated by the lower classes of Muhammadans as well as by Hindus, is thus described in the Yādgar-e-Chishtī.1 When the child falls ill no one is allowed to enter the house, especially if he has bathed, washed or combed his hair, and any one who does come in is made to burn harmal2 at the door. Should thunder come on before the pox has fully come out the sound is not allowed to enter the sick child’s ears, copper plates etc. being violently beaten to drown the claps.3 For six or seven days, when the disease is at its height, the child is fed with raisins covered with silver leaf. When the pox has fully developed Devī Māṭa is believed to have come, and, when the disease has abated and the sores become dry, a little water is thrown over the child’s body. This is called giving it the phau or ‘drop.’ Kettle-drummers and Mirāsas are then called in to make a procession to Devī’s shrine and they march in front followed by the men, women and children related to the child who is carried in it, dressed in saffron clothes. A man who goes in advance sprinkles milk and water mixed-

1 N. I. N. Q., II, § 11.
2 Peganum Harmala, a plant whose seeds are burnt to avert the evil eye or evil spirits: Faujābi Dictionary, p. 463.
3 Mothers will also on such occasions ply their hand-mills to drown the noise of the thunder. P. N. Q., III, § 179.
with a bunch of green grass. In this way they visit some fig or other shrine of the Devi, and tie red ribbons to it, besmear it with red paint and sprinkle it with curds.

In Márwár and Bikanér inoculation for small-pox is not only practised but organised in a remarkable way. Many years ago a Huda, a tribe of Jats also found in Rohtak, received from Mahádevi (sic) the kardan or gift of suppressing small-pox and the tribe has been ever since the licensed inoculators of a great tract including Márwár and Bikanér, its members residing in scattered villages. When small-pox threatens, one of these practitioners is sent for and he on his arrival begins with rites and offerings to Devi. Children are then operated on by scores, the operation being performed on the wrist. The inoculator (tonchera) is paid in coppers and grain at three half-pence a head for boys. Girls are done at half-price. These inoculators have a high reputation for efficiency.1

Mári Máí is the cholera goddess, and failure to worship her, equally with personal uncleanness, produces cholera. But it can be expelled by taking a young male buffalo, painting it with sindhur or red lead, and driving it on to the next village. This is said to please the goddess. And she sometimes appears in human form. Thus in Sháhpur during the epidemic of 1898 two women were seen crossing the river in the ferry boats of whom one of them was asked where she had been and whither she was going: she replied that she had been staying for a time in Sháhpur, but was on her way north. She and her companion then disappeared. It was believed that this was the spirit of cholera going away, but unfortunately it broke out in the south of the district immediately afterwards.2

Mári Máí is in Kángra propitiated by the panch-balá and sat-balá rites. The former consists in offering four male animals, viz. a he-buffalo, ram, cock and he-goat with a pumpkin (petha) to the goddess at some chosen spot. The animals must be decapitated at a single blow, otherwise the ceremony fails and she is not appeased. The sat-balá is now out of date, as it consisted in the immolation of a pair of human beings, a woman as well as a man, to make up the mystic seven.3

Sita, as the goddess of cold or who can control cold, conferred a boon on the Dhobi caste for washing her clothes gratis and so they never feel cold from standing in the water washing.

1 I. N. Q. IV, 4162. Among the Slavs also small-pox is conceived of as a supernatural female, indeed the Servians candidly call her the goddess, while the Greeks placate her by epithets such as the gracious or pitiful one, and the Macedonians style her ‘lady small-pox.’ All this is as like popular Hindivism as it could well be, and one is not surprised to learn that Russians look upon vaccination as a sin, equivalent to impressing on children “the seal of anti-Christ.” Plague again is a gaunt old hag, on a par with the Indian notion which regards all diseases as manifestations of the goddess. Even scarlet fever is personified as the red woman or Rousa, just as the Persians typify that disorder as a blushing maid with locks of flame and cheeks all raw red.—V. G. F. Abbott’s Macedonians Folk-Lore, pp. 40-42.

2 N. I. N. Q., III, § 236.

Traces of Devi-worship are to be found as far afield as Gilgit. In the Astor District Shri Bai, a goddess, lived on a rock, called by her name, Nangan. This rock was always kept covered with juniper boughs and an attendant called Boh Bin looked after it. Before it barren women used to sacrifice goats and pray for offspring. After harvest too women dressed in their best clothes visited the Devi, singing on the way, and offered a goat to the Boh Bin who then threw up twigs of juniper into the air and the women tried to catch them as they fell, in the hope of bearing as many children as they caught twigs. Descendants of the Boh Bin survive, but the rites are no longer observed. A similar stone exists at Barnas near Gilgit where it is called Mulkum.  

In Gilgit the belief in giants (yāth, fem. yāthīni) still subsists. At first the earth was enveloped in water, which was at some places frozen, and there some yāths took up their abode under Yamlu Hal Sgl, their ruler. He said he knew of a cunning wolf who lived at a place called Milgampk (old ice) who could spread earth over the water, and so they sent Negri (‘Fortune’) to fetch him, but he refused to come. Then they sent ‘Trust’ to fetch him and he came, but bade them send for Garai Patar, a bird who dwelt in the snows of the Cosens mountain. Finally, Bojarai Shah, the wolf, sent for a mouse which made a hole in the ice and spread earth over Garai Patar’s wings and so over all the ice. The yāths are here represented as benevolent, but the yāthīnis were not so always. Thus one yāthīni was a sister of the man-eating Shri Badat, king of Gilgit, and she devoured half the people who passed by her cliff at the junction of two streams near Gilgit. But a wizard (Danuđ) named Soglio contrived to pinion her to a rock with nails and then turned her into a stone by prayers. He also begged the people to bury him when he died close to the yāthīni, lest she should return to life and repeat her ravages, but they argued that she might return before his death and so they decided to kill him at once. This was done and he was buried close to the yāthīni, who is represented by a figure of Buddha sculptured on rock.  

Devi Tārā of Tarab.

The Devi is the family deity of the Rājā of Keonthal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Rājā’s family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows:—Tārā Nāth, a jogi, who had renounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Tarab to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, dhūná, in the jungle. When rain came not a drop fell on his sitting place (āsan), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the jagir, the Rājā went to visit him. The jogi told the Rijā to erect a temple to his goddess, Tārā Miāi, on the hill, and to place her idol in it, predicting that this act would bring him much good, and that it was only with


3 Čt., pp. 105-03. How the Buddhist Shri Badat became a man-eater and how his daughter, Migo Khā’s Soni secretly married Shameri and induced her father to disclose to her the secret that his seat could not stand intense heat as it was composed of gīf is told on pp 114-18. Shri Badat still lives under a big glacier and his return is so dreaded that the Tālcos—at which singing and dancing round fires is kept up all night—and the Nišiło are held to prevent it: čt., p. 118-10.
this object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance with these directions, the Rájá ordered a temple to be built, in which the jogi Tárá Náth placed the Deví’s idol according to the rules set forth in the Hindu Shástras for aatákpan, or establishing an idol. The Pato Bráhmans, who attended the jogi, were appointed pujáris of the temple. This Deví has eighteen hands, in each of which she holds a weapon, such as a sword, spear &c. and she is mounted on a tiger. The hill on which the jogi resided had, before his arrival, another name, but it was re-named Tárab after him. As the Deví is the family deity of the Rájá, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well known that whoever worships the Deví will prosper in this world in all respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Deví be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas. The samindás of pargănas Kalánj and Khushálá have the sincerest belief in the Deví. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate jags in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed.

Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla District, some members of the Jungá Darbar fell victims to the disease, but the Rájá made a vow to the Deví, and all the people also prayed for health, whereupon the cholera disappeared. The people ascribe the death of those who died of it to the Deví’s displeasure. Some four years ago, and again last year, small-pox visited pargana Kalánj, but there was no loss of life. Some two or three years ago hyenas killed numbers of goats and sheep grazing in the jungles round Tárab, and the Deví revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who promised to celebrate a jag in her honour. Since then no loss has occurred.

Close to the temple of Deví is another, dedicated to Siva, which was erected at the instance of the jogi Tárá Náth. The first temple of the Deví was at Ganpari village in pargana Khushálá. This still exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Deví’s original seat is considered to be at Tárab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a legend that Rájá Balbír Sain placed in the temple at Tárab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosáun, under the following circumstances:—One Bhawáni Dat, a pandit, told Rájá Balbír Sain that as Tárab was a sacred place he ought to present an idol to it, which he (the pandit) would place in the temple according to the Hindu ritual, and he added that the idol would display miracles. Accordingly the Rájá ordered Gosáun to make the idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape suggested to him by the pandit, who told the Rájá that while the idol was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Rájá did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Immediately after the blacksmith had completed his idol, he was attacked by a band of dacoits, who killed him with two of his companions, as well as a dog and a cat. Thus the five necessary sacrifices were fulfilled. The Rájá was then convinced of the veracity of the pandit’s statement and acted thenceforward according to his directions. He performed all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol,
took it to Tárab. He performed several hawans in the temple and placed (asthāpana) the idol in it. This Devi is the one who is mentioned in the Chandikī-Pothī by Markandā Rishi, who killed Mahī Kabāshor.\footnote{This reference is clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahī Kabāshor read Mahāsāsura.—Sir R. C. Temple.}

The fair of Devī Tárā is held at Tárab in October on the Durgā ashtāmī, and lasts for a day. On the first navarātra, the Brahman worship Durgā in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Rájá bearing all expenses. On the morning of the ashtamī, the Rájá, with his Rānī, and all his family, sets out from his court so as to reach the plain below the temple at ten in the morning, and there takes a meal, after which the whole Court goes in procession, preceded by a band of musicians, to the temple, which the Rájá, with the Rānī, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Rájá first offers a gold mohar and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same. Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the bhogī and the pujārī. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruits, flowers, ghi and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The bhogī and the pujārī divide the heads of slaughtered goats, returning the rest of the flesh to the persons who offered them. This worship lasts till four, and then the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes begins. These are presented by the Rájá as sankalp or alms, and taken to a place not far from the temple, where a crowd of people surround them with sticks and hatchets in their hands. The pujārī first worships the animals, making a tilak with rice and saffron on their foreheads.

Boiling water is then poured on them to make them shiver, and if that fails, cinders are placed on their backs. This is done to each animal in turn, and unless each one trembles from head to foot it is not sacrificed. The people stand round entertaining the Devī with clasped hands to accept the offerings, and when a buffalo shivers it is believed that the Devī has accepted his sacrifice. The people then shout Devī-jī ki jai, jai‘ victory to the Devī.’ When all the buffaloes have been accepted by the Devī, the first is taken to the shambles and a man there wounds him with a sword. Then all the low-caste people, such as the Chamās, Kolīs, Bharos, and Ahīrs, pursue the animal, striking him with their clubs and hatchets and making a great outcry. Each is brutally and cruelly killed in this way, and it is considered a meritorious act to kill them as mercilessly as possible, and if the head of any buffalo is severed at the first stroke of the sword, it is regarded as an omen that some evil is impending and that both the person who inflicts the blow and the one who makes the sacrifice will come to harm in the course of the ensuing year, the belief being that as the buffaloes are the children of the Devī’s enemies it is fitting to kill them in this way.\footnote{Mahī Khaṣhwa, Mahāsāsura, who tormented the Devī, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendants were metamorphosed into bull-buffaloes.} After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Devī, and āarti is performed at six in the evening.
The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even debauchery. Women of all classes attend, unless they are secluded (parda nashta), and those of loose character openly exact sweetmeats and money for the expenses of the fair, from their paramours, and put them publicly to shame if they do not pay. The plain is a Sanctuary, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence, even by the Raja, but offenders may be arrested as soon as they quit its boundaries and fined, the fines being credited to the temple funds. Offences are, however, mostly connived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Raja, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The bhokhi and the pujaari, who, with the bhandari, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarsut Brahmas of the Rai-Bhats group, while the bhandari is a Kans. Brahmas girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and daakhna (dakhna).

On the third day of the Daschra, the goddess is worshipped at 2 p.m., in the darbdr, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Raja holds a darbdr with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of Thakurji Lachhmi Narayan, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Raja walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain set apart for this festival. On this plain a heap of fuel is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Raja with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the wazir of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent a representative, who wears an iron sanjuwa, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured. Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it is placed close by, and whoever hits the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Raja. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanuman, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Raja on behalf of the Thakurdwara, while his attendants are given bhog and charnamrit. Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Rama Chandar, the ancestor of the Raja, which was accomplished after worshipping Devi.

A somewhat similar festival is the Saer fair held at Khad Ashmi:—On the morning of the first of Asauj, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a thal (plate) and made an idol of Ganesh in cow dung, comes to the Raja and his officials and makes them worship the idol.

1 A fee for spiritual service.
2 The stack is called leuka.
3 The water with which the feet of the idol have been washed.
The Rájà and officials then give him presents according to their means. In the afternoon, the Rájà gives alms, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Ráins, sets out for Khád Asháf. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assemble there in thousands to enjoy the sight. Some fighting bull-buffaloes, which have been reared for the purpose, are brought to the fair the day before and fed up with ghí &c. The Rájà himself rears six or eight buffaloes for this fair, and they are similarly prepared for the fight. The fair begins at one in the afternoon, when the he-buffaloes are set to fight in pairs; and the person whose buffalo wins is given a rupee as a reward by the Rájà. So long as the fight lasts, music is played.

The people at the fair distribute sweetmeats &c. among their friends and relatives. Swings too are set up and the people revel in drink. They can commit disturbances with impunity, as no offenders are arrested on this occasion. Many people from Simla bring haberdashery for sale, and the articles are largely purchased by women. At five the people begin to disperse, and the Rájà returns to his darbár. About 6000 or 7000 persons assemble at this fair, and the Rájà distributes rewards among his servants on its termination. Its introduction is due to the Rájà, and it is not held in honour of any particular god. The place where the fighting takes place is dedicated to the god Badmúm. Formerly rams were also made to fight, but now only bull-buffaloes are used. Before the commencement of the fight, a rot is given to the god. This rot is made of 5½ sers of flour, 5½ of gur, 5½ of ghí. The flour is first kneaded in sharbat of gur and then made into a thick loaf, which is then fried in ghí. When it is cooked, it is taken with dhúp, tilak, flowers and rice to the place of the god, and after worship has been performed, it is divided in two, one piece being left at the temple and the other distributed among the people.

According to one legend, this fair was instituted by the forefathers of the Rájà, who originally came from Gaur in Bengál and were an offshoot of the Sain dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Rájás of the Sain dynasty were the devotees (upásak) of the Deví, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although this fiction is not generally accepted, the story is told by men of advanced age, and the late Rájà Maler Sain also ascribed the fair to this origin. It is said that Birju Deota is the wuzír of the Deví, and therefore the fair is held at the place where there is a temple of the Deví or Biru. It is also said that the day of the fair is the anniversary of that on which Rájá Rám Chandar constructed the bridge to Ceylon, and that the fair is held in commemoration of that event. In the everyday speech of the Lill people Biru Deota is called Badmúm Deota.

THE GODDESS ATH-BHOJA OF DHARAECH.

LEGEND.—A Rájá of Kotlehr in the Kángra District, named Jaspáé, had two sons. The elder succeeded to the throne, and the younger, in consequence of some dispute, quit the dominions of his
brother, went to the hills, and took the name of Gajindar Pál. On leaving Kotlehr, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kangra, and came to Bhaji, where he begot four sons, Chirú, Chánd, Lógu, and Bhógú. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chirú took the ilága of Bhaji, and Chánd that of Kotí, while Lógu, and Bhógú received pargana Phágú in jágr. The descendants of Chirú and Chánd are to this day the Ránás of Bhaji and Kotí respectively. Bhógú married, and three families of his descendants, Marchítak, Phátík, and Halítak still exist in pargana Phágú. Lógu did not marry, but became a dacoit. In those days the country round Phágú was under the Ráná of Ratesh. Harassed by Lógu's raids, the people complained to the Ráná, but Lógu was strong and brave and the Ráná could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chanál¹ to kill Lógu, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chanál pursued Lógu for some time, he failed to seize him. Lógu had a liaison with a Brahman girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chanál chanced to pass by, and, taking Lógu off his guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Ráná, leaving his body at Hohán village, but the corpse of its own accord went to Dhar, a village surrounded by a rampart and with only one entrance, which was closed at that time. The headless body pushed open the gate, and entered the village. When the people saw it all besmeared with blood, they were terrified and gathered together, but the body disappeared, and though they searched for it, they could not find it. At last they discovered a stone píndli (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told that Lógu had been transformed into a dota and that they should place (asthápán) the píndli in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhógú and other zamindars established the eight-handed Deví, which Lógu's father had brought from Kotlehr, at Kiliya in lhráj village and placed Lógu's píndli in the jungle of DAWÁN. The Brahmans who had come with the Rájá of Kotlehr's sons were appointed pujártis of both deities, and it was then decided that Deví was the superior and that Lógu was her subordinate. Shortly afterwards several brazen images of Lógu were made and a handsome temple built to him in a Bakhóg village, where he is daily worshipped. In DAWÁN hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Deví's temple on the Durgá ashtami day and at that of Lógu on the Salón, i.e. the púramáshi of Sáwan sudi, and at the Dewáli in the month of Kátak.

I.—THE ZAT FAIR AT GAREN IN PARGANA RATESH.

This fair is held on the 29th of Jeeth. The images of the Deví Ratesh and Kalwa deota are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Garen, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them, and of these some 50 remain at Garen for the night, the rest returning home. By mid-day next day a great crowd of people collects, the men coming in bodies from opposite directions, each man armed with a bow and arrow and flourishing a dángrá (axe), with a band of musicians preceding them. A man in one of these bodies

¹ Chanál is a low caste in the hills.
shouts:—Thadai, ro bhukha, awau ji shamak lagh; thi, ho ho. I hunger for a shooting match: come, the fair has started, ho, ho. The others call out ho, ho in reply. The tune called a thadairi is then sung and matches are arranged between pairs of players. One champion advances with his arrow on the string of his bow, while the other places himself in front of him, keeping his legs moving, so as to avoid being hit. The archer’s object is to hit his opponent below the knee, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a danga in his hand and dances, declaring that a lion’s whelp was born in the house of his father at his home. The man who has been hit is allowed to sit down for a time to recover from the pain of the wound and then he in turn takes a bow, and placing his hand on his opponent’s shoulder says ‘bravo, now it is my turn, beware of my arrow.’ If he hit his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fails his victor dances again crying, ‘how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger’s cub?’ This goes on until one or the other is beaten. The matches are usually arranged between men who are at enmity with one another. The play lasts for two days. Sometimes disturbances break out. These used to be serious, even resulting in men being killed on either side, but now-a-days a stop is put to the play, if a disturbance it feared, by pulling down the desti’s flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a goat and two buffaloes are sacrificed to Devi. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Tárab Fair, but the shambles are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fágú, the other on that to Ratesh, to prevent the wounded animals going toward their respective villages, as it is believed that it is unlucky for one of them to reach either village, and bloodshed often results from the attempts of the different parties to keep the animals away from their village. Efforts have been made to induce the people to allow the buffaloes to be killed by a single blow, but the pujařís will not allow this, as being the offerings of Devi’s enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this rite the people make offerings to Devi, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats &c. are divided among the pujařís. The chela of the Devi then begins to nod his head (cheiná, lit., to play, and taking some grains of rice in his hand distributes them among the people, saying, ‘you have celebrated my fair without disturbances, and I will protect you against all misfortunes throughout the year.’ If, however, any disturbance has occurred during the fair, the offenders are made to pay a fine on the spot to obtain the Devi’s pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophe will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Devi passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II.—The Ját Fair, Bhaláwag.

This fair is held at Bhaláwag on the first Sunday in Hár. There is a legend that a śadhá once lived on the Chahal hill. He was famous

1 Lit., ‘you hunger after archery, come on, since you itch for it.’ Thadairi, for sāda, an arrow, means archery, and one of the tunes or modes of the hill music is so called because it is played at archery meetings.
for his miraculous feats, and was said to be a sīdh. He built a small
temple to Mahádéo on the hill, and established a fair which was held
continuously for some years. The offerings made at the temple were
utilized to meet the expenses of the institution. After the Gurkha
conquest this tract was ceded to the Mahárája of Patiála in the time of
Rájá Raghúnháth Sain. Once Ráná Sansár Sain visited the fair, but a
dispute arose, and the Patiála officials having used unbecoming words
against the Ráná, he removed the ling of Mahádéo to his own territory
and established it at Bhaláwag, and since then the fair has been held
there. It only lasts one day. The Rájá with his Ránis &c. sets out
with great pomp to the scene of the fair, the procession being headed
by a band, and reaches the place about mid-day. People pour in from
all parts, and by two in the afternoon the fair is in full swing. The
Rájá takes his seat on the side of a tank, into which people dive and
swim. A wild lec is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (bhét) and some
people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahádeo,
ghát, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their
means. The pujaírs of the temple, who are Brahman, divide the
offering among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on
the sankránt days Brahman of other villages come there to worship.
On the fair day worship is performed all day long. People also give
the offerings they have vowed. There is a legend about this tank
which is as follows:—

Once a Brahman committed suicide in a Rájá's darbár. In conse-
quence of this hatíyá (a profane act, especially the killing of a
Brahman), the Rájá became accursed. He tried by all the means in
his power to remove the curse, but in vain, for if he had a child born
to him, it soon died, and though he performed worship and tried many
charms and amulets, it was all of no avail. An astrologer then told him
that as a Brahman-hatíyá had been committed in his darbár, he would
never be blessed with a son, unless he sank eighty-four tanks at different
places in his realm for watering of kine. The Rájá accordingly con-
structed eighty-four tanks at different places in the hills from Tajaur to
Mattiána. Of these tanks some were very fine, and one of them is the
tank in question. After making all the tanks, the Rájá sent for the
builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward
all that he asked for. But people then became envious of the kindness
shown to him by the Rájá, fearing that he would be elevated to the
rank of musábíb (courtier), and so they told the Rájá that if the
builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Rájá's memory
would not be perpetuated and that steps should be taken to prevent
this. The Rájá said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he
had already thought of it, so the builder was sent for, and although he
tried to satisfy the Rájá that he would never make the same kind of
tank at any other place, the Rájá paid no heed to his entreaties and had
his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless
for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill
he could do some work with his left hand, and he, accordingly, built
two temples, one at Játihá Deví and the other at Sadu, both now places
in Patiála territory. When the Rájá heard of this, he at once went
to see the temples, and was so delighted with their work that he gave a
reward to the builder, but at the same time had his other hand cut off,
and the man died a few days after. It is said that after the making
of the tanks, the Rājā celebrated a jag on a very large scale, and four
years after was blessed with a ṭīkā (son).

1 This may be a variant of the superstition that the new structure must be guarded by
a spirit as its custodian. Once granted that necessity, what spirit could be more suitable
than that of the architect himself?
VISHNU.—We may turn now to the forms of worship which represent the Hindu spirit more truly than the strange practices of the Jogī and Sanāsi sects. The Hindu, generally speaking, is not a Shaiva, but a Vaishnava, that is to say, he does not eat flesh, onions or garlic, and does not drink spirits. The main features of the Hindu pantheon are revealed to him in Vishnu or the incarnations of Vishnu. He worships the stone image of Vishnu in human shape. He reveres the Brahman and the cow. He wears the sacred thread (janeo) and the scalp-lock (bohi). He marries by walking round the sacred fire. He burns his dead, throwing the ashes into a river and taking a small portion of them to be thrown into the Ganges. He will often mark his forehead with one or more upright streaks of the calcareous clay known as gopiśāndan. His place of worship is called a thākurīwāra; and his places of pilgrimage are Hardwar, Gaya, Benares, Jagannāth, Dwārka, Ajnāth, Bādriṇārañ, Pushkar, Bīndrābān, Mathura, Pryagn, Raimeshar, and the like. His sacred books are the four Vedas, the Rāmāyan, the Mahābhārata, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and the Vishnupurāṇa. He is, in fact, the orthodox Hindu, and in our returns the word Vaishnav means, as a rule, little more than this. The Banias of the south-east, for instance, will often call himself a Vaishnav, when he means little more than that he is Hindu, and not a Jain. A Hindu, when asked his sect, is generally safe in replying that he is a Vaishnav: and the term covers a multitude of other sects regarding whom special separate information is also forthcoming. The numbers returned at a census as Vaishnavas exceed greatly the numbers returned under any other sect. The term is less distinctive, and the difference between the Vaishnav and the Shaiv is less marked in the Punjab than it is in the United Provinces and Rājputāna, where the mutual jealousy of the two sects is often very acute; and the Vaishnavs of our Census tables are mainly returned from the districts of the south-east border.

The Vaishnavs also include those who more particularly worship the god Vishnu under terms such as Bishnupuj, Bishnī, and Mahābīśnī, or their adoration of the god as Thākur, Thākurī or Sīr Mahārāj. He is also reverenced as Nirbhav, the fearless one, especially in Multān and Muzaffargarh. He is known also as Nārāin, and is worshipped as Bādriṇārañ at the shrine of that name in the Himalayas. Another name for him which is common apparently in Hissār and Kāgra is Visvakarma, Biskarma or Biskam, the Maker of all things, the Great Architect, and under this name is revered by the Tarkhān or carpenter caste, who, on the night of the Diwālī festival, will put away their tools and will not make use of them again until they have made to them due offerings of flowers and gur in the name of the god.

Of the minor avīdār of this deity, the only noticeable ones are those of Nārsingh, the man lion, who tore into pieces the tyrant Hārmakṣa (Hiranyakasipūa) to save the pious Prahlād; and Parasrām, the axe-hero, who fell with such fury on the Kshatri caste. The most

1 The Sat Nārāins of Rāwalpindi are merely orthodox Hindus who observe the fast of Sat Nārāin on the 13th day of the moon (parrnosti).
popular incarnations are, however, of course, those of Râmechandar, and Krishna.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ the various religious systems which prevailed in India in the 4th century B. C. included such sects as the Ajivakas and many others and those devoted to Vâsudeva, Baladeva, Nâgas, Yakshas, Suriya, Inda, Brahma, Deva, Disâ and several others. The worship of Vâsudeva, placed by a Buddhist on the same plane as that of the elephant, the horse, the crow and other animals, was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of fire, sun, moon and Brahâ, as well as of animal-worship. Worshippers of Vâsudeva were called Bhágavatas and their creed predominated in north-west India and was adopted even by Greeks.² The etymological sense of Vâsudeva is given as ‘one who covers the whole world and is the resting place, adhivâsa, of all beings. But the word may mean ‘the son of Vâsudeva’ and it would appear that in the Mahabhârata two accounts are interwoven. In the earlier one the Supreme God is Hari and his worship has not completely emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices. The later account connects a reform in this direction with Vâsudeva and his brother, son and grandson and the new religion is represented to have been identical with that taught in the Bhagavadgîtâ and to have been promulgated by Nárâyana himself. Possibly a religion of devotion had arisen yet earlier but only took definite shape when Vâsudeva revealed the Gîtâ to Arjuna. Vâsudeva’s brother etc. were associated with him as his forms, vyûhas, who presided over certain psychological categories and the reformed sect became conterminous with the race of the Sâtavatás, another name for the Vrischis.³ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar’s conclusion is that the worship of Vâsudeva owed its origin to the same stream of thought which in the east culminated in Buddhism and Jainism.

But Vâsudeva soon came to be identified with Krishna and other names.⁴ The process by which this identification was made is obscure. Krishna was a rishi, one of the composers of the Vedas, and Vâsudeva seems to have been identified with him and given “a genealogy in the Vrischini race through Sûra and Vâsudeva, although Krishna’s patronym was Angirasa and he appears to have founded the Kârshnâyana gotra, or ‘collection of Krishnas’.⁵ The only possible explanation is that

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar does not suggest any connection with the king Vâsudeva of a later period. That king was a Kahatriya, whereas Vâsudeva, the worshipful, belonged to the Vrischini race; ibid., p. 4. It would be interesting to know if the Bâsdeo Brahmans, who are still officiants at weddings among the Muhammadan Nârus—in Jullundur, are in any way connected with Vâsudeva.

² The Ajivikas were a sect of Brahman ascetics devoted to Nârâyana, as a form of Vishnu, according to Vincent Smith, Asoka, p. 146.

³ Other sects were the Jatikas or long-haired and the Nyâgathyas: Grundrisse, der Indo-Ārischen Philologie etc. Faizâvism, Skhoïsism etc., p. 8.

⁴ Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 6-9, where the story of Nârâyana’s visit to the ‘white island’ Svetadvîpa, is given. But why should deva be translated ‘island’? In Sangâladrip it means at best a ‘land between two rivers.’

⁵ Janardana and Keshava are the two others.

⁶ A Brahmana gotra could be assumed for a sacrificial purpose by a Kahatriya. As the only rishi ancestors of the Kahatriya were Mânavâ, Aila and Purûrâvus (which rather seem to be patronyms derived from the names of rātes) and as these names did not distinguish one Kahatriya family from another, the priest’s gotra and ancestors were assumed; ibid., p. 12.
Vásudeva assumed the title a Kársñáyana and as such was called Krish-
na though it was a Brahma-Párására gotra.

Just as Hari is older than Vásudeva so also is Náráyana or the
place to which Náda or a collection of Nádas go." He is connected by
tradition with the waters and the waters were called Nárás or sons of
Nara, and, since they were the resting place of Brahma and Hari, the
two were called Náráyanas. Another form of the tradition is that
Brahmadeva sprang from the lotus in the navel of Náráyana or Vishnu.
But whatever form it may take the tradition reproduces the Rig-Veda
X, 33, 5 & 6, which runs:—'Prior to the sky, earth and living gods,
what is that embryo which the waters held first and in which all the
gods existed? The waters held that same embryo in which all the
gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the unborn stood some-
thing in which all beings stood.' Here the embryo corresponds to the
Brahma of the later tradition and the unborn to Náráyana. The heaven
of this Náráyana was the Svetadvípa or 'white land' which Nárada
visited to learn the monotheistic religion of Vásudeva. The sage Markandeya
tells Yudhishthira that Janárdana, or Vásudeva is Náráyana and
this concludes the question of his identity. Like Vásudeva, Náráyana
in his four forms Nara, Náráyana, Hari and Krishna, is the son of
Dharma and his wife Ahimsa, a metaphorical way of saying that
righteousness and the doctrine that life was sacred begat a protest
against the old sacrificial rites and the killing of animals connected with
them.

It remains to trace Vásudeva's identification with the Vedic deity,
Vishnu. In the Rig-Veda he measured the universe in three steps, the
first two discernible by men, the third beyond their ken. Reverence for
this third step raised Vishnu to a high position during the epic and
Paranic period until three streams of religious thought, that flowing from
the Vedic god Vishnu, that from the cosmic and philosophic god
Náráyana and the third from the historical Vásudeva formed the later
Vaishnavism.

Still later came the identification of Vásudeva Krishna with Gopála
Krishna, the cow-herd god. No chapter in the history of Vaishnavism
is more obscure than the process by which this was effected. The story
of Krishna's boyhood in the Gokula or cow-settlement was unknown to
literature till about the beginning of the Christian era. The cow-herds
lived in a ghastra or encampment, as when they left Vraja and encamped
in Vrindávan (Bindrában). Ghastra is defined as Abhírapaili or the
'Ahírs' enclosure' and the cow-herds thus seem to have been men of
that race who occupied the country from Madhuvana near Mathura to
the region about Dwárika. Mentioned in the Mákáburáta as having
attacked Arjuna when he was taking the Vrishni women, whose males
had been exterminated, from Dwárika to Kurukshetra, they are described
as Mlecha robbers living near Panchanada, the Punjab. They must
have immigrated into the country in the 1st century, bringing with
them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his
reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre
of the innocents. The stories of the Krishna's boyhood, such as that of

1 S. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 31.
the slaying of the wild-ass demon, Dhenuka, were imported by the Ahirs, and it is just possible that they brought with them the name of Christ also, and this probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vásudeva Krishna. Krishna dissuades his foster-father Nanda from a festival to Indra and induces him to worship the mount Govardhana instead. His dalliance with the gopis or cowherdesses was an aftergrowth.

Krishna's cult name of Govind may have had one of two origins. In the form of Govind it was an epithet of Indra in the sense of 'finder of cows', and Govind may be a later form of that name. But it does not appear to have been bestowed on Krishna because of his having had to do with cows, for Govinda is said to have been so called because in the form of a boar he found the earth (go) in the waters. It would be quite in accordance with the laws of mythological evolution if Krishna took over Indra's title of Govind when he supplanted him and if the legend of the Gokula and the gopis were then all developed to explain the name Govind or Govid by a pastoral people as the Ahirs were. The theory of a Christian origin for the name of Krishna and the massacre of the innocents overlooks the fact that in primitive folk-lure the father who is ignorant of his son's existence and who takes steps to remove all children likely to be dangerous to himself is a stock character. We have another form of it in the legend that when the tyranny of the demon Kansa over the earth became intolerable she, in the form of a cow, complained to Indra who sought redress from Vishnu. The latter god plucked two hairs from his head, one white impersonated as Balaráma, the other black, as Krishna. Soon after when Kansa was driving the rishi Vásudeva and his wife Deoki in a chariot a voice thundered from the sky that the eighth child of the woman whom he was driving would take away his life. So Kansa slew all Deoki's seven children, but Krishna, the eighth, was changed for the child of Nanda, the cow-herd, and he and his wife fled with the infant to Gokula, leaving their own child to be dashed against a stone by Kansa. And to this day the eighth child is unlucky to its father.

The Incarnations of Vishnu.—The incarnations (avatáras) of Nárayana or Vishnu are variously given. The original six appear to be the boar (Varáha), man lion (Nrisinha), dwarf (Vamana) Ráma of the Bhrigu race and that assumed for the destruction of Kansa (Vásudeva-Krishna). Then to these were added Hamsa (the swan), Kurma (tortoise), Matsya (fish) and Kalkin, or future avatáras. The incarnations given however sometimes number as many as 23, and include sages like Nárada, Kapila, Dattátheya Rsisabha, undoubtedly the Jain Tirthankara, Dhánvantari, the teacher of medicine, and the Budha. Finally ten incarnations seem to have been recognised as the orthodox number, and they were Matsya, Kúrma, Varáha, Nrisinha, Vámana, Parasurámá, Rám Chandr, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki. These avatáras or descents are the distinctive feature of Vishnu who, whenever any great calamity overtook

1 A mound in the characteristic shape of this mound may sometimes be noticed near a village by the side of a road in the Punjab.
the sons of man or their progress was opposed by the amūts, came to earth in some form to rescue them and, his task fulfilled, returned to the skies. "Some of these are of an entirely cosmical character; others, however, are probably based on historical events." The course of evolution is also through the lower forms of life to the lowest form of man and thence to semi-divine man.¹

Ramchandar and Krishna.—The adoration of Rám is almost co-extensive with Hinduism. Every Hindu knows the main points in his history as told in the Rámadevan. Every Hindu sees his triumph in the yearly festival of the Dusáhra; and the repetition of his name is the common method of salutation between Hindus all over India. Rám (or Ramchand, or Rámavtar, or Raghu Rám, or Raghnáth, as he is variously called) of Ajodhya or Oudh was the husband of Sítá, the son-in-law of Janak, the brother of Lachman; and these names are not uncommonly mentioned along with his Sítá especially is often worshipped in conjunction with Rám as Rádhá is with Krishna. Lachman, or Lachman Jatí, the chaste, is supposed to have gained superhuman power by his austerities, and his worship is especially popular in the central portions of the Punjab. His shrines are often attended by Musalman ministrants.²

Krishna, as a hero of romance, is as well known as Rám, and though the actual worship of this incarnation is probably not as extensive as that of the other there are particular bodies of men who venerate Krishna with an exclusive devotion such as is not found in the worship of Rám.

The scripture most intimately connected with the worship of Krishna is the Bhágavat Gíta, in which he is the principal speaker. The country round Mathra and Bindrāvan and the holy shrines at Dwárka are the chief places of pilgrimage affected by his followers. Sri Krishnají himself goes by many names. He is called Devkikandana after his mother, Nand Lái after his foster-father, and Vásdev after his real father. He is known also as Kesho or Smaljí or Murlídar, as Gwaljí or Gopál, the great herdsman, and as Ranchor, the coward, from his Horatian discretion in the battle with Jarásindha. He is worshipped also in connection with his brother Baldeo and his wife Rádhá³; and one of the famous shrines of Rádhá and Krishna is probably that at Hodal in Gurgaon. Krishna is more particularly the patron of the Ahirs or cowherds; but his worship is also especially popular among the Bániyas of the south-east and the Khatri of the Central Punjab.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson did not classify the Hindu cults into Vaishnava and Shaiva. This was done by Sir Edward Maclagan and the

¹ Martin, op. cit., pp. 93-100, citing Kennedy, Hindu Mythology, p. 244
² He is said also to be known as Pápuji and to be worshipped as such in Mewár by the Thor and other castes. His followers in the Punjab are all returned from the Fázilka and Nuktán tahsils of Ferozepur. There is another Lachman, a Malí Jat, whose shrines are known as mádíst and who has a considerable reputation in Sjálkot, more especially at a place called Badiáns.
³ The Rádhá-Srámis of our Census tables are a sect of recent origin, started by Rál Sálig Rám of the Postal Department in the United Provinces; details regarding their tenets will be found in Punjab Census Reports, 1902, pp. 130-1, and 1912, p. 141.
The two Krishnas.

classification greatly aids us to understand the bewildering mass of
details which a study of Hinduism in the modern Punjab reveals.

Vishnu, the sole survivor of the great Vedic gods—in the modern
Hindu pantheon, is essentially a personal god. Without dogmatising
or laying undue emphasis on certain points of difference we may say
that he is in marked contrast to Shiva because the latter is rather to
be regarded as a deification of the material universe than as a personal
god independent of that universe. Many qualifications must be under-
stood and many points of resemblance admitted in thus distinguishing
the conception of Vishnu from that of Shiva, but fundamentally it will
be seen that the distinction is the key-note to much that is elusive in the
two creeds. Vishnu as a personal god is the creator, loving and
compassionate. Shiva is the destroyer, as well as the creator.

In speaking of the Vaishnava cults it must be borne in mind that
there are two Krishnas—one of Dwârkâ, who was a great nature-god
of immemorial antiquity, worshipped in the Kâbul mountains and the
Indus valley; the other the child Krishna. And in the Krishna of
Dwârkâ again three Krishnas can be traced: (i) there is the chief
of Dwârkâ, whom the bards of the Mahâbhârata compliment with the
rank of a Yâdava, though he is clearly a dark-skinned indigenous hero
of the lower Indus at a time when the Indus valley was a land of
degraded Aryas, Shûdras and Abhîras, and the Kshatriyas were far
inferior to those whom Parasurâma had destroyed.

(ii) As a god the dark Krishna is associated with his elder brother
the white Balarâma, but in spite of his immemorial antiquity as a great
god on the North-West Frontier he appears in what looks like a
description of a historical siege of the city of the Daitya king Shálwa.

(iii) The original Krishna of the Indus valley underwent a gradual
fusion, at first with Indra and then with the Vedic Vishnu. Though
called Upendra, or the lesser Indra, and Govinda, or the herdsman
of the rain-clouds, his final development came from the purely Aryan
Vishnu, but was not completed till 400 A.D. He is identified with
almost complete certainty as the Indian Dionysos who was wor-
shipped in the hills and the Indus valley as well as in the regions
north and north-west of the Indus, i.e. in Ariane, and possibly in
Bactria also.

The child Krishna of Mathura first makes his appearance at the end
of the 5th or early in the 6th century A. D.

The modern Hindu doctrine of works merits notice. As it is
assumed as the basis of the doctrine of bhakti that faith, and faith
alone, can save a man, the question naturally arises as to what relation
his good or evil works bear to his salvation. This question is mixed up
with the puzzle of predestination, which has given birth to two schools,
the cat-school which teaches that Bhâgavat saves the soul as a cat
takes up its kitten, without free-will on the latter’s part, and the
monkey-school which declares that in order to be saved the soul must

reach out and embrace Bhágavat, as a young monkey clings to its mother. Nearly all the bhakti sects of Northern India are followers of the latter school and naturally investigate the problem of works. Their answer to it is that good works which are disinterested produce bhakti; and that it is bhakti, not the works themselves, which wins release from the weary round of endless births and re-births.

The Bhágavatas have taken the old Brahmanical system of ten avatáras and largely developed it. Usually translated 'incarnation', avatára has a much wider significance from their point of view and may be translated "descent." The Supreme, as Avatárin or Descender, descends in one of four characters as (1) a Vyuha, or phase of conditioned spirit, (2) a Vibhu or Vibhava Avatára, (3) an Antaryámin or (4) Archá Avatára. Of these the Vibhu Avatáras interest us more for the present purpose which is to show how the bhakti sects reconcile their tenets with the older Hinduism. These Avatáras may be Párna, 'Complete,' as were Ráma-Chandra, Krishna, the Man-lion and, according to some, the Dwarf; or they may be Ansa, 'partial,' as were the Fish, the Boar, the Tortoise, the Dwarf, Hari, Hayagriva, Dhruva's Boon-giver, Nara-Náráyana, and perhaps Kapila, or they may be Kála 'fractional,' as were the Swan, Datta, Kapila, Sanaka and his brethren, with perhaps Kalki, and Dhanvantari. All these are Mukhya or principal Avatáras.

Another class of Avatáras is called Gauna or subordinate. It includes Shakti, 'Power' or Kárya, 'purpose'; and Avesha, 'taking possession' Avatáras. Such are Parasu-Ráma, the Buddha, Kalki, Manvantara, the Vyása, Prithu, Yajna, Risábha, Dhanvantari, Móhini, Lakshmi-nivasa, and others. As the Bhágavata faith was originally propounded by Kshatriyas its followers naturally relegate Parasu-Ráma, the exterminator of the Kshatriya 'race', to a very subordinate place in the series of Avatáras.2

The Vibhuti Avatáras or Governance Descents include Brahma, Nárada, Shiva, Manu, Sváyamhhuva, Rámánanda, and others.

Descent as an image or Archá Avatára is based on the theory that an idol, murti, is merely stone or metal until it is consecrated. It then becomes a descent of the Supreme for worship.3

Thus the Bhágavata Vibhú descents alone number 24, as against the 10 avatáras of the Brahmanical system, which they place first. Space precludes fuller description of them, but they include the Hansa or Swan from whom three of the four great Bhakti-apostles trace their spiritual descent. The Swan taught Sanaka and his brethren, who taught Nárada (whom some identify with the Swan), who taught Nimbárka, the founder of the oldest, the Nimávat, church of modern Bhágavatism. The Swan also taught Brahma who taught Subuddha, who taught Nara-

2 Ib., p. 625.
3 Ib., p. 627.

*Sanakádi is the collective term for Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatána and Sanat-kumára, the four mind-born sons of Brahmá. They enjoyed perpetual youth and innocence, and hence this incarnation is known as the Kumára Avatára, from Kumára, a youth. They are sometimes called the four "Sanas": ib., p. 624.
bhari, who taught Madhva, founder of the Madhvacári church. Shiva who is the object of great veneration amongst all Bhágavatas, taught Nárada, who taught the Vyása of the Veda, who taught Shuka, who taught Vishnusvámin, who taught Paramánda. Forty-eighth in spiritual descent from him Vishnusvámin was born again and then became the real founder of the Rudra sampradáya or Rudra church.\footnote{J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 689.}

Shiva is regarded as himself the first or primeval bhakt or *faithful* devotee by the Bhágavatas.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 689.}

Bhágavatas also admit that Shiva became incarnate as Sankarachárya, the great teacher of the Advaita system of philosophy. As this doctrine is radically opposed to the central tenets of the Bhágavata cult, Shiva’s connexion is got over by explaining that when the world was filled with Buddhism and other forms of false religion, the Adorable appeared to Shiva, directing him to become incarnate and to preach a doctrine invented by himself (Shiva), so as to turn people from the Adorable and to manifest His glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers.

The commentators on the Bhakta-mála tell two stories which they say are not generally known, but which illustrate Shiva’s bhakti towards the Adorable. Herewith is given a free translation of Priya-dáśa’s version of these, filling up lacunae from the commentary of Bhagawán Prasada and from the Bhakti-premadhára of Kirti Simha. The latter tells the legends at greater length and in full detail.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 640.}

Satí, the wife of Sankara (Shiva), once, under the influence of delusion, asked why, if Ráma (an incarnation of the Adorable) were really the Supreme Deity, he was wandering about in the desert distraught at the loss of Sítá. Shiva warned her against such irreverent thoughts, but without success, and she went forth to test Ráma’s divine knowledge. As she departed Shiva cautioned her to be careful as to what she did. In spite of this Satí took Sítá’s own form, and, so far as she could imagine, made herself Sítá’s exact image. She approached Ráma as he was wandering in the forest, but he at once saw that she was not his beloved and would not speak to her. Satí returned to heaven and told this to Shiva, who became greatly distressed, and reproached her with having ventured to take the form of the special object of his loving worship, Sítá, the divine spouse of the incarnate Adorable. Thereafter he refused to treat Satí as his wife or to be reconciled to her so long as she remained in her then birth. Satí accordingly destroyed herself by becoming ‘suttee’ at Daksha’s sacrifice,\footnote{A parallel to ‘He saved others, himself he cannot save.} and being born again as Párvatí was in due course wedded to Shiva. Priya-dáśa adds to this story that it is very dear to him and that he sings it with especial delight.

The other legend is that one day Shiva and Párvatí went out riding on the bull Nandi to visit the earth. On the way as they passed two

\footnote{Most Vaishnava sects worship Sítá as an incarnation of the Adorable, as well as Ráma. According to the usual account Satí killed herself because Daksha abused Shiva, her husband, whom he had not invited to the sacrifice.}
mounds where there had once been villages, long since fallen to ruin, Shiva dismounted, and bowed himself to each. Párvati asked him to whom he paid reverence as there was no one in sight. He replied:

"Dearest, on one of these mounds there dwelt 10,000 years ago one who loved Ráma and Sítá, and who was supremely faithful (bhaktas), and on the other, 10,000 years hence, will there be another king of bhaktas. For this reason both these places are to be highly revered by me." Párvati heard these words and kept them in her heart. Therefrom her affection for bhaktas increased beyond limit, so that now it cannot even be described. Yea, the white garment of her heart is dyed deep with love for them.

With the Víbháti Ávatára Rámánanda we enter the domain of history. He founded the Rámavat sect of Rámánuja's Sri Sampradáya and to him Northern India really owes its conversion to modern Bhágavatism.

The following is a list of some of the principal Vaishnava shrines in Káňgra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The mandir of Thákur Brij Raí in Nárpur</th>
<th>Brahman, got Káshab.</th>
<th>Three fairs are annually held in Jéth, Hár and Bháตอน on Nársingh chetas, nirjala aadário and janam aśhtmi.</th>
<th>The temple contains a black stone image of the Thákur, 6 ft. high, and one of Lachmí, 6 ft. high. Bhág is offered 4 times a day and consists of fruit, sugar, rice or bread. A sacred lamp, in which got is burnt, is lit daily in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindus.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Thákur Madan Mohan at Nárpur</td>
<td>A Saniśá, got Dáchhini who is celibate.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Rice in the morning and fried things in the evening form the sacramental food. A sacred lamp is lit in the evening. The temple which is in bad repair contains a black marble image of the Thákur and a brass image of Bhí Bhaddar both 2½ feet high.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Connected with this are the shrines of Rám Chandá, Lachmí Nárán, Ambká and Chauñá. The first contains images of Rám Chand and Sítá, Lachmí and Hanumá, all of marble, set up a stone 6 feet high. The second Lachmí and Nárán — of black stone each a foot high. The third 3 images, between 1½ and 2½ feet high and the fourth a carving 2½ feet high. Four pujáris are in charge of these temples — caste Brahman, got Sáráti.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath at Shurah</td>
<td>A Jogi Nath, got Chauhan</td>
<td>People gather on 26th Jan and make offerings of what at every harvest. The temple contains a black stone pind of Shivji ½ span high and one in circumference. Worship is performed twice a day, rice or bread being offered as bhog morning and evening. It contains a black stone image one foot high and ½ foot in circumference. Bhog of fruit or sugar is offered in the morning and bread or rice is used as such in the evening. Bread fried in ghut in the morning and fried gram in the evening as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath's mandir at Sahura</td>
<td>A Giri Gosain, got Bihingen</td>
<td>The panchami tith following the amas of Phogan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Ribhu Chiri Lachhmi Narain</td>
<td>Brahman, got Parasar</td>
<td>On the day after the Diwali a jag called ankut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachhmi Narain at Gharok</td>
<td>A Dichhat Brahman, by gotar a Bashist</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Lachhmi Narain in Sangam on the Ban Gunga</td>
<td>A Brahman, caste Dada, got Koshal</td>
<td>During the mauni bra people come to bathe at the temple and a small fair is held. The temple contains images of Nath and Lachhmi, engraved on a stone slab which is one cubit square. A skridvinda containing a pind of Shiva is connected with it, in which occasional worship is performed. Bread in the morning and soaked gram in the evening are offered as bhog. The old image of Lachhmi Narain has been replaced by one of Gauri Shankar engraved on a black stone slab, 1¼ cubits long by 1 broad. Worship is performed only in the morning, when gram or fruit is offered as bhog. It contains marble images of Radha and Krishna which are 1 foot high. The temple is 1½ cubits high. Worship is performed morning and evening. Puris in the morning and fried gram in the evening form the bhog. Worship is only performed in the morning when milk pera or fruit is offered as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mander or Thakurdwara Bilkara at Ujjain</td>
<td>A Brahman caste Lakhutra, got Sandal</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mander Ganesh Ji in Daunatpar. The building which is in a dilapidated condition stands on a platform called tidla.</td>
<td>Brahman, caste Kamlia, got Kodina</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Kangra District about two-thirds of the women, and some of the men believe in Narsingh. It is said that he gives sons and assists in all difficulties. His worshippers keep a nárijíl (cocoanut) and chandan (sandal-wood) paste. Every Sunday or on the first Sunday of each Hindu month they worship him by putting the nárijíl on a brass plate (cháli), first washing it with fresh water. Then they put a śīāk of the chandan on it, just as Brahmans mark their foreheads, and then an achhat of as much washed rice as will stay on three fingers of the right hand, i.e., on the thumb, first and second or middle finger. When this is done they adorn the nárijíl with flowers, and then burn some dhúp (dolomíca maercephala), besprinkled with powdered camphor, sandalwood, almonds and spices. It is made into pastilles, and when burnt emits a pleasant odour. The nárijíl is then worshipped as Narsingh and the sweetmeats offered to it are subsequently distributed to the children and other members of the household and to the neighbours. Narsingh’s worshippers also wear a bahúta (amulet), containing a picture of him in the form of a man. This bahúta is of silver, and is worshipped like the nárijíl. A ring, generally made of silver with a projection towards the nail, is also worn on the little finger in his honour and it too is worshipped. A special costume is also worn during this worship. When a mother or mother-in-law worships Narsingh, her daughter or daughter-in-law must also do so. Barren women consulting a chela or a jogi are usually advised to worship Narsingh for offspring. He is believed to cohabit with women in their dreams in the form of a Brahman and aged from 12 to 20 years, and clothed in white. When a woman is sick a chela is sent for to charm away her illness. If he says that Narsingh’s anger has caused it he orders a baithak. If she do not happen to have a bahúta, or the proper rings or clothes or a nárijíl, the chela orders any of them that may be lacking to be procured before performing the baithak. The baithak ceremony is as follows:—On a Sunday, or any other fixed day, the chela comes with a báitri or singer of sacred songs, who plays on a dhopatra, an instrument made of two tumbhá (ascetic’s bowls) connected by a bamboo rod. A wire runs along this rod fastened to its extremities so as to give out a sound when twanged. The báitri sings his song and the chela repeats his magic words, and then Narsingh comes and shakes the woman’s body or of the chelas. The tremors last two hours or more, during which time the man or woman into whom the spirit has entered tells the fortunes of those attending the baithak. They are usually told to worship some deity who will cure the sick woman. While the patient or the chela keeps shivering with the force of the spirit in him, the báitri sings an incantation, accompanying himself on the dhopatra. The following is its translation:—

1. O friend born at the fort of Mathura, that wast incarnate in Gokal.

Refrain.

O my Narsingh, O great Naranjan!
O thou that hast captivated me (bis):
O thou that hast captivated the whole world;
O my Narsingh, O my Lord Naranjan.
2. O friend, son of Vásudeva, child of Yasodha.
3. Where the maids and virgins are, there is thy home.
4. Thy home is in the mangoes, in young mangoes, in wells and in tanks.
5. Thy home is in the pipals, in young pipals and the jasmines.
6. Red as red can be is thy turban flowered and crested, fine the robes on thy body.¹

In Kālu Nārsingh is regarded as one of the most potent demons of those spirit-haunted hills. He dwells in abandoned houses and in flower gardens, as well as in large temples, and is said to affect women and children more at night and noon-tide than at any other time. To cure one so affected a goat is sacrificed to him and sweet bread and a garland of flowers are offered. He is also made the patient’s brother in this wise: a Brahman is given a turban and called Nārsingh; and he treats the afflicted woman as his own sister. Thereafter he and Nārsingh are both regarded as her brothers. When Nārsingh cohabits with women in dreams he is said to wear white garments, but his usual dress is a white dhoti and a turban, and he carries a cocoanut hugga. This cult is special, if not restricted, to the twice-born castes.

At Nagar in Suket Nārsingh is worshipped under the name of Pākhán, whose idol resembles those of Sálig Rám to be found in Punjab temples and is kept in a locked coffer in which there is a narrow hole through which Pākhán may be seen, but permission to look upon him has to be obtained from the State and even the pujaṭār who bathes and feeds him has to keep him eyes closed and his face averted from him. It is dangerous to gaze upon him and a sādhū who was once allowed to do so died and thieves who stole from his temple were struck blind.² In Mandi Nārsingh is found in temples to Gúga with many other deities.³

Other spirits classed with Nārsingh are Kalia Bīr, Dakni, Shamsīn bhiṭ and Banshera. All these seem to have the power of assuming any shape or costume. They cause madness and disease, and to get rid of them spells are obtained from sorcerers and sādhūṣ as well as from Brahmans and the deobās themselves.

Kalia Bīr seems to be the same as Kala Bīr, Kala-bāhān or Kala Bhairon. He will possess any one with whom he is wrath but as a rule he will not affect a man until he is irritated by his sādhak (?) against him and then he will sometimes kill him. He can be propitiated by sacrificing a sheep etc. When he is a-hunting it is dangerous to see him as a sight of him causes possession by an evil spirit.

Nārsingh photár, at the petrifying spring and cascade in the Katha gorge in the Salt Range, is a place of pilgrimage.

¹ "Anār Singh is the Nrisinha avatāra of Vishnu, but the above song is to Krishna, some verses of which are commonly sung all over the Punjab at the Rās Lila, which commemorates the dance of Krishna with the Gopīs. This mixing up of the Nrisinha and Krishna avatāras of Vishnu is very curious."—P. N. Q. I., §§ 555, 757: But this note confuses Nārsingh with Narsingh who is the Man-Lion incarnation of Vishnu. In Chamba Nārsingh is regarded as the wasir of Gugga Chauhān and the idea that he is identical with Nārsingh is ridiculed.
² Suket Gazetteer, p. 22
³ Mandi Gazetteer, p. 39.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujařī</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amajgrān</td>
<td>Brāhman, Rasontri by got and Gurg by gotar</td>
<td>Badi ashtami in Bhādon</td>
<td>As bhoq, any food prepared by the pujařī, twice a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhpur</td>
<td>Bairagi-Achhūt</td>
<td>Jānām ashtami</td>
<td>Food cooked by the pujařī as bhoq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirthī founded in the time of Rājā Umed Singh of Chamba, 150 years ago.</td>
<td>Brāhman-Kosal</td>
<td>None, but at the jānām ashtami people collect and the idol is placed in a got (cradle) and worshipped.</td>
<td>Boiled rice in the morning, and bread in evening as bhoq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirthī</td>
<td>Brāhman—a Kashmīri by got and by gotar a Kosal</td>
<td>No fair, but same rite is observed.</td>
<td>Same, fruit being offered as bhoq during a fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihlu, founded by a Brāhman over 100 years ago when Rihlu was a part of Chamba.</td>
<td>A Kashmīri Brāhman, Kāship got (sic).</td>
<td>Same rite. This temple also contains a relief of Lachhmi.</td>
<td>Bread or rice in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanhāra, built 7 generations ago in time of Rānā Partāp Singh Ghanhārach.</td>
<td>Brāhman, got Chhatūrān and gotar Bata.</td>
<td>Some 20 years ago Nārsingh’s image was thrown into a stream and replaced by one of Lachhmi Nārāīn, carved in relief on a slab with Sheshnag on one side and two boys on the other.</td>
<td>It contains images of Rām Chand, Rādra and Krishna, a pīndī and a cobra, made of marble and in height from one to two feet. Eleven lamps in which ghṛ is burnt are lit every evening. Muhammadans, Chamārs and other low castes are not allowed to make offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The temple of Thākur Nārsingh in Patchpur was founded by Mahant Mohau Dās, a man endowed with power to work miracles. He brought a stone pīndī from the Deccan which he enshrined in this temple 500 years ago.</td>
<td>Bairāgī, got Achchat.</td>
<td>Jānām ashtami in Bhādon, Holī in Phāgan and Rāmnavami in Chet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VAISHNAVA CULTS IN THE HIMALAYAS.

In the Sirmur State, Punjab, the Hindus have two chief cults, one Vaishnava, the other Saiva. The former of these two is represented by the cult of Paras Rám and his derivative deities, which centres in Rainka-jf, in the Rainka tahsil of the State at a great lake. Paras Rám’s brothers are usually supposed to have become water, but, according to one local variant, Jámdaggan called his brothers cowards and turned them into women, so that now they are devis or goddesses, to wit: Lá Devi, Dornaj, Bhadvachhri or Bhdarkál, and Kamli, all of whom have temples in the State. The local cult and ritual of Paras Rám are described in the Gazetteer of Sirmur, 1904, and to that description may be added the following mantra or prayer, and the habits or couplets which are given below:—

Translation.

The story of Sri Ragundáth of the thousand names, by whose grace see the praises of Hari.

Om! Om! Om! The stainless light of the letter Om! From the light the navel, from the navel the lotus, from the lotus was born Bhráma. He took his staff and bowl and went to bathe. Shankásár, the Dánav, was born.

1 Compare Indian Antiquary, XXXII, p. 376, “Hinduism in the Himalayas.”

2 Jf is apparently an old form of jf, and the localised form of the legend runs that Jámdaggan Ráhí used to practise austerities at a peak called Jambu-kí-Dhar, near Jambu, where a mátri or temple still exists at the spot where the rishi had his dhání or fire. The yajá of Jambu still visits this mátri every Sunday and sankranti day to worship there. Jámdaggan’s wife, Rainka Jf, had a sister Baina, who was married to Rájá Saharsárblú (of the thousand arms), and once when rishi celebrated a jf, Baina asked Rainka to invite her to it. Rainka begged the rishi to do so, but at first he refused, because he could not afford to entertain a rájá and his queen. He yielded, however, to Rainka’s reiterated request and asked the God Indra to grant him Kámblú, the cow of plenty, Kap-briksh, the tree of paradise which yielded all manner of gifts, and Kuber, bhundri, the celestial steward who could supply all kinds of luxuries. When the rájá arrived with all his court the rishi was thus enabled to entertain him sumptuously, and the rájá was so mystified as to the source of the rishi’s wealth, that he deputed his barber to find out whence it came. Learning that Kámblú was the main source of supply, the rájá asked for the cow as a gift, which the rishi refused, and so the räjá determined to take her by force, but the rishi seized her into the sky to Indra. Then upon the rájá shot an arrow at the cow and wounded her in the foot, so the cow returned and attacked him. The räjá attributing this to the rishi’s sorcery, put him to death and returned home, Rainka, taking the rishi’s body in her lap, was bewailing his death, when she was divinely told that Kuber, bhundri, had the amrit or elixir of life, and that a drop of it placed in the dead rishi’s mouth would bring him back to life. So the rishi was restored to life and ordered his younger sons to kill Rainka, thinking that she had instigated his murder with intention of marrying Saharsárblú, but they refused. Then the rishi summoned Paras Rám, his oldest son, who was then practising austerities in the Kounkan, and who appeared in an instant. Paras Rám killed his mother, and then, in consequence of the divine curse which fell upon him, went to the plains (des), and swore to kill all the Chhatris and to swim in their blood, deeming Saharsárblú the cause of all his misery. Waging his war of extermination against the Chhatris he had reached Kurnakshetra, where Indra learnt what bloodshed he was causing in fulfilment of his oath and sent rain until the water rose to the height of man, and caused the upper currents to turn red. Meanwhile Jámdaggan had been searching for his son and, meeting him with his axe on his shoulders, was so pleased with his performances that he asked if he had any desire. Paras Rám in reply begged his father to restore his mother and brothers to life, and performed his mother’s funeral rites. The rishi replied that his wife and sons had become jat saráp or water, and that the former was in the larger and the latter in the smaller of the tanks at Rainka.

3 i.e., first came the stainless light.

4 i.e., the sand and karmadulis carried by jagirs.
Brahmá then taught the Védas, and for that purpose Brahmá went to Siva’s abode. (Said he): “Shivjí, thou art the slayer, thou art the Creator, thou knowest the meaning of the Four Védas.”

Said Mahádev (Siva): “I meditate on the virtues (of God), I ask alms, I repeat (the name) of Harí (Vishnu). He is the slayer! He is the Creator! He knows the meaning of the Four Védas.

“For this he first assumed the Máchh (Fish) incarnation. The mother of the Fish was Shankháwati, the father Purav Rishí, the teacher Mándhátá the birth-place Mánasowar (Lake). He slew Shankhásúr, the Dánav.

“Secondly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Kurm (Tortoise) Incarnation. The mother of the Tortoise was Karnáwati, the father Bilochn Rishí, the teacher Dhaquisat Báwá Rishí, the birth-place Dhangarpurí. He slew Módho Kítv, the Dánav.

“Thirdly, he assumed the Baráhrúp (Boar) Incarnation. The mother of the Boar was Lílátawati, the father Kaul Rishí, the teacher Sahaj Rishí, the birth-place Kanakpur. He slew Hirnákshap, the Dánav.

“Fourthly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Nársungh (Man-lion) Incarnation. The mother of the Man-lion was Chandrawatí, the father Harí-brahm Rishí, the teacher Káshi Rishí, the birth-place Mültánpurí. He slew Hirnakhách, the Dánav.

“Fifth, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Báwan incarnation. The mother of the Báwan was Langáwati, the father Bilochn Rishí, the teacher Káshap Rishí, the birth-place Benáres. He deceived Balrájá and slew him.

“Sixth, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Paras Rámjí Incarnation. The mother of Paras Rámjí was Rainkájí, the father Jámádggañjí, the teacher Agast Muníjí, the birth-place Kopalpurí. He slew Sahansár-báhu, the Dánav.

“Seventh, he assumed the Sri Rámchandarjí Incarnation. The mother of Rám Chandarjí was Kaushalyá, the father Dasrath, the teacher Bashishá Muní, the birth-place Ajudhiápurí. He slew Dhásur Ráwan.

“Eighth, Sri Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Krishn Incarnation. The mother of Krishn was Dewkí, the father Básdev, the teacher Durbháshá Rishí, the birth-place Muthorápuri. He slew Kansásur.

“Ninthly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Budh-rúp (Buddha) Incarnation. The mother of Budh was Padmáwati, the father Bilochn Rishí, the teacher Dhaquisat Báná Rishí, the birth-place Parsotampurí. He slew Gayásur, the Dánav.

“Tenthly, Náráin (Vishnu) will assume the tenth Incarnation. When will he assume it? Now1 he will assume it in the month of Mág, in the light half, in the Réwatí Nakshatra, on Saturday, the

1 At the following conjunction of the stars.
eight of the month. He will be a man thirty-two yards in (height), his sword will be eighteen yards (long), his swish will be nine yards (long). It will rain heavily. White his horse, white his saddle, heavy clouds about him, an umbrella over his head. Salt water will become sweet. The elephant will give milk. Sour milk will become sweet. The mother of Nishkalka is Matangi, the father Dhanuk Rishi, the teacher Sahaj-rup Rishi, the birth-place Sambhalangri. He slays Nishkalka (?), the Dhanav.

The following are some of the couplets or kābīts addressed to Paras Rām at Rainkā-joī:

THE KĀBĪTS.

1

Parbat chitr tal band nṛg hārd kāhān bhar mand hai,
Bādshāh gharib dhīwes kalah jāhān par chand hui.
The hill was broken, and the lake made full of deep water,
Kings and the poor worship (there), and the miracle is
known far and wide.

2

Ashā predicted that date, dhiān dī dāp dāt,
Dharmān dī sārāp dāt, mayā jāhān aīd akhand hai.
By bathing sins fly away, by devoutly meditating trouble
flees,
By looking at (it) curses depart, where such prosperity is?

3

Chanan samān kāsha: jāhān,
Kanchan samān pākhān jāhān,
Slāh samān nṛ jāhān, aīd aḏhābat mund hui.
Wood is like sandal,
Stone like gold,
and water like milk at this wondrous place.

4

Rainkā samān tirath nahi, lōk tari lōk bhawan me,
Gupūt jagah les kīlo chārōn taraf jāhān ban khand hai.
There is no place so sacred as Rainkā,
The place that is holy and densely wooded all round.

5

Kītī hi tirath bāṣī āsā rakhte hui an āgyān,
Jīnku ashnān karnd phānī ke bārdhār ānd hai.
Some pilgrims are so foolish,
That to bathe is to them as great a penalty as hanging.

1 The name of the Teuth incarnation.
Vishnu in Kulu.

6

Man men dhidwèr aur kám mukh se bòle jai Paras Rám,
Din ràû pàr ke kàrèn dràm, jînkè darshàn kàrèn zeroh hai.

They are thinking of other things, while with their lips they say
'Jai Paras Rám.'

They take their ease night and day, but to visit a temple is poison
to them.

7

Kahe Déwà Hîrâ Lâl, men pdâp kà chhor khíâl,
Hot Paras Râm didî, Jin par unkl mihr hai.

Says Déwâ Lâl, 'Take no thought of your sin,
Paras Rám favours those to whom he is gracious.

The following list shows how numerous and important the Vishnu
temples are in Kulu\(^1\) and the variations in the dates on which the
fairs and festivals are held:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Náráin</th>
<th>Gàurchase Péra</th>
<th>Either on Sunday, Monday, Wednesday or Saturday in the light halves of Phágán and Sáwan. A large fair is held every 12th year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ðéra Náráin</td>
<td>On the 3rd, 5th or 7th of the light half of Sáwan and Phágán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (a)</td>
<td>Ðéra</td>
<td>1st, 3rd and 8th Baisákh, and 1st to 7th Mágh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ðéra Bishkola in Bishkola.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (b)</td>
<td>No special name. In Dumch in.</td>
<td>Full moon day of Magh, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 16th, 15th and 15th of Phágán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Lachhmi Náráin</td>
<td>Náráin Sari</td>
<td>1st Phágán, in Cèt, 1st to 11th and 21st Baisákh, 1st Jêt, 7th Har, in Sáwan, during the Anant Chandas, 1st Asanuj, in Har, 1st Maghár, and 1st Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (c)</td>
<td>Ðéra Náráin Nabi in Bhallan. Also called Ðéra Bhallan.</td>
<td>1st, 9th and 11th Phágán, 1st to 5th Baisákh, 6th and 14th Baisákh, 18th Baisákh, 1st to 6th Sáwan, 7th, 9th or 11th Bhádou, in Bhádou, 1st Asanuj, 1st Maghár, and 1st Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhákur Lachhmi Náráin</td>
<td>Lachhmi Náráin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhákur Lachhmi Náráin</td>
<td>Mandir Shailru</td>
<td>Third of the lunar month of Poh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) For some further notes on Náráin etc. in Kulu, see under Hinduism in the Himalayas -infra.

(a) Three small temples are connected with this.

(b) Another temple of this god in Dumch in is connected with this temple.

(c) The temple of Shesh Nág is connected with this. It is called Sara Aga.

(d) These two temples are connected with that of Rám Chander.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vishnu temples in Kulu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thākur Lachhmi Nārāîn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ditto</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Lachhmi Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhalru Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Chagari Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Chhamaini Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harāngu Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Hebab Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Karchali Nārāîn(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karos Nārāîn(f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kasoli Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kesho Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Khalari Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalaini Nārāîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sammon Nārāîn ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Two temples and a bhandār are connected with this. The bhandār and one temple are in Garaling village and the other temple in Rājang.

(f) The temples of the goddesses Nanti Hothi Mahājani and Phungani are connected with this. The expenses of their worship are borne by the god himself.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Sapura Nárain or Sapat Rikhi (g)</th>
<th>Þura</th>
<th>5th Baisakh and 80th Chot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sarashti Nárain</td>
<td>Basti Katon</td>
<td>First Sunday in Phágan, at the beginning of the new year and on the Dhongari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siam Nárain</td>
<td>Þura Siam Nárain</td>
<td>On the daddi of the dark half of Phágan. Another on the 1st half of Aman last for three days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sikhó Nárain (h)</td>
<td>Nagi Þura</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh, 7th of Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Tarjogi Nárain (i)</td>
<td>Tarjogi Nárain</td>
<td>18th Hár, Rám Naumi in Baisákhy, Janam Ashtami in Bhádón, Holi in Phágan, Ankut and Dewáli in Kátak: also a yag every 2nd year on 18th Hár.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárain Lapas</td>
<td>Deota Nárain</td>
<td>9th and 10th Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárain Maha</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Phágan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárain Pulga</td>
<td>Þura</td>
<td>1st of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Chátar Bhuj in Kothi Dugi Lag</td>
<td>Thákur Dávala Dugi Lag</td>
<td>On the full moon days of Phágan and Chot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Gopál</td>
<td>Thákur Dávala Sarai</td>
<td>Japari fair for half a day 3rd light half of the month of Chot, Uchhab Sámi Nauni one day in the month of Chot, Uchhab Janam Ashtami one day in the month of Bhádón, Ankut Díp Míla for two days on the Amasa of the light half of Kátak, Uchhab Phág one day in Phágan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Gopál Ji</td>
<td>Kastar Þura</td>
<td>One festival in the month of Chot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Hari Nárain (j)</td>
<td>Þura Nárain</td>
<td>Full moon day of Maghar, on the 9th, 19th and 16th of Bhádón and on the 9th, 16th and 9th of Phágan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Jagan Náth</td>
<td>Jagar Náth ra Dávala</td>
<td>Naumi of Chot, on the Janam Ashtami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Málho Rai (k)</td>
<td>Thákur Dávala Harípur</td>
<td>Dashehra for 6 days, Basant Panchami for 1 day, birthday of Rámá 1 day. Dev Sáni on ikédáki, Janam Ashtami for two days, Hól for 8 days, Díp Míla of ikédáki, Ankut for 1 day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Besides this there is another temple belonging to this god in Barogi Nárain. The ceremonies performed at these places are the same.

(h) A temple of the god Manon Rikhi is connected with this and is situated in Bhati village. Manon Rikhi came to Manuli in the guise of a jagir. He saw a woman named Gauri Mani and the Rikhi asked her for milk. She replied ‘my cow has gone to graze in the jungle I cannot get you milk at present.’ The Rikhi bade her: ‘Milk these calves,’ she did so and from them drew milk which the Rishik drank. He displayed another miracle by killing a demon who lived in the village. Seeing this the people began to believe in him and built him a temple. The pujá is a KAN of the Káshah got.

(i) Close to the big temple there is a smaller one.

(j) Another temple of this god in Kokari village is connected with this.

(k) A temple of the goddess Bhalamásan is connected with this.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thākur Murlīdhar and Chatar Chung (1)</th>
<th>Two temples which bear the names of the deities to whom they are dedicated.</th>
<th>Ninth of Asauj and lasts till full moon-light half of Māgh for one day, one day in the light half of Phāgān, and one in Jeṭh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Murlīdhar Ji ...</td>
<td>Name of the god.</td>
<td>Dasehra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Murlīdhar attached to Rām Chandar Ji.</td>
<td>Murlīdhar ...</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Har Sīnh Ji (m)</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Lohal in K. Khokhan.</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of Chet. On the Janam Ashṭami, i.e. the 8th of the dark half of Bhādōn and on the day of the full moon of Phāgān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Nāṃsingh Ji ...</td>
<td>Thākurdowāra Nāṃsingh Ji.</td>
<td>In Māgh, Sāwan and Phāgān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Dawāla Karjan ...</td>
<td>Rām Naumi in Chet, on the Janam Ashṭami in Bhādōn, on the Ankut in Kātak, on the Hol in Phāgān and on the Dewāl in Kātak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Harma Nāṅnā Ji ...</td>
<td>Rām Naumi which may fall either in Baisakh or in the light half of Chet and Janam Ashṭami in the light half of Bhādōn for one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Thākurdawāla Washal</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Naro Mani (m) ...</td>
<td>Pera in K. Kothi Kandhi</td>
<td>1st Baisakh, 1st Jeṭh, 15th Har, 3rd Bhādōn and any day in Bhādōn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Nāṃsingh Ji ...</td>
<td>In Jharin known by the name of the place.</td>
<td>One day in the month of Bhādōn, 1 day in Kātak, 3 days during the dark half of Kātak, 1 in the light half of Phāgān, one in the light half of Baisakh, and one in the light half of Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sṛi Thākur Raghu Nath Ji.</td>
<td>Called after the god in K. Shari.</td>
<td>10th to 16th of light half Asauj, 8th of light half of Māgh, full moon day in Phāgān, 12th of light half of Baisakh, and 15th of light half of Jeṭh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Rām Chandar Ji ...</td>
<td>Thākurdawāra Rām Chandar Ji in Dorab.</td>
<td>Full moon day of Asauj or Kātak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Rām Chandar ...</td>
<td>Known by the name of the god.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The temple Chatar Bhuj is connected with this. Its worship is performed in the same way as that of Thākur Murlīdhar.

(m) Inside the temple are images of Thākur Murlīdhar and Sīna Ji. They resemble a human being in appearance. Each of them is of stone and 14 cubits high. It is said that in the time of Rāja Kans who troubled Parichhat and oppressed the people, Sṛi Bhagwan appeared as an incarnation of Krishan and killed Kans. In the time of the hill chiefs these images were in Bir Kotgarh whence they were removed by the kādrdr of Ad Brahmas and made over to a Bairagi for worship when this territory passed into the hands of the Sikhs. When the Bairagi died they were brought to this temple. No muṭā is attached to these temples and the god Brahmas gives them some money as ārth to meet the expenses of worship.

(s) Including the big temple there are six temples in all and at each fairs are held and ceremonies performed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thakur Ram Chander Ji</th>
<th>Thakurdwara</th>
<th>Dasera on Dasami.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Thakurdwara</td>
<td>Ram Naumi in Baisakh, Janam Ashtami in Bhadon, Holi in Phagan Ankut and Diwali in Katak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Saligram Ji</td>
<td>Thakur Saligram Ji</td>
<td>No form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Sita Ram Ji</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of each month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Sita Ram Ji, Kothi Mahara.</td>
<td>Ram Naumi in Chot, on the Janam Ashtami of Bhadon, on the Ankut and Holi in Phagan and on the Dip Malla (Diwali) in Katak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bishnu</td>
<td>Dera Bishnawala</td>
<td>Asauj, Ankut, Phag, Ram Naumi, Dev Sati ikdashi, Jal Bahar, Panj Bhesam, Dip Mala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Bishnu Bhagwan (q)</td>
<td>Called after the name of the god</td>
<td>Ram Naumi and on the Janam Ashtami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bishnu (q)</td>
<td>Dera Sajala in K. Barsai</td>
<td>The Jeth Bir Shiv on 1st of Chot, the Chachhopdi for 5 days on the full moon day of Chot, the Vanhiya Bir Shiv on 1st Baisakh, the Devkhet for three days on 6th Baisakh. Also the Kapu fair on 1st Jeth, the Sharhnu on 1st Har, the Deori Fair on 1st of Bhadon, the Janam Ashtami in the dark half of Bhadon, the Sutari on 1st Asauj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lachhmi Naraian has at least four temples in Saraj. Regarding one the usual story, as usual, is that in the dudpar yug, people used to graze cattle on this spot and once a boy noticed that a cow used to yield her milk to a black stone image every day. At last he told his parents of it and his father with other good men of the village came to verify his tale. When they reached the place they saw a faqir seated by the image, and he told them that it represented Naraian, promising prosperity to all who worshipped it. With these words he disappeared under the ground. The people then built a temple there and installed the image in it. It is believed to have been founded in the dudpa yug, and is built of stone and wood. It contains a black stone image, 3

(o) The temples connected with this are those of Raghu Nath, Char Bhuj, Narsingh, Murlihar and Lachhmi Naraian.

(g) No other temple is connected with this except a dharmadha where faqir is put up.

(q) No temple save that of Naga Dhunmal is connected with this. It contains an image of stone about a foot high. Its worship is performed by the pujaari of Bishna deena.
feet high and 2 broad. Its administration is carried on by a kár-
\textit{dár}; by caste a Kanet and by got a Káshab. He is married. The
\textit{pujári} is a Sársut Brahman by caste and by got a Gautam. These
posts are hereditary. Thus in no respect does the temple differ from
those to a Nág or any other devta in Saráj. The ritual has no distinc-
tive features. A bhog of rice, dál or milk is offered once a day, and a
sacred lamp lit every evening. No distinction is made in the offerings
different castes. The annual fair is held on 1st Baisákh. Connect-
ed with this are the shrines of Thác Déora and Dáogi. The fair at
the form r is held on the 1st Baisákh and at the latter from 1st to
3rd Phágá. The expenses incurred on these are borne by the
respective gods.

Lachhmi Nárán’s temple at Chíní was founded by a thákur who
bestowed a plot of land on a faqir who declared himself to be Lachhmi
Nárán. It differs in no essentials from the one first described. Two
fairs are held, one on the 3rd Baisákh and the other on the parvanmáshi
in Bhádon.

Regarding the temple at Deori it is said that a sádhu came to a
Brahman’s house there and sitting at the door began to dig up the
ground. In it he found a pindi to which a cow daily yielded her milk.
This was noticed by a girl who was grazing cows near by. She told
her father all about it. The sádhu told him that the pindi was the
image of Nárán, and then disappeared under ground. The temple was
founded in the 
\textit{dú pápar yug}. It contains a stone pindi a foot high.
Its administration is carried on by a Sársut Brahman kár
\textit{dár} and the
\textit{pujári} is also a Brahman. The god has two places for his worship, at
each of which a fair lasting from 1st to 3rd Bhádon is held. Other
fairs are held on 7th Baisákh and 7th Asaúj every year.

The fourth temple at Chir or Chira Kelán, the deodár grove, owes its
origin to a very similar accident. As a thákur was ploughing his field
he saw a pindi appear above the ground. It told him that its name
was Lachhmi Nárán who desired to meditate on that spot, so he
brought it to Chira Kelán where a temple was built in its honour in the
dú pápar yug. It contains the stone pindi and its administration is
carried on by a kár
\textit{dár}. The \textit{pujári} is always a Brahman. The dis-
ciple is called gur and special reverence is paid to him as he answers all
questions put to the god in his trances. The fair begins on 1st and
ends on 3rd Phágá. The Shivrátí festival is also observed. Another fair follows on 1st Cúet. The 9th and 10th Baisákh are
however the great festival days. The jag is annually celebrated on the
\textit{rikh puniya}.

Rámjí has a temple at Rámagarh. In old times a devotee and a
snake used to live on its present site from which the villagers used to
cut grass and fuel. One day they observed a pindi at the spot where
the devotee Rámjí had disappeared underground, so a temple was built
and named after him. It has been in existence since the \textit{tritiya yug},
and contains a stone pindi, a foot high. Its administration is carried
on by a kár
\textit{dár} a Kanet who is by got a Káshab. There is also a
\textit{pujári}. Bhog is offered only once a month, on the \textit{vántránt}, and a
sacred lamp is only lit during Bhádon and in the evening. She-goats only are sacrificed at the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this one.

The temple of Thákur Murlídhar in Chuí is one of the Rájas of Mándí; the Thákur’s image having been brought there from Mátara by Rájá Mangal Sain of that State. The date of its foundation is not known.

The temple is of stone and wood, and contains a blackstone image of the god which is 2½ feet high. On either sides of it are seated the pindis of Shiva and Kídár Náth, each ½ foot high. Its affairs are managed by a kárdrá and pujári, both Brahmans of the Dharmán got. The fairs are held on the púrana máshi in Phágán, vámnaumí in Chét, jánam ašktami in Bhádon and on the dasmi in Asaúj every year.

The cult of Mádho Rai, who is Krishna in his avádrá of Murlídhar or the flute-player, is important in Mándí. He has a temple in the capital of that State which was dedicated to him by its Rájá Súráj Sain, after the loss of his 18 sons,1 and the god is still the head of the State. All the village deities visit this god at Mándí during the Shibrátri játára.

THE HINDU REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH-WEST.—In Montgomery, Múltán and Muzaffargarh considerable reverence is paid to the shrine of Gánjamáli in the Múltán city. The founder of the sect was a Brahman who is said to have lived some 4 centuries ago, and to have obtained the title from him wearing a necklace (máta) of gánja seeds. He was a Gósán, a resident of Múltán and a worshipper of Krishn; he is now looked on by many of the Aroñás as their gúru, and his cult is closely connected with that about to be described.

The most celebrated of all the Bairágí movements in the Punjab and by far the most predominant in the south-west corner of the province is that connected with the names of the Gósáns Shámjí and Lálji. These two men were the leaders of a great revivalist movement among the Kírás or Hindu traders of the south-west some three or four hundred year ago.

Shámjí, or Shám Dás, was a Khatri, a resident of Dipálpur, who went to Bindrában when he was twelve years old and became a disciple in the temple of Sri Chetan Mahá Prabhú. The Gósán in charge, Dwáriká Dás, gave him his blessing, and he became endowed with miraculous powers. In the Sambat year 1600 (A.D. 1543) the god Krishn presented him with two idols and said: “The Hindus of the western country of the Sind are ignorant of their religion. They have no gúru to guide them between good and bad. Go to the west and teach the Hindus the ceremonies of their religion and make them your disciples (sewak). Your words will have speedy effect.” Shámjí thereupon set out, and on reaching the Indus commenced his mission by making two and a half disciples, namely, two Khatrés and half a Chándia Baloch. He settled down at Mauza Bapilwár.

1. Mandi Gazetteer, pp. 89 and 9. Súráj Sain had an image of the god made of silver. The number 18 seems to be conventional.
Fatteh Khán, and founded in the town of Dera Gházi Khán a temple in honour of Krishn as Nannít-praya, the lover of butter. This temple is one of the oldest in those parts and its present head is Gosán Dharmí Dhar. There are other temples erected by or in honour of Shámjí at Dera Ismáíl Khán, Kot Súltán, Kot Addu and Multán.

Shámjí had three sons, Kahaní, Dwárankánthí and Jugal Kishorí; and his followers are derived from three sources—those belonging to the Gandía Játs are called Rang Rangita, the Chándíá Baloch are called Chhabala, and the Khatri Chhabhawa.

Láljí was in a way the successor of Shámjí. He was a Brahman, a resident of Siwán in Sind, and was born in Sambat 1608 (A.D. 1541). He also went when quite a boy to Mathra and Bindrábán, and while there in Sambat 1641 received from the god Krishn a divine errand similar to that of Shámjí. At first the young man refused, but the god told him to start for the Indus at once, adding that the divine image would follow him and that he would hear the tinkling of its anklets behind him. Whereupon Láljí set forth and on reaching the country west of Dera Gházi Khán he stopped and looked round. The idol then said: “You have stopped; and I too am going no further.” So Láljí built a temple on the spot to Krishn under the name of Gopínáthí, and this temple still bears a considerable reputation in Dera Gházi Khán and its neighbourhood. Two other shrines were also established, one at Dera Ismáíl Khán, called Nágarjí and one at Baháwalpur, called Sri Girdhárí Ji. The miracles performed by Láljí were a very convincing proof of his mission, and his descendants still hold the temple of Gopínáthí which he raised.

The influence of these men in favour of the Hindu religion has been enormous and they have in all probability reclaimed the whole of the trading community of the south-west from a virtual conversion to Sikhism or Mahomedanism. To be a Hindu by religion is in those parts almost synonymous with being a follower of these Gosáíns. The Khatri and Aroras of the south-west are divided into Sikhs and Sewaks—the followers of Nának and the disciples of the Gosáíns; and it is due to the exertions of Shámjí and Láljí that the latter are as numerous as they are. The only object of reverence, which can be said in any way to rival Krishn and his apostles, is the River, and the people have gone so far as to confuse the two, and at times it is the Indus, at times Láljí, who is addressed and worshipped as Amar Lál, the immortal one.

The Gosáíns or priests of Shámjí and Láljí live largely at Leiah and Bhakkar and are Khatris. The number of those who have succeeded the original pair is legion, and the sect itself is also known by various names such as Krishn Láljí, Mahán Prabhú, Sewak, Lítá Dhar, Bánsí Dhar and the like. These however may be separate sects or off-shoots of the parent sect, like the Chabel Dásis.

The Chenáb is famous for its saints, and these are by no means entirely Musalmáns. The Hindu saints of the Jhang district deserve

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1 The saying is: Satlaj Kírí Ráví ámiitr, Chenáb fágírít, Jhelam sharírít, wa Sind díírít.
special mention, and the names of four of them, Rám Piára, Múla Sant, Bábá Sháhána and Jinda Kaliána, may be noted. Of Rám Piára nothing can be ascertained except that he was bhogat, who generally resided in Jhang and Dera Ismáil Khán and professed Vaishnava tenets.

There have been religious men of the name of Múla Sant both in Lahore and at Talagang in Jhelum, but the most celebrated Múla Sant was a famous Gaur Brahman of Wazírabád, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century. This man quarrelled with his caste-fellows in Wazírabád, and emigrated to a place called Sulimán in the Chiniot tahsil of Jhang where he gave himself out as an Arora. He was advised by Sayyid Jamal Sháh and Bábá Jinda Sáhib (of whom more hereafter) to visit the shrine of Badrínáráin; and at Badrínáráin he was ordered by the oracle to marry an Arora woman. He complied, but of course a considerable stigma attached to the offspring of this irregular union, one Harídás by name, and it was only in consequence of Harídás’s wonderful miracles that the matter was condoned. The tenets of Múla Sant were Vaishnava, and he is said to have spent 12 years worshipping in a hole which he had dug. His son Gasaín Harídás succeeded to his position at Sulimán, and his tomb there is still an object of great reverence among the Aroras who attend in large numbers to shave their children’s heads (jhand náwar) in honour of the saint. Fairs are held here in April and September. The Múlasanties or followers of Múla Sant are mainly found in Jhang, Shahpur, and Gujránwála; they abstain from meat and wine, reverence káam and worship no idols but merely the sáigrám. They are chiefly Aroras and make pilgrimages to his tomb at Salimán.¹

Like Múla Sant, Bábá Sháhána was not originally a native of the Jhang district. He was a Gaur Khatri of Satghara in Montgomery who lived some 300 years ago. His original name was Mihrá and his original occupation was boiling gram. One of his customers was a Musálmán faqir, who made him his chela and bestowed on him the name of Mihr Shah. Mihr Sháh then emigrated to Leiah, in Miánwáli, where he converted two goldsmiths. From thence he moved to Kachian, a Khatri village on the Chenáb, in Jhang tahsil, which is now deserted; but his assumption of the Musálmán title Sháh offended the susceptibilities of the Khatris and led to a good deal of cursing on the part of the saint, who shifted his quarters once more to Khíva, a village of the Malmí Siáls. The saint appeared in bad spirits, and the inhabitants to prevent more cursing gave him a house, a well and a plot of ground, which are still in the possession of the Bábá Sháhána faqirs. This restless devotee had however another and more celebrated residence at Gilmála, 1½ miles from Jhang. He had shot an arrow into the air, and it fell at Gilmála, where now there is a large building inhabited by members of his order. A fair is held here on the first Friday in Phágári every year. The followers of Bábá Sháhána do not respect the shiktás as they should; they call themselves “Sháh,” and they use the name of “Sat Sháh” in their prayers.

¹ Shahpur Gazetteer, 1887, p. 84.
Another Jhang sect, and one that worships one god only, is that of the followers of Jinda and Kaliana, two saints who are said to have lived in the early part of the 16th century. Jinda was a Ganidhar Brahman of Pirkot Sadhana, in Jhang tahsil, who in early life was an Aghori fagir, and his chief residence was Masan, in the Vichand, a few miles from Jhang. Kaliana was a Sahar Brahman of Takht Hazara, in the Shalpur district, who left his home for Siakhot and passed some time there in devotion on the bank of the Chenab. From Siakhot he went to the Kira hill to compare his attainments with those of the Kirana piras. At Kira his miraculous powers became well established, but the Piras suggested his moving on to Massan, and when he reached Massan, he met Jinda. As the two saints met they exclaimed simultaneously: Jinda so Kaliana, Kaliana so Jinda. 'As is Jinda, so is Kaliana'; the two are one and the same; and they are now known by the joint name of Jinda-Kaliana. There remained, however, the difficulty that Jinda was still an Aghori, while Kaliana was a Vaishnav; and it was not until Jinda has ascertained at the shrine of Jagannath that he could drink a ser and a quarter of molten lead and pass it out in the ordinary way and had exhibited his ability to do this in the presence of ten faqirs, that he was able to renounce the old sect and enter the new. Jinda was a celibate and his chelas are the regular successors to the gadi at Massan. Kaliana, on the other hand, married, at Jinda's instigation, a Brahman girl of Alipur, in Jhang tahsil, and his offspring, still known as Gosains, are found in many villages of Jhang, are looked on with reverence by the people and are entertained with particular care by the godindhins of the Massan shrine. The buildings at Massan are striking in appearance, and an annual fair is held there. The two sandlas of Jinda and Kaliana are there, and the mahant of the place honours them by blowing his shell (shamkh) morning and evening. Their followers are chiefly Brahman, Khattris, Arohas, Sunars and Bhattachars. They worship no god but Brahbm, and they greet each other with the words 'Sat Jinda Kaliana.' Some accounts assert that Jinda and Kaliana were contemporaries of Guru Gobind Singh, and others would class them with the Nanakpanthis but the above is the received version, and though possibly influenced by Nanak they do not appear to have been in any way his followers. The Jinda-Kaliana ke sewak make a pilgrimage to their tombs at Massan at the Dasebra.

To give further details:—

Jinda or Zinda, 'the living one,' was a Bunjah Brahman of the Genuhar got, while Kaliana also a Bunjahi was of the Sahir got. Kaliana's natural descendants are now however Gosains by caste: but as Zinda was celibate his spiritual descendants are faqirs of Zinda-Kaliana.

The Mahant or Guru is one of the faqirs. They wear a cap of silk (daryad, or gulbadan), round which they bind a black strip of woollen cloth (sozi), shaving the head, but keeping the chooti or tuft of hair,

If not honoured by him as stated in the Shahpur Gaz., 1907, page 83.

The Genuhar are the Brahman of the Muhammadan Sials of the Jhang Bahr.
Minor Hindu sects.

like "Hindus, and the beard and moustaches. They also wear shoes, a mahla, or waist-cloth, a lingoti, a kurta or shirt and a chadar or shawl. They also carry a mala or rosary and a necklace of tulsi beads. The Mahant, however, may not wear a shirt or shoes, though when walking he is allowed sandals. He must always sleep on the ground, or on a manuka, a square bed of grass made on the earth between four posts. The chelas or disciples may sleep on beds. Further, the Mahant must eat on a separate dasan, or mat, though the faqirs may eat on the same dasan and in the same chauka, with one another or with Brahmans: they may also eat in the same chauka, but on separate dasans, with Khatris and Aropas. The Mahant may also take food from Brahmans, Khatris or Aropas, but he can only drink water drawn with a dur, or rope, in a lota, but his chelas may use water drawn in earthenware. He also has a separate hugga, but the faqirs may smoke with Brahmans, provided the latter are willing to allow them to do so.

The faqirs employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but not so the Gosâns, who, like other Hindu castes, call upon the daughter's son, the son-in-law, the sister's son and husband to take the place of the Brahman, who is only employed when no such relative is available. The faqirs receive the bhenf or offerings made to the samâdhas: the Gosâns receive ardâs (almss) or dàn. The former however now visit their followers to collect offerings. Near the takia, or residence of the Mahant, stand the samâdhas or the tombs of Zinda, Kaliâna, Amadîali, and Darya Sâhib, a chela of Zinda, while close by is a house in which a sacred fire (dhûnî) has been kept burning for four centuries. This house also contains a long red flag, which is worshipped, and conch shells and bells which are used when the dugh grass is reverence. Bhanger is offered daily and is also taken regularly by the Mahant. The faqirs, after preparing their own food, offer bhog (or sacramental food) to the samâdhas. The faqirs and the public worship the samâdhas, the dhûnî or sacred fire, and a tulsi plant growing near by. The Gosâns or secular priests intermarry with all the Bunjâhi Brahmans: and of course avoid widow re-marriage.

Some Minor Hindu sects.—We have seen above that though the teaching of Râmânand was in the beginning an inroad on the caste principles of orthodox Hinduism, the influence of the Bairagi devotees, who look to him as their founder, has been almost entirely in favour of pure Hinduism, and the sect is in the Punjab as orthodox as any other. It would therefore be well if, before we go on to record the more liberal results of the teaching of Râmânand, we should glance at the names of various petty leaders of orthodox opinion in various parts of the Province. Even among these we shall find some whose doctrines are not in accordance with ordinary Hindu opinion, but this is the most convenient place to notice them.

The Birbal-panthis are from the Marwat tahsil of the Bannu district, and it would be interesting to know whether they really venerate the memory of Akbar's minister, or whether the object of their reverence is some other Birbal. In Peshâwar and Kohât a few people return the name of Miran Bai, a famous poetess and devotee of
Krishn, who is said to have lived in the time of Akbar. Her shrine is at Udaipur in Rájpútána, and there are many legends about her, but that best known in the Punjab is connected with the supposed fact that the God Krishn partook of her kacchí khichírī.

Lála Jasrae was a Khatri, whose shrine is in Dípúlpar in Montgomery. A large number of Khatris put their faith in him and take their children to his shrine to have their heads shaved. He is revered also at Lahor, Amritsar, Jaílandhar and Jagraón. Kesar Sháh was a faqír in Gujránwála. Bábá Súraj of Chúlí Bhagtaí, in the Kahúta tahsil of Rawalpindi, was a Brahman, who some 200 years ago served a Jogí, and from him learnt a mantra by which he became a distinguished faqír. He is commonly known as Chúpéwála and his followers as Bhaktís. Bál Gurú is a Kashmirí saint.

Mehr Dás was a faqír who resided at Ketás in the Pind Dádan Khán tahsil, and Jodha Rám was a pious Brahman who lived at Hazro in Rawalpindi. Regarding the Jairám's little seems to be known, except that the founder of their sect was also known as Bábá Kúrewála, or Bhángewála which would point to a low origin.

The Telríjás have been noticed above and the Martans in Vol. III, p. 79.

Another and even smaller Vaishnava sect is the Díáí-Bháwan-panth, founded by one Díáí Bháwan, a cloth-seller of Giroí, who was attracted to religion by an exhibition of second sight (ellíám) in a Patihán woman with whom he was staying. Its followers are initiated at the Ramgarh tank at Giroí where they are taught special prayers and have their heads shaved. Some wear the jarno, others not. The great fair on the Baisákhi at Giroí is an auspicious day for a Hindu boy to have his head shaved and don the sacred thread.1

The Bairágís also claim to have won tolerance from Jahángír. When that emperor visited Káhmúwán in Gurdáspar the celebrated Bairági faqír Bhagwánjí avoided his attempt to make his acquaintance by burrowing through the ground to Pindori, 10 miles to the north, and thence to Dhamtal across the Bhakki in Kángra. The holes in the ground are still shown at Káhmúwán and Pindori. Jahángír subsequently found Naráím, Bhagwánjí’s disciple, at Pindori, but failed to make him speak as he was then undergoing a penance of silence, so Jahángír took him to Lahore and gave him 7 cups of poison each sufficient to kill an elephant, but he resisted its effects. Bhagwánjí’s explanation however not only satisfied the emperor but induced him to build a temple, domed like a Muhammadan tomb, which still exists at Pindori. The daughter shrine at Dhamtal was founded by Bábá Harí Rámjí and possesses an inscribed magic crystal which dates from his time. At Pindori are 13 samáadhíns representing the 13 gaddís or successions of gurís of the shrine. Close to that of Bábá Mahesh Dásjí, another disciple of Bhagwánjí, is the samáadhí of his dog who is also said to have resisted a dose of 1½ mums of opium administered to him by the gurí in proof of his powers. This shrine has 50 or 60 branches scattered all over India. – Jahl near Dháríwál is an important branch and barren women

1 Shahpur Gazeteer, 1897, pp. 88 and 88.
resort to it to obtain issue which the mahant is said to bring about by the use of jantras.\(^1\)

The Láljís are described as 'a sort of Bairágís, followers of Lálji', of Dhíánpur on the Rávi in Gurdáspur. Their tenets are much the same as the Vaishnava Bairágís. They appear to be Rámánandás and Lálji who lived in the time of Shah Jahán had frequent discussions with that emperor's son, Dára Shikoh on the subject of monotheism. Pictures of these debates still exist on the walls of the main building at Dhíánpur.\(^2\) The Sháhpur Gazetteer states that Dára Shikoh was also a friend of Dádáji, himself a disciple of Rámánand, but Dádá's date is open to much doubt: see Vol. II, p. 215, note\(^3\). It also adds that the sacred tract of the Dádápanthis is called Dádá Bildás which may be distinct from the Dádá Bani alluded to on p. 216 of that volume.

A sect called Ápá-panthí is described very briefly in Vol. II, p. 13, but the Ápá-panthí of Multán appear to be distinct from it. In September 1903 one Hem Ráj, son of Pékhár Dás, of Multán, who had turned fadür some 10 years before and had inaugurated a religion which he termed Ápá-panthí, died. His relatives and followers some 3,000 in number dressed his body in silk clothes, placed some tibi on his forehead, a garland round his neck and a tiládár (gold-laced) cap on his head. They then placed his body in sitting position in a coffin and after carrying it round the city, had it photographed. They then took it to the river arriving about 11 p.m., put it in the water, proceeded to cook and eat some halwá and finally returned with the grave clothes and coffin. Besides these proceedings, which were against the principles of Hinduism, they omitted to perform that portion of the funeral ceremony called the kirya karm. The Hindus were disgusted at these obsequies and with the relatives and followers for trangressing all the regular Hindu funeral rites.

Gurdáspur.

The fair at Baldeo Chhat lasts from Bhádón sădi 6th to 8th. The temple contains an image of Baldevji. It is about 200 years old. The image stands in the centre of a square in the west of the temple on a platform. It is of marble, 4 feet high and is dressed in clothes suited to the season. The pujári is a Gaur Brahman. He only looks after the temple and the image, bathing and worshipping it. Jhánkís are made in Sáwan. Another fair is held at Bāhim in tahsil Náh, but no temple exists there. It is held on Bhádón sădi 7th and lasts 2 days.

The Bisáh fair at Kásan is held once a year on Bhádón sădi 18th, when the pilgrims arrive, but the săt or worship takes place on the 14th. There is no image in the temple, only a niche. Mansúri pice form the chief offering. The temple is ancient. The legend goes that when Púran Máj a Rájá's son was engaged in austerities here, a Bánja, passed with loads of sugar in bags. On being asked what

\(^1\) Gurdáspur Gazetteer 1914, pp. 16, 27 and 31.
\(^2\) I.S., pp. 30-31.
\(^3\) Sháhpur Gazetteer 1697, p. 83.
they contained he replied ‘salt’. Púran Mal said that it would be salt, and when the Banjára opened them he found salt instead of sugar. He sought forgiveness for his falsehood and the Báráj told him that he would sell the salt at the price which sugar would fetch. He did so and impressed by this the trader built a temple vowing to finish it in a single night. But some women began to grind corn at midnight, and the Banjára thinking it was morning went away and so the temple was not completed. It is 3 yards square and has a chhatrí over it. It has four doors and the roof is domed. From it projects an iron bar to which is attached a dhajá. The management vests in the Gaur Brahman panchayats of the villagers, but 1/4th of the offerings go to Marnáth Jogi and the rest to the Brahmans.

The Tijon fair is held at Gurgáon and Sohna on Sáwan sudí tij (3rd) for about 2 hours in the afternoon. Men and women, mostly young people, assemble in the fields and the girls swing on a rope thrown over the branch of a tree.

No account of what we may call the ‘personal religion’ of the Hindus would be complete without reference to the curious worship of the ‘Name of God’. God (Rám), they say, is great, but the name of God (Nám Rám Nám or Rám ká Nám) is greater. There is abundant evidence of this in the songs. We have one often heard in songs in the Káagra valley:

‘Repeat always the Name of God,
To whom Thou hast to go.’

The original of which runs:

‘Tuñ bhaj láe Rám ká Nám,
Jithe tañ jáná hai.’

These words admit of no double translation and are plain and clear. In a song given later, a hermit or saint (jogi) reads a homily to a young girl who comes to see him, and in it the ‘Name of God’ occurs three times as the object of worship. Thus she is bidden: Sínro nít Bhagván ká Nám, ‘Call always on the Name of God’, and again Jápá kito Bhagván ká Nám, ‘Keep on repeating the Name of God’. She herself says once: kaho, to lám Bhagván ká Nám, ‘Say, and I will take the Name of God’. One of the ūkṣ current in the valley may be translated thus:

‘He who repeats the one True Name
Holds a fruitful charm and Great.’

The original words are:

Satt Nám ik mantar hai,
Jape soi phal pái.’

Here we have Nám, the ‘Name’, by itself, with the epithet satt ‘true.’ It is the Name, the True Name, the Name of God, that is the charm that will reward him who repeats it. Lastly, a song, which belongs properly, however, to formal religion, treated of later on, shows
clearly the relative position of Nām and Rām in the popular estimation. In some parts of India, Kāngra for instance, the 1st of Chet (March-April) instead of the 1st of Baisakh (April-May) is New Year’s Day, when it is the custom for dūms (musicians) to go from house to house singing songs in its honour. It is very unlucky for any one to mention the day until the dūm has mentioned it. It is also a custom to dedicate the first spring flower seen on a tree to Nām and the second to Rām. Both these customs are exhibited in the dūm’s New Year’s song:

The first of flowers for thee, O Name!
The second, Rām for thee.
The first of Chet brings luck to him
That hears it first from me.
O Krishna of the turban gay
With jewels fair to see,
Do thou live on a thousand years
With thy posterity!

The more important words in the original are:

Pahīlā phulī tān Nīn kā!
Dūjā nām Nārāyanā.

which, translated literally, mean:

‘The first flower thine, O Name!’
The second name Nārāyan.’

Observe the canonization phulī, of the first spring flower and the personification of ‘The Name!’ Sir Richard Temple was not prepared to explain the origin of this cult, which, however, is nothing new. It may have its origin in the fact that Rām, with whom Nām is now specially associated, was an incarnation of Vishnu, to repeat whose thousand names (Sahasra-nāmā) was an act of virtue from all time. That Vishnu himself was long ago connected with ‘The Name’ is shown by his Sanskrit epithets of Nāmī and Nāma-nāmika.

The custom is whenever a birth occurs in a house for dūms and musicians, such as Hijras, and other harpies who scent a fee on these occasions, to collect there and sing congratulatory songs. It is wonderful how these people scent out a birth, so much so, that I have thought of employing them as registration agents. About the commonest and best known song, which is also rather inappropriately sung at weddings, is that here given. It is spirited and curious, and bears a resemblance in more ways than one to our own Christmas hymns. It describes the birth of Rāma Chandra, the great hero and incarnation of god (Vishnu), the god, in fact, of many parts of India, and god par excellence in the Sikh theology. His earthly father was the celebrated king Dasaratha.


2 Ennucha, who go about the Punjab and United Provinces dressed up as women, generally not less than three together, with a drum, and earn a living by attending weddings, births &c. Their fee is usually a rupee. They appear to be dying out; at least, all I have seen are old people.
now known popularly as Jasrat Rai, and his mother was Kausalya. The song describes the birth as according to the usual modern customs. The child Rām Chandra is born; Jasrat Rai and Kausalya are delighted; the nurse takes and washes him; the barber comes (as is proper) to plant fresh dub glass for luck, while his wife summons the neighbours. The child’s old grand-aunt brings him his first clothes, as is also proper and right, since it brings luck; his aunt is the first to hold him in her arms, and last, but not least, his father distributes presents to the poor, while the family priest comes prowling round for his dues. The name of the aunt, however, is Subhadra. Now Subhadra was never the aunt of Rāma Chandra, but the sister of Krishna, the great god of so many of the Hindus, and also an incarnation of Vishnu. Here, then, we have another instance of what is so common and puzzling in modern Hindu folklore, the mixture of classical legends. I have previously given two songs which also mix up the stories of Rāma and Krishna. The confusion may have arisen thus: both are ‘God’ and both favourite subjects of song; and besides there were three Rāms, all supposed to be incarnations of God. They lived evidently in different ages, and probably in the following order:—Parasu Rāma, axe Rām, root-and-branch Rām, the champion of the priests (Brahmans) against the warriors (Kshatriyas); Rāma Chandra, gentle Rām; and Bāla Rāma, strong Rāma, brother and companion of Krishna. Bāla Rāma and Rāma Chandra have probably been mixed up in popular songs, and there is nothing unlikely in this. It is a simple mess compared with some the bards have got into.

One of the prettiest and most widely-spread customs in North India is the swinging in Sāwan (July August), when the rains are usually at their height, in honour of Krishna and Rādha. It is done for luck apparently, much as our Christmas pies are eaten, and seems to have no ulterior object. Everyone who wishes to be lucky during the coming year must swing at least once during Sāwan. Like most customs of this sort, it is confined almost entirely to women and children, whose swings may be seen hanging from the branches of trees in every garden and along the roadside, by villages, bazaars, and dwellings. Connected with this is the Doll fair (Gurion kā melā) carried on during the whole of Sāwan, and with the same object of procuring good luck in the future. Customs differ in various parts as to the manner of conducting the fair, but in Kāngra every man, woman and child goes at least once to the riverside during the month, wearing a doll at the breast. The visit to the riverside must be on a Sunday, Tuesday or Thursday, and must have been previously fixed on by a kind of private promise or vow. Arrived at the river the doll is thrown in, and the superstition is, that, as the doll is cooled by the water, so the mind will be cooled (cased) by the action during the coming year. There is a song sung on these occasions by the children having allusion to the advent of the wagtails as a sign of the time for the Doll Fair having arrived. It is also sung in the Sāwan swings:

Fly, fly the wagtails so;
Mother, 'tis the rainy month;
Mother, 'tis the rainy month,
Yes, my darling, mother O
Fly, fly the wagtails so;
Mother, we must go and swing,
Yes, my darling, mother O.

THE PATRON SAINTS OF THE TRADER AND ARTIZAN CASTES.

The system of saintly patronage, exemplified in Mediaeval Europe, was in force in Hindu society from an early period. Thus Visvakarma is the patron deity of the workers in wood and indeed of all craftsmen.

But the system found a fuller development in mediaeval Islam. Thus "Adam was the first builder and sower; Seth the first manufacturer of buttons and wool-carder; Enoch the first tailor and clerk; Noah the first carpenter and joiner (in the later tradition of the Moslems Joseph was venerated as a carpenter and Jacob as a joiner); Hud the first merchant; Sáleh the first camel-driver; Abraham the first milkman and later, when he received from God the command to build the Ka'aba, the first builder; Isma'il the first hunter; and Isaac the first herdsman; Jacob the first who led a life of contemplation; Joseph (the Egyptian) the first watch-maker, because he busied himself with this invention while in prison, in order to decide the time of the morning and evening prayers; Job, as the patient one, was the patron of all unfortunates; Jethro of the blind; Moses was a shepherd, as well as pastor of men; and his brother Aaron a wazír, i.e. minister and representative; Sil-kefel was the first baker; Lot the first chronicographer, Esdras the first donkey-herd; Daniel the first interpreter; David the inventor of coats of mail; and Solomon gained his daily bread by basket-making; Zachariah was the first hermit; John a šākk; Jeremiah a surgeon; Samuel a sand-diviner; Lokmán a learned man; John a fisherman; Jesus a traveller; and Muhammad a merchant.²

Hence the patron saint of the Hindu weavers being Kabír they call themselves Kabírbanús, just as the tailors are called Nándevo from Nándevo and are offended by being called Julábá or Darzi. So too Hindu barbers sometimes resent being called Nái and call themselves Sainbhagátí.³ Sain Bhagat was a Rájá's barber and deeply religious. Once sunk in meditation he forgot to wait on the Rájá but the deity did his work for him. When Sain Bhagat learnt of this he devoted the rest of his life to religion.⁴ In the Punjab plains the Hindu weavers are also called Rámdísás or followers of Gurú Rám Dás, but this term appears to be restricted to the Chamárs who live by weaving.⁵

²Von Hammer: Constantinopolis und der Beisphorus, II, pp. 395-6. 1 am indebted for this reference to Dr. J. Horovitz.
⁴Ib., § 153.
⁵Ib., § 643.
The spiritual ancestor, as he may be called, is held in such respect that a false oath is never taken on his name. Indeed there is much reluctance to swear by it at all.

The Muhammadan weavers are great observers of the 'Id-ul-fitr which is described as the festival of the Juláhás, just as the 'Id-uz-zuhá is said to be held in special esteem by the Qassábs, the Shab-i-barát by the comb-makers (kanghíkhar) and the Muharram by the Sayyids.1

Sádhua bhagat is the patron saint of butchers. He was once going to kill a goat, but the animal threatened vengeance on him in the next life, so he joined the sect of 'Sáhds,' whence his name. Another story is that he was a Muhammadan, but this is inconsistent with his name, which appears in many folk-songs ²

Some other patron saints are: Omes Karín, Pír of the comb-makers; Sháh Madár, Pír of the jugglers; and Prem Tot, gurú of the Udásís. But the last-named appears unknown to the Udásís themselves and nothing can be ascertained regarding him.

² Ib., § 6.
Hinduism in the Himalayas.

In the preceding sections a good many facts relating to Hinduism in the hills have been given in their appropriate places, but many have been omitted. These are now given in a special sub-section in which the arrangement will be much the same as that in Hinduism itself. Distinctive as Hinduism in the Himalayas is, many or most of its facts could have been with at least equal propriety given a place in orthodox Hinduism, and very little doubt may be felt that a place in it could be found for every cult and temple, rite and observance, yet to be noted. But while Himalayan Hinduism does not really differ in kind from the Hinduism of the plains, it is highly distinctive in degree, retaining much that is older than Buddhism and more still that is older than latter-day Hinduism. Nāg-worship for example must have existed long before Buddhism arose. It must have been absorbed by that creed after the first fervour of the early Buddhists had cooled down and left them more tolerant of popular and primitive cults, and then when Buddhism perished it must have survived in almost its original forms, unaffected by the religion which the State had adopted, but not imposed on the people.

Regarding the legend of Tikkar Nāg, given at p. 150 supra, Mr. J. D. Anderson, C. S., writes:—

"The Nāg never came down to Sūni itself but stayed up round Tikkar, where the three States of Kumbhārsain, Madhān and Bhajji join (? is there always a Nāg at a trijunction). The Koṭī people say that it ought to be a Ganesha, but this is, I think, a perversion. The Bhajji god who kept the Nāg out from the Basantpur-Sūni valley is called Dānu or Surahān, i.e. the god with the strength of 1000 arms. He is a god of the low ravines; whenever there is a considerable volume of water between Arki and Sūni this god is worshipped. This is interesting, as Emerson has a certain amount of information to show that Nāg is a river god. Here however the Nāg is definitely the god of a high place, and his rival, who is anthropomorphic in the strictest sense, holds the river valleys—which incidentally swarm with snakes. He has however one point in common with the Nāg: no one in his virāga dares sleep on a bed, if they do the god at once tips him off. He is also a sanitary god: if any person washes clothes or his person in the bathis under his protection, he is stricken with leprosy."

In Kulu the rainbow is called Budhi Nāgan the 'old she-snake': Dick, Kulāki Dialect, page 54. This points to the Nāg being regarded as a rain or water-god, as he usually is in the Simla Hills. But in Chamba the Nāg is described as a whitish-coloured snake that frequents house-walls and is said to drink milk: its presence is regarded as a good omen and ājā and incense are offered to it. The sotar is another snake, uniform in thickness and believed to have a mouth at each end, whence it is called domnaha, and it is believed that any one bitten by it will be bitten again every year.1

Hinduism in the Hills—The Hinduism of the Himalayan areas differs considerably from that of the plains. It would seem that in all

1 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 89.
mountainous countries, the grandeur of their natural features and the magnitude of the physical forces displayed lead the inhabitants to defy the natural objects by which they are surrounded, or rather to assign to each its presiding genius, and to attribute to those demons more or less malevolent character. The greater gods, indeed, are not unrepresented in the Punjab Himalayas. There are the usual śākūrdevāras sacred to Vishnu in some one of his forms, and śīrālas dedicated to Shiva; but though Naṭhs, with their cars bored in honour of the latter god, are to be found in unusual numbers, these deities are little regarded by the people, or at any rate by those of the villages. The malignant and terrible Kāli Devī, on the other hand, is worshipped throughout the Kangra mountains; and to her, as well as to the lha presently to be mentioned, human sacrifices were offered up to the period of our rule. An old cedar tree was cut down only a few years ago to which a girl used formerly to be offered annually, the families of the village taking it in turn to supply the victim; and when the Viceroy opened the Sirhind Canal in November 1882, the people of the lower hills believed that 200 of the prisoners who had been employed on the works were released on condition of their furnishing a similar number of girls to be sacrificed at the inaugural ceremony, and lit fires and beat drums and sat up for several nights in order to keep off any who might be prowling about in search of female children for this purpose. But the every-day wor-ship of the villager is confined to the lhas or genii of the trees, rocks, and caves of Lāhul, and the local spirits or demons of Kulu, variously known as devūs or godlings, Devis who are apparently the corresponding female divinities, Rikhis and Munis or local saints, Sidhs or genii of the hill-tops and high places, Jognis or wood fairies, Nāgs or snake gods, and by many other names, though for practical purposes little distinction is apparently drawn between the various classes. A favourable situation for a shrine is

1 I shall not attempt to distinguish the various grades of belief which obtain in the different Himalayan ranges; but it may be said generally that the deeper you penetrate into the mountains, the more elementary is the worship and the more malevolent are the deities.

2 There is one curious difference between the gods of the hills and those of the plains and that is, that many of the former are purely territorial, each little state or group of villages having its own deity, and the boundaries between their jurisdictions being very clearly defined. The god S īpur, in whose honour the well-known Sīpur fair is held near Simla, lost his nose in an attempt to steal a deciduous tree from the territory of a neighbouring rival; for the latter woke up and started in pursuit, on which Sīpur not only fell down in his alarm and broke his nose, but he dropped the tree, which is, I am told, still growing upside down to attest the truth of the story. The only territorial god of the plains that I can remember is Bhūmā, the god of the village. Perhaps the difference may be due to the striking manner in which Nature has marked off the Himalayan territory into small valleys separated by grand and difficult mountain ranges. So Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote. But the feudalism of the hills is not wholly territorial. In this connection Mr. H. W. Emerson observes:—

3 In olden days the personal bond was so strong that it often continued to exist for generations after the hereditary ruler had ceased to exercise sovereign power over the land of his former subjects. For example, the petty principality of Safri was conquered by Bashahr many years ago and absorbed within the boundaries of the latter State. The peasantry, however, though compelled by force to p. y regular imposts, steadily denied all obligation to contribute their monthly quota to the corvée, nor was it imposed upon them until two or three years ago. Also they still call the representative of the Safri family by his ancient title, contributing towards his marriage and other expenses as though he was in fact their natural ruler. The nature of the link binding together the sovereign and the land-owning classes was the more appreciated by the latter because
a forest, a mountain peak, a lake, a cave, or a waterfall; but almost every village has its own temple, and the priests are generally drawn from among the people themselves, Brahmins and other similar priestly classes seldom officiating. Idols are almost unknown or, where found, consist of a rude unhewn stone; but almost every deity has a metal mask which is at stated periods tied on to the top of a pole dressed up to represent the human form, placed in a sedan chair, and taken round to make visits to the neighbouring divinities or to be feasted at a private house in fulfilment of a vow. Each temple has its own feasts also, at which neighbouring deities will attend, and on all such occasions sheep or goats are sacrificed and eaten, much hill-beer is drunk, and the people amuse themselves with dances in which the man-borne deity is often pleased to join. There are also other domestic powers, such as Kāla Bīr, Nār Singh, the partis or fairies, and the like who have no shrines or visible signs, but are feared and propitiated in various ways. Thus for the ceremonial worship of Kāla Bīr and Nār Singh, a black and white oat respectively are kept in the house. Sacrifice of animals is a universal religious rite, and is made at weddings, funerals, festivals, harvest time, on beginning ploughing, and on all sorts of occasions for purposes of purification, propitiation, or thanksgiving. The water-courses, the sprouting seeds, the ripening ears are all in charge of separate genii who must be duly propitiated.

"Till the festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, no one is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry, and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If therefore a Lāhūlā wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with a sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices."

All misfortune or sickness is attributed to the malice of some local deity or saint, and the priest is consulted as is the bhogat in the plains. Indeed the hill priests serve as a sort of oracle, and are asked for advice on every conceivable subject; when "by whisking round, by flogging themselves with chains, and so on, they get into the properly exhausted and inspired state, and gasp out brief oracular answers". Magic and witchcraft and the existence of witches and sorcerers are firmly believed in. In the Hill States, if epidemic attack or other misfortune befall a village, the soothsayer, there called chela or 'disciple', is consulted, and he fixes under inspiration upon some woman as the witch in fault. If the woman confess, she is purified by they themselves relied, and in fact still rely, on a similar relation in dealing with their ancestral servants."

Mr. H. Fyson, C. S., notes a somewhat similar case of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction having no relation to any political one:

"...The Lagāl ḍīqa, which comprises the four koths of Tārāpur, Chaspat and Māngārah in mārgī Lag Mahārāja, and Dhuli Lag in mārgī Lag-Sari, has a separate system of deoda and dera. At its head is Devī Phungni and below her are the Naranas of the kotha, the pāḍī devils and village godlings. Of these Deo Gahari alone seems to be not wholly of this ḍīqa as he has a temple also at Dāhilpur on the plain near Sultānpur. Devī Phungni was called up by the Rāi of Rūpi the other day and reproached with not having sent rain. She was given a date for it to fall — and it came! The Kīla ceremony is common and is probably a relic of human sacrifice as the man chosen (to represent the victim) is killed with stones, shams dead and is carried round the village before he expires to again. But Lagāl does not seem to have had a secular origin, for the people say that they never had a thakur of their own, but were always under the Rājas of Kulā."
the chela, the sacrifice of a he-goat forming the principal feature in the ceremony. But if she deny the accusation, she will be tried by one of several kinds of ordeal very similar to those once practised in Europe, those by water and by hot iron being among them. Tree worship still flourishes. Mr. Alexander Anderson wrote:—

"In matters of every-day importance, such as cattle-disease, health, good crops &c., in short in worldly affairs generally, the people of Kulu go to the old deodar trees in the middle of the forest where there is often no temple at all, and present a piece of iron to propitiate the deity. Such trees are common in Kulu, and the number of iron nails driven into them shows that this form of worship is not dying out".

Both men and women of all classes eat meat, with the exception of widows; spirits and fermented liquids are commonly drunk, and Brahmans will eat when seated alongside of the lower castes, though not, of course, at their hands. The local saints and divinities are, unlike their rivals in the plains, all Hindu, with the doubtful exceptions of Gúga Pír, and of Jamlu, a demon of Malána in Kulu, who possessed great virtue before our rule, his village being a city of refuge for criminals, and whose hereditary attendants form an exceedingly peculiar body of men who are looked upon collectively as the incarnation of the divinity, are apparently of a race distinct from that of the hill-men, intermarry only among themselves, speak a dialect which is unintelligible to the people of the country, and use their reputation for uncanniness and the dread of their god as the means of wholesale extortion from their superstitious neighbours. Jamlu is said to be a Musalmán because animals offered to him have their throats cut. But neither his worship bears any other trace of Isfán, and his attendants are Hindus. His incarnation, too, is known as RA DEO, while his sister is called Prini Deví. The other deodás indeed refuse to visit him, and pretend to treat him as an outcast; but he revenges himself by assuming a superiority to them all which in old days sometimes took the practical form of a successful demand for a part of their property. In the lower hills the Muhammadan saints re-appear as Bábá Fatu, Bábá Bhupat, and their friends, and the majority of their worshippers are again Hindus.

In Suket the temple of the Sun, known as the Súraj Kund, was built by the Rájá Garúr Chand (or Sain) and his consort. In front of it is a tank or kund which gives it its name and adds to its beauty. The idol, of brass, is flanked by two horses, a bálisht in height, thus giving it the appearance of a chariot.

Memorial tablets are also found at Rámpur in Bashahr. Occasionally they contain figures of male servants who died with their chief.

1 The name deodár (Deva-daru) means 'the divine tree'. It is applied to the Himalayan cypress (Cupressus torulosa) in Kulu, and in Láhul to the Juniperus excelsa. The Himalayan cedar (Cedrus deodara) is called by the people deor or kelo, not deodár.—D. I.

2 There is a tradition that they were deported to their present homes by one of the Emperors as a punishment for some offence. [D. I.]

3 Mr. Fyson observes that the Prini people deny this relationship. Sir Alexander Dick says that Gypehan, the god of Láhul, is Jamlu’s brother and Hirna, the goddess to whom is attributed the peopling of Kulu, his sister: Kuluhi Dialect of Hindu, p. 39.

4 Suket Gazetteer, pp. 26-7, where a full account of its administration is given. Apparently it was not the erection of this temple under the Ráni’s influence which led to the excommunication of the adhukan Brahmans, but the Devi’s warnings against the paróstita and her infliction of epilepsy on his son.
Shiva as Mahású.

a survival of the primitive idea that the Rájá must enjoy the same state in the next world as in this. Mr. H. W. Emerson has come across a curious sati superstition in Manḍi. He noticed that just before crossing a stream a villager picked up a stone and when he passed a certain spot threw it on a large pile of similar stones. He was told that a widow had been burnt there, that her spirit still haunted the place and that every passer-by must placate it with an offering.

Another interesting case of memorial stones is that of the rude slabs erected before a few village temples in Manḍi with figures of deceased diviners carved on them. The idea here is that their spirits should serve the god.

. THE LEGEND OF MAHÁSÚ DEJTA.

Mahású, doubtless a corruption of Mahá-Siva, is the god who gives his name to the Mahású hills. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as Rána Suń had four sons.⁴

When Krishna disappeared at the end of Dwápar Yuga, the Pándavas followed him. On their road to Badrí-káshram they crossed the Tons, and Rájá Yudhisíthir, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered Visrákarmá to build a temple there. Here the Pándavas, with Draupádi, halted 9 days. They named the place Hanol, and thence journeyed by the Gangotí and Jamnotí ravines, through Kédár, to Badrí Náth, where they disappeared, and the Kali Yuga began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the Uttará Khanda, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of demons was Kírmár, who had Beshí, Sengí, and a host of minor demons under him at Maíndaráth, on the Tons, whence they ravaged towns and villages, until the people sought refuge in cliffs, caves and ravines. The demons devoured every one who came in their way. Once the seven sons of Húna Brahman, who practised penance in the Deobán forest, went to bathe in the Tons river and encountered Kírmár, who devoured them all.

As they did not return for some time, their mother set out in search for them, but when she reached the river without getting any clue to her sons, she sat down on its bank and began to weep bitterly. Meanwhile Kírmár, passing by, was struck with her beauty and asked why she wept. Kírta knew him and said her seven sons had gone to bathe in the river and had not returned home. Hearing this, Kírmár said:—‘I am fascinated by thy beauty. If thou wilt accede to my heart’s desire, I will extinguish the fire of my heart and will be grateful to thee and try to help thee in this difficulty. I am a brave man, descended from Ráwan. I have won the kingdom of these hills through the strength of my own arm’.

The chaste wife was terrified at these words and they increased her grief. In her distress she began to pray, saying, ‘O Lord, the giver of all boons, everything rests with thee’.

⁴ Temple’s Legends of the Punjab, III, pp. 384 et seqq.
Shiva as Mahâdâ.

Dohá (couplet).

Puttar dukh dukhivá bhai.
Par-bal abalá áj.
Sattí ko sat jât hai.
Rákho, Ishwar, lâj.

"I was distressed at the loss of my sons.
To-day I am a woman in another's power.
A chaste woman whose chastity is like to be lost.
O God, keep my chastity!"

After this she took her way home, and by the power of God the
demon's sight was affected, so that Kirtakâ became invisible to him as
she passed. She then told the story to her husband, saying with clasped
hands that Durgâ, Devî would be pleased with her devotion and
destroy the demons, for she alone was endowed with the power of averting
such evil. The demons had corrupted religion, outraged chastity
and taken men's lives.

On hearing this, her husband said they would go and worship
Hât-kotî Ishwârî Mâtâ. So Hûna went to the goddess with his wife.
He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to Háteshwârî Durga with
the eight hands. While he prayed he unsheathed a dagger and was
about to cut off his own head with it, when the goddess revealed her
spirit to him, caught his hand, and said:—"I am greatly pleased with
thy devotion. Go to the mountains of Kashmir, pray to God, and
all thy desires will be fulfilled. Shiv-jî will be pleased and will fulfil
thy desires. Go there cheerfully and there will be no obstacle in thy
way".

Obeying the order of the goddess, Hûna went at once, and in a
few days reached his destination. After his departure, he gave up
eating grain and lived on vegetables. He also gave up clothes, using the
bark of trees for his dress. He spent most of his time in worship,
sometimes standing on one toe. When Shiv-jî was pleased with him,
the spirit of the four-armed image addressed him, saying, 'I am
greatly pleased with thee: ask me any boon which thou desir'est'.

On hearing these words from the god Siva, Hûna clasped his
hands and said:—"O Siva, thou hast power to kill the demons. Thou
hast power to repel all enemies and to remove all difficulties. I pray
and worship the Ganges, the saviour of the creatures of the three worlds,
which looks most beautiful as it rests on thy head. There are no words
to describe thy glory. The beauty of thy face, which is so brilliant
with the serpents hanging round thy neck, beggars all description. I
am highly indebted to the goddess of Hât-kotî, at whose feet I bow
my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see
thee in Kâli Yug".

Uttar Khând mera rákhas base, manukho ká karte dhâr.
Kul mulk barbad kiyâ, ábdé hogái usár.
Shiva as Mahadev.

Tum āi Rudar, tum āi Bishnū Nand Gopāl.

Dukh hái sur sādhūn ko, māro rākhās tat-kāl.

Sāt puttar mujh dās ke nahān gae jab parbhāt,

Jab ghāt gaye nādi Tons ke jinko Kirmar khāyo ek sāth.

"The demons who dwelt in the Northern region are preying upon the people.

They have laid waste the country and the people have fled.

Thou only art Ruddar (Siva), thou alone art Bishnū Nand Gopāl,¹

The sages and devotees are in distress, kill the demons at once.

Early in the morning the seven sons of me, thy slave, went to bathe,

When they reached the banks of the river Tons, Kirmar ate them at once."

The god Siva was pleased at these words and said:—"O Rikhī, the people of the Kāli Yug being devoid of religion have lost all strength. I admire thy sincere love and true faith, especially as thou didst not lose heart in worshipping me. Hence all thy desires shall be fulfilled, and I have granted thee the boon asked for. Be not anxious, for all the devils will be killed in a few days".

Dohā (couplet).

Bidā kiyō jab Bipra ko, diyē akshat, phāi, chirāg.

Sakti rūp āiḥale purgat gai Mainḍārath ko bāg.

Ghar jāo Bipra apne, rakho mujh par ṭek.

Sakti rūp ke ang se, ho-gaye deh anek.

Pargaṅe ang se dehā, rom rom se bēr.

Istrī sāhīt bidā kiyō, 'rakho man mey dhīr'.

"When (the god) bade the Brahman farewell, he gave him rice, flowers and a lamp.

A Sakti (goddess) first appeared in the garden at Mainḍārath.

Go home, Brahman, and place reliance on me.

Countless divinities arose from the body of the Sakti.

Gods appeared from her body, and heroes from her every hair.

She dismissed him with his wife, saying 'keep patience in thy heart'."

When the god gave Hūna Rikhī leave to go, he gave him rice, a vessel containing flower and a lamp, and said, "O Rishi, go home and keep thy confidence in me. A Sakti (goddess) will first appear in the

¹ Explained to mean 'the son of Nand, i.e. Krishna'.
garden at Maindărath. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a hero. Do not lose courage but go home with thy wife. Keep the garland of flowers, the rice, and the lamp which I have given thee concealed beneath the pipal tree which stands in the garden behind thy house, and perform the customary daily worship of all these. Light this lamp and offer me flowers and incense on the amâvas of Bhâdon and thereafter worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform a jâgaraṇ on that date for one day and night. By so doing thou wilt, on the third day, observe a Sakti emerge from the ground with a fountain. Flames will then be visible all around. From her forehead and other limbs will spring gods, who will be named after the member from which they were born. The four gods, called the Nág Chauth or Mahâsú, will appear on the fourth of the light half of Bhâdon. Those who appear on the following day, i.e. the 5th, will be called Kiyâlu and Banâr. Moreover, many distinguished above the rest by their courage will spring from the Sakti’s hair. They will kill the demons and give great happiness to the people. They will fix their capital at Hanol, which was founded by the Pándâvas”.

When this boon was granted to Hûna Rikhí, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Rikhí reached home with his wife, and acting on the god’s directions carefully placed the lamp, flowers and rice on the prescribed spot. On the amâvas of Bhâdon he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprung up, wherein the Sakti appeared.

Chaupâi.

Bhûmí se upnî Mâtí Deo Lârî.
Thán Deo Mâtá ko Kongo re Bârî.

“Mother Deo Lârî appeared from the earth.
The temple of Deo Mâtá (was named) the Bârî of Kongo”.

Tâ hî yog, yuqî, tâ hî yog mãî.
De, Mâtâ, barchan de prînde men lâî.

“Thou only art devotion and the law, thou art the mother of the age O Mother, give us thy promise to lead us on the (right) path”.

Mâtâthe bale Máî re agnî re gothe.
Bothâ rájî Mahâsú hot sûraj re bhekhe.

“On the Mother’s head burnt a fire of faggots, Mahâsú was born with lustre like the rays of the sun”.

1 Jâgaraṇ (from Sanskrit Jâgaraṇa) means keeping awake the whole night in devotion.
2 By Mahâsú, because it was close to his own temple.
"Placing her hand round her breast,
The Mother brought forth her son, Chálqā."

Mátá Deo Lári ne háth kie khare
Báshak Pábási dono háth dó jhare.

"Mother Deo Lári raised her hands.
Báshak and Pábási both sprang from her two hands."

Chauth men upne Mahású chár.
Panchmi hui tithi di Deo Kiyálú Banár.

"The four Mahásús were born on the fourth."

On the fifth were created the gods Kiyálú and Banár."

Sher Kálú Kiyálú hoe Bothe re wazír.
Romoh hoe romo de nau lákhir bir.

"Shér Kálú and Kiyálú became the ministers of Botha."

Nine lákhs of heroes sprang from every hair."

Háth jore Húna gayd paire pe jái:
'Sab manukh li, Mulká, ōkhasd khái'.

"Húna fell at her feet with clasped hands:

'All mankind has been devoured by the demons, O Mistress'."

Háth bande pair shír layá jínú:
'Maindárath Túlo da Kirmar dánv'.

"With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:

'Kirmar, the demon (dwells) in the Maindárath Lake'."

Kaththi hoi sainá Maindárath ke bág.
Chár bhái Mahású kurdí re ág.

"The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maindárath.
The four Mahású brothers were like the fire'."

1 Báshak is also called Chálqá, i.e. the 'goer', the serpent

2 Of the light half of Bhádon.

3 That is to say, two of the four Mahású were created on the 5th of the light half of Bhádon.

4 Mahású.

5 Of a cow-dung cake.
Shiva as Mahású.

Húne jaïse rikhie ati bintí lái:
Isí ke káran chár Mahású ái.

“Húna, the Rishí, made a great prayer:
The four Mahású for this purpose have come’”.
Sabhí jabí debté ne bintí lái:
‘Kyá dewe úgyá Deo Lári Máí’?

“All the gods made a prayer (saying):
What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lári Máí’”? 
Jab dí úgyá Srí Deví Máí:
‘Kirmar Keshi rákhas ho tum do ghái’.

Then Srí Deví Máí gave orders:
‘You must kill the demons Kirmar and Késhí’”.

Chambola.
Rájá Rikh-choliyá láyo tero náw.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

“Thy name is king of Rikh-choliyá.
Thy name is king of kings”.

Kungú, kastúri, Rájá, guglá ko dhúp,
Chár Bhái Mahású Naráin ko rút.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

“With saffron, musk, and fragrant resin and incense, Rájá,
The four Mahású brothers are Naráin incarnate.¹
Thy name is king of kings”.

Háth shankh, chakkár, gal sámp ke hár,
Chár bhái Mahású Buddar avatár;
Bhekí-dhári rájá ko ráj, náw tero náw.

“With conch and quoit in their hands, and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mahású are Buddar incarnate,
In spite of all disguise, thy name is king of kings”.

Háth shankh, chakkár gatjá, tirshúl,
Nách láyo parí ro, bárkhá hoe phuí,
Bhekí-dhári rájá láyo tero náw.
Rájan ko ráj, náw tero náw.

¹ i.e., Siva.
"Conch, quoit, mace and trident in hand,
Dance of fairies and rain of flowers,
In spite of all disguise kingly is thy name,
Thy name is king of kings".

Uliyā ko nátí Rájá Bhimlá ko jáyo.
Kashmíre chhorí Rájá Maindárath áyo.
Rájan ko ráj, náw tero náw.

"Uliyá's grandson and Rájá Bhimlá's son has been born,
The Rájá left Kashmir and came to Maindáratlı,
Thy name is king of kings".

Dohá (couplet).

Tháro ant koí nahi jáné, lilá param apár.
Bhayat hit kírne tum kái bídh sete ho avtár.

"None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite,
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good".

Binti sun rikh ki, parsan huc atyant.
Hukam diye saindápatón ko 'máro asur turant'.

"Hearing the prayer, great was the joy of the saints,
They gave the order to the leaders to slay the demons forthwith".

Agyi pú, Mahású hi mungar byo háth,
Mahán rath par Chálga baíthe nau lákh saíndá sáth.

"Receiving the orders, the Mahásúś took bludgeons in their hands.
Cháldá sat in his great war chariot at the head of nine kákha of men".

Pirtham yudh húá Maindárath men, saíná mári apár,
Aise Shíb Shankar bhae jo santun práin adhár.

"Battle was first joined at Maindáratlı and armies were slain.
It was Shiv Shankar who thus came to save his disciples".

When the whole army of the rákhsásas had been killed, Kirmar
beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singí, the demon. There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle afresh.

Dohá (couplet).

Jab Majhog men devat pahúnche án,
Singí máro jab dzit, húá yudh ghamsán.

"When the deotás reached Majhog,
They killed Singí, the demon, and a desperate battle was fought".
Shiva as Mahású.

On hearing of the slaying of Singi Rákhsas by Sher Kúl, and that most of his men were slain, Kírmár fled to Kinárí Khandái, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the deolás. When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khandá, he was overtaken by Chánda Mahású, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dohá (couplet in Paháří).

Khandái jâne khé páwá thá thá,  
Bír bhâne: the Rájte khânfé ré láo.

"He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khandái,  
Intending to unite with his sword his opponent ".

When Sír Chánda killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dohá (couplet in Paháří).

Sáth larm deote khari khandé,  
Ghái hums rakhsas lái lái búné.

"All the gods attacked with their swords  
And cut the demons to pieces ".

After killing the demon Kírmár, all the gods threw flowers over Sír Chánda and paid homage to him.

Dohá (couplet).

Adi Kálí Yug men Kírmár kiý díj;  
Sant mahátmá ko dukh áiyó daít samáj.

"Kírmár ruled the world in the beginning of the Kálí Yug.  
The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God ".

Sáb devan ke deh hai Mahású kartár,  
Kírmár ádi márke, dár kiyo maha-bháór.

"The lord Mahású is the god of all gods,  
Killing the great Kírmár, he has lightened the burden of the World ".

Yah charitr Mahádev ká chít de sune jo koí,  
Sadá rahe sukh sampadá aur mukti phal hoi.

"He who listens to this story of Mahádev with a sincere heart,  
Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation ".

1 From bánd-n, to break, in Paháří.
2 Lit., 'raising high '.
3 I. e., Mahású.
4 Ghái huns, 'are killing '.
After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khandái and the place came to be called Dev-ká-kháṭal. It still forms the jágir of Dev Banár. The place in Khandái, where Kirmar met his death, still retains the marks of his sword on a rock. Travellers and passers-by worship this stone by offering flowers, and also express gratitude to Mahású.

Next morning at daybreak Húna Rikhí came to Mahású with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar’s death. He further begged that the demon, Keshí, who had made Hanol his abode and was destroying its people should be killed, adding that the place was a delightful one, as it had a fine temple, that the rippling waves of the river by which it lay added beauty to its scenery, that it was a place of sanctity and would be better under his rule than under the demons, and that it was therefore right that the demon should be killed.

Hearing this the god marched his army in that direction, and on the march they passed Sahná Patti, a village in Ráwingárth, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahású reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Sri Naṭári Jí said to Mahású:—‘This is a fearsome sight’. When Mahású heard Umá Shankwri’s words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the rikhí. He stopped his throne and destroyed the demon on the spot by muttering some charms, which had such power that even to this day the river does not make any sound as it flows. Hence the place is called Nashudi.

Dohá.

Bájá jārlí-bhárlí deote re bájí,
Boṭha Bájá Mahású Hanola khe birkájí.

“Jarlí-bharth, the music of the gods, was played,
When Boṭha, Bájá and Mahású left for Hanol’’.

Maharáj Mahású Chálda Pabási,
Hanol dékhíro bahute mano dé básé.

“Maharáj Mahású, Chálda and Pabási,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol’’.

Chhoté chhoté bahuté deo,
Sri Boṭha Mahású deote rá deo.

“There are many minor gods,
But Sri Boṭha Mahású is the god of gods.’’

When Sri Mahású reached Hanol with his army, he asked Húná Rikhí if it was the resort of Keshí the demon. The latter humbly replied that it was, but he added that the demon sometimes haunted the Masmor mountains, and had perhaps gone in that direction and that
preparations for his destruction should be made at once. Upon this all
the gods held a council and sent Śrī Chaidā with Sher Kaliā, Kolū and
others to the mountains of Masmor to kill the other warrior-gods. They
set out in search of the demon. This song of praise was sung:—

Teri Hanole, Rāje, phulon ki bāri,
Chār bhāi Māhasū Mātā Deo Lāri.
Rājan ko rāj, nāw tero nāw.
Bhesh-dhāri Rājā-ji
Rāni, Rājā nāwe, purjā nāwe.

"Rajā thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahāsūs and their mother.
Thy name is king of kings.
In spite of all disguise thou art Lord,
The queen, the king and his subjects bow down to thee ".

Potgi.

Khandai dakhū nami chor,
Le chilo pali āri ubhi Masmor.
Rājan ko rāj, nāw tero nāw.
Kashmirī Rājā dewā kothi? Bhimlā ki or.

"Thieves and robbers of Khandai,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings.
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimla ".

Kailās Kashmirī chhoro rājasthān Maindrārath āyā.
Rājan ko rāj, nāw tero nāw.

"Thou hast left Kailās and Kashmir and came to Maidārath.
Thy name is king of kings ".

When Śrī Chaidā’s throne reached the hill with his bandsmen play-
ing music, the demon Keshī witnessed his arrival, and thought him to
be the same who had killed his lord Kirmar, and had come there for
the same purpose. So he made ready for battle and said, ‘It is not
right to fly’. Thinking thus, he took a huge mace and spear to attack
the god. When about to shatter the god in pieces with his mace, the
god’s glory was manifested and the demon’s hand hung motionless. Śrī
Chaidā ordered Sher Kaliyā to kill the demon at once. This order was
instantly obeyed. The people of the place were exceedingly glad at this
good news, and there was much throwing of flowers over Mahāsū.
Shiva as Mahású.

Verse.

Khushi howe ádami paháro re sáre:
'Káre ték khaumpani kúto re mére.'

"All the hill people rejoiced:

Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce'."

'Kár deo khaumpani pêre Hanole láe'.
Súdá bárui de barse deo Bharánsí la bulde'.

"We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hanol,
And will bring the god for worship to Bharánsí every twelve years'.

'Sadá kahen, Mahásává, mulak tihárd,
Sál deo samato rá kúto rá kárá'.

"O Mahású, we say this land is thine for ever.
And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season'.

'Bhút, kar, rákshas, paret, chhal,
Kár deo khaumpani sadá ra hai parjá tumhári.
Achhiddar do aur karo rakshá hamará'.

"Protect us from the evil-spirits, spirits, demons, ogres and goblins,
And we will give thee tribute and ever remain thy subjects.
Give us prosperity and grant us protection'."

After killing the demon, Sŗí Chálä Mahású seated himself on his throne and came with his forces to Hanol in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold kaddú, taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Keshí to Boṭha Mahású, saying:—"All the demons have been killed by thy favour, and all the troubles removed. Accept these offerings which I have brought and send them to thy treasury'."

Hearing this, Bottha Mahású said: —"O Sŗí Chálä, go with all these heroes to the places which I name and divide the country among them, so that they may rule there, and guard the people against all calamities. The people of these lands will worship thee as thy subjects and be dependent on thee. Every person will offer thee silver, gold, brass or copper on the attainment of his desires. Wherever thou mayest go, the inhabitants will worship thee, performing a jáyrá on the Nág-chauth and Nág-panchami days, which fall each year in Bhádón. They will be amply rewarded for these annual fairs'. And he added: —
"Thou shalt be worshipped like myself, and be highly esteemed throughout my kingdom, but thou wilt have to pay the málikáná dues
for each place to the other gods. When a grand jāgrā is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me".

Báje tál mardang shankh báje ghánté
Sabhí Sri Mahású jí ne dehot kó ráj díno bánté.

"The cymbal, the mardang and the conch were sounded and bells were rung.

When Sri Mahású divided his kingdom among his minor gods".

Ráj sabé dehot kó is tarah bántá,
Rájilhántí Pabáśí díno Deban rá ḍandā.

"He divided his State to the gods thus,

Giving the territory of Mount Deban to Pabáśí".

Báshuk ko Báwar díno poru Bilo bolí Sáthí,
Pabáśí Bel díno punwíso jo Bel Páshe.

"To Báshuk he gave the whole of the Báwar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sáthí.

To Pabáśí he also gave the country of Sháthí which is on the bank of the Patwál".1

Kálí Koślá há díno Kyálúe Banáp.
Boštá Chálágá Mahású ro ráj howí sarah pahár.

"To Kálí and Banár he gave Kálí and Kotlá also.

And Bothá and Chálágá Mahású became rulers of the whole of the hill tract".

Bothá Chálágá Mahású sab deban re deo.
Pájané rá Mahású re jánade ná asou.

"Botha and Chálaga Mahású are the gods of all the gods.

The people do not know how to worship Mahású".

Sab richá dení Húnd Rikhí khe Veda rí batáí.
'Isí bidhi kár mere debte rí pújan kará'.

"The hymns of the Védas" were dictated to Húní Rikhí:

'Perform my worship according to them'.

Sab guwe debte apne satháno khe jáí.
Veda rí richá dení pújane láí.

1 This is the meaning as explained by the descendant of Káverú, lit. the translation appears to be — to Pabáśí he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Páshe.

* That is, in regard to the worship of this god.*
"All the gods went to their own capitals.
The Vedic hymns should be used in worship".

Sri Mahású ke sáth sab debte gae át,
Is Khand Uttar men dete mántá karál.

"All the gods who had come with Mahású,
Are worshipped in this Northern Region".

Notáre Pokho chho p så mahéshwar Mahádeo.
Hanol men Bothá Mahású jo sab deban ke deo.

"Notáre! and Pokhá remain, Mahádev the god of the burning
places.
Bothá Mahású is the god of gods in Hanol".

Chári men Cháreshwar wahi Mahású hai deo.
Deshe chhore deshore Pám ádi Bhindrá deo.

"That same Mahású as Cháreshwar is the god of the Cháir Peak.
Pám, Bhindrá and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain
country".

Naráin, Ruddar, Dhaulá, Ghordú debte gayé Bashakro ní nállí.
Hát-kotí men Mátá Há téshwarí aur pahár pahár men Kálí.

"The gods Naráin, Ruddar, Dhaulá and Ghordú were sent towards
the valley of Bashahr.
Mother Há téshwari was in Hát-kotí and on every hill was Kálí".

Sabhán kí pújan Bhái huí 'jai jai' kár.
Kírmár ádi már ke ánand bhayo sansár.

"All worship the Brothers and give them (the cry of) 'victory.'
The world became very happy at the death of Kírmár and the other
demons".

Désh huvá muluk, Sri Chálég, tumhárá.
Hanol khe bhejhná kúto rá kárá.

"Sri Chálég, all this country is thine.
Thy servants give thee tribute in Hanol".

"Thus was a separate tract assigned to each, and they were sent
each to his own territory. Hána Rikhi was loaded with blessings in
money. After this, Mahású disappeared and an image of him with four
arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day".

Sab gaye debte apne apne asihán,
Jab Bothá húe Shri Mahású-ji antar-dhyán.

"All the gods went to their own places,
And then Botha Sri Mahású disappeared".
Shiva as Mahášú.

Kiyálu Banár díná uráo,
Kú ri serí dá pákra tháo.

"Kiyálu and Banár flew away,
And took possession of the fields of Kú ".

The following story is connected with these two places:—The capital of the two gods is Pujárlí, a village at the foot of the Burgá Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahású, and his capital was Pánol. It is now believed that if any irregularity occurs in this territory, the gods in charge of it and the people are called upon to explain the reason. The people of this country believe Mahású to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohá (complete).

Iddá iski barnan sükhe kot kaun?
Addi deban ko dev hai, Mahású kaháwe jaun.

"Who can praise him?
He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahású ".

Jo ján din-ho-kur unho dhyáwe,
Woh ant samay man-bînchhit phal páwe.

"He who remembers him with humble mind,
Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled ".

Aise bhae yih Ruddar avatár,
Jin lárá sakal sansár.

"So (great) is the incarnation of Ruddar,?
That all the world is delivered from transmigration ".

Wohí Shih Shankar avatár,
Jinki máyá ne bándhí sansár.

"He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,
And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion"

Aise háin woh Shih Shankar ánandá,
Jin ke simran se kete har phandá.

"Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased,
Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze ".

Jia ne is men shanká utháe,
Woh narak hi më hai Shambhú ne pát.

"He who has doubts as to these things,
Is doomed to hell by Shambhu ".

1 Kú is a place in Rawaisgarh, near the Burga Mountains.
2 Shivá.
3 Or we may read Har phandá and translate: 'By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv').'
Shiva as Mahásá

Woh Shúb Shankar antarjámi,
Jin ko dhyávat sur nar gyáni.

"He is Shiv Shankar, the heart-searcher,
On whom meditate the heroes and the sages".

Yih Shambhu Jagat sakhi dál,
Jin ká pár ko nahi pál.

"He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world,
And no one can fathom his doings".

Bháva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, mahán,
Jin ke gunánu vâd ko gáwi Veda Purán.

"He is Bháva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, the
great one,
Whose virtue is sung in the Vedás and Puráns".

Aise bhae woh Mahásá sukh-dáyi,
Jal thal mer jo rahe samáyi.

"Mahásá comforts every man,
And his glory pervades both sea and land".

Koi barnan ná sake unkí prabhutái ;
Brahmá, Vishnu, Sáradá ant nahi pál.

"We lack words to tell his greatness ;
Brahmá, Vishnu, and even Sáradá could not know his reality".

Tím lok ko náth hai ant nahi kachhu pál : 
Brahmá, Vishnu, Sáradá, hár gaye man melí.

"He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite :
Even the gods Brahmá, Vishnú and Sáradá could not stand before
him".

Háth jorké Brahmd, Vishnu, khar Sáradá mái :
"Tím lok mer jâte bhe pár kine nahi pál".

"Brahmá, Vishnú and Mother Sáradá stood with clasped hands
before him :

'We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to
his glory)'.

Hár máñ kar thakat bhae pár nahi jab pál,
Háth jorkar tháte bhae náth-pad sis náí.

"When they could find no end to his glory,
They came before him with clasped hands and bowed heads".
Shiva in Mahāṇ.

Sīs nawdī ke natī pād ke kāṇi bahut pukār:
"Tum deban ke deb hō ild param apār."

"They bowed their heads to the god and praised him aloud:
‘Thou art the god of all gods and wondrous is thy glory’."

‘Hai Chandra-chūra madandhāk-shūl pānī kar jaisā:
Tīn lok ke harta karta deban deb Maheshā.’

"The light is like that of the moon and thou art full of water like the ocean:
Thou art Mahāsū, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds’.
Jahān tahān bhae Mahāsū antar-dhāyān,
Tub so unhi astutt karat Hanōla Sthān.

"From the time that Mahāsū disappeared,
He began to be praised in the Hanōl temple’.

Woh sthān hai Uttar Khand māhī:
Nādi kinarē Tons ke mandir banā tāltān.

"His place is in the Northern Region:
His temple is built on the bank of the river Tons’.

When all the gods went to their own places, the other gods agreed to pay tribute to Hanōl according to the directions of Mahāsū. They also agreed to pay māl, kānā does on the birthday of Mahāndātā to the inhabitants.

In Kulu Mahāsū is known as Kashu-bāhana and when disputants take an oath they drink water in his name. The party telling an untruth suffers from the draught thus drunk.

Shiv worship is very common in Manḍi, both in the town and in the ilāqā — much more so than in Bashahr where Kāli worship is far more important. The veneration of Shiva however is not universal. In several ilāqās adjacent to Kulu the śhīrāṭrī receives very casual notice whereas Devī worship is general there. Mr. H. W. Emerson does not think it safe to say that the cults of Shiva are imported or that they are merely the cults of the educated classes. In the hills, as a rule, the low aboriginal castes are the greatest worshippers of Shiva, but the Kanets also — though the custom varies considerably — are very zealous observers of the śhīrāṭrī. There is also a close association between Shaivism and Nāg worship — the Nāgas are his (or Kāli’s) favourite servants. Līṅgaṇams are common and in more or less orthodox temples are found with the gōni. Near the entrance to the kāram sarāī there is a very horrible image of Durgā with a realistic līṅgam in front round which a cobra is coiled with the canopy over the top of the
The rishi in Kulu.

lingam. The shivratri is the great official festival of Manḍi, corresponding to the Dasehra of Kulu. The gods are all brought in and do obeisance first to Mādhuv Rāj, the real ruler of the State, and then to the Rājā his vice-régent. The latter always goes behind Mādhuv Rāj in the procession.

In Manḍi the cults of Shiva are chiefly affected by Brahmans, Rājpūts, Khatriś and Bohras which may point to their imported origin, or merely indicate that they are the cults of the educated classes as opposed to the cultivator masses. In Manḍi town a temple is dedicated to Shiva Ardhnareshwara or Shiva as half himself and half his consort Gauri or Pārbati, the first creator of all things, older than sex itself. On the left bank of the Biās is a temple to the Pancha-baktra or ‘five-faced’ Shiva and on the right bank one to Triloknāth, ‘lord of the three worlds’, with three faces. It would be interesting to know if these temples are complementary to each other like those of Dera Din Panāh in Muzaffargarh. Another and a very old temple to Shiva is that of Bhāṭ Nāth in Manḍi town, regarding whose idol a legend of the usual type is told. A cow was seen to yield her milk to a stone, and beneath it Rājā Ajab Sain (c. 1500 A. D.) discovered the idol and founded the temple in consequence of a dream. Bālaknāth, son of Shiva, has a temple on the bank of the Beās. He is not to be confounded with Bālak Rūpi. Bhairo is a disciple of Shiva and a Siddh, and Gampati or Ganesh is his most dutiful son, as elsewhere. In Suket Rājā Madan Sain founded a temple to Astan (? Sthamba) Nāth, apparently a form of Shiva.

Although out of 49 fances in Manḍi town no less than 24 are dedicated to Shiva, his votaries, have declined in importance.

In Kulu the tradition is that the deities represent the rishi and other great men who were in existence at the time of the Mahābhārata. After that war the deities and rishi of that epoch came and settled in the Kulu valley and the autochthones built temples and raised memorials to them. The reason advanced for this tradition is that all the temples and deities bear the names of those rishi and heroes. But the temples at Manikaran (Kāchhandar’s), Sultanpur (to Raghunāth), Mahārāja and Jagat Sukh are ascribed to the time of Mahārāja Jagat Singh while the Sikh temple at Haripur was erected by Rājā Hari Singh.

In Manḍi Tomasha rishi is still worshipped by Brahmans at Rawal-sar lake, as well as by Buddhists under the name of Padmasambhār.

1 Women visit this temple every Monday and sing hymns with lamps in their hands. For a beautiful illustration of a temple to Bhāṭ Nāth in Manḍi see Arch. Survey Rep., 1913-14, Pt. I—Pt. VIII.
2 In the Hills Ganesha is known as Bināyak or Siddh-Bināyak and in Kāngra his picture, called jag-dāp, is carved in stone or wood and set up in the house-door when ready; J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 134, 235, 175. Havell’s explanation of Ganesha’s elephant head is worth citing. He describes him as the god of worldly wisdom and as the ‘protector of household’, representing the wisdom which brings to mankind a great store of this world’s goods; the sagacity of an elephant which keeps the mind tied to earth, not the spiritual power of Shiva, which can take wings and lift the soul to heaven; wherefor he is the patron deity of scribes and publishers. But how much of this explanation is due to Mr. Havell’s own ingenuity and how much to orthodox or current belief? The Ideals of Indian Art, pp. 51, 92.
4 Francocchi’s Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 123.
The following is a list of the temples in Kulu dedicated to various rishis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of rishi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kartak Swami</td>
<td>Dera at Shoonsar</td>
<td>5th of Baisakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Dera or Peri</td>
<td>6th of the light half of Baisakh, 1st of Chet, commencement of the new year in Chet, and 1st of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Dera at Shuelar</td>
<td>5th of lunar part of Baisakh, 20th Bhadon and 20th Magh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapai Muni</td>
<td>Dera at Kalath</td>
<td>On the Ram Naumi, the 16th of Chet, and the janam ashtami, the 21st of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Dera at Bashuna</td>
<td>25th Baisakh and a yag every year on 1st and 2nd Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhashist Rikhi</td>
<td>Bhashist Dera</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh and 12th of Kartak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantam Rishi</td>
<td>Dera Gantam Rishi</td>
<td>12th of Phagan and 1st Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantam Rishi or Ghumal Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera in K. Kot Khandi</td>
<td>1st Phagan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gantam Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>Jaddski of the light half of Phagan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parasar Rikhi ji</td>
<td>Kmanda Huru</td>
<td>In Magh, Chet, Baisakh and Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiman Rikhi or Chimal</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>7th Phagan, 11th Baisakh, and 5th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Chiman Rikhi</td>
<td>1st of Phagan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandid Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera Kuhim in K. Manali</td>
<td>8th of Phagan, 2nd of Baisakh, and the janam ashtami, the 26th of Sawan, 1st Phagan, 1st Baisakh, and 20th Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markanda</td>
<td>Mukrah temple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The temple of Beas Rikhi is connected with this, the Purans say that the place where he practised penance was the source of the river Beas. Any one visiting Beas Kunj is freed here. The pajaras are Gau, Kunes and Bairağa.
2 At another temple the chariot of the god is kept. It is decorated with fine clothes, as well as amanats of silver and gold, and the images of gods are arranged in it. The chariot is also worshipped at the fair.
3 A temple called Gurun Dera is connected with this. When the chariot is elsewhere the god is kept in the temple.
4 This rishi also has a temple in Sanor in Mandi (Gazetteer, p. 40).
5 Two other temples are connected with this.
6 Markanda fair is held annually on the 1st Baisakh in Kangra. Markanda was an ascetic, but his name is now applied to any water which flows eastward. On the bank of each mouth people bathe in this water and give alms. In Kulu proper Markanda's image seems to have been placed on bridges and as guardian of bridges he would appear to have been known as Mangleshar—unless that was the name of his sponsor. The god Mangleshar Dho is alluded to in the triplet:

- Mangli Kanti, Mangleshar Dho
- Dhaasa pheeti, Sanad etc.
- Markanda Makra nae.

“When Mangli was queen Mangleshar's drum was burst; the bridge of Sanad carried the god Markanda to Makral.”

And the legend goes that when queen Mangli ruled at Jia, at the junction of the Beas and Parbati rivers, the latter used to be spanned by a bridge at Sanad, just above the confluence. When the drum used in the worship of Mangleshar burst, the bridge fell, but the idol of Markanda, which was on the bridge when it fell, was carried on the timbers of the fallen structure down the river to Makral where Markanda's temple now stands: Black, Kulihi Dialect, p. 39.
In Sarasāj there are several minor cults of interest. Besides that of Jamlu who is identifiable with Jamdaggan rishi, Mārkanda and Shringleśa rishi are the objects of worship. The former has three temples. That at Manglaur, which derives its name from one name of the temple, is also called Kandari. From 1st to 5th Phāgun a fair is held here every third year, and on the shrīrātri in Cheta brambhūj (free distribution of food) is celebrated and girls are feasted. On 1st Baisakb a jag is held at which the god is taken to the nearest river to bathe. Small fairs are also held during the first week of Baisakkh. During Bhādon the god is invited by all the neighbouring villages, and for many nights an illumination is made before him. Throughout Poh and Māgh the god is shut up in the temple which is re-opened in Phāgan. Once upon a time, the story goes, a Rāma in Manglaur asked a Brahman to recite the Chanda to him and while he was doing so a śākhī appeared. It was declared that Mārkanda rishi had thus manifested himself, and many people became his followers. His fame soon reached the ears of Rāja Mangal Sain of Mandi who gave land in mudfī for the maintenance of his shrine. After the Rāja’s death a thākurwāra was built at Manglaur in his memory, but the exact date of its foundation is not known. It contains a stone pindi, 2 feet high, as well as a stone image. Its affairs are managed by a kārdār by caste a Gaur Brahman. A Sarsút pujāri is employed for worship. The gur is also a Brahman. These persons are not celibate and their offices are hereditary. A bhog of sweetmeat, ghī, rice etc. is offered daily and a sacred lamp is lit every evening. No other shrine is connected with this one.

The story about Mārkanda’s other temples is that he is in the habit of manifesting himself through his gur, who goes into a trance on 2nd Phāgan every year. While in this state he declares that there are seven Shivas in Trikoṇnāth in Lāhul, who begot seven devotees named Mārkanda: that one of them stayed at his birthplace, while the other six came to Rōthī Kot. One of them settled in Makāhr, while the rest set out for Kanglaur. There one of them carved out a principality and the other four made their way to Bālagād, Fatelpur, Mandi and Nūr. Nūr was governed by a thākur whom the devotee killed and took possession of his territory. After this Mārkanda disappeared below the earth, whereupon a pindi of stone appeared. Two temples were built at this place. The date of their foundation is not known. One of them contains a stone pindi 3 feet high, and the other a chariot of the god. Their administration is carried on jointly by a kārdār and the villagers. The pujāri is Bhardawai Brahman. He is not celibate and the succession is governed by natural relationship. Special reverence is paid only to the gur. No special rites are performed by the pujāri. The usage of bhog is not known. No sacred lamp is lit, nor is fire maintained. Connected with this are the shrines in Nūr and Nolo. The annual fair is held on 19th and 20th Baisakkh. A jag is celebrated after every 12 years, at which a few he-goats are sacrificed. It generally falls in Maghar or Kātak.

Mārkanda and Devī Bala Durga have a temple at Mārkanda where a fair is held on 5th Phāgan, and at the Holī it lasts from the end of

1 Popularly called Singa rishi.
Chet to the 10th of Baisakh. Other fairs are also held on 12th and 15th Baisakh. During the *nurūtra* festivals also virgins are fed and worship performed. The story is that once a *sādhū* came from Triloknāth and declared that the places should be consecrated to the worship of the Devī and Mārkandā. Accordingly they were installed here. The temple was founded in the Dwāpar Yuga. It contains a stone *pīṇī*. Its affairs are managed by a *kārdrār*. For worship a Brahman is employed. The *kārdrār* is a Gaur Brahman and the *pujārī* a Sārsut. All the questions put to the god are answered through a *gur*.

Deota Shringā Rikhi in Chaithni has two temples: one in Sikaru and the other in Bijepur. The fair at the former is held annually on the last day of Baisakh, and at the latter on any auspicious date in Phāgan. Besides these, a fair is held at Banjār on 2nd Jēth. The story is that Shertāngan, a Kanet of Rihlū, was once ploughing his field on the Tirthan Khād when he heard a voice saying: 'I will come'. This was repeated on three successive days, and on the morning of the last day of Baisakh a *pīṇī* in the image of a man emerged from the Khād and approached the man. It directed him to carry it to the place where during the Dwāpar Yuga it had performed asceticism. On the way it stopped at two places, Bijepur and Sikaru, where the temples were afterwards built. Here a *cheldā*, during the night, learnt in a vision that the god's name was Surangā Rikhi. The temples were founded in the Dwāpar Yuga. It contains a black stone *pīṇī*, 24 feet long. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdrār. A Brahman *pujārī* is employed to perform all the rites. His caste is Sārsut and got Dharmaṇ. A bhog of rice, dāl, milk, ghi or sugar is offered twice a day, and a sacred lamp is lit every evening. Low castes are not allowed to offer any edible thing as bhog, but no distinction is made in their offerings of other things. Connected with this are the shrines in Chaithni and Bāgi.

In Sarāj Jamlu and Devi Jalpā have a temple at Galun Deora, where a fair is held every year from 21st to 28th Phāgan, and another from 21st to 26th Sāwan. The *nurūtras* in Chet and Asanj are also observed as fairs. Virgins are worshipped and a *pāth* is recited. The story goes that a *sādhū* was found in Galun sitting absorbed in meditation. A tākur asked him who he was and whence he came. He replied that people called him Jamdaggan Rishi and added that he desired a temple to be built in his name. The tākur built a temple, but it did not satisfy the *sādhū* who, taking an image of the *devī* from his hair, said that a temple should be built for her residence also. This demand was not acceded to; so eventually both were installed in the same temple. It is said to have been built in the Dwāpar Yuga, and contains stone *pīṇīs* of the god and goddess. A silver club and a silver horse are also kept in it. Its administration is carried on by a kārdrār, by caste a Kanet. A Brahman *pujārī* is employed for service in the temple, while the *gur* is the disciple of the god. These three incumbents are not celibate and the succession follows natural relationship. The *pujārī*’s position is good, but special reverence is paid to the *gur* who answers all questions put to the god. A bhog of sweetmeat, milk, rice etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp lighted every evening. Connected with this is the shrine in Sinch.
The principal fair in Saraj tahsil is that of Sing or more correctly Shringa Rikhi. It takes place at Banjár, the head-quarters of the tahsil on the second of Jeth and lasts from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. Men and women dance in crowds, a dance which is called nati. All offerings below two annas, including sweetmeats, grain and fruit, go to the puja, those of that amount and above it are credited in the god's treasury. Some 2000 or 3000 people attend the fair. Sweetmeats, fruit and clothes are given to relatives, especially to women. Men and women swing on handolas, sing the songs called jhanjhotis and make other forms of merriment. A considerable amount of trade also takes place.

**THE CULT OF JAMLUL (JAMDAKGAN).**

The cult of Jamdaggan Rishi is widespread in the Kangra hills, the temple at Bajinath being dedicated to him. In Kulu he is especially worshipped at Malana, the remote valley whose people are called Radeo.

The following is a list of his temples in Kulu proper:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doota Jamlul</td>
<td>Kharon Mandir in Kothi Malana.</td>
<td>10th of Maghar, full moon day of Maghar, one day in the dark half of Poh, one Thursday in Magh, one day in the light half of Māgh, one in the light half of Phāgan, 8 days in Phāgan, 2 in Chet, 10 in the light half of Chet, 1st and 2nd of Baisakh, one in the light half of Baisakh, 1st of Jeth, 1st of Har, 3 days in the light half of Sawan, 31st of Sawan to 5th of Bhadon, Saviy Shankrānt for 2 days, 5 in the light half of Asan, and 1st of Kātak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jamlul Saman</td>
<td>Dera Jamlul Saman in Saman.</td>
<td>Ikdam of Phāgan śaṭi lasting 4 days, 1st of Chet, 1st of Bhadon, lasting 4 days, and full moon of Maghar for 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jamdaggan Rishi</td>
<td>Dera Jamlul Rishi in Sati.</td>
<td>One lasting 4 days from the ḫadāḥ of the light half of the month, another on 1st of Chet, a third lasting 4 days in Bhadon, and a fourth 3 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doota Jamlul</td>
<td>Dera Daifri in Daifri</td>
<td>4 days in the light half of Phāgan, 2 from 1st Chet and Baisakh, 4 days from 1st Bhadon, in Sawan, and 2 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dera Shangehar in Shangehar.</td>
<td>7 days on the ḫadāḥ of the light half of Phāgan, 2 days beginning on 1st of Chet, 1st of Baisakh, and 1st of Bhadon, lasting 4 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Shegli Jamlu in Shaigli</td>
<td>4 days on the 1st day of Phágán, and 2 days on the 1st of Chet, and Baisákh, 4 days on the 1st of Bhádon, and in Sáwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Sakh Sah in Páraín</td>
<td>Phágán from 7th to 10th Phágán, Khauni Phágán on 1st of Chet, and Sáwan játara on 1st Bhádon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jaimadag Han Rishí</td>
<td>Baisákh and Phágán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jaimadag Han Rishí</td>
<td>1st of Bhádon, full moon day of Maghar, 9th of the light half of Phágán, and 1st of Chet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in Nauz Shishí</td>
<td>Phágán and Chet, a Sáwan játara in Sáwan and Bhádon, and a fair on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in Jawadag Han Rishí, Ura village</td>
<td>1st Baisákh and 24th Sáwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páshi Dera or Khatlangana</td>
<td>7th Phágán and 1st to 7th Baisákh, also Rakhi i unák.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the ikádášhi and amádášhi of Púrjan, 1st of Chet and Bhádon, and on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in village Sissí</td>
<td>12th Bhádon, 3rd Phágán, and 1st and 3rd Bhaisákh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Deota Jamlu Badsgaran</td>
<td>8 days from the ikádášhi of the light half of Phágán, 1st of Chet for 2 days, 1st of Bhaisákh for 2 days, 1st of Bhádon for 5 days, in Sáwan, and on the full moon day of Maghar for 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Deota Jamlu Babarka Naroli re Déri</td>
<td>Day 5 in the light half of Phágán, 2 in the light part of Chet, 3 days on the 1st of Bhádon, and uchhák bir púja for one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Deota Jamlu Gajjan Wala</td>
<td>1st of Chet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Deota Jamlu Karjan Wala</td>
<td>Phágán in Mág on the ikádášhi of the lunar month for 2 days, phágání on the full moon day of Chet, Sáwan, játara from 1st to 4th of Bhádon, and in Maghar on the full moon day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jamlu Kasheri</td>
<td>On the ikádášhi of the light half of Phágán for 3 days, 1st of Bhaisákh for 2 days, 1st of Chet for 2 days, 1st of Bhádon for 1 days, and 1st of Asuñ for 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Devis in Mandi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Kulang</td>
<td>Dera Jamlu</td>
<td>7th of Phágán till 10th and Sáwan fátara on 1st Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Majachh</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Phágáli kaunt, phágáli and Sáwan fátara on 7th Phágán, 1st Chet, and 1st Bhádón, respectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakohri Jamlu</td>
<td>Mehr Bari</td>
<td>On the Holi in Sáwan and on the naumi of Maghar. A large gathering also takes place every third year in Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Soi Wála</td>
<td>Dheri Narol</td>
<td>5 days in Bhádón, phágáli in Phágán and Chet, dhara pusni in Asanj and pon for 2 days in Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Tupri</td>
<td>Dera Jamlu</td>
<td>Ikádlí and dwídzáli of the light half of Chet, 1st Friday of Bhádón, and 1st of Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Tos</td>
<td>Deota Jamlu</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi the tradition is much the same. In that State most of the deovás are rishis, or saints of Hindu mythology, but others are named after the hills on which their temples stand. Devis, especially, control rain, like Phugni Deví in Chohár and so do Narín and Pusakot. The two latter also dislike smoking. Tandi, Luqíli and Tungasi are well-known deities in Mandí Saráj. Barárá Daó, whose fair is held on Sáwan 2nd on Lindí Dhár or ridge, is effective in curing barrenness in she-buffaloes.¹

But the Deví-cults in Mandí are of a higher type than those of a mere rain-god. Srívidya or Rájeshwari is not only popular but ancient as the old Rájás used to worship her. Bagla-mukli or the heron-faced Deví is affected by the paróhitás of the ruling family. She wears yellow and holds a club in one hand, in the other a demon's tongue. Like Srívidya, Bál and Tára have four arms, but their attributes are different. Kálí assumes many forms. Dichhat Brahmas are her chief devotees, and her shrine is on the large tank at Mandí. Less orthodox devís are Shikári or the huntress in Nachan, who dwells on a lofty hill and is fond of the blood of goats, Tunga in Sanor who is angered by evil deeds and when offended kills people by lightning, and Nawahi in whose honour a great fair is held on Baisákhi 5th at Anantapur, where her temple is surrounded by many smaller ones of some antiquity.² The ruling family of Suket has been long under the protection of Deví. Rájá Mādān Sain removed his capital from Pángua on her warning him in a dream that it was her ancient asthán and by her Garú Sain was admonished against his disloyal, though apparently hereditary, paróhitás who were ex-communicated by his successor and were not re-instated for some time.

¹ Mandí Gasettiser, pp. 40-l.
² *ib*, pp. 39 and 41.
In this State Hindu women observe the *chirga-barat* on the 3rd of the bright half of Bhādon. This fast is kept by eating no food prepared on a hearth and no plantains, but only milk and other fruits. Sparrows, 5 of silver and 20 or 25 of mud, are prepared, the former being clothed and adorned with silver ornaments and a gold nose-ring put in the beak of each, and then given to Brahmans, while the mud images are given to children. Pārbati by observing this rite obtained Shiva as her spouse, and women still observe it to ensure long life to their husbands.1

The following are some temples in Kāṅgra which cannot be classified with any certainty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Images, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Bāwa Bhūpa</td>
<td>Rājpūt</td>
<td>Jēṭh 1st</td>
<td>It contains images of the Bāwa carved on a stone. Worship is performed morning and evening, halwa being offered as bhog every morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Pargor. The story is that the Bāwa before his death desired his heirs to burn his remains at this place. This was done and his tomb erected where the present mandir stands. There is also a dharmaśālā in its precincts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Bāwa Daya Gir Swāmi. The Swāmi used to live in the building; so when he died his tomb was built here. He possessed a good knowledge of Sanskrit. The temple was rebuilt of brick in S. 1914 by a disciple, Goraya Sidh's mandir at Sidhbari. A Rājpūt sept lived at this spot, and owing to the attacks of Bhāts of Chamba they resorted to it. Goraya Gesān who lived at their gate. He had them cast themselves into a well, and he himself followed their example, after he had covered it with a stone slab. Shortly after the curse or khot of the dead men tormented the villagers who began to propitiate and worship them as their family deities or kālī. Another story is that beneath the Sidh's image is a deep hole meant for receiving the water of a lillation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>The fair on 3rd Jēṭh has been held for 20 years. It is patronized mostly by the villagers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jēṭh 11th</td>
<td>It contains a tomb on which is seated a brown stone pingi of Gaurshanark, 2 spans high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhidhāt Gesān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The stone image of the Sidh is a span high. Bread or rice in the morning, milk or gram in the evening form the bhog.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Suket Gazetteer, pp. 8, 12 and 22.
### Mandir Bawa Jandi Dass in Malari
- **Name of god:** Guptanar's mandir in Kiad Manjira, anbhar. Owe its origin to the same Gosaid.
- **Site of temple:** Brahman, caste: Pat, on site: Hutar, go: Kodiac.
- **Date of fair:** Har 1st.
- **Date of fair:** Har 6th. The temple contains an idol of Mahadev Ramnath.
- **Images, etc.:** The stone image lies under a large slab of stone and is 4 fingers high.

### Mandir Apsara Kund
- **Name of god:** Hindu women mostly frequent this temple and offer fresh grain during Phagun, Chet, Basakh, Jejha and Har. It is also frequented by people of the neighboring towns, who often bathe in the Kund or spring, which is fed by the Gupt Gaurn with water from the Ban Gaurn.
- **Site of temple:** Brahman, caste: Hotar, go: Kodiac.
- **Date of fair:**
- **Images, etc.:** The temple contains a stone image of Apsara, the fairy, 1½ cubits high. By its side is a pindi.

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At the mandir of Ajia Pál in Teri no fair is held. Ajia Pál was a Rájá of Ajmer, who was adored by the people of this place. In his lifetime he enshrined a small image which was eventually worshipped as the Rájá himself. The temple has existed for 400 years, but the old building was replaced by one of masonry under Sikh Brahman some 60 years ago. It contains a conical stone 2 spans high called Ajia Pál.

In conclusion, attention may be called to the side lights often cast on history by the legends and occasionally by the records of these temples. Thus the story of Udahi Devi's temple at Bhagwara is that

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1. The mandir of Sháh Madár is connected with it and all offerings made by Muhammadan women bathing in the Kund are taken by the Muhammadan faqirs who are the guardians of the shrine.
once it was revealed in a vision to Rájá Tej Chand that he should go to Básan, where she would appear, and worship her there if he desired to regain territory lost to the Rájá of Mandi. Before long he achieved a complete success. When the news of his defeat reached the Rájá of Mandi, he carried away by stealth the Devi’s image in a pílki, but when it reached the Kángra boundary the bearers, to take a rest, placed it on the ground, and when they tried to lift it up again they could not do so. So they left it there and took their way homewards. In the morning the Kángra men came and tried to carry it back, but equally in vain. So Rájá Tej Chand erected this temple at the spot and there the fair has been held ever since. The date of foundation is not known. The temple stands on a raised chabúra. It contains a stone pindi of the goddess, the height of which is only equal to the breadth of 2 fingers.

**List of unclassed deotás in Kulu.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baradhi Bhr</td>
<td>Nandi Dera</td>
<td>1st Baisákha, in Bhádón, 1st Asaúj, during sauráraham, 1st Poh, 1st Púavan, and in Págán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berruthan</td>
<td>Per raising in K Mahárája</td>
<td>From end of Págán to 1st of Baisákha, from end of Chet to beginning of Baisákha, from end of Sáwan to beginning of Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panj Bhr</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>In Sáwan and Baisákha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth Vándeh in K. Pashan</td>
<td>Full moon in Maghar and on the janam-ashfami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Deota Gauhri</td>
<td>1st Chet, 1st Baisákha, 1st and 2nd Asaúj and festivals during light half of Sáwan and on 15th Págán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth Duchani in Deesh</td>
<td>12th of Baisákha and full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Lakri Shiva</td>
<td>1st of Baisákha, Chet and Asaúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Deota Gauhri in Basar</td>
<td>1st of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Gauhri in Karain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>5th Págán and 3rd Baisákha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dheri Bhosh Jeth Bhr Shiva in Bhosh</td>
<td>2nd of Chet and one day at the new year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Gauhri Dera in K. Mahárája</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Baisákha, and on the 10th of Baisákha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Nāth</td>
<td>Dera Sargati Padhār in Paugan.</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 1st of Jēth, light half of Sāwan, 1st of Asanj, 5th of light half of Asanj, 10th (Dasahra) of the light half of Asanj, light half of Maghar, 12th of Phāgan, and light half of Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri or Bir Nāth</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th of Bhādon, 1st of Baisākh, Bhādon and Asanj, and on the day of the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri or Bir Nāth</td>
<td>Hatai Šera</td>
<td>1st of Asanj and 3rd, 5th and 7th of dark half of Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basheshar Nāth</td>
<td>Hatai Šera</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmal</td>
<td>Ajmal Naraini</td>
<td>1st to 7th Phāgan, 31st Baisākh and 1st Jēth. Every 12 years a yag from 1st to 3rd Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amal</td>
<td>Naraini Šera</td>
<td>Seven days in the light part of Phāgan, 3rd of Baisākh, 1st of Har, and in Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjan Gophar</td>
<td>Arjan Gophā</td>
<td>From Sunday to Thursday in the dark half of Sāwan and Phāgan and on 1st of Māgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bania Maslo</td>
<td>Lain Šera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāṅga Shin</td>
<td>Chkūhan Šera</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damohal</td>
<td>Maror</td>
<td>1st Asanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhoubal</td>
<td>Šera Deota Dhoubal in K. Hawang.</td>
<td>Friday to Monday in Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhoubal</td>
<td>Šera Dhoubal in K. Bada-gara.</td>
<td>11th to 20th of Phāgan and on Tuesday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbha Sharahi</td>
<td>Pagli Šera, Dhar Āera, Ras Bāl Āera, Rawara Šera and Mohani Šera.</td>
<td>1st Baisākh, 11th Baisākh, 26th Baisākh, 9th Jēth, on das saini tikāl in Asanj or Bhādon, 5th Poh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkrhu</td>
<td>Mewa</td>
<td>Amāwas in Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri Mahu Khat</td>
<td>Gahri Mahu Khat</td>
<td>Shivrātri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagitāt</td>
<td>Narain-di Šera in K. Badagar.</td>
<td>For three days from 1st of Baisākh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāgītī pat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagmatā</td>
<td>Dhara Šera</td>
<td>Amāwas in Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamaiddan</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Phāgan, on the 1st of Asanj and on the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandassan</td>
<td>Šera</td>
<td>29th Chet, 8th Baisākh, 26th Baisākh and 5th Asanj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Minor temples in Kulu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nawani ...</td>
<td>Kasanti Dera</td>
<td>3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th of the dark half of Baisakh, Phagan and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pith ...</td>
<td>Shakai</td>
<td>7th Baisakh and 1st Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raimal ...</td>
<td>Dera Narol in K. Bhalai, Narain Nabi.</td>
<td>Bhog on 11th Baisakh, 9th or 11th Maghar, 7th on 9th or 11th Baisakh, nadi panchami in Bhadon, and parchain on 1st Phagan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupal ...</td>
<td>Lohal Dera in K. Khokhan</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Baisakh, on the 23rd and 24th of Baisakh, and on the 1st of Sawan and Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reha ...</td>
<td>Tabarah Dera or Ratrah Dera, Bhimol Deota, Gansari Dera, Chanaula Dera, Pabbiari Ko, Pabbiari Ko, Pabbiari Parol, Ghat Ko, Kaniargi Dera, Kaniargi Mara, Kaniargi Ko, and Rupial Dera in Bhai Ro.</td>
<td>9th and 10th Baisakh, 9th and 10th Bhadon, 11th Baisakh, 11th Bhadon, dwadashi of Sawan, 1st Phagan, 3rd to 5th Phagan, 1st of Chet, and first Sunday of Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurg Reha</td>
<td>Dhara in K. Dera.</td>
<td>12th Baisakh and 9th Har.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reshi Chashbui</td>
<td>Gara Dera</td>
<td>Rakhi pushtie, birthlay, sawan-jatra, after 6th and 11th days of the birthlay, janam-ashthami in Bhadon, Krihari jatra on 1st Asanuj, maha jatra on Pami Bhikha ashthami, pancham jatra on 1st Phagan, and bir skio jatra on 1st Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resha ...</td>
<td>Maheshwari Dera</td>
<td>7th Jeeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surajpal ...</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>1st of Har.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tham ...</td>
<td>Pahuthti Dera in K. Tarapur.</td>
<td>1st of Chet, Baisakh, Sawan, Bhadon, and Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tham ...</td>
<td>Tham</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 7th of Baisakh, and 1st of Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tham Balarga</td>
<td>Dera Deota Tham</td>
<td>1st of Phagan, 7th Magh, and 1st Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thir Mal</td>
<td>Narlan-di Dera</td>
<td>1st to 9th Phagan and 1st to 5th Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shargan</td>
<td>Dera Deota Shargan</td>
<td>1st and 2nd or 3rd of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shubh ...</td>
<td>Narain-di Dera</td>
<td>9th of Phagan, 1st of Har, and 1st of Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawal ...</td>
<td>Dera in Garahan</td>
<td>2nd and 3rd Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do ...</td>
<td>Rawal in Uch</td>
<td>9th and 10th Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nauni is a jogni, a malignant demon, who is worshipped at Khopri in Tārapur kothī and at Kashānti, a village above Karaul. No other deota is worshipped there. She has no image.

Gramang deota at Rujag in Chuparsa has two temples (dehra), the smaller up the hill-side, the larger lower down. In the light halves of Sāwan and Mañghar he visits the village for a day, and pays it a longer visit of three days in the light half of Phāgan, spending an hour or two in the upper temple and the rest of the time in the lower. He is one of the lesser Narāins and though regarded as Parmeshar he is not asked for rain, as that is demanded of Phungni devī—in Thun and Māngaph. Gramang Narāin came from Dariāni in Māngarh kothī, where he has a dehra. In Gramang, a village in Balh phāti, Narāin has two dehras and a bhundār in which a chaanchi or umbrella is kept, but no pindi or image. No oaths are taken on him, and his pujārī etc. are all Kanets. The villagers go to Rujag for the fair in Phāgan and the utsaabs, held in Sāwan and Mañghar, which are lesser fêtes. Related to this Narāin are Kadrusi Narāin in Tārapur, Phalani in Dugli Lag and Hurangu Narāin in Tandari. Hurangu Narāin came from Hurang near Sil Badwāni in Mandī, but the Kulu gods have now no relations in Mandī, though, it is noted, the Kulu people intermarry with those of Mandī. From this part of the valley hail fell when the deotas all went to the Dasehra at Sultānpur, so now only Hurangu of Tandari, Ghlhr Thān of Bhutthi in Tārapur and Bhāga Sidh of Dugli Lag go to it.

Kadrusi Narāin has a temple at Bhutthi in phāti Bhaliāni on a soh called Dochig where the road bends to descend to a bridge. He has a jach, e.g. in Baisakh obhī or light half, at the same time and places as Ghlhr Thān, though he is a great deota, ranking above Gramang Narāin. Ropri may however be regarded as his head village and he has three places there, a dehra, a mark and a bhundār. He also has a temple at Chathāni, a hamlet in phāti Bhaliāni—and one in phāti Bhamtīr, where he is worshipped with Shela Devī. In other villages too he is worshipped but not alone, Gahlū Deo and Gramang Narāin being also worshipped. Deo Gahlū ranks below him and his pujārī etc. are all Kanets. He has a temple at Sultānpur and another, with a bhundār at Brahman village, which contains a cha’ātar or canopy and a white stone but no mūrat.

In Kulu Deo Amal has nine small temples in all, the chief being at Jugogi hamlet.

Another godling Dani, also called Raehhpāl, is worshipped for increase of the flocks and for prosperity in general, a sheep or goat being

1 Ghlhr means goitre and thān a place where the earth split and a pindi emerged. Ghlhr Thān as a deota has however no apparent connection with goitre, though the water of the Sarwari is supposed to cause that disease. Though his temple is at Bhutthi his bhundār is at Nanadī and there his pujārī and gar live, while his kundār is at Kashēph. He has no big fair but utsaabs on 1st Baisakh, Chet and Sāwan, with dancing, as well as one at the new moon in Chet when the new Samhāt year begins. No villages but Bhutthi, Narāthi, Kashēph and Ghalāna worship Ghlhr Thān. A thān can be made by placing a stone under a bhekāi bush, and then sacrifices are made at it for good harvests.

2 The mark is a place where lights are placed and food cooked on one day in the year.
offered to him. But he is not avoided (?) in any way. A pujaři worships him on the sacrificer’s behalf.

In Kulu Gash deota takes the place of Kashgi in the Simla Hills. His cult is peculiar to Brahmans and the twice-born castes, and if one of them wishes to injure an enemy, he wears an image of Gash round his neck and gets him to eat some of his leavings (jutha). If he can manage this, Gash will surely injure his enemy in some way. But Gash is also worshipped at weddings.

A number of deities exercise similar functions. Such are:—
Shanghari, Tharu-bateri, Thumbardevi, Suthankal, Karani, Nanhda, Tharapere of Shamshi, Montha-Makan, who will at the earnest request of clients kill or injure their enemies.

An aggrieved person will go to a temple, pull out his hair and pray that evil may befall his enemies. Such prayers are sometimes heard and the life or property of an enemy thereby lost or injured. This is called nihāsa or gāl.

To avert such a curse, the transgressor must placate the man he has injured by the chhidra rite, which is thus performed:—

A piece of kusha grass or sarkhara is held by the transgressor at one end and by the injured person or one of his relations (or in their absence by an idol of flour or earth made to represent him) at the other. Then a Nar or a chela of the local deota asks them to take oath that if so-and-so have injured such a one, ‘it is his chhidra,’ and he hereby begs his pardon: after this the Nar or chela cuts the grass in the middle, a goat or sheep is sacrificed, and the villagers and relations are entertained. Sometimes some barley corns are also thrown over the grass before it is cut.

Precedence.—The principal temple of a Thakur is that of Raghunāth, near the Rāi’s palace at Sultānpur. All the other thākurs are dependent on him and have to make him certain offerings. Originally their jāghera and muḍīs were a part of his muḍī and he allotted them as grants in return for presents.

All the gods have to wait on Raghunāth at Dhālpur at the Dasehra. They have also to visit their place of origin (phalgī) in Phāgan. At the latter ceremony goats are sacrificed and a feast held.

The minor gods in the villages are subordinate to the god who is commonly regarded by one or more kothis in which the villages lie as their chief god. At festivals and fairs such godlings make certain offerings to their superior and he in return supplies them with all their necessaries.

Subordinate gods.—The following are the subordinates of each god in Kulu, namely, Kokal, Chungru, Thomhār, Dobangnu, Makal, Mahti, Sarmkaul. They are called his bāhan. At each festival or feast these are given a sheep and a pind.

A superior has the following subordinate deotas:—
(1) Jagru, (2) Dani, (3) Dobangnu, (4) Phangi etc.
These appear to be called, collectively, bathu, minor godlings or second class deotas.¹

¹ Díak, Kuluhi Dialect, p. 50.
At the festivals held in the temples and at a wedding or a jag these servient deotás are given a bhedu or bakra (a sheep or goat).

The thákurs and Shivjí do not visit any fair or tirath.

Forms of temples and their appurtenances.—The forms of the temples vary greatly. Sometimes the building, which may have one to five storeys, is called a bhansār or kothí. These are picturesque structures in no way differing from ordinary dwelling-houses except that the deotás' houses have larger and stronger timbers to support the floors, because there may be one or more above the lowest storey. The images are kept in the inner room, and in the verandahs the staff and musicians are accommodated. There are also many thákurdwāras and shiválás. Stone structures, called shail, for the most part, they generally have only one storey. In the shail is kept the image of the thákur, Shiv or Devi, as the case may be. Attached to the shail are houses for servants and menials.

Other houses or rooms attached to a temple are the dekri, dohro, and marbh: but the god only comes to live in them at fairs and festivals.¹

No place for bathing the god exists outside a temple, but a compound is attached to it for the people to stay in at the fairs or when they have to offer prayer or make enquiries at it. This is called the deotás' seat and contains a platform for the chèla to play on.

In Himri kothí the house in which the image is kept is generally one-storeyed,² while the buildings attached to it have from 2 to 4 storeys.²

In Chamba little 'chapels of ease' exist. They are called pádūke or foot-print pillars and consist of a pile of stones covered by a flat slab, on which is carved a trident (trisūl), with a foot-print on each side of it. They are seen by the roadside often at a considerable distance from the temple with which they are connected, their object being to enable passers-by to do obeisance and present offerings, usually flowers, to the deity without having to go all the way to the actual shrine. They are also found in front of temples.³ No trace of such pádūkas seems to exist in Kulu.

Position of images.—An image of Sri Rámchandar or Raghunáth should be placed on the right hand, and that of Jánki or Sita on the left of Krishna's. An image of Rádžika is also kept in such temples. The rule as to placing images to the right or left is based on seniority, i.e. a superior god must be placed to the right and a servient one to his left hand according to their spiritual positions.

In a thákurdwāra it is necessary to have an image of Garára placed near that of the latter: in a shivula the presence of a bull is necessary as Shiv's vehicle: where there is an image of Rámchandar there must be one of Haumán: and in a deví-dwāla the presence of a lion is essential, because they are considered to be the attendants of that god or of the goddess.

¹ Other houses attached to every temple are the Chhetí, Devi, Masr Chughandi and Köthí Mandhar.
² In the temples of Swáj, where the number of storeys and rooms varies from 1 to 7, the image is by preference kept in the north-eastern room.
³ Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 48-9.
The pujārīs are generally Brahmans, but may be Kanets, Kumhāres or goldsmiths by caste. All the offerings are placed in the god’s storehouse; the pujārīs do not get any share in them, as a rule. But Brahman or Bhojiki pujārīs often get a share out of the offerings, besides holding the revenue-free lands assigned in muāfi to the temple. At marriages one rupee is offered to the local god, but there are no other fixed times for making offerings. None of the temple officials are hereditary. They hold office only as long as they do their work well, and they are liable to dismissal for misconduct. All the secular affairs of a temple are controlled by its kārdār (manager). The bhog presented to the image is taken by the pujārīs, tenants and other office-holders. All offerings are voluntary. The kārdār is respected and the tenants readily obey his orders. All classes serve the local god according to their callings, but tenants have to render special services, in return for which they are allowed the drum and other temple instruments free at weddings etc.

The god is usually worshipped twice a day, except when his idol is shut up in the store-house, in which case worship is only held twice a month, on the 1st and 20th.¹

The Tala.—For this rite the villagers open a subscription list and on the day fixed by the deota at their request the ceremony begins with the ordinary Ganesh pūja. A jar full of water is placed in the deota’s compound and a manḍap (a place for him to sit) is prepared, and the naugrah (nine deotas) worshipped. A stick of the rakhti tree 1½ kāthas long is set up by the deota’s thān (resting place). This is followed by shānti-havan and the sacrifice of a sheep to the naugrah. A large fire (jāgra) is lit and the chela on a sheep’s back goes thrice round the fire and then the sheep is thrown across the fire and killed. A large rope of straw and a woollen thread are wrapped round the stick, stuck near the thān (place), and it is then taken out by the people who accompanied the deota’s rath. The sorcerer, drummers etc. go round the village pitching, setting up a stick in each of the eight directions, sacrificing a fish on each. On reaching the spot whence they started, a shānti-havan is performed and the parohit is given dakshina amounting to annas 8 or Re. 1. This part of the ceremony is called shānd or sutarbandh.

Early next morning a Dāgī (called the jatīdē), with an empty kīltī (basket) on his back and a fowl in his hand, followed by the deota’s sorcerers and other people dancing and singing, visits each house in the village: every household offers a piece of cloth to the sorcerer and satnāja (7 kinds of grain), wool and nails are put in the kīltī which the jatīdē carries. After going through the village the party proceeds to the nearest river or stream, and there a pig, a fowl, a fish and

¹ This may account for the auspiciousness of the number 20. Sometimes a saint is made so that the figures in each line, whether added perpendicularly or lengthways, make 20. This is called the bhū jāntar and as the proverb goes:—

_jī ṭhe jāta jāntar bīsa_
_us ṭhe jātar maṭ pāṇi bhāra jāl ḍēsa_

but few know this jāntar and it is very difficult to make it complete (sidh karna). It is worshipped for the first time during an eclipse or on some other auspicious day with mantras, and when sidh or complete it is carefully preserved in the house and worshipped at every festival.
a crab, brought with them, are killed and the jatidhi throws the kila into the water: this finishes the ceremony and the party returns to the deota's sod, where the parohit is given annas 8 or 4 at least as dakshina. The villagers entertain each other, sur or lugri being drunk.

As in the Simla Hills, the gharasni, which consists in killing a goat and worshipping the family priest at home, is observed in Outer Saraj. But in Kulu the gharasni jag is unknown and another ceremony, the sutarbandh, takes its place: the parohit and local god's chela are invited, the former performs the shanti-havan and the latter arranges for the bali sacrifices: a stick or peg (of rakhi, 'yew') is stuck at each corner of the house and a rope made of rice-straw tied to them: a sheep and a goat are sacrificed. The parohit gets from annas 4 to 8 as dakshina and when the ceremonies are finished a feast is given, and all the people (even the twice-born) drink sur and lugri.

Four branches of a kela tree are pitched in the form of a square tied at their tops with a piece of cloth, this is called kuhika. Beneath it the parohit performs the shanti-havan, and a man selected from the Nar caste performs the chhidra shanti ceremony with a wooden drum. The Nar together with his wife and an unmarried girl of that caste and the deota's sorcerers dance before the deota: a turban and some cash by way of dakshina are given to the Nar and a dopatta to the Nar girl. The fair lasts all day, people offering pice, fruit and flowers to the deota and joining with the Nar in the performance of the chhidra. In the evening the deota's chela shoots the Nar with an arrow in the breast, making him insensible and a rupee is put in his mouth. He is taken into the kuhika with two yards of cloth on his body as a shroud, and the chelas by reading mantars and burning dhup (incense) restore him to his senses. This jag is celebrated during the shukla paksha (full moon days) of Jej at Shirrah in Kotli Raisan, every second year in memory of Kali Nag deota. The other deotás can only afford to perform this jag at considerable intervals.

When rain is wanted a feast is given either by the samindars themselves or by the local deota. In the latter case the cost is met from the deota's treasury, in the former from subscriptions raised by the samindars themselves. The feast is called parat pujan, phungni or jogni. A lamb is sacrificed on a hill, jogni deota is worshipped, and a flat stone adorned with flour, pings of dung, and the heart of the lamb being offered to the jogni. Formerly the Rajas used to pay for such feasts, but now local deities or the samindars do so.

The phungni is also called tikar-jag, which is thus described:—The villagers go up a hill, taking with them a lamb, goat or sheep: there they worship the jogni and painting a large flat stone with different colours spread over it the liver of the animal brought with them, as an offering to the jogni.

To preserve a heap of grain a large sickle and a pixi (ball) of flour are placed on top of it. When a new animal is brought home branches
of the bhokhal after being touched by the animal are buried beneath a large stone. Great precautions are taken in bringing grain home during the bhadra nakshatra. If the crops are very good the grain heap is worshipped, a goat killed preferably on the threshold and a feast held. In Inner Saraj the land is also worshipped on the Somwari amawas in Bhadoon, in addition to the goat sacrifice and a kawan performed. If in a piece of land the seed does not germinate, while round it it does, a goat is killed on the spot and its head buried there so as to get rid of the evil which prevented the seed from coming up.

The ceremony of jagru jag is performed when on account of illness offerings have to be made to the deota. On the evening preceding it men, women, children go to the temple, pass the night in dancing and singing. Early next morning the necessary offerings are made, a goat is sacrificed and Brahmans are fed.

Release from an oath can be secured by observance of the chhidra or chhna khoi.na rite. This is practically similar in all parts of Kulu. In Inner Saraj the consent of the local god being first obtained, a feast is held at which the parties at enmity with each other are made to eat together. This feast is called Brahun bhoj. Or both parties contribute one goat each and some flour to the local god’s temple, leaves are prepared and given to those present. This is called chhna khoi.na or “reconciliation”.

In Himri both parties go to the temple of the village god and worship the earth there: the god is offered Rs. 18 and a goat, which is afterwards killed, and a feast is given: thus the two parties are reconciled.

The abandonment of property.—When the owner of a house has no son, or if he or his family are constantly ill, or his cattle do not prosper, or if a chela declare that some demon or jogan lives there, he abandons it as inauspicious. He will also show some earth from inside it to the deota’s sorcerer, and if he too confirms his doubts he will promise to offer land, a house or cash to the god, provided the latter helps him to surmount the trouble. If the calamity is got rid of, the promise must be fulfilled by gifting the land etc. to the god.

If the gur or sorcerer of a deota declares a thing to be needed by any demon or god, it is abandoned in his name or stored in the local god’s bhander (treasury).

First fruits.—The usages regarding first-fruits are variously described. Speaking generally, food is given to Brahmans, sadhus and the local god before fresh grain is used by cultivators. In Inner Saraj high caste people offer some of the new grain before they use it, and when it is brought home incense is burnt and a lamp lit before it is stored. In Kulu proper some of the new grain is thus offered and the Brahmans etc. are also fed. Then the neighbours and relations invited for the occasion are fed, and the guests say ago bhi do, ‘give in future too’; and the spirit in reply says ago bhi kho, ‘eat in future too’. On this occasion sometimes goats are also killed, while Kanhets and other Sudras drink lugri and sur.
The chela of a deota is also invited after the Rabi and some ears of barley are offered to the god through him; a goat or sheep is killed and a general feast (sakh or) is held in Jeth. Again at the Kharif a subscription list is opened for the purchase of a goat, which is sacrificed over the god and a feast is held just as after the Rabi. This is called giári.

Equally various are the beliefs regarding cracks in the soil and other omens. The bejíniri is called waliyali, and an ol or khol is called khánam in Kulu. Both are inauspicious, and to avert the evil a sheep or a goat is killed on the spot and in the case of a crack its head and legs are buried in it.

But in Inner Saráj, where a crack is called vairi, only one which occurs at the sowing of the Rabi crop is considered inauspicious, one in the Kharif not being so regarded. In the former case a Brahman is fed or a goat is killed and its head buried in the crack. In Himri kothi (Outer Saráj) a crack which suddenly appears in a field is called kalai.

But an abnormally good crop is sometimes considered inauspicious, and a goat is sacrificed to avert its evil effects—such as death or other injury. If one stalk brings forth two ears it is a good omen; as is also a bird building its nest in a field out of ears taken from it. But if it build its nest elsewhere than in the field from which it took the ears the omen is unfavourable.

In Kulu if a snake (siání) crosses in front of the ploughshare or both oxen lie down when ploughing, or if blood comes at the milking of a cow, it is considered an unfavourable omen, and the owner’s death or some other evil is feared. Jap and phath are used to avert it.

Tuesday and Friday are auspicious days for commencing ploughing in either harvest. Indeed Tuesday is considered best for beginning any agricultural work, but the rule is not strictly observed. Cattle are not sold on a Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday.

When going on a journey, paying a visit to superiors or to court, it is well to meet a jar full of water, any loaded man or animal, any one with fruit or game, or a dead body. On the other hand an empty jar, basket, or basin and sneezing are bad omens.

At the mandir of Chambhú deota in Randal two fairs are annually held on the 7th Baisakh and on a date fixed by the people in Maghar. At these all visitors are fed free. The story is that all the Ráná, save one of Somibadgani, were killed by this god, who then took up his abode in the dense forest at Randal. Here he manifested himself

1 Salbar: p on 1st (Siya) of Jeth, Diack, p. 87. The offerings to the deota are essential, feeding Brahman being optional. At the harvest-home in Kulu no ceremony is performed.

2 Or bejendri bakti, which strictly speaking means a gap between two furrows into which no seed happens to have dropped.

3 The idea seems to be that harm will only result if a he-goat is not sacrificed, as in default death or other harm is to be apprehended.

4 But it is also said: Two cobs sprouting out of one ear, the falling of a heap of grain on the kibángó or of a pile of loaves, is considered inauspicious and some sacrifice is made to avert the evil.
in the usual way—a Brahman's cow used to yield her milk to a black pindī in the forest. One day the Brahman saw this and inferred that the pindī was possessed of miraculous powers, so he told his Rānā, who with his wife and family went to the spot and paid their devotions to it. The date of the temple's foundation is not known. It contains the black pindī, a foot high and 4 in circumference, as well as carvings of many deities. Silver and brass masks are kept in the temple. Its administration is carried on by a Brahman kārdār, by got a Gautam. The pujārī is also a Brahman, by got a Gautam also. Neither is celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship. The gur receives special reverence, but the rites are performed by the pujārī. Bhog of rice, milk, ghī etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp is lit morning and evening at the times of worship. At the fairs he-goats are sacrificed. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but low castes are not permitted to offer any edibles. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the other mandir of Chambhū at Kasholl two fairs are held, one on 1st Jeth and the other on the chaudas in Maghar. To both other gods are invited and fed free. The story is that Chambhū had three brothers, all bearing the same name. One night the Rānā of the tract saw a light at a distant place which he visited next morning, and here found a stone as white as snow which he brought home. After a time he fell ill and went as usual to Ambikā Devī to pray for his recovery. The goddess directed him to propitiate her son, the white stone, which he did. He enshrined it in a temple built on a site where 7 Brahmans had once dwelt and where 7 jāman trees also stood. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone image, 3 feet high. Two silver masks are kept on the god's chariot. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdār, by got a Bhārgū. The pujārī is a Brahman, got Bhārdawāj. He is not celibate, and the succession is governed by natural relationship. Special reverence is paid only to the god's disciple because he nods his head and answers all questions put to the god. The use of charas is not known. A bhog of ghī, rice, milk and sugar is offered daily. The sacred lamp is lit in the morning and evening at the time of worship. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindu castes, but the low castes are not allowed to offer bhog. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the mandir of Dakhnashīrī in Nirmand¹ an annual fair is held on the satāṭ in Bhādon. This god is said to have come from the Deccan and settled here after he had killed a demon which was a terror to the people. After his death the temple in which he was enshrined was built. The date of its foundation is not known. It is of stone and wood, and contains a stone image 3 feet high. Its affairs are managed by a Brahman kārdār who is generally appointed by a committee of the god's votaries. He is by caste a Bhab, got Kāshab. The pujārī is a Brahman. Succession is governed by natural relationship. No bhog is offered to the god, and the sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this.

¹ For the inscriptions at Nirmand see Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
At the mandir of the Chaurasi Siddh at Pehri fairs are held on 3rd Phagan and 3rd Baisakh every year. Once a shepherd grazed as thakur’s sheep near a tank. As he felt thirsty he went to drink at it and saw an image emerge from the water. In the evening he took this image home and gave it to his master, the thakur, who kept it for some days in a niche in his house-wall until one day it occurred to him that a temple ought to be built in its honour. So he founded this temple and called it Chaurasi after the village. The date of its foundation is not known. It is built of stone and wood and contains images of gold silver and brass. The stone image taken out of the tank is also installed in it. Its affairs are managed by a kardar, by caste a Kanet, got Kashab. The pujari is also a Kanet. They are married and are always of this caste. Bhog of ghī &c. is offered in the morning only, but a sacred lamp is kept burning all night. The low castes are not allowed to offer edible things. Seven shrines are connected with this one.

Deota Jalandi’s annual fairs are held on 1st Sawan and at the Diwali in Maghar. The tradition is that once a thakur, named Paim, daily went to bathe in a pool called Mansarwar. One day the god manifested himself and the thakur begged him to accompany him to his house. To this he agreed and there the god was seated at a place in a grove of oak (harshth trees). Temples were eventually built at these places and called after the names of the trees &c. The date of their foundation is not known. There are 4 images of the god. The stone pindi is ½ foot high; the bust is made of brass; the third is of stone and 2½ feet high; and the fourth is the chariot of the god. The temple administration is carried on jointly by the villagers and a kardar who is also its pujari. By caste he is a Nolu Kanet. He is not celibate. A bhog of flowers, scent &c. is offered in the morning at the time of worship. No lamp is lit nor is sacred fire maintained. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines of Kandu Shaitor, Baranghai, Bag Deora and Sarahan.

Manda Khudi jat in Deohri.—The tradition is that in former times a thakur, named Thulia, had a cow called Kairi who used to yield her milk to a black stone pindi in Khudi village. Her master, enraged at his loss, determined to break the pindi, but the cow told him that the pindi should not be broken as Jamdaggan rishi had manifested himself to it, but he ignored her warning and struck the pindi. No sooner had he done so than he died on the spot, owing to the rishi’s miraculous power. So the people took to worshipping it and eventually a temple was built on this spot. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone pindi, 2 feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kardar. The pujari is a Brahman, by got a Bharthwa. He is not celibate. A sacred lamp is kept burning all through the night. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but a low caste man is not permitted to offer edible things. No other shrine is connected with this one. For 11 days ending with the puhanasi in Sawan or Bhadon the fair is in full swing. The place is also enlivened by visitors at the Diwali. Small fairs such as chand or thiarshth are held on 1st and 16th Phagan, 9th Baisakh and 20th Har.
Some fairs in Sardj.

Deota Chambhá has a temple in Deogi. The story goes that on the site of the present temple a cow used to yield her milk to a small black stone set in the ground. One day this was noticed by a herdsman who followed the cow. He returned home and told the people of his town all about it. They went to the spot and found his tale was true, so they founded a temple in which the image was enshrined. The exact date of its foundation is not known, but tradition says that it was built in the Tretiya Yug. It contains a smooth, black stone image, 2½ feet high. The temple walls are decorated with various pictures and busts of brass and silver are also kept in it. A Kanét kárdrár manages its affairs. He is married. The pujári is always recruited from the Brahmins. He is not celibate either. The gur is held in greater respect than either the kárdrár or pujári. The use of charas is not known. Bhog is offered daily to the god. A sacred lamp is lit daily morning and evening when worship is held in the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but low castes are not allowed to offer edible things. No other shrine is connected with this one. The annual fairs are held on 11th Baisákha, 12th Bhádon, and on 2nd, and 3rd Asauj. Illustrations are also displayed on the Diwáli in Maghar.

Pubhári, the god on the Jalori Pass, has 5 temples called after the names of the villages in which they are situate. At these annual fairs are held: at Kotarshu on 12th Baisákha, 12th Sáwan, on the Diwáli in Maghar, and on the 1st of Phágán; at Dim on 20th Sáwan; at Jalauri on 15th Sáwan and 3rd Kátkak; at Kanár on 3rd Phágán; and on 18th Baisákha at Sariwalsar. The story is that a man of Kota Thirshu chanced to find a metal mask which gave him enshrine it in a suitable place. So a temple was built and the mask placed in it. The dates of the fairs were fixed by a committee of the villages in which shrines were erected. The stone image is 1½ cubits high. The date of foundation is not known. Its affairs are managed by a Kanét kárdrár. Under him are a bhandári (store-keeper), a gur and pujári, all Karanaks. They are all married. Special reverence is paid to the gur. A bhog of rice, meat &c. is offered daily, and a sacred lamp lit in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines in Kot, Dim and Jana.

Konerí deota has a temple in Kuinri. His main fair is held annually at the Diwáli in Maghar, and it is followed by small fairs called sháná and thirshu, on 1st and 16th Phágán, 9th and 20th Hár. The story is that Karin Deo, a Brahman of the village, used to bathe daily in a spring. One day he found a black stone or pindi in the water which said it was Bis víshi and had come from Kuinri. He worshipped it and his example was followed by others. Eventually a temple was built, but the date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone pindi, 2½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanét kárdrár. The pujári is always recruited from the Brahmins. His got is Bhárdhwái. He is not celibate. A sacred lamp is lighted in the evening at the time of worship and kept burning the whole night. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this.

No particular fair is connected with the mandir of deota Pauj. Birl, but a he-goat is sacrificed at the shakhráns of Asauj and Phágán.
The story is that on the site of the present temple a Brahman used to meditate, recounting the names of God on his rosary. One day perchance it fell from his hand and struck against a stone which burst into many pieces and from it sprang 5 images each of which told the Brahman that they were 5 bīrs (or heroes) and brothers, adding that people should adore them. At this spot a temple was erected in their honour. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains 5 brass carvings of Bhairon, each 1 foot high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdār, by got a Kāshah. The pujārī is a Brahman, by caste a Gaur and by got Sārsut. He is not celibate. Special reverence is paid to the gur. Bhog is offered on the first of every month and particularly on the shankrānts of Phāgan and Aasaj, on which occasions a he-goat is sacrificed. A sacred lamp is lit every evening for half an hour only.

Deota Shang Chul has a temple in Kothi Shāngarh. Three fairs are held annually, one on the 3rd Hār at Vamanāwarā, another on the 1st Aasaj at Nagarī, and the 3rd on 8th Phāgan at Batāhr. The story goes that a cow used to yield her milk to a stone pindi hidden under ground. A Brahman observed this and dug up the place. The pindi was found and from the hole came out a snake which declared that he must be worshipped. The date of foundation is not known. All the four temples are of wood and stone. One contains a stone pindi, a foot high. Mohrās of gold and silver are also kept in the temple. Its administration is carried on by a kārdār who is also pujārī and gur. His caste is Gaur and got Sārsut. He is not celibate. Bhog is only offered at festivals. The sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindu castes. A low caste is not allowed to offer edible things. Connected with this are the shrines in Batāhr, Jiladhura, Dharadeora, Nagarī and Lapa.

Deota Sandoe has 3 temples at which annual fairs are held on the last day of Sāwan, and on the 2nd and 8th of Phāgan. On these occasions a hawin or sacrificial fire is lighted, and the rite is repeated on the 2nd Baisākhi every year. It is said that three gods sprang from a hail-stone. Two of them carved out principalities in Nohanda, while the third took up his abode in Shrīkoṭ which had already been occupied by the god Márkanda, so the latter left the place and went to Manglaur. After that the people began to worship Sandhu. The date of the temples' foundation is not known. None of them contains any image, but gold, silver and brass mohras (masks) are used in adorning the god's chariot. The administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdār. The gur and pujārī are also Kanets. They are not celibate. Special reverence is paid only to the gur. A bhog of rice, ghī, milk &c. is only offered at festivals. A sacred lamp is lit morning and evening at the times of worship. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but a low caste is not permitted to offer edible things. Connected with this are the shrines of Nārāin, Kandi and Guda Deora.

The Cults of the Simla Hills.

The Simla Hill States form a network of feudal States with dependent feudatories, subordinate to them, and the jurisdictions of the local godlings afford a striking reflection of the political conditions, forming a complex network of cults, some superior, some subordinate.
Cults in the Simla Hills.

To complete the political analogy, the godlings often have their wazirs or chief ministers and other officials. Perhaps the best illustration of this quasi-political organization of the hill cults is afforded by the following account of the 22 Tikás of Junga. At its head stands Junga's new cult. Junga, it should be observed, is not the family god of the Rájá of Keonthal. That function is fulfilled by the Devi Tára. ¹

The Cult of Junga. ²

Legend.—The Rájá of Kóṭlehr had two sons, who dwelt in Nádaun. On the accession of the elder to the throne, they quarrelled, and the younger was expelled the State. With a few companions he set out for the hills and soon reached Jakho, near Simla. Thence they sought a suitable site for a residence, and found a level place at Thagwa in the Kóti State. Next morning the Mián, or 'prince', set out in a palanquin, but when they reached Sanjauli, his companions found he had disappeared, and conjecturing that he had become a deota, returned to Thagwa, where they sought him in vain. They then took service with the people of that part. One night a man went out to watch his crop, and resting beneath a kemú tree, heard a terrible voice from it say, 'lest I fall down!' Panic-stricken he fled home, but another man volunteered to investigate the business and next night placed a piece of silk on the platform under the tree and took up his position in a corner. When he heard the voice, he rejoined 'come down', wherupon the tree split in half and out of it a beautiful image fell on to the silk cloth. This the man took to his home and placed it in the upper storey, but it always came down to the lower one, so he sent for the astrologers, who told him the image was that of a deota who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a chela through whom the god said he would select a place for his temple. So he was taken round the country, and when the news reached the companions of the Nádaun prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojári, Thond, and Kóti in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nádaun, where the Rájá, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own named Jípúr. Junga, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jípúr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jípúr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Rájá made Junga his own deity and placed him in a house in his darbár.

Jípúr is not now worshipped in Keonthal, all his own temples being used as temples of Junga who is worshipped in them. Nothing is known of Jípúr, except that he came in with the ruling family of Keonthal. He appears to have been only a jatherā or ancestor. Junga has another temple at Pajarli near Junga, to which he is taken

¹ An account of this goddess will be found on p. 367 supra.

² (The family likeness of the legends connected with these hill deities of the extreme North of India to those connected with the 'devils' of the Tuluvas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See Devil Worship of the Tuluvas, Ind. Ant., XXIII—XXVI, 1894—1897.)
when a *jag* is to be celebrated, or when an heir-apparent, *tiha*, is
born to the Rájá, on which occasion a *jágra* is performed. On other
occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this
temple. The ritual is that observed in a *shwála*, and no sacrifice
is offered. There are 22 *tikás* or "sons" of Junga. None of these
can celebrate a *jag* or observe a festival without permission from
the Junga temple, and such permission is not given unless all the dues
of Junga's temple are paid. Thus Junga is regarded as the real god
and the others his children.

**The Twenty-two Tikás of Junga (Keonthal), near Simla.**

The State of Keonthal is one of the Simla Hill States in the
Punjab, and its capital, Junga, so called after the god of that name, lies
only a few miles from Simla itself. Besides the main territory of
the State, Keonthal is overlord of five feudatory States, *viz.* Kótí,
Theog, Madhán, Gúnd and Ratesh. Excluding these States, it com-
prises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen *parganas*,
thus:

I.—Southern tract, comprising ten *parganas* :—(1) Fágü, (2)
Kháláshi, (3) Tir Mahástu, (4) Dharech in Fágü tahsíl,
(5) Ratesh, (6) Karoli, (7) Jái, (8) Paráli, (9) Jhájot,
(10) Kalánj in Junga tahsíl.

II.—Northern tract, which includes four *parganas* :—(11) Shilí,
(12) Matiána, (13) Rajána, (14) Matiána, in Fágü
tahsíl.

III.—Pargana Ráwin, and
IV.—Pargana Pùnnar, together forming Ráwin tahsíl.
V.—Pargana Rámpur, and
VI.—Pargana Wákna, both in Junga tahsíl.

The three *tahsíls* are modern Revenue divisions, but the 22 *parganas* are ancient and correspond in number to the 22 *tikás*, which
are described below. It does not appear, however, that each *pargana*
has its *tika*, and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness
for the Nos. 12, 22, 32, 42, 52 etc. in the Punjab, and indeed, through-
out India, is well known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The following are the 22 Tikás of Jungá :

| (1) Kaulur. | (12) Kulthi. |
| (2) Manúni. | (13) Dhanún. |
| (3) Kánetí. | (14) Dúm. |
| (4) Deo Chand. | (15) Ráita. |
| (6) Mahánphá. | (17) Gaun. |
| (7) Tíru. | (18) Biju. |
| (8) Khateshwar. | (19) Kisheli Deo. |
| (9) Chádei. | (20) Bál Deo. |
| (10) Shánei and Jáu. | (21) Rawál Deo. |
| (11) Dhubú. | (22) Kávalí Deo. |
The feudatories of Junga.

(1) The Cult of Kalaur.

Legend.—A Brahman once fled from Kulu and settled in Dawan, a village in pargana Ratesh. There he incurred the enmity of a Kanet woman, who put poison in his food. The Brahman detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangápání, where there is water, in Doran Jangal, and there ate the food, arguing that if the woman meant to kill him she would do it sooner or later, and so died, invoking curses on the murderers. His body disappeared. In the Garhál-ki-Dhár plain was a bakhál plant. One day a Brahman of Garáwag observed that all the cows used to go to the plant and water it with their milk, so he got a spade and dug up the bush. He found under it a beautiful image (which still bears the mark of his spade) and took it home. When he told the people what had happened, they built a temple for the idol, and made the Brahman its pujári. But the image, which bore a strong resemblance to the Brahman, who had died of the poisoned food, began to inflict disease upon the Kanets of the place, so that several families perished. Thereupon, the people determined to bring in a stronger god or goddess to protect them from the image. Two Kanets of the pargana, Dheit and Chandí, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Láwi and Pálwi, two villages in Sirmúr State, disguised as façârs, and thence they stole an áth-bhojáváli, ‘eight-handed’, image of Deví, which they brought to Dhawar in Ratesh. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Walán and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village Charéj, however, still affect Kalaur.

(2) The Cult of Mamúni.

Manúni is Mahádeo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manúni.

Legend.—A Brahman of Paráli, in the Jamrot pargana of the Patiála hill territory, a pujári of Deví Dhár, and others, went to buy salt in Mandí, and on their way back halted for the night in Málíhun Nág’s temple at Máhúin in the Suket State. The Brahman and the pujári with some of the company, who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The pujári was a chela of the god Dharto, at that time a famous deota, revered throughout the northern part of the Koonthal State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brahman and the pujári, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Munda, where the temple of Hanúmán now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on bái tree. Here, too, the pujári fainted and was with difficulty taken home. The astrologers of the pargana decided that a god had come from Suket and wished to settle in that part, and that unless he were accommodated with a residence the pujári would not recover. Meanwhile the pujári became possessed by the god and began to nod his head and declare that those present must revere him (the god), or he would cause trouble. They replied that if he could overcome the god Dharto, they would not hesitate to abandon that god, though they had revered him for generations. Upon this ‘a bolt from the blue’ fell upon Dharto’s temple and destroyed it, breaking all the idols, except one which was cast into a tank in a cave. The pujári then led the people to Munda, where the bees had settled and
directed them to build a temple at the place where they found ants. Ants were duly found in a square place on Manún hill, and a temple built in due course, but when only the roof remained to be built, a plank flew off and settled in Paráli. Upon this the puñári said the temple must be built there, as the god had come with a Brahman of that place, and so a second temple was built and the image placed in it. That at Manún was also subsequently completed, and a third was erected at Kotí Dhár. The cult also spread to Nala, in Patála territory, and to Bhajji State, and temples were erected there. The Brahmans of Paráli were appointed Bhokís and the puñáris of Kotí Dhár puñáris of the god. Meanwhile the image of Dharto remained in the tank into which it had fallen. It is said that a man used to cook a rot (a large loaf) and threw it into the water as an offering, requesting the god to lend him utensils which he needed to entertain his guests. This Dharto used to do, on the condition that the utensils were restored to the pool when done with. But one day the man borrowed 40 and only returned 35 plates, and since then the god has ceased to lend his crockery. Beside the god's image is another, that of a bir or spirit, called Tonda. Tonda used to live at Paráli in a cave which was a water-mill, and if any one visited the mill alone at night he used to become possessed by the bir, and, unless promptly attended to, lose his life. But once the puñári of Manúni went to the mill, and by the help of his god resisted the attempts of the bir to possess him. In fact he captured the bir, and having laid him flat on the grind-stone sat on him. Upon this the bir promised to obey him in all matters if he spared his life, and so the puñári asked him to come to the temple, promising to worship him there if he ceased to molest people. The bir agreed and has now a separate place in the temple of Manúni, whose wasír he has become.

(3) The Cult of Kaneti.

Legend.—After the war of the Mahábártás, when the Pánḍavas had retired to the Badri Nátá hills to worship, they erected several temples and placed images in them. Amongst others they established Kaneti in a temple at Kwára on the borders of Gañghwál and Bashahr, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known after the Pánḍavas. Dodra and Kwára are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwára objected and so enmity arose between them. The Dodra people then stole an image from the Kwára temple, but it disappeared and was found again in a pool in a cave. It then spoke by the mouth of its chela, and declared that it would not live at Dodra, and that the people must quit that place and accompany it elsewhere. So a body of men, Kanets, Kolís and Túris, left Dodra and reached Dagon, in Keonthal State, where was the temple of Jípur, the god of the Rája's family. This temple the new god destroyed by lightning, and took possession of his residence. The men who had accompanied the god settled in this region and the cult of Kaneti prospered. Aicha, Brahman, was then wasír of Keonthal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jípur and affect Kaneti. His descendants soon numbered 1500 houses. Similarly, the Bhaler tribe made a vow to Kaneti, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jípur.
The feudatories of Junga.

(4) The Cult of Deo Chand.

Legend.—Deo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanog sect of the Kanets, was wazir of Keonthal and once wished to celebrate a jag, so he fixed on an auspicious day and asked for the loan of Junga's image. This the pujaris refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Deo Chand could not do this or induce the pujaris to lend him the image, so he got a blacksmith to make a new one, and celebrated the jag, placing the image, which he named Deo Chand after himself, in a new temple. He proclaimed Deo Chand subordinate to Junga, but in all other respects the temple is under a separate management.

(5) The Cult of Shani.

There are two groups of Kanets, the Painoi or Painui and the Shainti. Owing to some dispute with the pujaris, the Shaintis made a separate god for themselves and called him Shaneti.

(6) The Cult of Mahanpha.

The Chibhar Kanets of Jatil pargana borrowed an image of Junga and established a separate temple.

(7) The Cult of Tiru.

Legend.—Tiru is the god of the Jatik people, who are a sept of the Brahmans. A Tiru Brahman went to petition the Raja and was harshly treated, so he cut off his own head, whereupon his headless body danced for a time. The Brahmans then made an image of Tiru, and he is now worshipped as the Jathara of the Jatiks.

(8) The Cult of Khateshwar.

The Brahmans of Bhakar borrowed an image of Junga and built a separate temple for it at a place called Koṭi, whence the god's name.

(9) The Cult of Chadei.

The Nawawan sept of the Kanets brought this god from pargana Ratesh, and built his temple at Charol, whence the god's name.

(10) The Cult of Shani and jāu.

Junga on his birth made a tour through the Keonthal territory, and having visited Shain and Jau villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shani is subordinate to Junga, and Jau to Shani. Both these temples are in the village of Koṭi.

(11) The Cult of Dhúru.

A very ancient god of the Jai pargana of Keonthal. All the zamindars who affected Dhúru died childless. The temple is financed by the Raja, and the god is subordinate to Junga.

(12) The Cult of Kalih.

The Chibhar sept of the Kanets affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawalath.
The feudatories of Junga.

(13) The Cult of Dhanun.

Legend.—The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nádaun, after Junga's arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhako and thence flew to Neog, where it hid under a rice plant in a paddy-field. When the people cut the crop they spared this plant, and then turned their cattle into the fields. But all the cattle collected round the plant, from under which a serpent emerged and sucked all their milk. When the people found their cows had run dry, they suspected the cowherdess of having milked them, and set a man to watch her. He saw what occurred, and the woman then got enraged with the plant, and endeavoured to dig it up, but found two beautiful images (they both still bear the marks of her sickle). The larger of these two is considered the Rájá and is called Dhanun (from dhán, rice), and the smaller is deemed the wástr and is called wáthro (meaning 'tyrant' in the Pahári dialect).

This was the image which assumed a serpent's shape and drained the cows. Two temples were erected to these images, but they began to oppress the people and compelled them to sacrifice a man every day, so the people of the pargana arranged for each family to supply its victim in turn. At last weary of this tyranny, they called in a learned Brahman of the Bharobo sept, who induced the god to content himself with a human sacrifice once a month, then twice and then once a year, then with a he-goat sacrificed monthly, and finally once every six months, on the ikánshís of Hár and Khátik sudí. The Brahman's descendants are still pujáris of the temple and parohíts of the village, and they held Bhýár free of revenue until Rájá Chandar Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sígar in lieu of service to the god.

(14) The Cult of Dúm.

Dúm has a temple in Kátián, a village of Phágú tahsil, and goes on tour every five or ten years though Keonthal, Kothár, Mahlog, Bashahr, Kóth Kháí, Júbbal, Kánár, Bághal, Kóti and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Tunwars, many of whom after their defeat by the Chauháns fled to these hills, where they still affect the cult of Dúm. He is believed to possess miraculous powers and owns much gold and silver. He became subordinate to Jungá, as the god of the State.

(15) Ráttá.

This god has a temple in pargana Parálí.

(16) Chánana.

He is the deity of the Doli Brahmans.

(17) Gaun.

The image is that of Jungá, who was established by the Rawal people.

(18) Bíju.

Bíju was originally subordinate to the god Bijat, but as he was in the Keonthal State, he became subordinate to Jungá. His real name is Bijeshwar Mahádeo, or Mahádeo, the lightning god, and his temple stands below Jori Chandni in the Jubbal State.
The god Düm.

(Regarding Nos. (18) Kāshelī Deo, (20) Bāl Deo, (21) Rawāl, Deo and (22) Rāwālī Deo, no particulars are available.)

The deotās of the Punjab Himalayaś include a number of divine families each ruling over its own territory, just as the ruling families of the Hill States rule each its own State over. In the Simla Hills for example we find a family of Nāgaś, another of Dümś and a third called Marechh, besides the more orthodox families of Koṭ Iśwhar and the Devīs.

The Cult of the Dümś.

One of the most remarkable cults of the Simla Hills is that of Düm, who appears also as one of the twenty-two ṭikas of Keonthal. In that State he is a subordinate deity, but elsewhere he is a godling of the first rank. His cult extends to several other states, e.g. to Bashahr and Kumbhārsain. Zāmīndārs offer him ghī every time they clarify butter, otherwise he would prevent their cows yielding milk. Every three years the accumulated ghī is spent on the god’s entertainment. He is closely allied with ṭūp or nevād, and one account thus describes his origin:—Khalnīdh, an aged Kanet, went to worship Hātkoṭī devī, and pleased with his devotion the goddess gave him some rice and told him that two sons would be born to him. When they grew up they used to graze a Brahman’s cattle, and the goddess conferred on them the power of doing anything they wished. On their death their ṭūp or khōt began to vex the people of this ilāqā, so they were propitiated by worship; and one of them stayed in the State while the other took up his abode at Kuthān in Keonthal.

The deota Düm or Nagarkotia, as he is also called, of Katiān (properly Gathān), a village in the Shilli pargana of the Phāgu tahsīl of Keonthal, is the brother of Düm deota of Sharmala,¹ which is his capital, lying in the Kumbhārsain State. The latter’s history is as follows:—

An old Kanet, named Shura, living in Hemri village (now in pargana Chagāon in Kumbhārsain), had no son. His wife, Pargī, was also old and she asked her husband to marry a second wife in order to get a son, but Shura refused on account of his advanced age. His wife induced him to go to the goddess Hātkoṭī Durga and implore her aid, threatening to fast even unto death unless she promised him a son. Shura reached Hātkoṭī in seven days (though it was only a two days’ journey) and for seven days sat before Durga Devī fasting. The goddess was so pleased at his devotion that she appeared before him with all her attributes (the sankh, chakkār, gadda, padam and other weapons in her right hand) and riding on a tiger. She granted his request and bade him return home. Overjoyed at this bar or ‘boon’, he went home and told his wife the good news, and three months later she gave birth to twin sons, but both parents dying seven days later, they were nursed by a sister named Kāpri. While quite young the orphans showed signs of superhuman power. Their sister too soon died.

¹ Sharmala lies in pargana Shil of Kumbhārsain and Düm is worshipped by all the people of pargana Ubēdesh and by some of pargana Shil.
and the boys were employed as cowherds by the people, but they were careless of their cattle and devoted themselves to their favourite game of archery. So the people dismissed first one and then the other. Both of them then took service with the Thákur of Daróti, but were again discharged for idleness. They then roamed the country seeking service, but no one would help them, and so they went down to the plains and reached Dehli, where they enlisted in the king's army. To test the skill of his archers the king set up a tawa (pole?) from which hung a horse hair with a small grain in the centre. No one in all his army could split the grain with an arrow, except these two recruits, and the king was greatly pleased with them, but as his Ráni told him that they were not common soldiers but possessed of magical power and should be dismissed to their native hills with a suitable reward, he gave them a huge vessel (chern) full of coins which they could not lift, and they were about to depart when two deotás, Mahású and Shrifgul, who were prisoners at Dehli,¹ appeared and calling upon the brothers for help, as they belonged to the same hill country as themselves, promised that if they petitioned the king for their release they would be set free.

The Dúm brothers implored the king for the deotás' release, and their request was granted. The deotás were so pleased that they bade the youths ask of them any boon they liked, and they asked their help in carrying the vessel home. The deotás told the brothers to mount their aerial steeds, look towards the Kailás hill, touch the vessel and whip up their horses. So they did, and their steeds carried their riders high up into the sky, flying northwards over the hills and halting at Binu, a place near Gathán village. The gods went to their dominions and the vessel full of coin was buried at Binu, where it turned into water, which was made into the haoli now on the boundary of Kumbhársain and Keonthal. The aerial steeds disappeared on Mount Kailás after leaving the young Dúms at Binu. Binu then belonged to the Thákurs of Rajána, and the Dúm brothers made themselves very troublesome, breaking with their arrows the ghurás full of water which the women were carrying home on their heads² or setting their bundles of grass on fire. The people became so alarmed that at last the whole countryside with the Thákur at its head brought the brothers to bay in a battle in which the elder, who was called Dúm, was killed. Kon,³ the younger, also died and both were cremated on the spot where they had fallen, but they emerged from the ashes in the form of idols. These miraculous images punished the Thákur in many ways, haunting him in his sleep and overturning his bed. To appease the images, who were thus become páp, the Thákur conveyed them to Nagarkot in Kulu, but when presented there before the goddess they vanished. The people were distressed at their loss and fasted before Durga until she made them re-appear. So she gave them back the images; but some say that she gave them other images in lieu of the originals. Thereafter Dúm

¹ The deotás Mahású and Shrifgul were captives kept at Dehli for being devil oppressors in the hills.

² See the note in the account of Gága.

³ The descendants of Kon settled in Keonthal State and are called Kathán.
deota was also called Nagar Kotia deota of Sharmalla. One image was brought to Sharmalla, where Düm was established, while the image of Kon was taken to Gathán village. Temples were built for the residence of each at those places. But some say both images were first established at Sharmalla. People used to invite the deotás to their houses, but the Sharmalla people refused to send them to Gathán, and so the people of the latter place stole one of the deotás and established him there. Düm of Sharmalla is worshipped daily by Brahmans, but his gur (the man into whom the spirit comes and through whom it speaks) is always a Kanet. The deota has his kárdári, the chief among them being the bhandári in charge of the stores. The Sharmalla women call him by the pet name of Nánu, but other people call him Düm. His annual melá is held on the Bishu day in Baisakh, but his játva is held every 7th or 8th year. When a new Ráná ascends the gaddi a rajávi melá is held and the deotá tours in the villages of his devotees. The Shánt melá is held every 50 years. The deotás followers are found mostly in Udesh pargana, but he is also worshipped in several other scattered villages in Bashahr, Khaneti, Theog and Shill. He used to have a melá at Shamokhar. Some say that the deotás Magneshwar, Kot Ishwar and Düm sat in their respective places and the melá began, but the trio quarrelled and the melá was forbidden to be held in the future by Government. The Dagrot people in consequence pay a chershí1 of Rs. 30 to Manún or Magneshwar every third year. The deota helped Kumhársain to gain its victory over Koonthal, and when besought by a Ráná of Jubbal blessed him with a son for which the Ráná presented him with a gold image. Düm’s original image is of brass, but a few smaller images have been added as its companions. The Thákur of Rajána was also blessed with a son at an advanced age, and he presented Düm with a silver chain worth Rs. 140. The deota is rich, having silver instruments (narsinga and karñál) of music, while a necklace of gold mohars and gold ornaments always adorn him. He is not dhudadhári, but goats are sacrificed before him. He is believed by his devotees to be a very powerful god, blessing the people but distressing those who do not obey him. He had a large dominion of his own, but Düm of Gathán has a much larger one. The Düm of Sharmalla had seven khánd̄s3 (descendants of māvis or maruvnas) who recognised his authority. These are—Baghalu and Charogu in Khaneti, Añnet and Relu in Bashahr, Dogre and Rachla in Kumhársain and Dharongu in Balsan. The Charogu, Relu and Dharongu valleys were seized by Düm of Gathán and added to his dominions.

The following is another account of this strange quarrel:—The worshippers of Mauni deota, whose real name is Magneshar Mahádev and whose temple is in Mauni, a village in Shil, are

1Chershí is a fine loved thus:—The god every third year visits the villages from which the fine is due. This fine comprises a goat, Rs. 1-4-0, and as much grain as will suffice for the worshippers who accompany the god.

2Khánd also appears to mean a tract of country. The Khánd Kanets are in Bashahr distinguished from the Ghára Kanets. They are sometimes called Nuru or Niru, and certain religious ceremonies, such as the bhamad and šán are only performed in villages where there are Khánd Kanets.—Stula Hill States Gazettes, Bashahr, p. 21.
confined to that paraga. Nearly 70 years ago the worshippers of both the gods, Manni and Düm, used to assemble with their gods at a fair held at Shamokhar, an open space on the borders of the Ubedesh and Shil paraganas. About 65 years ago, in the time of Ráná Pritam Singh, of Kumbársain, the worshippers of Düm objected to the admission of Manni deota and his worshippers into Shamokhar. This led to a feud between the two parties, and the case came before the Ráná, who in Sambat 1907 decided that if Manni deota was not allowed to be brought into Shamokhar, the inhabitants of Dakún, Rabog and Jadún (the worshippers of Düm) should pay a fine called chershi to Manni deota.

Kôteshar deota (also called the deota Koţi), the State god who has a temple in Madholi village, was offended by the above decision, so he prohibited both the gods from coming to Shamokhar. As he was the State god, the Ráná was bound to obey his orders, so both the deotas were prevented from coming. When the worshippers of Manni found that the decision went against them, they solicited the aid of a favourite khawás of the Ráná who was a daughter of Utun, a Kanet of the Mroshla family and a worshipper of Manni. Through her persuasion the Ráná gave permission to Manni to come to Shamokhar. This partial judgment caused a quarrel between the rival factions, so both the gods were prevented from coming to Shamokhar in the future, but the chershi continued to be paid as usual to Manni deota. During the chief’s minority payment of the chershi to Manni deota was not enforced, and his worshippers asked either that they might be allowed to hold their fair at Shamokhar, or that the chershi should be paid to them; but no decision was given, and the dispute was not settled. Subsequently the chershi was paid to Manni, but later on the authorities thinking that the god’s visits to the village were likely to cause disputes, stopped its payment and arranged for the payment of Rs. 30 in cash every third year as chershi to Manni.

The deota Düm of Hemri has the same history as the Düm of Sharmalla. Shura and Pârgi lived at Hemri, and it is said that when the Düm brothers were killed their images were brought to Hemri and thence taken to Sharmalla and Gáthán. Some say that the Düm brothers were killed by máwis even before the Thákurs of Rájána ruled the country. There is an image of Düm at Hemri temple where the people of Hemri, Kathrol and Guma worship him. This deota, when necessary, goes to Kánga on a pilgrimage (játra). A mela is held at Hemri on the Sharono (Salono) day in Bhádon. The Balti mela is held every third year. A Brahmán is his pujári, but he is generally worshipped by the Kolús and Lohárs of Hemri.

Düm of Kárel is worshipped at a temple in that village. He too is also an offshoot of the Düm brothers. People say that Düm first went from Hemri to Gáthán, whence an image of him was brought to Kárel, although Hemri and Kárel are close together. The Kárel people worship Düm in Gáthán, but as a mark of respect they keep an idol of him in a temple in their own village. A Balti fair is held every third year and a Bhúnja mela whenever the people wish, generally
after 10 or 15 years. Every house gives some goats to be killed, people inviting their kinsmen, especially their dhār-dhiāns and sons-in-law and their children. The Bhareeh Brahman does pūja in the morning only.

Bhāt deota also resides with Dūm in the Kārel temple. Originally a Sārus Brahman living at Mateog, a village just above Kumhārsain itself. Bhāt was prosecuted by a Rānā of Kumhārsain and ordered to be arrested, but he fled to the Kulu side pursued by the Kārel sepyo who had been sent to seize him. He was caught on the bank of the Śutlej, but asked the sepyo to allow him to bathe in the river before being taken back to Kumhārsain, and then drowned himself. He became a demon and haunted the sepyo in his sleep until the latter made an image in his name and began to worship him at Kārel. The other people of Kārel out of respect for the image placed it in the temple besides that of Dūm.

The people of Jhangroli in Chagaon pargana also brought an image of Dūm from Gathān and made him a temple. He is worshipped with dhūp dīp every 6th day, but has no daily pūja. The people hold Gathān Dūm to be their family deota, but the temple is maintained in the village as a mark of respect.

Though the Dūm deotas have their chief temples at Gathān and Sharmalla, there are a number of Dūms with temples in Sarāj, as already noted. Dūm also came in Shadhoch and there are four temples to Dūm in the following villages of pargana Chebishi:

1. Dūm of Pharal.—It is not known when this Dūm was brought from Sharmalla. A man of this pargana lived in Sarāj, whence he brought an image and placed it in a temple at Pharaj with the express permission of Malendu deota, who is the family deota of the Chebishi people. This Dūm has no rath and his function is to protect cattle. If a cow does not give milk, he is asked to make her yield it in plenty and the ghī produced from the first few days' milk is given to him as dhūp. No khin is performed for him, but Kanets give him dhūp dīp daily. He has no bhor.

2. Dūm of Koṭla.—Koṭla has always been held in jāgīr by the Kanwars or Mīāns of Kumhārsain, and the Dūm temple there was founded by one of them.

3. Dūm of Kupri.—The people of Kupri village say that more than 700 years ago they came from Rewag, a village in Ubdesh pargana in Sarāj and settled at Kupri in the Chebishi pargana of Shadoch. Their ancestors brought with them Dūm, their family deota's image, and placed it in a temple. A field at Kupri was named Rewag after their original village. The people of this village do not regard Malendu as their family god. There are at present nine images of Dūm in the Kupri temple and a small pīṭ (bed) where it is believed a Bhagwati lives with him. The Kanets are his pujāris and also his gurs. A Khim melā is held every three or four years at night and goats are sacrificed.
(4) Đúm of Parojusha.—Nearly 200 years ago, Káji, a Shadhoch man who had lived in Saraj, returned to his village and brought with him an image of Đúm, which he presented to his fellow-villagers at Beshera, and made them also swear to worship him. This they did, presumably with Malendu's permission. More than 100 years ago one of the villagers killed a sáðhu whose spirit would not allow the people to live at ease in their village, so they all left it and settled in Parojusha. A Bhagwati is believed to live with him in the temple. The Kanets worship him but their family god is Malendu. He has no bhór.

The Family of Marechh.

The Marechh family is represented by seven members. The deola called Dithu or Marechh has his temple at Dholaser, close to Kumhársain itself. The story goes that he came from the Mansarowar lake nearly 4000 years ago. On his way down he met Bhambu Ráj at a place now called Bhambu Ráiká Tibba, a peak between Bághi and Kadrála, where the ruins of his palace are said to still exist. Bhambu Ráo, who was a Ráipút Rájá like Kans, is looked upon as a maleksh or daint (devil). His favourite meal was a woman's breast and he ate one every day. He used to go to bathe in the Sutloj, thence go to Hátkoti for worship, and return to dine at his palace every day, a daily round of about 100 miles which he accomplished in six hours. The people were grievously oppressed by him, and at last the deola of Shuli (in pargana Kanchein of Bashahri) killed him. But after his death his evil spirit (pdp) began to torment the Shuli deola, and in order to appease him Shanti built for it a resting place at Shuli in a separate temple. Every twelfth year Bhambu Ráo comes out seated in his rath, by night, never by day, and carried by the people rides and dances in it. Women and children shut themselves up in their houses while he is out at night. He was very powerful when Dithu deola was coming down from the Mansarowar lake, and near Kadrála refused to let him pass, so a great fight was fought in which Bhambu Ráo was worsted. Dithu then halted on his way at Mármi in a ravine near Madháwani in the valley north of Nárkanḍa in Kumhársain, hid himself in a cave and ate human flesh. He used also to accept human sacrifice. A long time after, when the deola Kot Ishwar held his mela at Chhachhor, Dithu hearing the notes of the karnál and narsinga came out of his cave and joined in the fair. Both the deotas made friends, and Kot Ishwar invited Dithu to his temple at Koti. When Kot Ishwar and Bhura deola entered the temple two goats were, as usual, offered for sacrifice, but Kot Ishwar declined to accept them saying that he had with him a third deola as his guest, and that a third goat should be offered for him. So the people brought a third goat, but Dithu refused to accept it saying that he preferred human flesh, and that a virgin girl

1Of whom three are found in Kumhársain, two in Shángri, one in Kotgarh and one in Kulu, thus:—(1) Dithu at Dholaser, (2) Marechh of Malendu at Malendi, (3) at Bareog in Kumhársain, (4) at Shawan in Shángri, (5) at Banar in Shángri, (6) at Kirti in Kotgarh and (?) at Bains in Kulu.

2In the year 1000 of Yudhisthir's era, or 4000 years ago.

3He is said to have come from the Bángar Des, apparently meaning the Kurukabstra. He was called Ráo or Ráí.
should 'be sacrificed. Kot Ishwar was displeased at this and ordered Dithu's arrest, and he was not released until he had sworn never to taste human flesh again. This pleased Kot Ishwar and he made Dithu his wazir. He was given a place called Dholaser, where his temple still exists. Kot Ishwar also assigned him his favourite Kotalu, the mavanu, as his kārdār, and to this family was given Bai, a village close to Dholaser. Dithu brought with him from Mārnī a mohru tree, which, with some kelo trees, still stands near his temple. Rānā Kirtī Singh, founder of the Kumhārsain State, affected this deota.

Dithu comes out of his temple when Kot Ishwar rides on his rath at a mela. A Balti mela is held every third year.

The Marechh of Malendi is also called Malendu, or 'he of Malendi'.

The people of Chebishi pargana, who are his devotees, say that the seven Marechh brothers came from the Mansarwar lake and fought with Bhambu Rāo when he barred their way. After his overthrow they came to Háru, whence they scattered. Malendu went to Chhichhar forest and after a time flew to the top of the Derti hill above Chebishi pargana. A Kāli or Kālka called Bhāgwati, who lived on this peak, received him kindly, but after a while she desired him to acquire a territory where he could be worshipped, and recommended to him the Chebishi pargana, as it was subsequently named. So this deota Marechh left the Kālka and came to Lanki forest. Thence he descended to the Nālā and reached Jānjhat, a place where he found a brass bāoli with brass steps leading down to the water. But some say either that he did not reach the brass bāoli or that from the bāoli he went to Dheongli and sat under a bāoli tree. The story goes that this Marechh being anxious to make himself known to the people transformed himself into a serpent, and sucked milk from the cows that grazed near by. A cowgirl saw him and informed a Dongli Brahman. When he came the serpent resumed his original form—an ashtādātu image—and sat in his lap. The Brahman gave him dhūp dīp. At that time the mavanus of Bashera and Pharal were powerful, so the Brahman carried the image to Bashera and the Bashera mavanu in consultation with him of Pharal informed deota Kot Ishwar of the new arrival. Kot Ishwar treated Marechh kindly and gave him the present Chebishi pargana, but only on condition that he would not oppress the people, and that he should only be allowed goats and goats, khādu but not bher, to eat. He was given a jāgrā in four villages, as well as fields in several others. It was also agreed that Malendu should not go out for a ride on a rath unless Kot Ishwar gave him leave and his rath is never decorated until Kot Ishwar sends him a piece of mavanu cloth in token of his permission. Like Dithu he only comes out of his temple when Kot Ishwar does so. Malendu was further ordered to observe the following itohārs or festivals (at each of which Kot Ishwar sends him a goat), viz. the Bishu, Rehāli, Dewāli, Māgh and Sharuno. Lastly, the god was asked to select a place for his temple, and he chose Malendi, and there it was built by the Bashera and Pharal mavanus. It is believed that this deota is absent from his temple on the Māghi Shankrānti for seven days, during which period the temple is closed and all work stopped till his return. The popular belief is that the
Deota goes to fight with the rakshasas and daints at Bhonda Bil, somewhere in Bashahr, and returns after bathing at Kidarnath. On his return the temple is re-opened and his gur or deva dances in a trance (chirna) and through him the deota relates all his strife with the rakshas. Strange to say, if the rakshasas have won, it is believed that a bumper harvest will result; but if the deotás win, there is danger of famine. Yet, though there be good harvest, if the rakshasas win, there is a danger that pestilence may afflict men or cattle, and if the deotás win, though there may be famine, they will avert pestilence. A deota never speaks of himself but only of the other deotás who fought with him. If he says that a certain deota left his bell on the field, it is believed that his gur will soon die; if he says a musical instrument was left, that the deotás's Turi (musician) will die; or if a key was left, that the deotás's bhandari or a kárdr will die. If Kot Ishwar throw dust towards a rakhsasa and retire from the field, there may be famine or some part of Kumhárain will be encroached upon or given to another State. There is a pond at Bhonda Bil and a Brahman of Bashahr puts up two hedges—one on the side believed to be the deotás' side and another on that believed to be the rakshasas' side. If the hedge on the deotás' side falls down, they are believed to have suffered defeat, but if the rakshasas' hedge falls, they are worsted. No one but Maon Nag of Suket plunges into the pond, and by the flash of his plunge the other deotás bathe in the water sprayed on its banks. If defeated, the deota says he is chut chipat ('impure') and then a Balti púja is held on an auspicious day. On the Shankránt days Brahmans do púja, reciting mantras and offering dhúp dip. These mantras are not found in any Veda, but are eulogies of those concerned in the Mahabhárat was. They are called karasni. The bell is rung and dhúp dip is given in a dhurna or karach.

Certain Brahmans are believed to know Sabar-bidia or magic lore. Their books are written in a character something like Tánkri, but the language is different and very quaint. Sabar-bidia is only known to a few Brahmans, and they do not readily disclose its secrets.

Malendu has no connection with any other deota save Kot Ishwar, and it is believed that at the time of pestilence or famine he comes out at night in the form of a torch or light and tours through his dominions. The image of this deota is of asht-dhát (eight metals), and is seated on a pujri or small four-sided bed, but it has no singhásan. The deota has a jágir, and one of his kárdrás, called mashaña, is appointed by the State. A mashaña is changed when necessary by the State. His gur is also called a ghanitla and his kárdrás are commonly called mahás.

Malendu has two bhors, Jhatak and Lata. Jhatak is of an uch or superior, while Lata is of a ních or low caste. Jhatak lived at Úrshu, a place also called Jhaila; so he is also called Jhaila.

1 The Mahabhárat praisos a song called 'Karasni'.
2 (1) Tantar; (2) Mante; (3) Jadu.
The god Mul Padoi. 457

at Ushnu. 1

Some say that Koṭ Ishwar gave Jhatak as wasir to Malendu. On one occasion Lata left Malendu and fled to Koṭ Ishwar, but on Malendu's complaint Koṭ Ishwar restored him to his master who took him back to Malendu.

Banka is another bhor who lives at Shelag. Kolis generally worship him, and he drives away ghosts etc. He was originally a devil in a forest, but was subdued by Malendu.

The Marechh deota of Bhareog is the family god of the Sheon pargana people, and a small jagir is held by him of the State.

Paochi, a Brahman village, in pargana Chebishi, has a temple to Shawan Marechh. His image was brought from Shawan, a village in Shângri, and set up here.

Concerning Marechh of Kirti two traditions are current. One is that his image was brought by the villagers of Kirti from a place known as Marni, situated on the borders of the Kumbharsain and Kanherti States, and that it was called Marich after the name of that village. The other is that originally the worship of this deota consisted in burning the hair of the dead in ghî, whence he was called Malichh or 'dirty', and that name has been corrupted into Marichh.

THE CULT OF MUL PADOI.

But beside these families there are several independent deotás. Examples of these are Mul Padoi, who has temples at several villages in the States of Bhajji, Shângri and Kumbharsain. He is one of the biggest deotás in the Simla Hills, and appeared from a cave called Chunjar Malâna near Muthiâna 1500 years ago. About that time a prince named Dewa Singh 2 had come from Sirmûr, as he had quarreled with his brothers, and accompanied by a few of his kâpûârs or officials took refuge in that cave. He also had with him his family god, now called Narolia. While he was dwelling in the cave, Padoi, who was also called Mul, used to play musical instruments and then cry out, chutuk, paran, 'I shall fall, I shall fall'. One day the prince replied that if the god wished to fall, he could do so, and lo! the image called Mul fell down before him. Mul

1 He became Malendu's wasir soon after he came to Malundi and his dwelling is a thanb, a long log of wood which stands before the temple. The wasir's function is to drive away evil spirits (bhût, pret and chureil), if they possess anything or man. He also protects people under Malendu's orders from visitations of any chai chidar, plague, famine etc. Lata was originally a Koli by caste who lived at Kalmu village. He died under the influence of some evil spirit and became a ghost. As he troubled the Kolis of Kalmu and Sholag, they complained to the deota, who accompanied by Jhatak visited the place and caught him. At first Lata would not come to terms, but deota Malendu promised him his protection, and that he should be worshipped by the Kolis and a ret (leaf) be given him on the four shankrântis (Bisuk, Behâli, Dewali and Mâgh), and that he should be presented regularly with dhip dip after he had himself received it, and that Kolis should sacrifice ewas (ãhêr) to him. Lata accepted these terms and swore to trouble the people no more, but he explained that he could not sit still, and so Malendu erected the wooden log in front of his temple, and in it Lata is doubtless ever moving.

2 Dewa Singh was also the name of one of his descendants who held Koṭi State in Kûndru.
The servants of Mul.

wished him to accept a kingdom, but he said that he was a vagrant prince who had no country to rule over. Thereupon a Bāri (mason) from Kōṭi in Kandra pargana came and told the prince that he had led him to that cave, and he sought him to follow him to a State which had no chief. The prince replied that he could not accept its chiefship until the rest of its people came and acknowledged him as their Rājā. So the mason returned to Kandra and brought back with him the leading men of that tract and they led the prince to Kōṭi. There he built a temple for the deota and a palace for himself. Tradition says that the palace had 18 gates and occupied more than 4 acres of land. Its remains are still to be seen near the temple. Some say that the Rājā placed the deota Narolia along with Mul Padoi in the temple, which stood in the middle of the palace. The deota Narolia never comes out in public except to appear before the Rānā of Kumbhārsain, if he visits him, or before the descendants of the mason who led the prince to that country. The deota never comes out beyond the Kōṭi bāsa (dwelling-house) to accept his dues (kharen), which consist of a small quantity of grain. A few generations later it befell that a Thākur of Kōṭi had four sons who quarrelled about the partition of the State. One son established himself first in Kulu and then at Kangal (now in Shāngri): the second went to Thāru in Bhajji State; and the third settled at Malag, now in Bhajji, while the Tikka or eldest, as was his right, lived at Kōṭi.

It is said that Rājā Mān Singh of Kulu took Kangal fort and also overran Kōṭi, but others say that Kumbhārsain took it. Kōṭi appears, however, to have been reconstituted as a State soon after the disruption of Rajāna, and the latter State is only remembered in connection with Mul deota's story and the songs (dars) sung in his honour in Bhajji.

On the other hand, some people say that in the Chunjar Malāna cave four images fell, while others think that there are four Muls in as many temples. Their names are Mul, Shir, Sadrel and Thathlu and their temples are at Kōṭi, Padoi and Kangal in the Sinla Hills and at Saran in Sūket. But doubtless the devotees of Mul deota multiplied the Mul, carrying his images with them and building temples to him wherever they went. Wherever there is a temple to Mul he is now generally called Padoi. His principal temple is at Padoa in Bhajji, on the east bank of the Sutlej, but Kōṭi is his Jethu-Sthān or Senior Place. Shanglu and Rirku are his bhōps or ministers.

Rirku was a deota at Padoi who in the spirit came flying to Mul at Kōṭi. He ate a leaf given him by Mul and accepted him as his master. He now drives away bhūt-pret when commanded by Mul. The same tale is told of Shanglu.

Thathlu deota is the wazir to the Mul of Kōṭi, and when a rupee is presented to him 2 annas are given to Thathlu. Thathlu's temple is at Thatha in Kumbhārsain and in it his image is kept, but people

1 The parent State appears to have been known as Rajāna. Its capital was at Kōṭi, and it split up into four States, Kōṭi, Kangal, Thāru and Malag. The sāṁindāras of Thathlu village claim to be descendants from the Sīmūr prince, though they have now sunk to Kanet status. The Mīns of Gheti and Karioṭ in pargana Cheblishi are descendants of the ex-Thākur of Kangal.
believe that Thathlu is always with Mul, his elder spirit, and only comes back to his own temple when invoked or to take dhup dip. Thathlu calls Mul his dādu (elder). Mul goes to Sumi every year at the Dasahra, and his spirit also goes to Shuli to bathe. Padoi and Dharogra in Bhajji have large temples to Mul, and there is a big temple at Parol in Shāngri also. Mul Padoi is very useful if his help is asked in hunting and shooting.

There are also two temples to Padoi in Chebishi pargana at Shaila and Gheti.

When the Thākur of Kangal fled or died his fort was burned by the Rāja of Kulu, and his descendants came to Kumbārsain. This happened in the time of Rānā Rām Singh, who gave them Gheti village in jāgīr. The Koli fort was taken by them and they held it for about 20 generations. They had brought with them to Gheti silver and copper images of Mul, and these are kept in the Gheti temple to this day. Other descendants of the Thākur settled in village Kariot. The Gheti people too were carrying their family god to Kariot, but on the road they came to Shaila. Nāg deota used to be the god of the Shaila people, but a leper in that village laid himself on the path and begged Padoi to cure him. Padoi said that if he cured him, he must disown the Nāg deota who was living in the village. The leper promised to do so and was cured. The people thus convinced of Padoi's superiority over the Nāg sent the latter off to Dhali village where the people still worship him, but his temple at Shaila was taken over by Padoi and he lives there to this day.

Only a couple of years ago a devotee of Padoi went to Theog and there built him a temple. It is said that with the prince from Sirmūr came a Brahman, a Kanet named Gosaon and a Turi (musician) whose descendants are to be found in Kumbārsain, Bhajji and Shāngri.

**Some Minor Cults of the Simla Hills.**

*The cult of the deota Magneshwar Mauni of Mānnun.*

At a village called Jalandhar in Kulu lived a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a girl when she was 12 years old. She, though a virgin, gave birth to twin serpents, but kept it secret and concealed her serpent sons in an earthen pot, and fed them on milk. One day when she went out for a stroll she asked her mother not to touch her dolls which were in the house, but unfortunately her mother desiring to see her child's beloved dolls uncovered the pot and to her dismay the two serpents raised their hoods. Thinking the girl must be a witch she threw burning ashes on them and killed one of them, but the other escaped to a ghara or pot full of milk and though burnt turned into an image. Meanwhile the virgin mother returned and finding her loving sons so cruelly done by, she cut her throat and died on the spot. Her father came in to churn the milk and in doing so broke the ghara in which, to his surprise, he found the image which the living serpent had become. Distressed at his daughter's suicide he left his home taking the image, found in the milk, in his turban and roamed from land to land. At last he

1Another version says three.
reached Sirmur whose Rájá had no son. He treated the Brahman kindly and on his asking the Rájá to give him his first-born son, if by the power of his image he had children, he accepted the condition, and by the grace of the image was blessed with two sons, the elder of whom was made over to the Brahman together with a jágír which consisted of the parganás of Rajána, Mathiána, Shilli, Sheol and Chadará now in Phágú tahsil in Keonthal. It was called Rajána and its old Thákurs have a history of their own. The family ruled for several generations. Hither the Brahman brought the Rájá’s elder son and settled him at Rajána village, commonly called Mul Rajána, in Shilli pargana. The Brahman settled at Mánun, a village to the north-west of Rajána where another deôta was oppressing the people, until the Brahman revealed his miraculous image and people began to worship Magneshwar as a greater deôta. He killed the oppressor and the people burned all his property, certain Máwis who resisted being cruelly put to death by the devotees of the new deôta. Deori Dhár village was set on fire and the people burnt alive in it. Later on when the Giáru family of the Kumbhársain chiefs had established themselves in the country the deôta helped the Thákur of Kumbhársain to gain a victory over the Sirmur Rájá. The Kumbhársain State gave a jágír now worth Rs. 166 to the Magneshwar deôta of Mánun. He has a large temple and the chief among his kárdárs is the bhandárs who keeps the jágír accounts. Sáddá barát (alms) are given to sádhús, faqírs and Brahmanas. He is worshipped daily morning and evening by his pujárís. A mela is held annually at Mánun on the 17th or 18th Baisákhi and another at the Diwáli by night. Every third year another mela called the Shiláru Pújá is held. A big pújá mela is performed every 7th or 8th year and a still bigger one called Shánt every 30 years. When a new Rána ascends the godáí the deôta tours the country belonging to him. This is called rajaoli játra. The Nagarkoția or Dum deôta of Sharmalla was on friendly terms with this deôta, but they quarrelled while dancing at Shamokhar as related above on page 451.

The cult of the deôta Melan or Chatur Mukh in Kotgarh.

This deôta is believed to be one of the most powerful gods in these hills. He is the family god of the Kot Khai and Kanehti chiefs and of the Thákur of Karangla. More than 3000 years ago when there were no Rájás or Ránás in the country (excepting perhaps Banasur in Bashahr) the people obeyed the deôtás as spiritual lords of the land, while mawannás held parts of the country. Deôta Kána was supreme in Kotgarh and the Kanehti Shadhoch country. As he had only one eye he was called kána. He delighted in human sacrifice and every month on the shankrántí day a man or woman was sacrificed to him as a boli. Each family supplied a victim in turn. Legend says that there was a woman who had five daughters, four of whom had, in turn been

2Another account says: The Brahman gave him three grains of rice and told him that by the deôta a son should be born to him. The Rájá, divided the rice among his three Ránás, and on his return after a year the Brahman found that three sons had been born to them. He demanded the eldest from the Rájá as his reward, and brought the boy with him to Manni.
devoured by Kána Deo and the turn of the fifth was fixed for the shankránt. A contemporary god called Khachli Nág dwelt in a forest called Jarol near a pond in Kanehti below Sidhpur (on the Hindustán-Tibet road to Kotgarh). The mother went to him complaining that Kána deota had devoured hundreds of human beings and that her four daughters had already been eaten and the fate of the fifth was sealed. She implored the Nág to save her daughter and he having compassion on her said that when Kána Deo’s men came to take the girl for the bali she should look towards the Nág and think of him. The woman returned home and when Kána Deo’s men came for the girl she did as she had been told. At that instant a black cloud appeared over the Jarol forest, and spread over Melan village and Kána Deo's temple with lightning and thunder. There was heavy rain, the wind howled and a storm of iron hail destroyed both temple and village, but their remains are still to be seen on the spot. Large stones joined with iron nails are said to be found where the temple stood, and images of various shapes are also found in the Nála. There now remained no other deota in this part of the country and people were wondering how they would live without the help of any god. They could hold no fair without a god riding in his rath, so they took counsel together and decided that Nág deota of Khachli should be the only god of the country. They chose his abode in the forest and begged him to accept them as his subjects, promising that they would carry him to Melan and build him a new temple; that on mela days he should ride in a rath, be carried from place to place and worshipped as he pleased. But as Nág deota was a pious spirit his ascetic habits forbade pomp and pageantry so he declined to be chosen god of the country, but said that he was a hermit who loved solitude, and that if the people were in earnest in wishing for a god they should seek one at Kharán (a village in pargana Baghi-Mastgarh, now in Bashair) where three brother deotas had a single temple. He advised them to beg these deotas to agree to be their lords and promised that he would help them with his influence.

The Kharán deotas came in their raths for a mela at Duddháli (in pargana Jao, now in Kumhársain) and the Shadboch people proceeded to obtain a deota as king over their country. While the three Kharán brothers were dancing in their raths they prayed in their hearts that whichever chose to be their god might turn his rath as lightly as a flower, while the other raths should become too heavy to move. They vowed that the one who accepted their offer should be treated like a king, that of silk should be his garments, of silver his musical instruments, that no sheep or she-goats should be given him but only he-goats, and that his domain should spread far and wide from Bhaira near the Sutlej to Kupar above Jubbáli. The custom is still that no sheep or she-goat is sacrificed before Chatur Mukh deota and no cotton cloth is used. Their prayer was accepted by the second brother who was called Chatur Mukh (four-faced). The name of the eldest brother is Jeshar and of the youngest Ieshar. When Chatur Mukh caused his rath to be as light as a lotus flower, eighteen men volunteered to carry it away from the mela and dancing bore it home on their shoulders. The Kharán and Jao people finding that Chatur
Mukh was stolen from them by the Shadhoche people pursued them, shooting arrows and brandishing *dangras*. The brave eighteen halted on a plain behind Jao village where there was a fight, in which Kachhī Nāg mysteriously helped them and Chatur Mukh by his miraculous power turned the pursuers' arrows against their own breasts and their *dangras* flew to their own heads until hundreds of headless trunks lay on the plain while not one of the Shadhochas was killed. The Shadhoche people then carried the *rath* in triumph first to Shathila village (in Kotgarh) choosing a place in the centre of the country so that the god might not be forcibly carried off by the Kharān and Jao people. Thence the *deota* was taken to Sakundi village, in Kotgarh, but the *deota* did not choose to live there either and bade the people to build him a temple at Melan nearly a furlong from the ruined temple of Kāna Deo towards Kotgarh. This was gladly done by the people and Chatur Mukh began to reside there.

The people say that nearly 150 years ago Chatur Mukh went to Kidār Nāth on a *jātra* (pilgrimage); and when "returning home he visited Mahāsū *deota* at Nol, a village in Kiran (once in Sirmūr), as his guest. But one of Mahāsū's attendant *deotās* troubled Chatur Mukh in the temple at Nol and frightened his men so that they could not sleep all night. This displeased Chatur Mukh and he left the temple at daybreak much annoyed at his treatment. He had scarcely gone a few steps when he saw a man ploughing in a field and by a miracle made him turn towards the temple and ascend it with his plough and bullocks. Mahāsū *deota* asked Chatur Mukh why he manifested such a miracle and Chatur Mukh answered that it was a return for his last night's treatment; that he, as a guest, had halted at the temple to sleep, but he and his force (*lashkar*) had not been able to close their eyes the whole night. Chatur Mukh threatened that by his power the man, plough and bullocks should stick for ever to the walls of the temple. Mahāsū was dismayed and fell on his knees to beg for pardon. Chatur Mukh demanded the surrender of Mahāsū's devil attendant and he was compelled to hand him over. This devil's name is Shirpāl.† He was brought as a captive by Chatur Mukh to Melan and after a time, when he had assured his master that he would behave well, he was forgiven and made Chatur Mukh's *mastr*, as he still is, at Melan. Shirpāl ministers in the temple and all religious disputes are decided by him, e.g. if anyone is outcasted or any other case of *chus* arises, his decision is accepted and men are re-admitted into caste as he decrees. Some other minor *deotās* are also subordinate to Chatur Mukh, the chief among them being: — (1) Benu, (2) Janeru, (3) Khoru, (4) Merelu and (5) Basara.

These Deos are commonly called his *bhors* (servants). The people cannot tell anything about their origin, but they are generally believed to be rākshasas who oppressed the people in this country until Chatur Mukh subdued them and made them his servants. These *bhors* Deos are his attendants and work as watchmen (chʌkʰidār) at the temple gate. Benu is said to have come from Bena in Kulu. He was at

† *Shir* means stairs and *pad* means watch: hence *shirpad* means a servant at the gate.
first a devil. When it is believed that a ghost has appeared in any house or taken possession of anything or any one Deo Benu turns him out. Jñaneru came from Paljara in Bashahr. He too is said to have been a devil but Chatur Mukh reformed him. His function is to protect women in pregnancy and child-birth, also cows etc. For this service he is given a loaf after a birth. Khoru appeared from Khoru Kiar in Kumharsain. He too was originally a devil and when Rājā Māthi Prakāsh of Sirnúr held his court at Khoru and all the hill chiefs attended it this devil oppressed the people, until Chatur Mukh made him captive and appointed him his chaunkidār at Melan temple. Merelu came out of a marghāt (crematorium). He too is looked upon as a jamdāl or rākṣasā. He had frightened the people at Sainja in Kotgarh, but was captured and made a chaunkidār at Melan. Basara Deo is said to have come from Bashahr State, and some say that he was a subordinate Deo of Basar Dēota at Gaoro and troubled his master, so Basara handed him over to Chatur Mukh, but others say that Powari, wazir of Bashahr, invoked Chatur Mukh’s aid as he was distressed by the devil Basara, and Shirpāl, Chatur Mukh’s wazir, shut Basara up in a tokā.1 Thus shut up he was carried to Melan and there released and appointed a chaunkidār. This Deo helps Benu Deo in turning out ghosts (bhút, pret, or chattel). To Basara Deo were given Mangshu and Shawat villages where only Kolis worship him. The people of Kirti village in Kotgarh worship Marechh Dēota. Less than 100 years ago Dēota Chatur Mukh came to dance in a kirtijūbar and Marechh Dēota opposed him, but Chatur Mukh prevailed and was about to kill him when Tiru, a Brahman of Kirti village, cut off his own arm and sprinkled the blood upon Chatur Mukh who retired to avoid the sin of brahm-haliya (murder of a Brahman). Chatur Mukh feeling himself polluted by a Brahman’s blood gave Marechh Dēota the villages of Bhanana, Kirti and Shawat and then went to bathe at Kidār Nāth to get purified. Every 12th year Chatur Mukh tours in his dominions and every descendent of the 18 men who brought him from Dudhbali accompanies him. They are called the 9 Kuin and 9 Kashi. Kuin means originally people of respectable families and Kashi means ‘those who swore’ as the 9 Kuin had taken with them 9 men who swore to help them to carry Chatur Mukh from Dudhbali. When the Dēota returns from his tour these 18 families are each given a pagri as a viddāgi or parting gift and all the people respect them. An annual mela is held at Dudhbali to which Chatur Mukh goes to meet his two Kharān brothers. A big Diwāli mela is also held at Melan every 3rd year. Every year Chatur Mukh goes to the Dhadu mela in Kotgarh, and he goes to tour in the Shadhoch pargana of Kanchti in Sāwan. The old pujāris of Kūna dēota were killed by lightning or drowned with him and when Chatur Mukh settled at Melan, the Kharān pujāris also settled there and they worship him daily, morning and evening. His favourite jātra is to Kidār Nāth and this he performs every 50 or 60 years. He does not approve of the bhundā sacrifice, though every 12th year his brothers in Kharān hold one, at which a man is sent down a long rope off which he some-

1 This utensil is still kept at Melan.
times falls and is killed. Chatur Mukh however goes to see the bhunda at Kharan though he does not allow one at Melan. There is a Balti fair at Melan every 3rd year. The deota's image is of brass and silver. When he returns from Kidar Nath a diapan jag mela is held. People believe that Chatur Mukh is away from his temple in Magh every year for 15 days, and that he goes to bathe at Kidar Nath with his attendants. They say that the spirits fly to Kidar Nath and all work is stopped in those days. His bhandar (store-house) is also closed and his deota or gur (through whom he speaks) does not appear in public or perform kinglya. The people believe that Chatur Mukh returns on the 15th of Magh and then his temple is opened amid rejoicings. Some say that there is a place in Bashahr called Bhandi Bil where the hill rakshas and devils assemble every year early in Magh, and Chatur Mukh with other hill deotas goes to fight with them and returns after 15 days. People also say that Chatur Mukh has 18 treasures hidden in caves in forests, but only three of them are known. The treasures were removed from the temple when the Gurkhas invaded the country. One contains utensils, another musical instruments and the third gold and silver images. The remaining 15 are said to be in caves underground. One was once robbed of some images. The deota holds a large jagir from the Bashahr, Kumharasain, Kot Khai and Kanehti chiefs, as well as one from Government worth Rs. 80. Kumharasain has given him a jagir of Rs. 11 and Kanehti one of Rs. 22. The three Kharan brothers once held certain parganas in jagir, pargana Raik belonging to Jeshar, pargana Jao to Chatur Mukh, and pargana Samat to Ishwar, but they have been resumed. Nearly 150 years ago Melan temple was accidentally burnt down and when a Sirmur Rani of Bashahr, who was touring in her jagir, came to Melan the deota asked her to build him a new temple. She besought him to vouchsafe her a miracle, and it is said that his rath moved itself to her tent without human aid, so she then built the present temple at Melan, some 30 years before the Gurkha invasion. The devotees of other deotas jest at Chatur Mukh's powers. Till some 7 generations ago the Rana of Kot Khai lived there and then transferred their residence to Kotgarh. When at Kotgarh the Tikas of one of the Ranas fell seriously ill and the people prayed Chatur Mukh to restore him. Chatur Mukh declared he would do so, but, even as the gur was saying that the Tikas would soon recover, news of his death was received. Thereupon one Jhangri killed the gur with his dangra, but the Rana was displeased with him and the family of the murderer is still refused admission to the palace. Some say that the blow of the dangra was not fatal and that the gur was carried by a Koli of Batari to Kanehti where he recovered. Chatur Mukh has given the Kanehti men the privilege of carrying him in front when riding in his rath while the Kotgarh men hold it behind. Another mark of honour is that when Chatur Mukh sits his face is always kept towards Kanehti. He is placed in the same position at his temple. Chatur Mukh does not like ghosts to enter his dominion and when any complaint is made of such an entry he himself with his

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2 His chief kardars are the gur, bhandari, khasachi and dargha of accounts: four of them being from Kotgarh and two from Kanehti. All business is transacted by a panchayat.
bhota visits the place and captures the ghost. If the ghost enters any articles such as an utensil, etc. it is confiscated and brought to his temple. Chatur Mukh is a disciple of Khachli Nág who has the dignity of being his guru or spiritual master. Deota Kepu at Kepu in Kotgarh is Mahádeo and Chatur Mukh considers him as his second guru. Dúm deota at Pamrai in Kotgarh, a derivative of Dúm of Gathán in Keonthál, is considered subordinate to Chatur Mukh and has a separate temple at a distance. Marechh deota of Kirti and Mahádeo of Kepu can accept a cloth spread over the dead, but Chatur Mukh and Dúm cannot do so. What became of Kána deota after the deluge at Melan cannot be ascertained, but a story believed by some is that he took shelter in a small cistern in Sawári Khád. A woman long after the deluge tried to measure the depth of the cistern with a stick and Kána Deo’s image stuck to it, so she carried it to her house and when his presence was known Chatur Mukh shut him up in a house at Batari village. Some say that the woman kept the image of Kána in a box and when she opened she was surprised by snakes and wasps that came out of it. The box is buried for ever.

According to another account there are two traditions as to this name. According to one, Chatur Mukh means four or five mouths, the original idol having had, according to this story, four faces; this idol is kept in the temple treasury, and nobody is allowed to see it, a one-faced image, which can be seen and worshipped by the people being placed in the temple instead. The other tradition is that the deota is called Chhatar Mukh as being the mouth of the Rája of Kot Khái (chhatar meaning Rája, i.e. one who has a chhatar (umbrella) over his head), and the name would thus signify that whatever is ordered by this deota is regarded as the Rája’s own command.

The cult of Jíti Dánón (Mahálog State).

Jíti Rám, a Kanét of Sherla village, was as a child carried off by his brother’s wife to Dún, a low-lying village which is surrounded by hills. When he grew bigger he was employed in grazing cattle, and was so simple that he believed his own village to be the whole world. Once some of his cattle went to Játáon village while grazing, and on his following them he saw, to his great surprise, a new world. On his return he told his brother’s wife and she scornfully replied: ‘You are merely a grazer of Dún, and so foolish as not to know yet that the world is not limited to the two villages you have seen. On hearing this he left Dún for Játáon, telling her that she would have no butter, milk etc. until she worshipped him. He remained at Játáon and worshipped God all his life. After his death he was worshipped by the people as a deota or dánón and since then he has been called Jíti Dánón. Every man in the State offers him a goat and 1½ sars (khám) of ghí when his cattle calve, and it is believed that any one who does not make this offering will get little milk from his cattle.

The cult of Deo Ghurka (Mahálog State).

Ghurka, who fought bravely in the Mahábhárata war, was the
son of Bhīm (one of the Pándos) by a Rākhshani, named Harimba. On his death a temple was built to him in Gharshi, a village on the Ghurka Dháí (hill). Another dháí opposite Ghurka dháí is called Harimba, after the name of Ghurka’s mother and a village of the same name.

Baindra of Devri.

A man named Baindra came to this place from Náhan in Sirmúr, and at first he dwelt at a place in the Kalála Forest, called Chortha. One day a woman of the Rerh tribe while grazing her cattle passed by the spot where Baindra was sleeping and awakened him by striking him with a stick. Baindra woke in a rage and cursed her, saying: ‘Be a deodáí tree’: whereupon she was at once transformed into a deodáí, and this tree, which stands near the temple of Baindra at Chortha, is still worshipped. After Baindra’s death he was worshipped as a deoda and temples built to him at Chortha and Devri.

Chambi of Bareon.

A man (whose name is not known) was born at a place called Chambi in the Balsan State. He displayed miracles, and in the last stage of his life moved from Chambi to Bareon. After his death an image of him was made, and it has been worshipped ever since. A temple was also constructed at Chambi, his birth place.

Nandhrári of Pujárli.

The present site of Nandhrári village was in old times a piece of waste land, called Nandhrári, where a fish lived in a fountain. This fish vomited up an image of a goddess, which was named Nandhrári after the place, and was brought to Pujárli where a temple was built for it. Another temple was erected at the fountain in Nandhrári.

The deoda Baneshwar of Pujárli.

Pujárli is a village in the Ubdesh pargana of Kumbársain and its deota is said to be very ancient. Some say that in the early times of the mawánic three máwis lived to the south of Bagli, at Kero, Gahleo and Nali. The Kero máwís’s fort lay in the modern Kanehti and the Gahleo máwís’ in Kót Khái, while the Nali máwís had theirs at Mal, now in Kumbársain, below Hátbu and close to Bagli.1 The máwís of Gahleo brought this deota from Bala Hat in Garhwál and built him a temple at Chela, a village in Kót Khái, as he was the family deota of all three máwís.2 But they were nearly all killed by Sirmúr and their houses burnt, so the surviving Gahleo máwís concealed the deota in a cave in the cliffs above Chela. Thence his voice would be heard, with the sound

1 The máwís were so wealthy that one used to spread his barley to dry on a carpet, another could cover a carpet with coin, and the third had a gold chain hung from his house to the temple. Two of the máwís appear to have been named Nalo and Gahlo. 2 His family was called Mola, but only one house of it survives. The present Brahmanas of Pujárli hail from Tikargarh in Baghaur. The pujáras of Pujárli appear to be called Kacheri (by got or family) and they founded Kacheri, a village near Kumbársain.
of bells and the scent of dhūp, so a Brahman of Pujārīli went to the eave and brought the deotā to a temple at Pujārīli. He is regarded as their family deotā by the people of Pujārīli, Nagan, Karāli and Banal. As he is dūdāhārī goats are not sacrificed to him. When the spirit of the deotā enters (chirna) his gun the deotā says through him:—Nālwa, Gahiwa! na ãp cchhara, na an cchhara. 'Nahlo, Gaho! You spared neither yourselves nor me!'—because the mānu had involved him in their own ruin.

The following are the principal deotas of the Koṭī State. It will be noticed that though all are described as Deo, yet they are of very diverse origins:—

(1) Klainū Deo.—The name Klainū is from 'Kulā-fa-ānū' meaning 'brought from Kulu.' In Kulu the god is called Jamnū from the Sanskrit Jamadagnī. Apparently the deity was a saint called Dūdāhārī, Sanskr., Dudāhārī, 'vegetarian.' Being a saint he never accepts animal sacrifice. His temple is near Kiār on a ridge called Deodhārī.

(2) Sīp Deo (probably from Shiva) came with the ancestors of the present Rānī of Koṭī from Sidhāpur in Kāngra. His temple is on a small ridge near Mul Koṭī. He is worshiped by the people of Shuhawli and Dhurthī parganas in Koṭī, but they believe that he is Nṛsingha Vishnu or Nārsingh.

(3) Karāli Deo is also called the Deo Junga because he was brought from Junga. He too is Dūdāhārī. His temple in the Karāli village in Koṭī territory.

(4) Gambhir Deo, the legend of whose origin goes thus:—Dhūr Chand and Gambhir Chand were two sons of Thākār Jaiḥūr Chand of Koṭī, the former by his Kumbhārsain and the latter by his Koṭgarh Rānī. They were born on one day, the former in the morning and the latter in the evening. Though by different mothers, they were very fond of each other. Gambhir Chand was anxious to get Chānāri village just opposite Koṭī, as his jāgīr, but as it was already held by Brahmins in return for service as State cooks and gate-keepers his wish could not be gratified. In his disappointment Gambhir Chand resolved to commit suicide, and so he rode his pony to a place about a furlong from the palace and there holding up his pigtail with his left hand, and taking a sharp sword in his right, he cut off his head with one blow. His head fell to the ground and rolled down the slope about 60 yards from the body. It is said that the suicide's spirit began to vex his elder brother Dhūr Chand, and was only propitiated by the erection of a large temple at Chānāri to which local Brahmins were appointed pujāris and dīwāns. Two small temples were also built, one at the spot where the body fell, the other where the head fell, and every year during the Daschhra a sheep is sacrificed at each.

(5) Dānādi Deo, whose legend is thus described: Dānādi and Gondhi were two brothers, Kanets by caste, living in Pagog, a village in Koṭī. Dānādi devoted much time to the worship of Klainū, so much so that he used to bring milk every day from Pagog to Deodhārī, a distance of about 6 miles. Klainū Deo was so pleased with him that
he accepted him as a deity on his death. So Dhándi became a deity, and his temples are at Pagog and Kambáli in Kótí. The potters of these villages became his pujaśris and dhváns, and are now looked upon as respected Kanets.

(6) Bhát Deo.—The legend goes thus:—There was a Brahman living with his wife in Badaih village in Kótí State. He earnestly besought a boon from villagers, but was refused. Thereupon both he and his wife committed suicide and, as ghosts, began to terrify the villagers who at last accepted the man as a deity. Thus Bhát, meaning a Brahman, has become the deity of Badaih village.

(7) Korgan Deo.—The temple of this deity is at Chhabalri village in Kótí State. The history is as follows:—There was a Rájpút in Sirmúr State, who fell in love with a woman. The samvindárs forbade him to visit her, but he paid no heed. At last he was killed together with his groom, a man called Mashádi, and his spirit began to trouble the villagers. He was only propitiated when the villagers took him as their deity. It so happened that the Tika of Kótí went on a trip to Sirmúr, and the deity was much pleased with him, and told him that he would accompany him to Kótí. Thus he was brought to Kótí and a temple was erected for him in the Chhabalri village.

(8) Nnál Deo.—This deity was brought by Kogi parergana people who are immigrants from Suket State. His temple is at Kogi village under Nándera, and there is also a small temple at Nándera, which means 'the temple of Nnál'. It is said that this deity is not on good terms with Sf déity, so it never goes anywhere beyond the Kogi parergana.

(9) Dhánú Deo is a deity of the Keonthal State, and was brought with them by the people of Chhabrog parergana, originally natives of Keonthal. His temple is at Chhabrog village in Kótí State as well as in Keonthal.

(10) Shyáni Deo.—His temple is at Kyáli village in Kalálthi parergana of Kótí State. He is supposed to be a cook residing with all of the aforesaid nine deities. ¹

Bághhal State boasts three Deos, two of whom are Shiva, while a third is the spirit of a sonless man. They are:—

(1) Bára Deo, who has a temple on the Bari dhár, a ridge running in a north-westerly direction from Bahádurpur fort in Biláspur to the junction of the Gámbrar and Jol streama. The temple is on the highest point of the ridge, 5,789 feet above the sea level. A fair is held on the 1st Asáfí. The god is properly Shiva, but as is usual he is generally called by the name of his place of worship.

(2) Har Sang Deo, whose home is at the highest point of the Har Sang dhár, which runs northwards to the Sutlej on the boundary of Bághhal and Bhajji States. This god's fair takes place on the 1st Sáwan. He too is Shiva.

¹ Simla Hill States Gazeteer, Kótí, pp. 8-9.
Minor gods in the Simla Hills.

(8) Madhor Deo.—His temple is at the village of Mangu, where a fair is held on 1st Baisákh. This deity was originally a sonless man, a class of person whose spirit the hillman often considers it advisable to conciliate by worship after death. Such a spirit sometimes, as in the present case, rises to the position of a god in course of time. 1

In the Lower Simla Hills Deo Súr is a greater than Nársingh Bhr—there the women's god as he is in Kángra. Indeed Nársingh Bhr is said to be his servant. He is universally accepted as the deity of the women of the lower hills. A large fair is held in his honour in the month of Ješt at Sairai in Patíaála on the Simla-Subáthu road, to which women gather from far and wide. The ritual performed consists of the women sitting in rows while a drum is beaten. During the drumming they sway their heads about from side to side, and when it stops they sit still. This is evidently a representation of the tremors caused by the entering in of the spirit of the god, such as takes place at the busthak of Nársingh (sec Kángra Gazetteer). A similar fair on a larger scale, which lasts eight or nine days, is held at Johariji, also in Patíaála, in November. It is supposed that any woman who has become a devotee of Súr and fails to attend one of these fairs will be visited with misfortune. Like Dewašt Siddh, Súr is worshipped on the first Sunday of the month. 2

Another Biju, not to be confounded with Biju or Bijat, the lightning god, is a deola in Kutía and its neighbourhood. Ajái Pát, a Rájá of Kótguru, had a son named Bijál Pát who showed preternatural wisdom in infancy and power to interpret oracles. He succeeded to his father's kingdom but turned faqir, and one day reached Deothal on the Gambhar river, 4 miles from Subáthu. There he vanquished Shri Gul and took possession of his temple. Several smaller temples in his honour have been built of stones from Deothal at various villages. 3

As instance of deotas migrating is furnished by the following legend:—The Rájá 24th in descent from Rám Pál of Kothiá in Kángra had five sons and a daughter. His eldest son succeeded him then, but the other four and his daughter crossed the Sutlej into Mal Bhajji in the Nanti valley below Maháasu. Chiru and Chand founded the dynasties of Bhajji and Koši, but the third son, Shogu, became a deolv at Fagu, 4 while the daughter became the goddess, of Dharch in Keonthal.

But besides these local godlings, there are certain deities of the first rank which merit a fuller description than it has been found possible to obtain. These are the Lesser Káli and the Younger Lonkra.

The difference between the Bhr and the Chhoti Káli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4.

The Bhr Káli haunts the hills. She is worshipped with sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bághal, p. 6.
2 Jó, Biláspur, p. 10, and Baghát, p. 7.
3 Kathá, p. 8; Bhaghat, p. 7.
4 The fourth, Bhogu, married a Kanet girl and begat the Fagína Kanets, Ío., Koši, p. 6.
Spirits in the Hills.

Yáma, the god of death, is supposed to live in rivers. He is propitiated by making an image of gold according to one's means. This is worshipped and then given to a Brahman.

Besides the gods, spirits of various kinds are believed in and propitiated.

Such are the bhúts or ghosts, parts, especially the jal-partis, or water-sprites, also called jal-mátris, the ohhidras and banshíra.

The bhúlt is the ghost of the cremating ground.

Pret is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the deceased: rishet is its name from the end of that year to the fourth.

Jal-partis are conceived of as female forms, some benevolent, others malevolent. To propitiate the former a sacrifice is required.

The ohhidra is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard seed.

The banshíra haunts old buildings, valleys and peaks. It is propitiated by sacrifices of goats, or, in some places, by offerings of dust or gravel.

In lieu of sacrifice a púja, called kunhain, is offered to Káli and to parts or mátris. A tract of hill or forest is set apart as the place of their worship, and even if the rest of the forest is cut down the part consecrated to the goddess or spirit is preserved for her worship, none of the trees in it being cut, or their boughs or even leaves removed.

Dágs are the demons specially associated with fields. If the crop yields less than the estimated amount of produce it is believed that the difference has been taken by the dág.

Dúdaadhári or mánashári haunts burning gháts, and is averted by wearing a silver picture round one's neck. If possessed by the former one should abstain from meat.

Ghátiáw or Gaterir is a demon known in Dháni. He is said to possess people, and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a khádhu (ram). He is embodied in a stone which is kept in the house and worshipped to protect the cattle from harm. He is said to have come from Bhajji State.

Newa is a spirit also, closely resembling the Páp. When a man dies sonless and his brethren inherit they are frequently haunted by his ghost and so a Brahman must be consulted. He directs an image of silver, copper or stone to be made and worshipped after the amávas. Then one of the heirs hangs the image, if of metal, round his neck, and, if of stone, places it in a water-trough. This image is called newa och, dia or in Kanaar gurohách. In some places a plot of land

¹Pr. ríshi, a sage.

Like brooks and springs, báots or cisterns are supposed to be haunted by jal-partis (water-sprites) and mátris: Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42. The object probably is to confer fertility on the newa in the next life.
called sog is set apart in its name and never cultivated. A hut is also erected on the land and on it a wooden image placed and worshipped at each amāvas. Sometimes a newa, like a pāp, attains to the position of a deola in course of time.1

Pāp in the Simla Hills is the ghost when body has not been accorded due funeral rites. In order to prevent its haunting the family home and tormenting its survivors a shrine of four low walls and a small roof is built in the midst of a field and dedicated to it. This shrine is called dārcoti and flowers are often offered at it by the family which believes that the spirit has been safely lodged in it.2 Otherwise the pāp will cause disease, barrenness or other calamities, and a Brahman must be called in to divine the cause. In the Pandra Sau tract of Bashahr this belief is common, and the shrine is styled the pāp kā chaunt-rā.3

The principal Hindu festivals of Northern India are observed in the Simla Hills, with the usual rites. Chet is the first month of the year and Turis go from village to village to entertain the people with songs and music throughout the month. Chet 1st is New Year's day.

The nine days from the 1st of the bright half of Asanį are called the navarātras, or 9 nights on which a fast is kept and the goddess worshipped. Batri, from Sanskrit vrat, = a fast. In the upper hills they call the fast or the 9 days of it karāli also.

Sāja in Kulu is the 1st of any month (Diack, Kulūhi Dialect, p. 87). In the Simla Hills, Sāer sāji is the 1st of Asanį, sāji being the actual passage of the sun from one zodiacal sign to another: Tīka Rām Joshi in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 228. In Kulu the 1st of Chet is called lingti.

The Chār or spring festival in Chamba celebrates the defeat of winter. The latter, personified as an evil demon (kulīṇa) by a man wearing a mask, is pelted by the villagers with snowballs until he drops his mask and takes to flight, after which he joins in the dance with the gāmi and mesmi or masks which represent a man and a woman, respectively, at Triloknāth.4

Narathe, navarātri, are also defined to be the 9 days of Chet and Asanį in which Devi is worshipped.

These and other festivals some of which are peculiar to the Hills are given below in chronological order:

| Lingti. | Mrig Satāi. |
| Narathe. | Ledar. |
| Chitrāli. | Dasūni. |
| Naumi. | Gfl. |
| Salhor. | Rakhpunia. |

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 33.
2 Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42.
3 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 33.
4 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 45.
5 J. A. S. B., 18, pp. 183, 217, 218 and 236.
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The Chitrāli in Kulu are the nights in Chet when the women assemble and dance on the village green. The men look on but take no part in the dancing. The women dance to their own singing, each song or air having a dance peculiar to itself. The song of Runjke is sung by the women when formed in two lines, facing each other, one representing the lover, the other his mistress. As one line advances the other retreats and the sitting and rising alluded to in the song are acted by the singers. Each woman in the line crosses her arms behind her back and then clasps the hands of the woman next to her.

Naumi, the 9ths of Chet and Asauj, on which Devi is generally worshipped. They are regarded as fast days.

On Jēθī 1st an offering (sālhor) of flowers is made to deolās, and on 1st Baisākh the gcd’s history is recited (lārtha) at most temples: Diack, *op cit.*, pp. 87 and 47. On the 1st Baisākh also saṁs, an offering of flowers or grain, is hung up on the house-wall (*ib.*, p. 88). This may be an oblation to the household god whose ark (*kalkā*) holds (or constitutes) him and is kept in the verandah or sometimes indoors (p. 70).

Mrīg-saṭāi, the fortnight from 22nd Jēθī to 8th Hār, during which sunshine is wanted for crops.

Ledaṛ, a feast held on 1st Hār.

Dasūni, Dsūni, a festival observed on the 11th of the bright half of Hār.

Gīl, the 16 days, including the last week in Hār and the first in Sāwan, believed to be auspicious for planting trees.

Rkhrunyā, from rakhrī, a thread, and punya, full moon, is a festival held on the full moon in Sāwan when the twice-born castes don a new sacred thread consecrated by Vedic hymns and a thread (*rakhā, rakhī* or *rakhrī*) is tied by a Brahman round one’s wrist to protect one for a year. Gifts are made to Brahmins and friends feasted.

Sgoh, the 16 days, including the last week of Sāwan and the first in Bhādon, during which sunshine is undesirable.

Janmashtmi, or 8th of dark half of Bhādon.

The Badranjo in Kulu is a festival held in Bhādon in honour of the plough-cattle which are decked with flowers and not worked on that day.

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1Diack, *Kalākī-Dialect*, p. 12: Runjke may be the Rānjha of the South-West Punjab.
Hindu festivals in the Hills.

day. After it the rope strung with leaves which has been tied round their necks is hung between two trees.

Nágpanchami is a festival observed throughout India. Women keep fast and worship Shib. It takes place on the 5th of the bright half of Bhádon, whence it is also called Bhadronji.

The Chrewal or 1st Bhádon, at which gods (Shiva) are made of clay and worshipped, light being shown to the god (Shivling) every evening throughout the month. This is called Páthivapúja.

Dagśáli, the chau das and amávas of the dark half of Bhádon, on which date the dags assemble.

Every year on the night of the 16th Bhádon all the deotás congregate at Dhár Kambogir in the Manjí State. The four jognís from the east, west, south and north also come and a battle rages between them and deotás, until one party defeats the other. If the deotás win, the land yields a good harvest that year, but the victory of the jognís is calculated to bring famine.

The following facts are given in proof of the above story:—

1) Buffaloes and other cattle graze day and night on the dhár. On the night mentioned the owners of cattle bring their she-buffaloes down from the Dhár Kambogir lest the jognís kill them.

2) On the night of the 16th Bhádon Hindus of the Hill States in the neighbourhood of Manjí distribute rapeseed in order to avert the influence of the jognís.

Málpunya, a festival held on the full moon in September, at which cows are worshipped and fed, At Kótí it is followed by the Bláj.

Saśrácá, 1st Asauj.

Bhái-dáj, a festival held on the 2nd of the bright half of Káták, when a sister is visited, and food taken from her hands in return for a present.

The Karuwa Chauth is a Hindu festival that takes place on the 4th of the dark half of Káták.

Deothán, a festival held on the 11th of the bright half of Káták.

Pandru, a festival observed on the 16th Poh in Jubbál, Kotgarh and Kot Khái, Simula Hills.

At Ránpur in Bashahr the Rájá’s shikárf throws a garland of musk-pods on his neck. In the upper hills the people observe it as a day for rejoicing, rich cakes being prepared and distributed among friends and relatives.

Magar, the fortnight including the last week in Poh and the first in Mágh, supposed to be a time of heavy snowfall.

1 Diack, Kulíkí Dialect, pp 48 and 70 (s. v. Kandu).

2 For festival days in the Simla Hills see Tika Rám Joshi, Dicty. of Paád, in J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 221, 200, 207, 149, 155, 167, 228, 231, 176, 147, 223, 203, 155, 217, 202 and 156; also pp. 193, 217, 218 and 228.

LLL
Traditions of the Kulu Rájás.

Mágh 1st is the Tarain rája (Kuláhi Dialect, p. 94).

Khrain, a festival observed in Mágh by Kaotes. It resembles a jágra, but instead of remaining for the night in his host's house the devote returns the same day to the temple.

The following are held on varying dates or occasions:

Bláj, fr. S. Valirája, the king Vali, is a night fair.

Bishu, S. Vishuva: (1) the moment of the sun's reaching Aries, and (2) a song sung by low-caste people in April. Twine, to which rhododendron flowers are attached, is hung on every house at the Baisákhí saukránt, called bishu.

Pánjag, the vak šhatra Dhanistha, Saktikha, Púrvábhádrapada, Uttarábhádrapada and Revati, S. panchakr.

Parowí, the first of the bright or dark half of a month.

Rhyáli, a fair held in the monsoon at which archery is practised in the Madhán, Theog, Balsan and Jubbáal States, Simla Hill.

Perhaps the most characteristic festival of the Hills is the Sheri or Saer, held on Asaúj 1st, when barbers show well-to-do people their faces in a mirror, and every family makes an image of clay, puts flowers on it and places it before his house. Rich food is also prepared. In the evening lights are lit all round the image, and it is worshipped.

Jágra, from Sanskrit jágurana, vigil, is a rite offered to any village deity. Either he is invited to one's house or it is performed at his temple. The day of its performance is first fixed and then all the people of the pargána go to the temple or the house as the case may be. A great feast is given to all present, and if the chief is also invited he is paid Rs. 80 in cash.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell, C. S., has recorded two stories which illustrate the beliefs current in the ruling family of Kulu:—In Rájá Jagat Singh's time (A. D. 1637-72) a large grant of rice land was conferred on his Ráj-gurú—or spiritual preceptor—as a reward for a spell which he had woven for the Rájá and contrary to custom the land was settled on the Ráj-gurú's sons and grandsons. What the spell was intended for we are not told, but it may have been for the destruction of some of his opponents. Of Jagat Singh it is related in the chronicles that a Brahman had a pot of pearls which the Rájá wanted to possess and which the owner refused to give up. After repeated refusals the Brahman told the Rájá that he would give up the pearls on the latter's return from Manikarn whither he was going. On his return, however, the Brahman set fire to his own house, consuming to ashes himself and his family, as well as the pearls which had excited the Rájá's avarice. On re-entering his palace at Makaráha Jagat Singh ordered dinner, but when it was placed before him the rice all turned to worms. To have been indirectly the cause of a Brahman's death was a heinous sin, almost beyond the possibility of atonement. It was however at last atoned for by the Rájá having the image of Raghanáth brought from Ajodhia to whom he assigned his kingdom and ruled only as the god's vicegerent. The
The divine child in Bashahr.

assignment to Raghunáth under the name of Mádho Ráí in Mandí took place about the same time. It may have been in connection with this incident that the spell was sought by Jagat Singh.

The following paper by Mr. H. W. Emerson, C. S., records a chapter in the history of Bashahr and various beliefs, one of which at least opens up a new field of inquiry:

Tikrál now forms part of the Bashahr State having been annexed some three centuries ago. Previous to annexation it was under the jurisdiction of a local Rájput thákur whose descendants give their place of origin as Garhwal. While their invasion and conquest must be placed at a comparatively early date, it is doubtful whether the inhabitants of the remote portions of their thákurdés were reduced to more than a nominal allegiance. At any rate, the people of the district now in question appear to have retained their own internal form of government, in which the confederacy of the five gods played a leading part. A survival of their theocratic rule exists in the appointment of a divine representative known as the jana. The qualifications essential for the office considerably restrict the field of selection. The incumbent must be a male child of not less than two years of age and not more than ten years and must belong to one of certain families of Pekha village that alone enjoy the privilege of providing candidates. Both his parents must be living and the ceremony of cutting the hair and of naming must not have taken place. The appointment is made direct by the council of the five gods who on the day fixed for election assemble in their palanquins at the temple of Nág of Pekha, a member of the pancháyat. With them there come a crowd of worshippers; but no person of low caste is allowed to be present nor yet a stranger, even though he be a Kuran, who is not subject to the jurisdiction of the gods. Such intruders, in the olden days, paid for their indiscretion with their lives and even now are looted of all that they have with them at daybreak, the heads of families possessed of eligible vows are placed in a line a few paces apart, inside the temple courtyard. The gods are then carried down the line by their appointed bearers who oscillate the palanquins as a sign that the divine spirit has animad the image Jakh of Junglik, the chairman of the council leads the way, followed by the others in strict order of precedence. When Jakh reaches the father of the future jana he bows his head in token of acceptance and the other four do likewise as they pass. The test is then repeated until the choice has fallen three times in succession on the same family. If it contains more than one male child eligible for election these are then produced, the same method of selection being employed. The boy chosen is bathed in the five products of the cow, dressed in a suit of new clothes and seated with honour on a consecrated square. The gods next endow him with divine strength, each diviner laying the standard of his deity, usually a sword or dagger, on the head, hands and other parts of his body.

This completes the main part of the consecration ceremony and the rest of the day is spent in feasting at the expense of the parents of the boy. But the latter is taken to his house and, with exceptions to be mentioned presently, remains there in strict seclusion until the period of
his office ends. His parents alone can tend him; but they must bathe him every few days, offer incense before him and burn lights in his honour. His chief food is rice and sweetened milk: fish, and liquor are forbidden. He must not see a crow, a Koli or a stranger, nor must they see him, and hence before his mother takes him into the verandah of the house she must look carefully to see that none of these are about. Worshippers of the five gods can look at him but only from a distance unless they be persons specially privileged to approach him. In any case they must join the palms of their hands and put them to their foreheads in token of adoration. They make offerings in his name and this they often do. Should any woman give birth to a child, or a cow calve inside the house he must be carried to a temple a few miles away and remain there until the period of impurity had passed. The journey must be done at night so that he be safely hidden before a cow caws or a low caste fellow or a stranger comes along. Should these taboos be broken the gods dethrone him, and in any case his period of office ends with the death of either parent. The gods do not approve a representative who has reached years of discretion, as soon as the jana begins to reason for himself he is dismissed. This is the ordinary cause of removal for his parents take good care that he is not contaminated in any way since both he and they are fed and clothed (for the full term of office) at the expense of the community, which under favourable circumstances may last for seven or eight years. Moreover, apart from its perquisites, the post is regarded as one of great honour.

As soon as the gods declare the office vacant the late incumbent returns to his ordinary mode of life. His hair, which has remained unshorn, is then cut and he is given a name in the usual way. His former clients no longer contribute to his maintenance nor does he appear to benefit in any way from his existence as a god.

Owing to the dissensions of the gods an interregnum sometimes occurs, but this is rare, for while the incumbency is associated with good fortune a vacancy is supposed to bring calamity. Moreover, certain mystic rites connected with the worship of Chasralu cannot be celebrated without the presence of a jana. These take place at intervals of 3 or 5 years at Chasralu's cavern, a period of retirement in the wilderness preceding their observance. The jana is accompanied by the heads of the families who are alone permitted to share in the ceremonies. They leave the village at night, one of them going in front of the party, blowing a conch-shell to give warning to travellers or Kolis that the jana is abroad and must not be seen by them. They spend the first night on the road and the next two in a lonely cave where the main rites are performed, but of their nature one can learn little as the greatest discretion is observed, the celebrants being pledged to secrecy. A kid is sacrificed which must be roasted over a fire and not boiled in a cauldron, nor must it be eaten with salt. For the rest the singing of the song of Kali appears to be the most important duty. This song was sung by her when in human guise. She surprised a band of hunters, who had taken refuge for the night in the same cave. It can be sung only by the senior male of each branch of their descendants and a father who has learnt the words must teach them only to his eldest son, when the two are alone together grazing their flocks on the hillside. It can be
sung only in the cave, and should a person sing it elsewhere or at other
than appointed time the goddess drives him mad. The jana learns the
words when he takes part in these secret ceremonies, and this fact
appears to give a clue to his title, which may be derived from gadá to
sing. If this is so, the jana is, therefore, one privileged to sing the
song of Káli. Having performed the remaining rites, whatever they may be,
the party journeys to a hamlet, where two nights are spent. The sixth
night is passed on the road to Chasrálu's cave where the general body of
worshippers awaits their coming. The jana's face is then screened from
afar from the vulgar gaze, but the privileged persons may approach him.
Chasrálu's diviner can alone enter the cave; the jana with his escort re-
 mains at some little distance while the remainder of the assembly look on
from afar. The jana himself does not appear to take any part in the cere-
monies nor are sacrifices offered him. But it is clear that the period of re-
tirement is connected with his divine office since the people believe that for
the next few days he is endowed with supernatural powers to an extra-
ordinary degree, and his sayings are, therefore, regarded as peculiarly inspir-
ed.

Such then are the main facts relating to this curious institution as
it now exists; and when I was first told them I regarded the jana merely
as an embodiment of divinity, who, like an idol or other sacred emblem,
has to be protected from pollution. But this first impression was materi-
ally changed when I was told later that the jana was formerly the Hájá of
the tract, that he used to settle all disputes, and that his worshippers
still refer to him to some extent, his decision being binding. Now one
could understand a boy of 8 or 10 years of age giving a more or less in-
telligible answer to a question addressed to him, but how a child hardly
able to talk could satisfy disputants passed my comprehension. The ex-
planation given was a typical one. In such cases they said, the five gods
having been brought into the presence of the child, charged and recharged
him, as it were, with divine inspiration until he said something from
which a meaning could be deduced, or at other times the parties each
made a ball of earth in which a blade of grass was hidden. These were
placed before the infant judge without his knowing which was which and
the owner of the one on which he placed his hand was deemed to be the
party in the right. That one of these procedures was actually adopted
is the more probable because it is entirely in keeping with the character-
istics of the hillman: his firm belief in divine possession and his in-
tense distrust of human agents. For instance, I have known a man,
who wished to call up the spirit of a deceased relative, identity and
sex unknown, that had visited him under the painful guise of boils, insist
on the officiating Brahman to employ as his medium a boy and girl, both
of tender years, who would not dupe him.

Similarly the condition that the jana should always be a child of
little understanding was obviously imposed as a safeguard against fraud.
As regards his jurisdiction in mundane matters it must be remembered
that many Himalayan gods annually distribute the grazing grounds
among their worshippers, decide the rotation of irrigation and are even
consulted by prospective bridegrooms before they choose their brides.
There is thus nothing improbable in the theory that the jana was the
The functions of the divine child.

Theocratic ruler of a group of Kanets, appointed directly by the gods whose vice-regent he was, that his sayings were regarded as inspired and therefore binding, that he exercised temporal as well as spiritual authority, and that the confederacy of villages under his jurisdiction at one time acknowledged no other ruler. In support of a wide application of the same principle it may be observed that the jurisdiction of local gods corresponds closely to natural divisions, that they are known as kāl ke devata, gods of the family, and that the worship of a common deity is still of very strong bond of unity among his worshippers.

Again, the association of the jana with prosperity and good fortune connects him with the magical aspect of early kingship. This point is brought out more clearly in the neighbouring territory of Narain of Jabal, where the institution exists in a modified form. There a jana is appointed only when certain ceremonies are celebrated at intervals of 3 or 5 years. These last for about three weeks and when completed the tenure of office ends. The qualifications and the nature of the taboos are identical in many respects with those already described, but this jana is removed from the custody of his parents and his wants attended to by certain privileged persons. He is not kept in one house, but tours throughout his jurisdiction according to a fixed programme being lodged in each village in a building specially reserved for his use. Provided the taboos are not violated he is supposed to bring good fortune to every place he visits, and his tour is associated with the pronouncement of prophecies concerning the harvest of the coming year. If he cries in a village the omen is bad, but only for that particular place; hence no means are spared to keep him happy, and within lawful limits he is given whatever he may ask. In former times there is little doubt that human sacrifice was offered to him, and he now takes part in a ceremony in which a scapegoat, the acknowledged substitute for a man, is slaughtered before him. He is worshipped as a deity and the people are inclined to think the deity is Kālī, but they are vague on this point. At any rate the celebrations are in her honour and the boy is dressed in girl's clothes and decked with female ornaments. The explanation given of this disguise is as follows:—The jana, they say, was originally a girl, but on one occasion many generations ago when she was being carried round the tour she died from cold and exposure on the road, the month being December when snow was laying on the ground. Her escort were in a state of consternation for the festival could not be celebrated in the absence of a jana, and its abandonment would bring the anger of the gods upon their heads. At length the happy idea was conceived of stealing a boy from the nearest village, dressing him in the girl's clothes and passing him off as the genuine jana. This was done, and the deception proved so successful that it has been continued ever since. As tradition is usually reliable in the hills this version may perhaps be true. On the other hand, the custom of dressing boys in girl's clothes in order to avoid the evil eye is a common device, and taking the attendant circumstances into consideration it appears probable that in this instance the disguise is only one of many expediencies employed with the object of conserving unimpaired the beneficial powers of the disguised.

As far as Bashahr is concerned the institution exists only in the two cases mentioned, and there is good reason to believe that the two are
closely connected, the one being merely a modification of the first. As such it may be a connecting link between the permanent appointment of a divine ruler and the casual worship of small girls as incarnations of the goddess Devi. The latter custom is not found in Basalhr, and my information with regard to it is incomplete. But I believe that it is widely practised in Kangra, more particularly during the Dasahr, when the worship of maidens as representatives of Bhagwati is considered essential. There appear to be no taboos observed as with the jana, but there is the same condition that the girls should not have reached years of understanding. At times other than the Dasahr, a favourite method of acquiring merit or removing trouble, is the worship of one or more girls; and if there are more than a certain number a boy is joined with them and regarded as Lankra, the bir or minister of Kali. The worship should be performed in the early morning before its objects have tasted food; but apparently this is the only restriction. The sayings of the girls are, or were, regarded as inspired, and there is one well-authenticated case in which a faqir cut off a portion of his tongue at the bidding of one of these incarnations of Bhagwati. In some respects, therefore, the same attributes are ascribed to these youthful goddesses as to the jana; but there is not a direct appointment by the god, no regular system of taboo and no continuous tenure of office. Any girl of suitable caste can apparently be taken as Devi’s deputy for the time being; but when the ritual is finished she at once resumes her normal position. Nevertheless, the points of resemblance do suggest the remote possibility that the custom of girl worship is a survival from a very early state of society in which the recognised form of government was a theocracy, exercised through a human agent, preferably a child. Why a girl should have been chosen in some cases and a boy in others is not obvious. The choice may have depended on the sex of the local deity, a boy being selected as the representative of a god and a girl as that of a goddess. Or the practice of dressing the boy in girl’s clothes as a protection against the evil eye may have ultimately led to the substitution of females when the origin of the disguise had been forgotten. But these explanations are at best conjectural and would not be advanced if the existence of the jana in Basalhr did not appear to open up a new field of inquiry. It seems to be far more improbable that the institutions I have described are local curiosities, than that they are survivals of what was once a popular method of government.

So much for the general discussion of the subject. As regards the nature of several of the taboos a few words may be said, as they are of world-wide currency. There is, for instance, the respect shown for that bird of ill-omen, the crow. I have found this particular form of superstition in connection with other mystic rites in the hills, and especially in such as relate to the promotion of the fertility of the soil by burying in it an image or sacred clod of earth. This rite must be performed before sunrise, in secret and by the head of the family who must complete his task before he hears a crow caw. If he does not, he must start all over again on a more auspicious day. As to the reputation of the crow family in general one cannot do better than quote from a zoological study that appeared recently in the Times:—“In all times and countries,” the author writes, “man has regarded crows with super-
stitious awe, knowing them for birds of ill-omen, the familiars of witches and evil spirits, and the confidants of deities whom they never failed to betray. Odin took them for his heralds and councillors, but could not trust them, and they blabbed the secrets of Valhalla. They were the scandal-mongers of Olympus, and to their evil tongues poor Coronis owed her death. Indra, in wrath at their tale bearing, hurled them, we are told, down through all the hundred stages of his heaven. No bird surely had nobler opportunities, none has been so highly honoured; and everywhere it proved itself unworthy of its trust."

All of which considered the Kurâns are well advised to scorn their jana from the sight of such an evil bird. Again, it is a far cry from Tikrâl to ancient Rome; but one condition imposed on the jana associates him with an incident of the Roman priesthood. The Flamen Dialis was bound to vacate his office on the death of his wife; and as the reason for this rule is obscure it has been the subject of a controversy, the main points of which are given in Sir John Frazer's volume of the Golden Bough which deals with the worship of Attis, Adonis and Osiris. Dr. L. R. Farnell explains the provision on the supposition that death brought in its train the taint of ceremonial pollution, and so compelled the resignation of the priest. In support of his theory he cites instances of Greek ritual, which requires that certain sacred offices should be discharged only by a boy both of whose parents were alive. Sir John Frazer, on the other hand, contends that the priest had to resign because his wife was essential to the worship of the pair of divinities they served; and in the course of his argument he makes a theory point of the fact that if Dr. Farnell's theory is correct then every orphan is ceremonially unclean for life, and therefore incapable of performing sacred duties. As this restriction is obviously too far-reaching for the affairs of practical life he rejects the pollution theory, and with the view of discovering a more reasonable explanation proceeds to examine all the cases known to him in which the children of living parents could alone take part in ritual.

The list is a long one, but naturally enough it does not contain the case of the jana. And at first sight the jana provides an excellent argument in support of the disqualification arising from the impurity of death. It will be remembered that not only have his parents to be alive at the time of appointment, but that the death of either of them ipso facto brings about his dethronement. Moreover, the birth either of a cow or a calf in his house entails his hasty removal to another dwelling place; and in this case there is no doubt that fear of ceremonial contamination is the reason for his flight. It would therefore be natural to suppose that the inevitability of uncleanness in the case of death was the factor that terminated his office. But his clients were emphatic that this was not so. At the same time the only explanation they could give was that the five gods did not approve an orphan and by way of justification asked indignantly who would. Thus the analogy of the jana supports Sir John Frazer's objection to the pollution of death theory, and it is interesting to consider whether his general conclusions apply to this case also. After reviewing the evidence he sums up as follows:—"The notion that a child of living parents is endowed with a higher degree of
vitality than an orphan, probably explains all the cases of the employment of such a child in ritual, whether the particular rite is designed to ensure the fertility of the ground or remove the curse of barrenness or to avert the danger of death and other calamities. Yet it would probably be a mistake to suppose that this notion is always clearly apprehended by the persons who practise the customs. In their minds the definite conception of super-abundant overflowing vitality may easily dissolve into a vague idea that the child of living parents is luckier than other folk."

When regard is had to the beneficent functions ascribed to the jana it must be confessed that the vitality theory does supply a satisfactory motive for the condition of living parents. But the same cannot be said of the case already cited in which the soul of a departed relative spent its leisure moments in tormenting a man with emerods. For there also the boy and girl employed as mediums were the children of living parents, and in this and similar cases the more vitality a child enjoys the less reality would be yield to the influence of an invading spirit. The employment of the children of living parents in such cases of Himalayan ritual as are known to me seems to be based not so much on their merits as on the demerits of orphans. This distinction is brought out very clearly in marriage ceremonies. In many parts of Bashahr it is considered essential that the parents of the vakti sent to arrange a betrothal should both be alive; and in all parts it is regarded as desirable. But should an orphan be sent the outraged party does not ask why a person who would bring good luck was not employed; they abuse the culprits charging them with having sent a wretch who has already eaten his father or his mother as the case may be. Similarly a posthumous son is an object of general derision on the ground that he killed his father without even seeing him. An unfortunate orphan is thus regarded not as the passive victim of adverse circumstances, but as an active agent who has contributed to his own misfortune. He is possessed by an evil genius that brings about his own undoing as well as that of those connected with him. This conception may be peculiar to the Himalayas; but it is obviously a very primitive one, and is in strict conformity with animistic beliefs which underlie so many religious and temporal observances. That a person possessed of a spirit with homicidal tendencies would be a dangerous person to employ in sacred or profane rites is self-evident; and this attribute of orphans will probably explain the employment of children blooming on both sides in all known cases. Finally, it will be remembered that the jana must be a boy who has not received a name and whose hair has therefore not been cut, since both ceremonies are performed at one and the same time. The non-cutting of the hair is here the important element, not the absence of a name; so that we are again brought into touch with a series of superstitions so well known as to make commentary almost superfluous.

Firstly, there is the belief that a man's strength resides in or is at least dependent on his hair. Secondly the hair is often worn long as a mark of dedication, and this is certainly the explanation of the veto on cutting often imposed by a hill god on his diviner during the interval between two japs, which may be as long as twelve years. It may also explain the fact that carpenters, smiths and other labourers employed on
the erection or repair of a temple are allowed to cut neither their hair nor beards until the work is completed. But more probably the prohibition in this case is founded on the widespread belief that if a magician obtain possession of a man's hair or of the parings of his nails, he can work what will he likes. This is of course the reason why in Bashahr the hair of the tonsure ceremony of a boy is either taken to the top of a pass where it is hidden in a cairn and dedicated to Kāli; or thrown secretly into a stream or else placed in a sacred tree, the holy emanation from which is supposed to counteract baneful influences. The fear of magic is also the most reasonable explanation of the taboo placed on the jana. One more illustration of this superstition must suffice, and as it is appropriate that at least one reference should be made to historical records we will quote some of the duties (of a chamberlain of the palace under the Chand Rājās of Kumāon) (as given in Atkinson's Himalayan Gazetteer):—They were these:—He should see that the cook did his duties conscientiously and well. He should taste everything used for the Rājā's food, and never allow the cook to be out of his sight. He should constantly move about and threaten the servants, whether there was cause or not, so that no one might become careless. He should never speak of poison, opium and bhang, nor ever touch them. And finally he should never speak of spells, as they were only used for evil purposes; nor cut his nails nor shave within the limits of the palace. It was not sufficient that the chamberlain should be a man of proved integrity; there was always the danger that sorcerers would pervert his morals. The prohibition of shaving and nail cutting only within the precincts of the palace is curious, and can only be explained on the supposition that the Kumāon Rājās believed the spirit of the place, as well as of their chamberlain, essential for the efficacy of magic spells. We can only hope that their confidence was not misplaced.

Traditions in Kamru.

Many centuries ago, so runs the first legend, the Baspa valley was invaded by an army from Tibet, before which the local ruler and his followers fled for refuge to the Kamru fort. The enemy pitched their camp upon the hill slopes which overlook the fortress, and from there sent emissaries in all directions to bribe the neighbouring chieftains to fight against their overlord. One of these envoys found his way to Chini, then the capital of a semi-independent thākur, whom the Rājā of Bashahr had lately reduced to vassalage. Uncertain of his loyalty, the latter sent his warning that if he helped his country's enemies it would be a darohi1 and he would have to pay the penalty. The warning was a solemn one, for darohi was a form of oath the Rājā could impose upon his subjects, by which he lay a prohibition on any purposed course of action. In its origin it was perhaps a kind of royal tabu, invested with semi-divine attributes of the personage from whom it issued; in its development it proved a source of power in the days when kings were glad for their own safety to fence themselves around with supernatural

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1This word reappears in South India. Rājā-drohā was the offence of 'injuring the interests of the king'; and ārdm-drohā, one who injured the interests of the village: Mathai, *Village Government in British India*, London, 1915, p. 85, citing Madras Epigraphy, Ann. Rep., 1910-11, p 75.
safeguards. The oath is still employed both for official and private purposes. In its public aspect it is a useful method of insuring obedience to executive orders with a minimum of friction or delay, and as such is used by certain village officers invested with authority to impose it. To give a simple example. A headman of a village is called upon to supply a number of coolies, one of whom prefers to stay at home rather than carry loads. 'If you do not go,' the headman warns him, 'it will be darohi, a sin, against your ruler.' In the vast majority of cases, the cooly goes; but should he prove recalcitrant, a headman can bring him before a magistrate who imposes a trifling fine upon the culprit. But superstitions qualms rather than fear of civil punishment supply the sanctions by which the system works. Again, resort is often made to this expedient in private disputes. Two neighbours had a quarrel about a piece of land, and one of them, anxious to plead possession, starts to plough the area in dispute. The other finds him with his plough and oxen on the land. 'If you turn the soil before the case is settled by the courts,' he threatens, 'it will be darohi.' As a rule the intruder stops his ploughing.

But on the occasion now in question, it so happened that the Thákur of Chini chose to ignore the warning and joined his forces to the Tibetan hordes. Another of the Rájá's subjects, a low-bred tailor, living in a village close to the fort, also played the traitor and sold the enemy secret information relating to the structure of the citadel. He told them of the central bean which if dislodged would bring the fort down with it in a mass of ruins, and for the remainder of the siege the Tibetans directed all their efforts towards its downfall. But each time the goddess Káli turned aside their missiles, so that at length disheartened by the supernatural forces ranged against them, or fearful of the coming winter, they raised the siege and left the Rájá free to wreak his vengeance on his traitorous subjects. He again reduced the Chini thákur to vassalage, and as a general warning to traitors ordered that a man of Chini should henceforth present himself at Kamru on every triennial celebration, held there in honour of the goddess Káli. This festival is still observed, its national character being apparent both from the grants made from the State treasury and from the presence of Brahmins of the ruling family who bring with them small images of Bhíma Káli from Saráhan. Sacrifices are offered on a liberal scale, the sacred fire is burnt for several days and the peasants from the neighbouring villages assemble with their gods. Moreover, a representative from Chini, called the Chinchang, attends the festival, being accompanied by a man from an adjacent village, who by ancient right acts as his escort. During the eight days of the celebration, the Chinchang is freely plied with liquor, so that on the final day he is in a state of almost complete insensibility. Rusty armour is put upon his body and a helmet on his head, and thus attired he is made to dance first round the building and then inside the courtyard of the fort, a laughing stock to the assembly of villagers and village gods. Further he is accompanied in his dancing by a descendant of the tailor who sold the information to his country's enemies many centuries ago. Formerly, before the dance began, a priest poured holy water on their heads—a ceremony which left no doubt as to the nature of the punishment inflicted on their ancestors. For the sprinkling of water on a
creatures head is the means employed to produce the shaking by which a deity accepts the dedication of a sacrificial victim. Sometimes the victim's head is severed from the body first and water poured on immediately while the nerves are still sensitive to shock; but the general rule is for the sprinkling to precede the slaughter. A similar device was practised by the Greeks so that it is perhaps worth noting that in the Himalayas the tremor implies far more than the mere formal acceptance of the victims. The quivering, in the popular imagination, denotes the actual entry of the god into the body of the animal, and it is the divine spirit—and not the water as one might suppose—which is responsible for the animation. The significance of the ritual is unique; and so, even if local tradition did not support the obvious interpretation, there could be little doubt that the triennial festivals at Kamru were formerly associated with human sacrifice. Even to this day there is little competition among the Chinti villagers for the privilege of attending at the celebration. A superstitious belief prevails that the actor in the drama will die within the year, a belief, however, which has weakened since change was made in the ceremonial some 50 years ago. Up to that time, although the actual sacrifice had been abolished for several generations, the water was still poured on the Chinchang's head. The Chinti villagers, from whom the representative is chosen by lots, objected to this dedication at the shrine of Kâli, formal though it were, and so their fears were partially allayed by a promise that for the future the water should be poured upon the hands and not upon the head. But even now, during the Chinchang's absence at Kamru, his family continue in a state of mourning, consoled only by the hope that the lamps they keep burning day and night inside the house will win the mercy of Narain, the village god.

The second story associated with Kamru is likewise concerned with human sacrifice and, here again, Kâli in her form of Pârvati, the mountain goddess, plays a leading part. The only road to Kamru from the Sutlej valley lies along the Baspa river which for some 10 miles above its junction with the Sutlej rushes down a narrow gorge shut in on either side by precipices which block the view in front. The path then winds above the river, emerging on the shoulder of a ridge from which the so-called Kâlî's peaks are first visible in all their grandeur. To the Western traveller they convey mainly a sense of beauty and isolation, but to the hill-man they are invested with the supernatural dangers inseparable from the goddess of destruction. To him the topmost pinnacles of the line of jagged peaks are the favourite thrones of Kâli, from which she radiates her vital or destroying energy. And hence her worship predominant through the state reaches its zenith in the Baspa valley, where no means are left untried to win her favour or placate her wrath. The superstitious terrors inspired by the nearness of her presence were shared alike by prince and peasant, and so it happened that the visits of a Râjâ to his capital were attended by ceremonies of some significance.

During the first stages of his progress, continues Mr. Emerson's account, the Râjâ was borne in a palanquin, preceded by musicians and State officials, and escorted by his subjects. But on the last day when the procession drew near the ridge whence Kâli's home burst on the
vision, a halt was called. While still sheltered from her eyes and those of her sentinels the Rájá descended from his palanquin, doffing robes, ornaments and head-dress, in which a Matás of Sapni, a village near by, attired himself, while the Rájá donned inconspicuous garments of grey. A priest waved a vessel of holy water round his head and then poured its contents over the Matás' head. Then the latter was borne in the royal palanquin, and treated like the Rájá, who himself walked in the crowd until the processión entered the fort. He then resumed his dignities, but the robes and ornaments worn by the Matás became his perquisite. Probably he himself was sacrificed in bygone days within the fort, and they fell to his heirs. He was called the Rájá-ki-báli or king's sacrifice, and as in the case of the Chíncháng the first sacrifice was a punishment for treachery.

On the last occasion—30 years ago—when the heir-apparent visited Kamru the old rites were all observed, but the water was poured on the Mahtas' hands, instead of on his head; and the man who then took the part declares that he is the first of his family to survive the ordeal by a year. The people see in him a decoy on which Káli's envy may fall before it reaches the Rájá. But Mr. Emerson points out that if the fact of sacrifice be one admitted to have occurred it is difficult to accept that theory.

As late as the middle of the last century no act of State was performed without the approval of Bhima Káli, who was regarded as the ruler of the land, she having granted the regency to the Rájá's ancestor six score generations ago, just as she had conferred the hereditary priesthood to the senior branch of his family. In much the same way the sovereignty of Kumhársain vests in Koṭ Ishwar Mahádev, and it is he who instals each Ráná on its throne. Jagat Singh, Rájá of Kángra, carried the fiction further when he placed Thákur Raghúnath's image on the throne, and proclaimed himself to be only chief ministrant of his temple. From that time the Rájá was, in constitutional theory, only the god's chief priest, the god himself being ruler of Kángra.
Makaráha.

There has been much confusion regarding the site of this place which Mr. A. H. Francke was able to clear up. The Chronicle of Tinán in Láhul speaks of Bahádúr Singh residing at 'Makarsang'—and this is the Bunán locative of Makarsa—and means 'at Makarsa'. The name Makarsa in the Bunán dialect of Láhul means 'the place of Makar'. All tradition in Kulu supports the statement of the Chronicle of Tinán and the statement of Hardiáí Singh that Bahádúr Singh of Kulu rebuilt the ruined town of Makaráha. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Beás near the débouchement of the Hurla Khād, south of Nagar and easily accessible from Bajaura. As regards Moorcroft's identification of Nagar with Makarsa, he only casually looked at the place from the other side of the river, and might quite easily have failed to catch what was said to him or he was misinformed. Rájá Bahádúr Singh and his descendants used to like to live at Makaráha, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built this town. Most unfortunately some British officials with unpardonable iconoclasm used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makaráha to build the bridge over the Beás at Dilásni which was washed away, as well as some other bridges. But enough remains to show that the place was founded by some civilized dynasty which had attained to a very high order of art, for the stone work is really very beautiful. The founders were many degrees removed from the semi-savage Badáals, who never produced anything better than the crude wood carvings at Dhungri temple and whose attempts at imitating the stone work of ancient days were pitiable. It seems probable that one highly advanced civilization was responsible for the beautiful carvings of Makaráha, of those in its immediate neighbourhood near Bajaura, and of Nast near Jagat Sukh at the head of the valley. At any rate the connection between these different carvings is well worthy of the attention of archaeologists. The sites would probably repay excavation.

As for Bahádúr Singh, Makaráha was doubtless a convenient place of residence for him during the time that his generals were campaigning in Saráj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sáinj Nála was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe at Makaráha1 and in touch at once with Nagar and the army in the field.

This valuable account of Makarása, which seems to mean the land of alligators (mágar) or that of sea-monsters (mákár2), is from the pen of

1 The Makaráha referred to is nearly opposite Bajaura on the left bank of the Beás. It was an ancient place founded before the Christian era; but was soon abandoned and remained a ruin till the time of Bahádúr Singh, 1532-59, who rebuilt it and virtually made it his capital. From his time Kulu was called Makara or Magara; from the name of this town, the proper spelling of which is Makarsa—'the region of Makar', who was the founder of a primitive dynasty of Rájás in Kulu, before the Pál dynasty. Sá is pronounced as s in many parts of the hills to this day, and in ancient times this pronunciation was universal. You will find it Makaráhár in some places, but the final r must be redundant. Harcourt has the correct spelling in his book. It seems probable that Nagar also was called Makara as late as the time of Moorcroft who calls it by this name. We have documents in Chamba in which Kulu is called Màkarsa as late as A. D. 1859. The Kula Rájás continued to reside at Makaráha till the reign of Rájá Jagat Singh, A. D. 1637-72, who conquered the neighbouring state of Lag on the right bank of the Beás and then transferred the capital to Súltánpur and lived there. After this Makaráha was again deserted and fell into ruins.

2 Platta, Hindostani Diety., p. 1058.
Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I. C. S., as is that which follows. By a coincidence Dionysius Periergetes gives the name Megarasus to the Sutlej. This may give a clue to the origin of the name and to the extent of Makarása. It possibly originated as a description of the alligator-infested Sutlej, was transferred to a kingdom on that river and finally was applied to another hill kingdom in the upper reaches of the Beás. This is of course pure speculation. No evidence exists so far to connect the Makarása on the upper Beás with Megarasus, the Sutlej or some section of that river. The Mirchi in Kulu do not appear to have beer inhabitants of Makarása as one is tempted to suggest. Philologically the derivation is untenable.

A NOTE ON ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES IN KULU.

Geography makes history all the world over, and nowhere is this more palpably true than in the Himalayas. Kulu history is based on evidences which are meagre, and, more especially in the case of the so-called chronicle of the old Rájas of Kulu, often unreliable. But from the legends of an untutored mountain race and the ineradicable record inscribed on the face of the slowly decaying ranges, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct something of a picture of what life was like before the advent of the British.

The position of the valley, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chamba, in which an ancient Rájpút-line has been sheltered and able to maintain an unbroken rule from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulu and Lákhu lie full in a channel, through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms. The people have acknowledged many masters—Aryan and Mongolian; but through it all Indian markets have always demanded salt and wool and borax—to say nothing of the more precious merchandise of Central Asia—and while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lákhu. The trade therefore went on. It was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route. One must remember that the Beás was nowhere bridged, and everywhere an impassable torrent; that there were no made roads; that every height was crowned with a fort, held by a garrison of marauders; that the Kulu farmer then as now regarded travelling sheep as 'fair game'; that there was a custom house below Ralla at the cañon, still known as the 'customs-house' (Jagát-khánà), where no doubt a foreigner's life was made a burden to him, and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to any one who can imagine the Kulu people set free from the restraints which the British Ráj imposes.

So the trade avoided the Hamta Pass and the Rohtang and the comparatively broad paths, which led to destruction in the valley.

1 Arch. E. E., II, p. 12. Cunningham suggested some connection between the Megaras and the Megh tribe, but the seat of the Meghs is not on the Sutlej. It lies along the Jamshí border, west of the Rávi for the most part: see Vol. III, p. 77, infra.

Arrived at the summit of the Baralacha Pass the Tibetans turned sharp to their left and followed down the left bank of the Chandra. Here was pasture and to spare of the finest fattening grass in the world wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning; and there was not the least fear of molestation in an uninhabited and to the Indian mind most undesirable region. Past the beautilful Chandra Lake the trade sheep marched to and grazed on the plain near Phati Šuńi (split rock) still known as the ‘plain of the Kanauris’. There the middlemen from Kanaur in Bashahr and probably from Koši Kanaur at the head of the Párbati valley met them. The big 50-1½ packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked, the big Tibetan sheep were shorn and for a week or so the trading went on, and finally the little Bashahrí sheep marched off, not laden so heavily as the Tibetan tiangis or trade sheep, while the latter returned with their packs to Rudok and Leh.

But the Kanauris had no thought of moving through Kulu. They went up the valley, which is now blocked by the Shigri glacier; across the head of the Párbati valley: along the old mountain sheep route, which is still known, though seldom used; always through uninhabited safety to the Sutlej valley at Raämpur. There they met, and let us hope were a match for, the wily trader of the plains.

In 1836, tradition says, the Shigri glacier bursting some obstruction on the hill top overwhelmed the Chandra valley, dammed the Chandra river till it rose within measurable distance of the Kunzam Pass into Spiti, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spiti people had pickets out at the summit of the pass to warn them in case the river headed up high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losar. There are however some landmarks on the old road, which I suspect was abandoned much more gradually than tradition states.

The Kanauris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language closely allied to those of Láhul and Maláná, have left their name on the ‘Kanauris’ Plain’ near the modern camping ground of Phati Šuńi and the whole of the upper Párbati valley is known to this day as Koši Kanauri, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their language and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as foreigners and often show markedly Mongol features. Probably they are the descendants of Kanauris who gave up trade for farming generations before the road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Phulga to Raämpur.
SECTION 5—ISLÁM.

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISLÁM.

The history of IsláM in the Punjab begins with the conquest of Multán by Muhammad ibn Qásím in 712 A.D., and the extreme south-west of the Province shared the fortunes of the Caliphs, Ommayad and Abbasid, until 871, when Sindh became virtually independent of the Khiláfat. Soon after, in or before 879, the kingdom of Multán was established, but IsláM had made little or no progress in the rest of the Province.

In 900 Amr Ismáíl the Sámani subdued ‘some part of Hind,’ doubtless in the Indus Valley. Fifteen years later Mas‘údi visited that country, and in his Meadows of Gold describes the state of IsláM there-in. The Amr of Multán was an Arab of the noble tribe of the Quraish, and the kingdom had been hereditary in his family for a long period nearly—from the beginning of IsláM. The khutba was, however, read in the name of the Caliph. The Amr’s dominions extended to the frontier of Khorásán, and the temple of the Sun at Multán, which was still an object of pilgrimage to the Hindus, yielded the greater part of his revenues. Sixty years later, in 976, Ibn Haukal found the Sun temple still flourishing. The Amr indeed resided outside the city which he held as a hostage, a threat to destroy the idol in the temple being always sufficient to avert any threat of a Hindu insurrection. Thus the Arab tenure of Multán, virtually independent as it was of the Caliphs, was weak in the extreme and IsláM had found few converts among the Indians.

But in or about 985 events occurred which eventually changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Qarmatian heretics, recently expelled from Egypt and Iráq, sought and found a refuge in the remote provinces of the Indus valley. By them the idol of the Sun was broken in pieces and the attendant priests massacred. Nevertheless the Qarmatians made or found many adherents in Multán.

Mahmúd of Ghaznú was far from finding in Multán a point d’appui for his inroads into the Punjab. Its ruler, Abú-l Fath, the Law.I, indeed, actually allied himself with Anandpal, and necessitated Mahmúd’s third expedition into India in 1008.

That the Qarmatian heresy had taken deep root in Sindh is proved by the fact that the Sunná had been won over to it before 1032, in which year an epistle, preserved in the sacred books of the Druzes, was sent by Mukhtana Bahá-ud-Dín, the chief apostle of Hamza and the principal compiler of the Druze scriptures, to the Unitarians of Multán and Hindustán in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Súmar Rájá Bal in particular. The assassination of Muhammad of Ghor in 1206 is ascribed to the Khokhara by some and to the Maláhidah by earlier and better authorities. The Imám Fakhr-ud-Dín Rájá was accused of having brought it

1 Mulállib’s invasion of 664 A. D. may be mentioned. He came as far as Multán; his object was to explore the intermediate country. Al-Bíldudri indeed says that he advanced as far as Kanmu and Lahore; E. H. L., I., p. 118.
2 E. H. L., I., p. 470.
3 Jb., p. 491.
about on account of his friendship with Sultan Muhammad, the
Khwárazm Shah.  

In 1175 Muhammad of Ghor led his forces to Multán and delivered
that place from the hands of the Qarmatians.

At this period Uch, now in the Baháwalpur State territory, was
the great centre of Moslem learning and propaganda in the south-west
Punjab. It possessed the Frúzi College to which in 1227 Minháj-i-
Saráj, the historian, was appointed, and he also held the Qážíship of the
forces of Alá-ud-Dín Bahrám Sháh, son of Násir-ud-Dín Qábácha.

In 1229 Altamsh received a diploma of investiture from the Abbási
Khalífa of Baghdad, confirming him in the sovereignty of Hindustán.

Again in 1343 Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, holding that no king or prince
could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalífa of the
race of Abbás, made diligent enquiries from many travellers about the
Khalífás of that time, and learned that its representatives were the
Khalífás of Egypt. Accordingly he sent despatches to Egypt, had his
own name and title removed from his coins and those of the Khalífa
substituted. In 1343 Háji Saíd Sarsári came to Delhi from Egypt
bringing the Sultan honours and a robe from the Khalífa. He was
received with great ceremony, the Sultan walking barefoot before him,
and two years later a diploma was obtained from Egypt constituting the
Sultan a deputy of the Khalífa. The historian Zia-ud-Dín Baráni
indeed writes as if some previous Sultán had received such confirmation
but not all. In 1356 however Sultan Fíroz III followed this precedent
and was invested by the Khalífa with the title of Sáyíd-us-Saláfín,
robes being also sent at the same time to him and to his heir and princi-
pal minister.

Meanwhile Delhi had replaced Uch as the centre of Moslem learn-
ing. In 1232 Altamsh made Minháj-i-Saráj, the historian, Qázi, Khalíb
and Imam of Gwálíor, and five years later he was made chief of the
Nášíríah College at Delhi, and Qázi of the empire in 1242, but in the
following year he resigned those appointments. In 1246 he was re-
appointed to the college, and obtained the lectureship of the Jamí'
Muejíd with the Qázi ship of Gwálíor. In 1251 he again became Qázi
of the empire and the capital, but was deprived of the post in 1253.

He was however appointed Qázi for a third time in 1256 and
probably retained the office till his death. His name does not how-
ever appear in the list of the Qázíís of the court of Altamsh, but that

1 T. N., p. 485.
3 Farishta, Persian text, Pt. I, p. 66; Thomas, Chronicles, p. 47; Lane Poole, Muham-
madan Dynasties, p. 296.
4 He had probably solicited it in 1340: Duff, pp. 219, 220, E. H. I., III., pp. 249 and
250. But the date is not certain: cf. p. 568, note 1. For Delhi as Dar-ul-Khalífah under
5 E. H. I., III., pp. 387 and 342-3. Farishta, p. 146; Tárikh-i-Fíroz Sháh by Zíai
Badní, p. 698.
6 T. N., pp. xxx-xxx. Raverty adds some interesting information regarding Minbáj.
He was a Sáfí, a scholar and one of those who would become filled with religious e.
tasias, on hearing the singing at sikrs and makárs, and when he became Qázi of Hindustán that
office assumed integrity and rectitude: ib., p. xxx.
office may have been separate from those he held. We read of three such Qázís and a fourth was styled 'Qází of the army'.

In the beginning of Sultán Raziyyat's reign one Núr, a Turk, incited an outbreak among the Qirámitsa and Muláhida heretics. They collected at Delhi from Sind, the Jumna valley and many other parts, as well as from the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and pledging fidelity to one another in secret they conspired against Islám, the mob listening openly to the harangues of Núr. He used to denounce the Ulamá as Násibi (setters-up) and Murjís (procrastinators),1 especially those of the Hanáfi and Shí‘a sects. In 1237 these sectaries made a desperate attack on the Muhammadans in the Muizzí College, which they had mistaken for the Jámí' Masjid, but they were suppressed not without much bloodshed.2

- Khwája Qutb-ud-Dín Bakhtyár Káki of Ush near Baghdád came to Multán, in the time of Násir-ud-Dín Qábácha, and subsequently to Delhi, where Altámsh offered him the office of 'Sháikh-ul-Islám which he refused. To his memory Altámsh erected the great Qutb Minár at Old Delhi. He died in 1235.

He was, it is said, the disciple of Qázi Muhammad Hamíd-ud-Dín Nágaúri, and the following table of spiritual descent may be drawn up according to the Chishti tradition:

- Hamíd-ud-Dín of Nágaúri.
- Qutb-ud-Dín Bakhtyár.3
- Faríd-ud-Dín Shakarganj.
- Khwája Nizám-ud-Dín Aulia.
- Násir-ud-Dín Chiragh-i-Delhi.
- Fakhr-ud-Dín.
- Sháh Niáz Ahmad.
- Núr Muhammad of Mahárán.
- Khwája Sháh Salmání of Taumá-Sharíf.

At Kot Karor was born in 1170 Shaikh Bahá-ud-Dín Zakaria, who subsequently became a pupil of Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Dín Subárwardí of Baghdád. Thence he returned to Multán and became the intimate friend of Shaikh Faríd-ud-Dín Shakarganj.4 The latter, perhaps the most famous Muhammadan saint of the Punjab, flourished in the 12th century.5

Nizám-ud-Dín Aulia taught at Delhi during the latter half of the 13th century and the early part of the 14th.6 One of his pupils was the poet Amír Khusráu.

1 Who consider good works unnecessary and believe that faith alone suffices for a Moslem's salvation, hell, being reserved for infidels: Sale, Korán, pp. 122, and 180-1.
2 T. N., pp. 646-7.
3 Sleeman says that Qutb-ud-Dín was a disciple of Moin-ud-Dín of Ajmer, the greatest of all their saints: Rambles and Recollections, II, p. 165.
4 Beale, Oriental Dicty., p. 97.
5 Born in 1173, he died in 1265 at the advanced age of 95, 4th., p. 129. 599 H.-634 H.
6 He was born at Budáon in 1236 and died in Delhi in 1335, age 89. 634 H.-72.
The Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín, Bustámi, was the first to hold the office of Shaikh-ul-Islám at Delhi and on his death, according to Ravery, Altamsh wished the Khwája Qutb-ud-Dín Káki to accept the office. This is, however, very doubtful for the latter saint died in 1235 and the former in 1239. However this may be, the Shaikh-ul-Islám took part in politics at a very early period, for it was on secret instructions received from Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín, the Sayyid Qutb-ud-Dín and the Qázi Shams-ud-Dín Bharaiichi that the rebels under Ulugh Khán attacked Delhi in 1257.1 Jamál Dín then must have lived till after 1257 and on his death two years later could not have been succeed ed by the Khwája.

Jalál-ud-Dín Fíroz Sháh II was remarkable for his clemency, but his only act of capital punishment led in popular belief to the downfall of his dynasty. In his reign one Sídí Maula, a darwesh from the upper country,2 who had come to Delhi in Balban’s time, acquired a position of extraordinary influence in that city. He offered prayers, but never in mosques. He received no offerings, yet he distributed vast doles to travellers, and others. Upon a magnificent khánqáh he expended thousands. He visited Shaikh Farid at Ajodhan, but disregarded that saint’s advice to abstain from meddling with politics and made a disciple of the Sultán’s eldest son who called himself the Sídí’s son. Other Muhammadans of position eventually conspired with him to waylay the emperor on his way to the mosque on the Sabbath and assassinate him, which done the Sídí was to be proclaimed khalifa and marry a daughter of Sultán Nasir-ud-Dín. Information of this conspiracy was, however, soon brought to the Sultán, but the conspirators strenuously denied their guilt and no evidence could be obtained against them. Nevertheless Sídí Maula, despite the failure of the legal process against him, was destined to suffer death. The Sultán bade the darweshes avenge him of the maula and one of them attacked him with a razor and an elephant was made to trample him to death. Forthwith, says the chronicler, a black storm arose which made the world dark and trouble arose in the State. Famine prevailed throughout Siwâlik in that same year. This event must have occurred about 1295.4 Yet when a thousand thugs were captured he refused to execute any one of them and sent them in boats towards Lakhmáni where they were set free.5

The year 1296 was marked by a remarkable assassination. The saint Nizám-ud-Dín Aulia,6 whose shrine is at Delhi, had roused the jealousy

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1 T. N., pp. 713, 622 and 707. According to D. B. MacDonald (Muslim Theology, p. 118) the dignity of Shaikh-ul-Islám was not created in Turkey till 1453.
2 Wudîyat-î-mulk-i-báld.
3 It was not, says the Tárikh-i-Fíroz Sháhi, the custom in those days to extort confession by beating. A large fire was, however, kindled and orders given to place the accused in it, but the lawyers urged that the ordeal by fire was against the law, and the evidence of one man insufficient to convict of treason. So the ordeal was countermanded and the leader of the conspiracy Qázi Jalál Kasháni actually sent as Qázi to Budaun, the remainder being banished.
4 E. H. l., III, pp. 144-5.
5 Ib., 141.
6 Born in 1286, he died in 1326 on 18th Rabi 1, 706 H.: Heale, Oriental Dicty., p. 802.
of the emperor Jalál-ud-Dín Fíroz Sháh Khílji by his influence and display, and he had threatened to humble the proud priest on his return to Delhi from the Deccan. The saint’s friends urged him to quit the city and seek safety elsewhere, but his invariable reply to their entreaties was Hanz ò Delhí dûr at, Delhi is yet afar, a saying which has passed into a proverb. His courage or confidence was justified by the event, for Fíroz Sháh was treacherously murdered at Karrá on the Ganges by his nephew and son-in-law Alá-ud-Dín and never reached the capital. With reference to this event Sleeman writes as follows:—

“One is tempted to ask why Nizáam-ud-Dín Aulía countenanced Fíroz Sháh II’s murder if he was a thug of great note, seeing that the Sultán had been, as we have seen, extremely, not to say absurdly, lenient towards that fraternity,” and Mr. Muhammad Hamíd adds:—“The phrase ‘Delhi is far off yet’ is said to have been uttered by Sháh Nizáám-ud-Dín, Maábur-i-Iláhi, of Delhi—wrongly supposed by some European scholars to be the pír of thieves and robbers—when he was pressed under threats of death to repay several lacs of rupees which he had received as alms from Násir-ud-Dín Khúsru Khán. Though Tughláq Sháh had already reached Kilolkhári, about two miles from Delhi, the saint persisted in repeating the phrase and it is said that that very day the king died a sudden death—the roof of the wooden palace falling in upon him.” Sleeman clearly did not believe the tradition that Nizáám-ud-Dín was the patron saint of thieves. The origin of the tradition will be discussed later.

Alá-ud-Dín’s reign was also marked by an outbreak of religious fanaticism at Delhi itself. In 1300 one Hájí, a mánb, i.e. a slave or rather client of a koowád, seized his opportunity while the Sultán Alá-ud-Dín was besieging Rentambhó to raise a revolt in the city. He placed on the throne a descendant of Ali, who was also a descendant of Altámsh on his mother’s side. The revolt was however suppressed with little difficulty, and great severity.

In 1303 occurred one of the then frequent Mughal raids into the Punjab. Their army under Túrgá invaded Delhi, where Alá-ud-Dín was unable to meet them in the open field entrenched his camp. Their retreat after a two months’ siege was attributed to the power of the famous saint Nizáám-ud-Dín Aulía.

The saints were revered and feared even by the governing bodies who are represented as always befriending them. Their anger was apt to bring the most unexpected disasters on the offending party, as, for example, the Sáir-i-Árifá and the Tázkirá-i-Áuliá-i-Sanjh mention the sudden death of Ghiyás-ud-Dín Tughláq Sháh in 1325 owing to a curse uttered by the great Sháh Rúkn-í-Álam of Multán, who felt insulted at some remarks made by that sovereign.

1 He was believed to possess the dast-i-qásh or invisible hand because his expenditure was even more lavish than the emperor’s own, though he had no ostensible source of income.

2 Equivalent to ‘there’s many a slip ’twixt the cup and the lip’.

3 E. H. I., i, pp. 175-8.

4 Sleeman says ‘it is very likely that he did strike this army with a panic by getting some of their leaders assassinated in one night’. There appears to be no historical evidence whatsoever to support this conjecture.
Firoz Sháh III owed his elevation to the throne of Delhi in 1351 in large measure to the support of the širkás.\footnote{I. H. L., III, pp. 275-6.}

Firoz Sháh built a large number of cities, forts, bands, mosques and tombs. His cities were Hisár Fírozah, Fatehabád, Fírozábád, Fírozábád Harní Khirá, Tughlágpur Cosna, Tughlágpur Malúk-i-Makú and Jaunpur, and everywhere he erected strong places for halts in travelling. His palaces were also numerous and he erected several lands, including the Band-i-Fath Khán, Band-i-Malja (to which he supplied Ab-i-Zamzam\footnote{Zamáin is the well at Mecca held sacred by Muhammadans.}), Band-i-Máhpálpur, Band-i-Shákhr Khán, Band-i-Sálúra, Band-i-Sálpánah, and Band-i-Wázirábád. He also built monasteries and inns for travellers. It is recorded that he erected 120 monasteries in Delhi and Fírozábád so that travellers from all parts might be received as guests in each of them for three days, and so might remain for 360 days in all. Superintendents of the Sunni faith were appointed to them and funds for their upkeep provided from the treasury.\footnote{I. B., p. 511.}

Malik Gházi Sháhna was their chief architect, and held the gold staff of office while Abdul Haq (Jáhir Sundhár) had a golden axe. A capable sháhna (superintendent) was appointed over each class of artisans. Fíroz Sháh repaired the tombs of former kings and restored the lands and villages formerly assigned to them. He also repaired the graves of saints and learned men of the faith. In the tombs of kings and saints he placed takhts (sofas or beds) of sandal wood.\footnote{A jílal is the third of an anna.} At the close of his life Fíroz Sháh took special pains to repair mosques, and appointed to each of them a muazzín and an imám. He also provided for light and carpets.\footnote{I. B., pp. 271-2.}

Fíroz Sháh showed much respect for saints and whenever he rode abroad he visited all those of Delhi. Towards the end of his reign he himself became maháq, by having his head shaved like a qalándár.\footnote{I. B., pp. 339-33. Takht here is explained to mean the Hindi chhâpar-bâvat—a bed with a canopy. What the king actually presented were canopies supported on a sandal-wood frame and pillars.}

Fíroz Sháh suppressed all practices forbidden by religious law, such as the painting of portraits, directing that garden scenes should be painted instead. He forbade the making of images and abjured the use of silver and gold vessels. He also abolished imposts which were against the law such as the dánqan, an impost levied at one dánq per tanka; mahtáqgal or ground rent, also called kár-zamín; jázar, an impost on butchers at 12 jílals\footnote{I. B., pp. 271-2.} for every ox killed; duri or rozi, one levied on traders who brought grain, salt etc., into Delhi on bullocks. Once they had to carry the bricks from the old cities of Delhi to Fírozábád\footnote{Tártikh-i-Fíroz Sháhí by Shams Siraj Att, Persian text, pp. 378-79.} on bullocks. Fíroz Sháh levied jásqa from the Brahmins who had been exempt in former reigns. They protested but finally agreed to pay it at the lowest rate, i.e. 10 tankas and 50 jílals per head.\footnote{I. B., pp. 382-4.}
went to Uch where he rebuilt the monastery of Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn of Uch, and restored villages and gardens to his sons and bestowed fresh pensions and presents on them and other people of Uch. He also repaired the monastery of Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn at Ajudhan, and granted robes of honor to his descendants and confirmed them in possession of their villages and lands.

Sultān Firoz has left an interesting account of the heretical movements of his reign—and of his methods of dealing with them. He suppressed the Rawdāz, a Shi'a sect, by burning their writings and punishing them in various ways, but apparently without bloodshed. Another sect of heretical sectarians, ṭulhād alākhtān, used to meet by night to drink wine and indulge, he writes, in promiscuous intercourse. He beheaded its leaders and banished or imprisoned other members of it. Another sect he describes as atheistical and at the same time as worshippers of one Ahmad Bahārī who was regarded as God. Its members were imprisoned and banished. Another self-styled prophet, Ruku-ud-Dīn, asserted himself to be the Imām Mahdi, claimed omniscience and a special knowledge of the science of letters which he said had been revealed to him. He was torn to pieces by the people of Delhi. Sultān Firoz based his fiscal system on the letter of the law at a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and in return for the tax of toleration (ṣaw-i-zinowiga) exacted the abolition of new idol temples and put down proselytising innovations with great severity. But he appears to have respected existing Hindu institutions. The reign of Sultān Firoz, however, was chiefly remarkable for his educational policy and his re-organization of existing institutions. To enable us to realise what he achieved an excursion on Moslem education in the Middle Ages and subsequent times down to the close of the Mughal period will now be useful.

Moslem education in Medieval and later times.

The Muhammadans established several educational institutions in the Punjab. Of these the earliest was probably the Muizzi college at Delhi, doubtless founded by Muhammad of Ghor or one of his successors in the Muizzia dynasty which he founded and which was called after his name of Muizz-ud-Dīn. Next in point of time came the Fīrūzi College at Uch (c. 1227). Jālandhar probably possessed another ancient college, but the origin of the famous Saints of Jālandhar dates

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1 Ṭārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī by Zam-i-Bānī, Persian text, pp. 538-9.
2 This Sultān's orthodoxy is highly commended by his historian. He showed great respect to the Shaikh-ul-Islām Aḥmad-ud-Dīn and his successor Farīd-ud-Dīn of Ajudhan. Towards the close of his reign he himself took the tariqa and became a mahādī. A less pleasing feature of his reign was the levy of the jīzā from Brahmans: E. H. I., III, pp. 392-3 and 396.
3 Ib., p. 543.
5 Ib., p. 364.
6 Ib., p. 880.
7 It is only alluded to in T. N., p. 648. It was not among the buildings repaired by Sultān Firoz: E. H. I., III, p. 383 f.
8 Revery's Tabāqāt-i-Nisābul, London, 1881, p. 541: it was probably founded by the Malik Fīrūz-ud-Dīn, Altamash, the Sārār, prince of Khwārizm, 16, p. 626, a noble of the Sultān Altmash.
9 Ib., p. 679.
Later educational institutions.

from a much later period, probably not earlier than the close of the 13th century. These saints were of Afgán or kindred origin and among the earliest was the Imám Násir-ud-Dín Shírání. Another was an ancestor of the saint, influential in the Afgán hills, known as the Pir Roshan, the founder of the Roshanfa schism. But Delhi was the principal centre of religious instruction. The Násiríah college was founded there, probably by Alfamash who appointed the Persian historian Mítháj-ud-Dín formerly principal of the college at Uch, to this foundation in 1237 A. D.

The later and more orthodox Muhámmadás generally had their educational institutions or madrasas attached to mosques or tombs. It is believed by them to be a religious act, conferring the blessing of God on the soul of the deceased buried in the tomb or on that of the founder of the mosque. Sometimes, however, they were founded independently, but such cases were not very many. This system is to be met with practically in the whole Muhámmadán world, and still prevails.

(i) After the Muizzí and Násiríah colleges at Delhi comes Alá-ud-Dín’s college, which was attached to his tomb near the Qutb Minár, within its enclosure. It was repaired by Fiýroz Sháh. The building is totally ruined but has recently been cleared from débris.

(ii) Fiýroz Sháh, who was very fond of buildings and erected as well as repaired a large number of them, constructed two madrasas. One of them was built at the Aláí tank and known by the name of Madrásat-í-Fiýroz Sháhí. Zíá-i-Barní, a contemporary historian, has lavished much praise on this building and says that Munála Jaláí-ud-Dín Rúmí, a scholar of great repute, was appointed to teach taf火锅 (commentaries on the Qurán), hadíth (tradition), fiqh (Muhámmadán Law) in the madrasa.

(iii) The second madrasa built by Fiýroz Sháh was at Sírí. It also has been greatly praised by Zíá-i-Barní who records that Najm-ud-Dín of Sámarqand, a great scholar of the time, gave religious instruction in that madrasa.

(iv) There was also a third madrasa built by Fiýroz Sháh in connection with his son Fáteh Khán’s tomb known as Qadam Sharif.

(c) In the year 1561 Maham Angah, the wet nurse of Akbar, built a madrasa attached to the mosque known as Khair-ul-Manázíli near the old Fort.

(vi) There was a college or madrasa on the roof of the tomb of Humáyún. It was at one time an institution of some importance and men of learning such as Munála Núr-ud-Dín Tarkhán were appointed to the charge of the place.

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1 Temple, Legends, III, p. 150 f.
2 One of his titles was Násir-i-Amúr-úl-Múminí. It can hardly have been founded by Násir-ud-Dín Kábáí because Sultán Fíroz relates how he rebuilt the college (madrasa) of Atámsh which had been destroyed: E. H. t., III, p. 383.
4 Tdríkh-i-Fiýroz Sháhí by Zíá-i-Barní, p. 582-5.
5 Ib., pp. 585-6.
7 Ib., ch. III, p. 54.
8 Carr Stephen, Delhi, p. 207.
Later educational institutions.

(viii) Gházi-ud-Dín Khán built a madrasa in connection with his mausoleum, which he erected in his own lifetime. It is still used as such, being occupied by the Anglo-Arabic High School.

(ix) The madrasa of Rangshání-ud-Daula associated with a mosque in Daría Bazaar, Sháhjahánpur, in Delhi, was built by Nawáb Shari-ud-Daula in 1135 H. (1722-3 A. D.) during the reign of Muhammad Sháh. The madrasa no longer exists, but it is referred to in the inscription on the central arch of the mosque.

(x) The tomb of Safdar Jang is locally known as madrasa but no reference to it is to be found in any book. It is possible that the rooms in the enclosure may have been used for the purpose which has given it the name of madrasa.

In Lahore, Dái Ládo, wet nurse of Jahángír, founded a school which continued to flourish till the collapse of the Moghul power.

During the reign of Bahol Khán Lodi in 1472 A.D. Batálá in Gurdás pur was founded by Rai Rám Déo, a Bhaṭṭí, to whom the tract between the Sutlej and Chenáb had been farmed by Tátár Khán, viceroy of Lahore. Rám Déo was converted by Shaikh Muhammad Qádír Déo of Lahore. In later times Batálá enjoyed a great reputation for learning and the saints Shaháh-ud-Dín Buhkári, Sháh Ismáil Sháh Niímatullá and Shaikh Alláh Dád lived there. The tomb of the first-named still exists in the quarter occupied by his descendants, the Buhkári Sāyyids, and that of his still more distinguished kinsman Manúj Dár received at Khan Pateh, five miles to the west of the town. But the last-named may be really buried at Lahore.

Agha Báfí-ud-Dín Sháhí, 11th in descent from Sāyyid Abdul Qádír Jflí, in the time of Humáyún, and 6th in descent from himself was Khán Bahádur Qázi Ínáyatullá whose eldest son Sāyyid Muhammad Akram was qázi in Montgomery. Another son, Muhammad Fazl Déo, settled in Batálá about 300 years ago. He founded its Madrasa Qádirí in Aurangzéb's reign, and in that of Farrukhsíar about 100 villages were granted him in jagír. On his death S. Ghulám Qádír Sháh, whose books on náwváš were well-known in the Punjab, became sájjída-náshí and obtained villages worth Rs. 12,000 a year from Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. His gaddi is still held by his descendants, one of whom, S. Ahmad Sháh, assisted Lt. W. M. Murray in his historical works.

Muhammad Fazl's college attracted many students, but it was destroyed by Banda and the town soon lost its title of Sharíf. Banda indeed set fire to the whole town and pillaged it, beginning with the Qází's makálla, then its wealthiest quarter.

Mulláh Abdul Hákim and Sádúlláh 'Allami, afterwards the grand wazír of Sháh Ján, were class-fellows and studied together in the

1 Carr Stephen, Delhi, pp. 263 et. seq.
2 Adrug-e-Banddái, ch. 111, p. 81.
3Hist. of Lahore, p. 286.
4Qâdi at Slákló, in Montgomery, Kashmir and Kábul from time to time, and founder of Chák Qázi in Gurdás pur, where he died.
5Gurdás pur Graselleer, 1914, p. 28.
6Ráhádá Síngh, Philosophie Hist. of the Sikh Religion, I., p. 216.
muktab at the Kashmiri mosque near the Imam Sáhib's mausoleum. Both were poor and Mulláh Abdul Hákim's parents were weavers. The most famous of his teachers was Mulláh Kánúd Akhund of Kashmir. Abdul Hákim distinguished himself in logic and philosophy, but his renown did not spread abroad until his introduction to the court of Sháh Jahán which occurred in this way: Sádullah 'Allami, when he rose to the dignity of wazír, remembered his class-fellow as they had been great friends in early days. He mentioned the name of Abdul Hákim to the emperor and praised him so much that the emperor ordered him to be sent for. He came to Delhi where some time after his arrival a discussion on the existence of God took place. Mulláh Abdul Hákim was required by the emperor to join in the discussion and he brought forward so many convincing arguments that all admitted his intellectual superiority. The emperor himself was greatly pleased and requested the mulláh to arrange those arguments in the form of a pamphlet which is still extant. In its introduction the author relates the above story and says that he wrote at the express desire of the emperor. The mulláh lived for a long time at court, but finally came back to Siálkot and buried himself in imparting knowledge to all. He opened a madrasa in a mosque in Rangpura where men from all parts of the world came to hear his discourses, even from Basra, Egypt, Baghdád, Pengál, Kashmir, Turkistán and Persia. He used to dictate explanatory notes on difficult books of logic and his pupils used to take them down in class. His elucidations of difficult works of old philosophy are still printed, and in recent years a book published in Egypt under the name of 'The Reflections of the Siálkot' is still used and appreciated by students of philosophy. It is a text-book in the Colleges there. Besides this his 'elucidations' or Hásbúlah of books on philosophy are still printed in Arabia and Egypt which shows that they have not lost their hold on the public mind and have not become stale with the lapse of time and the introduction of new theories about philosophical doctrines has not impaired them.

Sháh Jahán was so pleased with the mulláh that when he came back from Delhi to Siálkot he granted him land and had a tank dug for his ablution. This tank still exists near the American Mission School. The emperor also had a canal dug for his special use, the traces of which are still found at some places near the tank. The reason for the digging of the canal was that Mulláh Abdul Hákim professed the Sháftái dogmas of Islám, according to which ablutions are only lawful if performed in running water.

He had an extensive library in which valuable books were collected. After his death his descendants did not inherit his intellectual powers and in the last years of the 19th century, one of them Mián Ghausa disposed of all his valuable manuscripts out of sheer poverty. Mián Ghausa died recently and now nothing remains of the old philosopher but a confused heap of stones to mark the last resting place of one who once ruled the intellectual world of India. He is buried at Siálkot near the tank and his mausoleum was once imposing, but owing to the vandalism of the Sikhs, who used it as a magazine, they say, it is now in ruins.
To resume the notes on the religious history of Islam:

Religious history of the Mughal period.

Akbar’s policy was one of toleration and in fact he incurred the charge of heterodoxy by his attempts to bring all religions into one comprehensive fold. His historian Abul Fazl’s account of his measures must be read with caution as that writer’s own father had been accused of Shi’i tendencies and sympathy with heresy. He was a Sufi, but disapproved the estatcies of music and dance affected by that sect; and also eschewed silk, though he changed his views in this respect.

Akbar’s measures were far-reaching. He abolished the poll-tax on infidels in the 9th year of his reign and also the tax called karmi levied apparently on Hindu pilgrims to sacred shrines. This led to a rebellion, the emperor’s innovations being objected to in so far as they led to the withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. But Akbar does not appear to have acted in this matter without some justification. The department of the Sadr-i-Jahân had been very great before the time of the Mughals and even during Akbar’s reign he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His edict legalised the jālās or accession of a new king. But the department had become most corrupt and especially so in the administration of the sayyārgah or grants. Akbar’s Sodars were:

1. Shaikh Gadal, until 968 H.
2. Khwāja Muhammad Sāhil, until 971 H.
3. Shaikh Abdunnabi, until 986 H.

1 See the guarded account in the Aīn-i-Akbari, Blochmann’s Trans., III, p. 420 f.
2 Blochmann, op cit., p. 440.
4 Aīn, I, p. 270.

To the virulic pen of Al-Badauni we owe many details regarding these Sodars. Akbar’s efforts to revise the lists of religious grants seem to have given grave offence to Al-Badauni. Possibly his own pocket had been affected.

Shaikh Gadal, Kamboh, was the son of Jamāl, Kamboh, a poet of Delhi, who after the second defeat during the exile at Gujrat had come to the Khan Khānān. Through his influence he was appointed Sadr in 995 H. The Khan Khānān and even the emperor himself attended singing parties at his house, which Al-Badauni describes in severe terms. Shaikh Gadal drew the pen of obliteraton through the grants and pensions of old servants of the Crown, but to any one who disdained himself by attending his love-feasts he gave a sayyārgah. He died in 978 H. : Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, translation W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 22 and 124; Masa’il-ul-Umara, II, pp 540–41.

6 In 963 H. Khwaja Muhammad Sulih of Hirat, grandson of Khwaja Abdullah Marwārid, a well-known mastr, was appointed Sadr, but without fully absolute power of granting ausaf, and subsistence (mazāil m’ash), as they were subject to administrative control : Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Lowe, II, pp. 49–50.

7 In 972 or 971 H. Akbar sent for Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi, the traditionalist, grandson of Shaikh Abd-ul-Qadis of Gangan, one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Sadr, so that acting with Muzaffar Khan, he might pay the peni-nis. He soon acquired a sole power over the grants of allowances, lands and pensions, but by degrees matters reverted to their old position. About 983 H., when Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi was rising to power, the emperor used to go to his house to hear lectures on the traditions of the Propriet, and make Jalāingir attend his school to learn the 40 ahādis of the renowned mastr, Mālam Abdur Rahmān Jami. Once or twice the emperor placed the Shaikh’s slippers before his feet. In this year Akbar gave orders that no a’mas in the empire should be recognised by the kāvāri (revenue officer) of a pargana, unless the ūrmān by which the
grant had been made before the Sadr for verification. This brought
numbers of worthy people from the east of India and so far west as Bhukar to Court. If
any of them had a patron in one of the Amirs, or a friend of His Majesty, he could get his
affairs settled, but such as lacked recommendations had to bribe Sayyid Abdur Haqdi, the
Shaiim’s headman, or his chamberlains, door-keepers and sweeper. Many of the a’imadar
swooped without effecting their object from the heat caused by the crowds. The Sheikh would
for example allow a teacher of the Hadith and other books 100 mejars more or less and
though such a man might have held long possession of a greater area, the Sheikh would
take it away. But to men of no repeat, even to Hindus, he would grant lands. Thus
learning and learned men fell daily in estimation. Even in the hall of audience the
Sheik used to insult great Amirs and even courtiers, who endured it in order to help poor
supplicants. Never by any emperor had such absolute power been given to any Sadr.

Once Sheikh Abd-un-Nabi told Akbar that a certain muftahd had nine wives, but on
another occasion when the emperor asked him how many wives a man could marry, he gave
a different answer and so annoyed the emperor that he never forgot it. In 987 H. Sheikh
Abd-un-Nabi and the Makkhdum-ul-Mulk tempted mankind by suggesting that the Qur’an
was a forgery, by casting doubts on the authority of the prophets and Imams and
denying the existence of demons, angels, all mysteries, signs and miracles. At length
owing to the enmity of the Makkhdum-ul-Mulk and others, he lost the emperor’s favour.
But perhaps the chief reason of his fall was the execution of a Brahman.

In 986 H. Sheikh Abd-un-Nabi and his enemy the Makkhdum-ul-Mulk were banished to
Mecca, the post of Sadr being conferred on Sultan Khwaja. In 993 H. they
returned to Gujrat, where the Makkhdum-ul-Mulk died at Ahmadabad. Sheikh Abd-un-Nabi
went to Pathpur, and tried to regain his former position; but he used such rude language
that the emperor struck him in the face. He had apparently been given Rs 7000 before he
went to Mecca and seems to have been unable to account for it on his return, so he was
handed over to Raja Todar Mal and imprisoned like a defaulting tax-gatherer and the
historian adds that one night a mob strangled him. This took place in 991 H.: op cit.,
Lowe, II, p 70, Persian text, II, pp 204, Lowe, pp 207-8, 211, 281, Pers Text, II, pp
276, 311 and 83.

1 In 984 H. Sultan Khwaja (Abul Azim, son of Khwaja Khawand Mahmun) was
appointed Mir Haji and given six idaka of rupees to distribute among the deserving poor
of Mecca, Medina and build a khana in the sacred precincts. He returned in 986 H.,
bringing back Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, and other presents for the emperor, who made
him Sadr of all Hindustan with the rank of 1000. A disciple of the emperor, he died in
992 H. and was buried in Pathpur. Fost. Akbar bestowed his daughter in marriage on
his son the prince Danyaz: Mundkhah-at-Tawarikh, Lowe, II, pp 241 and 276; and

2 In 990 H. Mir Fathullah of Shiraz who, like the theologians, mathematicians, physicists and all
sciences, both logical and traditional, and in falsafas, inventions and discovering treasure
was unrivalled in that age, in obedience to a farmán, left Adil Khán in the Deccan and
came to Pathpur. The Khan Khánán and Hákim Abdul Fath by imperial command met him,
and brought him to the presence. He was made Sair, but his only duty was to
confiscate the land of the poor. When the emperor learnt that he had been a pupil of
Mir Ghýas-ul-Mín Mansur of Shiraz, who was none too strict in religion, he fancied that
he would gladly accept his schemes, but Fathullah was so staunch Shi’s that even in the hall
of State he said the Shi’a prayers with perfect composure, a thing no one else would have dared to do.
His Majesty therefore classed him as a bigot, but connived at his practices,
and married him to a daughter of Muzaffar Khán, associating him in the waqf with
Raja Todar Mal.  Mir Fathullah also taught the Amir’s children. He also accompanied
the emperor in the chase. In 993 H. Akbar gave Shah (afterwards Mir) Fathullah the
title of Azad-ul-daunat and a present of its 5000, appointing him sadar-in-chief of Hindus-
tán, but posted him to the Deccan. His deputy Kamali Sefari remained at the capital
to bring to court the lackland a’imadar, of whom some were still left, scattered here and
there. Under him the sadarate reached its zenith; but by degrees things came to such a pass that Shah Fathullah, for all his pomp, could not grant 5 bighas of land. Nay, after
the withdrawal of the grants the very soil became the haunt of wild beasts instead of
a’imadar and husbandmen. In 993 H. Akbar sent Azad-ul-Daunat from the Court to
Máwá, in 995 H. he was sent to govern Berar, and in 997 H. he received Barávar in jágir,
with all its charity lands. In 997 H. he died of fever in Kashmir and was buried on the
Takhti-Sulíka, a hill near a city of that province: Mundkhah-at-Tawarikh, Lowe,
6. Sadr Jahán, whose name coincided with his title. He had been Mufti-i-mundlik-i-mahrús and continued to serve under Jahángir.

Another Sadr was Maulána Abdul Bái, of unknown date. Shaikh Gádáí began the resumption of the endowments, but Abdunnabi was invested with wide discretionary powers and made grants lavishly though, if his detractors are to be believed, capriciously until his downfall. Under Sultán Khájá, who had adopted the 'Divine Faith' of Akbar, matters took a very different course, the lands were steadily withdrawn and as the emperor inquired personally into all of them the power of the Sadr was completely broken and many Muhammadan families were utterly ruined.

In 989 H. Akbar again entrusted the Punjab to Sád Khán, Rájá Bhagwán Dás, and Mán Singh. To investigate the management of grants in the province, he appointed a Sadr to each Doáb, viz. Múlláhs Iláhidáí of Auroha, Sherí the poet, Il láhidá Nabáwi of Sultánpur, and Sháh Muhammad of Sháhábád. The first two were remarkable for their goodness and the last two for their badness. He also appointed Shaikh Fáizi Sádár of a Doáb (probably that between the Sutlej and Beás). But Hakím Humán and Hakím Abdul Fath, the Sadors of the capital, he sent beyond the Ganges.

Akbar presumably conducted ecclesiastical business in much the same way as his successors, for instance Sháh Jahín, of whom it is recorded that after the emperor had disposed of purely administrative business the chief Sadr reported to him any important point in the despatches received from the provincial Sadors. He also brought to his notice cases of needy scholars, Sayyids, Shaikhs and holy men and obtained grants of money for them.

Nevertheless Akbar's toleration of other creeds and his measures against the holders of religious grants did not alienate all Muhammadan sympathy from him. On the contrary several of the highest ecclesiastical officials in the empire in 987 H. signed a document declaring the superiority of the Imám-i-ádíl or just leader over the mujtá-hid. 1

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1 Besides these there were provincial Sadr-i-juz in each Súbah under the (direct?) orders of the Sád-i-Jahán, Sád-i-Kul or Sád-i-Súdár as he was also called. The Sád-i-Jahán often wielded great power, e.g. Abdunnabi had two men put to death for heresy: ib., III, 271.

2 Sádár Jahán, mufti of the imperial dominions, who had been appointed to a commandship of 1000, joined the Divine Faith, as did also his two foolish sons in 1004 H: Mústáháb-at-Tawárikh, Lowe, II, p. 418.

3 Ib., III, pp. 273-4 and 270. These grants were designated a'sima, and the holders a'simádar. The former word is still found as a place-name in the Punjab, e.g. in Hisápur.


6 Mústáháb-at-Tawárikh, Lowe, I, pp. 185-6. This document was signed, not without much debate and many mental reservations, by Qázi Jalál-ul-Dín of Múltán, Qázi-uz-Quzzás, Abdunnabi, Sádár Jahán as mufti of the empire and others.
This document made Akbar supreme head of the faith and was soon followed by the attempt of Háji Ibrāhīm of Sirhind, who is said to have translated the Atharva Veda, to adduce proofs that the emperor was the Sāhib-i-Zamān, or 'Man of the Age', a title frequently given to the Imām Mahdī, who was to reconcile the 73 sects of Islam, and in 988 H. this movement received some support from the learned. Among Moslem doctors who are mentioned as having influenced Akbar's conduct is Shāikh Tāj-ud-Dīn of Delhi, son of Shāikh Zakariā of Ajodhan and a disciple of Shāikh Zamān of Pānipat. Tāj-ul-Arifīn or crown of the Sūfis, and the emperor listened whole nights to his 'Sūfī trifies' according to Al-Badauni.

Muhammad Akram was appointed Qāzi of the imperial court in 1698 and died in 1705.

But tolerant as Akbar was of religious convictions he persecuted doubtless in self-defence and in the interests of toleration itself, many learned men and lawyers. The ulamā as a class appear to have come in for very severe treatment and many Shāikhs and fāqīhs were sent to Qāwulahār and elsewhere to be exchanged for horses. The sect of the Ilāhīs met with similar treatment.

The story of Dārā Shikoh may now be read in J. N. Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb and his place in literature in Pandit Sheo Narain's paper. In the Safshat-ul-Auliā he calls himself a Hāfīz and his poetical name was Qādirī, but it is not certain that he belonged to that or any other particular sect or order. His views were exceedingly broad and liberal and though he seems to have been initiated into the Qādiria order by Muhammad Shāh Tūsīn-ullah in 1049 H., he may have been influenced by political motives to adopt a vague Sūfism which would win him support from the Hindus without alienating the more moderate Muhammadans. However this may be, many folktales recall his Hindu leanings, and his dialogues with Bābā Lal show that

2. Ib., p. 190. The Muntakhab-ul-Tawdrīkh, Lowe, II, p. 295 (Persian text, pp. 236-7) ascribes this incident to 990 H. and adds that Khwāja Mawlānā of Shirāz, 'the heretic of Jafrān', brought a pamphlet by some of the sharīfs of Mecca, which quoted a tradition that the earth would exist for 7000 years, and that this period was now over the promised Mahdi would soon appear. 'Many others also produced such pamphlets and all this made the emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else of God'.
3. Ib., p. 181. Shāikh Zamān was in Sūfism and pantheism second only to Shāikh ibn-Arabi. He was the author of one commentary on the Lāsūlah and of another comprehensive one on the Nushat-ul-Awaž.
4. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 142. The kind of question that was referred to the mufīfs is illustrated by an incident of Aurangzeb's reign. Some Hindus were taken prisoner at the siege of Jaipur and the emperor directed the Court Qāzi Muhammad Akram to investigate the question with the help of the mufīfs. He reported that under the canon law they could be released if they accepted Islam—but that the Muslims taken should be imprisoned for 3 years; ib., p. 141. But he soon reviewed his decision in the light of the Fatwa-i-Alamgirī and the prisoners were impartially executed. The function of mufīf was to expound the law and assist the Qāzi by supplying him with fatwas or decisions; p. 142.
they are founded on fact. Though specially fond of Lahore his influence was felt further afield, and the shrine of Jati Abdál or the chaste Abdál at Rámpur in Kabirwáli tahsil, Multán, was founded by one of his servants. No woman is admitted into this shrine.¹

The austere orthodoxy of Aurangzeb found no nobler field for its activity than the reformation of abuses within the fold of Islám itself. He showed much self-restraint in the exercise of his despotic powers, but his firmness in carrying out the measures, which he considered necessary, was beyond all praise. He endowed learned men and professors but was apparently enabled to prevent the abuses rife under Akbar. While he observed the Sháfií tenets he recognised in legal matters the authority of the Hanáfi School and caused a digest of the conflicting rulings of the qázís and muftís, which had been delivered without any authority, to be drawn up by a commission under Shaikh Nizám. As its members were well paid this commission cost about two lakhs of rupees.³ The Fatwá-i-Alamgírí, which is known at Mecca as a Fatwá-i-Hind, was composed of extracts in Arabic from several collections of fatásus of older date and also from other legal treatises of a more abstract character by writers of the Hanfí School. It was commenced in the 11th year of Aurangzeb’s reign (1670 A.D.) and was completed before his death.⁴ Sarkár describes it as a mere compilation though it cost nearly two lakhs of rupees.⁵

That writer adds that in the same year the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. They consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the emperor property, life, honour and religion. Whosoever sacrificed one of these four won a degree. The courtiers put down their names as faithful disciples of the throne.⁶

Aurangzeb changed the title of the imperial slaves from ghulám to chela because he considered it an act of impious presumption for one man to call another ghulám, men being slaves of God alone.⁷

In 1680 the emperor re-imposed the jizya, a measure which led to a commotion at Delhi. The Muntakhab-ul-Lubbáb implies that it was imposed to curb the insidels, ḍū, the Satnámís, who had broken out just before. But the Ma’dásir places that outbreak five years before the re-imposition.⁸

¹ Multán Gazetteer, p. 22.
² E. H. i., VII, p. 158.
³ Jb., pp 159-60
⁴ Two books of this digest are translated in a condensed form in Baillie’s Mookum-mudán Law of Sale (London, 1850), and it was largely used by the same author in his Digest of Mookummadán law (London, 1875). But no translation of the work as a whole exists in English.
⁷ Sarkar, op. cit., p. 101. Does this account for the existence of a Chela sect among the Sindhi, Vol. III, p. 419, infra? Possibly the Chelas were originally Ghuláms, as on the frontier.
⁸ E. H.I., VII, p. 296.
⁹ Jb., p. 479.
Muhammadan Theology.

No trace seems to exist in the Punjab of the hisba jurisdiction, though Sarkar cites an order of Aurangzeb reproving the Prince Muhammad Azam Shâh for taking upon himself the functions of the muhtasib or 'censor of morals'. The muhtasib exercised quasi-judicial functions of a very delicate and important kind.

Sirhind was a considerable centre of Muhammadan learning during the Mughal period. It must have possessed a college, for Shaikh Abdulla, surnamed Miân, taught there, one of his pupils being Shaikh Muhammad Bakâ, author of the Mirât-i-Âlam and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad of Sirhind.

Sirhind was a wealthy town, learned and religious men in great numbers residing there when it was sacked by the Sikhs under Banda in 1708.

Sialkot also held some position in the learned world, for Chulpi Abdulla, son of the celebrated Maulâna Abdul Hakîm of Sialkot, was employed to translate the Fatâwa-i-Âlamgîr into Persian.

Notwithstanding the recent sack of Sirhind by the Sikhs Lahore was in 1121 H. the scene of a riot caused by an imperial order that the word 'hrîr' should be inserted among the attributes of Ali in the khutba. Against this innovation Jân Muhammad and Hâji Yâr Muhammad, two of the most eminent scholars in the city, protested and after other and more violent protests had been ignored the khatîb of the mosque was stabbed by a Turâni Mughal and finished off by the mob in the forecourt of the mosque. Apparently the imperial order implied a claim by the emperor to be styled or regarded as the Khalîfa. Hâji Yâr Muhammad stoutly opposed the innovation in an audience at Delhi also and though the form used in the reign of Aurangzeb was eventually restored the Hâji and two other learned men were sent to a fortress.

Islamic Theology.

In order to understand the present position of Islam in the Punjab, the condition of its institutions, and its aspirations, a sketch however brief of its theological history is indispensable. The constitutional history of Islam has been that of a conflict between two principles, the authority of the Qurân and the various influences which sought to modify it. The contribution made by the Prophet to Islam was legislation pure and simple. Since his death there has been no legislation, properly so-called, but only interpretation of the Quràn. This is the more momentous in that the sphere of law is much wider in Islam than it has ever been with western nations. Passing over the various sources,

1 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 70. Under Aurangzeb, at any rate, beside the qâdî or judges of canon law, étîa or judges of common law were also appointed, but the emperor himself was the fountain of justice and the highest court of appeal. He took the law from the ulmâ or canon-lawyers: Sarkar, op. cit., p. 175, cf. p. 174.

2 E. H. I., VII, p. 158.
3 Ibid., VII, p. 415.
4 Jâb. p. 160.
5 Ibid., VII, p. 421.

7 Throughout this sub-section D. B. Macdonald's Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (London, 1908) has been drawn upon freely.
such as the hadis or tradition, which were drawn up to interpret, amplify and modify the Qurān we find four great legal schools developing in succession. Of these the first was that of Abu Hanifa, the first teacher to leave behind him a systematic body of teaching and a missionary school of pupils. A Persian by race he does not seem to have held office as a judge or to have practised law, but to have been a philosophical jurist. Finding that the law of the desert not only failed to apply to town and agricultural life but was even directly mischievous, he reduced to a definite principle the consideration of local conditions under the formula of istahdān or ‘holding for better’.1 Although his system was never reduced to a code and was vehemently attacked by his opponents it was perfected by his pupils and their successors and has withstood all attacks. It is the leading one of the four existing schools and prevails over all northern India. Abu Hanifa died in 782 A.D. and 29 years later died Mālik ibn Anas who had given form to the historical school of Madina. While Mālik relied more upon tradition and took refuge less frequently in opinion, he accepted the principle of istislāh or ‘public advantage’ with clearness. The result was that it is not easy to make much practical distinction between his school and that of Abu Hanifa, and it had little influence in the east.

We next pass from simple development to development through conflict. Hitherto dissension had only covered points of detail. Now it touched a vital question of principle. The traditionists said that law should be based solely on the Qurān and tradition. The modernists contended that it was better to work out a legal system by logic and the necessities of the case. Between these extremists Ash-Shāfi‘ī (died 819 A.D.) struck out a middle course. An absolutely authentic tradition he regarded as of equally divine authority with the Qurān, but he recognised also as inevitable the maintenance of usages which had grown up in individual life, in the constitution of the State, and in the rules and decisions of the courts. To prevent the overthrow of this established order of things Ash-Shāfi‘ī created the theory of ijma‘ or agreement, already adumbrated by Mālik, into a principle, and taught that whatever the community of Islam has agreed upon is of God. But he also accepted qiyāṣ (analogy) as a guide and thus gave elasticity to his system. Ash-Shāfi‘ī is one of the greatest figures in the history of law and with him closes the great development of Muhammadan jurisprudence. But he has had little influence over the development of law in the Punjab. His doctrines are only professed by a few depressed tribes like the Kehāls as an excuse for eating the flesh of unclean animals.

Against Ash-Shāfi‘ī’s teaching the principal revolt was headed by his own pupil Dā‘ud-az-Zāhirī, ‘David the literalist’, and he founded a school which lasted for centuries and had important historical and theological consequences, though it was never acknowledged as a regular school of Moslem law. The dignity of the fourth school was reserved for that of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, a theologian of the first rank but not a lawyer, who minimised agreement, rejected analogy and favoured literal interpretation. His school was not progressive and has had little influence, if any, on the Punjab, unless we except the Ahl-i-hadis of

1 Lit. ‘approving, praising’... or ‘considering as a favour’: Catafago.
modern times.\footnote{Macdonald, op. cit., p. 115, says: 'Practically only the Wahhabites in Central Arabia are Hanbalites,' but as literalists the All-i-Hadis wherever they may be found must accept or be influenced by Hanbalite doctrine.} Ahmad bin Hanbal died in 355 A.D.

The present position then throughout the Moslem world is that besides the codices of canon or theoretical law there is an accepted and authoritative body of statutes (qāsūnāt) promulgated by secular authority. How far this system ever applied to India it is difficult to say.

The above account omits any mention of Shi'ite and Ibadite laws. The latter has had no influence on the Punjab as far as can be seen. The Shi'a legal system is based on the authority of the Hidden Imám. They utterly reject the idea of co-ordinate schools of law, and to the doctrine of īḥtiāf or 'variability' under local conditions they oppose his authority. They still have mujtahids, divines and legists, who have a right to form opinions of their own, can expound the original sources at first hand and claim the unquestioning assent of their disciples. But in these provinces, even among so strictly Shi'a a tribe as the Tāris, the office of mujtahid is either in abeyance or not disclosed.

So far we have dealt with law as a branch of theology, a perfectly legitimate method in an account of Moslem religious development. Its purely theological history can only be dealt with here cursorily. The two earliest schools of theological thought were the Murji'ites and Qadarites. The former 'postponed' judgment until it is pronounced by God on the Day of Judgment. Their principal contribution to theology is the doctrine that faith and faith alone saved, and as a party their doctrine that the good of the Moslem community required obedience to the ruler of the time, even though his personal unworthiness were plain, must have had important consequences throughout Islam. The sect with which we are more nearly concerned is that of the Qadarites. Deriving its name from the tenet that a man possessed qadr or 'power' over his actions, it disappeared as a sect much earlier, it would seem, than the Murji'ites, but its teaching was destined to have far-reaching results. The story of its founding connects with the outstanding figure of Al-Hasan-al-Hasari, though he was not its originator, and its principal exponents were a disciple of his called Wāsil ibn-i-\`Ata\footnote{Died 131 H. Others say that Amr-bin-Ubaiyd was the pupil of Al-Basri who succeeded from his teaching. He died in 144 H. For a sketch of Hasan Basri's life and teachings see Claud Field, Mystics and Saints of Islam, p. 22ff.} and his disciple in the second generation Abu-Husayn Muhammad-ul-Allah. These founded the sect of the Mu'tazilah or Decisivists, from an expression used by Al-Hasan-al-Hasari himself. Wāsil accepted the doctrines of qadr and of faith as sufficient for salvation, but he taught that if a believer (mu'min) died unrepentant of great sin he went to hell but after a time would be permitted to enter heaven. Abu Husayn further developed the doctrine of qadr. Holding that in this world man was endowed with free-will, he taught that in the next all changes were predestined. Further he rejected the evidence of tradition for things connected with alghaib, the unseen world,\footnote{The place given to dreams in Moslem works on and means of spiritual reunion with God has puzzled some writers; e.g. Major J. Stopford in his translation of the Hadīqat.} and taught that it
The progressive Fatimid movement.

was not to be accepted unless among the witnesses to them there were one at least of the People of Paradise or Friends of God, some of whom, he taught, were always in the world. These are the awliyā whose existence in the Punjab is still an important article of faith and who will be described later.

This period and the one which followed it was one of extremely acute theological speculation. How far it was due to contact with Greek thought it is impossible to gauge, but the times were the golden age of Muslim science and of broad-minded toleration. But the Mutasilite ascendency if great was destined to be short-lived. Its chief opponent was the jurist Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who staunchly maintained the authority of tradition (naql) in theology as against reason (aqid) as he had done in law. Its decline was followed by a period of scholasticism which in turn declined, even in the writings of the devout and versatile Al-Fârâbî into encyclopaedism.

We now come to what Macdonald calls the great mystery of Muslim history, the Fatimid movement, which certainly appears to have been one which favoured progress and enlightenment. From the earliest times the family of the Prophet had unquestionably fostered science. Obsolete though the historical material may be it is amply sufficient to prove that the movement appealed largely to the educated and enlightened elements in Islâm. Closely allied with the movement and with Al-Fârâbî was the semi-secret society of the Ikhwân-as-safâ which flourished for a brief period at Basra in the middle of the 4th century of the Hijra. Its methods resembled closely those of the Ismailians or Assassins. Its leaders raised difficulties and suggested serious questionings, and it is possible that its elevated eclecticism was the real doctrine of the Fatimids, the Ismailians, the Qarmatians and the Druses. Another ecclesial sect, but based on very different principles, was that of the Qarâmites, of which Mahmûd of Ghazni was an adherent. Murjites in that they held faith to be only acknowledged with the tongue, the Qarâmites took the Qurân.

al-Hâdîqat of Hakîm Abûl-âjâd Majdûd Sanâ‘î of Ghazni says: "A portion of the book (pp. 51-6) is, curiously, devoted to the interpretation of dreams; after which the author treats of the incompatibility of the two worlds, again of the abandonment of earth and self, and of the attainment of the utmost degree of self-annihilation (pp. 56-8)" — see p. xxix of the introduction. Sandy's chain of thought is perfectly logical as dreams are revelations or communications from the 'invisible world'. Ibn Kaldûn writes on the 'Science of the interpretation of dreams' after his description of Sufism (De Sane, Les Prologomenes d'Un Khalidew, III, pp. 114 ff., Paris, 1868). Both writers treat the interpretation of visions as a science complete in itself. 'A cook means great riches, just as a butcher means that one's affairs are ruined. A physician is pain and sickness, especially to one who is wretched and needy. The tailor is the man in virtue of whom troubles and affliction are all changed to good fortune'; and so on with every thing and person that may be dreamt of. The unseen world has its pir and the dasti-ghâbt is a feature in countless legends of saints.

1 Op. cit., p. 185. On p. 166 lie points out that Al-Ma‘mûn had combined the establishment of a great university at Baghûdâ with a favouring of the Alids and the Fatimids in Cairo and all their influence for the advancement of learning. The obscurity and paucity of the historical data are doubtless due to the fact that most of it perished with the downfall of the Fatimids and their kindred dynasties.

2 Founded by Abu Abdullah ibn Karram, an ascetic of Seisân, who died in 256 H. 670 A.D.
in its most literal sense.  

By this time the doctrine of ḳaḥf, 'revelation', the unveiling of the mysteries which supplemented tradition and reason—naqī and ʿaqī—had been greatly expanded and developed on two sides, an ascetic and a speculative. As regards the Punjab the former was destined to be the more important. Although there is no monastery in Islam it was influenced from the earliest times by the ḥanīfīs or recluses of pre-Muhammadan Arabia and the ʿṣāʾīs or 'wanderers' and ṣāḥībīs or monks of Christianity and other creeds. Their Muslim imitators were called Súfīs, ṣāḥībīs (ascetics), ʿābīdīs (devotees) and ṭawīlīs or saints, but these terms had also special significance as will be seen later. With the accession of the Abbassides in 750 A.D. came a development of asceticism. The old believers found an outlet in the contemplative life, withdrew from the world and would have nothing to do with its rulers. This spirit has unfortunately survived to the present day and leads some of the finest characters in Islam to stand rigidly aloof from civil life. The mystics of Islam are numerous and only a few of their names can be barely mentioned here. One of the earliest was ʿIrābī ibn Adham, a wanderer of royal blood who drifted from Balkh to Basra and Mecca. Another, Al Fudail ibn Iyāz, was a native of Khorásan. These earlier ascetics were contemplative quietists. But ecstatic mysticism soon displaced quietism. The famous Maʿrūf al Karkhī adopted similes from human love and earthly wine and his greater disciple Sāri-as-Ṣaqaṭī followed him. The latter is also credited with the first use of the term taḥṣīl to denote union of the soul with God: 

But perhaps the greatest name in early Sufism is that of Al-Junayd, on whom no shadow of heresy ever fell. Aṣḥ-Shiblī was one of his disciples and in his verses the vocabulary of amorous intercourse with God is fully developed. The last of this group was Aḥm Talīb al-Makkī. The earlier Sūfīs had fled into the wilderness from the wrath to come, and wandering singly or in companies was the special sign of the true Sūfī. But they soon began to gather in little circles of disciples round a venerable Shaikh or prior, and fraternities began to form under masters like al-Junayd or al-Ṣaqaṭī. Monasteries were formed later, but as early as 200 H. traces of such an institution are found in Khorāsān. The organization of these institutions followed later.

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1 Macdonald (op. cit., p. 171) speaks of the Karramite movement as 'a frank recoil to the crudest anthropomorphism', but it must not be forgotten that under the Ghaznavides Ghazni was a brilliant centre of learning and culture.

2 Macdonald, pp. 174-5.

3 Died in 161 H. A long poem current in the Jumna valley describes Adham Ṣugīr and his marriage with a king's daughter. It doubtless preserves a tradition of the mystic for a sketch of his teaching see Field, op. cit., pp. 30 ff. His story recalls the renunciation of Budhīs, and he may have been influenced by Gnostic doctrines: Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, pp. 14 and 16.

4 Died in 187 H. For a sketch of his teaching see Field, op. cit., pp. 40 ff.

5 Died in 200 H. Karkh is a suburb of Baghdad.

6 Died in 237 H.

7 Died in 287 H.


9 Died in 388 H.
Priesthood of Islam.

The Sufis provoked orthodox criticism less by their theological speculations, of which Islam has generally been remarkably tolerant, than by their mode of life. Their introspective practices seem to have evoked little condemnation. But their prayer-meetings or *zikrs* were fiercely attacked by the orthodox as opposed to recognised public worship. The Sufi principle of *tawakkal* or dependence upon God was also reproved, and even the more sober Sufis approved the principle of *kabar* or industry, citing the example of the husbandman who first casts his seed into the ground and then trusts in God.

Meanwhile the speculative, theological side of Sufism had also made headway and when it gained the upper hand *zhid* (ascetic) and Sufi were no longer convertible terms. This movement roused more bitter hostility than the other in cases where its exponent was suspected of political leanings towards the house of Ali. Abu Yazid al-Bistami in spite of his pantheistic leanings died unpersecuted in 261 H., but al-Hallaj, the cotton-carder, a disciple of al-Junaid, was put to death with great cruelty in 309 H. What his real views and aims were it is impossible to say. In spite of his assertion, "I am the Truth" he was defended by the great doctor al-Ghazzali who upheld his orthodoxy, while lamenting some incantuous phrases used by him. To the Sufis he is a patron saint and martyr who represents the spirit of revolt against formalism and dogmatic scholasticism.

The Islamic hierarchy.

The office of Qazi-ul-quzat or head of the Qazis (judges), also known as Sadri-Jabah, appears to have been one of considerable antiquity. It was an established office under the latter style at Ghazni, and at Piruzkoh under the Ghorian Sultans. Known also at Dehli, as the

1 There is a striking resemblance between the Sufis, seeking by patient introspection to see the actual light of God's presence in their hearts, and the Greek monks in Athens, sitting solitary in their cells and seeking the divine.

2 For Abu Yazid al-Bistami (Bayazid 3n-tami) see infra, p. 540. See also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 17 and passim.

3 For a sketch of (Rusin ibn) Mansur Hallaj, see Field, op. cit., pp. 68 ff. His teaching was from the Mollem standpoint a heresy of the worst kind, for he preached a doctrine of personal dedication, saying, *ana'l-Haqq, I am God*. He held that as the humanity (*nafs*) of God comprised the whole bodily and spiritual nature of man, God's *Ilad*, 'divinity' could not unite with that nature except by means of an incarnation or an infusion (*khulil*) of the divine spirit. The Hallilis, who believe in incarnation, are repudiated by the Sufis in general quite as vehemently as by orthodox Mollems: Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 150-1. The name of Hallaj was seen running behind him in the shape of a dog (ib., p. 40), but such an idea was not peculiar to him. His apologists have denied that his words have the meanings attributed to him.

4 For a sketch of al-Ghazzali see Field, op. cit., pp. 106 ff. He was a great exponent of *zikr* and anticipated Jalal-ad-din Rumi's teaching that this is the best of all possible worlds; evil being a part of the divine order and harmony: Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 4, 46 and 86.

5 T. N., p. 3, § 9. At Cairo the dignity of grandmaster of the lodge, *da'i-l-tuid* was frequently combined with that of *qazi-ul-quzat* or chief justiciar. Von Hammer gives the following classification of the degrees of the Assassins:--

Shaikh, grand-master.

*Da'i-ul-kahir*, grand prior, or the *da'i-ul-kibril*, three in number who ruled the three provinces of the Assassins.

*Da'i*, master or prior, and fully initiated.

*Raafid*, follows, in process of initiation who were clothed in white with red insignia.

*Fidwi, ilad*, agent or devoted one, or the young men employed to carry out secret murders who were intoxicated with *heshel*.

*Rasik*, lay brother or aspirant: History of the Assassins, pp. 79 and 80. But *da'i* appears to have been synonymous with *khalifa* and *heshel* (hujjat): p. 108.
The two classes of priests.

Sadr-ul-Islám, it was the principal court of justice and lawyers and learned men, whether inhabitants of the country or foreigners, were under its inspection. The Shaikh-ul-Islám, corresponding to the western Shaikh-ush-Shuyúkh, had similar jurisdiction over all faqírs, native or foreign.¹

The name of the earliest holder of the office of chief Qázi is not known.

At the time of the accession of Altamsh it was held by Wajih-ud-Din Kásáni who, with the lawyers, first took the oath of allegiance to him.² A later holder of the office was the chief Qázi of Hind and Sind, Kanál-ud-Din Muhammad, son of Burhán-ud-Dín, of Ghazni, who occupied it under Muhammad Tughlaq.³

In Pesháwar, if anywhere, one would expect to find the Muhammad priesthood organised on regular lines. Bearing in mind that the people of this district are nearly all Sunnis and the Afghans generally of the Haufi sect it is not surprising to find the clergy fairly well organised. The mulla is or priests, as distinguished from the astánadars or holders of a place (astán) who may or may not be devoted to religion, are the active clergy and are divided into four classes, viz. the imám, the mulla proper, the shaikh and the tálib-ush-ilm. The imám is merely the leader of the congregation (jamá'at) of a mosque in prayer, but he can hardly be described as the head official attached to it.⁴ Several mulláhs are generally attached to each mosque and one of them generally succeeds to the office of imám. They also act as his deputy when absent and call the azán, but they are mostly occupied in teaching the village children. The Shaikh is one who having renounced worldly pleasures has become the disciple (murid) of a bázurg or saint, while the tálib-ush-ilm is in theory a seeker after knowledge.

Alongside the regular clergy and independent of their organization is the hierarchy whose members are collectively styled astánadár, a term which implies that its holder had an ancestor who acquired the title of šburg or bázurg by holiness or miracles in life and at death left a shrine, mosque or sacred spot as a memorial or at least a reputation for sanctity. His shrine is an astán or ziyarat. Any Mussalmán may

The dai was also called nágib, but while the dai corresponded to the bázurg corresponded to space: Encyclopædia of Islam, p. 896.

The people ranked below these degrees or formed the lowest of them. Another series of Islamic grades was:

The Imam.

The hujjat or proof, designated by the Imám and also called iás, or sent. He corresponded to the grandmaster.

The sunnásh, corresponding to the grand prior.

The dai, missionaries.

The mashaykh, or friends, corresponding to the Rafík.

The muhállat, or doglike, corresponding to the lay-brethren.

The muhálim, believers, or pupils; ibid, p. 58.

¹ E. H. I., III, pp. 578-79. According to Macdonald, op. cit., p. 118, the dignity of Shaikh-ul-Islám was first created by Sultan Muhammad II in 1458. His court stands at the head of the judges of the canon law, who have jurisdiction over marriage, divorce, inheritance, and all private and family affairs. Other courts administer the custom, urf or ādat, of the country, and the will of the ruler of the country, often expressed in astatutes gánáme.

² Ib., p. 591.

³ Ib., pp. 590, 594.

⁴ Pesháwar Gazetteer, 1897-8, p. 110.

⁵ Ib., p. 112.
behave the founder of such a family as \textit{aśțánadārs}, but the Afghāns recognize four classes among them whose precedence is based on descent. First come the Sayyids, always addressed as 'Shāh' and claiming sacred descent. Next come the \textit{pirs}, descendants of Afghāns, addressed as bādshāhs and endowed with many privileges including the \textit{enteł}, to the women's apartments. Third come the \textit{miāns} whose ancestors were not Afghāns but hamshāyās, enjoying similar privileges except the right of \textit{enteł} specified. Last come the sāhibzādās, of a somewhat lower sanctity and less numerous though more wealthy than the \textit{pirs} and \textit{miāns}. Practically synonymous with sāhibzādā is the term \textit{akhūndzādā}. These terms do not denote the sect of the holder. For instance, the \textit{pir} Abdul Wahāb was an \textit{ahl-i-hadīs} by sect and was called the Manki mullāh from his residence at Manki in Naushahra tahsīl.

The famous \textit{akhūnd} of Swāt Abdul Ghafūr was a Gujar who earned that title by his learning and his descendants are styled \textit{Akhūndzādā} or collectively \textit{Akhūnd Khel}. The latter term is applied to many Awāns and Gujars who have little claim to the title, but who very often pretend to be Sayyids. They cannot be correctly classed as mullāhs as they perform no priestly functions but cultivate land or graze cattle like Pathāns. In Hazāra, however, any one who has studied the religious books of Islām appears to be styled mullāh or among the Afghān tribes \textit{akhūndzādā}.

Less than a half a century after the Hijra the first Moslem anchorite appeared in southern Arabia. This was Awīs or Ovais bin Umr, called al-Karani, from Karn his birthplace in Yemen. By command of the archangel Gabriel whom he saw is a dream Ovais abandoned the world and led in the desert a life of contemplation and penitence—639-59 H. His followers became the Awisia or Ovaisii order, and in memory of the two teeth lost by the Prophet at the battle of Ohod Ovais had all his removed and imposed on them the same sacrifice. In the pedigrees of the Pathāns the name of a Sultān Wais or Uvais appears and this may signify their spiritual descent from this hermit.

But the mystic teachers of Islām form two great schools, according to the two-fold system of purification which they inculcate. The interiorists or Bātiniya, themselves sub-divided into two classes, form one school and the Zāhiria or 'exteriorists' the other. The first sub-class of the former starts with the consciousness of man that he is constantly seen and observed by God. In consequence the ascetic watches his heart lest it be invaded by worldly thoughts. Thus the divine majesty displays itself to him in all its splendour and the ecstasy which its sight produces leads the mystic to the very sight of his shaikh. For the more advanced a shorter method is indicated, but it does not differ from the former in principle or results. In the second sub-class the contemplative method is more physiological and less abstract, but the object in view is the same, viz. absorption in God. To attain it the aspirant must engrave on his mind the image of his shaikh and regard it as his right shoulder. Thence he must trace a line to his heart, destined to give passage to his shaikh's spirit, so that he may come and take possession

\footnotetext[1]{Peshwār Gazetteer, pp. 144-5.}
\footnotetext[2]{Hazāra Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 59.}
of that organ. By repetition the religious chief invoked absorbs the aspirant in the fullness of his being. The Záhiríyah instead of aiming at absorption in the Divine by quietism aspire to attain it by voiced prayers designed to drown the spirit in the ocean of the divine being. The most efficacious of their formulas is of course the İš-İlha-İll-Allah. To obtain the desired result by its recital the eyes must be closed, the lips shut, the tongue folded back against the palate and the hands held against the thighs—in the ordinary attitude of prayer. The formula is repeated while the breath is held and the head turned alternately to the left and right. All the İslámic orders have adopted one or the other of these two methods, so that all are in some degree either interiorists or exteriorists; but the Naqshbandis allow both of them simultaneously.¹

Rose, § 48. The Shi'a tenets.—The usual or fundamental tenets of the Shi'as or 'followers' of Ali are five:—(1) the unity of God, (2) his justness, (3) the divine mission of all the prophets, of whom Muhammad is the chief, (4) to consider Ali the Khalifa and his descendants from Hasan to 'Al-Mahdi,' the 12 Imáms, and (5) the resurrection. Of these the fourth has led to the greatest dissensions in İslám. It is based on the doctrine of appointment (al-qíd'át bil-anis) held by the ahl-İ-İmámia as adherents of Ali and the holy children of Fátima as contrasted with the asháb ul-ıikhtılar or doctrine of election held by the khuswarij Murjía, some of the Mutažala, and a section of the Zaidia.¹ The Shi'a doctrines thus rest generally speaking on the absolute sanctity of the descendants of Ali to whom in consequence almost divine honours are paid: the Sunnis, while respecting the house of Ali, accord them no authority, and thus the tenets of the two great sects are irreconcilable. Yet so deeply rooted is this belief in inherited sanctity that the Sunnis hold in theory that the Khalifa must be of the Quraish tribe, though in practice the rule has never been observed. This doctrine of inherited sanctity is dependent on, or at least closely connected with, the belief in the metempsychothesis, and has rendered it possible for the Shi'a sect to admit of many developments, so that from the cardinal tenet of the unity of God was eventually evolved a system of pantheism. This was due, probably, to the introduction of the Súfí doctrines, which occurred in the second century of the Hijra, and had been preceded even then by an earlier mysticism. The initial inspiration, (ılhám) is gained by repeating in absolute seclusion the name of Allah, until the utterance becomes mechanical, and then divine enlightenment ensues, as in the yoya. The esoteric teaching of the Súfís compares sensuality to ecstasy, and in this too has analogies in the Sháktak practices. As an organization Sufism recognizes two grades, persons of admitted piety and acknowledged sanctity, being divided into two classes, viz. :—(1) the mujaz, or those who are authorized to establish bā'ir,³ or spiritual discipleship, and (2) the ghair-mujaz or those not

¹ Petit, op. cit., pp. 35-37.
² For a sketch of the philosophy of the Mutažala see Amur Ali, op. cit., p. 385 ff. The term Qadaría was applied by their opponents to the extreme Mutažala who held the doctrine of taṣeel or absolute liberty (free-will).
³ For a note on bā'ir or self-surrender see end of this section. Latter-day Shi'ism is essentially quietist and the Nim or Khâf Shi'as are hardly to be distinguished from the Sunnis: Multán Gazzettir, p. 119.
so authorized, who are engaged only in the amelioration of \textit{nafs} or self. The \textit{Qurán} is valued as a divine revelation, but in practice the voice of the \textit{pir} or spiritual director is substituted for it, and the \textit{mursá} or disciple has no further responsibility. Here again we find a resemblance to the \textit{Gurá-sikhi} system of spiritual relationship in Sikhism.

\textbf{The Shi‘a sects.}—The doctrine of the Imamate contained within it the germs of schism. The Imamate being a light (\textit{náir}) which passes (by natural descent) from one to the other, the Imámís are prophets and divine, and this heritage is inalienable. Thus the second Imám, Hasan, the eldest son of Ali, could resign his title of Khalifa, but not his Imámát which had descended to him and on his death passed by his inheritance to Husain. Its subsequent devolution followed the natural line of descent, thus:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
| Imám | \hline
| Ali (the 1st Imám). \hline
| Hasan (the 2nd Imám). \hline
| Ali II, Zainúl-Abidín (4th). \hline
| \multicolumn{2}{c}{Husain (3rd) \times daughter.} \hline
| Muhammad Básír (5th). \hline
| \multicolumn{2}{c}{Zайд.} \hline
| Jaf’rú-us Sadiq (6th). \hline
| Yάhйa. \hline
| \multicolumn{2}{c}{Muhammad ibn-Abdulla, al-Náfs-uz-zakia, \textit{the pure soul'.}} \hline
| Ismáíl. \hline
| Muhammad ul-Maktum. \hline
| Músá Kásim (7th). \hline
| \begin{tabular}{l}
Ali-ur-Áíz III (8th). \hline
Muhammad Taqi (9th). \hline
Ali IV (10th). \hline
Hasan Askari (11th). \hline
Muhammad Abdúl Qásim, or Imám Mahdi (12th). \end{tabular} \hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

In the time of Ali II, the fourth Imám, the Imamites, as we may term the Shi‘ás, formed themselves into a secret order, with a series of seven degrees, into each of which its votaries were formally initiated. This movement transformed the Shi‘a sect or faction into a secret society, or group of societies, and had far-reaching results, though at first it appears to have been merely a measure of self-defence against the oppression of the Sunni sect. It was soon followed by the great Shi‘a schism, which arose out of a dispute as to the succession to the Imamate. Jáfír, the sixth Imám, nominated Ismáíl, his eldest son, but on the latter's premature death he declared that Músá was his heir, to the exclusion of Ismáíl's children. The succession to the Imamate was thus governed by the usual rules of inheritance, the uncertainty of which has so often led to fratricide and civil war in eastern empires. The claims of Ismáíl were supported by one party among the Shi‘ás, despite the declaration of Jáfír, and thus was founded the Ismáílía sect. The other party, the Imamites, supported the claims of Músá, and this sect of the Shi‘ás believes that the twelfth Imám, Muhammad, is still alive, that he wanders over the earth, and is...
destined to re-appear. The Ismailians on the other hand hold that the last visible Imám was Ismaiîl, after whom commenced the succession of the concealed Imáms. And to go back for a moment the Nussrians held that Ali was the last, as well as the first, Imám, and it thus appears that the Shi'a sects originated, historically, in divergent views as to the personal claims of the Prophet's natural descendants to succeed to the Imamate.

Rose, § 45.

The Ismailians.—The history of the Ismailians is of great interest not only in itself but also in that the tenets of the sect are still a living force in the Muhammadanism of this part of India. The sect was also called Sabiún because it acknowledged seven Imáms, ending with Ja'far-us-Sádiq and Ismaiîl; and yet it held that the Imamate descended to Ismaiîl's son, etc. History does not tell us what became of the children of Ismaiîl, but their sacred character lent itself to the foundation of one of the most remarkable and important organizations known to history. The Ismailians were first organised by Abdullah, a native of the Persian province of Khuzistán, who retained or revived the organisation of the sect into orders which had been introduced in the time of the fourth Imám. His successors however gave an entirely new character to the sect. The descendant—probably a spiritual not a natural descendant—of Abdullah the Isma'ilian proclaimed himself the genuine descendant of Ali and Fátima, and assuming the title of Al-Mahdi, usually given to the last Imám, founded the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt. His descendant Muhammad-ibn-Ismaiîl indeed went a step further and accepted the doctrine that the Khalifah was an incarnation of the invisible Imám and as such a god on earth, abandoning apparently the pretence of actual descent from Ali. To this teaching the sect of the Druses owes, in some obscure way, its origin, and the idea that the Mahdi need not necessarily be reincarnated in a descendant of Ali was fruitful in its results, for to it may be traced the claims of various Imáms to that title. In India Shaikh Alai of Agra claimed to be Al-Mahdi and as among his disciples was Shaikh Mubârik, the father of Abdul Faiz, the waṣīr of Akbar, it is probable that that emperor was greatly influenced by Mahdâvi ideas. To the same teaching may be ascribed the origin of the Bábí sect in modern Persia, whose doctrines appear not to have penetrated to India, and various other movements in the Muhammadan world.

When the fortunes of the Western or Egyptian Ismailians were on the wane, the sect was revived in Syria, by Hasan Ibn Sabâh, who was like Umr Khâiyâm a companion and protégé of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, waṣīr of Alp Arslan, Seljuk. Hasan reorganized the order, which he divided into four grades, the fîdâ, the râfîk, or 'consecrated,' râfîk, dai, and

1 His full name was Alî-ud-Dîn, Hasan, son of Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Jâfar son of Hassan, son of Muhammad, who claimed descent from us-Sabbâh-ul-Hamâirî: Raverty, Tahâfût-î-Nâsîrî, II, p. 1187.

2 Other authorities say seven but Amîr Ali says that the Eastern Ismailians (Alâmadânis or Mulhâhânis of Kohistân) had four degrees. He ascribes the foundation of the Eastern Ismailians to Abdulla ibn Maimûn, a Mughal according to his enemies, a descendant of Ali according to his followers. Amîr Ali traces his sect to the Manichaens through the Panûles. It branched off into sub-sect.: (i) The Egyptian Fatimites held that Ismaiîl was the last Imâm, the Imâm having reappeared in Ibadillâh-al-Mahdi, Abu Muhammad Abdullah, the son of Muhammad-al-Habbî, the last revealed Imâm; (ii) The Qarmites (Qarmâtians), founded by Hamadân: pp. 308-7.
Dissenters from Shi'ite tenets.

a fourth, and which became popularly known as the Hashishi, or hemp-eaters, a term soon corrupted into Assassin in the European languages. Of this order Husan was the first Shaikh, or chief, a title somewhat unfortunately translated Grand Master, seeing that the Shaikh claimed to be—at least in the person of Muhammad Kiah, the third Shaikh—an incarnation of the concealed Imám, wielding supernatural powers, and not merely the head of a militant religious order.

From their stronghold at Alamút in the Elburz1 the Shaikhs dominated Muhammadan Asia, by a perfectly organized system of assassination during a century and a half, until, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the last Shaikh was overthrown by Húlákú Khán, the descendant of Zenghiz Khán. The sect however was not exterminated, and, though it had lost its power, continued to exist, but rather as a sub-sect of the Isma'ilians than as an independent organization, in Irák and the anti-Libanus. Its present head, a lineal descendant of the fourth2 Shaikh, is His Highness the Agha Khán of Bombay, who has a considerable following in the Punjab and the regions of the Hindu Kush.

SHI'A DISSENT.

The Shi'ás have however themselves suffered from dissenters and dissenters from their dissent is called ṭawáfīz3 who are also styled Zaidías. The Imamate passed, according to one branch of the Zaidías,4 from Ibrahim to Idris, the founder of the Idrisid dynasty of Mauritania.

Other dissenting Shi'ás are the ghair-mukallad or Rafa-ud-dín, and the mukallādin. The former make movements5 while praying etc., and after praise of God repeat the amin aloud. These two sects do not pray together and indeed the ghair-mukallad, whose head-quarters are at Dolbi under Názir Husain, have a separate mosque at Bhivānī.

Lastly the Jihriyas6 had a preceptor at Hánşi in Saraj-ul-Haq—a descendant of the four Qutbs. He was against both Shi'ás and Sunnis, and his followers reason away the Qurán and the kādi, and believe that they will go to Heaven however sinful they may have been.

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1 Elburz, the Sanskrit Harāithi, would seem to have been famous for its hemp (Soma) in Vedic times; Oldenberg, Religion der Veda, p. 178. Elburz means 'eagle's nest,' in Turki. Amr Ali describes it as ‘near Kazvin in Upper Persia’.

2 The fourth Grand Master was the Ala-Zakrihi-us-Salám, ‘Zikr-us-Salám,’ and from him the Agha Khán is descended; Sir Amr Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 313. Some authorities say he was descended from the fifth Imám.


4 Further the Zaidías split into four sub-sects:

(i) Járdías, who deny the succession of Iṣa, maintaining the claims of Muhammad Naft-us-zakiya.

(ii) Sulaimánías, who preach a secular Imámate.

(iii) Tábariás, who accept as rightful the khilīfát of Abu Bakr and Umr.

(iv) Sálebiás, but not that of Osmín: The Spirit of Islam, pp. 294-5.

5 At one time they stretch their hands outwards, at another they fold them down, keeping the fingers straight in the direction of the Kaaba.

6 The Jihriyas are a very ancient sect in Islam. They were rigid adherents of the doctrine of predestination: Amr Ali, op. cit., pp. 391-2. They had three sects, and at least two off-shoots, the Sifáticas, ‘attributists’, and the Mushabbabahs.
A priest, one Isá Qázi, a follower of this sect in Toshám, was dismissed from his post as being unorthodox.

**The Sects and Orders in Islám.**

'It is a fairly safe rule,' writes Lukach, 'to measure the unorthodoxy of a Moslem sect by the extent to which it exalts Ali', but in Moslem dissent there are many varieties of belief. The Shi'as who prefer the term Imáม to that of Khalíffa include many sects of which the Imámí may be regarded as orthodox Shi'as. They believe in a succession of 12 Imáms of whom Ali, his sons Hasan and Húsain were the first and the last named's direct descendant Muhammad Abú'l-Qásim the last. But he is believed to be not dead and is destined to reappear in the last days to rule the world, for seven years with the title of Imám-ul-Mahdí or the Imám or 'Director'.

The Shi'as proper are Asna-a'ashariás, 'duo-decemians' as they believe in the twelve Imáms, but they are now called Shia's or Imámí as par excellence. At an early period they were divided into two main sects or schools, the usálí guided by principles, and the akhárí or traditionists. Other Shi'a sects were the Kásáníás and Hashímíás (now extinct), the Ghállíás or Ghullát—extravagantists, really descendants of the Gnostics—and the Nusairíss who believed in the divinity of Ali while the Isáákíás, Numáníás and Khitándíás were anthropomorphists, believers in incarnations and the metempsychosis.

According to von Noer Mukhtar-ibn-Abáid's heretical horde followed a decorated chair said to be Ali's, and so too Umer Roshání had Báyázíd's bones placed in an ark and borne before him in battle etc.: II, p. 169. Amrí Ali says the Roshánías were the exact counterpart of the Illuminati of Christendom and that Báyázíd, an Afghan of Arab extraction, acquired a taint of Manichaeism from the Ismaílias who still flourished in the hills of Khorásán. His later teaching was that all existing objects are but forms of the Deity, that the pír represented Him and that the ordinances of the law have a mystical meaning: perfection being once attained through the pír's instructions and religious exercises, its exterior ordinances cease to be binding: numbers of Ismaílias are to be found in Gilgit and Hunza: op. cit., pages 314-15.

It is often said that Islám has 72 sects, but each sect asserts that all of them have gone astray and that the only true order is itself the 73rd, the firqa-t-i-aqád or party of salvation. This accords with Muhammad's prophecy that his followers would separate into 78 sects and that of these all but one, the Nájía or 'Saved Ones', would go to hell.

1 Lukach, Fringe of the East, pp. 209, 211.
3 Ib., p. 314. Some popular Shi'a beliefs seem to be based on their theological doctrines, e. g.—

A Shi'a if offered bread divided into four parts will not eat it, possibly because he suspects the giver of wishing to make a Sunni of him, as Sunnis believe in four Khalíffas while Shi'as only acknowledge one: P. N. Q., I, § 538.

Shi'as do not eat the hare because it was originally born of a woman and they say that by washing its flesh all runs away in the water, leaving only the bones: Ib., II, § 98—see I, § 108.

4 Fringe of the East, p. 151.
The Sufis.

SUFISM.

In the belief of the orthodox Sunni sect itself the instruction imparted by the Prophet was of two kinds:—

1. *Ilm-i-sāhīr* or knowledge of the rules and regulations of religion by books. Those learned in this knowledge are called *mullahs* and *maulavi.*

2. *Ilm-i-šādīn* or the concentration of the mind on God by worship. Those who apply their minds in this concentration call themselves Sūfi.

The best Sufis of one class can impart instruction according to the methods of another class also, but ordinary people should adopt the tenets of one class only.

Another definition is that:—“Those Muhammadans who follow *tasawwuf,* the theology of the Sūfis or contemplation, are called Sūfis.”

They have four *pirs* as follow:—

1. Imám Hasan.
2. Imám Husain.
3. Imám Hasan Basri.
4. Qumail, son of Zyād.

The principal obstacles to a clear description of the Sūfi doctrines are the fact that the term is applied generically to a number of orders and sects which differ widely in their practices and tenets, and the failure of writers on Sufism to distinguish between those bodies when describing them.

The term Sūfi is derived from *sūf,* ‘wool’, but this is not inconsistent with a theory that it was originally an adaptation of the Greek *sophos.* The term appears to have been first applied to wandering monks who wore woollen garments in imitation of the Christian *rāhīs* or the Arabian *hanifs,* a theory open to the obvious objection that wool is not proved to have been worn by either of those classes in climates where it would be a penance to wear it, and where its use cannot have been very common.

With a vague tradition that the original order was the Sabāṭia, the ancient Sabians, the Sūfis were early divided into two orders, or schools, the Huldiya or inspired which held that the divine spirit enters into all who are devout, and the Ittiḥādia, or unionists who hold that the soul by union with God becomes God. ²

From these two schools sprang five sub-orders, *viz.*—

The Wāsliya, ‘joined’ to God.

Ashaqia, ‘lovers’ of God.

Talqinia, ‘instructed’.

Zaikia, ‘penetrated’.

Wāhidia, ‘solitary’.

¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology,* p. 130. E. B. Havell has called attention to the fact that the word *wara,* which in Buddhist (and other) images symbolised the divine eye, literally meant ‘wool’. But his explanation that the Divine Light was conceived as converging towards the centre of Buddha’s forehead and so suggested a tuft of wool seems far-fetched: *The Ideals of Indian Art,* pp. 50-1.

² God is joined with every sentient being. He is as flame and the soul as charcoal. Brown (The *Darmišes,* p. 53) gives all these seven orders, but calls the Wāsliya ‘Wasliya’, the Zakiya ‘Zarikia’ and the Wāhidia ‘Wahdattia’. 
The Sunnī institutions.

The term Bātinīa, "esoteric", is applied to several Sūfī sects, and, according to Wilberforce Clarke, to the order of the Assassins. No general doctrine corresponds to this name, each sect having tenets of its own, but some of the ideas belonging to it recall the system of Avicenna. "All that proceeds from truth will be united in the universal soul, and all that partakes of the nature of evil will return to Satan, i.e. to nothingness. This is what sectarians call the Resurrection."

The Sūfīs acknowledge four stages, material or outward observance—pārdaḵht jismān:

- tāriḵat, the path,
- mʿarīfat, divine knowledge or intuition,
- ḥaqiqat, truth, and
- wasl, union.

The organization of religious institutions in Islām dates from a very early period. Although in Islām is no monachism,² in the 2nd year of the Hijra (= 623 A. D.) 45 men of Mecca and as many of Medina joined themselves together, took an oath of fidelity to the doctrines of the Prophet, and formed a fraternity to establish community of property and to perform daily penances. They are said to have taken the name of sūfī, but it is also said that that term was first employed by Abū Hāshim, a Syrian sāhid who died in 789 A. D. However this may be, during Muḥammad's lifetime Abu Bakr, afterwards the first Khalīfa, and Alī had established jāmāt, 'assemblies', wherein vows were made and exercises practised; and in 657 A. D. Uvais-i-Karānī had established the first religious order of the greatest austerity. Abu Hāshim appears to have built the first takīd, 'convent'.

The institution of the khāngīth, a term also translated convent, is of unknown origin but its constitution is recorded. The men of it form two parties, the travellers and the dwellers. After a stay of three days the former must seek service in the khāngīth, unless their time be spent in devotion. The dwellers are again divided into three groups, the ahl-i-khilmat or servitors, the ahl-i-suhbat or associates and the ahl-i-khilwat or recluses. The first-named are novices who do service in order to become acceptable to the men 'of deeds and of stages', i.e. to those who are engaged in practices and have advanced some stages on the path or way. By service they acquire fitness for 'kinship', i.e. admission to the next degree in the order, and thus become a slipper out of the garment of alienation and of farness, i.e. put off the garment of separation from the Divine. Abu Yakūb, Susī, commends retreat (khilmat) to the old and suhbat to the young. Some convents at any rate insisted on fitness for service by outward resemblance and inward and pure desire—whereby the candidate acquired kinship with sūfīs. Exclusion was inflicted as a punishment, but the seeker of the pardon

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¹ It was also applied to sects outside Islām, such as the Mazdakites, a Manichean sect. In Irāq the Bātinīs were called Qarmatians and Mazdakites, in Khorāsān Tangūlimites and Malāhibās: Encyclopaedia of Islām, p. 679.

could be re-admitted on payment of a fine (gharāmat) which took the form of victuals.

Khāngāhs were sometimes endowed, and sometimes not. If endowed and it was the testator's wish that the income of the convent should be spent on the purposes of the lords of desire, i.e. those who have mastered their passions, and on travellers by the path (tartqat) it was unlawful to expend it on the habituated, i.e. on professional beggars, or the crowd that from bodily sins or attachment to the world had not attained to the stages of the heart, advanced, that is, along the path of spirituality. These provisions were clearly intended to secure the proper administration of waqf or trust properties and guard against abuses like those which fostered the sturdy mendicancy of the Middle Ages in Europe.

Khāngāhs without an endowment were ruled by the head or if the brotherhood had no head (shāikh) it had a discretion, like a head who could direct the brethren to abandon kash and, putting them on tawakkul, bid them rely on alms for their subsistence. To brotherhoods, not under a shāikh's headship, whose members were of the crowd of strong and of travellers, who formed, that is to say, a body of able-bodied wandering faqīrs, the latter course is recommended, but weaker brotherhoods could choose either kash or mendicancy.

It is curious to observe the transformation in meaning which the term khāngāh has undergone. It now means ordinarily a tomb, especially that of a pīr or faqīr, a saint or holy man, not necessarily one of the regular clergy. Such khāngāhs become surrounded by trees as no one dare cut one down or even remove fallen wood from a faqīr's grave. They also tend to become sanctuaries for property as no one will venture to steal in the vicinity of a faqīr's tomb. The tomb may be merely a grave of earth, but is more often a pile of stones or bricks, with a wall to enclose the grave. As it is usual to make vows (manuqāf) to such tombs, branches of the trees above them are often full of rags (lerah) tied to the twigs; or if a specific prayer has been answered appropriate offerings are hung up, such as a cradle for a child bestowed, a halter for a stolen bullock recovered and so on. A khāngāh too may itself cure disease. Thus one at Ishar in Shāhpur is famous for the cure of toothache and ague. The sufferer throws cowries down at the grave and his pain does not recur for as many years as he presents cowries.

But a shrine is not necessarily a tomb and must be distinguished from it. Thus above Kathwá in the Salt Range is a shrine to Gorra, ancestor of all the local Awáns. As he passes it an Awán vows to put up a stone there if successful in his journey and so the trees around are full of such stones.

The adoption of the khirqa or darvesh's mantle is not prescribed by the sunnat but only by the hadis or tradition of Umm-i-Khálid. The khirqa is of two kinds, that of desire and that of blessing. When

1 W. Clarke translates kash by 'acquisition', but it clearly means 'industry' in this context: see Catafago's Arabic Dictionary, p. 305. Industry was permissible just as it was and is to certain religious orders in Christendom. Macdonald translates kash by 'gaining of daily bread by labour': op. cit., p. 179.

2 Shahpur Gaz., 1897, p. 36.
the shaikh is convinced of the murid's desire for God he induces him with the former. The latter is bestowed upon him who with the shaikh hath a good repute. To these two some add a third, the khirqa of holiness, which is bestowed when the shaikh wishes to appoint a murid his own khalifa. Thus the khirqa is a mark of initiation into an order and may also be given to designate the right of its recipient to succeed the shaikh in his office.

The rules as to the colours of the khirqa are elastic. The form and colour of the murid's garment depend on the shaikh's intuition. If he sees him inclined to fine raiment he makes him don the coarse khirqa of grass, but if he finds him disposed to hypocrisy and ostentation he clothes him in soft silk. He forbids him any fashion or colour which he would affect. The white garment prescribed by the sunnat is only for shaikhs that have gained freedom from nafs, the lusts of the flesh. The coloured garment is chosen for others as less time is required for its cleansing than would be taken up by white raiment, and blue is the choice of the Sufis, though black is bettre against defilement, because that colour is fit only for him who is sunk in the darkness of lust. In the flame of the candle one part is pure light and the other pure darkness. The place of their union appeareth blue and that colour is suitable to the hai or 'mystic state' of the Sufi.

Each order has moreover its distinctive khirqa. Thus in Egypt the Rafa'i wore a black turban with a red edging at one end. The patched khirqa or muraqqa'at is the outward sign that the mystic has emerged from discipline of the 'Path' and is advancing with uncertain steps towards the Light, as when a toil-worn traveller having gained the summit of a deep gorge, suddenly catches a glimpse of the sun and covers his eyes. But the traditional and more probable explanation of the patched garment ascribes it to the Prophet's mihraj on ascension, when the angel Gabriel showed him a coffer full of garments of many colours. The Prophet took these robes and divided them among his companions who transmitted them to their heirs, thus giving rise to the Islamic practice of bestowing garments or patches of them to consecrate the bonds which unite the master to his disciples. The rending of the khirqa also has a mystical significance.

Zikr is the repeating of the name of the God, the profession of His unity etc. in chorus, accompanied by certain motions of the head, hands, or whole body. It is performed near a saint's tomb, in a sepulchral masjid or in a private chamber, and generally on the occasion of a nativity (maulad).

Most of the orders distinguish between the daily sikr or sikr-ul-aqṣāt and the 'solemn' sikr-ul-jallān. The former is recited silently, after each of the five daily prayers. The latter is used at ceremonies of the cult, especially at those observed on Friday. The Khadidja, a Turkish branch of the Naqshbandis, has adopted almost exclusively the sikr-ul-khaṣf or mental and silent sikr. But the Naqshbandis
Practices of the orders.

generally belong to the Zähiriá school and so they especially affect a deep-tuned zikr.¹

The sákirs sit cross-legged, in a circle, within which are four candles. At one end of it are the murshids (verse-reciters) and the player on the flute (nai). The šaikh of the sákirs exclaims al Fātiha and all recite that, the opening chapter of the Qurán. Then begins the zikr proper. 'There is no God but God' is chanted to different measures, first sitting then standing. Before the end of the majlis, as the whole performance is called, the sákirs ejaculate the words rapidly, turning their heads violently, shaking the whole body, and leaping.

The recitation of the whole of the Qurán is called khatm and is performed by taqhib. When performed after a death its merit is transferred to the soul of the deceased.

Peregrination (safr) is commended as spiritually beneficial and the Sufis are in sympathy with Isá (Christ) because throughout His life he was in safr. Twelve rules are laid down for the guidance of pilgrims.

The men of this path, the path of the Súfi, are of three grades, the mubtadiyún or beginners, whose will is surrendered to the šaikh and to whom no raiment, goods or aught else is lawful save by his desire: the murtaqayn or middle ones, who have surrendered their will to God and who submit, as occasion demands; and the munirariyún or perfected who, by God's will, are absolute, what they choose being His will.

Observing retreat (khilibat) in the way of the Sufis is another innovation on the sunnat, although Muhammad himself used to practise it in the caves of Hara, passing nights there in zikr and devotion. Retreat for 40 days lifts every day a veil which keeps one separate from the hidden world. It should be observed once a year and consists in a collection of practices hostile to nafs and in austerities (ridaát) such as eating and speaking little, shunning companionship, perseverance in zikr, denying thoughts and steadfast awed contemplation. But in the opinion of the Sufis khilibat is not restricted to 40 days. The practice of khilibat translates into action, so to speak the renunciation of the world (isabat an un-nás), the vigil, as-safr, and abstinence, as-sálim. Naturally it has endless variations among the different orders.²

To a beginner it is prescribed that he should confine himself to divine precepts, the sunnat of prayer and, at other times, zikr. For a middle one assiduity in reciting the Qurán after the performance of divine precepts is best.

The sunnár in Sufi parlance means something whereby they may attain oneness. Háífz alludes to it in the story of Shaikh Sáñá‘, a Qalandar who in the paths of wandering or apostacy held mention of the rosary of the King, in the girdle of the sunnár. Being in love with a Christian damsel he left Islám and took to music, wine and swine-holding but he put on the religious cord,³ strove to be even

¹ Petit, op. cit., p. 52.
³ The passage in the Dīwān (I, p. 170) is obscure. Apparently the religious girdle of a Christian order is alluded to. Shaikh Sáñá‘ however never abandoned the Muslim rosary of 99 beads (p. 199). Elsewhere Háífz calls the patched garment the sunnár of the 'way' (tāriqat): II, p. 807.
as the beloved (Christian) and within the religious cord mentioned his love (of God?). He had been influenced by the evil prayer of Ghaus-ul-azam, but was brought to Islám by an invisible hand and with his beloved made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The institution known as pír murídí in the Punjab is typical of Sufism though it cannot be said with certainty to be confined to it. The pír is also known as murshid and corresponds to the shákh of the Súfí. Next in order to a prophet ranks the shákh, a term which signifies being a khalífa, a deputy or vicar whose duty it is to call men by the path of Muhammad to God. His condition is called shuyukhúiyat and 15 admirable rules are laid down for his guidance in relation to his muríd. He must show no greed for his property or services.

The murshid is also called, mystically, the sáqi or cup-bearer, the mutríb or minstrel.

The perfect murshid is termed the vintner, khammár.

The murshid of love who calleth the disciples to the path of God is called the mallák, sailor.

Jibríl, Muhammad's murshid, has his mansion in Sidra, the tree of Paradise which is sometimes identified with the Túha or lotus tree (Zísyphus Lotus), but more generally with the tree of Paradise. Sámír, a sorcerer of Sáma, cast dust from Jibríl's path into a calf of silver and gold, whereby it became alive and spoke: I, p. 311: cf. Exodus VI, 1-6.

Thus in Muzaffargarh every Muhammadan has a pír, but he need not be learned or even of known piety—indeed many are notoriously immoral. But he should have a reputation for being able to secure the objects of his murid's vows. The pír is commonly chosen by lot. The muríd secures his pír's intercession by an annual offering called bukat which is collected by the pír himself or his deputies in the most shameless way, even force being resorted to.¹

SÚFI LITERATURE.


¹ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1888-4, p. 62: cf. p. 66 also. Wilberforce Clarke mentions an extreme development of the institution. An order of the Súfís called the Murtázá Sháhí make an image in clay of the murshid. This the muríd keeps to prevent him from wandering and to bring him into identity with the murshid: op. cit., p. 10.
The spirit-world of the Sufis.

Some of those by authors who lived or live in the Punjab are given below, but it should be understood that the list is not at all exhaustive:

The Khazīnat-ul-Asfīyā by M. Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore, the Qānūn-i-I′Ishq, the commentary on the kāfis of Hazrat Bulla Shāh of Kasbū, the Majmū′ah-i-Qānūn-i-tawhid, the Qānūn-i-sulāk, the Qānūn-i-marāfat, and a lecture on Muhammadan Šūfi Philosophy by H. Anwar Ali of Rohlat, the Tuhfat-ūl′-Ashiqīn, the Gulsār-i-Sarīi and the Kasbū-ul-mahjūb.

A monthly journal issued at Lahore is devoted specially to the subject of Sufism. Its name is the Anwar-ns-Sufıyāh and an association called the Anjuman Khuddam-ul-Sufıyāh, whose president is Sayyid Hájí Jamā′at Ali Shāh of Alīpur Sayyidán in Pasrūr Tahsil, Siālkot, also exists.


A modern historical work is the Sair-ul-Ārifīn by Maulavi Ghulām Ahmad of Sambhal.

The special books of the Qādirī teaching are,—the Guldesta-i-Karāmāt of Hazrat Shāh-i-Jilān Ghaouth-ī′Azam Mīrān Mulh-ī Dīn (Pīr Sāhib Bāghdādī); the Manāqībat of Hazrat Mahbūb-ī-Subhānī the Pīr Dastgīr who has about 99 names; the Manāqībat-i-Hazrat Shāh Kangal which is greatly revered in Kashmir, Kāshghar and other places.

As to the Chishtīs, the only book known in Hazārā is the Ma′fūsāt-i-Chishti.

Muhammadans in general and especially the Šūfīs hold that the whole world is divided into circles (wālīyat) each in charge of a living wālī or saint, called sāhib-i-wālīyat, who controls all temporal affairs therein. For instance this belief is expressly stated to prevail in the Ambāla District.

The doctrine of the auˌiːə appears to owe its origin to Abu Huzail Muhammad al-Allāf who taught that there were at all times in the world these Friends of God who were protected against all greater sins and could not lie. Their words are the basis of belief and the tradition is merely a statement of what they said. The Šūfīs recognised wali̇ıs or women wali̇ıs, but none appear to be known in the modern Punjab. The last of the Muwahīdīs or his disciples extended the doctrine and held the wali̇ to be higher than the prophet, nāʾī or rasūl. Later Islām regarded all members of a religious order as dawwās, but only those gifted by God with miraculous powers as wali̇ı̇s. But Ash-Sha′rānī

1 He died biqaa 206 H. and was a disciple in the second generation from Wāsil McDonald, Muslim Theology, p. 159.
2 Ib., p. 178.
3 Ib., p. 263.
4 Ib., p. 206.
5 Ib., pp. 279 and 281–5. He was a Cairene and died in 973 H.
developed the doctrine at length, teaching that the walis possess a certain illumination (ištām) which differs however from the inspiration of the prophets, so that they never reach their grade but must always walk according to the law of a prophet. They are all guided by God, whatever their rule or tārīqā may be, but that of al-Junaid is the best. Their karamāt are true miracles and are a reward of their devout toil, but the order of nature will not be broken for any one who has not achieved more than is usual in religious knowledge and exercises. All walis stand under a regular hierarchy headed by the Qutb, yet above him in holiness stand the Companions of the Prophet. This teaching marks a re-action from that of many Sūfis who had held that the walis stood higher than even the prophets themselves. The Wahābis rejected the intercession of the walis with God, but for the body of the people lives of the walis abounding in tales of their miraculous achievements still command credence.

The doctrine of the walis was however extended by various Sūfī writers on lines already familiar to us from the accounts above given of the spiritual degrees among the Ismailians. Hujweri, the great exponent of this teaching, tells us that the saints form an invisible hierarchy at whose head is the Qutb (axis), the most eminent Sūfī of his age. He presides at their spiritual and miraculously convened parliaments. Below him stand the following grades in ascending order:

Lowest of all are the 300 akhāyr or 'good,' and the 40 ahdal (substitutes) and then come the seven abrār 'pioneers'; then four autād (supports) and the three naqaba or overseers. The members of this celestial hierarchy can only act by mutual consent, but it is the special task of the autād to go round the whole world every night and if on any place their eyes do not fall, some flaw appears in it next day and they must then inform the Qutb so that by his blessing the defect may be repaired.

This is Nicholson’s account, but other authors give variants of it. Thus Petit describes the belief that there are always a fixed number of saints on earth, 4000 according to some, only 350 according to others. Divided into seven classes, corresponding to their degrees of holiness, these privileged beings have, after this life, access to heaven and formed by their union Ghaus-ul-Alam or 'refuge of the world.' At the head of the hierarchy is the Ghaus-ul-Azam or 'great refuge,' the saviour whose merits can atone for the sins of others without compromising his own salvation. No one knows him, nor does he know himself. Next to him comes his wazir, the Qutb, the most influential saint of his generation, the pole round which humanity revolves unceasingly. More precisely he is called the Qutb-ul-Waqt, or 'Pole of the Age,' or Qutb-ul-Aqtub, 'the Pole of Poles.' Below him come the autād or 'pickets,' one for each of the cardinal points, with Mecca for centre. Contrasted with the autād are the khab or 'elect,' only seven in number but ever on their proselytizing journeys to spread the light of Islam. Petit

1 The Mystics of Islam, in the Quest Series, pp. 123-4.

2 Ghaus is a title of Muslim saints whose limbs in the ardour of their devotion fall asunder. Its literal meaning is said to be ‘redress’. Ghaus-ul-Azam was a title of Abdul Qadir Jillani.
translates abādī by 'changing,' because their cadre is always fixed, and as soon as one dies another takes his place. But authorities differ as to their number, some fixing it at 70, others at 40, and some at only 7. While they live chiefly in Syria the najab or 'excellent', 70 in number, prefer Egypt, while the 800 najāb or heads of groups protect the rest of Africa. Wālī is a title only borne by dead saints, so that it results from a kind of popular canonization.1

Somewhat analogous to but not apparently connected with this system of wālīs is the belief in the Pir Ghāib, regarding whom Mr. Muhammad Hamid writes:—"The Pir Ghāib or Ghāib Pir appears to be a name given to a class of saints whose names are not known or whose miracle it was to hide themselves from the people at some particular period of their life, or it might be that the body, of the saint disappeared after his death. With the concealed Imām (Imām Mahdi), however, the Ghāib Pirs do not seem to have any connection. I know of a shrine of a Ghāib Pir at Jālālī (Aligarh District), whose name is not otherwise known and it is this ignorance of his name that has probably given him the epithet of Ghāib Pir. Pir Ghāib is the name of a place at Jullundur regarding which a remarkable legend is current. Imām Nāsir-ud-Dīn was a native of Nākshab.2 He lived from 866-945 A. D. and came to Jullundur where he miraculously restored to a widow her son who had been buried alive beneath the walls of Jullundur as the sole means of keeping what had been built during the day from falling down at night. He afterwards converted the Jogi who had been guilty of this nefarious sacrifice. It is most meritorious to work the well near this saint's tomb during his fair and there is much rivalry among the owners of bullocks for the privilege of doing so.

The significance of this legend seems obvious. The Imām converted a people, it says, who believed in sacrificing human beings in order to supply guardian spirits to the walls of a town, saving youths from such a fate, and supplying a more efficient guardian in the Pir Ghāib. The Imām Nāsir-ud-Dīn appears in the Saints of Jālāndhar as Nāsir-ud-Dīn Shārāzī. To make room for the mosque erected in his memory the shrine of the Jogi Jālāndhar Nath is said to have been pulled down—a highly probable tradition, though it is difficult to think that he was not earlier than Nāsir ud-Dīn Awadhī, the preceptor of Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulia, as Temple has suggested.3

Sūfī Orders.

The Sūfis are divided into 14 orders—9 of which are Qādirīa and 5 Chishtīa. In the former are included the Suhawardi. These three, with the Naqshbandi and Naṣḥābādī orders or sects, are spread all over India. This classification differs somewhat from that given in Volume III, p. 481, and many differences of opinion exist as to the history of the various orders, as will be noted below. But the following pedigree

2 A place said to be in Persia, but perhaps the same as Kārshi in Bokhara: Purser Jullundur R. E., § 17, p. 56. But Nākshab is the place where the veiled prophet of Khorásān performed his miracle of making moonshine.
3 Legends of the Punjab, III, pp. 158, 198.
able which traces the foundation of all the orders to natural or spiritual descendants of Ali or Abú Bakr is of some interest:

**MUHAMMAD.**

- **Ali**
  - Kamil.
  - Imám Hasan.
  - Imám Husain.
  - Kh. Hasan Basrí.
    - Kh. Habib Ajmi
      (Founder of the Ajmí).
    - Kh. Tafúr
      (Founder of the Tafúrís).
    - Kh. Dáuí.
    - Kh. Marúf Karkhí
      (Founder of the Karkhíís).
    - Kh. Sírí Sígtí
      (Founder of the Sígtíís).
    - S. Janáid
      (Founder of the Janáidís).
    - K. Abdul Wáhíd
      (Founder of the Zaidís).
    - K. Fazal, son of Ayáz
      (Founder of the Ayázíís).
    - Sh. Abú'l Hasan.
    - Sh. Abú'l Qásím.
    - Sh. Abdulí
    - Sh. Dáuí
    - Sh. Yúsuf.
    - Sh. Khálíq.
    - Sh. Árif.
    - Sh. Mahmúd
    - Sh. Ali.
    - Sh. Muhammad Bába.
    - Sh. Amír Kátál.
    - Sh. Bahá-úd-dín, Naqshbandí.
      (Founder of the Naqshbandíís).

- **Abú Bakr.**
  - Salmán Fársí.
  - Imám Músásí.
  - Imám Jásfar.
  - Bázíd Bustamí.
  - Sh. Abú'l Hasan.
  - Sh. Abú'l Qásím.
  - Sh. Abdulí
  - Sh. Dáuí
  - Sh. Yúsuf.
  - Sh. Khálíq.
  - Sh. Árif.
  - Sh. Mahmúd
  - Sh. Ali.
  - Sh. Muhammad Bába.
  - Sh. Amír Kátál.
  - Sh. Bahá-úd-dín
    (Founder of the Naqshbandíís).

**Harrat Mamsadolí.**

- Sh. Abú Ali Hasan.
  - K. Ahmad.
  - Sh. Abú Isáq Gazrání
    (Founder of the Gazráníís).
  - Sh. Wájírí
    (Founder of the Tusiís).
  - Sh. Wájírí
    (Founder of the Suhrawardíís).
  - Sh. Najam-ud-Dín
    (Founder of the Firdausíís).
  - Sh. Abú Bakar.
  - Sh. Abdul Wahid.
  - Sh. Abú Farah.
  - Sh. Abú Hasan.
  - Sh. Abú Said.
  - Sh. Abú Qásír.
  - Sh. Abú Qásír
    (Founder of the Qásíríís).

**Of the four principal spiritual orders, descended from the Prophet, the Naqshbandí descends through the Caliph Abú Bakr, the Suhrawardí through the Caliph Oúsáf, and the Cháší and Qásírí through the Caliph Ali. Below is given the genealogical table of the Sahírí sub-division of the Chášíís. The names are given as spiritually descended, and are not the only ones. For example Caliph Ali had many disciples besides the Imám Hasan Basrí, but they have their own lines of descent and that is the case with other notables also.**

3 *N. B.*—That this table is not confined to *natural* descent but includes *spiritual* affiliation.
Suft spiritual descent.

THE PROPHET, from whom was spiritually descended:—

| Hazrat Ali (son-in-law of Prophet). |
| Imám Hasan Baazi (of Baara). |
| Khwája Abdul Wáhid. |
| Khwája Fuzail bin Ayáz. |
| Sultán Ibráhím bin Adham of Bálkh (the king, who abdicated his throne). |
| Khwája Hasífa-al-Marashi. |
| Kháwja Hubera-al-Baazi (of Baara). |
| Khwája Aluq Mámshád. |
| Khwája Bu-al-Isháq Shámi (of Syria). |
| Khwája Abu Ahmad Abdál, the first Chishti (of Chisht). |
| Khwája Muhammad Záhid Maqbul Chishti (of Chisht). |
| Khwája Yúsuf Násir-ud-Dín Chishti (of Chisht). |
| Khwája Qub-ud-Dín Maúdúd Chishti (of Chisht). |
| Khwája Háj. Sharíf Zindni. |
| Khwája Usámán Harvání, |
| Khwája Múin-ud-Dín Chishti (of Chisht), the saint of Ajmer. |
| Khwája Qub-ud-dín of Delhi, the Qubh Sáhib. |
| Shaikh Faríd-ud-Dín, Shakarganj, the famous Baba Farid of Pákpatán. |

Hazrat Makhdúm Alí-ud-Dín Alí Ahmad Sábir of the Pirán Kaler (near Ruqší). His spiritual descendants are called Sábiús.

| Sh. Shams-ud-Dín Turk of Pánipat. |
| Sháh-i-Waláyat Sh. Jalál-ud-Dín of Pánipat. |
| Sh. Abdúl Haq of Radauli (U. P.). |
| Sh. Arif Sáhib. |
| Sh. Muhammad Sáhib. |
| Sh. Abdul Qadíús Sáhib Qubh of Gangoh (U. P.). |
| Sh. Jalál-ud-Dín of Thánesar. |
| Sh. Nizám-ud-Dín of Balkh. |
| Sh. Abú Sád of Gangoh. |
| Sh. Muhammad Sádiq of Gangoh. |
| Sh. Dáuíd Sáhib of Gangoh. |
| Sháh Abúl Músall. |

Hazrat Mirán Syed Sháh Bhík, the famous Mirán Sáhib, whose tomb is at Ghurám, in Fatíha States; and so on.

and so on.
In the mystic language of the Súfis these four sects, the Naqshbandi, Qádiria, Suhrwardi and Chishti, are called *khanwálas* (houses) and are sub-divided into minor sects known after the leading members of the parent sects.

In the Punjab disciples of the Chishti, Qádiria, Suhrwardia and Naqshbandia orders are found but adherents of the others are very few in number. They profess Islám and are religious orders, not castes though they tend to become tribes. A Muhammadan of any caste or tribe can adopt the teaching of any Súfi order and retain his caste. Celibacy is not strictly observed by these orders, but it is preferred by their leaders. These orders differ in their practices and religious doctrines.

**The Chishti Order.**

In contradiction to the generally accepted account the foundation of the Chishti order is by some ascribed to Khwája Ahmad Abdál of Chisht, where he was enshrined in 353 H. He was the disciple of ‘Abú Isháq Shámi who was buried at Akka in Sháam (Syria) and not in Chisht, as often stated. The order claims to originate from Ali the fourth Caliph himself through Hasan Basri and thus appears to be the youngest though it is the most popular of the four great Súfi sects.

Chishti methods and practices.

At initiation a disciple first recites two *rakhs* of *namáz* or prayer and is then given certain instructions, which he is directed to observe without demur, such as the precepts:— (1) that a *faqír* takes food in the name of God, (2) that he spends his life in remembrance of God (*yád-i-Nábi*), (3) that he sleeps with death, and (4) arises with the *kalima*. He is exhorted in these words:— "O disciple thou hast become a *faqír* and shouldst follow these precepts: and as the word *faqír* contains 1 letters *fé, gáf, yé* and *re*, the *fé* which expresses *faqáh* or fasting, the *gáf* gnostic or contentment, the *yé* *yád-i-Nábi* or remembrance of God and the *re* *riyázat* or penance, so shouldst thou possess these four qualities"; vide the Bágh-o-Báhár of Mir Umman.

After this he is hidden to concentrate attention on his *mu’rshid* or spiritual leader in a certain way every day, then some *ism* or sacred name is disclosed to him and he is directed to go to a shrine, to fast there for 10 days called *chilaka* and to keep on repeating the sacred name. Lastly the spiritual pedigree of the order is declared to him. By degrees he makes spiritual progress and sees visions of all things and places up to *‘arsh* or heaven. In this state when the two stars, Nasíra and Mahmúda,
Chishti sub-orders.

become one he attains the condition of sehawa or spiritual waking consciousness, and thus he reaches the loh-i-mahfús or protected plank. Past, present and future things manifest themselves to his sight, that is to say he gets a vision of all the worlds and thus when he repeats his meditation from his very heart, a condition of taqwim or deep trance supervenes and he learns or perceives the all-pervading spirit and meets the mystery of Ñâz and nayâz; Ñâz orders but nayâz is silent, and the great mystery of ism i-zât or 'name of self' reveals itself to him.

The five Chishtia sub-orders.

1. Zaidi, from Khwâja Abdul Abad, a son of Zaid, whose shrine is at Basra.

2. Ayâzi, from Khwâja Fuzail, son of 'Ayîz, whose shrine is at Kufa.  

3. Adhami, from Khwâja Sultân Ibrâhîm, son of Adham, whose shrine is at Baghdad.

4. Chishti, from Khwâja Abu Ishâq Shâmi Chishti, whose shrine is at Chisht, a town near Herât in Afghanistan.

5. Hubairi, from Khwâja Hubairat-al-Basri.

The Zaidi, 'Ayâzi, Adhami and Hubairi sub-orders have long since ceased to be recognized as distinct and the only descriptions of them in almost all the Sufi books are to be found under the Chishti order.

Formerly the Chishtia order was one, but now it is split into two sub-orders: (1) Nizâmia from Nizâm-ud-dîn of Delhi, (2) Sâbiria from Khwâja Ala-ud-dîn Ahmad Sâbir, nephew and son-in-law of Bâbâ Faiz-ud-Dîn Shakarganj.

The Sâbir Chishtîs have an important shrine at Thaska Mrânjî in Karnâl. It is called Rozâi Shâh Bhîk and a fair is held there on the 10th Shâbân. It was founded by Nawâb Roshan-ud-Daula, minister of Muhammad Shâh, at a cost of some ten lâkhs of rupees in the time of Muhammad Fâzîl, successor of Shâh Bhîk from whom it takes its name and was begun in 1131 H. It is administered by Miân Imám Shâh 7th in succession to Shâh Bhîk who is celibate like most of his predecessors and the faqîra of the sect, the succession being governed by spiritual relationship.

Drugs such as bhang, charas, tobacco and liquors are strictly forbidden to be brought or used in the shrine or its precincts.

1 In the account of the Zaidi in Vol. III, p. 610, Abdul Abad is incorrect, it should be Abdul Wâsid. A sect called Zaidi is dominant in Central Yemen, where it was established by the Imâm-ul-Hadi Yahya in 901 A. D. and through him the present Imâm of Yemen claims descent from Ali and Fatima. Unlike other Shi'as the Zaidi regard Ali as the first rightful Khalifa by personal fitness and not by selection. Their pilgrimage to Mecca and regard one made to Karbala as a work of supererogation: G. Wyman Bury, Arabic Infections, pp. 35, 32-4. A Sayyid family in Multân is sometimes called Zaidi as descendant from Zaid Shâhîd, grandson of the Imâm Hussain: Multân Gazetteer, 1901-2, p. 154.

2 The shrine of Khwâja Fuzail is not in Kûfa. It is in Mecca (vide Xinjui-ul-Asfâl, Vol. I, p. 230.

3 The name of Khwâja Ibrahim Adham is wrongly given as Ibrahim Adham Khan (1864, p. 286). His shrine is not in Baghdad. It is in Shâhîn.

4 The shrine of Habara Basri is not in Marash but in Basra (vide Mubbâb-ul-Asfâl).
Chishti shrines.

Tombs of Sháh Bihk’s disciples form the seven or eight minor shrines subordinate to this. They are at Talakam in Jagádhri tahsíl, at Handi Khera in Naraingarh tahsíl, at Gangheri and Thaska Ali in Thánesar tahsíl, at Ramba in Karnál tahsíl and at Kuhram in Patiála. Although the saint died on the 5th Ramzán his nrs is not kept on that date as it falls in a month of fasts and his disciples decided to hold it a little earlier; so the nrs is held on the 10th of Shábán and lasts till the 18th. It is the occasion of a big fair.

The name Sábir is thus explained:—One day Bába Faríd Sháh Ali Ahmad’s spiritual director and maternal uncle bade him give food and alms on his behalf to the poor. This he did and though stationed at the langarkhána (refectory) night and day he did not quit it to take his food at his own house. As he got weaker day by day, his mother asked the reason and he replied that he had taken no food for several days as his leader’s orders were to distribute it to others but did not authorise him to take any for himself and also that as he was required to be present at the poor house, he could not leave it. For this he received the name of Sábir the ‘patient’ or ‘contented’.

The following is a list of some of the best known Chishti shrines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The shrine of Qutb Sáhib at Mihráulí near Delhi. This saint forbade a building to be erected over his tomb.</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>14th Rabi-ul-awal 633.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The shrine of Bu Ali Qalandar Chishti known as the Qalandar Sáhib, at Budha Khera in Karnál.</td>
<td>Karnál</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwája Shams-ud-dín Chishti Sábír called Shah Wiláyat, at Pánípat. He was a spiritual descendant of Ali Ahmad Sábír.</td>
<td>Panipat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Jalál-ud-dín Kabír-ul-Aulia Sábír called the Makhlíám Sáhib, at Pánípat. He was a Turk, and descended from the foregoing.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sháh Lakhi
Sháh Bihk Míránjí or Mírán Sáhib
Míránjí
Sh. Faríd-ud-Dín
Sh. Sharf-ud-Dín

Ambála.
Thaska.
Thánesar tahsíl.
Pákpatán 644 or 669
Pánípat 724

1 Ali Ahmad’s shrine is at Pirán-Káliar near Bóorke. His life is given in the Gálár-Sábir. The Prophet gave him the name of Ala-ud-Dín before his birth and his parents that of Ali Ahmad,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Amīr Khusro</td>
<td>Near Delhi</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Naṣf-ud-Dīn, Roshan</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiragh Dīhlwī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Kaku</td>
<td>Lahore (Delhi Gate)</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Jalāl-ud-Dīn</td>
<td>Thānesar</td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Jān Ullāh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hājī Abdul Karīm</td>
<td>Kot Nahli in Lahore</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdūl Khalīk</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muḥammad Arīf</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muḥammad Siddīq</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdūl Mu̲ālī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdūl Rashid</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Atīq Ullāh</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muḥammad Salīm</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Bahōlo</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāb Latṭf Ullāh</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syād Alīm Ullāh</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Nur Muḥammad</td>
<td>Tajasārwar near Mu̲āhar, a town in Bahāwulpur.</td>
<td>1205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Chishti saints.

The full name of Bu Ali Qalandar was Shaikh Sharf-ud-Dīn Bu Ali Qalandar. Born at Pānīpāt, it is not certain as to whose disciple he was, some holding that he was the khāliṣa of Khwāja Kutb-ud-Dīn, others that he was a disciple of Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya. He wrote many works on Sufism and in one of them, the *Hikmat-Nāma*, he gives a short autobiography. Among his numerous disciples were Sultān Alau-ud-Dīn Khalījī and Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalījī. In the *Hikmat-nāma* he says that at the age of 40 he left Pānīpāt for Delhi where he was entrusted with the office of mufti and teaching Islamic law for 20 years. When his abstraction increased he gave up teaching and his office and spent the rest of his life as a Qalandar. He accepted no presents from disciples. He performed many miracles and died on the 13th Ramūzān 724 H. (11th January 1324 A.D.). His tombs are at Pānīpāt and Kārnāl.3

At the siāratgāh of Bu Ali Shāh Qalandar the ura is held from 9th to 12th Ramūzān, during which days the place is illuminated and

3 Many important saints are omitted from this list, to wit Maulānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn of Delhi, Shāh Kalfūmullah Jahānābādī etc.; while minor saints like Sulaimān of Taunsa etc. are mentioned.

Qawáls (singers) sing ghazals or hymns etc. Another fair, called the Bajakharah, is held on every Thursday in Jeth and Hájr. Once it is said the Sháh was sitting on a wall of the building when a faqir riding on a lion drew near. The Sháh ordered the wall to pay its respects to him, whereupon it moved up and down in token of respect. So the people founded the fair in honour of the Sháh. The shrine has been in existence for 600 years. It contains the Sháh’s tomb, made of marble, on which flowers are carved. The administration is carried on by a Shaikh majáwar.

Ibbetson, § 324.

Another saint of great celebrity is Boáli Qalandara, contemporary of Bábá Faríd. He used to ride about on a wall, but eventually settled at Pánpíat. The Jumna then flowed under the town: and he prayed so continuously that he found it convenient to stand in the river and wash his hands without moving. After seven years of this he got stiff, and the fishes ate his legs; so he asked the river to step back seven paces and let him dry. In his hurry to oblige the saint she retreated seven miles; and there she is now. He gave the people of Pánpíat a charm which drove away all flies from the city. But they grumbled, and said they rather liked flies, so he brought them back a thousandfold. The people have since repented. There was a good deal of trouble about his funeral. He died near Karnál, and there they buried him. But the Pánpíat people claimed his body and came and opened his grave, on which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took some bricks from his grave with which to found a shrine; but when they got to Pánpíat and opened the box they found his body in it, so now he lies buried both at Pánpíat and at Karnál. His history is given in the Ain-i-Akbári. He died in 724 Hij. (1324 A.D.).

The following Chishti saints have shrines in Jínd:

Sáyyid Jamál-ud-Dín or Sháh Waláyat has his shrine at Jínd town. He belonged to the Chishti order and accompanied Sháháb-ud-Dín of Ghor in his campaign against Ráí Píthóra. He was killed in battle at Jínd, where his shrine was built. A fair and urs are held here in Muharram every year. His sister’s son also has a tomb there and so has Sháikh Wáli Muhammad. Both belonged to the Chishti order.

Sháh Sondhá’s shrine is at Sáfídon town. He belonged to the Chishti and Qádirí orders.

Hidáyatullah or Mubáriz Khán has his shrine at Kälíána in the Dádri talúl. Mubáriz Khán was made commander-in-chief by Alá Khán, son of Tughláq, King of Delhi, and was deputed in 730 H. to fight against Rája Kälíána, ruler of Kälíána and the country thereabouts. He was killed and his shrine was built. A full account is given in the Jínd State Gazetteer.¹

Sháikh Mahmúd has his shrine at Dádri town. He belonged to the Chishti order.

Dáta Ganj Bakhsh, ‘the saint, the bestower of treasure’, was really named Ali Makhdúm Hujwéri² and a son of Usmán, son of Ali

¹ Phulkián States Gazetteer, Jínd, pp. 262 and 385.
² Hujwéri was a suburb of Ghazni; History of Lahore, p. 170.
Jaláli of Ghazni. He was a disciple of Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Hassan Khutbi. He followed the armies of Mas‘úd, son of Mahmúd, to Lahore where he settled in 1039 A.D. The authorship of the *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* or *Revelation of the Unseen* is ascribed to him. He was a precursor of the Chishti, for Khwája Muín-ud-Dín of Ajmer is said to have spent 40 days at his tomb.

Chishti shrines are not numerous at Lahore but that of Sháh Rahmatullah Sháh (d. 1708 A.D.), who was the spiritual guide of Abdus-Samad, viceroy at Lahore, merits notice. The saint is now known as Pir Sámpvonvála or 'saint having command of snakes' owing to an incident which occurred near his tomb in Ranjít Singh's reign.  

In Baháwalpur the Chishtís are important though only one shrine, that at Chishtiána, is held by them. Shaikh Táj-ud-Dín, a grandson of BAWA Fárid-ud-Dín, converted various Rájpút tribes in Bkáné and this brought him into collision with the unconverted clans. They attacked him and the women of his household were swallowed up by the earth. A tower which marks the spot is visited by women who make vows there. Various stories associate Khwája Nur Muhammad Mahárví and Bába Nának with the shrine of this saint, at which the Lakhwérás and other Jóyia septs make vows for sons, while Muhammedans in general offer the *istisgá* or prayer for rain sacrifice goats &c. and Hindus offer a chintz cover to the tomb for restoration to health and distribute sugar and boiled grain as a thank-offering for rain.  

Khwája Núr Muhammad was a Kharral Panwár Rájpút. Born in 1746 in the Shahr Fárid iláqa of Baháwalpur, he obtained the khalísat from Maulána Fakhir-ud-Dín Muhib-un-Nabi at Delhi and the name of Núr Muhammad from his disciples as he was the perfect 'light' (of God). Better known as the Qibla-i-Alam, he performed countless miracles and could send his invisible body (wajd-i-silli) where he liked. He appeared after death to read the janása at the funeral of a muríd. He had 4 khalísat, Núr Muhammad II of Hájípur, Qázi Muhammad Ajil of Mithanko, Háfiz Muhammad Jamál of Múltán, and Khwája Muhammad Sulaimán Khán of Sanghar. Their deputies in turn founded gadás in Baháwalpur, Sindh and the Punjab, among them those of Muhammad Akbar at Rání in Hissár, Makhdüm Sayyid Mahmód of Sitpur and Muhibb-i-Jaháníán at Shahr Sultán, and others. This saint, who must be classed as a Chishti, has thus exercised a profound influence over the whole of the south-western Punjab.  


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1 *History of Lahore*, p. 137.
3 *Ib.* pp. 176-8.
his younger son Sháh Mohkam was elected to succeed him. Bahá-ul-
Haqq or Baháwal Sher left Budáún and settled on the bank of the Sutlej
in a small village inhabited by Dhid Játs. By the miraculous use of
his staff the saint caused the river, then divided into several streams, to
flow in a single channel. Once he rode to Pákpatán and tore off the
tapestries from the tomb of Shaikh Faríd Badr-ud-Dín Shakarganj, by
which apparent sacrilege he enabled that saint to attain the highest
heaven, into which his entry had hitherto been impeded. Apparently
this saint supported the cause of Humáyún against the house of Sher
Sháh Sur, for in his restoration he entertained the emperor at a banquet
for which a valuable horse presented to the saint by Akbar had been
slaughtered. As late as the reign of Ranjít Singh, however, the partic-
zans of the shrine seem to have carried on a religious war with those of
Shaikh Faríd. This legend may give a clue to the significance of the
shrines which have no roofs. In the Punjab Historical Society’s Journal,
1914, pp 144-5, the present writer gave instances of hypaethral shrines
in the Punjab. To that list may be added the shrine of Khwája Báqi-
billláh Naqshbandi at Delhi, and the Chishti Qub’s at Mihrauli;
the roofless tomb of Pír Aulía Ghori near Bahádurpur in Multán and
that left incomplete in honour of Gajari, a sáti in Nábha; and doubt-
less many other examples could be cited. These shrines are all Muham-
madan—with the possible exception of the sáti’s in Gurgán—but they
do not appear to be confined to any particular sect. Muhammad Latíf
says that hujra in Persian means ‘building, mosque or mausoleum with-
out roof,’ but all roofless shrines are not styled hujra in the Punjab.

Jawáya Sháh whose takía is at Basti Kambóañwáli in Ferozepur
was a Máchhi and a faqír of the Chishti school. Born in Ferozepur city,
he went to live in the Basti when it was founded, and was buried there.
No fair is held.

West of the town of Ilánsi are the tombs of the four Qutbs, Qubh
Jamá’-ud-Dín and his three descendants. Tradition makes ‘Sultán’
Jamá’-ud-Dín a scion of the Ghaznivides who accompanied Mammád or
else Muham-mad of Ghor in his invasions. The tomb of Ali Tajjár, ‘a
disciple of Qutb-ud-Dín’, stands in the enclosure. Ali Tajjár was his
chief purveyor. The 2nd Qub was his son Burhán-ud-Dín, the 3rd
Manawwar-ud-Dín, and the 4th Núr-ud-Dín, Núr-i-Jahán. In another
enclosure are the graves of the four Díváns or successors of the Qutbs
whose descendants are still sajjáda-nashíns and known as the Díván
Sábíbs. Shaky as the traditions are as to chronology the 1st Qub is
described as a disciple of Bába Faríd Shakarganj and the second as also
a companion of H. Nizám-ud-Dín of Delhi. Hence the institution must
be classed as a Chishti one, though it is possibly older in origin than the
time of Báwa Faríd.

1 A tribe otherwise unknown.
2 P. N. Q., III, §§ 592, 643 and 732.
3 Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 123.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 165.
6 So the Himar Gazetteer, 1904, p. 319.
Another tomb at Hānṣi is that of Sayyid Niāmat Ullah Shahīd killed in Muhammad-ibn-Sām’s attack on the place, in 588 H., probably. Tradition adds that he was present at the battle of Thanesar and killed Khande Rāo, brother of Prithi Rāj. However this may be, the fair held in Chet at his tomb is called the mela-i-nesa or fête of lances. His comrades who fell were buried at the Ganj Shahīdān 3 kos from Hānṣi.

An interesting Chisti shrine at Gula in Hissār is that of Miran Nau Bahār—the name signifies eternal prosperity—a disciple of Bābā Farīd of Shākarganj. On his return to Gula he was given some bricks, blessed by the curses of evil spirits, which he put into a mārī. Whoever is affected by evil spirits or hysterical fits has only to put his head in the mārī to be rid of them. The date of the erection of the mārī is that of the annual fair.

It is generally believed that the khāṇqāh was built about 750 years ago. Its administration is carried on by Mirīn’s descendants who are Tirmizi Sayyids, while the keeping of it clean rests with an old family of khāddims.

The fair begins on the pūrammāshi of Jeth sudi and lasts 2 days longer. People affected as above are cured thus:—They are made to eat nim leaves wetted in the oil of a burning lamp and then made to put their head into the mārī. The evil spirit appears, talks, says why he troubled the man, prescribes a remedy and then departs.

The khāṇqāh of Shāh Karīm ud-Dīn is attached to this shrine. It is about 500 yards from it. He was some relation of Miran Nau Bahār’s father.

The shrine of Dīta Sher Bahālol.—This saint’s shrine lies a mile east of Hissār. His name was Abdul Razzāq, Data Sher Bahālol being his laqīb. In 1345 (757 H.) he lived where his shrine now stands in a wilderness which was the hunting ground of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, son of Sālār Rājāb, a cousin of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. In 1340 when Firoz Tughlaq came here to hunt he was astonished to see Sher Bahālol living without water etc., and had a wall built round what is now the town of Hissār and a canal brought from the Junna to it. A mela is held on the 6th of Muharram. On Thursdays and Sunday the Muhammadans and Hindus of Hissār gather there for ziārat.

The shrine of Shāh Junaid.—This shrine stands 300 yards south of the Naganri gate of the town. It comprises a small gumbad, a mosque, a well in the compound and some other tombs of the saint’s relatives. Junaid, son of Chandan and grandson of Mahmūd, was a native of Ajadhān (now Pākpatṭan) and a descendant of Bābā Farīd Shākarganj. An inscription in Arabic on the shrine runs—‘Built on the first of Rabi-ul-Awal 927 H. (1510 A.D.): here lies Junaid bin Chandan’. Every year a mela is held on 27th Ramzān.

The shrine of Ismail Shāh.—This shrine stands close to the western side of the town. Ismail Shāh settled here in 1800 A.D., and by his high character achieved such popularity that many became his

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1 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, p. 18.
disciples, many villages in Bkáner were assigned to him and other states also gave him a yearly income.

The shrine of the Chhl Hádz.-This shrine is called that of the forty reciters of the Qurán who were 40 wandering darwesh of Baghdád. Arriving here in 1340 A. D. in the reign of Píroz Sháh Taghlaq they settled at the place where the shrine now stands to enjoy the society of Dáta Sher Baholol. All 40, it is said, were buried in one and the same tomb after they had been put to the sword by the Dogars of Agroha.

Two shrines exist in Sirsa—one called Abu Shakúr Silmi and the other Shaikhl Allah Dád Sáhib. The former, a native of Salam in Arabia, came here in the time of Sultán Malmúd Ghaznavi. A very learned darwesh, he belonged to the Ibrráhím sect founded by Ibrráhím of Bálk who abandoned his kingdom and used to live in solitude in the hills. He wrote a work, called the Tamhíd, on purity of mind. The 14th Shabán is the date for the melá at the shrine. The four copulas on each side of the shrine are called the four chídás:—of Bábá Faríd Shakarganj, Baha-ul Haqq-wá-l-Dín Zakariya Múltáni, Sayyid Jalál and Bába Nának—since these four came here at different times and spent some time in meditation on Abn Shákúr Silmi.

A yearly fair is held at Palla in tahsíl Nuh, in the khángáh of Khwája Músá Chishti on the 27th and 28th of Jamádí-ul-awwal. The khángáh was built by Khwája Abdul Samad, a descendant of Kh. Músá in 1142 H.; and the buildings attached to it by Náwáb Shams-ud-Dín Khan of Ferozepur-Jhirká. The grave is of white marble enclosed on all sides by a marble palisade, but open on the top. Surrounding the maqádr are some houses in which people can put up. There are two gates, one to the east, the other to the south. The management vests in the Quraishi Shaikhs of Palla, the descendants of Shaikhl Músá. In the fair each person offers a pice to the maqádr and also reoti or batáshas with one pice. The following offerings are also made:—

Cloth from 5 to 100 yards to cover the grave, a phátu (broom) which is deemed to possess the virtue of removing pimples from the skin, matida (bread mixed with ghí and sugar) and milk and curd. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the tomb of Sháh Chókha1 or Sayyid Akbar Ali a fair is held every chánd-rát of the Muhammadian month of Jamádí-ul-awal, ending on the 8th of that month, in this wise:—When the new moon is seen a drum is beaten and the tomb is lit up. Every subsequent evening and morning a gathering for fatíhá-khwání takes place and sometimes

1 The account of the Meos, see Vol. III, p. 84, infra. A still more curious Chishtí shrine is described below:—

The khángáh of Dáda Tim Sháh at Lakháháji in Ferozepur has a fair on the 4th Hár every year. The story is that Dáda Yatím Sháh was a Chishtí juggler. He came from Ajmer and settled in Marapah in Muktásar some 120 years ago. Thence he was brought to Lakháháji by Kahu and Lakhá, Dogars. He had a disciple named Sayyid Lakhán Sháh Bukhari. On the day of the foundation of Lakháháji, Dáda Yatím Sháh breathed his last. The fair is attended by some 200 men and gawáís or singers are invited to it. Some of the visitors go into a trance by waving their heads violently. Fáqir are fed free with bread, rice and meat. Fáqir Bákhdur Sháh, Querchi, is its majdúwar. Succession is governed by natural relationship, but in the absence of a son, the inheritance would pass to a sheba. Lamps are lit every Thursday night, when people offer cash or sweets. The khángáh of Lakhán Sháh is connected with this.
verses are also sung. The drum is beaten five times each day. *Fugōra* and shopkeepers encamp on plots of ground from 1st to 3rd of Jamādi-ul-awal, and shops are opened on the 4th. The *fāšīha-khwānī* is finished on the 5th, and the fair ends on the 8th. Forty or even fifty thousand people of every sect visit this fair.

Sayyid Akbar Ali was a Charkolet Meo. Chokha means 'good', and probably the saint was so called on account of his miracles. The tomb is said to have been built in the reign of Akbar, but its *khādīms* state that the Persian phrase *saun-suhāk* expresses the year of its foundation which would thus be 989 H., but the words are meaningless. The tomb is enclosed by walls on all four sides, the outer walls being about 100 yards long, and 5 or 6 yards high, with two gates, one in the northern, the other in the southern wall. The *naubat* or drums are kept at these gates. In both these walls are smaller doors for the convenience of the public. Inside all the four walls are *hufārs* and *ddāns* in which visitors to the fair put up. Between the outer and inner walls are many small tombs in which shop-keepers set up booths during the fair. In the north-western corner is a small mosque without a dome. The inner circuit has two gates, one in the southern, the other in the western wall. Inside it are two *ddāns*, known as the *bāra-dari*. Under one is a *tak-khāna* and there are five or six small graves in the courtyard. At the north-eastern corner is a small roofless mosque in the form of an *īlqāb*. North of the tomb stands a large mosque in which the *Qurān* is read. Behind this mosque is a three doored room built of red sandstone, which seems to be new for the middle door has an inscription in Hindi.1 In the inner circuit is a large stone tomb. Above it is a large egg-shaped dome surmounted by a golden *kalas*. This tomb has two doors, one to the south, the other to the east. Inside this building is the grave of Shāh Chokha covered with a green cloth kept in position by a few stones (mīfārsh). Inside the building on the northern wall hang a stick, a wooden bow, a stone *kantha*, two wooden swords (one of them a *kīnda*), 5 small glass beads, and an iron bead known as 'the *sīmurg*’s egg’. By the grave are two *Qurāns*, two iron candelabra and an iron *faīlboz*.

The administration of the temple vests in the villagers who style themselves: descendants of Shāh Chokha. All the *khādīms* are Chishtis. Every Thursday at the *fāšīha-khwānī* lubān or incense is burnt. The tomb of the *pir* or religious teacher of Shāh Chokha is said to be at Nārsaul in Patiala.

All that can be ascertained of Shāh Ahmad Chishti is that he was the son of Shah Isma‘l. His father came to reside at Sajwārī from Dātra in the Balandshahar District. After his death Shāh Ahmad Chishti took his *gaddī*. His fame rests upon a tradition that once a Banjāra bringing valuable goods from abroad met him. Shāh Ahmad asked him what they were. The Banjāra named some inferior goods. Shāh Ahmad said 'Yes. It must be what you say'. When the Banjāra reached his destination and opened the goods he found that they had been transformed into what he had misrepresented them to be to the Shaikh. He came back to him and begged for.

Kewal Rām, son of Sālig Rām, Kalāi of Mathra, 8, 1940.
pardon, which was granted, and the goods were restored to their original condition. So the Banjara had this shrine raised to the Shaikh's memory. It is much worshipped by people of the surrounding villages some of whom have assigned lands to it. Nawâb Murtaza Khan assigned 4 or 5 hundred tâghas. The peopie of Mahalla Qânûngoyân in Palwal generally have their children shaved at this place. The annual festival takes place on 12th Rabi-ul-awwal.

The influence of the Chishti has penetrated into parts of the hills. Thus at the khânjâq of Bara Bhai is the shrine of Abd-us-Salâm, a Chishti, founded by a Râja of Nasrota. Its fair is held on a Thursday in the light half of Jeth.

THE QÂDIRIA ORDER.1

Abdul Qâdir Jilâni was born at Gilân or Jilân in Persia in 1078 A. D. His titles were Pirân-i-Pir, Ghaus-ul-Azim, Ghaus-us-Samâdî, Mahbûb-i-Subhâni, Mîrân Muhây-nd-Dîn, Sayyid Abdul Qâdir Jilâni, Hasan-ul-Hussâiîn.2 Abdul Qâdir Jilâni's nephew (bhâujâ) was Sayyid Ahmad Kabîr (not Qâbir) Rafât,3 the founder of the Rafâî or Gursmâr faqîrs.

Abdul Qâdir is said to have left his tooth-brush at Ludhiâna. It has grown into a njîm tree at his shrine which stands in an open space near the fort. His fair is called Roshani and begins on the 11th of Rabi-us-sâni. Hindu as well as Muhammadan villages light lamps at his shrine and women desirous of offerings make offerings at it. Jats also bring cattle to it and make them jump for luck. The fair lasts 3 or 4 days and songs of all sorts are sung by the ever-moving crowds both night and day. Prostitutes frequent it.

But the following local account of the fair makes no mention of Abdul Qâdir or of the njîm tree and assigns a very different origin to the shrine:

The Roshani Fair is the most famous in Ludhiâna. It is held in that town at the khânjâq of the 'Pir Sâhib' and people of all classes, mostly Muhammadans with some Hindûs, attend it. Beginning on the 10th of Rabi II it should end on the 12th but it generally goes on for a week, more people visiting it at night than by day. Visitors present cash, sweetmeats, goats, milk, cowries &c., as they think fit. Every Thursday too there is a small gathering at the khânjâq, especially of Muhammadans. This Pir was Sayyid Muhammad, progenitor of the Sûfî Sayyids of Ludhiâna. At the site of the khânjâq he practised

1 See Vol. III, p. 431.
3 Jâ, pp. 157 and 158. Abdul Qâdir Gilânî was the son of Abî Sâîih and a disciple of Shaikh Abu Saâîid. Born on the 1st Ramzân 470 H., at the age of 18 he left Gilân for Baghdâd where he began his studies, and in 531 H. he began to preach. More than 70,000 people are said to have attended his lectures. He could talk with the Invisible (Rijâl-i-ghaib), as well as with Khîr, and performed many unique miracles. Many saints who had lived before had prophesied concerning him. He died on 9th Rabi II, 561 H., at the age of 80 and was buried at Baghdâd : Khâzina-ul-Asifa, I, pp. 94-9; Safsâstul-Aâsil, pp. 48-53. For a hymn to Abdul-Qâdir Jilâni see Temple's Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 153. The tale of the miraculous recollection of the drowning bridegroom by the saint may be purely allegorical. The saint's chief fête is celebrated on the ydshî = 11th (ydshîn) of Rabi, II; ib. p. 158, citing Herklot's Qanoon-e-Islam, p. 165 ff.
chila for 40 days shut up in a hut. At its close his disciples came to revere him and thus the Roshani fair was instituted. Sayyid Muhammad was a khalifa of Hazrat Hujat-ul-Anlia Shaikh Daud Gangi. From the Hadgà Dàdà it appears that he was contemporary with Alamgir and probably the khangah was founded in his reign. Its management vests in the descendants of Sayyid Muhammad, and for its service one or two mujadsar or faqirs are employed.

In imitation of this fair, another Roshani fair is held at Ràipur in Ludhiána tahsil on the same date, but it only lasts a day and a night. It is held at Pir Daulat Sháh’s khangah, and his disciples (muriids) gather there.

Brown gives various details regarding the Qadiri. According to him Abdul Qadir’s title was Sultán-ul-Anlia or sovereign of the walis (saints). The insignie of the Qadiris is the rose, because once the Shaikh-ul-Sa’id Abdul Qadir Gilani was directed by Khizar to go to Baghdând and on his arrival the Shaikh (apparently the chief of the town) sent him a cup full of water to signify that as the town was already full of holy men it had no room for him. But the saint put a rose in the cup, although it was the winter season, to signify that Baghdád could find a place for him. He was then admitted to the city. Abdul-Qadir represents the atwr-i-sab’a or seven paths. The initiatory rites mubayya’at of a muriid include the ba’at or giving of the right hand clasped in the Shaikh’s right hand with the two thumbs raised up against each other.

The Qadiri have three grades of dirwekh, the muriid, khalifa and shaikh. The khalifa is the shaikh’s vicar, e.g. Shaikh Ismail or Rumi, originally a Khalwa’ti, became the khalifa of Abdul Qadir. Sir Richard Burton was initiated into this order, first as a shaikh, then as a mursid, or one allowed to admit muriids or apprentices.

The Qadiria methods and practices.

In the Qadiria method of contemplation the disciple is instructed to attain union with God or reach to Him by the practices of yaksarbi, daw-sarbi, seh-sarbi and chabár-sarbi, four methods of repeating the name of Allah, and he must recite His name in a voice so pitched as not to arouse sleeping people. In yaksarbi he repeats the word Allah with a certain pitch and length of voice from the heart and throat with emphasis once and then stops until his breathing is regulated and

1 Brown, The Dervishes, p. 80.
2 Ibid., p. 89, apparently Abdul-ul-Qadir himself or one of his successors.
3 There are 7 names of Allah, used in zikr, each having its peculiar light, prayer and number of times which it must be repeated:
1. Lâ-illahtillah, blue, 100,000 times.
2. Allah the ‘ismi jalla or beauteous name, yellow, 78,688 times.
3. Ismi Hu, red, 44,630.
4. Ismi Hai, white, 20,092.
5. Wâhid, green, 99,420.
6. Aziz, black, 74,644.
These numbers total 447,574, but their mystical significance is not stated. It used to be necessary to recite the names the above number of times in order to qualify for the degree of Shaikh.

4 Ibid., p. 95.
then he recites the word Alláh and so on. In *síkr dá-sarbí* he sits in
the posture of *námáz* (prayer) and recites the name of Alláh once turn-
ing his head to the right and again in the heart. In *síkr sab-sarbí* he
sits cross-legged and recites 'Alláh' first to the right, next to the left
and thirdly in the heart with a loud voice. In *síkr chahár-sarbí* he
sits cross-legged and recites Alláh first on the right side, then on the
left, thirdly in the heart and fourthly in front with a loud voice. They
are also taught to pronounce the words *la-lláh a-l-láh a-l-láh* in a certain
way sitting with eyes closed.

The nine Qádiria orders are the:

1. Habíbí, from Khwája Habíb of Ajmi.
2. Tafúrí, from Khwája Bayaźid of Bústám.1
3. Siqtí, from Khwája Imám Sirri, and Siqtí.3
7. Túsí, from Khwája Abú-l-Faráh Tartúsi.
8. Firdúsí, from Khwája Abú Sáid Khízrí.

Like the Chishtia the Qádiria order is divided into two sub-orders,
the Razaqía from Sháhzaáda Abdul Razaq and the Wahábia from Sháh-
zááda Abdul Waháb.

The following is a list of Qádiria shrines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maulána Ghaus Ali Sáhib</td>
<td>Pánípat in Karnál</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Gumasí or Qumes</td>
<td>Sádhuara in Ambáná</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Sayyid Sháh Níroz</td>
<td>Lahore (Dandi)</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gardan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This and the Junaídi are not always given as Súfí orders. But as given in the
   *Tarikh-ul-Awlia* and the *Aneér ul-Árifn* the 14 Súfí orders are:

   11. Gazrání, 12. Túsi, 13. Suyáwardí, and
   14. Firdúsí.

Bústám is a village near Wád, a city in Persia. Bayáriz, founder of the Tífúrí,
Tafúrí or Tafúrí order, was an interesting personality. His full name was Taifur bin Isá
or Abú Yazíd and his Sufism made him a true pantheist. Whatever attains to God, he held,
becomes God and his sanctity was such that he brought miracles and wounds inflicted on his
person when in a state of ecstacy appeared on the bodies of those who inflicted them. His
townsmen feared his supernatural power and cast him out of their city seven times, only to
receive him back again. A tenet he inculcated was that loving-kindness should be shown
not only to men but to animals and the story goes that once he and his friend Qásím carried
an ant away from its home unnoticed in their belongings. At Qásim's request Bayáriz set
out to restore it to its home whereupon a halo encircled his hand and the inhabitants of
Shahrud and Bústám fought for possession of his person. Qásím was killed in the fray and
when Bayáriz on his return learnt of his death he rebuked his townsmen so vehemently,
that they stoned him to death. Both he and Qásím are buried at Bústám: William
Jackson, From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyám, pp. 200-1. For a sketch
of Bayáriz Bústámi's life and teaching see Claud Field, Mystics and Saints of Islam,
pp. 53 ff, and for Habíb Ajami, pp. 79 ff.

2 The Siqtí and Karkhi orders have long ceased to be called, and their followers
find a place under the Qádirí order in all books on Súfí history written in Persian or Urdu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Years of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Qādir II</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Hazūrī¹</td>
<td>Near Mīān Mīr road</td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrān Sayyid Mubārik</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Latīf Barri</td>
<td>Nurpur in Rawalpindi</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Baha-ud-dīn</td>
<td>Hujra</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hamīd Gauj Bakhsh</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Daud</td>
<td>Shergarh</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Baholol</td>
<td>Chiniot</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abu Ishāq</td>
<td>Mozang (Lahore)</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Nūr</td>
<td>Chānīān in Lahore</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Mūsā</td>
<td>Multān</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hussain (Lāl Hussain)</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Shams-ud-Dīn</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Khair-ud-Dīn</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Tāhir²</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Mīr (Mīān Mīr)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Shah Bilāwal</td>
<td>Outside Lahore</td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Madhuri</td>
<td>Near Lahore</td>
<td>1156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwāja Bihāri</td>
<td>Near Mīān Mīr’s shrine</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Sulaimān</td>
<td>Bhiwāl</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jān Muhammad</td>
<td>Near Gārhi town</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Razzaq</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1065²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Shāh Muhammad (Mulla Shāh)</td>
<td>Outside Mīān Mīr’s tomb</td>
<td>1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Háji Muhammad</td>
<td>Chhāni Sahanpāl in Gujranwāla</td>
<td>1103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hasan</td>
<td>Peshāwar</td>
<td>1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Raza</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ināīf Shāh</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Fāzal</td>
<td>Bātāla</td>
<td>1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Pir Muhammad</td>
<td>Nau-hahra in Gujranwāl</td>
<td>1152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh Muhammad Gaus</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Rahmān</td>
<td>Birhi in Gujranwāla</td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Bahli Shāh</td>
<td>Kasūr</td>
<td>1171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdulla Shāh</td>
<td>Mozang in Lahore</td>
<td>1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ghulām Hussain</td>
<td>Wayranwāli in Gujranwāla</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Qaisar Shāh</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Lahe Shāh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The Hazuri family of Lahore is so called because its disciples are, it is believed, quickly admitted into the presence of the Prophet. Originally of Ghor it settled at Uch but migrated to Lahore under Shāh Jahan. Their tomb has two domes and in it are buried Muhammad Hazūrī and his son Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn, and Jān Muhammad and his son Sаwar Dīn: Jān Muhammad, who died in 1708, was a man of profound learning: Hist. of Lahore, p. 171.
² Shaikh Tāhir Bandagi, who is buried at Lahore, his native place, was a disciple of this Shaikh Ahmad.
The pedigree of the saint Sháh Qumes makes him a descendant of Abdur-Qádir Jiláni through a son of his named Abd-ur-Razzaq who is otherwise not known. Sháh Qumes most probably flourished in the 18th century as tradition connects him with Akbar and with Humáyún's wars against Sikandar Sháh Sur, though even so his birth cannot be carried back to 1425 as in the genealogy. His cult is said to be connected with Bihár and three large fairs are held, one in that Province, one at Ludhíána and a third at Sádhaúra itself.

Sháh Biláwal, son of S'aíd Usmán, son of S'aíd Isa, who came from Herát to India with Humáyún when he reconquered India with Persian aid, was a disciple of Sháh Shams-ud-Dín Qádirí and a tutor of Mahtlavi Abúl Fateh. He died in 1636 A. D. and was first buried beneath a high dome on the banks of the Ráví, but on account of that river's encroachments Faqir Azís-ud-Dín 200 years later exhumed his body and re-buried it a kos east of Lahoré. The coffin was found suspended to the roof by an iron hook and the body in perfect preservation. The fort of Shaikhúpura with its environs was held in jágir by this Sayyid.

Sháh Shams-ud-Dín who predicted Sháh Jahán's accession was also a Qádirí and offerings are made to his shrine in fulfilment of vows (maunat). He died in 1613 A. D. and Sháh Jahán constructed his tomb.

The tomb of Sháh Raza, described as belonging to the Shattaria Qádirí family, is on a platform in an open courtyard. Súffs assemble at the annual fair held at this khángah, to sing hymns when in the ecstatic state. Sháh Raza died in 1706 A. D. and disciple Sháh Ináyatulla had as his disciple the famous poet Bhúll Sháh.

Sháh Jamál described as a Qádirí Sahrwari who died in 1650 A.D. has a tomb at Ichhra near Lahoré. It is on a mound, in the form of a battery and so is called the Damdama Sháh Jamál. His brother Sháh Kamál is buried in the adjoining village of Vona. When Jamál used to sit on this damdama the ladies of the royal household could be seen bathing in Jahángir's tank close by, so they objected, but the faqir in a curse predicted that neither palaces nor tank should remain. Nevertheless in a fit of wajíd or ecstasy he danced so hard that 5 storeys of the building sank below the ground, and so reduced the height of the damdama that people could not see the ladies bathing from it and only the present two storeys of his shrine remained.

The Pir Dastgír.

Sháh Muhammad Ghaus, whose shrine is at Lahoré, is held in great esteem from Delhi to Pesháwar. He died in 1739. His father, said

1 Given in Temple's Legends, III, pp. 92-3, where a full account of the saint's miracles and history will be found,

2 Hist. of Lahoré, p. 159. He was noted for his charities and established an almashouse: p. 59.

3 Ib., pp. 201-2.


5 Ib., pp. 200-1.
The Pir Dastgir.

Hasan, whose tomb at Pesháwar is also much respected, was a lineal descendant of the Pir Dastgir.

The descendants of the Pir Dastgir include some patron saints of industrial castes or at least of local guilds. Thus at Lahore Fíroz Sháh Gilání, a disciple of Sháh Alam, became the saint of the Dandígars or kherádts (turners). He died in 1527 A. D. and was succeeded by Shaikh Abdulla. Similar saints are known in other parts of the Moslem world. Thus Abu Zulaima is the patron saint of the seas about the Gulf of Suez. He watches over the safety of mariners, sipping coffee, brought raw from Mecca by green birds and prepared by angels: Burton, Al-Madina, I, p. 199.

But other patron saints do not appear to be so regarded. Thus Hassu Teli, a saint contemporary with Láé Husain, is essentially the saint of the oilmen and his tomb is the scene of an annual fair. His shop too, at which he sold corn, is still respected and a lamp is lit daily at his residence. He was a disciple of Sháh Jamal Qádirí whose tomb is at Ichhra, and he died in 1593 A. D. Shaikh Músá was an áhangar or iron smith and his tomb is revered by people of that occupation. Once it is said, a Hindu woman brought him a spindle to straighten. Smitten by her beauty he forgot it and when she taunted him he replied that in looking at her he was only contemplating the maker's skill and taking the spindle he passed it over his eyes which remained unhurt while it turned into pure gold. The woman embraced Islám and her tomb is close to his. He died in 1519 A. D.

The dyers of Lahore similarly affect the tomb of Ali Rangrez which is also that of his brothers Wali and Bahu.

Pír Hádi, the "shower of the way", is much reverenced by the Khojas of Lahore. His pedigree is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. Shams-ud-Din Tabriz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Abdul Qádir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Sháh Chirígh (Abdul Razzák), a descendant of the Pir Dastgir, has a lofty tomb at Lahore, erected by Aurangzeb. It is the scene of an annual fair.

The Qalandars, according to Brown, are not an order. One of the dervesh of the Qadirís was named Sháhbabz-i-Qalandari and another

1 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 188-69.
2 Ib., pp. 202-08.
3 Ib., pp. 204-05.
4 Ib., p. 209.
5 Ib., p. 208.
6 Ib., p. 193.
7 Described in Vol. III, p. 257 infra. The Sháh Báz settled on the Pesháwar border may be this Sháhbabz, the Qádirí. The shrine of Sháh Chokha, as already stated, is held by Chishti khaddims.
of the Maulavis was called Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi Qalandari. But the Qandars also appear to be connected with the Bektáshis some of whom wear the cap called Sháh-báz-i-Qandari which is said to have been assumed by the Sháh, Adham, of Bakh and which is therefore called Adhami.  

**The Suharwardi Order.**

The account given of the foundation of this order in Vol III, p. 432, is almost certainly incorrect. It was founded either by Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din Suharwardi who died in 682 H. and is entombed at Baghdád (and not in the fort of Multán, as erroneously stated in that art.) or by Shaikh Zia-ud-Din. Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din's disciple Bahá-ud-Din Zarakía is buried in the fort at Multán and hence is sometimes called Bahá-ud-Din Zarakía Multání. Suharwardi comes from Suharward, a village in the Oxus valley.

At initiation into the Suharwardi order the mūรหd or spiritual guide first bids the disciple repent his sins, great and small. He is then directed to recite 5 kátımas and to attain to full conviction of the true faith, to recite the namás regularly and to observe the fasts (rosa). This is called mūรหd hóna, 'to become disciple.' Jalál-ud-Din, Maulána Rúm, author of the Māsnawí, belonged to this order. He was born at Bakh about 1207 A. D. His parents claimed descent from Abú BAKI,

1 The Dervishes, p. 84: Brown however also gives the tradition that the Qandars were founded in Spain and the title means 'pure gold': p. 241.


3 The learned Shaikh Bahá-ud-Din Zikári Multání, son of Wajíd-ud-Din, was one of the greatest saints of his time. A disciple of Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din Umar Suharwardi of Baghdád, he received the garment of succession from him. The mildness of his nature earned him the title of Bahá-ud-Din, the 'angel'. His miracles were numerous and Bábá Faríd Shákharganj addressed him as the Shiháb-ut-Jélám. When Sultan Sham-ud-Din Altámsh became king, Sultan Násir-ud-Din Qábáchá, governor of Multán, Uch and Sind planned a rebellion against him. Learning this Bahá-ud-Din Zikári and Qázi Sharáf-ud-Din wrote to inform Altámsh of his intentions but their letters were intercepted by Qábáchá. In revenge he sent for the writers and placing the letters before them asked if they were theirs. Qázi Sharáf-ud-Din admitted their authorship and was straightforwardly beheaded, but Bahá-ud-Din declared that he had written them by a divine command, and they contained nothing but the truth. Overawed by his words Qábáchá begged his forgiveness and let him go. He died on Thursday the 7th Saffar 691 H.: Safínsul Ástín, pp. 114-5; Askár-i-Áhrar, pp. 65-6; Khásinat-ut-Asfá, II, p. 19-20, and Beale, Miftah-ut-Sawári, p. 34, Persian text, p. 82.  

4 Described as 'the greatest pantheistic writer of all ages,' Jalál-ud-Din died in 1272 A.D. 7 years after Dante's birth, and did not live to finish the Māsnawí. His teaching is summed up in his last charge to his disciples: — 'I bid you fear God openly and in secret; guard against excess in eating, drinking and speech; keep aloof from evil companionship; be diligent in fasts and self-renunciation and bear wrongs patiently. The best man is he who helps his fellow-men, and the best speech is a brief one which leads to knowledge. Praise be to God alone!' He bade man choose a pír to represent for him the Unseen God. His praise of the reed flute has made it one of the principal instruments in the melancholy music which accompanies the dancing of the Maulavi darwés. "It is a picture of the Súfí or enlightened man, whose life is, or ought to be, one long lament over his separation from the Godhead, for which he yearns till his purified spirit is re-absorbed into the Supreme Unity. We are here reminded of the words of Novalis, 'Philosophy is, probably speaking, home sickness; the wish to be everywhere at home.' Yield, op. cit., pp. 148 ff.
father-in-law and successor of Muhammad. He had a mysterious friend in Shams-ud-Din of Tabriz. Jalâl characterised Shams-ud-Din as a great alchemist and as a scholar in every science known to man, who had renounced them all to devote himself to the study and contemplation of the mysteries of Divine love. It would seem that under his influence Jalâl instituted religious dancing or ḥâl khelâd amongst his disciples and on this account they earned the name of dancing darvishes. Shams met his death, it is said, during such a religious entertainment.

According to Petit the Suharwardi cover themselves with many pieces of different stuffs to remind them that 'man is ever naked and observed by God.' But he also observes that their many-coloured costume represents the infinite variety of the creatures placed by God at man's service.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, whose real name was Muhammad, was the son of Ali, son of Malik Dâda. Some say he was the disciple of Shaikh Abûbâkr Sîla-Bâf Tabrizi; others that Kamâl Khujandi or Shaiâk Rukn-ud-Din Sanjâsi was his father. Born to saintship he fasted for 40 days without a break even when a mere boy. Maulânâ Jalâl-ud-Din Rûmî had great faith in him. Once, it is said, Shaiâk Shams-ud-Din reached Baqunia and found Jalâl-ud-Din sitting by a tank with some books busy teaching. After exchanging a few words with the Maulânâ the Shaiâkh threw the books into the tank. The Maulânâ was grieved to lose the books and said that some of them were rare and had belonged to his father, so the Shaiâkh put his hand into the water and took out all the books which were quite dry. The Maulânâ thus became his disciple. One night the Shaiâkh was talking to the Maulânâ in a private room, when a man came to the door and called him out. The Shaiâkh at once stood up and bidding farewell to the Maulânâ said that men had come to kill him. As soon as the Shaiâkh went out seven men attacked him with daggers, but when he uttered a cry they all fell unconscious on the ground. On recovering they saw nothing but a few drops of blood, but no trace of the Shaiâkh could be found. It is not known where he was buried as his tomb is stated to be at two or three different places. His death occurred in 645 H.

The waâzir of Qonia had built a college and himself took part in the dancing at the opening ceremony, but he discourteously collided with Shams-ud-Din during the performance. Confusion resulting the police of the Sultân were called in and they led Shams-ud-Din away and put him to death without further inquiry. Jalâl-ud-Din wrote this strange sentence on the door of Shams-ud-Din's lodging—'This is the abode of the loved one of Elias, on whom be peace.' Jalâl-ud-Din's disciples followed their leader's example and practised dancing as a spiritual exercise but equally naturally strong objection was raised against it as being only worthy of mad men, the objectors going so far as to take legal advice which declared dancing, music and singing unlawful. Some of his chief disciples aver that his reason for instituting musical services in his order was that God had a great regard for the Roman people. Many objections were raised against dancing and religious ecstasies but

*1 Les Confréries Musulmanes, pp. 44 (citing Senoussi in Binn, p. 310) and 45.
Suharwardi shrines.

the Chishtiya order now declares that khaī khelāna is lawful, though the other orders declare these practices unlawful.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, whose tomb is at Multán, is a different saint. He was a Musavi Sayyid and his descendants who profess Shi'a tenets are known as Shamsi Sayyids: Khazinat-ul-Aṣfya, II, pp. 268-70; Safiinat-ul-Auliya, p. 179.

This order is closely connected with Multán. It is the home of an important Shi'a family who call themselves descendants of a saint of Multán named Shams Tabriz to whom in 1787 A.D. a large tomb was built. The name Shams, 'Sun', is peculiarly appropriate to the saint of a place like Multán, one of the hottest in India, and the story goes that the sun broiled a fish for him there when he was denied food by the citizens. Moreover the legend of the celebrated Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, who was killed at Qonia in 1247 A.D., was slayed alive and wandered about for four days afterwards with his skin in his hand, is also told of this Shams-ud-Din of Multán, though his principal attribute is that he brought the sun nearer to the world at that place than any where else on earth. The Shi'a guardians of the shrine indeed declare that the name Shams Tabrez is an error and that his real name is Shams-taprez or 'heat-giving'.

The following is a list of shrines of the Suharwardia order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Died in Hijra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Baha-ud-Din</td>
<td>Multán</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad</td>
<td>Multán</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Rukan-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hamid-ud-Din</td>
<td>Man, a town in Multán</td>
<td>736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Nasir-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Jalil</td>
<td>Lahore (Old Qila)</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Usmán</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Musa</td>
<td>Lahore (Gumbaz Sabz)</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Temple: Legends of the Punjab, III, p. 87.
2 Multán Gazetteer, Lahore, 1902, p. 350, citing Sir Alex. Cunningham, Archæological Survey Reports, Calcutta, 1875, V, pp. 133 and 134.
3 Possibly a similar origin may be ascribed to the Shami Tālāb or Sun Tank at Mihrauli near Delhi. On its bank stands the Jahāz Mahal, a curious building which bears no resemblance to a ship, as its name would imply, though it is popularly ascribed to such a likeness or to its proximity to water. This Tālāb is famous in Muhammadan folk-lore: Annual Progress Report of Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle (Allahabad), 1914, p. 41. It was known to Timūr as the Haiz-i-Shami or Cistern of Shams-ud-Din Altshah, the first Turk emperor of Delhi.

Shaikh Abdul Jalil or Shaikh Chular married a daughter of Sikandar Loll and died in 1534 leaving a son, Abdul Fatih. His miracles are recorded in the Taskara Qubia and his descendants who live in Ratta Pirán, in Siākot, are still much respected: Hist. of Lahore, p. 205.
### The Naqshbandi Order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Died in Hijra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sayad Haji Abdul Wahab</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Jamál-ud-Dín</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Jhulan Sháh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hasan Ganjádagar</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mírán Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Jamál</td>
<td>Near Ichchra in Lahore</td>
<td>1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Dauláh Dáryáí</td>
<td>Gujrát</td>
<td>1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Ján Muhammad</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhd. Ismaíl</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ján Muhd. II</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Ayúb</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaikh Hamíd ud-Dín Abulgais, entitled Shaikh Hákim, 18th in descent from Záid-ud-Dín Háras Muhammad Asghar and 17th from Ali himself, was a governor of Kích Mekrán in 1208. The warning of a female slave whom he had caused to be flogged induced him to renounce the world. He came to his mother’s father Sayyid Ahmad Tokhta at Lahore and also received instruction from Shaikh Shaháb-ud-Dín himself, Baha-ud-Dín Zakaría, and Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dín Abul Fath, who appointed him his khálífa with a mission to preach Islám between Neh and Sakkar. At Mau a Jogi was converted by him and took the name of Zain-ud-Dín. His descendants are the present mujáwars. Shaikh Hákim corrected the faulty orientation of the great mosque built by Altamsh at Delhi, but his request for the hand of that ruler’s daughter led to his imprisonment. But eventually his miracles compelled the king to bestow on him the hand of his daughter the patrání Aisha, and a great jágfr between Multán and Bakhár. That lady’s tomb is at Lahore close to that of S. Ahmad Tokhta, but Shaikh Hákim’s body was buried at Mau Mubárík. He died in 1368 at the age of 222, an age not attained by any other Suharwárdí saint. Vows are made and vigils kept at his shrine.1 An interesting feature of his career was his emancipation of his Hindu slaves who in gratitude embraced Islám. The maliks among their descendants were originally his door-keepers and their real tribe was Pargár or Pallár.2

Shaikh Dujan has a shrine at Jind town, and a full account of it is given in the Jind Gazzetteer.3 Shaikh Dujan was a disciple of Shaikh Sadar-ud-Dín Máleri and was appointed by him as Shaikh or spiritual governor of Jind. He died in 964 A. H. There were two tombs, one of the Shaikh himself and the other of his wife.

The Naqshbandi Order.4

Khwája Baha-ud-Dín of Turkestán, founder of this order, who died in 792 H. and was buried near Bukhára, must not be confounded with Baha-ud-Dín Máltání. Khwája Ahmad Naqshband, who died in 1084 H.  

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1 Bahááwalpur Gazzetteer, pp. 167-8.  
2 Clearly Pratihára or ‘chamberlain’; cf., the Scotoch Durward.  
3 In Phulkían States Gazetteer, 1904, Jind, p. 281.  
and is buried at Sirhind in Patiala, was the disciple of Khwaja Baqf whose shrine is at Delhi where he too was buried in 1012 H.

Khwaja Baba-ud-Din Naqshband had four important disciples, one of whom Khwaja Yaqub Charkhi is buried at Malakto in Hissar.

The method of tasawwuf in the Naqshbandia order is as follows:

The disciple is first directed to put aside all external and internal anxieties and to sit in solitude, having no thought of enmity or anger, to be moderate in eating and to bring death before his mind, and to ask pardon of his sins from God. Then he must close his eyes and draw breath into his heart or stomach or in other words stop breathing. This is called hab-i-dam. After this he must utter the word la from his heart and prolong it from his naf, navel, to his right side up to his shoulder and then repeat the word Allah and then the words illa Allah.

According to Punjab traditions the following is the line of the Naqshbandi Pars:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abu Bakr as Suddiq the 2nd Caliph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Salmân Farsi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Imam Qasim bin Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Imam Jafar Sadiq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bayazid Bustami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khwaja Abul Hasan Kharqani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abul Qasim Gargani or Kerkiani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Abu Ali Farmadi or Farmandi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abu Yusuf Hamdani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Muhammad Arif Reogari or Riokari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mahmud Abkhaier Faghnawi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(Azizan) Ali Ramtani or Ramteini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Muhammad Baba Sammani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sayd Amir KalaI or Gulan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Babu-ud-Din Naqshband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Abi-ud-Din Attar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Yaqub Charkhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nasir-ud-Din Ubaldullah Ahmar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Muhammad Zahir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maulana Darvesh Muhammad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Khwaja Amkinki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Khwaja Muhammad Baji Billa Berang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Khwaja Muhammad Qasim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sh Sifatuddin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>M. Hafs Muhammad Muash Dihiawi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sayyid Ndr Muhammad Badnuni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Shams-ud-Din Habullah Mazhar Shalud Mirza Janjani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mujaddid Mutasaliswal Anhar Sayyid Abdulla (Shali Ghulam Ali Ahmad).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Shah Abu Said Ahmadi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Shah Ahmad Said Ahmadi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Haji Dost Muhammad Qandhari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Muhammad Usman (shrine at Kulachi in Dera Ismael Khan).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 He is considered the reformer of the second thousand years after the Prophet.
This agrees fairly well with Brown's account. He, however, traces the spiritual pedigree of the order from Ali, through the Imāms Husain Zain-al-Abidain, Muhammad Bāqir and Ja'far Sādiq, to Sh. Bāyāzīd Būstāmī and adds:— Bāyāzīd Būstāmī was born after the decease of the Imām Ja'far Sādiq, but by the force of the will of the latter received spiritual instruction from him. Imām Ja'far also spiritualised Qāsim, grandson of Abu Bakr. From Bāyāzīd he brings the line down with one or two additions to Alai-ud-Dīn Attār, but after him he gives a different succession of the Naqshbandī pīrs. The Punjab line appears to begin with the Khwāja Baqi-billa who is buried at Delhi.

The members of the order are styled Khwājagān or teachers, and the khalīfās and disciples of Obaidulla were wāls whose shrines are scattered over the countries of Sind, Bukhārā, Persia and their confines. Various members of it enunciated different opinions, one declaring that the soul returns to earth in a new body. Others taught the necessity of khalwāt or meditation so profound and continued as to completely absorb the mind, so that even in a crowd the meditator can hear no sound. Every word spoken by others will then appear to him sīkr, and so will his own words also when spoken on other topics. The practice of sīkr is highly elaborated, according to Brown, and by it, by khalwāt, tawājjuh, murūkabah, tasarrāf and tawassuf the fervent ārāmshk attains peculiar spiritual powers called quvwat-ī-ruhi bātīnī or inward spiritual power and in a sāiikh or pīr the exercise of these powers is called quvwat irādat or will-power. It extends to the ability to cause death even at a distance.

Petit regards the Naqshbandīs as one of the convulsionary orders, to a certain extent. Armed with long sticks and with hair streaming in the wind they utter loud cries, and trample on sharp stones until they fall insensible from pain. These exercises are chiefly practised in Persia. Petit also speaks of their ideal which is to be absorbed in God by developing the quvwat-ūl-irādat or strength of will. Familiarised thereby with the various phenomena of mental suggestion they are regarded by the people as having a discretionary power over nature. Their lesser attributes consist in foretelling the future, settling events in advance, healing at a distance, and smiting their enemies from afar. When in their contemplations ecstacy is slow to supervene, they are said to use opium and its preparations.

According to the Rashikhāt the Khoja Ahmad Tasawwi aided Sultan Abu Sa'id against Bābār and saved Samarkand when he attacked that place. That saint claimed to be able to affect the minds of sovereigns by tāskhîr or the subduing faculty. Brown's account of the tārk varies. He describes the Naqshbandīs as wearing caps of 18 tārkās

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1 The Rashikhāt 'Ain-al-Hayāt or 'Drops from the Fountain of Life' describes the order to Obaidulla, and makes Baha-ud-Dīn merely a learned exponent of its principles: Brown, The Dervishes, p. 127.
2 Ib., pp. 125-6.
3 All this appears to be based on the Rashikhāt.
4 Op. cit., pp 15 f. The parallels between these practices and the Hindu yoga are self-evident.
5 Brown, op. cit., p. 187.
6 Ib., p. 88.
or only 4. The cap, generally white, is always embroidered and used to contain a verse of the Qur'an. The order performs Ḣālās or prayers seated, each member reciting one Ḣālās until 1001 have been said. The number is checked by the use of pebbles as tallies.

The Nurbakhshis are evidently an offshoot of the Naqshbandis, but Brown, who gives their spiritual descent, says nothing about their practices.

Naqshbandi shrines are found as below—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khwája Baqi-billa Naqshbandi</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No building over his grave exists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáín Tawakkal Sháh Naqshbandi</td>
<td>Ambála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutb Sáhib</td>
<td>Tháñesar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujaddid Sáhib</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Ahmad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad Said</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Mohammad Masum</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Saif-ud-Dín</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kh. Khawand Mahmúd</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadi</td>
<td>Mozang, Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Núr Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Ahid</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Abid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sháh Abdullah</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sháh Abu Said</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hazrat Ghulám Mohiyy-ud-Dín</td>
<td>Kasúr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Imám Ali Sháh</td>
<td>Ratr Chhatr in Gurdáspur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Mahmúd Sháh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Hájí Muhammad Sa'id</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ján Muhammad</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Naushahi and Qaisarshahi Orders.

These are two recent offshoots or sub-orders of the Qádria. The founder of the Naushábi is also said to have been named Shaikh Hájí Muhammad whose tomb is at Chhani Sahnpal, on the Chenab

1 Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 57.
4 Near Dera Nánák. Like Masániána near Batála this is a seat of Sayyid píya. Both possess Muhammadan buildings of some interest: Gurdáspur *Gazettier*, 1914, p. 81.
5 Vol. III, p. 166.
opposite Rámnagar in the Wazirábád tahsíl. The Qaisarsháhi derive their name from Qaisar Sháh, whose shrine is at Wayánwáli in the same tahsíl. Many followers of these two sub-orders are to be found in the Gujránwála District.

Like the Chishtí the Nausháhí are deeply attached to spiritual and moral hymns and in ecstasy forget themselves and everything under the sun. Other Súfi orders do not bind themselves to any such observances and lay great stress on the simplicity observed in the time of the Prophet and his four companions.

The rites observed by each Súfi order after prayers differ slightly, but the spirit of them all is the same and leads to a common goal, viz. the annihilation and absorption of self and everything else in the unity of God.

A Nausháhi shrine at Lahore is that of Fazl Sháh, a native of Sai'dpur in Zafarwáli tahsíl, Siálkot. First the muhád of a mosque, then a maker of spectacles, he became a disciple of Rahmán Sháh Nausháhi and a masef fagír who squandered the money given him by his follower Rájá Dína Náth and in his fits used to abuse and pelt him with stones. He died in 1854 and was buried in the tomb which the Rájá had made for him in his life-time. He appears to have given its name to the Másti gate of the city.

Pír Sháh, whose takia stands at the Zíra gate of Ferozepur city, belonged to the Nausháhís. One of his followers is in charge of the tomb. A fair is held here in Bhádon when alms are distributed.

At a small gathering held at Chúwa in Bhera tahsíl during the Mubarram Nausháhi fagírs have hymns sung which cast some of the hearers into ecstasy. The patient becomes unconscious or raving and is then suspended by his heels from a tree till he recovers. But such practices are reprobated by the learned.

THE MADÁRÍ ORDER.

To the account given in Vol. III, pp. 43-4, some additions may be made. According to the legends current in Patiála, the Madárí owe their origin to Badi'ud-Dín, Madár, a son of Abu Isháq, the Shámi, and their mót dera or chief shrine in Patiála is the takia of Murád Ali Sháh at Banúr. They have other dera in that tahsíl, but the most interesting feature in their cult is their connection with the shrine of Háji Ratan near Bhatíngá which is held by Madárí mujáwars descended from a Madári with the Hindu name of Sháh Chand who came from Makanpur in Oudh. Tradition makes Háji Ratan himself a Hindu, by name Ratan Pál, who assumed the title of Háji Ratan on conversion.

Ratan Pál or Chan Kaur—the latter name could hardly be borne by a man—was díwán to a Hindu Rája of Bhatíngá but he betrayed that fortress to the Muslems.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 132.
2 Sháhpur Gazetteer, p. 88:
3 Binaá Pál or Vena Pál.
The Jalāli Order.

Born a Chauhán Rájpút, like Gugga, his knowledge of astrology told him that a prophet called Muhammad would be born in Arabia who would spread the religion of Islám. In order to be able to see the Prophet he practised restraining his breath, and after the prophet had performed the miracle of splitting the moon into two he set out to Mecca in order to meet him. There he embraced Islám and lived with him 30 years, so that he was numbered among the asháb or companions of the Prophet. After that period he returned to India by order of the Prophet and stayed at the place where his shrine is now and where he continued the practice of restraining his breath. When Shaháb-ud-Dín Ghorí proceeded to Bhaṭīnā to fight Píthi Ráj he went to pay a visit to the Háji who miraculously supplied his whole army with water from a single jug. The invader asked him to pray for the conquest of the fort of Bhaṭīnā, whereupon the saint replied that it would be conquered by the help of two Sayyids of his army. The sign by which he could recognise them would be that while a storm would blow down all the other tents of the camp their tent would not be hurt and they would be found in it reading the Qurán. When the king had found out the two Sayyids, they declared themselves ready to undertake the task in which however they foretold they would lose their lives. The fort was conquered, the two Sayyids fell as martyrs and their tombs are now to the north of the shrine of Bába Ratan. The Bába himself died shortly after the conquest of the fort at the age of 201 years.

This is the legend as told at Bhaṭīnā. But Bába Ratan was destined to find a much wider field of fame. Several Muhammadan writers of the 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijra mention having seen Ratan and one of them, Daúd Ibn As’ad of Assisiá in Egypt, calls him Ratan the son of Medán, the son of Mandí, the Indian money-changer. The story which he heard from him was to the effect that after having gone to Syria where he found Christianity to be the ruling religion he turned Christian, but later on in Medina he became a convert to Islám. According to Daúd the Háji’s death took place in 608 H. (1277 A. D.). Another account gives some particulars of his appearance. His teeth were small like those of a snake, his beard was like thorns, his hair white, his eyebrows had grown so long that they reached down to his cheeks and had always to be turned up with the help of hooks. He was known in Mesopotamia. A Ratan Sháh is known to Kashmir legends and in the 11th century a traveller informs us that Bába Ratan was considered by the gardeners of Constantinople to be their patron saint. This post however he owes probably to some of the Sufi orders which we know exercised in all Muhammadan countries a great influence on the guilds of the various trades and their organisation. Among the patrons of the various guilds we very rarely find saints that were not exceptionally long-lived and it is probably chiefly as a mu’ammar or long-lived person that Bába Ratan has attained this rank.1

The Jalāli Order.

This order described in Vol. II, p. 350, as one of the regular Muhammadan orders is perhaps an off-shoot of the Suharwardia and in Patán its faqirs are said to be distinguished by their glass bracelets which

1 See also Journal, Punjab Hist. Society, 11, p. 97 f.
recalls the sect which wears women's clothes in Sind. When epidemic
disease breaks out among goats people offer them goats to stop the evil.
They repeat the words 'Panjtan' and 'Dam Maula'. They have a dera
at Ghanaur in Patiala. 1 Brown 2 ascribes the foundation of the order to
Sayyid-i-Jalāl who gives his name to a cap worn by the Bektāsh
which has seven tarks. 3

The sāfī in charge of the Musallis' takia in Ferozepur also belongs
to the Jalāli. His predecessor became its incumbent in the time of
Rānī Lachhman Kaur. The well, takia and mosque belonged to the
Musallis and they settled him (Ināyat Shāh) here.

Hasan Ali was a Bukhāri Sayyid of Bahra who belonged to the
Jalāli order. His tomb lies in the takia, known as that of Gulāb
Shāh or Ghore Shāh on the road from the Ferozepur Municipal Board
School to the Sadar. Prayers are said and alms distributed here in
Muharram at the Chilham or 40th day.

The Bektāshi order is ascribed to Háji Bektaş Wali, but the
accounts of him are quite legendary. They say he belonged to Nishāpur,
was a pupil of Ahmad Yesewi and died in 1337, but the figure 738 H.
is merely arrived at by calculating the letters in the word 'Bektāshia'.
The tradition that Bektaş blessed the Janissaries under Orkhan appears
to be based on their later connection with the order. Its existence
under this name can only be proved for the 16th century, but the move-
ment organised by it in western Turkey is older and moreover after the
order was founded that movement spread far beyond its limits. In
Albania the Bektāshis are a sect rather than an order. The Qizil-bāsh
and Ali-ilāhīs agree in the main Bektāshi doctrines. In those doctrines
Sāfī ideas about the equality of all religious and the worthlessness
of external ceremonies play an important part. Professing to the
Sunni for the most part they are extreme Shi'as, recognizing the twelve
Imāms, and especially Ja'far-as-Sādiq, with the fourteen Ma'sūm-i-pāk
or 'pure children', who are mostly Aliid martyrs. Prayers offered at the
graves of saints may take the place of ritual worship, and Bektāshis
have often settled at old and famous places of pilgrimage and so made
them their own. They have the doctrine of the Trinity, Ali taking the
place of Jesus (Allāh, Muhammad and Ali), and celebrate a communion
of wine, bread and cheese at meetings in the ma'ād odāy, or hall of
assembly in the monastery (takia). 4 They deny that they have nikkr.
They also confess to their bātas and receive absolution. Wine is not
forbidden, owing to the importance of the vine in their cult, nor do
their women wear veils. One section still lives in celibacy—which was

1 Phulkian States Gazetteer, Patiala, p. 80.
3 For a song about Jalāli the blacksmith's daughter see Temple, Legenda, II, p. 168.
This tale seems purely mythical. Jalāli was carried off by a local king and rescued by
Rođe Shāh, the shaven shāh or priest, also called Jalāli. Legend says he came from
Mecos and connects him with Abdul-Qādir Jīhāni. He has a shrine vaguely described as
near Lahore on the Amritsar road. His great feat was making the dāl-grass of India
green and sweet for ever, so he is clearly a survival of nature-worship merged in the Jalāli
temets.
4 Similarly, the Qizilbāš in Eastern Anatolia who must be regarded as a branch of
the Shi'as, 'combine the identities of Ali and Our Lord, of All's sons Hasan and Husain and
SS. Peter and Paul, of the twelve Imāms and the twelve Apostles'. Lukash, City of
Dancing Dervishes, p. 187.
probably the original rule for the whole order. They have adopted the mystic doctrine of numbers, particularly that of four, and also believe in the metempsychosis. The head of a monastery is called bādā, and all celibates have since the middle of the 16th century had a head of their own, the mujarraḥ bahāṣa. The ordinary darvēṣh is called a muṣafī and a layman attached to a tawāṣ, mutuṣaṣib. The dress of the order is a white cloak and cap (sīkha) made of 12 (usually) or several triangular bits of cloth, corresponding to the twelve Imāms. Round the cap the bābāṣ wear the green turban. An amulet of stone (tasālīn tāṣāḥ) is generally worn round the neck. The double axe and long staff complete the full dress, celibates also wear earrings as a distinguishing mark. The Bektāshis were chaplains to the Janissaries and overwhelmed in their ruin in 1826, but they have recovered much ground.

Members of the order are affiliated with French masonic lodges. Its headquarters are at Rumilī Hisṣār. But the mother-monastery (pir ewv) is at Háji Bektāsh between Kirshahr and Kaisariye, and there its Grand Master or Chalabi resides.

The cult of the vine was a feature of the old pre-Zoroastrian cult of Armenia. The double axe is peculiarly interesting in view of its associations with an early Greek or Mycenaean divinity.

The 'howling' darvēṣh also carry an axe, but it is not double.

Brown’s account of the Bektāsh is full and worth quoting at some length, not only as an instructive example of a Muslim order and its developments but also because it casts much light on the kindred orders, the Qalandars and Naqshbandis. According to one of his informants Háji Bektāsh, Jān Nūsh, Shāhbāz-i-Qalandari, Jalāl-i-Bukhāri and Luqmān Qalandari were all disciples of Ahmad-al-Yassavi and originally Naqshbandis. But each founded a separate order and the tombs of Jalāl and Shāhbāz are at Simna near Kūrsidān while that of Jān Nūsh

1 Or ‘stone of submission’ regarding which various interpretations are current. One is that it is worn to commemorate the Prophet’s gift of Fātimah to Ali: Brown, The Dervishes, p. 151. Another is that it is the darvēṣh-darvēṣhā or miraculous stone with 12 holes worn by Moses: ib., p. 149.
2 W. S. Monroe, Turkey and the Turks, p. 281.
3 All the foregoing is taken from the Dicty. of Islam, pp. 691-2. For the Bektāshīs in Abanānī, see p. 452.
4 Lukasch records that the Chelebi Effendi derives his title from Ar. salīb, ‘cruciﬁx’:
5 The City of Dancing Dervishes, p. 22.
7 A. J. Evans, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, 1901, pp. 8 ff.
8 See illustration at p. 281 in Turkey and the Turks. This or some other modern work illustrates a Turkish darvēṣh with a dagger thrust through both cheeks. As showing how religious symbolism and practices tend to reproduce themselves Bishop Whitehead, The Village Gods of South India, p. 79, may be cited. The devotees of Durga pins his cheeks together with a long safety-pin to ensure concentration of mind when drawing nigh her shrine. In both cases the origin of the practice may be similar.
9 But Brown also predicated two Bektāshīs, one Bektāsh ‘Kāli’ the ‘servant’ of God, author of the Bēštān-i-Kālī or Garden of Reflection; the other Háji Bektāsh who lived in Asia Minor under Sultan Murād I and blessed the Janissaries. Brown reproduces a curious note on the origin of the Bektāshīs which says that the muṣafīs of Rūm are divided into four classes, the ghābir or heroes, akhtān or brothers, nbadūt or associates, and the hem-bājs or sisters. Háji Bektāsh chose the Hájiān-i-Rūm among the Bulaufs (whoever they may be) and made over his principles of spiritual power to the Khātūn Anādur (a lady of the latter name) and then died: op. cit., p. 142.
The Bektâşî.

is in Khorásân. All except Jalâl wore the costume of the order of Háji Bektâşî, but while Jân Nûsh had 12 târks in his cap, Shâhâbâz had only 7 and Luqmân 4, while the dissentient Jalâl had only one. The spiritual descent of Háji Bektâşî is traced up to Ali through the same or almost the same steps as that of the Naqshbandîs. But the Bektâşî have a characteristic legend regarding the preaching of their spiritual doctrines. As the angel Gabriel had invested (with a cloak and so on) Adam, Abraham and the Prophet, so the last named invested Ali, he Salmân-i-Fârsi and Umr Ummia Bilâl Habshi, and these did the same for 12 others, including Zu-n-Nûn Misri who was sent to Egypt, Suhaili who went to Rûm, Dâûd Yamani to the Yemen and Salmân to Baghîdâd.

The rites of the Bektâşî are numerous and elaborate and with them religious symbolism has reached a high development. At initiation the murîd is deprived of nearly all clothing, his breast being bared, and anything metallic or mineral on his person is taken from him, to symbolise that he sacrifices the world and all its wealth. His initiation is preceded by the sacrifice of a sheep, as among the Râfâis, and with a rope made of its wool he is led into the hall of the takîa by two turjumâns or interpreters. This hall is square and in its octagonal centre is one stone called the maidân tâsh on which stands a lighted candle, while around it are 12 seats of white sheepskin, post or postaki. At an initiation the candle on the maidân tâsh is replaced by one placed in front of each post. The murshid or shaikh is seated on one post and 11 members of the order on the others. The murîd is led to the central stone on which he stands with crossed arms, his hands resting on his shoulders, his whole body leaning towards the shaikh in a prescribed attitude. The litany of initiation is simple, but it is accompanied or ratified by the murîds' kneeling before the shaikh, their knees touching, while each holds the other's right hand, the two thumbs raised in the form of the letter alif. Every incident in the ritual in its meaning, The maidân tâsh represents the altar on which Abraham was about to offer up his son, or the stone of contentment which is also worn in the girdle of this order. The 12 Imâms are represented by the 12 members seated on the posts. The Bektâshîs are credited, as usual in the case of such orders, with secret pantheistical or even atheistical doctrines and it is said that the murîd is required to admit that there is no God, meaning that all nature is God, but this is not proved. The shaikh is said to represent Ali, but the murîd makes his vows to the pir or founder of the order, not to the shaikh. Before his initiation he is tested for a full year during which he is styled a mahâqq or catechumen, being entreated with false secrets to test his powers of guarding the real mysteries of the order. He is guided to the takîa by two râhpars who remain outside it armed with the tabbâr, a halberd of

1 Abu Bakr as-Sadiq, 1st Caliph, and Ali both taught Salîmân Fârsi and he taught Muhammad Sâdiq (son of Abu Bakr) who passed on the tradition to his son Jâfar, he to Abu Yasîd (sic) Bustâmi, he to Abül Hasan Harrakiani, he to Abû'l-Qâsim Karkânî, he to Ali Ali-al Fârâbî, he to Yusuf Hamadânî and he to Ahmad Yassavi.

2 Salâmân's name seems to occur in two capacities. Zu-n-Nûn; the Egyptian Sunî, is said to have been the first to formulate the doctrine of eschatic states (âlî, and magâmât). His orthodoxy was not above suspicion. He died in 245 H.: Macdonald, op. cit., p. 176.

3 He is only stripped if he intends to take the vow of celibacy (mujarrad igrâr).
peculiar shape. But as these rahpars are two in number and do not enter the takia it can hardly be said that the rahpar represents Muhammad and the idea that the Prophet is thus placed lower than the Caliph appears to be unfounded. The iqâr or vow is comprehensive and concludes with the murâd’s acceptance of Muhammad as his rahpar and Ali as his murshid. The dress of the Bektâshi consists of a sleeveless vest (haqliri) with a streak supposed to be the word Ali, and 12 lines symbolizing the Imâms: a khirga with a similar streak: a girdle of white wool: a cord (kambaria) of goat’s hair to which is attached a crystal called najj: earrings (mangosh)-like those of the Rifâ‘is; and a cap. This cap is called tâj and in the case of a shaikh has 12 tarks which are of 4 doors, but in the case of a lower degree it is simply made of white felt in four parts, signifying shari‘at, tasiqat, haqiqat and ma‘rifat. The tâj is however the subject of much mystic symbolism and as already noted the number of the tarks is not fixed.Passing over the significance of such ritual paraphernalia as the dolok or legging, the lavank or long robe and the muflifah or wide dress (the two latter garments were worn by the Prophet when he declared: ‘his light and Ali’s to be one), the kashghul or beggar’s bowl, the figû or pilgrim’s staff, the chilik or rod, used in punishment, and the buffar or horn, this account of the order may be closed with references to two points of general interest. The Bektâshis appear to lay peculiar stress on the doctrine of the misâl or spiritual counterpart of the body which is its spiritual pint. It dies 40 days before the temporal self and so forewarns the body to which it belongs of impending events. God, it is held, does not make saints of the ignorant. He has them first taught by the misâl and then makes them aulie. It is regrettable that our knowledge of this doctrine is not fuller. Another doctrine of the Bektâshis finds a curious parallel in the eastern Punjab. As the shaikh in the assembled takia represents Ali, so the next post is that of the cook, or Said Ali Balkhi, a khalifa of the order: the 3rd that of the breadmaker, Bahûm Sultân: the 4th that of the wakîb or deputy shaikh after Gai Gaus: the 5th, that of the maidân is occupied by the Superintendent of the takia, representing Sari Ismâ‘îl: the 6th that of its steward, called after Kûlí Aûûik Hájim Sultân: the 7th of the coffee-maker, after Shazâl Sultân: the 8th, of the bag-bearer, after Kara Daulat Jân Baba: the 9th, of the sacrificer, after Ibrahim Khalil-ullah (Abraham): the 10th, of the ordinary attendant of the services, after Abdul Musa: the 11th, of the groom, after Kamber, Ali’s groom; and the 12th, of the mihmadâr or entertainer of guests, after Khizr.

1. Ali’s horse, Duddul, had a groom Kambaria who used to tie its rope round its waist. It had 3 knots, ul-bâghî (hand-tie), dil-bâghî (tongue-tie) and bel-bâghî (rein-tie). The kambaria thus reminds its wearer that he must not steal, lie or commit fornication.

2. Apparently the same as the stone of contentment.

3. The mangosh tâshi is shaped like a new moon and commemorates the horse-shoe of Ali.

4. Brown describes this as kept in the takia (p. 158) and as, like the figû and tabr carried when on a long journey (p. 159). The jamfama is a skin thrown over the shoulder when travelling.

5. Brown, op. cit., p. 158. Khizr seems to be specially affected by the Bektâshis. With 16 other prophets he wore their girdle which was first worn by Adam. He is called the chief of all the aulies: 63., p. 146.
A curious parallel to this list is afforded by the Sayyids of Karnál.

Mr. J. R. Drummond, C. S., first called attention to the fact that the Sayyids of certain villages in Karnál, who are of the Bára-Sa’ádát, had a curious system of clan names, and subsequently the following account of them was obtained by Sayyid Itáf Hussain, Honorary Magistrate at Karnál:

The Bára-Sa’ádát have a curious system by which the inhabitants of each hamlet or basti are known by certain nick-names. These Sayyids are descended from Sayyid Abd al-Farash Wásiti, son of Sayyid Dádd or Sayyid Hussain. A list of the bastis and nicknames is appended:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Basti</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanbalhera</td>
<td>Kafandozi, or sewer of shrouds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojhara</td>
<td>Confectioner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Míránpur</td>
<td>Sheep-butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kethora</td>
<td>Butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandhera</td>
<td>Bhútini, she-ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khojera</td>
<td>Ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakroli</td>
<td>Dog.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Behra</td>
<td>Chamár, scavenger or leather-worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morna</td>
<td>Camel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jatwára</td>
<td>Pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagla</td>
<td>Barber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jansatha</td>
<td>Chirimár, bird-catcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitora</td>
<td>Mimic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawal</td>
<td>Jariya, one who sets glass or stone in ornaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauli</td>
<td>Telí, or oilman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Táasang</td>
<td>Dúm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safarpur</td>
<td>Chútiya, fool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghalibpur</td>
<td>He-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedipur</td>
<td>She-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelaundah</td>
<td>Kunjra, green-grocer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahari</td>
<td>Goldsmith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahádurpur</td>
<td>Kungar, rustic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biláspur</td>
<td>Khumra, a cutter of mill stones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patri</td>
<td>Kamángar, a Bowman or bow-maker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rafi'di.

Name of Rafi'di
Sanibawali... Dār-ul-Himaqat, house of foolishness.
Pimbow... Bhashara, baker.
Sarāi... Manihār, bangle-maker.
Churiyala... Sweeper.
Takmar... Owl.
Sakrera... Eunuch.
Mukkarrama... Eunuch.

At first sight some of these names look like totems, and one is tempted to see in them traces of Arabian totem-clans, which would be in accord with the claim to be descended from the tribe of Quresh. This, however, does not appear to be the true explanation of the names, which, it should be noted, are called pal'wal, or 'countersigns' by the Sayyids themselves. Moreover, the Bāra-Sa'adat are all Shi'as, except those who live in Latheri village, and even they intermarry with the Shi'as.

The nicknames given above appear to be in reality relics of a system of initiation into the degrees of a secret order, and are paralleled in Turkey in the order of the Maulavis, in which the novice is called the soulion, and so on. The Shi'as have always tended to become organized into orders, or secret societies, and the Assassins of the Elburz formed in the Middle Ages the most powerful and famous of these associations. They also had a system of degrees into which their adherents were successively initiated. The Turis of the Kurram Valley, who are or claim to be Shi'as, also have signs by which they ascertain if a man is straight, i.e. a Shi'a, or crooked, i.e. a non-Shi'a.

The Rafi'di.

The Rafi'di, briefly described in the article on Gurzmār in Vol. II, p. 321, is one of the most interesting of the Islamic orders. Macdonald ascribes its foundation to Ahmad ar-Rifa'a in 576 H. and is of opinion that the Aulād Ilwan or sons of Shaikh Ilwan who is said to have founded the first monastic order as early as 49 H. are a sect of the Rifa'is. But Brown says its founder's name was Ahmad Sa'id Rafi'dī whose claim 'to have his foot over the necks of all the saints of Allah' is admitted by his followers. The Rafi'is are chiefly distinguished by their riddī khīra, which must have a green edging.

1 The Bāra-Sa'adat were also settled in the Punjab, e.g. at Sirhind: see Temple, Legends, III, p. 327. The tale is that Sayyid Aamūn, son of Sayyid Akbar Shah, governor of Ghind, was killed at Shah-Jahan's court. Probably it is historically incorrect, but relates some events of religious importance. Bāra or Barha Bāwīn near Sirhind may still exist.

2 It is characteristic of the Qadirīs in Arabia, also that the celebrated saint Shaikh Ahmad, founder of a long line of holy men at Mādinah, bore the title of al-sammān, 'the royalty of desired power': Burton, Al-Madinah, p. 163.

3 The Descriptions, pp. 267-8. The khāndaq of Mi'in Shākūr in Ferozepur with which no fāsid connected has the following history: Shākūr was a fāsid possessing miraculous powers, and the khāndaq, which contains his tomb, was in existence before the village was founded in 1869. It contains a grave enclosed by a wall. Its management is in the hands of Mi'in Nur-Shāh Farrukh, a Gurzmār. He sweeps the floor daily, beats a drum every Thursday, and keeps a green cover over the tomb. Worshippers may offer new green covers to the tomb. The rajālis himself keeps charge of the fire (for bakha) and lives on alms collected from the villages.

4 See Rā'īs, where the origin of this is explained by a legend.
and their tāj or cap. The tāj is white and has 8 or 12 corners signifying the cardinal sin abandoned. The turban is black and the shaikhs generally wear black or green garments with a black shawl. They practise ṭa‘a or abandonment, which is the principal form of their practice, and their shaikhs wear a tāj or tābāli, signifying the 12 Imāms, and of these 4 are called dogma to represent the forms of ṭa‘a. At initiation the murid prays a sheep or lamb for a sacrifice which is offered at the threshing of the tābāli. The flesh being eaten by all its members and the wool made into a turban or belt for the murid. The initiated also wear earrings, being called Hasani is only one ear if drilled and Hasani is both. At initiation the shape of the cap is also changed, apparently to represent progress in grace and the abandonment of sins. The Turkish shaikhs do not seem to have much in common with the Gurmāras though they wear a kan’at tāshi of one to four stones in the head to suppress hunger, in the belief that before it is necessary to compress the stomach by four stones Providence will have supplied food. The shaikhs of Egypt are however very like the Indian Gurmāras and surpass them in self-torture. Its founder is there styled ʿAlīd ʿAlīnād Rifaʿa al-Kabīr and is regarded as one of the four Qutbs.

1 Brown, op. cit., p. 113.
2 ib., pp. 245, 249, 262, 264, citing Lane’s Modern Egyptians.
Moslem cosmogony and belief in spirits.

According to the Qurán (ii, 20 and lxviii, 6) the earth was spread out as a bed or as a carpet, and the belief is that there are 7 heavens above the other and seven earths one beneath the other. An angel supports the earth on his shoulders, and beneath his feet is a rock of ruby with 9000 perforations, from each of which pours a sea. The rock stands on the bull, Kuyítē, with 4000 eyes and other features, and below the bull Batamút (Behemoth), the giant fish which rests in water and that in darkness. A general belief is that below the darkness lies hell with its seven stages.1

In Moslem cosmogony each of the seven planets has had its age of 7000 years and we are now in the last, the dawr-i-qamar or age of the moon, the end of time.

The first planet, Utáríd (Mercury), is the qázi and dābir of the sky. His mansion is in Jauza (Gemini), and with Jauza he keeps his quiver. The hair of Jauza's face is called arrows. From Utáríd come the world's disasters. Heaven hath 9 or 7 steps or degrees:—(1) the welkin, the circles of the (2) sun, (3) moon and (4—8) five 'planets; and (9) the empyrean, which is God's abode. From Zuhra in, the third heaven come song and singing. From Murkh (Mars) in the fifth comes tyranny. The conjunctions of Venus with Jupiter and with moon, and of the moon with Jupiter, are exceedingly auspicious.

When the Shaitáns attempt to overhear words from the lowest heaven they are struck down by shooting stars, some being consumed while others fall into the waters and become crocodiles. Others alighting on land become ghúl which is properly female, the male being qurtub. The ghúl appears to men in the desert in various forms and lures them to sin. These beings and the ghudar or gharar are the offspring of Iblís and a wife created for him out of the fire of the Simúm. The ghúl takes any form, human or animal, and also haunts burial-grounds.

The account of the Creation in the Qurán (xli 8 ff) was supplemented by the traditions which declared that "the angels were created from a bright gem and the jinn from fire without smoke, and Adam from clay."2

The jinn consist of five orders:

1. The fán or metamorphosed jinn—just as an ape or swine may be a transformed man—created from smokeless fire—the fire of the Simúm:
2. the pari or dév, renowned for beauty, but
3. the shaitán, any evil jinni, created from fire just as the angels were created from light and Adam of earth.
4. Ifrít, a powerful jinn, and
5. Maríd, a most powerful jinn.

Aljánn also signifies Iblís (= Shaitán), a serpent, a jinn and the father of all the jinn.

Among the Jät and Baloch tribes of Dera Ismāil Khān and Mīān-wāli it is very difficult to get people to talk about jīnā. The more intelligent profess a disbelief which they do not really feel: while the poorer and more ignorant will not say much, either from fear of ridicule or to avoid being questioned. The latter consider the jīnā helpful people who should be propitiated: but the former consider them harmful. The favourite haunts of the jīnā are ruined wells, old khānaqāhs and graveyards as well as the many lonely tracts in these districts. The dust pillar is a jīnā. There is a very strong belief in the jīnā who inhabit desolate tracts and in a woman's voice call men back by name. Two men have told me that this has happened to them. Safety lies in going on without turning round. I heard a curious story—much like that of the death of Pan and other European variants of the same idea: A man was riding after nightfall near the village of Tibbi. A jīnā called to him and bade him ride to the ravine near the village and cry 'The mother of Barī is dead? He did so. He could see nothing in the ravine, but the bushes stirred and there was the sound of many women wailing. The jīnā takes an active and mischievous interest in agricultural operations. Every heap of grain has the ismāllāh written by the village maulā standing on it in a cleft stick. The dārī or sickle and wooden fork are also left sticking in the heap, points upwards, to keep off the jīnā, who would otherwise fetch away the grain. Cattle sickness is usually caused by jīnā. Either the cattle are driven at evening into the village under a Qurān held aloft by two men or the jīnā are driven away by guns fired into the air. The Akhūndzāda jaqir at Parca in Dera Ismāil Khān writes a verse of the Qurān on paper, washes off the ink into water and sprinkles the cattle with it. In the notorious village of Mursali, close to Dera Ismāil Khān town, lives a maulā's daughter who charms a stick by reading certain passages of the Qurān over it. This too is efficacious when passed over the cattle. To cure mubā khārū a lamp made from the hoof of a dead horse is used. Sickness disappears from the area illuminated by its light.

Cases of women and men who are supposed to be possessed by evil spirits are common. Only the lineal descendants of Lāl Isān and Pir Mohammad Rājān (whose two shrines are both in Mīān-wāli) can exorcise them. These spirits are known by name. They are Atā Muhammad, Nūr Muhammad, Fatheh Muhammad and Zulf Jamāl. They have a sister known as Māī or Bibi Kundāi. Those possessed will say which spirit troubles them. A man possessed by Bibi Kundāi assumes parda and always covers his face. The sick are taken on camels to the fairs of Kot Isān and Pir Rājān. Usually the patient dismounts on seeing the shrine and runs madly towards it. Exorcism usually consists, I believe, in anointing with oil, reading particular verses of the Qurān, reciting the mighty names ʻiṣāma and attributes of God and, I have heard, of whipping on the back. Offerings are usually given yearly to prevent a return of the spirit. There are also two Hindu jīnā of this class, named Rām Dīwāyā and Rām Rīkī. They do not attack Muhammadans. The murīds of Taunsa Sharīf are supposed to be immune. The same belief and customs prevail in Multān.
Khwája Khír, or the god of water, writes Ibbetson, 'is an extraordinary instance of a Musalmán name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwája Khír is properly that one of the great Muhammadan saints to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout the Eastern Punjab at any rate, he is the Hindu god of water, and is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Brahmanats at the well, and by setting afloat on the village pond a little raft of sacred grass with a lighted lamp upon it. His original name is said to have been Abíla, the son of Mulkán, 6th in descent from Noah. He wears a long white beard and one of his thumbs has no bone in it. As he is always dressed in green he is called Khír and it is believed that wherever he sits or prays the soil becomes green with verdure.

According to the Sikandarnáma Khwája Khír presided over the well of immortality and directed Alexander the Great, though in vain, as to where he should find it. As giver of the waters of immortality he too is called the Jinda or Zínda Pir, a title which is however more commonly used of Gugga. The Khwája in this tradition appears as the brother of Mihtár Ilíás, who is Lord of Land as the Khwája is Lord of Water, and both are attendants of Alexander. When the latter set forth to discover the waters of life they accompanied him but when they came to where two roads met, the king with a few attendants took one and the two brothers the other. At a wayside fountain they all roasted fish and flung a bone into the water in which it came to life again as a fish. Both then drank of it and returned to tell the king of their discovery. He went back with them and finding the birds at the fountain featherless asked them the cause. They replied that as they had drunk of the living water, they would not die till the Judgment Day, but having eaten and drunk all that they were destined to consume they were doomed to live on in that condition. Alexander abstained from drinking of the fountain lest the same fate should befall him. But the two brothers who had drunk of its water prayed for such dignities as would enable them to live in comfort till the last day. In response God bestowed upon the Khwája the control over water and upon Ilíás power over the daily changes in the market rates for grain and the guidance of lost travellers.

The Moslims usually confound Khír with Phíneas, Elias and St. George, saying that by metempsychosis his soul passed through all three. Others say he was Balya ibn Maikán, a contemporary of Paridún, B.C. 800, and that he lived in the time of Músa. Others again that he was a general of Alexander and a nephew of Abraham, who guided Moses and Israel in their passage of the Red Sea, and led Alexander to the Water of Life in the Zulmát or Darkness. Khír is believed to be

1 P. N. Q. II, § 8.
2 A Zínda Pir is also one who is recognized as a saint even in his lifetime. Thus the Shaikh, Sadr-n-Dín, the founder of the Máler Kölla family, was so accounted.
3 Crooke gives a version of this legend current in Subhránpur and points out its resemblance to the tale of the cunning of the devil and of secret judgments of God in the Gesta Romanorum, lxxx, the origin of Parnell's Hermit: N. I. N. Q. IV., § 339.
4 For the ten meanings of the phrase khasra-i-dáman or 'green of vegetation', see Wilberforce Clarke, Dédos-i-Hidáts, l. p. 149. They include the world, alchemy, a beautiful woman of unworthy origin, one possessed of unusual power of miracles, unlawful wealth &c. Cf. also pp. 198-9 and 211.
concealed like Muhammad Báqir who is still alive and a wanderer over the earth. A section of the Syrian Ismailites is called Khizrawi, owing to its extraordinary veneration for the prophet Eliás.

In Jalalpur Jațta in Gujrat a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwája Khizr taught their forefathers the art of writing.

The Khizri gate of Lahore city is so named because it was the river-gate when the Rávi flowed under the fort.

Khwája Khizr surpassed even Moses in learning. Once when the latter went to see him the Khwája took a plank out of a boat and disabled it. Then he killed a handsome boy and a third time he, with Moses' assistance, repaired a ruined house-wall without being asked by any one to do so. He accounted to Moses for his deeds by pointing out that the boat belonged to an orphan and was about to be seized by an oppressive governor, that the boy whom he had killed was of bad character, and that under the ruined wall lay a buried treasure which belonged to some poor boys, and that its fall would have obliterated the marks which indicated its place of concealment.

Another story about his patronage of learning says that Hazrat Imám Ghazáli was devoted to learning but being very poor could not devote his whole time to it. Once Khwája Khizr appeared in a dream and bade him open his mouth so that the Khwája might put salvation in it and so enable him to imbibe all the sciences at once. But Imám Ghazáli said that knowledge so won would be useless because it would have cost him nothing and so he would not appreciate it. Khwája Khizr then gave him some casks of oil to enable him to prosecute his studies.

Khwája Khizr has various names, such as Khwája Khása Durinda, Dumindo, Jiuda Pir, and, in Champa, Bir Batál.

As Dumindo he appears to be confused, or identical, with Shaikh Dúndu, an effigy of cloth stuffed with straw which is used as a charm against rain.

Khwája Khizr is often identified with Mihtar Ilyás (Elias), but the latter is the patriarch who presides over jungles to guide travellers who lose their way, while the Khwája is the tutelary saint of sailors and boatmen.

In popular lithographs Khwája Khizr appears as an old man standing on a fish, and he is named indifferently Khwája Sáhib, Pir or Gurú. He is reverenced by all classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, but more especially by the Jhinwars, Malláhs and all whose occupation is connected with water in any form. Persons travelling by river

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1 The Mawakkit-i-dub of the Persians.
2 P. N. Q., I, § 886.
3 Ib., I, § 963.
5 Even apparently dyers and dhobies, as in the United Provinces.
or sea, and those descending into a well will propitiate him. Parched
gram is distributed and lights placed in wells in his honour. On Thurs-
days the low castes place ek Mukha lamps on his shrines.

Not only is Khizir worshipped when a boat is about to sail, but he is
propitiated when a river is low or threatens to wash away land. Thus
in Montgomery vows (asiss) and sacrifices are made to rivers, but in
his name by Muhammadans who offer wheat porridge mixed with gur,
while Hindus offer churma, part of which is thrown into the river. They
eat what remains themselves, but Muhammadans give what remains of their
offering to the poor.\footnote{1} When a village is in danger from a river the
headman offers it a rupee and coconut. He stands in the water and if
it rise higher enough to take the water out of his hand it is believed the
river will recede. Sometimes 7 handfuls of boiled wheat and sugar are
thrown into the stream or a male buffalo, ram or horse (with its saddle)
is cast in with its right ear bored.\footnote{2}

Ladhar Bāhā is said to be or have been a sādhū in Jhang whose
followers affect Khwāja Khizir.

In order to procure sons Hindus will place lamps made of dough
on the platform of a well and light them every night. They also clean
the platform in the early morning. This is all done to please the
Khwāja, who is a lord of fertility.\footnote{3}

Khwāja’s relish being the fish, Hindus regard a pair of fish, male
and female, painted, facing each other, over a doorway as a good omen.\footnote{4}

Khwāja Khizir is invoked, with Shāh Madār, in a charm for
headache.\footnote{5}

Lastly he haunts bazars early in the morning and fixes the prices
for the day. In his matutinal wanderings he also blesses white
articles of food and obviates the effects of the evil-eye, to which they
are peculiarly subject. This, however, is a purely Muhammadan view
as Hindus think that such articles, when so affected, cannot be digested.\footnote{6}

One of the tīnd on a Persian-wheel is called Khwāja Khizir’s
ghora (Khijr Khwāja-da-ghora) and when a new mohi\footnote{7} is put on, it is
fed with grass. It follows the rer, or thick cross-piece which keeps the
two wheels apart. The tīnd and ghora are tied on the next rer by
the string. This is done by both Hindus and Muhammadans. The
belief is that so long as the Khwāja’s steed is with the rope it will
move, just as a carriage is drawn by a horse. When a person is stand-
ing at or near a well he is sometimes adjured thus:—Hun tusi Khijr
Khwaja de utte khalote ho, hun sach bolna. “Now you are standing on
Khwāja Khizir, now speak the truth”.

Khwāja Khizir is also said by Muhammadans to have found and
drunk of the fountain of eternal life.

\footnote{1} Montgomery S. E., p. 65.
\footnote{2} N. I. N. Q., I, § 20.
\footnote{3} N. Q., IV, § 277.
\footnote{4} Shirs Muhammadans often have a similar design painted over the doorway, but it does
not appear to refer to Khwāja Khizir: I. N. Q., IV, § 276.
\footnote{5} I. N. Q., IV, § 113.
\footnote{6} Ib., §§ 25 and 26.
\footnote{7} The mohi is the rim, joined by cross-pieces (rer, diminutive rer) to the second rim
between which the wheel works.
By Hindus the Khwája is no doubt reverenced, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he is equated to Varuna. As such he is specially affected in Asauj and Kátak (September-October) by Hindu ladies who light lamps on tanks, wells and streams every morning and evening.

Hindu water-carriers sacrifice a goat or sheep to Khizr every 2nd or 3rd year in the rainy season, and cook its flesh at home, roasting the liver, and, wrapping up its four feet and head in the skin, go to the river with some kinsmen beating drums. Having made a small boat of reed or straw, they put in it a lamp of wheat flour with four wicks, a roll of betel leaf and a wreath of jasmine. Those present then bow down, drop pice one by one in the boat, and let it float away, but not before they have taken out all the pice save two. Then they make for home, after singling the feet, head and skin of the goat into the river. When the boat has floated away, they feast their relatives, faqīrs and the conjurers called Malangs, and distribute sweetmeats bought with the pice taken out of the boat. This is called a goat sacrifice to Khizr.¹

When Hindu water-carriers sink a well, they also sacrifice a goat to Khizr, and give a feast of its cooked meat to relatives and faqīrs with genuflexions to the mound of the well.

Water-carriers, both Hindu and Musalmán, at every harvest, cook 5½ sers of porridge and go to a well, throw small portions of it thrice into the water and distribute the rest among children, Hindus on a Sunday and Musalmáns on a Thursday.

The first day that a farmer uses his well, he also gives 5½ sers of porridge, but now-a-days most Musalmáns do not do this, and those who do, cast some of it into the well in three lots, giving the rest to small children—like the water-carriers. Most Musalmáns on the first Thursday of the new moon cook 5½ sers of porridge and distribute it as described above.

When a boat is caught in a storm its passengers vow to offer porridge to Khwája Khizr, if they reach the shore.

Among Musalmáns who do not observe the pardah system, when a child is one month and ten days old, its mother bathes, puts on new clothes and putting on her head a couple of pots filled with boiled wheat or maize goes to a well and performs the ceremony mentioned above. She then fills the pots with water and returns home.

If a water-carrier gets praise he offers pörridge to Khizr. Oarsmen also sacrifice a goat, or offer cooked porridge to him, and Hindu water-carriers regard him as a living prophet.

When a Persian wheel at work utters a shriek (kák) unusually loud it is considered an evil omen and to avert disaster the owner will sacrifice a sheep or goat and smear the blood on the pivots of the gear.

¹ This rite is said to be observed in Dera Gházi Khán, especially on Thursday evenings Bhádon. The feast of boats is held in honour of Khizr.
The generous saint.

The cult of Sakhi Sardar Sultán.

Sir Edward Maclagan, whose description of the Sultán's or followers of Sakhi Sarvar, has been reproduced in Vol. III, pp. 435-7, appears to have accepted the theory that Sakhi Sarvar was a historical personage, and the cult of Sakhi Sarvar is thus described by him:

First and foremost is the following of the great saint Sultán Sakhi Sarvar. No one knows exactly when Sultán lived. Sir Denzil Ibbetson places him in the 12th century and Major Temple in the 13th; while there are accounts in the Sakhís of the Sikhs which represent him as a contemporary of Gurú Nának, and as having presented a water-melon to him. Whatever the exact time of his birth and death, Sultán was practically one of the class of Musalmán saints, such as Bahá-ud-Dín and Shams Tabrizi who settled down and practised austerities in the country round Multán. Sakhi Sarvar Sultán, also known as Lakhádá or the Giver of Lákh, Láliyáwálá, or He of the Rubies, and Rohiánwálá or He of the Hills, was the son of one Zainulábídín, and his real name was Sayyid Ahmad. Of his life there is little to tell but a mass of legends.

"Hazrat Zainulábídín", it is said, "had two sons,—one was Saidi Ahmad, afterwards known as Sakhi Sarvar, the other was Khán-Dodá, who died at Baghídá, and was not famous. There is a shrine to him between Dera Ghází Khán and Sakhi Sarvar, at a place called Vador. Saidi Ahmad studied at Lahore, and from there went to Dhaunkal, near Wazírfábád, in Gujránwaálá. Whilst at Dhaunkal he saw a mare, the property of a carpenter, and asked the carpenter for it. The carpenter denied having a mare, whereupon Saidi Ahmad called to the mare, and it came up to him of its own accord clearing the Sulaimán through the range. Saidi Ahmad then told the carpenter to sink a well, which he did, and the descendants of the carpenter are the guardians of the well, at which a fair is held every year in June to Sakhi Sarvar's honour. After this Saidi Ahmad by his father's order, went to reside at the foot of the Sulaimán range, and settled at the place now called after him. Shortly after retiring into the desert, Saidi Ahmad performed another miracle. A camel belonging to a caravan, which was going from Khorásan to Delhi, broke its leg. The leader of the caravan applied to Saidi Ahmad, who told him to return to where he had left the camel, and he would find it sound. The merchant did as he was directed and was rewarded by finding his camel recovered. On arriving at Delhi, the merchant published the miracle, and the emperor heard of it. The emperor, anxious to enquire into the miracle, sent for the camel and had it killed.


3 The local legend at Dhaunkal is that the well is due to Sakhi Sarvar having struck his staff on the ground when thirsty. Its waters are said to be good for lepers, and the village is much haunted by lepers. The offerings at the Dhaunkal shrine are shared by the owners of the twenty-one wells, and the transfer of a well—carries with it a transfer of a share in the offering. Sakhi Sarvar ordered a bull to be milked at Sodhara in Gujránwaálá.
The leg was examined and found to have been mended with rivets. The emperor convinced of the miracle sent four mule-loads of money to Saïdî Ahmad, and told him to build himself a house. Sakhi Sarwar’s shrine was built with this money. One Ġannû, of Multân, now gave his daughter in marriage to Saïdî Ahmad, who had miraculously caused two sons to be born to him. Ġannû endowed his daughter with all his property and it was for the generosity in distributing this property to the poor that Saïdî Ahmad obtained the name of Sakhi Sarwar, or the bountiful lord or chief. Sakhi Sarwar now visited Baghâd. On his return he was accompanied by three disciples, whose tombs are shown on a low hill near Sakhi Sarwar".  

A local account says that the shrine was built by the king of Delhi and the footsteps by Diwâns Lakhpat Râî and Jaspât Râî of Lahore. Temple identifies the former with the Diwân killed by the famous Sikh leader Jassa Singh Ahlûwalia in 1743: Calcutta Review, lxxiii, 1481, p. 254. Another account of the saint, supplied to Major Temple by a munshi from Lahore, runs as follows:—

"The father of Sayyid Ahmad, surnamed Sakhi Sarwar, was one Sayyid Zainulâbîdîn who migrated to India from Baghâd in 520 A. H., or 1126 A. D., and settled at Shâhkot, in the Jhang District, where he married 'Aesha, the daughter of a village headman, named Pirâ, a Khokhar. By 'Aesha he had a son, Sayyid Ahmad, afterwards the great saint known as Sakhi Sarwar. Sayyid Ahmad was much ill-treated by his own people in his youth, and on the death of his father left India in 535 A. H. or 1149 A. D., and went to Baghâd, where he obtained the gift of prophecy (khi’dûfût) from the saints Ghauansul 'Azam, Shaikh Shahâl-ud-Dîn Suharwardi and Khwâja Maudûd Chishti. (Ghaunusul 'Azam is Abdul Qadir Jiâni, who flourished at Baghâd in 1078-1166 A. D. Shaikh Shahab-ud-Dîn Suharwardi flourished at Baghâd in 1145-1234 A.D. Khwâja Maudûd Chishti died in 1150 A. D. This tradition is therefore fairly correct as to chronology.) After dwelling at Baghâd for some time, Sakhi Sarwar returned to his native land and dwelt at Dhaunkal, in the Gujranwala District, for a time. He then went to Multân, the governor of which gave him his daughter Bâi in marriage. Here he also married another woman, the daughter of one Sayyid 'Abdur Razzâq. He next visited Lahore, where he obtained proficiency in secular knowledge under Sayyid Ishaq (this is an anachronism, as Maulâna Sayyid Ishaq was born at Uch, in the Bahâwalpur State, and studied under his uncle Sayyid Sadru’ddin Rajû Kattâl at Sahâranpur, where he died in 1400 A. D.), and finally returned to Shâhkot, where he settled. Here he became famous as a worker of miracles, and obtained many followers, which excited the envy of his relatives, who determined to put him to death. But the saint, having heard of their intention, fled into the desert and settled at Nigâha, in the Deraw Ghâzi Khân District, in company with Sayyid 'Abdul Ghâni, his brother, Bâi, his wife, and Sayyid Surâj ud Din, his son. His family, however, followed him, and falling upon him in large numbers, slew him and his companions at Nigâha in 570 A. H. or 1174 A. D. The saint was buried on the spot, and there his shrine stands to this day."  

1 Dera Ghâzi Khân Gazetteer, p. 39.  
2 Punjab Notes and Queries, III, §.154. The remarks in brackets are by Major (now Colonel Sir) Richard Temple.
The shrine of Sakhi Sarwar.—The above may be taken as representing roughly the outlines of a legendary life round which numberless additional tales have gradually collected. Those who would know, for instance, how he raised a boy from the dead for Dānī Jātī, how he used Bhairot as his messenger, how Isa Bānia in the time of Aurangzeb built him a temple, and so on, will find all they want in the interesting Legends of the Punjab published by Major Temple. There is little enough of history in all this, and the main fact we can determine is that for some reason or other the saint fixed on Nigāhā, in the Dera Ghūzi Khān District, at the edge of the Sulaimān mountains, as his residence, ‘the last place’, it has been said, ‘that any one with the least regard for his personal comfort would choose as an abode’. The present shrine at Nigāhā is built on the high banks of a hill stream, and a handsome flight of steps made at the expense of two merchants from Lahore leads up from the bed of the stream to the shrine. The buildings of the shrine consist of Sakhi Sarwar’s tomb on the west and a shrine to Bābā Nānak on the north-west. On the east is an apartment containing the stool and spinning wheel of Māf ‘Aeshān, Sakhi Sarwar’s mother. Near this is a thákurdwāra, and in another apartment is an image of Bhairot who appears in the legends as the saint’s messenger. There is clearly some close connection between the worship of Bhairot and this cult, even Bhāi Pheru (whose wife was Devī), the numen in the small whirl-winds so common in the Punjab, is represented as a disciple of Sultān Sarwar. The shrine is approached by a defile, at whose entrance is a cliff some 80 feet high, called the robber’s leap (chor-i-tap), because a thief when pursued threw himself over it, vowing if he survived to sacrifice a sable heifer to the saint. He escaped unscathed. To the west of the out-houses and within the shrine enclosure are two dead trees (a jāl and a kauda) said to have sprung from the pegs which were used for the head and heel ropes of Kakki, the saint’s mare. Behind the shrine are the dwellings of his son Bāu’dān and his brother Dhoiha. To the west near the shrine, but away from it, are the tombs of Nūr and Ishāq, two of his companions; and similarly to the east are two more tombs to his comrades, Ali and Usmān. The tomb presents a peculiar mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu architecture. In 1883 it was destroyed by fire, and two rubies presented by Nadir Shah and some valuable jewels presented by Sultān Zamán Shah were consumed or lost. Since then the shrine has been rebuilt.

“..." the present guardians of the Sakhi Sarwar shrine," according to the Gazetteer, “are the descendants of the three servants of Gannu who attached themselves to Sakhi Sarwar. They were Kūlān, Kāhin and Shekh. Sakhi Sarwar limited the number of the descendants of

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1 Here we have a legend which reminds us of the Bhairawa Jhang, the cliff at Kīdámāth in Kumbān whence pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva, and of the somewhat similar Būmān rites on the Satlej at which men of the low Bada or ‘sheep’ caste are lowered on ropes down a precipice in honour of Mahādev.

2 But he was also called Bānā and the sacred grove of plum-trees (hers) near a spring in the neighbourhood of Nigāhā is said to have been planted by him: Cal. Rev., 1851, p. 271, or S.C. R., VII, p. 806.

3 See Hāfi Ghūzi Khān Gazetteer, p. 40; and Punjab Notes and Queries, I, § 999, III, § 82.
these three men to 1650\(^1\) which number has been strictly observed ever since. The number is thus distributed:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descendants of Kálang</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>750</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Descendants of Káhin</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants of Shaikh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>300</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

"All the offerings made at the shrine are divided into 1650 shares and it is said to be a fact that there are never more nor less than 1650 mujáwars or descendants of the three original keepers of the shrine. This number includes women and children. It is not however a fact that there are not more nor less than 1650 mujáwars as was ascertained when the village pedigree title deed was prepared. The mujáwars are all equal, and an infant gets the same share of the proceeds of the shrine as an adult. The mujáwars, after the annual fair which is held in April, almost all disperse over the Punjab as pilgrim hunters. It is only at the great annual fair that the treasure box of the shrine is opened and its contents distributed. Throughout the year the shrine is the resort of mendicants and devotees, but the mendicants usually receive nothing more substantial from the shrine than an order upon some worshipper of the saint given under the seal of the shrine. This order, when presented, is paid or not according to the respect in which the shrine is held by the presentee. When Mr. Bull, the Assistant Secretary to the Lahore Municipality, was attacked by a fanatic, an order from the Sakhi Sarwar mujáwars was found upon his assailant. This at first gave rise to a suspicion that the guardians of the shrine were in some way implicated in the murder. The order had however been granted merely in the ordinary course\(^2\)."

**Pilgrimages to Sakhi Sarwar**—The pilgrimages to the shrine from the centre of the province are a special feature of the cult of Súltán, which are worth mentioning, and in the early months of the year there are continual streams of pilgrims of all creeds—Hindu, Sikh and Musalmán—pouring towards Nigáhá. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Purser's account of the pilgrimages made from the Jullundur District:—

"The company of pilgrims", he writes, "is called sang and their encampment chunkt. The main route is through the following villages:—Hánsrón, Mukandpur, Kuleta or Barápiyd, Bopárá (Philaur), Rúrka Kálán, Bandala, Jándiála, Bopárá (Nakodar), Khánpur, and thence to Sultánpur. Along this route the sang, which is originally formed by pilgrims from Gaghshankar, in the Hoshiárpur District, is joined by detachments from the districts to the south of the Sutlej and from the lower half of the Jullundur District. It is known by the special name of Kálikamáf, because so many of the pilgrims have black blankets to

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\(^1\) Also her account says that after the burial of Sakhi Sarwar three persons, Gobha, a leper, Hibrat Nisáhi, a blind man, and Ahmad Khán, Afghán, an impotent man, came to the shrine and were cured of their respective infirmities. From these are descended the present mujáwars, who are divided into three classes—Kálang, Mauhan and Shaikh. The number of descendants is said to be 1350 and by a miracle of the saint never to alter; but this is not true, as all the mujáwars claim an equal share in the annual profits and their number can be ascertained at any time. See *Punjab Notes and Queries*, III, § 156.

\(^2\) Black is the colour of Shri H. A. R.
protection them from the cold. Another route is by Adampur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Waishoal, which is taken by pilgrims from the north of the Doab. Those from about Kartarpur assemble there and proceed to Kapurthala. On the road these people sleep on the ground, and do not wash their hands or clothes till the pilgrimage is accomplished, and the more devout remain unwashed till their return home. The pilgrims are personally conducted by the Bharsis, and call each other pir bhais or pir bhaia (brother in the saint or sister in the saint). Ibbetson says it is probably from this latter circumstance the Bharsis derive their name (Pir Bhara or 'Saint Brothers'). People who cannot undertake the pilgrimage usually go to one of the chaukfs, or, if they cannot manage that, to any other village, for a night. If they cannot go anywhere, they sleep at home at least one night on the ground, as a substitute for the complete pilgrimage. A pilgrimage to Nigaha is commonly made with the object of obtaining some desired blessing from the saint, or in fulfilment of a vow. The pilgrims have a local self-government of their own on the road. Leaders from Chakhchela and Kanghehela (Kang Kalan) in the Nakoedar tahsil attach themselves to the southern band, and hold an assembly called dhwán every evening in which they administer justice, and are assisted by assessors from Bilga, Jandiala, Barapind, and other villages. There is much rivalry between the Kanghehela, and Chakhchela leaders, but the latter hold the supremacy."

There are other shrines of this saint, and in fact almost every village in the Central Punjab contains one. But the most celebrated are those connected with the annual fair at Dhaunkal in Gujranwala, the Jhança melā at Peshawar, and the Kadmon kā-melā in Anarkali at Lahore. At Dhaunkal, Sultan had taken up his abode and procured a miraculous stream of water. His house was in the time of Shah Jahan turned into a mosque and the well was much improved and beautified. The fair here, which lasts for a month in June and July, is attended by some 200,000 people, who drink the sacred water and take away fans and sprigs of mehudi as mementos of their visit. The Jhanda melā in Peshawar is of less importance; it takes place in the first or second Monday in Maggar, and the festival is put off if there is rain. The melā is in commemoration of the death of Sakhi Sarwar, and has its name from the flags exhibited there by the faqirs. The Kadmon-kāmelā, in Anarkali, is held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near the Police thāna, on the first Monday after the new moon in February. Offerings are made on the tomb, and a certain class of musicians, called ghūlās, take young children who are presented at the tomb and dance about with them.1

A typical shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is that at Moga. It is called Nagahā Pir, and was founded in 1869 S. by a Patiali man. It contains no image but has a chabutra or platform. The pujāri is a Khatri and succession follows natural relationship. Fairs are held on the 8 Thursdays

1 At Māler Koṭla the Nigahā fair is held on the first Thursday of Poh. It is a copy of that held at Multān. The Dhuni fair is held on the first two Tuesdays of Poh. The Bharsis light a dāva at a place to which both Hindus and Muslim share go and offer bread and grain. Next day they start for Māri where the shrine of Gugā Pir is situated.
of Chet and Asan in, when offerings of cash and chāri are made to the
shrine. Another shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is at Nagāh, where a fair is
held on the light Thursday of Phāgan. It contains a place which is
worshipped. It was founded some 200 years ago by the Sirdār of
Mansa. When subjected to severe trials they were bidden in a vision to
go to Moga and there build a temple. So they constructed this shrine
and all Hindus and Muhammadans in this part are its votaries, offering
it grain at each harvest. It also has a chāribāl where the poor travellers
drink water. At the fair visitors are fed free. A Brahman is employed as
pujārī.

The Bhādla fair in Ludhiāna is held at the khāṇqāh of Sakhi Sar-
war at that village on the 1st Thursday of the light half of Jēth. Inside
it is a cenotaph of Sakhi Sarwar. People attending the fair cook a huge
rot, which, after presentation to the khāṇqāh, they divide with the poor.
The management of the khāṇqāh vests in the Ghunman Jāts and
Bharāis of the place and they divide the offerings in equal shares.

The cult of Lakhdāl or 'the Bountiful' is found in Chamba, in
which state it is recognised as the same as that of Sakhi Sarwar Sultān.
His shrines in the hill are resorted to by both Hindus and Muhammadans.
In most cases the incumbents of his temples, asthāns or mandars, are
Muhammadans (muḍwars), but at Bari in pargāna Chanjaur the pujāra
is a Billu Brahman, and at Phura in Himgarī the pujāra or muḍwār is
a Rāthi and the chelā a Muhammadan. These offices appear to be
always hereditary. Wrestling matches—called chhīmā and associated
with the Lakhdāl cult—are held yearly in every pargāna of Churāh and
in some pargānas of the Sadr wīsārat, as well as in the Bhattīyāt. No
satisfactory explanation of this association is forthcoming.

There is a khāṇqāh to Sakhi Sarwar at Nāhan, and his cult
is spread beyond the Punjab. In Sahāranpur he is worshipped by
a sect of Jogiis called Far Yai (sic), who are initiated by their clansmen
at the age of 10 or 12. The ceremony of initiation is said to be simple,
for the parents of the boy merely place some sweets before the Jogi who
is their religious guide, and the latter offers them to the saint, after
which they are eaten by the Jogiis present. The boy then learns the
song which describes the attempt to convert a bride to Sikhism and its
consequences, for Sakhi Sarwar commanded Bhairon to punish the evildoers, who at once became lepers and blind, but they were cured again at
the bride's intercession. Yet there is no real hostility at present be-
tween Sikhism and this sect, and a case has been known of a gift of land
being made by a Sikh Jāt to the shrine at Nigāhā.

In the east of the Punjab, at least, the cult of Sakhi Sarwar is pe-
culiarly favoured by women, which is consistent with its connection
with Bhairava, the earth being the emblem of fertility, and this again

1 North Indian Notes and Queries, IV, § 90.

* The orthodoxy of his Sikhism may be debateable: Temple, Calcutta Review, 1931, p. 255, or S. C. R., VII, p. 292, speaks of Dāni as a Sikh, but she is merely called a Jāhtī, not a Sikh in the poem of Sakhi Sarwar and Dāni Jaffī Legends, p. 68 ff. Possibly the Handālī sect of the Sikhs was more in sympathy with the Sultāns and Temple identifies the 'city of the gūsd' in the poem with Jandālā the head-quarters of that sect, but by 'city of the gūsd' Nigāhā itself may conceivably be meant.
is in accord with the somewhat Paphian rites observed at the shrine itself. Further the theory that the worship is really one of the earth-god would account for its being essentially the cult of the Jät peasantry. In the legend of Dānī the Jātī the saint bestows a son on her after 12 years of childless marriage in response to a vow. She breaks her vow but the boy is restored to life by the saint.¹ At Multān his followers eat all the kids of the flock, but he takes the bones and skins, puts them in a heap and restores them to life by prayer.² He makes the wild oak (gilū) fruit in the midst of winter at the request of Kukki, his mare, for the support of the followers in the jungle.³

The cauldrons of Sakhi Sarwar recall those mentioned in the account of Sikhism below and in the legends of Dūm above.

One is called man, the other langar. The former holds 8 mams of gur (molasses), 5 of ghī, 20 of dalīa (boiled wheat) and one of fruit etc. Langar holds 3 mams of molasses, 2 of ghī, 8 of boiled wheat and 20 sers of fruit etc. Once a year, in May or June, both are filled and the cooked food distributed to the public.

Qāsim Shāh, father of Naurang Shāh, whose shrine is in Dera Ghāzi Khān, came there from Sindh. Naurang Shāh remained a devotee of Sakhi Sarwar for 12 years and became famous for his miracles. His descendants connect his pedigree with Hazrat 'Ali.

The Five Pir.—In some parts of the country the Hindus are fond of representing themselves as followers of the Panj Pir or Five Saints. Who these five saints are is a matter which each worshipper decides according to his taste. Sometimes they are the five Pāṇḍavas; sometimes they are the five holy personages of Shi'aism, viz. Muhammad, Fāṭima, Ali, Hasan and Husain; sometimes they are a selection of Musalmān saints, as Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn, Khwāja Mu'a'in-ud-Dīn Chishti, Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulia, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Abūl Khair, and Sultān Nasir-ud-Dīn Mahmūd or as Khwāja Khiṣar, Sād Jālāl, Zakariā, Lāl Shāhbaż and Fārūd Shakarganj. The Bhaṭṭīs of the Gujārnāwāla District will tell you that the five saints are Shaikh Samail, Shāh Daulat, Shaikh Fateh Ali, Pir Fateh Khān and Shāh Murād, all patrons of the Bhaṭṭī race; and each tribe will have its own selection. In the centre and west of the province, however, we meet with queer admixtures of Hindu and Musalmān objects of worship. The same list will contain Sultān, Devī, the Gurū, Khwāja and Gūgā Pir; or (as in Ludhiana) Khwāja Khiṣar, Durgā Devī, Vishnu, Sakhi Sarwar and Gurū Gobind Singh; or (as in Sīlma) Gūgā Pir, Bālaknāth, Thākur, Sakhi Sarwar and Shiv. The five saints are in fact any five personages the worshipper likes to mention; and the fact that a man describes himself as a Panjiāria implies generally that he is indifferent as to the saints whom he worships and is probably a man of the lower orders. Panjiārias are found all over the province from Muzaffargarh to Delhi, and there is a place in the Shāhpur District, 10 miles south of Sāhīwal, where a large fair is held every year in honour of the Panjiār. Some persons, wishing to be more specific, declare themselves to be followers of the Chabār Pir or Four Saints; by

² Ib., p. 279, or S. C. B., VII, p. 310.
this is generally implied the four friends of the Prophet, whose admirers are found both among Musalmans and Hindus.

* The khānqāh of the Panj Pīr at Abohar is not covered with a roof. The fair is held annually on the 15th Hār. Few people attend it, mostly Madari, Naushahi etc. Tradition says that nearly 900 years ago, Abohar was ruled by Rājā Aya Chand who had an only daughter. On his death bed he expressed deep regret that he had no son, to go to the Panj Pīran at Uch in Bahawalpur and mount the horses there. His daughter courageously assured him that she would go and fetch the horses from Uch. So accompanied by a small band she went there and carried off the horses of the Panj Pīr. They came after her and begged her to return them, but she refused and so they had to wait in patience for their return. The Pīr's wives being tired of waiting followed their husbands to Abohar where with their beloved spouses they breathed their last, cursing the lady and the place. Before long their prophecy was fulfilled and the place became a desert. The five Pīrs were interred at a place in the village and near them the remains of their wives. The shrine contains the tombs of the 5 Pīrs and those of their 5 wives, which are surrounded by a brick wall, but have no roof. The administration of the khānqāh is carried on by two Musalmān faqirs, caste Lād. They keep it clean and light a lamp in the evening.

1 See Temple's Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 372. See also an exhaustive account of the Panj Pīr of the United Provinces in North Indian Notes and Queries, II, §10, and subsequent numbers.
Islam in Kurram.

Religion of the Dominant Tribes of Kurram, e.g. the Turi, Zaimusht and Bangash.

The Turis are all Shi'as. The Bangash of Lower Kurram are all Sunnis, but those of Upper Kurram, with the exception of the Busheria and Dandar Bangash, are also Shi'as. Taking the numbers of the Bangash of Lower and Upper Kurram into consideration the proportion of Shi'as to Sunnis among the Bangash may be put at 3 to 1. The menial classes of course accept the religion of their patrons. Even some of the Jajis, who cross the border and become hamsayas of the Turis, adopt Shi'aism. The Zaimusht however are all Sunnis.

Imams are regarded as without sin, and it is believed that those who follow them will be saved in the world to come. The Imams, it is believed, will, on the day of resurrection, intercede for those who believed in them and have followed their directions. The Imam Jafar Sadiq is supposed to be the most learned of the Imams, and his teaching in religious matters is commonly observed. The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht are all followers of Imam Numan who is called Abu Hanifa. There is no difference in belief between the Turi and Shi'a Bangash, but one point is worth noticing. The Bakar Khel branch of the Shalozan Bangash do not believe in pirs as they do not regard the Sayyids and Qazis of Kurram as competent to impart religious instruction. This is presumably because they are in the habit of constantly going to Karbala, and have to pass through Persia where they meet educated people; doubtless other people from Kurram also go to Karbala, but they are in most cases altogether illiterate, and hence cannot easily grasp what they hear from educated people. The majority of the Shalozan Bangash can read and write, and hence they do not believe in pirs and do not follow them like the other Turis.

Almost every village in Kurram has a mullah. The children of the village go to him, and he gives them some religious teaching. The first duty of the mullah is to teach them the Qur'an in the orthodox way, with all the prayers that are recited in namaz. If any one wishes to go further with his spiritual education he reads other religious books in which the praises of Hazrat Ali, Hasan, Hussain and other Imams are recorded.

The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht keep mullahs in their mosques. Their duty is to teach children the prayers that are used in the namaz. Children whose parents place a higher value on education are taught the Qur'an as well, and after finishing it some Persian and Arabic books also. Among the Sunnis, i.e. the Zaimusht and Bangash, the mullahs preach to the people when they get an opportunity, particularly on Fridays. They get no fixed remuneration, but each gets something at harvest from every one in the village. Among the Shi'as there is no preaching, but some of the Sayyids and other educated persons read books containing marhus and other eulogies of Ali, Hasan and Hussain to the people. A number of Turis go to Tehran for religious instruction.

Amongst the Sunnis the subject of these teachings is usually the praise of God and his Prophet Muhammad. Sometimes books containing eulogies of saints, or on the laws and morals of Islam, are also read.

1 Also called the Imam-i-Asam.
These preachings often take place in mosques and when a man dies the mullah of the village, if he be educated, reads to the people.

Amongst the Turfs and other Shi'as in Kurram there is nothing so important as the mátam or 'mourning' for the sons of Ali. To it the month of Muharram is devoted as a whole, but the first 10 days of Muharram, called Ashúra by the Turfs, are observed as days of special mourning. Almost all the Turfs fast during these days, the more orthodox extending the period to 40 days. Mahfs or meetings are also held for the sake of lamentation, and they are attended both by men and women. At them: Persian marsías or dirges are recited in a plaintive tone, while the bare-headed audience shed tears of sorrow. Breast-beating is not uncommon and sometimes the people go so far as to flagellate themselves with iron chains in a most cruel manner. Clothes are not changed during these 10 days and no rejoicings of any kind take place. Even laughing is prohibited. Clothes dyed almost black in indigo are worn for 10 days at least. Sherbat made of sugar or gur is distributed among the poor and alms given in the name of Hussain. Volleys of curses are hurled at Yazíd, his counsellors and companions, and their faults and shortcoming are painted as black as possible. The 10th of Muharram is the climax as on that day Hussain is said to have been decapitated by Yazíd. This is called the Shahádat Waroz or yaum-i-Shahádat (day of martyrdom), and on it a rauza (something like an effigy) made of coloured paper is taken to the cemetery, followed by a mourning crowd composed of men, women and children who beat their breasts and faces. A pit is then dug in the cemetery and the rauza formally interred in it with all the ceremonies attending a funeral.

On certain days of the other months, the Sayyids and other educated people among the Shi'as read books containing marsías and eulogies of the Imáms and the Charsílah Mósam. These books are usually read in the mátamkhánás and sometimes in the mosques.

According to the teaching of the Sunnis, i.e. the Zaimusht and some of the Bangash, there are four fars for every one, whether male or female, to observe, viz. namás, fasting, haj and saká. Namás is offered five times in the 24 hours of the night and day. Moreover, on certain days of the months some other prayers called nafal are offered. There are four kinds of these prayers or namás, viz. fars, sunnat, wajib and mustahab. Fars and wajib are supposed to have been prescribed by God and the sunnat by the Prophet. The mustahab were not prescribed, but are prayers offered without regard to time. The mustahab are also called nafal.

The month of Ramzán is generally observed as a fast, but the Drevándás observe it with great strictness, while the Miánmúrids observe the Ashúra (in Muharram) as a fast more rigidly. Besides this, fasts are kept in other months but they are not fars. Haj means to go to Mecca in the month of Zul-haj. Zakádt means the paying of a 10th or 11th of one's property to poor people not possessed of property worth more than Rs. 51.

1 In fact there are different rules for different articles—cattle, grain, money, ornaments &c. &c. Zakádt is not paid to Sayyids.
The above four farz are all observed by the Shi'as, and in addition to this they have to give a 4th of their income to poor Sayyids exclusively. This is called khamsas (a fifth). The Shi'as, moreover, consider a pilgrimage to Karbala an important thing. They do not regard it as farz, but consider it to be a very urgent duty.

Sunnis offer prayers in a mosque, usually with an Imam if they can manage to do so easily, whereas Shi'as offer their prayers alone. They say the presence of a learned man is highly desirable for prayers with an Imam, but as they cannot find one they offer their prayers alone. Almost every Shi'a keeps a piece of khāk-i-Karbala upon which they place their foreheads when they offer their prayers.

Amongst the Sunnis there are only two festivals, viz. the 'Id-ul-Fitr and the 'Id-ul-Duha. The 'Id-ul-Fitr is held in commemoration of the pleasure enjoyed after the month of Ramzān and the 'Id-ul-Duha in commemoration of the reconstruction of the building at Mecca for which Ibrāhīm sacrificed his son Iṣmā'il.

The following are the days on which the Sunnis observe mourning:—the Muharram, the Bāra-wafat and the Shab-i-Qadr. In the Muharram they do not weep like the Shi'as, but abstain from pleasure and enjoyments. It is useless to relate here how the shab-i-Qadr in the month of Muharram came to be observed. There was a dispute and afterwards a battle between Hussain, son of Ali, and Yazid, son of Muawiah, about the leadership of the Muslims at the time, and in that battle Hussain, with his relatives, was killed.

The Bāra-wafat is observed by Shi'as on account of the Prophet's illness. It is held on the 27th of the month of Safar. The Sunnis hold that on the 23rd Ramzān (Shab-i-Qadr) the Qurān descended to earth. The Shi'as observe the Shab-i-Qadr as the day on which Ibrāhīm was thrown into the furnace by the idolatrous king Nimrod for refusing to worship his idols, and was saved by God.

All these festivals and mournings are observed by the Shi'as, but besides this they observe other festivals and mournings too. The 'Id-ul-Ghadir is held on the 18th of Zul-haj in commemoration of Hazrat Ali's election to the leadership of the Muslims. There is another 'Id called the 'Id-ul-Umar, which is held on the 3rd day before the Bāra-wafat in Safar. The 'Id-ul-Umar is observed in commemoration of the killing of Umar, son of Kaṭṭāb, by Abu Lolo. Umar was the enemy of Ali. Hence it is a day of rejoicing to the Shi'as and of mourning to the Sunnis.

The 20th of Safar is supposed to be the 40th day after Hussain's death, and hence it is regarded as a day of mourning. The 23rd of Ramzān is regarded as the day on which Ali died and hence is also considered a day of mourning.

The Turfs of Kurram, as Shi'as, are great admirers of Ali and his descendants, and have a large number of Sayyid shrines (sidrats) which

The shrines roughly described as sidrats are really of three kinds—

(i) a sidrat proper, where the saint is buried or is reported to be buried.

(ii) a mudām, where a saint rested in his lifetime or where his body was temporarily interred before removal to Karbala.

(iii) a khādī, where visions of the Imāms and Saints have appeared to holy persons.

The ceremony of sidrat or visitation at the Prophet's tomb at Medina is fully described by Burton. Za'irs or visitors are conducted by musawwar. The haj is quite distinct, the observances differing in every respect: Burton, Al-Madina 1, pp. 805-6, 807, 809.
are held in profound veneration and periodically visited. Boys are shaved at these šiāratīs for the first time and vows are made. The principal are the following:

**At Peiwar—**

1. Ali Mangula's šiārat, visited by the Peiwarīs on the two 'Ids.
2. Sayyid Mahmūd šiārat, visited by the Turis of Peiwar on the 10th of Muharram.
4. Sika Rām šiārat on the summit of Sika Rām, the peak of the Sufed Koh or 'White Mountain' about 15,000 feet above sea level. It is held in high repute both by Hindus and Muhammadans, and is believed to be the resting place of a Sayyid recluse, by name Sāíd Karam, who is said to have lived there for a long time and tended his flocks on the summit, which came to be known after him as the Sāíd Karam (corrupted into Sika Rām) peak.

Sāíd Karam had two brothers, Mander and Khush Karam, who lived and prayed on two other peaks called after them the Mander and Khush Kurram peaks, respectively. The Mander peak is on the Afgān (right) side of the border opposite Burki village and its shrine is visited by Jogis. The Khush Kurram (corruption of Khush Karam) peak being on the British side of the border in the south of the Kurram Valley above the Mukbil encampment of Ghozgarhi is visited by the Turis of Kurram. Both these peaks are studded with lofty deodar trees and ever-green shrubs which the people ascribe to the numerous virtues of the holy men.²

**At Shalozān—**

1. Imām šiārat.
2. Sayyid Hasan.
3. Mīr Ibrāhīm or Mīr Bīm šiārat: see below.
4. Shāh Mīr Sayyid Ahmad šiārat.
5. Rāhū Shāh Gul šiārat.

¹ Mangula = hand-mark (of Ali on a stone).
² But another Muhammadan legend makes the name Sika Rām a corruption of Khwāja Wasi Karam who is said to have been a saint in the days of the Muhammadan kings of the valley. He is said to have gone to the top of the mountain to avoid the notice of the people. It is said that Bibi Badina was his sister and a woman of pure morals. Khwāja Khurram (sic) is said to be the brother of Khwāja Wasi Karam. He was also a saint. The Hindu version, however, is that an Indian hermit of the name of Saki Rām or Sika Rām used to frequent the peak and pray in solitude to his deos, and that the place was called Sika Rām after him.

According to the Hindu legends Sika Rām went to the top of the Sufed Koh, and by a stamp of his foot produced a tank called the Sika Rām Sar which they say exists. The Badina Sar is similarly named after Bibi Badina and the Khush Kharam Sar after Khwāja Khurram. It has been suggested that Sika Rām is a corruption of Sīlu Rām, a Hindu Rājā whose coins are found everywhere in the hills of Afghanstān. They're called Sīla Rām. Both Turis and Bangash admit that Sika Rām was a Hindu, and had nothing to do with the Musalmāns, though some of the latter lay claim to him.

As far as can be ascertained no manuscript histories of any of these shrines exist. The legends are said to have been handed down orally to the present day.

XXX
At Malána—
Sháh Talab sådárat.

At Zérán—
(1) Sháh Sayyid Rémi sådárat.
(2) Mír Kásim or Mast Mír Kásim sådárat is annually resorted to by the Malli Khel, Hamza Khel and Mástu Khel kuchí (nomad) Turís, in the month of Safar and a regular fair is held.1 Sheep and goats are also slaughtered as offerings to the shrine. All the people visiting the sådárat are fed by the Zérán Sayyids, who are said to have been ordered by the saint to do so.

At Karmán—
(1) Sháh Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam sådárat: see below
(2) Mír Karím sådárat.

At Sadara—
Abbás sådárat, visited by Turi women.
Children are shaved here and vows are made for sons.

At Kharláchi—
(1) Burqa-posh sådárat: see below.
(2) Lála Gul sådárat.

At Nástí Kot—
Dwalas (twelve) Imám's sådárat, said to be the resting-place of the 12 Imáms of the Shi'as.

At Ahmadzái—
(1) The sådárat of Mirák Sháh, a descendant of the 7th Imám Músa Kazím. Mirák Sháh was the grandfather of the present Sayad Haníf Ján of Ahmadzái.
(2) Arab Shah sådárat.

At Samir (Hassan Ali Qilla)—
Hazrat Abbás sådárat, visited by the Ghundi Khel on both the 'Ids and at the Muharram. Hazrat Abbás is buried at Karbala.

At Alizái—
Sháh Isháq sådárat, visited by Alizáis, Bagañaís, Hamza Khel and Mástu Khel of Chárdfwár.

At Balyamín—
Mír Humza sådárat, visited by Mástu Khel and Hamza Khel kuchí Turís and the Ghilzáis of Afgánistán on their way to India.

1 It is said in connection with this fair, which is held annually in the end of May or beginning of June, that the parents of Mír Kásim suggested that he should marry. He replied that rather than marry he would prefer to excavate a water-course from a spring above Zérán and lead it to the sådárat. Accordingly the chief feature of this fair is the periodical excavation of this water-course when men and women mix freely just as they do at Chintpurní near Bharwain, in Hoshiárpur.
At Shakardarra—

The sidrat of Míán Mír Akbar who died in 1912.

In the Darwazgai Pass—

The Dīvañ Malang¹ or Laila Majnún sidrat, in the Darwazgai Pass, is annually visited by the Mall Khel, Hamza Khel, Mastn Khel and Duperzai kuchi Turís. A fowl is killed as an offering for every male member of the family. An iron nail is then driven into the trunk of a tree close to the shrine. There is a legend that if a man can climb up the tree at one bound he is sure to get a horse after a year. A huge black stone lying near the shrine is said to have been split in two in obedience to Laila’s command.

At Tongai—

Hazár Pir sidrat, visited and venerated both by Shi‘as and Sunnis.²

At Bagzai—

Sháh Ibráhím sidrat, visited by the Turís of Bagzai and Chárdfwár. A visit to it is said to be a specific for small-pox.

At Shabak—

The Zarawna Buzurg sidrat, near Shabak, is also visited by the Turís. The Turi belief is that a gun will not go off at this shrine.

Of all the shrines of the Kurram Valley, the following five are the most important. They all belong to Sayyids and are called the 5 khanwadas (families)³. The Sayyids of the Kurram Valley are descended from these five khanwadas.³ An account of each is given below:

1. Sháh Sayyid Rúmi, grandson of Imám Ali, the 4th Imám whose shrine is at Zerán, is the patron saint of Zerán. His descendants, who are called Rúmi Khel, Mashadi or Imam Razá Sayyids, are

¹ The Míán Murdá state that when the Malangs hear the praises of Hasan, Hassain and Ali with music they lose their senses and become altogether distraught. Their flesh and blood become solid like iron, and they can then jump into fire without being burnt. They can even put fire into their mouths and devour it or catch a fowl or chicken and eat it without killing it in the proper way. This they call jabhá. They believe that their salvation is absolutely dependent on their Imam’s intercession for them on the day of the resurrection.

² Hazár Pir is in fact not a shrine. It is only said that the Amir-ul Momin, i.e. Ali, was seen by somebody in a vision there.

³ The same story is told with regard to the shrines of Abbáś Ali at Hasan Ali, and Sháh Mardán at Zerán. The exact dates of these visions are not known.

Mír Jámáí is reported to be a descendant of Sayyid Asáq, grandfather of the Mahr Sayyids.
Shrines in Kurram.

confined to Zerán and Shal Khán, and are much revered by the Turfs. The charms of the Rúmi Khel Sayyids are considered potent for the cure of many ailments. Many legends are told about this miracle-working saint:—(1) On one occasion he is said to have presented the building at Mecca to certain Sayyids of the Fakhri-Alam Kaol. A stone bearing the names of Allah, the Prophet, Ali and his family is preserved at Zerán as a testimony to this miracle. (2) He is said to have once flung a club from Zerán to Shanai, a distance of about 6 miles, and as a reward he was given the land between those two places by the Bangash, and his descendants still enjoy it. (3) A woman who is said to have taken refuge with him from her enemies was miraculously transformed into a stone. The outline of her ornaments and features are still seen on the stone.

Numerous other miracles are said to have been wrought by this saint, whose ancestral home is traced to Rúm or Turkey.

II. Mír Ibráhím or Mír Bím, a descendant of the 7th Imám Músá Kázi무, whose shrine is at Shalozán, highly revered by the Turfs of Kurram. He is the patron saint of Shalozán and his descendants, who are called Ibráhím Khel or Imám Músá Kazimi Sayyids, are found in Shalozán, Nurkai, Ahmadzai and Nastí Kot and are much respected. The shrine is visited both by Sunnis and Shi’as. Children are shaved, animals and sweetmeats offered, flags hung, and vows made for success against enemies. Two miracles are ascribed to this saint:—

(a) At the request of the Shalozánis he is said to have increased the water of spring which had hardly been sufficient for their requirements.

(b) A dry olive-tree is said to have become green when touched by him.

Mír Ibráhím, great-grandfather of the Ahmadzai and Nurki Sayyids, is said to have come from Surkháb in the Amir’s territory, and with the Turfs. He occupied the spot where the present village of Shalozán lies. At that time Zable was Khán of the Shalozán Bangash. One day Mír Ibráhím’s camels were grazing in the Khan’s fields and a villager reported to him that a stranger’s camels were grazing on his crops, so he ordered the trespasser to be brought to him, and asked him why he had grazed his camels on his crops. The Mír replied that his camels had done no damage. This the Khan could not believe so he went to see for himself, and on arriving at the spot found that the camels were not touching his crops. The Khan thought that the Mír must be a saint, and asked him how much land he would accept. The Mír replied that he would throw his staff and that as far as it flew the land should be his. To this the Khan agreed, and Mír Ibráhím then cast his staff as far as Ahmadzai. But the Khan was unwilling to give him all that land, though assured he was a saint. Some lands at Ahmadzai and Shalozán were then given him and his descendants hold them to this day.

III. Sayyid Fakhri Alam, whose shrine is at Karmán, is held in high repute not only by his disciples there, but also by those of Shalozán.
and other places. His descendants are known as Husani Sayyids, and are found at Karmán, Shalozán, Darawi, Ali Sheri and even in Tiráh. Regular fairs are held annually at this shrine at both the 'Ids and on the Muharram days. People from distant villages attend them. Almost all the visitors are Shi'as, Sunnis being very seldom seen. Sheep and goats are slaughtered and distributed among the guardians (mujáwaras) of the shrine, and the people attending the fairs. Prayers are offered to the soul of the saint. The story of a miracle wrought by this saint is as follows:—

It is said that Hujaj, a tyrannical king, was a great persecutor of the Sayyids, whom he could recognise by a peculiar fragrance which came from their mouths. The Sayyids thereupon rallied round Fakhri Alam and begged him to request the Prophet to remove the fragrance which was so dangerous to them. Fakhri Alam accordingly went to Medina, bowed before the mausoleum of the Prophet and made the request. He then went to sleep, and in a dream saw the Prophet who told him that his request had been granted. Fakhri Alam then came back to Kurrum. While passing through the outskirts of Karmán, he prayed that the stones and pebbles, which had proved so gentle to his bare feet, might be changed into fine white sand. The prayer was heard and the sand is still seen in its vicinity. He also blessed the fields of Karmán, which have since been drawn to yield abundant harvests.

The following is another version of this legend which is current among the saint's descendants:—

Hujaj Abn-i-Yúsuf, ruler of Turkey, was hostile to the Sayyids. He had put numbers of them to death and was hunting out the rest when one night in a vision he was directed to give his daughter's hand to a Sayyid of pure descent. On rising next morning he ordered his wázírs and amírs to have search made for a Sayyid of pure blood, and so they sent messages all over the kingdom to spread the news of the king's clemency. This proclamation produced the desired effect. Within a week over a thousand Sayyids were present in the king's darbár, every one declaring himself to be of the purest descent. The king then told the story of his vision to his officials who advised that all Sayyids who claimed to be of noble birth should be sent under escort to the Prophet's tomb at Medina there to prove themselves pure Sayyids by the following test:—

"Each should walk by himself round the Prophet's tomb and ask the Prophet to call him. If the Prophet replied to him the Sayyid would be deemed of pure blood and could receive the hand of the King's daughter on his return. When this proposal was disclosed to the Sayyids they all, with the exception of Sháh Abul Hasan and Sayyid Jalál (the great-grandfather of Pahlewan Sháh of Mahura), left the King's darbár and disappeared. These two, however, went to Medina and walked round the Prophet's tomb. Sayyid Jalál, they say, failed to produce the desired reply from the tomb, but when Sayyid Sháh Abul Hasan asked the Prophet whether he was his descendant of pure blood or not, the Prophet replied 'Yes' and said 'henceforth you must be called Fakhr-i-Alam'. He was then ordered by the Prophet to go to a place named Kirmán. Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam, they say, married the
King's daughter, and the Qabat Shah Khel of Zerán regard themselves as her descendants. The Sayyids of Grám and other places are descendants of Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam by his first wife who was a Sayyidí. Fakhr-i-Alam, they say, went in search of Kirmán and eventually reached the place he sought, and there he stopped. This happened prior to the occupation of the Kurram valley by the Bangash."

This version of the story is, however, not accepted by the descendants of Sayyid Jalál who point to the great honour done to the tomb of Sayyid Jalál at Uch in Baháwalpur and Bilot in Dera Ismail Khán as proof that he was the person who had his pedigree verified in the manner above quoted.

IV. Lála Gul, another descendant of the 7th Imam whose shrine is at Shakh, is much resorted to both by the Mallí Khel and Duperzáí Turís and the Muqbilás of Kurram. His descendants, who go by the name of Lála Gul Kawal Sayyids, are found in Kharláchí, Shal Khána, Sultán and Shakh. Lála Gul is also known as the Yakh-posh, 'endurer of cold', saint, for having passed a night in a pool of frozen water at Istia. According to another legend, he sat on a burning pile of wood without being injured, and in return for this miracle he was given by his disciples a piece of land near Shakh, which his descendants still enjoy. Lála Gul's father Burqa-posh is also much revered by the people. He is said to have requested the Amír-ul-Mominín Ali to show him his face and on receiving no answer, he put on a kafan (winding sheet) and went to the cave of a big serpent known to be the guardian of a hidden treasure at Pír Ghar, about 2 miles from Kharláchí. As soon as the Burqa-posh (wearer of the veil) went near the serpent, it lowered its head as a tribute to his virtues. The Burqa-posh then took up his abode in the serpent's cave and it became as harmless and tame as a domestic animal. After a few days three Muqbilás of Istia, thinking that the serpent was dead and that Burqa-posh was in possession of the treasure, determined to kill him and steal it. But when they neared the cave, the serpent gave a furious hiss and all three were burnt to death. Three black stones are still preserved as evidence of the incident. Burqa-posh then lived peacefully for some time in the cave with the serpent which provided him with sustenance. One night he had a dream in which Ali appeared to him and told him to pay a visit to the Shapola hill, close to Pír Ghar. Next morning he went to the Shapola hill, and was much astonished to see a wall miraculously rise around him and some sheep descend for him from heaven. Almost immediately after this he saw the face of Ali which was like a full moon. Burqa-posh then bowed before the Amír-ul-Momínín (commander of the faithful) and received from him, as tokens of his love, a gold ring and a golden flag. Thenceforth Burqa-posh always kept his face under a veil and never showed it to the people, signifying that nobody was worthy to catch sight of him. That is why he was known as Burqa-posh. His shrine is at Shakh close to Lála Gul's shrine.

This saint recalls the Veiled Prophet of Khorásán, Al-Muqanna' 'the

1 Lumden's statement that the shrine of Fakhr-i-Alam, the father of Nádír Shah, which is considered very sacred by the Turí tribes, is in the Kirmán Valley, is totally incorrect.
concealed \(^1\) whose name was Hakim Bin Hāšhim and who wore a golden mask. He was also called the Sāzindah-i-Māh or the moon-maker, because he produced a miraculous illumination by night from a well at Nakshshab which caused the place to appear moon-lit. Mokanna’ taught that God has assumed the human form since he had bidden the angels to adore the first man, and that since then the divine nature had passed, from prophet to prophet, to Abu Muslim who had founded the Abbasides, and had finally descended to himself. He founded in Transoxiana the sect of the Sufedjāmagán or white-clothed. The Burqā’, a sect found, like the Rāwandi, in Transoxiana, were so called because Muqanna’ had veiled his face. They would appear to be identical with the Sufedjāmagán.\(^4\)

Three centuries later the Assassins adopted white garments and were called Muhayasa or white, as well as Muhammara or ‘red’ because they also adopted red turbans, boots or girdles.

The Rāwandi’s also acknowledged Abu Muslim as their head and he seems to have been the first to import the doctrine of transmigration (tandasek) into Islam. To this doctrine Muqanna’ added that of the incarnation of the divine and human nature.

Mr. Muhammad Hamid on this suggestion writes as follows:—

‘Al-Muqanna’ originally belonged to Merv in Khorasan, and served for some time as a secretary to Abu Muslim, governor of that province under Al-Mahdi, the third of the Abbaside Khalīfahs (A. D. 775-785). Afterwards he turned soldier, passed from Khorasan into Transoxiana and proclaimed himself a prophet. By Arab writers he is generally called Al-Muqanna’ or sometime Al-Burqā’i (the veiled) because he always appeared in public with his face covered with a veil or gilded mask. The real cause of his always appearing in a burqa’ was that he did not like to show his defects to the people. He was short in size, blind of one eye which he had lost in one of the wars—deformed in body, stammering in speech and otherwise of a despicable appearance. His followers, however, alleged that he hid it lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of beholders. Not content with being reputed a prophet he arrogated to himself divine honors, pretending that the supreme Deity resided in him. He alleged, as proof of his claim, that the first man was worshipped by angels and the rest of creation. From Adam, he asserted, the Deity had passed to Noah and so on to the prophets and philosophers until it resided in the person of Abu Muslim and after his death had passed on to him. He gained a large number of followers, deluding them by many so-called miracles, the chief of them being a moon which he caused to appear from a well for several nights together at a fairly long distance from his residence. Hence it is that he is also called Sāzindah-i-Māh or Sān’i’-i-Māh (the Moon-maker). His disciples increasing in number occupied several fortified places in Transoxiana and the Khallifa

1 Amir Ali assigns the Rāwandi’s foundation to 141 H. (766 A. D.), op cœ., p. 481. He terms Muqanna’ the ‘infamous’ founder of the Sufedjāmagán, pp. 482-2. But he writes as if the Indo-Magian sect of the Rāwandi, who taught the metempsychosis, were distinct from the Sufedjāmagán.

2 Ibn Khallaqan makes him a washerman of Merv. His real name, he mentions, was Aṭa but that of his father is not known. He is sometimes called Hakim.
was at length obliged to devote his energies to repressing the formidable rebellion headed by him. At the approach of the royal forces, Al-Muqanna' retired into one of his strongest fortresses (Sanám?) in the city of Kash, which he had well provided against a siege and sent some of his chosen followers abroad to convert people to his heresy alleging that he raised the dead to life and knew future events. But being hard pressed by the besiegers, when he found that escape was impossible, he gave poison to his family and followers and when they were dead, burnt their bodies together with their clothes and all the property and cattle in the fort and then to prevent his own body being found jumped into the flames. Another tradition says that he threw himself into a tub of a poisonous preparation which consumed every part of him except his hair. The besiegers entered the fort but could find nothing but one of his concubines, who, suspecting his designs, had concealed herself, and disclosed the whole matter.\(^1\)

Ibn Khallaqán gives another and somewhat different account of his death. He says that he administered poison in drink to his family (but not to his followers) a portion of which he drank himself, thus dying at his own hands. The besiegers, he says, forced the entrance of the fort and killed all the followers of Muqanna' found in the stronghold.\(^2\) The remainder of his followers still adhered to his teachings as he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into a grey-bearded man riding a greyish beast, and that after many years he would return to them. This expectation kept the sect alive for many generations after his death which occurred in 163 H. = 778-9 A.D.

A careful examination of the accounts of Al-Muqanna' and the Burqaposh of Kurram shows that there is no direct connection between them. The former died in 779 A.D. The latter seems to be much later but he is probably a true saint, never pretending to be a diety or even a prophet.

The Burqâ’si sect of Transoxiana where Muqanna’ first spread his heresy may be descended from some of the surviving disciples of the impostor. Muqanna’ is called ‘the veiled prophet of Khorásán’ simply because he originally belonged to Merv in that province; but in fact his heresy spread over Transoxiana and he was besieged and defeated in the latter province. Again if the sect of the Sufedjámagán was founded by Muqanna’, it is more than probable that they are identical with the Burqâ’si.

Sayyid Lála Gul’s descendants are the Sayyids of Kharlách. It is said that Lála Gul migrated from Kashmír. When he came to Kurram the valley was full of the Karmán Sayyids, and when the eldest of them heard that a new Sayyid had come to the valley he sent him a glass of milk as a hint that the valley was full of Sayyids. Lála Gul then put a flower in the milk and sent it back to the Karmán Sayyid, thereby signifying that though the valley was full of Sayyids he would trouble no one. From Kurram he went towards Lohgar and after a while came again towards Kurram. Passing through the Chakmání country he was recognized by the people as a saint. It is stated that a headman of the village of Dhunda asked him to remove the jhil which had made his lands a swamp. This Lála Gul did by throwing his staff into

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1. The Sword of Islam, pp. 489 and 183.
it. The village, however, still retains its old name. The land where Kharlachi lies was in possession of the Bangash. They gave some land to the Sayyid, but after a while were themselves driven from the place.

V. Sayyid Ishâq, grandson of the Sayyid Jalâl just mentioned, whose tomb is in Alizai, was the ancestor of the last of the five recognised khwâdas of the Sayyids. His descendants are called Bukhâri Sayyids and are found at Paiwar Mahura, Agra, Tutak, Makhezai and Nasti Kot. His shrine is visited by the Hamza Khel and Mastu Khel of Alizai, Bagzai and Chârdiwâr. Offerings are made, and the mujâwars and poor people are fed. Flags are also hung here. Many miracles are ascribed to this saint. By the most important of them all he perforated, by means of his club, a hill which obstructed the water of the Alizai Canal. That tunnel still exists, and through it flows the water of the canal. As a reward for this miracle he was given a piece of land called Bargherai which is still in possession of his descendants.

Sayyid Ishâq was the great-grandfather of the Mahera Sayyids and came to the Kurrum valley from Peshâwar, where the Kartnopura Bâzâr is named after Sayyid Karîn Shah, his grandfather. Sayyid Ishâq’s father, Muhammad Shâh Tâjdâr, died on his return from a pilgrimage to Meshed and was buried at Grinch, a place between Herât and Kandahâr. Sayyid Ishâq, returning to Peshâwar viâ the Kurrum, stayed in the Kurrum and died there. He is buried at Alizai. According to another account, however, he was not buried in Kurrum, but there is a place in Alizai where he is said to have stayed.

In addition to these shrines, the Tûris make long and perilous journeys to the famous shrines of Karbala and Mashad in Persia. In former days when there were no facilities of communication they had to travel the whole way on foot, but now the greater part of the journey is made by rail and steamer. Sometimes a whole family migrates to these shrines and takes up its permanent abode there. This is called hijârat by the Tûris. Well-to-do people often send the bones of dead relations to the Karbala cemetery to be buried there.

It appears that the Kurrum Valley already possessed four classes of the origin of Sayyids, as stated above, when one of the Tirâh Sayyids came to the valley to try his fortune. Some of the people owing to a political disagreement with the Kurrum Sayyids flocked to him and became his murâds. He used to stay a while with them and then return to Tirâh where he spent the greater part of his time. It is stated that one Amîr Shah Sayyid of Kharlachi preached that the Tirâh Sayyids were superior in every way to the other Sayyids in Kurrum, which so irritated the other Sayyids of the valley that they took up arms to kill him. The Tirâh Sayyids’ murâds defended him, but owing to the smallness of their numbers could not protect him, and so Amîr Shâh was killed. This was the beginning of the Mân Murid and Drewandi factions. The Mân Murids though few in number nevertheless managed to oppose the Drewandi faction with some success. The Mân Murids were at one time called Ting or ‘râge’ Gund and the Drewandis, the Sust or ‘slack’ Gund.
Their disputes lasted for a considerable time, until the British Government put a stop to them, but the two factions still exist.

The Mián Murids generally believe that the assistance of their pir is required for entering Paradise. The other Sayyids are only pirs in name, and their murids do not put much faith in them. The main cause of the differences between the Drewandi and Mián Murid factions is said to be that the former object to the Malangi institutions fostered by the Mián Murids. A Malang is the religious devotee of a Sayyid and the Mián Murids declare that his devotion (to a Sayyid of their persuasion) will be rewarded by Paradise.

These sectarian differences are further cross-divided by the Spín and Tor gunds or factions. None of the Turís or Bangash can say when these gunds arose. A Ghazlai version is that a long time ago there was in Afgánistán a Khán who had two sons. The eldest was called Spín Khán and the younger Tor Khán. After their father’s death they quarrelled about the supremacy and this led to a fight between them. As both were wealthy they subsidized the neighbouring tribes who took part in their fights which lasted for a considerable time. The tribes who joined Spín Khán’s faction were called Spíngundi and those which joined Tor Khán’s Turgundi. The Turi and Bangash do know of this tradition, but they can give no other explanation of the origin of the two gunds.² This feud breaks out occasionally but it is chiefly observed in matters which have no connection whatever with any religious question. In fact it may be said to have become extinct as such but the factions live, and influence the tribes in their dealings with each other. All the Torgundi are Sunnís, whilst the Spín guní comprises some Shi’a and some Sunni tribes.

The Sayyids of Tiráhl, Gram and Ahmadzai are the most honoured families in Kurram. The Sayyids of Mahura and Kharláchi come next to them.

I.—SHRINES OF THE KURRAM WAZÍRS.

1.—The ziýaús of Pir Sábiq and Pir Rámdín.

These two shrines lie close to each other at the junction of the Thal and Biland Khel boundary, about four miles from the latter village, and are held in high veneration by the Biland Khels, Thalwáls, Khattáks and Kábúl Khel Wázírs, who pay annual visits to them and make vows for the increase of their cattle, wealth, and sons. In former days, cows and sheep were slaughtered as offerings here, but no sacrifices are now made. Hindus also resort to them, but Shi’as never visit them, although the saints were Hussaini Sayyids. The descendants of Pir Sábiq and Pir Rámdín are known as the pírs or religious guides of the Biland Khels and comprise no less than fifty families. They own one-fifth of the Biland Khel possessions, and are a powerful community.


² A characteristically cynical folk-tale says that the origin of the Tor and Spín gunds is due to a discussion about a bird called gokhka or kaykás. Some people said that the bird had more white feathers than black, others that its black feathers were more numerous than its white. This led to two political parties, the Tor and Spín gund, being formed.
Shrines in Kurram.

The Kabul Khel and other Wazirs, when proceeding to the Shawal and other places in summer, leave their grain, hay and household property within the precincts of these shrines and find them intact on their return in winter. The shrines are covered over with domes shaped like canopies, and are consequently called the dua-gumbat ziarat, or shrines with two domes.

The story about the miraculous power of the saints is as follows:—

The Biland Khels, being in want of water for the irrigation of their lands, begged Pir Sábiq and Pir Rámdín to dig them a canal from the Kurram river, and this the saints undertook to do. Though they had no money, they commenced excavation, and when in the evening the labourers came to them for wages, they directed them to go to a certain rock, where they were paid. Nobody could tell how they came by the money. One day, while excavating, the labourers found their way blocked by a huge stone, which they could neither remove nor blow up. The saints thereupon ordered them to leave it alone and retired. In the morning when the labourers returned to work they found that the rock, which had to them appeared an insurmountable obstacle, had been driven asunder by the saints, who had made a passage for the water to flow through. Two years after the completion of this canal the saints died. The Biland Khels, who are their chief disciples, attribute their prosperity to their patronage and the proximity of the two shrines. To cut trees in the vicinity is looked upon as sacrilege.

2.—Rámdín Zia'rat.

This shrine lies midway between Biland Khel village and the shrines of Pir Sábiq and Rámdín. This Rámdín was a descendant of Pir Sábiq, and should not be confounded with the Pir Rámdín who was Pir Sábiq’s contemporary. He was a great Arabic and Persian scholar, and endowed with saintly powers before he came of age. When a child of four, as he was seated one day on a low wall, repeating verses from the Qurán and meditating on their import, he happened in his abstraction to kick the wall with his heels, which began to move, and had gone seven or eight paces before the saint became aware of what had happened and stopped it. The wall can be seen even to this day.

One day he went to a hill, sat down under a pleman tree and began to repeat verses from the sacred book. The shade of the tree pleased him so much that he determined to plant one like it near his own house. Having finished his reading, he walked home and was surprised to find the tree following him. He turned round and ordered it to stop. The tree is now known as the rawán pleman or ‘walking pleman,’ and is held in high esteem by the surrounding tribes. Its twigs, when worn round the neck, are said to cure jaundice. A stone enclosure about fifty yards in diameter surrounds it, and to this day the Kabul Khel Wazirs bring diseased cattle there. The moment they taste the earth of the enclosure they are cured.

3.—Sar Prekara; Faqir—The Shrine of the Beheaded Saint.

This shrine lies about four miles from Biland Khel village. The saint is said to have been a cowherd, and one day, while grazing his
herds on a hill-top, he was attacked by a gang of Malli Khel Turfs, who killed him and carried off his cattle. Tradition says that the severed head of the saint pursued the raiders for nearly a mile, and that when they turned and saw it they fled in dismay, leaving the cattle behind. The cattle were thus recovered. There are now two shrines, one at the place where the saint’s body fell, and the other where his head was found. As he was a great lover of cattle, all those desirous of increasing their herds visit his shrine, fix small pegs in the ground and tie bits of rope to them, as a hint that they want as many cattle as there are pegs; and the belief is that their efforts are not in vain. The saint’s descendants, who go by the name of Manduri Sayyids, are found in Kurram and the Bannu District. They are supposed to possess the power of curing people bitten by mad dogs. Their curse is much dreaded by the people, and nobody ventures to injure their property. In the tribal jirgas, whenever one party wishes to bring the opposite side to a permanent settlement or termination of a feud, it invariably secures the attendance of a Manduri Sayyid at the jirga, as no one will venture to violate or contravene an agreement drawn up in his presence. People whose property is insecure in their houses take it to the precincts of this shrine in order to secure its safety, and no thief will venture to touch it. A jackal is said to have once entered the compound of the shrine with intent to steal, but it was miraculously caught in a trap and killed. The head of the faqir is buried in the Miámi country and his body in Maliksháhi.

4.—Ziárat Sarwardí.

This shrine is situated about hundred yards from the shrine of Rámdín (No. 2). This saint also was a Sayyid. His descendants, who live in the surrounding villages, are said to have been much oppressed by the high-handedness of the Thálwáls (inhabitants of Thal), who maltreated them and forcibly diverted their water. One day descendants of Sarwardí, exasperated by the excesses of the Thálwáls, went to their ancestor’s shrine and prayed against them, and it so happened that one of the men, who was actually engaged at the time in injuring them, died within twenty-four hours. Another man, who had stolen some grass from the field of a descendant of this saint, saw in a dream that he was stabbed by a horseman and when he awoke he went mad, ran about like a wild animal and died soon after. The descendants of this saint are also respected and dreaded by the people, though not to the same extent as those of the Sar Prekárai saint.

5.—Násimu’lláh Ziárat.

This shrine is about three hundred paces from Biland Khel village. The saint belonged to the Qáz Khel family and lived a life of great austerity. He very seldom spoke, always remained bareheaded, and passed his days and nights, both summer and winter, in water. He left to his posterity a green mantle and a green cloak. The popular belief is that these clothes, when drenched in water, have the power of bringing down rain from the sky. His descendants look upon them as a sacred and valuable legacy and would not part with them for anything.
Shrines in Wazristân.

6.—Khalifa Nika Ziarat.

This shrine lies about a mile from the village of Biland Khel. The saint, who goes by the name of Khalifa, was a beloved disciple of Hajji Bahadur Sahib, whose shrine is at Kohat, and he is said to have been allowed by his spiritual guide to lift kettles of boiling water on his bare head. There is a belief that if a man receive a piece of cloth from this saint's descendants and dip his head along with it in boiling water, it will come out unscathed. This shrine is visited both by men and women and vows made for the birth of sons and increase of wealth. The Kabul Khel and Khojal Khel Wazirs make frequent visits to it. A stone taken from the ziarat and passed over the body is looked upon as a potent charm against evil spirits.

7.—Khand Ziarat.

This shrine is close to the village of the Karmandi Khel Wazirs and is highly venerated by them and by the Māyamits. Khand was a Mandūri Sayyid, and the popular belief among the Karmandi Khels is that the vicinity of the saint is a strong safeguard against the prevalence of cholera, fever, and small-pox. The Karmandi Khels, on proceeding to their summer settlements in the Shāwāl hills, leave their household property in the precincts of this shrine and find it untouched on their return in the following winter.

8.—Saif Ali Ziarat.

This shrine stands six miles from Spīnwām. The saint was a Kábūl Khel Wazīr. His descendants, who are known as Isa Khel Kábūl Khels, are much respected by the people. A man, who stole a bundle of hay from the precincts of this shrine, became blind and his house was burnt down the same night. The saint's descendants are held in repute by the Wazirs of the Karmandi Khel section, and when the rains hold off they are fed by the people by way of offering, the belief being that a downpour will immediately follow. They are also empowered to give charms to the people, which they say have a wonderful effect in curing various diseases.

9.—Ghundakai Ziarat.

This shrine stands on high ground and is known as the shrine of the Ashāb, or Companions of the Prophet. In its precincts the people stock their crops, after they are cut, and they are then safe from the hands of an incendiary.

II.—Shrines of the Madda Khel and Other Wazirs of the Tochi Valley and of the Ahmadzai Wazirs and Others of Wana.

1.—Māman Ziarat.

This shrine lies in a village, called after it the Ziarat Qil'a, which stands within a bugle sound of Sherana. The saint is a descendant of the famous Dangar Pir, whose shrine is in the Gyân country in Khost, Afgānistan. Almost all the tribes of the Tochi Valley, viz. the Madda Khels, Khizzar Khels, Dangar Khels, Tannis, and Dauris, visit it, and to its presence they ascribe their prosperity, security, and very existence. The tribes living close to the shrine visit it almost every Friday. Those living farther away resort to it at the 'Id and Muharram. It
is guarded by Wazir mujáwarás (guardians) who are entitled to one *osha* 1 of grain per house from each crop. They also receive a share of the alms of pilgrims, who make offerings and slaughter sheep, goats, and cows at the shrine. Vows are made here for an increase in wealth and the birth of sons. The Sperkaís, Wali Khels, Torí Khels, and Madda Khels when going to Shawál, and the Kábul Khels when returning to Margha, on their way to Kurram, deposit in the precincts of this shrine all such property as is not required for immediate use. The belief is that it is immediately transformed into a snake if touched by a strange hand. A murderer wishing to make peace with his enemies resorts to the shrine for seven consecutive Fridays and thereby succeeds in his object. During his lifetime the saint is said to have asked one of his shaikhás (disciples), called Dále, to cook a *kok* 2 two mounds in weight, and the story goes that the shaikh succeeded in so preparing it, that when it was weighed it was found correct. The saint is said to have blessed Dále for his deftness, and the following proverb is associated with his name: ')Dále dánk dáícóke dánk dái' 'Dále is tall and his kok is also tall.' The large boulders seen near Dagar Qil'a are said to have been detached from the hill by the miraculous power of this saint. On one occasion he sent his shaikh to Páolái, a gardener, to fetch fruit, but the latter refused to give him anything. On this the shaikh called out 'fall, fall,' and the fruit began to fall one after another. The gardener was frightened and gave him as many as he could carry. Lunatics, who cannot otherwise be cured, are tied up by the side of this shrine and recover in a week. It is said that unholy persons cannot pass a quiet night within the precincts of the *ziúrat*. The descendants of Mámán are known by the name of *pirn*. The shrine is also called Miánji Sáhib. Dangar Pir was a follower of Háji Bahádúr Sáhib of Kohá. In addition to the Tochi tribes mentioned Zadráns, Khostwáls and Bannúchías visit the shrine in large numbers. Another account says: 'Isperka and Torí Khels do not go to Shawál and the Wali Khel enter Shawál by a different route and do not deposit their property in the *ziúrat*. Madda Khels leave property there on their way to Mazdak, and it is believed that any one touching property left at the shrine is either struck mad or blind.'

2.—Bába Ziúrat.

This shrine stands near Dande village and is visited by Madda Khels, Torí Khels, Dauríis and other tribes of the valley, who make offerings of live animals. The flesh is distributed among the poor and needy Wazírs, who hang about the place at such times. The descendants of this saint are called *faqírón* and are looked upon with respect by the people. Offerings are now usually made in cash.

3.—Mura Panga Shahíd (Martyr).

This shrine is situated on the slopes of the Char Khel Range and is held in esteem by the Machúás, Ismáíl Khels, Nazár Khels, Khizzar

1 About 20 sers.

2 A *kok* is a Wazír loaf, round like a ball, and cooked on the embers by placing a hot stone in the centre.
Khels, Tannías, Janbey Khélś, and Bakhshi Khels, who visit it in the hot weather en route to their summer quarters. A goat or sheep is slaughtered for every flock that passes by this Zidrat. All those visiting it go on a Friday morning, and after throwing some wood-chips round about the tomb, fall asleep and in their dream see their desires fulfilled. On waking they pray to the soul of the saint, slaughter a sheep or goat, and distribute its flesh among the poor. All who have once slaughtered a sheep or goat at this shrine become the saint’s disciples, and it becomes incumbent upon them to slaughter a sheep every year by way of offering to the shrine. Grōi, querns, beams and mats are deposited within the precincts of this shrine by the nomad tribes. Flags are also hung here, and a bit of stuff taken from them and tied about the neck is looked upon as a safeguard against all diseases.

4.—Chang Mangal Zidrat.

This is situated close to Achar, a village about twelve miles west of Datta Khel. The saint was a Mangal and passed a pious life in this vicinity. He has no descendants here. The shrine is visited both by Madda Khels and Achars. A thread, equal to the length of this tomb, worn round the neck, is said to be a specific for fever and jaundice.

5.—Dangar Pîr Zidrat.

This is a most important shrine, situated in Gyán and periodically visited by almost all the tribes of the Tochi, Khoest, Zadrán, and Urgán. The saint was a Sayyad and an ancestor of Màman. His descendants are called Dangar Khels and are found at Ghazlámí and other villages of the Tochi Valley. They are called Pîrs by the Tochi tribes and are highly venerated by them. Their displeasure is much dreaded, especially by those who become muřids, or disciples of Dangar Pîr. The name Dangar, which means ‘lean’, was given to the saint on account of his physical condition. His home is traced to Egypt, of which country he is said to have been king. He is afterwards said to have laid down his sceptre for a saintly staff and to have travelled to this country. In his travels he was accompanied by Miso or Musa (now known as Musa Nikka) and Màman (now called Màman Pîr). People take special care never to offend the descendants of Saint Dangar, for it is said that whenever anybody does so, the saint in his rage miraculously flings blades of iron at him, and destroys him and his family. These iron blades are called zughibirs by the people.

6.—Màman Pîr Zidrat.

This shrine is about two hundred yards from Dangar’s shrine. In the autumn a joint fair is held by the Gyánis at the shrines of Màman Pîr and Dangar Pîr, at which a sheep is slaughtered by every family attending it. Màman Pîr belonged to the Abbaside dynasty, and the following saying shows how much, according to popular belief, he was loved by God:

مام مباشيٍّ-ختماي درسيٍّ بني داكل فرٍّ تندي حمي

“God is as enamoured of Màman the Abbaside, as a cow is of her new-born calf.”

1 A sub-section of the Madda Khels.
Shrines in Waziristán.

7.—Musa Nikka Ziárat.

This shrine stands on the right bank of the Shakin Algad in Birmá on the Wána Urgún border. Musa Nikka claims to be the ancestor of all the Wazírs, whether in Wána, Birmá or the Tochi. The Ahmadzái Wazírs and others on their way to Birmá in summer leave their superfluous property in the precincts of this shrine and on their return in autumn find it intact. The belief is that any one stealing property thus deposited is immediately struck blind.

The Musa sírat is visited by the Ahmadzái and Mahsúds of Wána, the Saifálís and Paípalís of Birmá and the Madda Khels and others of the Tochi. Many stories are told of the miraculous powers of this saint, as, for instance:—One day the saint’s brother Isa was grazing his flock in the hills. There was no water in the neighbourhood. Isa and his flock both became parched with thirst. Just then Musa came to his brother’s help and with his stick made a small hole in the ground, covered it with his mantle, and began to pray. After a while he told his brother Isa to remove the mantle. The tradition says that a spring of clear water began to ooze from the hole, at which Isa and his flock quenched their thirst. Musa then closed the hole and the spring dried up. The site of this spring is in the Warmána Níla, close to which are seen two large heaps of stone called the chillas of Musa and Isa. Within the walls of this shrine are three trees, which are believed to be endowed with different miraculous qualities. To embrace the first will give a man a wife; to climb the second will give him a horse; and to swing from the third will give him a son. Close to the Musa Nikka sírat are two others, known respectively as Shin Starga sírat and Baghar sírat. All three shrines are visited on one and the same day and joint sacrifices made.

8.—Micháni Baba Ziárat.

This shrine stands about eight miles east of Wána. The descendants of this saint are not found in Wána, but it is probable that the scattered families of Michán Khels, found in the Bannu District and elsewhere, are his descendants. The shrine is visited by the Záli Khels and Madsúds and vows made for the birth of sons.

III.—MINOR SHRINES OCCASIONALLY VISITED BY THE AHMADZÁI WAZÍRS AND OTHERS.

1.—Umar Aga.

A Daftání saint, who has a shrine at Dhana, about twelve miles north-west of Wána.

2.—Khojáki Ziárat.

This is situated at Manra. The saint was a Sayyid and the shrine is visited by the nomad Wazírs.

3.—Madár Baba Ziárat.

This is about fifteen miles west of Wána and has a well close to it, where Wazírs encamp every year.

4.—Mámin Ziárat or Patán Ziárat.

This is situated on a hill near Madár Ziárat.
The shrines of Hazrāra.  

**TAHSİL HARİPUR.**

1. The Bhowrāwāli shrine, on the bank of the Johi nāla, Mohri-Malya, 9 miles from Harīpur, is known as the shādāt-gāh (place of prayer) of one Shāh Maqūd, who came from Baghdād and spent 24 years there in prayer. His bhora or cell still exists, though in ruins. His grave is at Peshāwar in the Mohalla Dabgari, but this shrine is also greatly revered by the people of Hazāra in the belief that a visit to it will cure certain diseases. The descendants of this faqīr are still to be found at Bhediān in Attock and at Kokaliya in Hazāra.

2. The shrine of Shāh Maqsūd, 6 miles east of Harīpur and on the bank of the Dor nāla, in Maqsūd. The grave is of one Shāh Muhammad Ghāzi, who came from Sukkur and was buried there by a spring of clear water. This shrine is of great repute.

3. The ziārat of Bibi Purānīwāli, a virgin recluse, in Dehdar along-side the main road leading to Hassan Abdāl, is ascribed to the Muham-madan period. Every Sunday women assemble there to get relief from parohhāwan* (the shadow of a demon or apparition). It has a pond in which sick people bathe. The villagers have allowed an acre of land as serī to its mujāwar.

4. The Dāri ziārat, 6 miles north of Harīpur, in Dari, is the shrine of Shāh Sher Muhammad Ghāzi, who is said to have come from Sayyid Kīrān in Rāwalpindi. People generally visit it to get cured of sore eyes. It is also the scene of a fair at each 10th of September. Sick persons resort to it every Thursday. Tātī is also played.

5. The ziārat of Chhajka in a glen of Sowābi Mira in tahsīl Harīpur is visited by the people of that tract to cure colic. Every Thursday nearly 150 souls assemble there.

6. The ziārat of Sakhi Ilāhib, 2 miles east of Harīpur in Mānak Rāi, is the shrine of a Pīr held in high esteem by the people, who generally resort to it on the Thursday to obtain their desires. They give what is called gāhī podī to the mujāwar.

7. The ziārat of Jattī Pind, 4 miles north of Harīpur, lies in a dry plain in that village. It is said that a hermit came here from Gujrat in Muhammadan times. Every Thursday people suffering from neuralgia make a pilgrimage to the shrine to get cured.

8. The Qāziān ziārat, 2 miles north of Harīpur, in Qāziān, is the shrine of Miyān Abdul Wahāb Ghāzi, who migrated from the Awānkārī ilāga. His descendants still live in this and the two adjoining villages of Malakār and Padhāna. Every Thursday it is the scene of a large gathering of people suffering from coughs.

9. The ziārat of Miān Mardān Šāhib lies in Darwesh near Harīpur. People believe that a bath in its tank on a Thursday will cure scabies.

10. The shrine at Pahārau is known as that of Haqāni Shāh, whose native place was Saiyad Kīrān in Rāwalpindi. This is a well-known ziārat where people assemble every Thursday in large numbers in order to obtain their desires.

* The local pronunciation is pakhāwan.
The shrines of Hazāra.

11. The siārat at Kharkoṭ is the shrine of Bābā Sajalīf of the Awān Qutb-Shāhi tribe whose native place was in the Awān-Kāri, whence he went to Pakhlī, but not finding it to his liking he flung his horse's reins which fell at Kharkoṭ and then took up his abode there and was buried there on his death. People assemble there every Thurs-day in order to secure male issue.

Tahsīl Mānsehra.

1. Dīwān Rājā Bābā was a well-known saint in the Pakhlī tract near Bajha in the Mānsehra tahsīl and it is the common belief of nearly all the people in that district that the notoriously oppressive Turk Rājā was expelled from his kingdom and dethroned because he incurred the displeasure of this saint. Soon after the Rājā was warned to mend his ways, the Swātis came over and defeated him. The only thing is that they can only say and do what they see will be done by the Almighty and be contented to do whatsoever He will. The shrine in Gulī Bāgh near Bajha is visited by almost every one in Hazāra and is generally called the gumbānjālī siārat. At this shrine is a spring in which the sick bathe. At the 'Id on one day only women and next day only men assemble. Among the men the principal game is the tuši, a kind of prisoners' base. The people of the Pakhlī plain, of the Swāt glens and of the feudal Tanúvāl are the principal visitors at the gatherings which are in the main festive, though the shrine is held in high repute.1

2. The shrine of Mīān Khāki Śāhib in the Agror valley is famous.

3. The shrine of Sultān Mughal Śāhib in Mīān Khāki-da-Bāgh in Tanúvāl is also famous and it is believed that he was blessed by Hazrat Mīān Śāhib at Mangal.

Another shrine in Leūng, a village in Mānsehra tahsīl, is also much respected.

5. The other shrines are in Independent Territory in the trans-Agror valley, i. e. Paimāl Sharīf, or in Muzaffarabad in Kashmīr.

6. The siārat of Hayāt-ud-Mīr, 24 miles north-east of Mānsehra at Bālākot on the bank of the Kunhar nālā, is in Muhammadan belief the sitting place of Sakhī Hayāt-ul-Mīr who is said to have been endowed with life everlasting, while according to Hindus it is the sitting place of Bhāī Bāla. At the 'Id one day men and the next day women assemble there. It has a spring, known as sharbat, which has medicinal properties, being believed to cure leprosy and other diseases and 20 or 30 sufferers are generally to be found there.2

7. The siārat at Naukoṭ in the Pakhlī plain is the tomb of Saiyad Ali Hamdān Bābā. He had also some nīsīstāndās, or sitting places, in Kashmīr which are held in high esteem. Every Sunday, especially the first in every bright half of the lunar month, there is a large gathering of women with their children afflicted with parokhawān. The sufferers are passed under the olive tree at the shrine.

Hasāra Gazetteer, 1888-9, p. 50.

* Ib., p. 60.
8. The **sidi** of Sayyid Jalál Bába at Bhogarmang commemorates a leader under whom the Swáтыs of what is now Mánsehra tahsil wrested their present seats from the Turks.¹

9. The ancient **sidi** known as that of Sufaidáhwála Bába lies at Khatái in the Agror ílāqa. This faqīr, who lived quite naked, was a Sayyid by caste.

10. At the shrine at Dogái (the 'junction' of the Sarori and Unár streams) in the Agror ílāqa people assemble every Thursday and Sunday. The name of the faqīr entombed there is not known, but he was a Sayyid of Ogh.

11. The Takiáwáli shrine at Torawára in Agror is the tomb of Akhánd Sa’ád-ud-Dín who with the aid of Subá Khán, leader of the Tanáwalís in Hazará, conquered Agror. Swáтыs and other tribes visit this shrine.

12. The **sidi** at Gházikoṭ or Tútní-ki-ziárat lies by the road leading to Abbottabad. People suffering from stomachache visit it every Thursday and Friday.

13. The shrine of Sháh Sharíf Qalandar lies at Sufaidáh near Mánsehra. The saint entombed therein was a Sayyid. The inhabitants of the Pakhli ílāqa and Garhián in Tanáwal assemble there for prayer in times of drought. The water of its tank is possessed of medicinal properties in some ailments.

14. The **sidi** Takiya Mahándri in Jaríd by the road leading to Kágán is the tomb of Pir Gházi Sháh. He is believed to have struck a stone with his 'asá or 'stick' and from it gushed a spring which still exists.

15. The **sidi** Sfrí Panjaulwáli is the shrine of Khitáb Sháh whom the Swáтыs brought here from Yághístán and entombed after his death. He was by birth a saint. The villagers visit his shrine at both ’Ids.

16. The Báwájiwáli **sidi** is the shrine of Sháh Waláyat Sháh, who went to a distant land, but his body was brought back and buried near Ichárián. He was deemed an able man of enlightened mind. At the ’Ids people go to his shrine to salám.

**TAHSÍL ABBOTTABAD.**

1. **sidi** Báwáji Sáfih is a shrine at Mángojri in Tanáwal. The Báwáji came here from Chandaur, in Tanáwal, Tahsil Haripur. He is also known as the 'bzúng of Chhattí Mohri', an estate or tract still held by his survivors. According to the popular faith a visit to the shrine will cure every disease.

2. The **sidi** of Miyán Sultán Gházi lies at Kháni Tathára in Tanáwal and midway between Johripur and Shána Shárwán. It is a resting place for travellers as it has a spring of sweet water and shady trees. Several diseases are cured by paying it a visit.

3. Chila Sháh Barri Latíf is a place for the worship of Sháh

¹Hazára Gásatír, 1889–4, p. 66.
Barri Latif, whose shrine is at Narpur Shahan in tahsil Rawalpindi. This _iddarugh_ lies one or one-and-a-half miles from Dakhan Pesor in the Nara _idqa_ on _nala_ called the Haro Dhandan. It has a grove of shady trees and is much revered by the people who to the number of nearly 20 assemble there every Thursday.

4. The Khandwala Pir Sahib shrine at Sajkot, in the Nara _idqa_, is so called because, according to the people, a rain of _khand_ (sugar) fell at his death. Hence the offerings to it consist mainly of sugar. Some 4 or 5 persons visit the shrine daily. One's desires can be fulfilled by paying it a visit.

5. The Numana Shahnawali _siyarat_ in Chandali near Nagri Tootal is the tomb of a _faqir_ whose native place is said to be Kashmir. After praying here for some years he was buried on this spot at his death. According to the people a visit to it is an antidote for fever.

6. The _siyarat_ at Mangal or Miyam Kangal Sahib is the shrine of Gul Muhammad, lying 8 miles north of Abbottabad in Jalapura, the former site of Mangal. His _pir_ was Shaikh Abdus Sabur Qadiri of Kashmir who was also called Bastal, c. 1145 H. (1732 A.D.). A large gathering of men and women is held every Thursday.

7. The _takiya_ at Tarchub, near Majchkan, is the very old shrine of Pir Sattar Shaha Ghazi and is situated on the bank of the Jhelum.

8. Other shrines are that of Jamal Ghazi at Dhamtuar where there is a fine grove of some _ne_ and to which Muhammadans make offerings: that of Sain Malquat in Abbottabad tahsil; and in Mansehra tahsil, that of Shaikh Bala and Mehr Ali Baha at Bajna near Shinkiari; that of Goralandar Sayyid at Balakot; that of Naubat Shaha Sayyid at Lachimang in Konsh; that of Tortom Baha Sayyid at Shamshar; and that of Haidar Baha at Ghanian, both in Agra. The last-named lies at the foot of Black Mountain and is the tomb of Miyam Haider Baha, grandfather of the Sayyids of Atir. It is the scene of a fair at the _Id._

**Shrines on the frontier.**

Peshawar.

Jogian Sar is a _siyarat_ on the summit of the Tortaba spur of the Iam mountain which is visited in spring by both Muhammadans and Hindus, in separate parties. The latter term this festival Rantakht. It lasts three days and is described as a mixture of religious devotion and debauchery. Pir Baha is a _siyarat_ in Bunur which is a sober place of pilgrimage without a fair owing to the unsettled state of the country.¹

Kohat.

The _siyarat_ of Shaikh Yusaf in Chillianagh at Sherko't village, Kohat tahsil, _tappa_ Samilzai, consists of a masonry tomb in an adobe building surrounded by _shisham_ trees and beds of narcissus. People from the neighbouring country assemble on Thursdays between Chet and Bhado, the gatherings lasting from one to four days, and, on the first Thursdays of Hya and Maghar especially, visitors bring bread and _khichdi_ which is all collected and after being blessed is distributed to those present. This gathering is called _laghra_. Visitors ask for happy marriages, sons, wealth, recovery from disease and forgiveness of sins. Goats and sheep

¹Peshawar Gazetteer, p. 118.
are sacrificed and the heads and legs offered to the sidrat to be eaten by the man in charge. Coverlets, oil, jar, rice etc. are also offered. Gatherings are held both in the light and dark half of the month, in which both Hindus and Muhammadans join.

The sidrat of Mîr Habîb Shah, near the spring of Khwajá Ashraf in village Jangal Mîr Asghar Mela, is a thickly wooded place in a picturesque situation where the saint is said to have prayed. Gatherings take place at the end of Sâwan when the grapes are ripe.

The sidrat of Shâh Ismâil Sâhib, between Samari Bála and Pâyân, Koháî tabâl, tappa Baizai, consists of tombs surrounded by a grove of trees. Gatherings from villages near and far take place every Friday in Chet and Baísákh, both in the dark and light half of the month, and last for one or two days. Visitors kill goats and sheep, offer a part to the priest in charge and ask for all sorts of blessings. This shrine is held in great reverence by the Khattak, Bangash and Tiráhwâls. Tradition says that the saint was a Sayyid of Bukhára who, with some companions, visited Mîr Khwêlî and thence cast a stone which fell near the shrine. So he dwelt here. But a serpent bit his finger and he died. There are now three graves, one of the saint, another of the bitten finger and a third of the snake!

The sidrat of Háji Bahádur Sâhib consists of a masonry mausoleum, with a mosque and tank attached to it, in Koháî town. It is the most frequented shrine in the district. The saint was a Mîr Ahmad Khel, Bangash, and his original name was Mîán Abdulla. From boyhood he was fond of religious studies and became a disciple of Shââkh Adam Banúri who with his disciple set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. During the voyage, the ship was brought to a stand-still by a storm. At his preceptor’s instance, tradition says, Mîán Abdulla lifted the ship on his head and set it going, but the exertion broised his scalp and caused baldness so since then all his descendants are born bald. At Mecca the preceptor’s son died but was restored to life by Mîán Abdulla’s prayers. In recognition of this miracle he was styled Háji Bahádur by his preceptor. On his return to Koháî Háji Bahádur assumed the title of khuda-i-bîn or ‘seer of God’. This offended Aurangzeb and the Háji was summoned to Lahore by the emperor and challenged to display his supernatural powers or undergo punishment for his heresies. Tradition says that he accepted the ordeal and asked the emperor to look at some water which he was dropping through the holes of a pipal. The emperor became insensible at the sight and fell from the throne. When he was himself again he testified to the Háji’s supernatural powers and granted him the village of Mîán Khel. It is also claimed as a proof of existing sanctity, that in seasons of drought, stones placed on the tomb, if dipped in the tank, are sure to bring down rain. Four well-known verses commemorate the date of the Háji’s death. It is even said that he married Aurangzeb’s daughter. 'This shrine is respected by the Bangash, Khaṭṭak, Ahrdî, Orakzai, Wazir and Kostwâl Pâthâns.

The sidrat of Tor Kamâl near Kamâl Khel is that of a saint who came from Turak with Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazni and was killed here.

1See paragraph 4, App. I to Tucker’s Kohâît Settlement Report.
The Khulai *sídarat* in Marchungi is resorted to every Thursday by people suffering from rheumatism. This saint was killed in a religious war, but he took up his severed head and walked away. People noticed this and began to talk about it, whereupon the head fell off near the site of the *sídarat*.

At the *sídarat* of Pir Futeh Sháh Sáhib in Kohát town gatherings take place on the 'Id-ul-Fitar, 'Id-ul-Zuha, the 8th day after the 'Id-ul-Zuha, and the Nauroz. Visitors eat a little salt placed on the grave and also touch the stones with their eyes.

The *sídarat* of Sháh Sa’id Halim Bukhári on the left bank of the Kohát Toi close to the Railway Station was believed to be respected by the Toi, but now it has been washed away. Men given to intoxicating drugs often resort to its shady grove.

The *sídarat* of Sháh Abulla Namázi near Sir Sháhzáda Sultán Ján’s cemetery owes its origin to Gauhar, a *kdrígar*, who had a dream about it and so the *sídarat* was made.

The *sídarat* of Shaikh Alladád in Kahi Circle, Kohát tahsíl, is that of a saint, a Khatták Pațhán who used to pray in the Mandúri hills and then settled here. The Jawakki Afrísí and others visit it in large numbers on the first Thursday of the light half of the month. It is a fine masonry building consisting of two mausoleums, one of the saint, the other of his son.

The *sídarat* of Sandali or Fateh Gul Bábá in Torastání marks where that saint prayed on the Sandali hill.

The *sídarat* of Faqir Sáhib in the village Nariáb, Hangu tahsíl, is visited by people of this district as well as of Tíráh on Thursdays and lamps are lit at it.

The Nawán Faqír *sídarat* in Darsamandi on the road to Torwári is visited by rheumatic people on Thursdays.

The *sídarat* of Sháh Almás, on a high hill north of Hangu, is believed to be the tomb of the ancestor of the present Sayyid in Hangu. People assemble on both ’Idís and a lamp is lit every Thursday.

The *sídarat* of Miánjí Sañíh, Shakardarra Circle, Kohát tahsíl, on the Makhád road is visited by people with toothache who put one stone above another to invoke its blessing.

The *sídarat* of Háji Kamál Sañíh, near Miánjí Khel in Téri tahsíl, is said to be the tomb of the ancestor of the Miáns of Miánjí Khel. It is very popular among the Khaṭṭaks and Wazírs.

The *sídarat* of Miánjí Sañíh in Shiwáki is the tomb of the ancestor of the Sayyids of Shiwáki.

The *sídarat* of Saráj Khel is a well-known shrine. The saint was the ancestor of the Sayyids of this village. People visit it every Thursday in Chét.
The shrine of Pír ‘Adil or ‘the just saint’ lies 9 miles north of Dera Gházi Khán town. The saint, Sayyid Sultán by name, came from Baghdad in 439 H., but the shrine was only built in 814 H. by Nawáb Gházi Khán. Sayyid Sultán’s son Sayyid Ali one day killed a goat-herd whose mother complained to the saint. He handed over his son to her to wreak her vengeance on him and she killed him. He thus earned the title of Pír ‘Adil and survived his son 26 years. The annual fair is held in Chet. But another version is that the saint only came from Mashhad in the 9th century of the Hijra and it adds that after the tomb was finished Gházi Khán came to see it and asked the pír to manifest himself. This he did by thrusting his arm through the masonry of the tomb and a circular hole still remains in it to testify to the truth of this story.¹

**Talaul Rájampur.**

The shrine of Muhammad Aqil Sáhib at Kot Mithan was in the old town of Kot Mithan, but when in S. 1919 both town and shrine were washed away by the Indus, the coffin containing the body of Muhammad Aqil Sáhib was disinterred and brought to the present shrine. Muhammad Aqil Sáhib traced his descent from Abbás Alî who came from Khurasán to dwell in Sindh and Muhammad Sharif Sáhib came here in 1090 H. The pedigree is:

**MUHAMMAD SHARIF SAHIB.**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qázi Núr Muhammad.</th>
<th>Muhammad Aqil Sháh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hájí.</td>
<td>Died in 1229 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abúl Khá.</td>
<td>Ahmád Alí Sáhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abúl Húsain.</td>
<td>Died in 1230 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hájí.</td>
<td>Khwája Táj Sáhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad. Rahmán.</td>
<td>Died in 1269 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háibbulá. Nábi</td>
<td>Ghulám Khwája Ghulám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharif.</td>
<td>Fakhru'l-Din.</td>
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</tbody>
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A legend about the miracles of Muhammad Sharif Sáhib says that once he had to cross the Indus but there was no boat, so he put all the water of the river into a jug and went across, but on reaching the western bank he emptied the water out of the jug and so became

¹ Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.
Shrines in Dera Ghazi Khán.

known as Karbacha. The shrine is a handsome dome and the 
urū is very largely attended.¹

Another shrine at Rájanpur is known by the name of Khalifá
Mián Muhammad Sáhib. It has existed for 40 years only. One 
urū is held in Safar.

The shrine called Aṯhārān² Imám and Sayyid Bukhári has existed
for 150 years. Its khālifā is Ghulám Muhammad, mujāwar, and its
gaddínahîn Sayyid Gul Sháh, zaishâr of Murghái. Every year in
Chet a fair is held there lasting over 7 days. People of all creeds
attend it, and they bring their own bread. The offerings go to the
khālifā. A story about Tagia Sháh, a descendant of Tháran Imám
Sháh, is that once a potter moulded an earthen horse and Tagia Sháh
mounted it and it ran hither and thither. Tagia Sháh said that
Tháran Imám Sháh had given him the horse and from that day the
shrine has been greatly revered. The descendants of Tháran Imám Sháh,
Gádi Sháh and Dalá Sháh live at Murghái and those of Bande Sháh
at Bhágors.

Taḥlīl Jâmpur.

The shrine of Mossan Sháh of Jâmpur is the scene of a fair from
the 14th to 20th of Rabi-ul-awal. It is managed by descendants of the
saint’s daughter’s son in default of male issue. His tomb is of adobe
with a four-walled enclosure.³

Lál Parwána or ‘the red moth’ also has a shrine at this town,
but the wall round the tomb is of brick. The saint left no sons but a
faqir sits at his tomb and his urū is held on the 13th of the same month.

In the Kaha Pass at a distance of 5 miles from Harrand is the
shrine of Khalíd, son of Walíd, known as Isháq Asháb, as he is said to
have been a companion of the Prophet. A pilgrimage to his shrine is
regarded as equal to one to Mecca and it is visited on the ‘Id-uz-Zuhá.

A tomb, held in great respect, though no shrine has been erected, is
that of Shaikh Iqás Sáhib of Gádi in Sangárh tahsíl at which visitors
pray for what they want, presenting offerings expressive of their wishes.
The tomb is in consequence hidden under a heap of toy cradles, bullocks,
camels, yokes, strings of cowries with which camels are ornamented,
and the like.

The shrine of Khwája Núr Muhammad Sáhib Norúwála at Hájipur.—Born in 1134 H. this saint went to Multán to learn Persian,
Arabic and Philosophy in 1148 H. and completed his studies in 1160.
At the age of 30 he became a disciple of Mián Sáhib Núr Muhammad
Mohatwali and went to Hájipur with the Burra, men of his caste. He
dwelt on the Norúwála well at Sikhanwála whence he was known as
Norúwála; his own caste was Pirhár. He spent a large part of his life
in devotion, not sleeping by night and fasting by day. People regard

¹Dera Ghazi Khán Gazetteer, 1899, p. 55.
²Ib., p. 56.
³Recalling the ‘eighteen Narám’ of Kulu, the eighteen Imáms must be a purely
conventional number, but though 18 is a very common number in Hinduism, no other
instance of it is known in Islam.
him as an aulâa and he worked miracles. He died in 1204 H. at the age of 70. The present shrine was built in 1206 H. by Islâm Khân Dáûdpotra, an uncle of the then Nawâb of Bahâwalpur, with 3 doors on the north, south and east. People say that once Maulavi Aziz Ullah, a disciple of the Khwâja Sâhib, was in a difficulty and one night he went inside the shrine and prayed for his pîr’s help when suddenly Muhammad entered it from the southern door and his difficulty was solved. This door is now named the door of Heaven and is kept closed all the year, being only opened for two days on the 6th and 7th of Muharram, and those who visit the shrine always enter it by this door.

Two arms of the Indus are held in special veneration. One in Râjanpur tahsil is called Taran Imâm or the ‘Imâm’s Ferry’ and though long salted up is still held in honour. To say: Taran Imâm kâ kur, Mulik Osmân (or any name chosen) kâ kur, is to attribute falsehoods as numerous as the dust of the târan to Malik Osmân (or the other person selected). The couplet doubtless originated in a Shi‘a curse on the Caliph Othmân. The other arm is called Dhand Lâlgir after a saint of that name who diverted the waters of the Indus by his prayers.1

Bábá Lâlgir, a saint who gives his name to an arm of the Indus in Dera Ghází Khân tahsil, diverted by his prayers the water of the Indus, but it found its way into the creek again, though the fine banian tree which forms a place of pilgrimage is, or was till 1898, still standing.

At a distance of 8 kos from the Shori pass is the shrine of the Zinda Pîr, Lakha Lahri, a son of Shâhâbâz Aulia. He is, as his name implies, an immortal and invisible saint.2 His father only looked at a woman and she conceived Lakha Lahri who is said to be still alive concealed in a large cave. In the Shori hill torrent are hot springs in which people suffering from boils, syphilis and leprosy wash and recover their health. Once a housewife was cooking something in a pot or deg to give away in charity but it was slow to boil, so Zinda Pîr broke the deg with a kick in anger and the housewife was buried with it beneath the earth—whence the hot spring.

An ancient shrine in Râjanpur is that of Shahíd Mard at Sikháníwâlâ. The tomb has existed for some 500 or 600 years, but a few years ago one Ditta, a Gopâng Baloch, built a shrine (of which he is now gaddî-nashîn or incumbent). He takes the offerings and feeds the people who collect at the annual urs on 12th Muharram.

It is possible for a gaddî-nashîn to be a pluralist. Thus at the modern shrine of Maulavi Muhammad Hasan, a great fâgîr, the khalifa is Ghulâm Muhammad Awan, and at the annual urs in Safar people of all creeds attend and are fed by the sajîda-nashîn. But the gaddî-nashîn, Maulavi Ghulâm Farid, is also incumbent of another great fâgîr

1 D. G. Khân Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.
2 The shrine consists of a house built for his residence and furnished with beds etc., and a copy of the Qurân. It is much visited—especially in March; D. G. Khân Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.
Maulavi Aqil Muhammad Sáhib's shrine. Each of these shrines contains three tombs and otherwise resembles the other.

At Rájanpur the shrine of Sayyid Nur Sháh Sáhib has existed for about two centuries. It has no urs but people of all creeds frequent it daily and the offerings go to the khálifa.

A very old shrine is that of Hamza Sultán at Soman 6 miles west to Dajal. This saint was an anúa and as he left no male issue the offerings are received by the mujárws.

The shrine of Maulavi Núr Muhammad Sáhib at Muhammadpur.—A son of Maulavi Aqal Muhammad Burra of Burra, a village in Dajal, this saint was made a khálifa by Khwája Núr Muhammad Sáhib of Hájípur, and went to reside at Muhammadpur. He was recognised as a wáli and had many disciples. As he left no sons his sister's son succeeded him. The annual fair is held on the 16th of Ramzán.

The shrine of Sháh Lál Kamál in Dera Gházi Khán.—Some 300 years ago this saint came here from Chotar Lahri. He was famed for his miracles and died in 1069 H. His urs is held annually.

The shrine of Sayyid Nabi Sháh at Kot Chutta, 14 miles south of Dera Gházi Khán.—He left no issue so his collaterals succeeded him. He died in 1200 H. and his urs is held in Asauj. He is regarded as a wáli.

The shrine of Sháh Sadar-ud-Dún, 15 miles north of Dera Gházi Khán.—He is said to have been a disciple of Baháwal-haqq of Múltán and descended from the same family as Pir Adil. He left no issue, so four faqírs look after his shrine and a fair is held annually on the first Monday in Chet when people collect and offer presents. They also get their sons shaved there.

The shrine of Khwája Muhammad Sulaimán Khán at Taunsa.—Khwája Muhammad Sulaimán was the son of Zákria Khán, a Jásír Afghán, a native of Khorásán. His ancestors came to live at Drug, in the hills west of Taunsa, and Muhammad Sulaimán Khán was born at Gargoji hill in 1179 H. He was named Mana, and educated at Taunsa and Shekho Langáh as a boy; after that he acquired knowledge at Mithankot, and at the age of 16 became a disciple of Khwája Núr Muhammad Pir Mokorwala who named him Muhammad Sulaimán Khán. In 1199 H. he went on a pír's pilgrimage to Delhi and Ajmer and returning to Gargoji lived there for a while, but eventually made his abode at Taunsa where he spent his time in devotion and gave whatever he received in charity. He bore a simple character and had no pleasures except devotion to God and charity. His reputation as nek-bakhsh or fortunate grew and people from far and near became his disciples, among them a Nawáb of Baháwalpur. He was also known as a worker of miracles. His son Gul Muhammad had predeceased him when he died in 1267 H. and so he was succeeded by Músán Allah Bakhsh, his grandson, commonly called the Hazrat Sáhib. The present shrine was erected in 1272 H. by the Nawáb of
Baháwalpur at a considerable cost. Ghulám Mustafá Kháń, Khákwaní of Multán, also had a majlis khána built and Ahmad Kháń, Afghan, had a well sunk and masonry buildings have been built out of the income from offerings. An urs is held twice a year in Safar and Rabi-us-sáni. The shrine is frequented by Muhammáns of every sect.¹

The shrine of Míán Ahmad Sáhib at Taunsa has also existed for about 60 years. It is largely visited by hill tribes such as the Baloch. No special fair etc., is held.

At Siál Sharif, south of Sáhiwál in Sháhpur, is the shrine of Khwája Shams-ud-Dín, a branch of that at Taunsa Sharif.²

At the shrine of Sháh Shams, ancestor of the Sayyids of Sháhpur, a large fair is held on Chet 23rd to 25th. Tent-pegging and other amusements are provided. According to Maclagan another fair is held every year in honour of Sháh Shams at Shaikhpur, near Bhera in the Sháhpur District, where the sick and ailing from all parts of the province present themselves at the appointed time to be bled by the barbers of Bhera. These worthies are said to do their work with great efficiency, and the whole neighbourhood is soon reeking with horrid rivulets of human blood. But according to the Shahpur Gazetteer³ this fair is held in honour of Sultán Ibrahim on four Sundays—the two last in Chet and the two first in Bisák in spring and the operation performed on these auspicious days protects the patients from all diseases.

Dín Panáh was a Bukhári Sayyid who settled in the north-west corner of Muzaffargarh about 330 years ago, in the house of Suhágán, wife of a Makwál Ját called Akku. When her daughter was married Dín Panáh gave himself as part of her dowry. He died in 1012 H. on the west bank of the Indus, whence the Makwál of the east bank tried to steal his coffin. This led to a feud in the tribe which was eventually settled by the saint who in a dream bade Akku’s brothers make him a coffin for the east bank in which his body would also be found. He now has a shrine on each bank and the Makwál are still khádís of his tombs. Daira Dín Panáh in Muzaffargarh is a favourite shrine for the observance of the jhánd among Hindus as well as Muhammáns. The daira is the centre of a set of beggars, called Sháh dá faqír, who are self-elected, any idle or discontented rascal who wraps a brown pagrí round his head being entitled to beg within 14 kos of the daira under a traditional saying of the saint. These beggars require no authority to beg from the keeper of the shrine and they compel the people to give alms by abuse and curses.⁴

The shrine of Hazrat Dín Panáh Sáhib in Daira Dín Panáh in Dera Gházi Kháń has existed from the time of Akbar. Hindus

¹ For a description of the buildings, see Dera Gházi Kháń Gazetteer, 1898, p. 54.
² Sháhpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 87.
³ Ib., p. 88.
⁴ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, pp. 62-3. It would not be difficult to point to several elements of nature-(river-) worship and a fertility cult here.
and Muhammadans alike go there to pay respects. In the month of Chet 4 fairs are held on Fridays, called the Jumásháh fair. The tradition about it is that the Hazrat caused boats to run on land and as these boats are still to be found in Beehra village the people gather there also for worship.

The shrine of Karm Sháh Sáhib at Bughláni has existed for about 400 years. The Bughláni and Mongláni Baloch of Sokar revere it and a small fair is held there on a Friday in Hář.

Other small shrines at different places are those of Ghaghu Sultán Sáhib, Sakhi Sathan Sáhib, Lajmir Sáhib, Sultán Naüraung Sáhib, Shaikh Sultán Sáhib, Shaikh Ibrahím Sáhib &c.

Alam Pír (Shaikh Alam-ud-Dín), a Bukhári Sayyid, descended from the Makhdúms of Uch, has a shrine at Shahr Sultán, which is remarkable for the frenzy which attacks the persons, especially women, who resort to it. It even attacks women at home as the fair time, in Chet, draws near, and is believed to be due to possession by jinn, the woman being said jinn khédan, lit. 'to play the devil.' In the houses of the makhdúm and other Sayyids of his family women of the upper class have the jinn cast out to a drum accompaniment played by a mirásan. For ordinary people four sites are chosen, over each of which a khalífa of the makhdúm presides. The women possessed pay him a pice or fowl, take their seats and begin to sway their bodies to and fro, with gradually increasing violence. The excitement is increased by a drum. The khalífa goes round and lashes the women with a whip and pours scented oil on them. As each woman gets weary the khalífa pronounces some words and sprinkles a little water over her. The jinn is cast out and the woman is dragged away in an exhausted condition by her friends.¹

Bagga Sher is a shrine 6 miles north of Muzaffargarh which is so called because a 'white tiger' there defended the saint's cows from thieves. During an epidemic it is good for cattle to visit this shrine. The saint's name was Shaikh Muhammad Tahir.

Mián Hayát has a shrine 7 miles south of Muzaffargarh, with a stone image of the camel he used to ride and a grove of date-palms the branches of which are like cobras. A branch kept in one's house will drive those snakes away. The saint was a nephew of Ghamís-ul-Azam, and his fair is held in Ránzán.

Dedha Lál has a fine domed shrine at Harballo in Muzaffargarh. Cattle visit it as they do Bagga Sher. Originally named Shaháb-ud-Dín, the saint got his other name on conversion by Makhdúm Jabánfán who turned milk into blood and made Dhedha drink of it.

Shaikh Ladhi's shrine is similarly visited.

¹ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, p. 64. The karmal.
Shrines in the South-West.

Músán Shah, where wrestling matches are held at the fair on 5th Asaúj:
Múbúb Jaháníán, where wrestling and occasionally horse-races are held.

Núr Sháh
Shaikh Pallia
Hájí Isháq
Pír Ali and Pír Kamál are nángásás.

Shaikh Alláh Dád Quraishi who came from Arabia had acquired sanctity in the service of Mákhdúm Jaháníán Jahán-gasht and settled in Rámpur in Muzaffargarh. His shrine is known as that of Dádád Jaháníah, Dhudhu Jaháníah or simply Dhudhu, and is celebrated for its cures of leprosy. The patient bathes in baths of hot and cold sand prepared by the attendants of the shrine and on recovery presents models of the diseased limb in silver or gold. The repute of the shrine extends to Káshmir. The Shaikh's descendants are now Mélá Játs, because, they say, so many Mélá live in the neighbourhood. Hindus also frequent the shrine, where a fair is held every Thursday, especially in Chét and Sáwan. A vow common at this shrine is the atta ghatta.¹

Saints and shrines in Multán and Baháwalpur.

Some of these have already been noticed under the various Súfi orders, but many more might be described here if space permitted. Reference may be made to the Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, passim, especially to pp. 121-3, and 339-45. The most renowned in the district are the shrine at Súr Sháh and that of Súltán Ahmad Qáltál at Jalápur Pírwála. The former was built in honour of Sháh Ali Muhammad Husain who came from Mashhad in 1499. The latter came to Jalápur in 1582. Many of the shrines in Multán offer features of great interest in their cults or traditions, but in this respect they are excelled by those in Baháwalpur. In that State Uch Sháhí is unrivalled in India for the number of its shrines. The most celebrated of its Bugháí saints was the Mákhdúm Súr Sháh, Jalál-úd-Dín, Surkh-póeh, Bugháí, the Second Adam. Born in 1199² he is credited with the conversion of Chingiz Khán, as well as of many tribes indigenous to Baháwalpur. His grandson Sayyid Álím Múshir, the Mákhdúm Jaháníán Jahángíasht, and his descendants are numerous and widely scattered. Later in date came the Gilaí Sayyids, descendants of Bánádí Muhammad Ghaus, 7th in descent from Abdul Khádir Giláí, who reached Uch in 1482. The other saints are variously descended and at their shrines many varieties of ritual and miracles are performed.³

The Saints of Ferozepur.

Núr Sháh Wáli, the saint of Ferozepur City.

In the time of Ráví Lachhmíndír, there was a fort at the site where this tomb is now situate. The Ráví had a stable here, but what-¹Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1889-94, p. 63.
²The date is doubtful. Temple gives 1188-1283 as the dates of his birth and death.
³Baháwalpur Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 189-182, and Chap. IV.
ever horses were tied there, one used to be found daily dead or injured. The Ráni was perplexed at this and made enquiries about its cause. The third night she had a dream in which the saint told her that the cause of the trouble was the disrespect shewn to him by allowing horses to stand at the place where he was buried. He also told Ráni his name. She thereupon ordered the stable to be removed, and on this being done, a pucca grave was found to exist there. One Sayyid Naqi Sháh, who was the ancestor of the present occupants of the shrine (khánqáh), was employed in the cavalry (risála) of the Ráni. She ordered him to take charge of the khánqáh as she said he was a Sayyid and the khánqáh was also a Sayyid’s. All the land appertaining to the fort was assigned to him. The Ráni used to support Naqi Sháh as he had to give up his service in the cavalry. Naqi Sháh was succeeded by Najaf Ali Sháh and the latter by Hussain Ali Sháh who was succeeded by Rahmat Ali Sháh the present incumbent. When British rule commenced the then Deputy Commissioner Captain (Sir Henry) Lawrence ordered the fort to be demolished, so it was pulled down and the ground sold. The tomb was the only thing left untouched, but no one listened to the attendants of the shrine until Captain Lawrence had a dream in which he saw the saint and had some sort of compulsion laid upon him.\(^1\) In the morning he ordered that the tomb should not be disturbed and moreover he had it repaired, gave Rs 500 as a present to Naqi Sháh and promised to grant a madfí to the khánqáh. That very day he received a telegram to say he was transferred. The tomb with the ground surrounding it was left in Naqi Sháh’s charge.

\*\*Pír Baldáwal Sháh’s khánqáh in Ferozepur takhlīl.\*

When Mirán Sháh Núr was living at Khái, Akbar sent Pír Baláwal, whose real name was Díláwar Khán (or rather Baláwal Beg), Súbah of Delhi, with troops to bring the saint to the capital. When he arrived he found the Sháh had gone to bathe at a tank, whither he went and delivered the emperor’s message. The Sháh forthwith dived into the water and reached Delhi where the emperor and his wife were at supper. The Bégam observing a third hand on the table told the emperor who replied: ‘If you see it again let me know.’ When the hand again appeared, reaching towards the dishes, she pointed it out to Akbar who seized it and enquired what the matter was. The Sháh said: ‘You summoned me and I am here.’ Akbar was delighted. When the saint took his leave he asked for a token to show the Súbah at Khái. Taking a handful of rice, a handkerchief and an order under the imperial seal the Sháh immediately re-appeared at the tank. All this only took as long as a man would spend in a single dive. The Sháh showed the thing to the Súbah and said: ‘Do you mean to take me to Delhi?’ Díláwar Khán said: ‘If I get a token from the emperor, what more is needed?’ The Sháh made over the things aforesaid to the Súbah which so completely upset him that he took off his uniform and turned faqír on the spot, saying he would serve

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\(^1\) This is a very common incident in hagiographical legends: cf. Temple in *Indian Art*, XI, p. 43, for account of this shrine and in *Folklore Record*, V, p. 158, for an account of Khajúria Pír. The same writer records a similar experience attributed to himself in *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, Second Series, VIII, page 275.
the True King and not an emperor of this world. So he remained with the Sháh, attaining perfection and dying in the lifetime of the Sháh. He is indeed popularly said not to have died a natural death but to have become a Shahid or martyr in this wise:—Certain thieves came to offer him a share of the plunder, but when they arrived he was asleep, so they placed a part of the booty at his pillow, and went away. Meanwhile the owner came and found the Pir still asleep, with the property by him. Thinking him to be a thief he killed him. Miran Sháh Núr ordered him to be buried in his blood-stained clothes, as he lay, without being washed. His brother came from Delhi, buried him and built his tomb. He also purchased the four wells on each side of it and made them over to the Sháh’s son Miran Sháh Jamál. Subsequently Miran Sháh Núr’s grandson Imám Sháh came from Kasúr and tried to take possession of the shrine, but Qutb Ali Sháh, another grandson who was in possession of it, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Imám Sháh. The disciple of Imám Sháh, Maula Madat Ali Sháh, settled the dispute, so Imám Sháh took possession of the shrine, qaṭr etc. of Pir Baláwal Sháh and settled there. There used to be four fairs, but two are now held—one on the 2nd Asuaj, which is the urs sharif or wedding (death) of the Pir, at which beggars are fed—and the second and greater on the 10th Muharram, when the táqás of Ferozepur city are all buried there. Prayers on both dates are made for the Pir’s soul. Hindus frequent the fairs but do not join in these prayers.

_Lal Musam (Mohsin) Sáhib Láhori._

His tomb, which is coloured green and lies in the Mandí Kalálán or spirit-sellers’ market, was founded 141 years ago. This saint was a Sayyid, a son of Sultán Arab, who was of the royal family. He was a saint from birth and having finished his course of worldly education in his 11th year went with his father to Multán and there became a disciple of Shaikh Bahá-ud-Din Zakáriá Múltání and a perfect saint the same day. Those on whom he cast his sight used to become senseless and for this reason very few used to visit him. Whoever made him an offering of one dinár begat a son. He was married to Bibí Míkhi, a pious daughter of Shaikh Zakáriá, who was a Sírdár of Matíla, a village between Thatta and Múltán. She also was a saint from birth. The saint had four sons: Shaikhs Yáqub, Isháq, Ismáil, and Ahmad. He went to Gujrat and stayed in the house of Mahmúd, a blacksmith. The king asked leave to see him, but was not allowed. A Hindu woman came to the blacksmith to have her spindle straightened, and the Shaikh seeing her said, ‘she savours of Islám’ and looked at her. The woman finding the Shaikh gazing at her, asked the blacksmith, ‘what sort of qaṭr is this who is gazing at me?’ The Shaikh said: ‘if I looked at you with bad intent, I will touch my eyes with the spindle, and may God deprive me of my sight.’ Saying this he touched his eyes with the spindle which was on fire, but it did not injure them in the least, nay it became gold. Seeing this miracle the woman became a Muhammadan, but her parents hearing of it tortured her and she died. While the Hindus were taking her body away the Shaikh, hearing of her death, reanimated her and caused her
to recite the kalima. This made him widely known and the people used to visit him to such an extent that he was obliged to remove to Lahore, where he died on Thursday the 18th Safar 962 H.

Pír Karam Sháh’s fair is held on every Akhírí Chahár Shamba (a Muhammadan holiday), and alms are distributed to beggars and blessings invoked.

Máí Amfrán Sáhiba’s fair is held on the Bábawáfát day, alms being distributed to faqírs and blessings are invoked. She was a great majháb and a perfect saint. She came from down-country.

Rođe Sháh’s takíá, on the road from Ferozepur to Malwal or Moga, belongs to the Qádirí sect. No fair is held. The saint was a disciple of Iqrár Husain whose tomb is near that of Máí Amfrán Sáhiba. Iqrár Hussain was a disciple of Jáfar Husain whose tomb is at Kishenpura in tahsíl Zíra.

The shrine of Mírán Sháh Núr at Mírán Sháh Núr in tahsíl Ferozepur.

Some 500 years ago, in the time of Akbar, Mírán Sháh Núr was born at Chúñfán in Lahoré, and Shaikh Alamdí (Ilám Dín), a dyer of that place, and his wife, Máí Chhinko, having no children, adopted the boy at the age of 5 or 6. When he was aged 14, Shaikh Alamdí bade his wife test his conduct, so she took him to the jungle and invited his advances. But he seized her breasts and began to suck therefrom. She told her husband of this as proving that he was untainted by the world. Shaikh Alamdí had his dyeing vat on the fire that day and into it he threw the Sháhzáda (Mírán Sháh Núr) and shut down the lid. After 24 hours his wife, searching for the boy, asked him where he was, but he did not reply. Lifting up the lid she saw the Sháhzáda sitting cross-legged inside and when she had taken him out the Shaikh said:—’If had he remained another day and night his children one and all would have been the friends of God. Now however only one of them will always be so’. And to the Sháhzáda he said:—’I have given you all I had. As I am a dyer and you are a Sayyid you must choose a perfect master and placing your hands in his do homage (ba’dátí).’ Then he told the boy the name of Sayyid Sultán Lá Músín (Mohsin) Núrí Láhirí as one who was to be his master. Accordingly Mírán Sháh Núr went to Lahore and served him and was made his disciple. He too was also a Sayyid and the boy remained with him for a year. He gave the boy a tiger’s skin, a handkerchief, a staff, bedding etc. and said:— ‘Wherever by the power of God this skin falls, there make your house and deem it your tomb also’. So the boy left his master and came to the bank of the Sutléj, but found the ferrymen had started with the boat. He asked them to take him across also, but they said the boat was full and had left the shore, so they would return and fetch him; whereupon the youth stepped into the river, calling on God and his master, and straightway the water fell until it became fordable, so that he crossed before the boatmen could return. Then he returned after his wanderings to Chúñfán and married into a Sayyid family of Dholanwál,
settling in Guhnaki village where he sunk several wells. After 23 years, leaving his three sons and daughter there, he came alone as a traveller to Ferozepur, where an old fort stood long before the Sikh rule arose. There he abode with a miller named Nūr for 7 years in the fort, engaged in the worship of God. Eventually the place in Sikh times became known as Nūr Shāhwali. In Rānī Lachhmankaur’s time some one had tethered horses in this sacred place, but the Rānī was told by Mīrān Shāh Nūr in a dream that this should be forbidden, and he told her his name, condition, and caste. So the place was deemed blessed, and a great shrine built there by degrees. Thence Mīrān Shāh Nūr went to Khāi where Ghāzī Khān was in power and the country all round was dense forest, and the river and rains had filled the tanks so that the land was desolate, only a small space being clear. There Mīrān Shāh Nūr built his house. After the ablutions of prayer, they say, he buried his tooth-brush which by the power of God became green and grew into a pīḷū tree which is still visible in front of the shrine. He summoned his family from Guhnaki and from his preaching and piety gained wide recognition.

One day six Hindu women came and prayed for issue, Mīrān Shāh also prayed and told Shaikh Ratu Sāhib, his chief disciple, to give each of them a loaf and some of the meat which he was himself eating. Shaikh Ratu did so and five of the six women ate each her loaf and meat without aversion. The sixth however did not do so, but threw the food under a bush as she went away. In due course the five had each a son, but the sixth had none. All six came to Mīrān Shāh Nūr, the sixth complaining and asking what sin she had committed that no son was born to her. He replied:—

‘Your child is lying under the bush’ and when she went to look at the spot where she had thrown the loaf and meat she saw an embryo in the very form of a child and became ashamed. Many other miracles and mercies of this kind occurred. Shaikh Ratu, Pīr Balâwāl and other elders as well as his four sons became his khalifas (successors). His tomb, they say, was built in his life-time, though Akbar’s agent made it under his orders and at his expense. A great miracle occurred in its building. A lōhār, blind from birth, begged the Sayyid to restore his sight, and agreed to place eight iron bricks in the tomb if this were vouchedsafe. By the power of God he forthwith gained his sight and made the bricks of iron which are still within the shrine. The great fair of this shrine is held on the 4th Asaaj when faqirs are fed.

The khānqāh of Sayyid Mīrāj-ul-Dīn was built some 80 years ago by a descendant of the founder of Zīrā. Poor travellers can put up in this shrine. The tomb is surrounded by a brick wall, near which are interred all the dead of the saint’s family. Its administration is carried on by the Shāh’s descendants who also hold the gaddā, and at present a lady manages it. At a fair held in Asaaj or Kātak only faqirs assemble. They are fed and make free use of chhares.

The khānqāh of Ahmad Shāh, Qutab Shāh and Rođe Shāh are managed by the Muhammadans of Zīrā. They are all nearly 100 years old. A brick mosque and well are attached to the khānqāh.
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

The khánqáh at Jalálbád.

A khánqáh of Hazrat Sayyid Kabír lies to the east of Jalálbád. In its enclosure are interred the dead of his family, and in the midst lies the tomb of the Sayyid. A great fair is held on the second Thursday of Chet, when people from distant parts come to pay homage to the shrine to which they offer a gift in cash or kind according to their means. The Sayyid recipients are responsible for repairs to the tombs etc. Eatables offered are distributed there and then. Both Hindus and Muhammadans attend the fair. It is said that the tomb is 200 years old.

The shrine or ziyaratgáh of Pir Gúrah is situate at Sultánpur village. Its building was completed in S. 1907. Pir Gúrah was a good faqir and after his death his disciples built his ziyaratgáh. A fair held on the 1st of Háí is attended by some 2000 persons and prayer is offered. Every Thursday a drum is beaten at the shrine. Its administration vests in the owners who keep it clean. Patáshas are offered and their value is estimated at Rs. 15 a year which is spent on the up-keep of the shrine.

The Pir Mál khánqáh in Khwája Kharak is also called Pir Kál Mál. No fair is held in connection with it.

The village of Khwája Kharak has existed for 70 years, but the khánqáh was already known by the name of Pir Mál when it was founded. The villagers have the right to appoint any one as mujáwar for sweeping the khánqáh etc.

Shrines in Ferozepur tahsíl.

The khánqáh of Rori in Atánwáli, founded some 70 years ago, has no fair connected with it. When the village was founded, some bricks were found lying near it and Thákár Daya Singh built a kotha (hut) of them, but it fell down twice or thrice so a faqir Nathe Khán built a brick tomb. A well and mosque were also built. A faqir used to live in the khánqáh, but it has been quite neglected since his death, and no mujáwar is employed in it. The offerings of milk, patásha and chûrmá when made are distributed among those present at the khánqáh.

At the Karím Sháh khánqáh in Sidhúán a movable fair is held in Háí or Sáwan every year, on a date fixed by the mujáwar. Maulavi Karím Sháh Qázi of Míslam is said to have got a ghumáo of land from the people of Sidhúán, and built his grave at this spot some 18 years ago. As he was a devotee and his prayers were heard people worshiped him. The mujáwar is a Bháñjí Musalmán. He sweeps out the khánqáh twice a day. Celibacy is not obligatory, but succession is governed by spiritual relationship. The mujáwar receives special respect and is provided with grain etc. by the villagers, while chûrmá or milk is offered as bhog to the khánqáh.

The khánqáh of Sháh Sikandar in Arafke has no fair. It is said that when a house was built on the tomb of this saint its owner was
directed in a vision to abandon it. He obeyed and rebuilt the saint's tomb 80 years ago. The faqir is a Dogar. He sweeps the tomb twice a day and lights a lamp every Thursday. At every marriage four annas are offered to it.

The khángáh of Jandla in Arakhe also has no fair. Jandla was said to be possessed with power to work miracles and to fulfil the desires of all who resorted to him. After his death the people built his tomb and began to worship it 40 years ago. Its administration vests in a Malang who sweeps it out twice a day and lights a lamp every Thursday.

At the khángáh of Makhi Sháh a fair is held every year on the 9th Asuaj. Makhi Sháh was possessed of miraculous powers and after his death his remains were kept in a box in a house, and are still preserved in the khángáh. It is believed that the encroachments of the river on his khángáh are barred by his power. It was built 80 years ago. Its manager is a Bukhári Sayyid who sweeps it out and lights a lamp every Thursday. On marriages a rupee is offered to the khángáh and food is given to the manager.

The shrine or Dera of Usman Sháh has no fair connected with it. Formerly this khángáh contained the grave of Jiwan Sháh but his remains were removed to Rangoon, so those of Usman Sháh were interred in it. It was built 50 years ago. The manager is a Mauwar Dogar who lights a lamp on the tomb. Succession is governed by spiritual relationship. The priest is held in special respect and a rupee is paid him on a marriage. Charas is not used. Chúrma is offered. The khángáh of Dátá Nur Sháh at Atári has no fair. It was built 60 years ago. The mujáwar is the manager and he is an Usman faqir, by got Gurzmár. He sweeps out the khángáh daily and lights a lamp in it. Succession follows natural relationship.

At the khángáh of Baji Sháh a fair is held on the 20th Sáwan. Baji Sháh only died on November 18th, 1892. Succession follows spiritual relationship.

At the khángáh of Ináyat Sháh, who died in Bhádon S. 1933, succession follows spiritual relationship. The mujáwar feeds poor faqirs but himself lives on alms. The use of charas, opium, and bhang is common. A lamp is lit on every Thursday.

At the khángáh of Bír Sháh a fair is held on 22nd Hár; Bír Sháh died in Sambat 1924. Succession follows spiritual relationship. The faqir who dwells at the shrine lives by begging. The use of charas or bhang is common. The khángáhs of Sání Majnu, Fi Sháh and Malli Sháh are connected with this.

At the khángáh of Núr Sháh Bal a fair is held every Thursday, Succession is governed by spiritual relationship.

At the khángáh of Nau-Gaza a fair is held every Thursday.

The khángáh of Bohar Sháh has no fair. Tikí saint died in S. 1932. Succession follows spiritual relationship. The keeper of the shrine is a faqir who lives on alms. Lamps are lit every Thursday.
At the takia of Rođa Sháh a fair is held on the 20th Bhádon. Rođa Sháh died on 8th April 1902.

The takia of Mai Mírán has an annual fair held on 12th Hár. It was founded on 12th Chet S. 1946. The muftáwar is a faqir who lives on alms.

The khánqáh of Wali Sháh has a fair on 15th Jeth.

The khánqáh of Makhu Sháh has a fair on 22nd Sáwan.

The khánqáh of Rafi Sháh has no fair. It dates from 1929 S.

The khánqáh of Husain Sháh has no fair. It is called after Husain Sháh. The khánqáh was founded in S. 1:29. People of all castes make offerings to the shrine.

At the takia of Ghore Sháh a fair is held 40 days after the Moharram. This shrine was first occupied by Husain Ali, a faqir possessed of power to work miracles, but he had a disciple named Ghore Sháh after whom it is known.

The khánqáh of Bhakhar Sháh in Machívára has no fair.

The khánqáh of Sháh Baka in Malwal has no fair.

At the khánqáh of Waháb Sháh in Lodhra a fair is held annually on 15th Hár. Waháb Sháh was a juggler. It has been in existence for 200 years. At the fair many jugglers visit the shrine and Qawáls are invited to sing at it. Many visitors go into a trance and then their limbs are bound up and they are hung on trees. The visitors are fed at night by the holder of the gaddi, and lamps are lighted at the shrine. Succession is governed by natural relationship. People make offerings of chári to the khánqáh.

The khánqáh of Khwája Roshan Dín—in Pir Khín Shaikh—has a fair every year on the first Thursday in Hár. It was built some 150 years ago. Its administration is carried on by a descendant of the Khwája. He is not celibate, but succession is always governed by spiritual relationship.

It is said that when Khwája Roshan Dín chanced to pass through Mohanke he spent the night in the house of a Dowar Sardár whose descendants always keep a lamp burning in their house in commemoration of the Khwája's visit. Of the 400 people who visit the fair many go into a trance.

The khánqáh of Ramzán Sháh Qureshi in Kurma is named after a Háshami saint whose urs is held annually in the last week of Hár. He used to live in Malikpur but went to Lahore whence Varyám knowing him to be a devotee brought him to lay the foundations of Kurma. Ramzán had a son named Khudá Bakhsh, also a devotee, and so great reverence was paid them by the Nawás. Both their tombs and that of the grandson, Gulám Sháh, lie in the khánqáh. At the urs only verses from the Qurán are recited. People make offerings to the shrine at marriages etc.
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

The khângâh of Sâfû Sher Shâh has no fair. One Jiwan, a weaver of Kurma, used to go into a trance, and so he learnt of the existence of the tomb of Sher Shâh, no trace of which then remained, and he pointed out the spot, which was enclosed some 60 years ago. Women of the village light lamps here on Thursday nights.

The tomb of Sâfû Tokal Shâh in Kurma lies near the house of Allah Ditta, a butcher, and lamps are lit at it on every Thursday night.

The khângâh of Pîr Pake Shâh is in Jamad. Once Mala headman built a cattle-pen here, but in a vision he saw that the place contained a faqir's tomb, so he abandoned it and rebuilt the tomb. Another story is that the clay horses offered at the tomb fight at night and are found broken in the morning. This has been witnessed by one Jaimal, son of Himmat, a Dogar of Algu.

The khângâh of Sayyid Nazar Shâh in Jhok Têhl Singh,—This Sayyid was a grandson of Mîrân Shâh, Nawâb. He had a Gujar disciple named Dâg Shâh. Founded 140 years ago, the tomb contains the Sayyid's guḍrî or wallet and the story is that the Sikh owners of the village once determined to eject Dâg Shâh and destroy the shrine, but they resisted so they set fire to the khângâh. So Dâg Shâh covered himself with his guḍrî and lay in a corner of the shrine, which was reduced to ashes but he was unhurt. The fame of this incident spread far and wide. The offerings are taken by Dâg Shâh or Mîrân Shâh.

The khângâh of Sayyid Mahmûd Shâh was founded 120 years ago. The Sayyid left a disciple Bani Shâh who kept up the fair for some years but it ceased on "is death. Offerings of chûrâna, pârâshaks and other sweets are eaten by those present.

At the khângâh of Mâma Sultîn in Mâma a fair is held on 12th Asauj. This saint was a Husaini Jât who lived in Pâkpatan. While grazing his cattle on the river bank he chanced to come to the site of the present village and built a hut there. His example was followed by others and so the village grew up. It was named Mâma after him. His two brothers were Shâh Jiwan and Nûr Muhammad, and his disciple Pîr Ser. "The fair is attended by 100 faqirs. The shrine is run by Mâma's descendants whose caste is Jara and got Husaini. Milk, khîr and pârâshaks are offered.

At the khângâh of Sayyid Chirâgh Shâh in Mâm, a fair is held on 12th Asauj. This saint, a descendant of Hazrat Mîrân Shâh Nûr Muhammad, died on 5th Asauj S. 1949 and his disciple built his tomb of brick and enclosed it by a wall. Soon after one Muhammad Nai began to take bricks for his own use out of it, but his house fell down and in order to avert a recurrence of this he offered a deg of rice to the tomb and then rebuilt his house without difficulty. This incident contributed to the fame of the fair at which faqirs are fed on rice and meat. Founded in S. 1949, its administration is carried on by one Shaikh Din Dîr who is not calibate as mujâwaar. The Jâts of the village mostly make offerings. The khângâh of Mîrân Shâh Nûr Sâhib is connected with it.

The khângâh of Sayyid Bahâdur Shâh in Khai has been in existence 100 years. It contains two tombs, one of Bahâdur Shâh and another.
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

At the khángáh of Mírán Sháh in Núr a fair is held on the 15th Asaúj at which faqírs are fed on sweet rice, bread and dál or pulse. Many go into a trance (kál) by shaking their heads, in which state they are hung on trees with their legs tied together. Mírán Sháh died on 27th Muharram, 1035 H., but the khángáh was founded in Akbar Sháh’s time. The khángáh has 3 storeys and is built of brick. It contains 4 rooms with as many tombs—of Mírán Sáhib, Mírán Sháh Jámál and Jamál Khán.

The khángáh of Núr Sháh in Jhok Téhl Singh and many tombs of this family in Wazír Khán’s mosque at Lahore are connected with this shrine.

At the Rauza of Pír Baldwála in Khílji a fair is held on 10th Muharram every year. The Pír was one of Akbar’s high officials. When Mírán Sháh was working miracles the Pír came to him and was so impressed with his powers that he became a faqír and entered his service. Mírán Sháh asked him to live in Khílji. Six thieves robbed a rich man’s house and vowed to give the Pír an eighth of the booty. So they went to him, but finding him asleep laid his share by his bed-side. Meanwhile the owners in pursuit of the thieves came to the Pír’s residence and found their goods there and thinking the Pír had robbed them, they murdered him out of hand. People then built his tomb on the spot. At the fair all the báziás used in the Muharram are buried here. The shrine was laid some 350 years ago. It contains three tombs:—of Pír Bald, Sayyid Amám Sháh and Mard Ali.

At the khángáh of Sháh Sikandar in Mamdot an urs is annually held on the 10th of Muharram. The two brothers Sayyid Kabír and Sháh Sikandar came from Bukhára and settled in Mamdot and Fatehpur respectively. When Sháh Sikandar died his tomb was built in H. 905. The khángáh contains the tombs of the dead of his family. Gujars mostly affect this Pír’s cult. Kabír’s khángáh in Fatehpur is connected with this.

The khángáh of Sáín Khwájá Bakhsh in Mamdot.—The Sáín came from Montgomery and died here. At the fair held on the 1st Sáwan faqírs shake their heads and go into a trance. Kálú Sháh, a disciple of the Sháh, used to feed visitors with rice, bread and meat.

The khángáh of Sultán Mahmúd, murskíd of Sáín Khwája Bakhsh at Abarbara in Montgomery, is connected with this shrine.

The Rauza of Sáín, son of Mash Sháh, in Kélwála.—This saint was a Qureshi Chisti who lived in Ferozepur. The tomb of Muhammad Akal the Sáín’s murskíd is at Mițthankot in Baháwalpur.

The khángáh of Sayyid Sher Sháh in Azím Sháh has a fair in Há. This saint was headman of this village, and died only a few years ago, when the khángáh was built. His brother Haidar Sháh granted and for its maintenance. The faqírs attending the fair are fed free.

The khángáh of Sáín Roshan Sháh in Jhok Hari Har existed long before the foundation of the village.
The **khángãh** of Mírân Sáhib in Basídpur.—The Sáin came from Bakhára in Ranjit Singh’s time. He died and his grandson constructed his **khángãh**. People light lamps on Thursday night and offer a rupee at marriages.

The **khángãh** of Sháh Kumál, who is said to have lived in Sikh times, lies in the middle of the village.

The **khángãh** of Sayyid Lál Sháh in Khánpur has a fair on the 25th Hár every year. This Sayyid was a Bukhári *faqir* in Sikh times.

A *faqir* named Kumál Sháh has been living here for 22 years and he laid the foundation of the fair. *Faqirs* practice *hál* and are fed free.

The **khángãh** of Pír Kále Sháh at Norang Siál has an *urs* on 15th Chet.

The saint Míán Mír, whose real name was Sh. Muhammad Mír, was a man of learning and sanctity. He visited Jhángír at Agra,1 and was visited by Sháh Jahán. But his principal **rôle** was that of spiritual adviser to Dárá Shíkoh,2 though his disciple Mulla Sháh or Sháh Muhammad is also said to have filled that office.3 However this may be Dárá Shíkoh built Mulla Sháh’s tomb at Lahore apparently before his death in 1661.4 Dárá Shíkoh also commenced the building of a mausoleum to Míán Mír who died in 1635 at the age of 88.

Dárá Shíkoh gives a pedigree of Míán Mír which makes him one of the sons of a Qázi Sáividhata. He was born in Seístán but lived almost all his life at Lahore. He appears to have affected the Pír Dastgír and at any rate had such respect for his memory that he never mentioned his name without ablution.5 His long life was attributed to the practice of *habí dam* or slow breathing. His disciple Mulla Sháh followed him in this and also in remaining unmarried and never lighting a lamp in his house.6

Míán Mír’s disciples included the scholar Mulla Sháh of Badakhshán who died in 16147: Khwája Bahári, who was credited with many miracles8: Sháikh Abú’l Ma’álí9, a native of Bhera: his *khálifa*

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1 *Hist. of Lahore*, p. 47.
3 *Ib.*, pp. 175 and 64.
4 *Ib.*, p. 178. Dárá Shíkoh was hardly in a position to do so after 1659 in which year Aurangzeb reached Lahore: p. 65.
5 *Ib.*, p. 176.
6 *Ib.*, pp. 59, 175-6 and 178.
7 *Ib.*, p. 59. Mullá Sháh was a great mystic. Born in 1524, he died in 1661 at Lahore and was buried there in a shrine of red stone erected by the princess Fátima, sister of Dárá Shíkoh. The orthodox taxed him with imitating Mansúr Halláj and he was sentenced to death by Sháh Jahán, but saved by Dárá Shíkoh’s intercession. His disciples included Mír Bégí and Akhúnd Mullá Sháh Muhammad Syud (? Bégí). Míán Mír taught him Súfí exercises according to the Qádirí rule: Field, op. cit., pp. 194-199.
8 *Ib.*, pp. 60 and 173-9.
9 *Ib.*, p. 63. Abúl Ma’álí (Sháh Kháir-ud-Dín) was a sain in the reigns of Akbar and Jhángír who built a great part of his tomb in his lifetime. On his death in 1618 A.D. it was completed by his son. A large fair is held there on his *urs*: p. 208.
Some saints at Lahore.

Abdul Ghani, whose maqbara was built by Dāra Shikoh, and Abdul Haq who cursed the kiln of Buddh because he was refused its warmth on a rainy day. Another disciple was Mīr Inayatulla, surnamed by his pīr Miskīn Shāh on account of his secluded life. When asked how his disciple supported life his pīr replied that he was miskīn qanīr, a poor man supported by God’s amar or will, and so in no need of help. Dāra Shikoh also built his shrine.

Maulavi Muhammad Ismaīl, generally known as Mīr Wadda, has a spacious tomb Lahore at where he built a madrasa in Akbar’s reign. Born in 1586 he became a disciple of Makhdūm Abdul Karīm of Langar Makhdūm on the Chenab and died in 1633. He desired that no dome should be erected over his grave, but the present sajjāda-nākōn has built a grave in which he sits daily, reading the Qurān. His disciple was Jān Muhammad, the first imām of the mosque built in 1649, the year in which Shāh Jahān sent Aurangzeb to recover Kandahār.

Maulavi Nizām Din, whose tomb is at Lahore, is known as Pīr Mohka, meaning one who cures warts. Sufferers are said to be cured by making a vow to this saint to offer a bawn and a garland. He died in 1705 A.D. and his maqbara or mausoleum is a fine one.

Addul Razzāk Makāi of Sabzvar settled in Lahore in Humāyūn’s time and when he died was buried in the closet in which he used to pray. His tomb long remained without a dome, and a lion was believed to sweep it out every Thursday with its tail until the guardian of the shrine saw in a vision Mauj Darya Bakhāri who bade him construct a large dome over the saint’s remains.

Mádho Lál Hussain is the name of a famous pair of tombs at Lahore. The actual tombs are in an underground chamber, signs of them being reproduced on a lofty platform. Mádho was a Brahman boy of whom Lál Hussain became enamoured; and who became a Moslem under the name of Shaikh Mádho. Lál Hussain was a historical saint who lived in Akbar’s reign and is mentioned by Dāra Shikoh and other writers. Two great fairs, the Basant and Chiraghán, are held annually at this shrine. The former was celebrated with great display under Ranjīt Singh.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 144.
2 Ib., pp. 151, 187.
3 He died in 1647 A.D.
4 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 156, 212 and 166.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 164.
6 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 145, 192-3. Shaikh Mádho is a name which could not possibly be borne by a Muhammadan, not even by a convert. The clue to the meaning of the cult is probably to be found in works like the Baharva or Haqiqat-ul-Fuqra.
Ghore Sháh whose real name was Bahá-ud-Dín, a Bukhári Sayyid, a grandson of Sa’id Usmán of Uch, was affected with palsy and so was known as the Jhúlan Sháh or ‘Sháh who shakes like a swing’. He was credited with having been born a wáli and before the age of 5 displayed such horsemanship that he is called Ghore Sháh, and any disciple who presented him with a horse got what he desired. Even the present of a toy horse had the same effect. But his display of saintly power at such an early age brought down upon him his father’s curse and under it he died at the age of 5 in 1694. A fair is held at his tomb to which toy horses in thousands are presented.1

Pír Zaki, who gives his name to the Yakki Gate of Lahore, was a warrior of the same type. According to the Tuhfát-ul-Wásilín he was killed fighting against the infidel Mughals, and his head is buried in the gateway, while his body rests at a spot close by where it fell.2

At Ambála town is the shrine of one Lakkhe Sháh Darvesh. One legend is that he lost his head in a great war in Multán, but fought his way to Ambála. A well then stood at the site of his shrine and from the women who were drawing water from it he begged a draught, but they ran away and so he fell down there and died, but not before he had uttered the curse: Ambála sháhr díthá, anádár khárá, báhír mishá, ‘Ambála town have I seen, sweet without and bitter within’. So to this day that well has been dry and any well sunk within the town always yields brackish water.3 Another legend is that after the English had taken possession of Ambála, the magistrate, Mr. Murray, wished to make a road from the town in the fort (since dismantled), and destroyed the Sháh’s tomb. A man in black came by night and overturned the magistrate’s bed but he was not dismayed. Next night however he threw him off his bed and this frightened him so that he sat outside his house all night. After that he changed the line of the road and rebuilt the tomb with its four gateways.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 153.
2 Ib., pp. 86 and 230.
The shrine of Imam Badr-ud-Din—Sayyid Badr-ud-Din is said to have suffered martyrdom in one of the first Muhammadan inroads. The story goes that Râjâ Anang Pâl of Pânipat resolved to build a castle. He consulted all the Brahman astrologers and told them to fix the most auspicious moment for laying its foundation. They advised him to get hold of a Muhammadan and secure its good fortune by laying its foundations on his head. As a Muhammadan was a rarity in those days in Hindustân the Râjâ disregarded their advice, but soon after two Muhammadans by chance fell into his hands and he caused one, a Sayyid, to be killed under the northern wall of the fort; the rest of his body being similarly placed under other parts of it. Accordingly there are two shrines, that of the head on the summit of the fort and the other of the body below it. The Râjâ reaped the fruit of his inhuman conduct, for having sacrificed the Sayyid he escorted his wife or sister with all care to the frontier. There she related the episode and Badr-ud-Din and Akbar Ali with other Sayyids girt up their loins to wage war and by spiritual insight obtained the Prophet’s sanction. Sayyid Badr-ud-Din with his relations and friends, numbering not more than 300 in all, gathered all the information they needed from the lady and set out disguised as dealers in Arab horses. On arrival at Pânipat they took up their abode near the Râjâ’s palace. When apprised of this arrival the Râjâ inquired their purpose in visiting his capital and bade them leave it at once. After much negotiation fighting ensued and the sons of Háshim displayed such valour that despite the limited force at their disposal the Musalmáns killed many of their opponents. Whenever a Sayyid fell in the action, drinking the cup of martyrdom, his place was mysteriously taken by one of the enemy: while from the souls of the dead there sprang a number of Sayyids, with heads and hands cut off, who were seen to slay many who possessed heads and hands. Seeing such miracles many of the Hindus embraced Islam and fought against their countrymen; and one Baram Jit, a Hindu commander, thus became a Muhammadan and was killed fighting against his former co-religionists. The tombs of these converts are still to be seen in the open ground near that of Sayyid Badr-ud-Din, the martyr. None of his offspring survived him. The date of the Sayyid’s tomb is not known, but the present dome was built some 50 years ago by Khwaja Muhammad Khan Baraich.

The shrine of Khizar Khan and Shâdi Khan.—The author of the Zubdat-ul-Târikh says that Khizar Khan and Shâdi Khan were two brothers, akin to Ala-ud-Din Khilji, and men of great influence. According to the Sharf-ul-Mandaqib the Sultân stood much in awe of the greatness of Hazrat Sharaf-ud-Din, and frequently consulted him in difficulties relating to his empire, seeking his help and guidance. One day the Hazrat asked the Sultân to build his tomb, telling him that his death was at hand and that there should be no delay in its construction. The Sultân lost no time in obeying his orders and appointed his son to supervise the work. The tomb was built in 717 H.

The shrine of saint Shâh Sharaf-ud-Din.—This saint, before the arrival of Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, used to live in Pânipat. But after the
Khwaja's arrival he left it and went to settle in the village of Budha Katra. Here he spent most of his time, but often visited the town as it was his birth-place and the place where his parents were buried. He was greatly attached to Mubarak Khan and Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din. The former died in 715 H. and his tomb was built in Paniapat. Knowing that death was near the saint asked Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji to build his tomb near that of his follower Mubarak Khan. He died on Ramzan 29th in 724 H. in Budha Khera. The residents of Karnal and Paniapat spent the day in deep regret, and next day his remains were brought to Karnal. But one of his followers named Maulana Siraj-ud-Din had been told in a vision that his body should be interred in the grave which had been built for him, and as the saint had also told him that he had been released from bodily imprisonment, the Maulana set out next morning with the saint's nephew and others for Karnal to fetch the body which was brought to Paniapat and interred there. He was a great teacher and reputed to possess power to work miracles. He adopted the creed of the Sufis, because according to their belief the souls of prophets and saints obtain eternal bliss on leaving the material body. It is said that in his lifetime one Malik Ali, Ansari, of Herat, became his follower, and that Amar Singh, a Rajput, whose descendants are still found in Paniapat, also embraced Islam. The so-called tomb of Shâh Sharaf-ud-Din at Karnal should probably be regarded as a mausoleum or nominal shrine.

The shrine of Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din.—This Shaikh, one of the chief saints in Paniapat, traced his descent from Khwaja Abdul Rahmân Usmani who flourished in the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi. Noted for his generosity he had been brought up by Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, Turk, and like his father he used to distribute food daily to 1,000 persons. He often besought Shâh Sharf-ud-Din for the gift of saintship, but was assured by him that it could only be had from Khwaja Shams-ud-Din. Eventually the latter appeared in Paniapat and bestowed it on him. At the same time the Khwaja directed him to marry. From the union he had five sons and two daughters whose descendants, still found in Paniapat, are generally known as the Makhdams. Dying in 800 H. at the age of 170 his tomb was built in 903 H. by Muhammad Lutaf Allâh Khân in the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi, But the Saïr-ul-Iqabas places his death in 765 H.

The shrine of Sharaf-ud-Din Bu Ali Qalandar,—Sharf-ud-Din, son of Salâr Fakhr-ud-Din, was a descendent of Imam Azam Abu Hanifa of Kûfa who claim descent from Nausherwan. Born at Paniapat, in the early years he became well versed in all kinds of religious knowledge, and according to the tradition in the Iqabas-ul-Anwar, he taught the people in the great minâr in the Quwat-ul-Islâm mosque at Delhi for 30 years. Eventually he attained absorption in divine meditation, and so spent the rest of his life. Although his system resembled that of Shahâb-ud-Din, the lover of God, yet he received the spiritual power entitling him to rank as a saint from Ali Murtaza 1 without undergoing the required training and ranked foremost among the saints. His fame spread far and wide. His sayings recorded by the mutâdis of Delhi in the

1 Whence his title of Bu Ali or 'the spirit of Ali'. He is said to have taught the tarîqa-i-mujâhidat or duty of defending religion.
book called the *Takmil-ul-Imám* are still current. Born in 604 H. he died in 724 and the latter is the probable year of the erection of his tomb.

**The shrine of Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín of Iráq, father of Sháh Sharaf.—**

According to Muhammad Bin Ahmad a descendant of Nizám Iráqi and author of the *Surf-ul-Munáqib*, Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín and Bbí Háfíz Jamál, the parents of Sharaf-ud-Dín, came to Pánípat in search of Nizám-ud-Dín their eldest son who had come to India for trade, but the beauty of the place induced them to settle in it. Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín had two sons and three daughters. One son Nizám-ud-Dín was born in Iráq, the other Sharaf-ud-Dín in Pánípat. The tombs of Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín, Nizám-ud-Dín his son, Bbí Háfíz Jamál, his mother and of two of the daughters are all under one dome, but the date of their erection is not known.

**The shrine of Sayyid Mahmúd.—**This Sayyid was one of the ancient martyrs—a fact attested by Hazrat Sharaf-ud-Dín and Khwájá Shams-ud-Dín. It is said that the Prophet in a vision directed Jalál-ud-dín to visit the tomb of the Sayyid daily and offer prayers.

**The shrine of Sayyid Khák Shams-ud-Dín, Turk.—**This Sayyid, a native of Turkistán, had a son Sayyid Ahmad, to whom the present family traces its descent. The *Sair-ul-Khitáb* says that one of the family held the rank of a Panjázári under Sháh Jahán, but tired of worldly pleasures he chose the life of a devotee, and still in need of a spiritual guide he left home in search of one and travelled afar. When he arrived in India he chanced on Makhdúm Ala-ud-Dín Ali Ahmad, the Patient, a successor of the saint Ganjeshkar of Kûlur. He became his follower and attained saintship. On his death-bed his guide thus addressed him:—"Shams-ud-Dín, my death is at hand, when I am buried, stay a while at my tomb and then go to Pánípat to give guidance to its people. The gift of saintship was handed down to me by Jalál-ud-Dín and the same I now give you." The disciple gladly undertook the duty of cleaning the tomb daily, but this offer the dying saint declined, so when he was dead Shams-ud-Dín, after spending three days at the tomb, set out for Pánípat. On his arrival there, he sat at the foot of a wall. His fame spread through the town and reached the ears of Jalál-ud-Dín, who had also been directed in a vision, by Makhdúm Ali, to do him homage in return for spiritual blessings. So Jalál-ud-Dín served him faithfully for some time, and on his death in 716 H. succeeded him.\(^1\)

A story of Khwájá Shams-ud-Dín, given in the *Sair-ul-Khitáb*, is that, after acquiring spiritual perfection, he, with his teacher's permission, entered the service of Sultán Ghíás-ud-Dín Balbán, but kept his spiritual perfection a secret. By chance, however, his holy spirit manifested itself in a miraculous and supernatural way, and the Sultán who had

\(^1\) Or Kalír.

\(^2\) The Jalál-ud-Dín Pánípatí already mentioned. Another account says that Shams-ud-Dín reached Pánípat in the guise of a *galandra* or 'keeper of bears'; and that Jalál-ud-Dín handed on to him the *númat altini* or 'inward delights' delivered to him by Ala-ud-Dín in trust for Shams-ud-Dín. He was learned in both sciences, *naqí* and *azíl*.

\(^3\) This is the date given in the *Sair-ul-Ightíbás*. 
made vain efforts to conquer a fortress, came to know of it, and said that it was a pity that he had not been benefited by the saint's powers. At first the saint tried to conceal his spirituality, but he gradually yielded to the king's importunity and offered up prayer for his success and the fortress fell.

The shrine of Imám Qásim.—Sayyids Abul Qásim and Abul Isháq, it is said, were members of Sayyid Badr-ud-Dín's party and leaders of his vanguard. They suffered martyrdom and when Sayyid Badr-ud-Dín reached Pánípat and learnt of their deaths he was greatly enraged and began to fight. The descendants of Sayyid Abul Qásim say that formerly he was interred near Badr-ud-Dín's tomb and so the place came to be called Shahídpara or habitation of martyrs. Descendants of these martyrs, called 'the Children of Mír Abdur Rahmán', are still found in Pánípat. The present dome of Imám Qásim was built 80 years ago by Khwája Aín-ud-Dín, an Ansári maulavi. The founder of the old shrine is not known. After these Sayyids had fallen Mahmúd of Ghaznaví reached India, and according to the author of the Mírat-ul-Asár, that Sultán having conquered the country up to Kanaúj returned home in 407 H. In 410 H. he again plundered it as far as Somnáth. From that year the propagation of Islám in India began and many Muhammadans settled in different places. One of them, Khwája Abdur Rahmán, in many ways the precursor of Shaikh Jalál-ud-Dín, settled in Pánípat and for a time ruled it absolutely, levying tribute and acquiring wealth. After this great numbers of Muhammadans continued to visit Indian cities, and the Rájápsás, who in reality were the chiefs of India, after many struggles were entirely put to the sword by the royal forces, so much so that none of them escaped but a pregnant woman, and she after undergoing various hardships succeeded in reaching the house of her parents. She gave birth to a son, and his descendants increased in the village of her parents. One known as Amar Singh was one of them. The shrine has been in existence for 900 years.

Champions as saints.

Mírán Sáhib is worshipped in the Nardak. With his sister's son Sayyid Kabír he has a joint shrine at Sonepat. Another shrine at a spot midway between Bhátinda and Hájí Ratan in Patiála is known as the shrine of Mámá-Bhánja or the 'Uncle and his Sister's Son'. The latter pair are described as leaders of Shahab-ud-Dín Ghori's army who were killed in the capture of Bhátinda.1 But the story in the Nardak differs. According to it a Brahman appealed to Mírán Sáhib for help against Rájá Thán of Habri. The fight extended over the whole country to Delhi and the so-called Sayyid shrines are the graves of the Móslims who fell. Mírán Sáhib had his head struck off in the battle but he went on fighting until a woman exclaimed: 'Who is this fighting without his head?' Then he fell down and died, but not before he had cursed all Tharu's villages which

1 Phulkírán States Gazetteer, 1906 (Patiála), p. 81. The names of the pair are not given. Sayyid Mírán Sáhib has a tomb at Bhátinda. In the Káhirwálá talubí of Múltán, Mámán Shor has a shrine at the large mound outside Tulaubá, This saint was martyred with Dáta Gánj Bákshá at Lahore, but rode back without his head to the place where he is now buried: Múltán Gazetteer, p. 122.
Champions as saints.

were turned upside down, all their inhabitants save the Brahman’s daughter being killed. Mirán Sáhib was buried at Habri. Who this Mirán Sáhib was is not very clear.

To get rid of karwā, a fly which injures báfra in bloom, take your sister’s son on your shoulder and feed him with rice-milk while he says: ‘The sister’s son has got on to his uncle’s shoulder: go, karwā, to another’s field’,—just as he has climbed on to a stranger’s shoulder.

Sirkap Sháh or the headless saint has a tomb at Ladwa in Ambála. Long ago by prayer and fasting this faqir obtained the power of granting sons to the barren, and many women visited him, but his refusal to allow more than one woman at a time into his hut caused scandal so the people tried to poison him, but he frustrated their attempts and bade the women visit him no more. But they disobeyed him and in revenge their men-folk attacked the saint and beheaded him His headless trunk however slew them all within four hours, leaving so many widows that the place was called Randwa Shahr or the ‘widows’ town’ in consequence.

A nangasa is a deceased saint whose tomb is supposed to be 9 feet or as many yards long and whose remains are believed to be of proportionate length. They perform miracles, grant sons, and so on. At Guptsar (in Sirsa apparently) where Gurú Govind Singh is said to have encamped, he found a faqir who had built himself a masonry tomb 9 yards long, leaving on one side of it an opening large enough for him to be put in when he died. Cunningham says that every such tomb is described as that of a Gházi and Shahid, ‘champion and martyr’, who fell fighting for the faith and that their length varies from 10 to upwards of 50 feet. But he also records that the two tombs ascribed to the Prophets Seth and Job (Sis and Ayub) at Ajudhia and to Lamech in Lamyán are the extreme limits of their occurrence, so they are dedicated to prophets also. At Multán there are 15 of them, including that of Pir Gor Sultán near which lies a munka or gigantic stone ring, said to have been worn by the saint as a necklet or thumb-ring. At Harappa near the tomb of Núr Sháh nangasa there were three undulated stone-rings called the nál, munka and nag (gem) of the giant. This tomb seems to have grown from 18 feet to 46 in length since Burns saw it.

The nangasa shrines are common all over the Punjab and a Buddhist origin has been suggested for them.

1 Sirsa Sett. Rep., p. 256.
2 Selections C.R., VIII, p. 274.
3 Sir dú Sír Atar Singh, Sákhsí, p. 77, quoted in P. N. Q., I., § 453. The faqir is said to have been of the Wahmi order, an order not mentioned elsewhere apparently. The term wáhmiyat signifies the faculty by means of which one grasps the qualities of objects, and forms one’s opinions (wáhm). Wahm seems to connote acquaintance in a proposition, but the ascertainment is not ordinarily free from doubt (Síns’s Ibn Khaldún, I, p. 199). Hence it also denotes illusion (ib., III, p. 97). Hence the wahmi would seem to be a philosophic doubter.

The tomb of a Nangaza Sahib, whose real name was Hazrat Imam Ja'far Sadiq, one of the companions of the Prophet, is found at Ferozepur. It is said that once when the Prophet fought with the infidels the Nangaza Sahib had his head cut off in the fight, but the rest of his body remained fighting and by his miraculous power reached this place where it stopped as soon as a party of women saw it. No fair is held but offerings are made every Thursday. Temple records another nameless Nangaza at Battala in Amritsar (? Gurdaspur) regarding which the stock legend of a man stealing the saint's bed and being overturned when he slept on it is told. The nebulous character of the saint and his identification with the Imam Ja'far suggests some connection with the concealed Imam, but the origin of the term is as obscure as that of the shrines themselves.

Shah Rahma is the whirlwind saint in Shahpur, where once, when his shrine was neglected, he cursed the district that whirlwinds should blow for nine days in succession. This ruined the wheat harvest and so now his fair is regularly attended.

Jamme Shah is a giant who is confined in a well at Kastewal in Amritsar. He is only allowed to leave it on one night, on 13th Jeth, in the year, and on his return all the lamps in the village are extinguished. The rattling of his chains is heard and an evil smell pervades the place on this occasion.

Khajuria Pir had an old tomb in the Paget Park, Ambala Cantonment. Growing out of it is a date-palm—whence his name. His dealings with English Officers are described in Folklore Record, V., p. 158. He visits Allah Bakhsh, a saint who occupies a room in the Cantonment Magistrate's cutcherry at Ambala, where he is regularly worshipped by suitors and accused persons. He had in life a favourite station under a bakera tree near the race-course and still visits it torch in hand at night. Palsy is attributed to him and to cure it a white cock in full plumage and a plateful of sugar and cardamoms should be offered to him.

The khangah of Miyan Mohkam-ud-Din, a Rajput of Ambala, was built at Jagran in 1915 S. and the annual fair is held on 14th Phagan. It now lasts for 3 days and nights, and many lamps are lit round it at night during that period. The Miyan had a disciple in Bhai Basant Singh whose samadhi at Kakra in Moga tahsil is the scene of a fair on Sawan 1st as well as of a fair every Thursday. It is in charge of a darvesh named Hira Singh, who is celibate. At Jagran too succession goes by spiritual descent.

At Jangpur in Jagran is held a fair in honour of Miyan Bure Shah on the night between Asauj and Kartik. This khangah was founded

1 J. R. A. S., XIII, N. S., p. 188.
4 ib., § 12.
5 S. C. R., VIII, p. 278.
6 P. N. Q., II, § 1086.
in 1841 S., the year of the Mián’s death. He was a saint of such high character and of spiritual powers that people irrespective of caste or creed loved him and held him in high esteem, and on the anniversary of his demise gathered to worship his tomb, and pray for fulfilment of their wishes. He was a native of Uch and belonged to the Hussein-shâhi sect, to which its incumbents still belong. By degrees this fair grew so popular that now about 10,000 people assemble at the khângâh by night. Some also bring cattle with them and having remained there for a night go away. Lamps also are lighted on all sides of the tomb, as well as inside it. It contains another tomb besides the saint’s, that of Bibi Khusrâlo, a Brahman girl, who was disciple of the Mián and who died 40 years after him.

The story about the shrines of Wilâyat Shâh and Hásham Shâh of Ghairatpur Bâs in the Meo country in Gurgon is that two faqîrs so named died in that village and so their shrines were built there. There is no wrs or annual celebration at Hásham Shâh’s tomb, but at Wilâyat Shâh’s his disciple Cha’îjân Shâh collects about 20 faqîrs each year on 11th Zikâd and feasts them. Wilâyat Shâh died in 1825.1

Another ‘Shâh Wilâyat’ has is tomb at Palwal.2 His name was Sayyid Baha-ud-Dîn and a khatîfa of Ali Ahmad Sâbiri of Gangoh.

The fair called Nishân is held every Wednesday in the middle of Mâgh. The visitors are mostly Meos. When Sâlár Ma’sûd Ghâzî conquered this part 400 or 500 years ago he made many converts to Islam and they are called Meos. His standard or nishán is set up every year and the fair held around it, but no temple or other building exists. Three hereditary faqîrs manage the fair and they sing songs in honour of Sâlár when the flag is put up. It is carried from village to village while songs are sung and offerings of grain collected. Rice and ohîra are cooked and distributed as darûd.

Shah Badr Díván, whose mausoleum is at Masânîán in Batálâ tahsîl, Gurdaspur, has a chîllâ at Lahore. At Masânîán his khângâh is called ‘Husaini’ or ‘Gîlání’. Its annual festival is held on 12th Rabî-ul-Awal and the monthly fêtê or naw-chandî on a Thursday at the appearance of the new moon. Shâh Badr-ud-Dîn was born in Baghdád in 861 H. He left his home in 904 H. and came to Masânîán where he died in 978 H. and this khângâh was built. It contains the tombs of Bibi Murassa, his wife, Sayyid Ali Sâbar, his eldest son, and Shâh Abdul Shakûr, Sayyids Ahmad Shâh and Khvâja Jân, his grandsons. The tombs bear some modern inscriptions.3

At Kástîwâl, a fair is held annually on the pûranmâshi or full moon of Jêth for 4 or 5 days. The shrine, which is named after the village in

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1 These two shrines may be those of twin gods. The latter’s ministers once allowed his shrine to fall into dispair, whereupon he afflicted them with sickness until they restored it. Wilâyat Shâh protects travellers and once when a village’s cart wheel gave way he vowed 5 bulls of gur to his saint if he got his cart to his village. His cart duly reached the village boundary, but got no further: Gurgon Gasteier, 1910, pp. 8 and 9.

2 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, p. 1. Palwal also boasts a Sayyid Chiragh and the tombs of Fâtâtân and Umar Shahids, as well as that of the well-known martyr Ghâzî Shihâb-ud-Dîn, concerning whom the usual story is told that after his head was cut off, he rode his horse to the spot where his grave now lies.

3 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 189.
which it stands, owes its origin to one Bābā Godar Shāh who is said to have come from Sīrā. A disciple of Allāh Dād Khān, he built him a hut to live in, but a body of demons living in the forest threatened to burn him alive in it, if he did not leave it. The Bābā however blew some verses of charm on to water which he sprinkled on the demons, and so caused them to stand on one place like statues. Next morning the Bābā found them all unable to move, and when they saw him they implored him to set them free. He threw some water on them, and revived them. They then left the place, but one of them Jūme Shāh begged to be made his disciple. He soon acquired miraculous powers. Once he placed a big beam on the shrine which 20 persons could not lift. When on the point of death Jūme Shāh asked the Bābā’s leave to go to his fellow demons and live with them, but he asked the Bābā to grant him a room in the shrine and the latter gave him one in a burj or dome, which is still called after him. At that time the forest was uncultivated and the village of Kāstīwāl stood on a mound, but the Bābā built a wall round the shrine and also a mosque with ten ḥufrās or chambers.

The fair is held on the anniversary of the Bābā’s death, prayers being offered for the benefit of his soul.

Founded in 1062 H. or 3 years before his decease its present manager is a Jāt whose duties are to meditate on the name of God, to feed needy travellers, and look after the khāngāh. The holder of this office is celibate, and succession is governed by spiritual relationship, the disciples being always selected for the gaūdī.

At the Jogīān wāla well near the khāngāh Bhumār Nāth Jogī used to live. Once an old woman was about to offer milk to the Jogī, but when near the khāngāh, the Bābā bade her offer it to the shrine. She did so and next morning found that her cow yielded much more milk than before. This miracle impressed the people of the neighbourhood, and the Jogī in jealousy at the Bābā’s fame summoned him through one of his disciples. The disciple told the Bābā that the Jogī, his Gūrī, wanted him, but he bade him sit by him for a moment and then he would accompany him. Before long the Jogī despatched another disciple with the same request, and the same thing happened. At last the Jogī himself came and challenged the Bābā. The latter asked him to show him a miracle. On this, the Jogī put off his sandals and flew towards the sky. The Bābā then ordered his sandals to chase the Jogī and bring him back to him. The Jogī was accordingly pursued by the sandals, which overtook him and brought him back to the Bābā. The Jogī thus defeated implored the Bābā to give him shelter. The latter sent him to the village of Jhakhār in Pathānkot. The Jogī on his departure asked the Bābā whether he could do him any service. The latter replied that as he was going to a place where wood and bamboo were abundant, he might send him a wooden plate (prāt) and a bamboo basket. The custom of supplying these articles is in use ever since.

The khāngāh of Bhīkha Shāh in Kāngra is the scene of a large fair, which lasts from 5th to 7th Jeṭh every year. The story goes that Bhīkha Shāh was a Brahman who lived in Jaisingpur, and became a disciple of Masat Ali. He miraculously restored a corpse to life.
Shrines in Kangra.

Thereby he incurred the displeasure of his gurú who ran after him to chastise him, but the chela disappeared underground and took up his abode at the place where the shrine now stands. The fair was first celebrated in 1907. S.

At the khánqáh of Pír Salohi at Kaluah in Núpur tahsíl annual fairs are held on Mágh 7th, on both Thursdays in the second half of Jeth; and on the first two in Háí. The story is that Pír Salohi asked some shepherds here for water to wash his hands and face before he offered his prayers. The shepherds said that none was to be had near by, whereupon the saint struck the ground with his khúndi (an iron rod) and a spring gushed out. Then the saint went to the house of Jaimal, a samíndár, and asked if he was at home. His mother gave the saint a cup of milk, and he then returned to the place whence he had started. Here he disappeared underground. During the night it was revealed to Sháh Fákír in a vision that a lamp should be kept burning on the spot where the saint had said his prayers. The shrine was founded in 1794 S., a date verified from its records. Three sacred lamps are always kept burning at the shrine, a number increased to 7 on Thursdays. Sacred fire is also kept alight. Both Hindus and Muhammadans pay their devotions and no distinction is made in their offerings.

In the Attok Hills Gházi-Wálspuri is the popular name for a huge boulder at Hájí Sháh, which is covered with irregular cup-marks. No tradition regarding it seems to exist.1

A shrine of which little is known is that of the Pír Abd-ur-Rahím, Abd-ur-Karím or Abd-ur-Razák, at Thánesar, where it forms ‘one of the most striking of picturesque monuments in North India’,2 with its pear-shaped dome and flowered lattice of white marble. Ascribed to the time of Dárá Shikoh, all that is recorded of the Pír is that he wrote a book called ‘Lives of the Waits’, and is known as Shaikh Tíllí or Chilli. In the Punjab Shaikh Chilli seems to have no great vogue, but a Shaikh Chilli holds in the United Provinces the same position as Nasr-ud-Dín, ‘the Khoja of Aqshahir’, does in Turkey. ‘His character is a curious blend of cunning and naiveté, of buffoonery and shrewdness’.3

Chirágh Sháh, Chirágh Chaud Sháh or Sháh Chirágh has a tomb at Ráwalpindi which is famous throughout the Sindh Ságar Doáb. He was a Sayyid, born in 1360 A. D.

The death of Sher Sháh Sur is attributed in folk-tales to a headless man. Dharm Dat, a Bánía, had two fair daughters whom the emperor demanded and on the Bánia’s refusal he was ‘beheaded, but his headless trunk seized the sword and slew the emperor as he had threatened to do before he was executed.4

1 P., N., Q., II, § 1023. Regular cup-marks occur at another place, half a mile from Hájí Sháh, with out-line engravings of deer-hunting. Close by is an ancient Buddhist well—with an inscription. Cup-marks also occur at Kof Bithaur in these hills: ib., III, §§ 56-7 and 180.

2 Cunningham, A. S. R., II, p. 223. The Imperial Gazetteer does not mention this tomb.


4 S. C. R., VIII, p. 275. Sher Sháh was killed at the siege of Kálining in 1546.
Invisible saints.

Ghâbi Pir or the hidden saint has a square shrine on the top of the Bahrâmpur hill in Rohtak. It is in the form of a tomb but with no cenotaph and is open to all four winds. The tale told of it recalls that of Pîrân Bhagat and other legends. When a wayfarer passed by the faqîr with a load of sugar and was asked what he had, he said 'salt.' 'Salt be it', said the faqîr, and salt it was; but he repented and it became sugar again, so in gratitude he built the shrine. But no one knows the saint's name or where he lies. Popular rationalism says the sinner mistook the faqîr for a customs line officer. Crowds visit the shrine on Sundays. A Pir Ghâib has a small shrine at Halalwaja in the Shujâbâd tahâsil, Multan.¹

An invisible tomb is found in Bahâwalpur tahâsil. There the 7 tombs of Ali Ashâb include one which is not seen. The other 6 are ascribed to Ali Ashâb, Gul Ahmad, Pîr Zakaria, Mubârik and Tangre Sâhib, all companions of the Prophet who fell in battle. Five of the tombs are 9 yards long, and apparently nangâsas, the sixth being only 3 yards in length. They are frequented by people sick of fever or headache, by those desirous of a wife or offspring, or in distress. Even thieves make vows at them in order to escape punishment. Seven fairs are held on Fridays in Jeth and Hajj, and Hindus who are in debt or childless offer the flour and goat sacrifice. A Hindu making an offering must fast, as must his wife also. He must then cook a kid's liver, and get the mujâwar to recite a khâtam over it and give a piece of it to the wife to break her fast. Cattle are also taken to the shrine to cure farcy etc. The mujâwars are Ansâris or Thalims and their offices are here- ditary.²

Barât Shâb, a saint of Kasûr, has a shrine there and near it is a pond in which children are bathed to cure them of boils (pântwâte).³

Shâh Abdul Azîz of Delhi was a noted interpreter of dreams and he once advised a disciple to go to Tonk. He entered the Nawâb's service and under his directions the Nawâb sided with the British.⁴

Mîán Ahmad Khân, a darvesh, has a shrine at Kasûr in which the attendants place white pebbles. These stones are known as Ahmad Khân's lions and are bought by his devotees to tie round the necks of children whose sleep is troubled.⁵

Mîán Mîthu, a saint extensively worshipped in the western part of Gurdâspur, has a shrine at the village which bears his name. He was a Nawâb at the imperial court and was sent to suppress a revolt, but on the march his favourite horse died and he was so impressed by the sorrow which death could cause that he threw up his command, turned faqîr and withdrew from the world. Once a Hindu faqîr appropriated the milk which the villagers used to supply to him, justifying the act on the ground of his own superior sanctity. The

¹ Multán Gazetteer, p. 128.
² Bâhâwalpur Gazetteer, p. 169.
³ P. N. Q., III, § 181.
⁴ N. I. N. Q. L, § 980.
⁵ P. N. Q., III, § 876.
Various minor saints.

Mián challenged him to a practical test of their spiritual powers. The Hindu flew up into the air, but the Mián brought him down with a shot-gun and was voted the holier man. The Hindu turned Muhammadan and became his disciple. The Mián is greatly reverenced, however, by Hindus and they make offerings to him. They also eschew the use of burnt brick because his shrine is built of them, and so strict is this prohibition that several large villages in the neighbourhood are entirely built of adobe bricks. ¹

Sayyid Mithha may be connected with the foregoing. His name was Muín-ud-dīn and his father Sayyid Jamál-ud-dīn was a native of Khwárazm. The invasion of Changiz Khán drove him to take refuge with Jalál-ud-dīn of Ghazni and with him he fled to India when Ghazni also fell to the Tartars. The fame of his son surpassed his own and he made many disciples at Lahore where he died in 1262. His tomb is held in great respect. ²

Pír Ghaʃe Bhan is 'the saint of the broken pitchers'. His shrine at Kasúr is a platform where pitchers are broken in pursuance of vows to do so if desires are fulfilled. ³

Pír Chhthi is one of a group of pírs whose insignia are of the humblest. Chhthi is a pír whose cairns of bushwood are common in the Bár between Lahore and Multán, and if a traveller throw a stick upon one of them intimation is at once conveyed by the Pír to his home that he is safe. Pír Thigri is a similar saint. If a man's wishes are fulfilled he places branches of trees (gohá) and shreds of cotton at a certain place in accordance with his vow, and the place is called Pír Thigri. ⁴

Pír Tingri is also represented by shreds of cotton, but in his case they are tied to a tree, ⁵ and Pír Roʃe by one brickbat placed on another. They are both worshipped by thieves who offer them sweetmeats if successful. ⁶

Bába Wali Qandahári, who has 126 other names, is the saint of Hasan Abdál. One Hasan, a Gujar, owned a cattlepen on the site of the modern town and used to water his cattle in the Haroh river. The Bába arrived, performed a chhála and asked for water for his ablutions. Hasan went to the Haroh for it, but the saint in his impatience struck his tongs into the limestone and water gushed out. The Bába's shrine is on the hill-top, and the town derives the second part of its name from one of his titles, Sháh Wáli Abdál. As he is still, it is said, alive

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 877. The taba or pakka brick is also found among certain tribes, e. g. the Mián Miḥtah is quite distinct from Miūr Miḥtah as to whom see Vol. II, p 236. Mián Miḥtah is also a sobriquet for the parrot and to call oneself Mián Miḥtah (apne mán dp Mián Miḥtah bāṇed), means to sound one's own praises: ibíd., III, § 317, IV, § 472. It is also styled Ganga Rám.
² Hist. of Lahore, p. 229.
³ P. N. Q., III, § 769.
⁴ For a Thikār Náth see Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 441.
⁵ In Baháwálpur when a young tree is peculiarly vigorous it is dedicated to a pūr and even called after his name. Offerings are made to it and villagers often visit it in groups. By degrees the tree is anthropomorphised into the saint himself, the pūr most implicitly believed in by the villagers, and distinguished by a flag which is fastened to it.
⁶ P. N. Q., III, § 467.
he is also called Haiátu’l Mír. A modern accretion to the legend avers that Bábá Nának visited the place and sent two of his disciples to demand water from Bábá Wali. The latter retorted that if Nának were a saint he could procure water where the wished. He also sent a stone rolling down the hill after the disciples, but Bábá Nának stayed it with his outstretched hand and left its impress on the stone, from beneath which a spring of water has flowed ever since.¹

Among Muhammadans in Attock various methods of causing rain are in vogue. One consists in collecting grain from each house, boiling it and then taking it to the masjíd or khánaqáh when after prayers it is divided among those present, confectionery being added in Attock tahsíl. Another consists in simply collecting together, repairing the mosque and cleaning it, and praying there. Women join in these gatherings. In a third a boy’s face is blackened and a stick put into his hand. He then collects all the other children and they go round begging from house to house calling out:—

_Aulia! Maulia! Mính barsá,_
_Sádě košhí dáné pá,_
_Chřeše de mính páni pá._

‘aulia! Send rain,
Put grain in our house,
And water in the beaks of the birds!’

Whatever grain is collected is boiled and divided. Lastly there is the zári rite in which muulláhs and others go to the mosque, calling the táng seven times at each corner as well as in the village. Crowds of villagers assemble and pray, religious books are read and presents made to priests and shrines, a common offering being a ploughshare’s weight in grain.²

The Muhammadan rosaries are as various as those of other creeds and comprise the Sunnis’ _aqīq-_báhar of dark stone: the _káth kt tashbíh_ of variegated wooden beads: the _tashbíh_ of _kánch_ or variegated glass: the _sang-i-maqsúd_ of yellow stones: the _kahrubá_ of amber, used by maualis; and the _sulamání_ of various stones also used by them. The four last named are also used by all _faqírs_. Shi’as use the _khák-i-shifá_ or ‘dust of healing’, made of particoloured earth from Karbalá.³

¹ P. N. Q. II, § 980. Lalla Rukh lies buried at the town of Hassan Abdál.


³ I. N. Q., IV, § 146.
The Chūhās, or Rat-children of the Punjab, and Shāh Daula.

(c) The Chūhās.

The Chūhās or Rat-children are an institution in the Punjab. They are microcephalous beings, devoid of all power of speech, idiots, and unable to protect themselves from danger, of filthy habits, but entirely without sexual instincts. They are given names, but are usually known by the names of their attendants, whose voices they recognise and whose signs they understand. They have to be taught to eat and drink, but cannot be allowed to go about unguarded. Their natural instinct is to suck only, and, when they have been taught to eat and drink and can walk, they are made over to a faqir of the Shāh Daula sect, who wanders about begging with his ' Shāh Daula's Rats '.

The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shāh Daula Daryāī of Gujrat in the Punjab, and that, though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a Chūhā of the next child born to one who despises one of his protégés. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shāh Daula's shrine at Gujrat.

The common superstition as to the origin of the Chūhās is this: Shāh Daula, like other saints, could procure the birth of a child for a couple desiring one, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a Chūhā—brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shāh Daula's khāngāh, as an offering to him. After the saint's death the miracle continued, but in a modified form: Persons desiring children would go to the saint's shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases, when the child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was a Chūhā, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled.

The tomb and shrine of Shāh Daula lie on the eastern side of Gujrat town, about 100 yards from the Shāh Daula Gate. His descendants dwell near and round the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Garhi Shāh Daula. The shrine itself was built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by a 'saint' named Bhāwan Shāh, and was rebuilt on a raised plinth in 1867. In 1898 it was put into thorough repair by the followers of Shāh Daula.

The cult of Shāh Daula offers few unusual features. No lands are attached to the shrine and its pirs are wholly dependent on the alms and offerings of the faithful. Three annual fairs are held at the shrine, one at each 'Id and a third at the urs on the 10th of Muharram. A weekly fair used to be held on Fridays, attended by dancing girls; but this has fallen into abeyance. There are no regular rules of succession.

1 For medical opinion on the Chūhās, see an article in the Indian Medical Gazette, for May 1st, 1866, by E. J. Wilson Johnston, M. D., M. R. C. S. E. This article is reprinted in Punjab Notes and Queries, 1885, III, §§ 117-118; see also II, §§ 69 and 172.
to the shrine, and each member of the saint’s family has a share in it. Three of them, however, have a special influence and one of these three is generally known as the sijjáda-nashín, or successor of the saint. The general income of the sect is divided into three main shares, each of which is divided into minor shares—a division per stripes and per capita. The shareholders also each take in turn a week’s income of the shrine.

The principal murids, or devotees of the sect, are found in Jammu, Púnch and the Frontier Districts, and in Swát, Malákind and Káfiristán. Sháh Daula’s faqirs visit each murid annually and exact an offering (nazar), usually a rupee, in return for which they profess to impart spiritual and occult knowledge. Some of these faqirs are strongly suspected of being concerned in the traffic in women that exists between the Punjab and Púnch and Jammu, and it is from these districts that the Chúbás are chiefly recruited.

There is a notable off-shoot of the Sháh Daula faqirs in an order of faqirs, who properly own allegiance to the Akhúnd of Swát. A disciple of the Akhúnd, named Gházi Sultán Muhammad, a native of Awán, a village in Gujrát District on the Jammu border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Sháh Daula’s shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awán.

(ii) The Legend of Sháh Daula, by Major A. C. Elliott.

Sháh Daula was born in A. D. 1581 during the reign of Akbar. His father was Abdu’r Rahím Kháń Lodí, a descendant of Sultán Ibráhím Lodí, grandson of Bahol Sháh Lodí who died in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488). This would make him a Pathán by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gújars of Gújrát as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Níámat Khátnun, great-granddaughter of Sultán Sáráng Ghakhar.

In the reign of Sultán Salím, son of Sultán Sher Sháh (A. H. 952-960 or A. D. 1545-1553) a large force was sent to subdue Khawás Kháń,1 who had rebelled in support of Adil Kháń, Salím Sháh’s elder brother. Khawás Kháń met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Gakhars, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rohlás in the Jhelum District, in which Sultán Sáráng Ghakhar was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of Gházi Kháń, son of Sultán Sáráng, was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at the breast. This was Níámat Khátnun, who was taken with her brother to Delhi and in the first year of Akbar’s reign (A. H. 963 or A. D. 1556), shortly after Humáyún’s death, she was married to Abdu’r Rahím Lodí, then an officer of the imperial household. But Sháh Daula was not born of this marriage till the 25th year of Akbar’s reign (A. H. 989 or A. D. 1581) which was also the year of his father’s death.2

Where Sháh Daula was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathás, now represented by the Jhelum.

1 For a Legend of Kháń Khonds and Sher Sháh Chaughatta see Indian Antiquary 1909.
2 [This story reads like the familiar fictitious connection of local heroes in India with the great ones of the land.—Ed., Indian Antiquary.]
and Rawalpindi Districts. On her arrival, however, she found that, though she was the great-granddaughter of Sultán Sárang, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustán and that no one had any regard for herself or her fallen family. For five years she had to earn her living by grinding corn in the village of Sahála in the pargana of Phirhálat, whence she removed to Kaláb, where she died in A. H. 998 or A. D. 1590 after four more years of toil.

Sháh Daula, now left an orphan and friendless, determined to go a-begging. In the course of his wanderings he reached Sakhi Siálkot, where he met one Mahta Kíman, a slave of the Qánúngos of that place, and a rich and generous, but childless man. Moved by pity and favourably impressed by his looks, he adopted Sháh Daula and brought him up in luxury. Sháh Daula's intelligence attracted the notice of the Qánúngos, who gave him charge of their toshá-kháná or treasury, but so generous was Sháh Daula by nature that he could never turn a deaf ear to a beggar. The result was that not only all his own money, but also all the valuables, cash and furniture of the toshá-kháná disappeared! The Qánúngos refused to believe his story that he had given everything to mendicants and had him imprisoned and tortured.

In his extremity under torture Sháh Daula declared that he had buried the money and would dig it up again if released from prison. He was led to the toshá-kháná where he at once seized a dagger from a niche and plunged it into his belly. This act put the fear of the authorities into the Qánúngos, and they sent for a skillful physician, who bound up the wound, from which Sháh Daula recovered in three months.

The Qánúngos then set him free and he went to Sangrohi, a village near Siálkot, where he became a disciple of the saint, Sháh Saidán Sarmast. Sháh Daula now ingratiated himself with one Mangu or Mokhu, the saint's favourite disciple, and spent his time as a mendicant. The scraps he secured as the proceeds of his begging were placed before the saint, who ate all he wanted and passed the remainder on to Mangu. After Mangu was satisfied, the small portion that remained was given to Sháh Daula, whose hunger was rarely appeased. But such poor earnings in kind failed to satisfy the saint, who set Sháh Daula to work and earn money with which cooked food might be bought, as a substitute for the stale scraps received as alms.

At that time a new fort was being built at Siálkot out of bricks from the foundation of some old buildings, and Sháh Daula was sent to dig as an ordinary labourer at a taka or two pice a square yard of brickwork dug up. So hard was the material that most powerful men could not excavate more than two or three square yards in a day, but Sháh Daula worked with such amazing energy that he dug up seventy square yards on the first day and separated the bricks. The officials, recognising superhuman aid, offered him seventy takás, or full payment for his work, without demur, but he would only accept four.

With the four takás thus acquired, he bought a savoury dish of khechri, which he presented to the saint, before whom he was inclined to boast of his powers. But the saint showed him his own hands, all blistered with the invisible aid he had been rendering to Sháh Daula. As a mark of
favour, however, the saint gave him some of the *khichri*, which produced such excruciating pain in the second finger of his right-hand on his commencing to eat it that for days he could neither sleep nor rest, and at last asked the saint to relieve him. Mangu also interceded and at last the saint told Sháh Daula to go to the Butchers' Street and thrust his hand into the bowels of a freshly slaughtered cow. As soon as he had done this there was immediate relief and he fell into a deep sleep for twenty-four hours; but on awakening he found that the finger had dropped off! He returned, however, to the saint and thanked him for his kindness, whereon the saint said:—'Man, thus much of self-love hadst thou, but it has gone from thee now and love for others only remains. Be of good cheer. Thou art proven worthy of my favour, and of the knowledge of God.'

For twelve years Sháh Daula remained in the service of the saint, Sháh Saidán Sarmast, who was a *faqir* of the Suhrwardi sect. At the end of the twelfth year the saint saw that his own end was approaching and asked who was near him. The reply was, 'Daula', but the saint told him to go and fetch Molku, *i.e.* his favorite Mangu. But Mangu refused to come as it was night. Thrice Daula went and thrice Mangu refused. The saint then remained silent for a while, but towards morning he roused himself and said:—'God gives to whomsoever He will'. He then made over his *dalq* (*faqir's coat*) to Daula, and when the latter said that he knew Mangu would not let him keep it, the saint said:—'Let him keep it who can lift it'. And so he gave the *dalq* into Sháh Daula's keeping, gave him his blessing also, and died.

When the day broke it became known that the saint was dead and Moklu and all the other disciples took their parts in the funeral ceremonies. They then attempted to seize the holy *dalq*, which fell to the ground. Each in turn tried to lift it and then they tried all together, but it would not move until Daula grasped it with one hand, shook it and put it on, thus proving his right to the name and title, by which he has always been known, of Sháh Daula.

Making his way out of Siálok, and leaving the jealous disciples, he hid himself for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Sháh Saidán Sarmast he remained in the neighbourhood, growing yearly in reputation and power. He built many buildings, mosque, tanks, bridges and wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Aik. After this Sháh Daula moved to Gujrat and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions.

*Faqirs* believe that each city has its guardian saint, and Sháh Daula is looked on as the guardian of Gujrat. During his life he devoted himself to works of public utility and the construction of religious buildings. His principal works were the bridge in front of the eastern gate of the town of Gujrat over the Sháh Daula Nál, and the bridge over the Dik in the Gujranwála District. It is said that he never asked for money and that he paid his labourers promptly. He was also most successful in finding the sites of old ruins, whence he dug up all the materials he required for his buildings. He was liberal to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had a peculiar attraction for wild animals,
keeping a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His tolerance made him beloved of all classes and there were both Hindus and Musalmans among his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction towards him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him.

The emperor Akbar died whilst Sháh Daula was still at Siálkot, and it was in the seventh year of Jahángír that he went to Gújrat, in A. H. 1022 or A.D. 1612. No meeting between Sháh Daula and Akbar is recorded, but the following account is given of an encounter between him and the emperor Jahángír:—

Sháh Daula used to put helmets, with raúris sewn over them, on the heads of his favourite animals. One day a deer thus arrayed strayed near the place where the king, i.e. Jahángír, was hunting at Sháhdara near Lahore. The king saw the helmeted deer and enquired about it, and was told about Sháh Daula and his miracles. The deer was caught and two men were sent to fetch Sháh Daula who at that time was seated at his khánqáh. During the day he had remarked to his disciples:—What a strange thing has our deer, Darbakhta, done! It has appeared before His Majesty and caused men to be sent to call me before him. They will come to-day. Cook a delicious pilaf and all manner of food for them.' The astonished servants prepared the meal and towards evening the messengers arrived with His Majesty’s order.

Placing the order on his head, Sháh Daula wished to start at once, but the hungry messengers had emelt the supper and so they stayed the night at the khánqáh, and did not take the Sháh to Sháhdara till the next day. When he arrived, he called for ingredients and made a large cake which he wrapped in a handkerchief and offered to the king when summoned. The king was seated on his throne with Núr Jahán Begam near by, and they were both much struck by his holy appearance. The king asked Sháh Daula where he had found the philosopher’s stone, but he denied all knowledge of any such stone and said he lived on alms.

The king however saw in him a wealthy and influential person, capable of raising a revolt, and Núr Jahán suggested that he should be made away with. At the king’s order the imperial chamberlain produced a poisoned green robe, which Sháh Daula put on without receiving any harm. A robe smeared with a still more deadly poison was then put on him and again no injury resulted. Upon this the king ordered a cup of poisoned sharbat to be mixed, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of faqirs were seen everywhere. The king in his fear recognised the saintship of Sháh Daula and dismissed him with honour and two bags of ashráfis. Giving the king his blessing, Sháh Daula departed after distributing the ashráfis to the royal servants. Hearing of this the king summoned him again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 5000 bighás of land. Sháh Daula replied that he did not want any land, but would avail himself of the offer later on, if necessary. Upon this the king allowed him to depart after showing him much reverence.

The building of the bridge over the Dík came about in this way: During one of the journeys of the emperor Sháh Jahán into Kashmír, the
private belongings of Dāra Shikoh and Hari Begam and many pack animals were lost in the Dīk, which was in flood. The Faujdār of the District, Mirza Badi Usman, was accordingly ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party returned. The Faujdār set to work, but could get nothing but mud bricks and so he imprisoned all the brick-burners. The result was that when the emperor returned the bridge was not even commenced. On being severely reprimanded, the Faujdār remarked that only Shāh Daula could build the bridge. The emperor at once ordered him to fetch Shāh Daula. By a stratagem he was induced to enter a palaquin and was carried off, but he remarked:—"There is no need to force me to obey the emperor’s orders. I know them and will carry them out”.

Arrived at the Dīk, Shāh Daula procured the release of the brick-burners and set about building the bridge. A wicked gurū, who inhabited the spot, destroyed the work as fast as it was done, but after a controversy in which he was overcome the gurū was lured into a lime-pit and buried up to his neck in lime and mortar by Shāh Daula.

Shāh Daula met with many other obstacles. Among them was one raised by Būta, the land-owner of the neighbourhood, who made money out of the herd at that spot. Būta cut the dam in order to drown the faqirs encamped underneath it, but Shāh Daula cleverly frustrated him by making a second dam below it. A faqir was sent to report on Būta’s behaviour to Shāh Jahān, who ordered him to be sent to Lahore bound hand and foot, there to be beheaded and his head to be hung on a nim tree. But Shāh Daula interceded for him and obtained his release. Būta after this rendered every possible assistance, the bridge was duly built and Shāh Daula returned to Gujrat.

About this time a faqir, named Saidīn, came to Gujrat and claimed the guardianship of the town by divine appointment in order to discredit Shāh Daula. By spiritual means Shāh Daula convinced the impostor that he was wrong, and the faqir disappeared and was never heard of again.

At that time female infanticide was rife in Rājaun, now a part of the Jamna State. Rājā Chattur Singh of Rājaun was a devoted follower of Shāh Daula, but he always killed his female children at birth. However, on the birth of one girl, Shāh Daula told him to let the child live, as she would be very fortunate and become the mother of kings. The child was therefore allowed to live and grew up a fair and lovely maiden, and when Shāh Jahān was passing through Rājaun on one of his journeys to Kashmir, the Rājā presented her to him as a nasar. The girl was accepted and bestowed on Prince Aurangzeb, who married her.

Later on, the prince, being anxious to know whether he or one of his brothers Dāra Shikoh and Murād, would succeed to the throne, went to see Shāh Daula and presented him with a zar-murgh (golden pheasant), a foreign cat and wooden stick. If the saint accepted all but the stick it was to be an omen that the prince would succeed. But Shāh Daula, as soon as he saw the prince, arose, saluted him as "Your
The death of Sháh Daula.

Majesty’, and giving him a cake, returned the stick and said:—
'God has sent you this cake, and this stick is granted you as the sceptre
of your authority. Be of good cheer.’ Aurangzeb told the tale to the
Begam Bâf, who confirmed him in his belief in it by relating Sháh
Daula’s prophecy that she herself would be the mother of kings. Her
sons were Mu’azzim and Mahâmûd, of whom the former became the
emperor Bahâdur Sháh.

At a later period, after he had become emperor, Aurangzeb again
sent for Sháh Daula, who appeared before him in a miraculous manner.
The emperor was dining by himself, but he saw that a hand was eating
with him. Calling his attendants he told them of this, and said that
the hand was the hand of an old man with the second finger missing.
One of the attendants, named Bâkhtâwar, said that the hand was proba-
ably Sháh Daula’s. The emperor thereupon summoned the Saint to
appear, when Sháh Daula at once stood revealed, and was dismissed,
loaded with presents by the amazed sovereign.

Many other tales of his miracles are told of Sháh Daula, but that
which is chiefly associated with his name is the miracle of the Chûhás
or Rat-children, said to be born through his agency with minute
heads, large ears, rat-like faces, and without understanding or the power
of speech.

Sháh Daula lived to a great age, commonly stated to have been
150 years, and was contemporary with Akbar, Jahângîr, Sháh Jâhân,
and Aurangzeb. He was born in the 25th year of Akbar, A.H. 989 or
A.D. 1581 and died, according to the anagram of his death, Khudadost,
in A.H. 1087 or A.D. 1676. He was therefore really 95 years old at
his death.

His usual title is Sháh Daula Dâryâi, because of the numerous
bridges that he built. To the end of his life, princes and nobles, rich
and poor alike, sought his blessing. At last, when he saw his end
approaching he sent for his disciple, Bhâwan Sháh, duly invested him
with the dalg, and installed him as stjáda-nashin and successor.

The existing members of the sect of Sháh Daula claim that
Bháwan Sháh is the son of the saint, but whether he was a real or an
adopted son or bâlhâ, the present pîrs are the descendants of Bháwan
Sháh.

Notes by the Editor, Indian Antiquary.

There are some points worth noting in the stories of Sháh Daula’s
Rats and of Sháh Daula himself.

In the first place it seems pretty clear from what has been above
recorded that the ascription of the Chûhás to the agency of the well-
known saint of Gûjîrît is posthumous. One suspects that Bháwan
Sháh of the Sháh Daula Shrine created the cult, much in the fashion
that Gházi Sultán Muhammâd is creating one now out of the shrine
which he has set up round the tomb of the great local saint. All the circumstances point to such a situation. These are the extreme modernness of the cult, the fact that a band or order of faqirs make a living out of a certain class of local microcephalous idiots, and the convenient existence of an important shrine. Then the absence of landed property in possession of the band, or of any recognized right to succession to the leadership, and the entire dependence on earnings, in turn dependent themselves on the gullibility of the 'faithful'; all make it almost certain that Bhawan Shāh took the opportunity of the then recent decease of a well-known ancient and holy man to find a sacred origin for the unholy traffic of his followers. The division of the income thus earned is just such as one might expect of a body that had no other source of cohesion originally than profit out of a common means of livelihood.

As regards the legend of Shāh Daula himself, we have the usual ascription of a direct connection by birth of a local holy man with the great ones of the earth in his day, with the usual clear openings for doubt in the account thereof, and we have also the ascription of miraculous powers common to Panjābi saints. There is nothing in the story that could not have been picked up by the tellers out of the tales of other saints commonly current in the country. No doubt there did live, during the seventeenth century, a holy man in Gújrát town, who died there at an advanced age and had a tomb erected to him, which became venerated. It is quite probable that he was instrumental in forwarding works of public utility in his neighbourhood, and was notorious for his charity to the poor and needy, led an excellent life, and was venerated by the nobility around him. Considering the situation of the town of Gújrát, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Shāh Jahān and his suite, during their many journeys to and fro between Kashmir and their Indian court. But all this affords no ground for supposing that he had anything to do personally with the poor idiots now exploited by the sect, band, or order of faqirs that have fastened themselves on to his name.

As regards the Chūhās themselves, it is quite possible that there is a tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Būnch and Jammu, but one cannot help suspecting that, owing to the necessity for a continuous supply being forthcoming for the well-being of those who live on them, some of these unfortunates are artificially produced after their birth as ordinary infants. It would be so easy to accomplish this on the part of the unscrupulous.

_The Cult of Mián-Bibi; or the Prince and His Two Wives._

I.

_The Legends of Mian-Bibi._

1. There are various stories as to who these saints were and when they first appeared. According to one account, Khwaja Kasmi had five sons, Shāh Madār, Bhulan Shāh, Shaikh Madu, Pīr Sultān Shāh and Pīr Jholan Shāh, and five daughters, Jal Pari, Mal Pari, Asman
Pari, Hur Pari and Sabz Pari. Of these, the tomb of Bholan Shāh exists at Jhonawāl in tahsil Garhshankar in Hoshiārpur. The other brothers and sisters are said to have become famous in other countries and died there. Another story is that Shāh Madār, who is referred to throughout the songs sung by the followers of Miān-Bībī, was a Shaikh of Rūm by name Badr-ud-Din. Being an adventurous man he migrated to India and took lodgings in the house of a person whose profession it was to amuse the king of that time with tricks. After his arrival in the house the host gained increasing favour from the king, which he thought was due to Shāh Madār’s spiritual influence. Shāh Madār was called Miān by the daughter of his host, and they were called by him in return Bībī. The girls became more and more attached to the Miān, and their belief in his supernatural powers grew stronger day by day. One day, it is said, the king, instigated by a minister who was jealous of the favour shown to the jester, ordered the latter to fight with a tiger. The jester, not being able to do this, asked the Miān’s aid, and he by a miracle caused a tiger to go into the king’s darbār, kill the jealous minister, and desist from doing further mischief at the bidding of the Miān’s host. This astonished the king and the people, who sought out the author of the miracle, but the Miān was not pleased with the exposure of his powers and desired to leave the capital. The girls insisted that the Miān should not leave them, but he could not be persuaded to remain. At last seeing that the girls were determined to live or die with him, the Miān and his virgin-companions disappeared underground. It is not known where and when this happened, but the general belief as to the origin of Miān-Bībī is as above described.

2. Another, and perhaps the most plausible story, is that Miān was a Shaikh by name Saddū of Delhi. He was well versed in medicine and pretended to have influence over evil spirits. He had a number of followers and maid-servants, the principal among whom were Miān Bholan Shāh, Miān Chanan, Miān Shāh Madār, Miān Maleri, Shāh Pari, Hūr Pari, Mehr Pari, Nūr Pari, Usmān Pari, and Gungan Pari. These are not Indian names, but the addition of the distinctive word pari signifies the exquisite beauty of these female companions of the Miān. These pari were more commonly called Bībī, and the Shaikh was on account of his attachment to the women called Miān-Bībī. The party travelled through many lands and preached the wondrous powers of their head, the Miān, and the women, being credulous, believed in the spiritual powers of the Miān, held him in great respect, and kept his memory green after his death by playing Miān-Bībī in the manner explained later on. The Miān was extremely fond of women; he was shrewd enough to know that his pretensions would be readily believed by the weaker sex and worked exclusively among them, curing their diseases by his medical skill and attributing the success to his spiritual powers. It is said that the Miān was in possession of a lamp like the one Alauddin of the Arabian Nights had, and that with the aid of this wand he could get any woman he liked. It is said that the king’s daughter fell in love with the Miān, and this being brought to the notice of the king, the Miān was killed and the lamp destroyed. His companions, fearing a similar fate, fled in different
Worship of Mián-Bīhī.

3. As above stated, the Mián and his wives were all Muhammadans, and their influence was at first confined to people of that creed. Gradually, as the time went on and communion between Hindus and Muhammadans became more general, the former followed the practices of the latter and vice versa. The principal followers are Bāhtīs, Sainīs and Mīrāsīs, but Rājpūts and other classes of Hindus and Muhammadans are also found among them. In no case, however, does a male member propitiate the Mián-Bīhī which is a deity of the female sex alone. It is also remarkable that in most cases it is the young women who worship Mián-Bīhī, and as they become old they neglect it, although their regard for the deity is not diminished.

4. No fixed fair is held, nor is there any fixed time for the worship. Generally when the new harvest is gathered, and the people are at their best in point of wealth, a young woman who is a believer of the Mián-Bīhī prepares herself for the worship. None but a woman in want of a child, or of a bride for her child, or for relief from some distress, follows this practice, her object being to invoke the assistance of Mián-Bīhī in getting her wishes fulfilled. Mīrāsī women (professional songstresses) are called in with their instruments. The woman puts on a new dress, adorns herself as on her wedding day and sits in front of the mīrāsāns. The latter sing songs in praise of the Mián, his manly beauty, and his devotion to the Bībis and their mutual love and attachment. While singing, the mīrāsāns also play on their instruments which consist of small drums. The worshipping woman moves her hands wildly, nods her head, and as chorus grows, she becomes excited and almost frenzied. At this stage it is believed that she forgets all about herself and that her spirit mingles with the thoughts of the Mián, whom she personifies so long as the excitement lasts. Other women who have belief in the spiritual powers of the devotee come and offer grain and sweets, which the mīrāsāns appropriate. After making their offerings they put questions as to coming events in their families. Such questions generally relate to family distress and wants, and the devotee, knowing full well the wants of her neighbours, answers them in ambiguous terms, on which the women putting the question place the best possible construction and prove the spiritual power of mind-reading displayed by the devotee. It is believed that the Mián answers the questions through the devotee and fulfils the desires of those believing in him. The women practising the Mián-Bīhī devotional exercises in the above manner are distinguished by a silver tablet or piece hanging round their necks on which the Mián’s picture is engraved and an amulet with the Bībi’s picture on it.

[Lala Dina Nath.]
Songs of Mián-Bibl.

II.

Songs sung when Mián-Bibl sways his head in an emotional trance.

A.—The káfis.

1. A káfis of Mián Sháh Madár.

Khele sinda Sháh Madár
Main tain tain jiwán,
Terá náh bhará didár,
Terá mauzá nál qarárd
Khele sinda etc.

If the living (ever-living) Sháh Madár sways his head in an emotional trance or a hysterical woman falls into a trance, I shall live.

Thy (Sháh Madár’s) countenance is beaming with the (heavenly) light and thou conversest with God.¹

2. A káfis of Bullán Sháh.

Mián Bullán Sháh jawáni mone,
Karm hare tain mainún jáue,
Tersán dítián lak hávorán,
Tere wích darbár jo áue,
Apnián man diá múradáán páwe.
Tersán dítián etc.

May’st thou, O Bullán Sháh, live long. If thou lookest kindly on my condition, thou will come and know of me. Thou hast blessed me with a myriad favours. He who appears before thee (lit., in thy darbár) attains his heart’s desires.²

3. A káfis of Pir Banna Banní.

Pir Banna ji main arz kurán ter-
age,
Sab dùihán núñ pák jo
Kordá rát dé na láge
Jinán háhát núñ dún tūn kordá
Jot terí oh sahne láge
Pir banná.

To thee, O Pir Banní, I present my appeal. Thou purifiest all who have lost heart and this thou dost without the least delay. ’Thou drivest away (all) jinns and evil-spirits who flee in fear of thy glory.’³

4. (a) A káfis of Mián Ała Bakhsh Gangohí.

Mere peshwá Ała Bakhsh Pesówá—
Mahbúb-i-Khúdá Mámán Ała
Bakhsh Pesówá
Mere Sáhib-i-Aulíá Ała Bakhsh
Pesówá
Dúí pák karó mere Ała Bakhsh
Pesówá.

On thou my Leader! Thou Ala Bakhsh, Pesówá! Thou art beloved of God and art protected by his peace.⁴ Thou art protected by and beloved of God! Thou Ala Bakhsh, Pesówá! who art the best of saints! May’st thou purify my deel.

¹ The original is Terá mauzá nál qarárd, which may be translated, ‘thou reposest in peace in God.’ Qarárd means ‘repose in peace.’ But it is also explained to mean ‘Tere báden khaðd se holl hain’, ‘thou holdest conversation with God’.

² The original is Jot terí oh sahne láge, which is thus explained, woh tere jahó ko bárdáákh kárm la jháá hain, meaning ‘they gradually bear thy glory.’ But it is also explained to mean, Tere jahó se khams kááháár dawr jháá hain, which is the translation given above.

³ Mámán is explained as Khuda ke amán se mahfús, or ‘protected by the peace of God’.

⁴ The original is Mere peshwá Ała Bakhsh Pesówá, which may be translated, ‘thou dost live in peace in God.’
4 (b). Another kafi of the same.

Māmūn Ala Bakhsh pān kā birā lāvdn tere pās.
Je tūn kapron kā jorā māngen,
darē bulāvdn tere pās.
Je Māmūn Ala Bakhsh dūdāh perē mujh se mānge,
HALWĀT ko bulāvdn jhāt tere pās.
Je Māmūn Ala Bakhsh pān birā mānge,
Main panwārī ko bulāvdn fawran tere pās.

O Māmūn Ala Bakhsh! May I bring to thee pān birā. If thou needest clothes, I will call the tailor to thee. If thou wishest to have milk and jorā, I will forthwith call the confectioner to thee. If thou desirést pān, I will at once call the panwārī to thee.

5 (a). Another kafi of Bullān Shāh (to whose tomb it is addressed).

Tān main āvān tere pīrā,
Dek murdādān tān man dīlān pīrā;
Tert chāhār divārī savānwāltī,
Tert qabar te jale charāg pīrā.
Tān main etc.
Khuāhī tert thandī pīrā,
Tere bāgīn bohan mor pīrā;
Tert chāhār divārī khuli pīrā
tere kath wīch saāti pīrā.
Tān main etc.

To thee, O Fīr! I will come if thou givest me my heart's desire. The four walls of thy house are studded with pearls, and lamps are lit on thy tomb. The water of the well of thy house is exceedingly cool and peacocks sing in thy garden, and thy enclosure walls are very wide. Thou art owner (protector) of good and bad actions.

5 (b). Another kafi of Bullān Shāh.

Bullān Shāh jawāntī máne.
Hun bāhuren tān jānān.
Teriān ləḵh karonān dītāān.
Miān fasal karon tān jānān

May'st thou, Bullān Shāh, advance in years. If thou art kind to me and fulfillest my desire, I shall know that thou art a true saint. Thy favours and boons are given in myriads. I will have faith in thee if thou dost kindness unto me.

6. A kafi of Ghaus Azam, Pirān Pir of Baghdād.

Mansā karat sukh charan tikhāre
Mert murdādān parsan pīrā,
Jo sukh āve so phal pāve
Ghausa Nabh ke lāge pīrā,
Mansā karat etc.

O thou, who fulfillest my desire I pray to thee on my knees. He who cometh to thee with a desire secures it and is beloved by Ghausa Nabh (a saint).

7 (a). Another kafi of Shāh Madār.

Šāh Maḍār main āvānī dekho,
Šāh Maḍār main āvāntī dekho,
Pīrā tere āvān de gūrbān, tān tān roshān dohīn jahānīn,
Kalā bakrā savād man ātā deo šāh-hān mihnānti.
Šāh Maḍār main āvāntī dekho
Šāh Maḍār main āvāntī dekho.

See, O Shah Madār! I am mad with love for thee, O saint! If thou comest (to me), I will sacrifice myself to thee. Thy name is a light in this and the next world. If thou comest, I will offer a black goat and ½ maunds of flour for a feast to the saint. See, O Shāh Madār! I am mad with love of thee.
Songs of Mian-Bah.

7 (b). Another keft of the same.

Gund lyáá málan philón ká sikháá.
Aj Mian tere sir ko mubárák.
Ap Mian ji ne kangan bandhágyáá,
Náá rá bátán úng lagááá.
Táá kulák sir chhatár jhulááá.
Aj báráá láir sir ko mubárák.
Aj Mian etc.

The flower-girl has brought garlands of flowers. I congratulate thy head, O Mian! to-day.
The Mian has his (left) wrist encircled with a bracelet and his body\(^1\) besmeared with bátán. I congratulate thy head, O bridegroom! thou who hast a crown and a cap on thy head and an umbrella over it.

B.—The thoughts of the Mian.


Zinda Sháh Madár,
Alláh kíne áundá dekhiá?
Madar ni Madár,
Nile ghore váláá,
Sabh dosháálé váláá,
Bándán fanján váláá,
Kíne áundá dekhiá,
Zinda Sháh Madár.

Has anybody seen the living (ever-living) Sháh Madár coming? Sháh Madár has a blue horse to ride and a green shawl to wear. His retainers are very handsome. Has anybody seen him?\(^2\)

2. Another song: same rág.

Berá banní lááde ji merá berá ‘anáa támíná,
Táirán denán aukhi melá jí maiy
Sarbáar semáná muskhílár karde ánán,
Táirán denán etc.
Pattáá hárán váláá semán mááyáá,
Máá níán muráádáá már péir né
Pujáá jíán,
Músí-bl kar de ánán,
Táirán dená.

Oh Mian! let the ship of my life sail to the end, i.e., let all my difficulties be removed. I have invoked thee in the time of my distress. Mayst thou remove my difficulties! O generous one, women worship thee for sons. I have attained my heart’s desire by the grace of my Pír.

3. Another song: rág Bihág tér tín.

Kár názsar mehrár dí jí
Mírán, jí Mírán
Main táín par bárái-suldé kítí
gurbán Mírán
Kár názsar mehrár dí jí Mírán.

Be kind unto me, O Míránjí (another name of the Pír). I sacrifice myself to thee. Be thou kind unto me.


Máinún hál Mírán dá dánsí?
Máinún hál Mírán dá, etc.
Chúr díwári jhurmat wálí wích
Mírán dí chaukh máá dí be,
Máinún hál Mírán dá dánsí etc.

Tell me in what state is Míránjí? The four walls of Míránjí’s house are shaded with rows of trees and he has a seat in the house (This refrain is repeated.)

\(^1\) Meaning thereby that the Míán has besmeared his body with the light of God.
\(^2\) A keft is sung by faqírs with regard to the time of the day or night. A khatí must be sung at its proper time.
5. A kafi of Shahe Madar: Rag Manji.

1) Miran de re Shahji de re, Shah Madar de re.
   Abbele banto Miran de re.
   Miran ki majus khub han hai, panch phungal pae re.
   Miran de re etc.

2) Nainan da chaal sawan de gaya, main wari ho Miran
   Nainan etc.
   Lat yai chir re, Kesari badoh re, gunghat
   Main kuch kah gaya.
   Main wari han Miran
   Nainan da chaal sawan de gaya etc.

3) Zinud Shah Madar
   Meri Miran aunna dekh, hai Madar, hai.
   Madar ni uddhar,
   Meri Miran aunna dekh.

4) Shah Madar, teri bah Chaunkiyan bhardi
   Nuri phari dahar, Mera
   Miran aunna dekh.


1) Ala albelarian—Ala albelarian
   Meri Siyah lari
   Bhiq gaivan sikhian chunarjan.
   Main chali piach tamasha,
   Bhiq gaivan sikhian chunarjan.
   Ala albelarian etc.

2) Shah Madar ke darbar men
   kehle shah Paray, ohdiyan kasun-
   bariyan cholarian re, bahin
   chura hare re, meri shah Paray.
   Shah Madar etc.

(1) Miranji has come! Shahji has come! Shah Madar has come! (These three names are identical.) The giver of desires, the bridegroom, the one devoid of care has come. His assembly is brilliant and a garland of flowers has been placed round his neck.

(2) Miranji has made me restless by the winking of his eyes. I sacrifice myself on thee; O Miranji! His head-dress is dishevelled and it is of saffron colour. He has playfully whispered something to me in a language half concealed. I devote myself for thee, Oh! Miranji! there is meaning in his playful glance.

(3) Oh living (ever-living) Shah Madar! I have seen my Miran coming. He is Madar; He is Madar! (my) deliverer.

(4) Oh Shah Madar! I am waiting for thee. Thy countenance is beaming with the light of God. Has anybody seen my Miranji coming? (Here follows the refrain.)

1 Chaunki bharna. When women have made vows to saints and their vows are fulfilled, they repair to the saint's residence and sit there for a day and a night. This is called chaunki bharna. The Bharsik or priests of Sakhi Sarwar derive their name from this site.
The most remarkable fact about this cult of Mian-Bibi is that it has been so completely Muhammadanized, and it is suggested (I., 2 above) that this cult was introduced into India after Akbar’s time, i.e. after that ruler had attempted to found a new religion amalgamating all the creeds of his empire. On the other hand, it is clearly connected with the famous shrine of Shaikh Maler, the founder of the Maler Kotla State in the Punjab. There a similar cult exists, an account of which is given in the Gazetteer of that State. It might be imagined that the cult is a mere adaptation of a Hindu myth, but this is by no means certain, and it is quite possible that it is an importation of pure Muhammadan mysticism:—

Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din.—Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din, the founder of the Maler Kotla ruling family, flourished during the reign of Sultan Bahol Lodhi, who gave him his daughter in marriage in 1454. Commonly styled Hazrat Shaikh, Sadr-ud-Din or Sadr Jahân left Darâban, his birth-place in Afgânistán, and settled at Maler on an old branch of the Sutlej. An aged Musalmân woman, named Malí, became his first follower and from her Maler takes its name. From the princess are descended the keepers of the shrine while the Nawâbs of Maler Kotla are descended from a Râjputi whom the Shaikh also married. His shrine, surrounded by four walls believed to have been built by genii in one night, lies in Maler. His fair, held on the first Thursday of every lunar month, is largely attended by Hindus and Muhammadans from the State as well as from distant places. Various offerings are made; such as horses, donkeys, cows, buffaloes, goats, fowls, clothes, money, grain of all kinds, food (especially sweet bread and that cooked in a frying pan) etc. Of these offerings the khalifa, a descendant of the Shaikh, takes elephants, horses, donkeys, complete suits of clothes and rupees, while all other offerings are taken as of right by the majâwars. People of all castes have great faith in Hazrat Shaikh. No marriage is considered blessed unless the bridegroom attend the shrine and salâm to it immediately after donning the wedding wreath and before leaving for his bride’s home. Women believe that all worldly desires are fulfilled by the Shaikh. To gain any wish they vow to make a specified offering to the shrine in case it is realised. They often perform the ceremony called ‘Hazrat Shaikh ki chauki’. Sometimes they keep awake the whole night and employ a mîrâsan who sings songs, especially eulogies of the Shaikh, and sometimes play the chauki in the day time. The woman who is to do this, bathes, puts on the best new clothes she can get and sits on the bare ground with other women round her. The mîrâsan beats her drum and sings the Shaikh’s praises. At first the woman sits sient with her head lowered and then begins to roll her head with hair dishevelled. Then the mîrâsan sings more vigorously, generally repeating over and over again the part of the song at which the woman showed the first signs of having fallen under the Shaikh’s influence. In a few moments the Shaikh expresses through the woman what he wants of her and what she must do for him and where. After this all the women round her question her and receive her responses. She then attends th—

1 Just as tradition says Adham Faqîr married the King’s daughter.
Baiat or sale of self.

shrines and offers something according to her promise. In Jeth and about the time of the Namáni fair, on the Jeth sudi, the attendance at the fair of Hazrat Shaikh is very large, people of all creeds and ages and of both sexes being attracted to it from long distances.

A curious parallel to the cult of Mián-Báb is afforded by that of Sindhu Bér who, like the Mián, has three pairs of attendant goddesses, 

vis. Raí and Bráí, Cháhí and Chhattráhi, all worshipped in Chamba, and Andla and Sandla who are worshipped in the hills. The goddess Bharmáni of Barmaur, in Chamba, is also associated with Sindhu. The cult of Mián-Báb is probably of phathic origin, though such a theory cannot be definitely proved. The parallel afforded by Sindhu's pairs of wives is, however, too striking to be accidental.

Sindhu is certainly a god of fertility adored by all the seven 'Baráspati Mothers', who are goddesses of vegetation. But he is also 'lord of metals', Lohán Pál, of the earth, Bhúmi Pál, and of chains, as Sanglín Pál. As the last-named he has with him always a chain and his votaries also keep one at their homes. Sindhu Bér affects mountainous regions generally and is even said to be widely worshipped in Láhul. He becomes enamoured of fair maidens and they dance with him. But he has small ears or none at all, and often carries a broom on his back. He wears a cotton girdle though the rest of his costume is like that of Gaddi or shepherd and when not whistling he makes the sound chhút chhú which shepherds use when grazing their sheep, resting or fatigued. Indeed he is also called Laknu Gadetu or 'Lukhna the Gaddi youth', with whom Gaddi maidens fall in love.

A NOTE ON BAIAIAT.

Baiat, bai, or 'sale' of self, denoting 'one should give up one's own desires and submit wholly to the will of him to whom one sells oneself.' To make baiat implies faithful obedience as set forth in the Holy Qurán and the doctrines inculcated by the Prophet as well as by the acts of his Caliphs.

The baiat made at the hands of Prophets and the appointed ones of God is made solely with a view to attain to piety. God said to His Prophet Muhammad—

"Those who pledge their faith to thee pledge it to God, the hand of God is over their hands—hence whoever shall break his oath will suffer for it and whoever shall perform what he covenanted with God to him He will give a great reward."

In the Chapter called muntahina (Examination or Trial) God addresses His Prophet thus:

"O Prophet when believing women come unto thee and make baiat that they shall not confuse anyone with God, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children, nor come with a calumny which they (the women) have forged in front of their hands and feet, nor be disobedient to thee in doing good things; take their pledge and pray to God to forgive their sins—God is prepared to forgive and is merciful."

1 For a song to Sindhu Bér see Indian Antiquary, 1909.

2 Verse 10—Chapter Ftašah (Victory) of the Qurán.
It is mentioned in the Sāhīh Bokhārī in the conditions on which the Imam should accept a pledge that Isma'il, son of Abu Obais, said that he had been told by Imam Mālik, who was told by Yahya, son of Said Ansāri, who was told by Ibada, son of Walid, who was told by his father, who in his turn was told by his father Saint Abu da that:—

"We pledged our faith to the Prophet to obey his orders in prosperity and in suffering, to acknowledge the supremacy of him who should be fit for it and not to dispute with him—that we should adhere to what is right wherever we lived—that we should tell the truth and that in God's path we should not fear the reproach of any persecutor. We were told by Abdulla, son of Yūsuf, who was told by Imam Mālik, who was told by Abdulla, son of Dīnār, who was told by Abdulla, son of Umar, that when we pledged our faith to the Prophet that we would obey his orders he said: 'Say so far as may be possible.'"

Baiat should be made thus:—if the one who makes it is a man he who accepts his pledge should take his hands in his own and recite the words pertaining to baiat and the other who makes the baiat should repeat them; after the repetition of the baiat the Imam, i.e., the receiver of the pledge, and those present should pray for the stability of the faith of the pledger. If the plighter of faith be a woman an oral pledge is taken from her—but her hand is not touched—as is described in the Sāhīh Bokhārī regarding Hazrat (holy) Aisha that the Prophet received oral pledges from women in accordance with the nummahana. The Prophet's hand touched no woman save his own wives. But now-a-days some receive the pledge from a woman by holding a cloth which is also held by her.

LEGEND OF DULLÁ BHATTĪ.

ARGUMENT.

Dullá or Dullá, son of Farīd Khán, is a Bhatti Rājpūt of the Sandal Bār or Sandalwāl. He goes to Naina Bās village to enjoy the plāh festival in the Holi and during his absence Jalāl-ud-Dīn, his uncle, goes to Akbar, the Mughal emperor, to inform him that Dullá is a highwayman. The emperor deputes Mirzas Alá-ud-Dīn and Zia-ud-Dīn to seize Dullá. Alá-ud-Dīn goes to the Sandalwāl with 12,000 men. Nūramde, Dullá's wife, dreams that her golden bedstead is broken and interprets this omen to mean that Dullá's misdeeds will end in disaster. But her mother-in-law boasts of Dullá's strength. A Dogar woman announces that during Dullá's absence the imperial troops are advancing to the attack. She borrows the five garments of Dullá's wife and goes among the soldiery hawking curds. Alá-ud-Dīn wants to buy some and puts his finger into the jar to taste the curds, whereupon the Dogari grips his arm with such strength that he cannot make her let go. The Mirza, in admiration of her physique, offers to make her his chief wife—he has 360 already—and mounts her on his horse. On the road she borrows his sword, on the pretence that she will chase deer, and plunges it into his heart. She carries off his five garments to Dullá's mother. Zia-ud-Dīn, the murdered Mirza's brother, hearing of his death lays waste the Sandalwāl. Nūré, Dullá's son,
rejecting his teacher's advice to flee, demands his father's sword from his grandmother. Ignoring his mother's entreaty that he will save himself he takes the sword and kills 25 of his opponents, but his sword breaking he is captured, and all his relatives with him. His younger sister begs Jalâ-ud-Dîn to effect her release, but he basely refuses. Dâllâ's wife now sends a mirâsî with a letter to Dâllâ imploring aid. Dâllâ immediately attacks the Imperial troops and rescues his son, with the others. He is about to put Zîâ-ud-Dîn to death when his mother intercedes, saying he will dishonour her by the murder, but, disregarding her prayers, Dâllâ smites the Mirza on the mouth and knocks out his teeth.

The following songs and ballads are inserted here for the sake of the light which they cast on Punjab ways of thought and the relations which exist between the various creeds and castes. The Tale of Mirza and Sahibân is peculiarly rich in omens:

Qissa Dâllâ Bhâtîî Raîpît sûkin manu Sandalwâl, ya Sandal Bâr Jangal, mutallaqa Zilla Montgomery.

Akbar Shâh bâdshâh ke samâna mey Dâllâ Bhâtîî Raîpît thâ. Liêie nâm Babb kâ, kardega bêra pâr.

QISSA.

1. Cûndâ ki bairî bâdîî, machhîli kâ bairî jâl : Bândâ ki bairan maui hai, neki ke din châr.
3. Sukh se soyé sej pur supnû dûjâ rât, Sowarn palung markiâ, tûte châron sâl.
4. Mâthi ki bûndî bûn parî, meri nau bal khâgâ'i nthâ, Ohuâ phûtâ häth häd dûnt loî, phûlî parâ suhâg.
5. Ghhe uyen thumakde, karde mâro mår, Kû Dâllâ terà qâid mey, lutjâ Sandalwâl:
6. 'Sâs! Yih bâdiyân haiî buri!'

JAWAÎ LADDHÎ WALIDA DULLA AZ BAHU:


BAHU SÀS SE KARTI HAI:


Lt., the horizontal pieces, chûd, not the legs. The breaking of a bed is always regarded as a disastrous omen, and the overturning of a bed under a sleeping man is a favourite way of manifesting divine or saintly displeasure against him.
The Legend of Duldà Bhush:

    Ai sā sati. Tu barjle pūt ko, badhāya hai nāv bārī”.

   Kālan Ḍogāri aś wālīḍa Dūlla —

    Pānchō lā de kāpre, sold lāde singdr”.

13. Pānchō pahne kāpre, bharla’e sold singār.
    Sir āhar maṭkī dādū kī, dwe lashkar dārmīydn.

14. Daul dāh pūkārī lashkar ke dārmīydn:
    Daul māngi Mīra ‘Alḍ-ud-dīn: “Mainān thora dāhī de chakhde l”

15. Bhalke ūnglī chakh ād pahūnchā pakrā jde, “
    Guḍ buḥ, guḍ buḍh kyā kare? Sidhī boll boll!

16. “Māṛūngi laperā khenche, terē battle jhar jāngye dānt :
    Dekhā nahē Dūllā Rājpūt kā? Terā lashkar dān lūṭvā’.

17. Bhalā chāhā, dāer uṭhā le, nahē lashkar dān lūṭvā’”.
    Bole Mīra: “Kyā kahe? Sunle, Masto, bāt!

18. Us Dūllā ke kyā kare? sang hamāre chal,
    Begamāt tīn sau sāth, sab ki kāvā sirdār.

19. Sone men kārān chaṃakāḍ, sang hamāre chal.
    Maṭkī chaṭkī phorde, charhle ghore par.”

20. Pakar bāṅg bīthdāl, pare Dekh ke rāk.
    Dekh sūrat ko vo part, Mīra kare jawdb.

    Sūṭkā kaṭdrā Ḍogārī nā bāhūtā Mīra ke kaljbē mākā.

22. Pānchō liye kāpre, pānchō liye hathdydr:
    Ghorā jord lekā, dwe Sandalwālī.

23. Ghorā lāda thān se, Lāddhī se kārt salām:—
    ‘Ibdrāt. Mīra’a ‘Alḍ-ud-dīn jāb māṛdgyā, to bhält Mīra Zīd-ud-dīn
    ne sand, to voh Sandalwālī ko lāṭne lāgād.

24. Dūm aur Bhāṭ lūṭīye deite kabīt sund’e.
    Khāṣt kanchant lūṭīye, lūṭgyā māl hawdl.

25. Dūlle kā ohāchā lūṭīye, lūṭgyā māl hawdl,
    Maulā kālīlī lūṭīye, dende phūl shardā.

    Jd beṭe, bāḍgyā, naṭē parjā bāḍshāh ki qaid.”

27. Je, Qāṭī, maṅī bāḍgjāān, kūl ko āve ljd.
    Chahle Nārā dūndā āwe mahīān ke mān:

28. Hāṭh bāṅāh kārān benti, dādī, sabko merā ārd salām,
    Mainān mān kā khandā ānde pahūnchān faujjon dārmīydn”.

    Jd, beṭe mere, bāḍgyā, naṭē parjā bāḍshāh ki qaid”.

30. “Jo, dādī, maṅī bāḍgjāān, mere kul ko āve ljd”
    Mān se ṭeṭe misri, āve ḍehont ki bār.”
The Legend of Dullá Bhatti.

31. *Pachchoh jawdan ko kádá káte Mughal Pathán, 
   *Amar se khandí tátgyá, lohe ne dédá hár.*

32. *Sir se chtra tárke dál mushkán bándh, 
   *Nárá pargyá qaid men, pargyá bàdsháh ki qaid.*

33. *Náramde Phulamde bánd hagat, pargyá bàdsháh ki qaid: 
   *Mdtá Laddíh bándhgayí, pargyá bàdsháh ki qaid.*

34. *Phápphá Shamash bándhagayí, pargyá bàdsháh ki qaid: 
   *Bétí Salemo bándhagayí, mídá kahí i'de?*

35. *Bole Salemo: “Kya kahe? Sunle, dddá Jaldí Din, bdí! 
   *Bándí karke ehúrd, húngí dámán gir.”*

36. “Bádsháh ki qaid men tum parí, potti, mere ghi ke bali chiragh”
   “Dddá, tuhí Rájpat ká náthi hai, kisi bándí ká jóm.”

37. “Jo jital murke dígaty, dándí káthi káid’ae!”
   *(Tájíye nám Rab ká, karedgí berá pár!)*

   *Le parwedna pháunchíte, jidíy Nainí hára.”*

   *Le parwedna mirdí ne já ddd Dullá ke háth.*

   *Jhátá jhat káthi pargo’l, ban-lgat sone ke sin.”*

41. *Le dobáglí pasne dweñ lashkar darámydín. 
   *Lashkar báde misri karte méró már.*

42. *Fauján Sháh kí bhájjímen, bháge Mughal Pathán. 
   *Bole Nára: Kya kahe? Sunle, mídí, merti bdí!*

43. *Zara mushkán kholde, dekhíle Náre ke háth. 
   *Jhatá jhat máshkán khulgayí, ghori ká kíld sowdr.*

44. *Lashkar báde misri, karte méró már. 
   *Chalko Ziýd-ud-dín avad áwne Laddíh ke pás:*

45. *Béty karke bachtále, main kángd dámantr! 
   *Ine men Dullá pháunchyád, áwne mdtá ke pás:*

46. “Ran ká chor batáde, Mdtá, sach batá”
   “Béty ran ká chor bhággyá: pháunchá Deláh darámydín”

47. *Bole Mirzá: “Kya kahe? Sunle, mdtá, bdí! 
   *Bétá karke bauchtále terá kángd dámantr!”*

48. *Bole Laddíh: “Sun, béty Dullá, bdí! 
   *Jo tá usko mártá, merti battás dhár hardm.”*


*Misri Talwar.*

Dullá Rájpat béty Faráj Khán rahnewála Sadalwál ká thá. 
Mausá Nainá Báá men Holt ká phác khelne jáchudá thá. B’dá uske 
jáne ke uske cháchá Jalal /In Akbar báddsháh Deláh ke pás gá aul 
ákkar faryál kárd ki Dullá musáfaron ko lát letá hái. Báddsháh né 
Mirzá 'Alá-ud- in wa Ziá-ud-dín ko bhejá ke Dullá ko pakkár láo
Translation.

The story of Dullá, the Bhaṭṭī Rājput, who dwelt in Sandalwál village or in the Sandal Bár, a steppe adjoining the Montgomery District.

In the time of the emperor Akbar there lived one Dullá, a Bhaṭṭī Rājput. Take the name of the Lord, He will grant victory.1

Literally, will bear the boat across,
The Legend of Dúllá Bhatti.

Story.

1. The cloud is the enemy of the moon, and the net of the fish:
   Man's enemy is death, and his days of doing good but a few
   (lit. four).
2. Trouble is the lot of Man, and often is the iron plunged into
   the fire:
   The sun is the lot of the deer, and wounds are a hero's lot.

Song.

Dúllá's wife:—

3. "I was asleep on my bed at ease, when last night I had a
   dream,
   My golden bed creaked and its four legs broke.
4. My frontlet fell to the ground and my nose-ring twisted
   badly,¹
   My ivory wristlets broke, and my wedded happiness turned to
   sadness.
5. The horse came galloping rapidly;
   Dúllá has been captured, and the Sandal Bár been raided!²
   (She moralises on her dream:—)
6. Oh mother-in-law! These deeds (of Dúllá) are indeed evil.³
   Reply of Dúllá's mother, Laddhí, to her daughter-in-law:—
   The jackal had a litter of five or seven, I, the lioness, brought
   forth one only."
8. When my lion roars, he shouts: 'Kill! kill!'
   The king's forces flee and do not turn to take breath.
   The daughter-in-law says to her mother-in-law:—
9. Said Núramde: "What sayest thou, listen, mother-in-law,
   Why dost thou boast of a robber's and a liar's deeds?
10. May no one bear a son like Dúllá:
    By night he holds a dance of courtesans, by day he hunts
    (i.e., he robs).
11. In trouble he flees away and takes not us with him.
    O good mother, admonish thy son, his deeds are indeed evil." ⁴
    The Dogar's wife speaks:—
12. Said Márta Dogarí: "listen, Laddhí, to me,
    Bring the five robes and sixteen ornaments."

¹ Literally, nine times.
² This is part of the dream.
³ Cf. verse 5 above.
18. She put on the five robes and bedecked herself with the sixteen ornaments.
Putting a pot of milk on her head she went in among the troops.
14. She hawked her curds among the troops.
Mirza Alá-ud-Dín asked for a curd, he said “give me a little to taste!”
15. Taking it up with his fingers he tasted it. She grasped his arm and said:
Why dost thou talk nonsense? Talk plain sense.
16. I will buffet you, and all your thirty-two teeth will fall out:
Hast thou not seen Dúllá Rájpút,
17. If you wish for your own good, strike your camp, else I will have it plundered.
Said the Mirza, What sayest thou? Hearken Masto!
18. What wilt thou do with thy Dúllá? Come with me.
I have three hundred and sixty ladies, of all will I make thee queen (mistress).
19. I will make thee glitter with gold. Come with me.
Break the jar, and mount my steed.
20. Grasping her arm he placed her in the saddle, and took the Delhi road.
Looking in his face she felt a-weeping and the Mirza inquired the cause.
(The Dogrí replied) —
21. “If thou wilt give me your dagger, I will go and kill deer.”
Drawing the dagger she, the Dogrí, thrust it into the Mirza’s heart.
22. She took the five robes and the five weapons.
Taking his horse and his garments she came to Sandalwál.
23. She tethered the horse in the stable and greeted Laddhí.
When Mirza Alá-ud-Dín had been killed his brother Mirza Zió-ud-Dín heard of it. He began to ravage the Sandal Bár:—

Verses.

24. He plundered the Dúm and the Bhát; they chanted verses.
He plundered the chief prostitutes, goods and chattels.
25. He plundered Dúllá’s uncle of his goods and chattels:
He plundered Maulú the vintner who sold the wine.
26. The Míán said to Núrál: listen to me.
“Fly hence or the King will cast you into the prison.”

1 Dúllá’s son.
27. O Qázi, if I flee dishonour will fall on my family.
Núrá went to his palace.

28. "With joined hands, grandmother, I beseech thee sevenfold
greeting to all.
Give me my Lord’s sword: I will go among the forces."

29. Laddhí said: — "What sayest thou? Hearken, my son!
Flee or the royal prison awaits thee."

30. Grandmother, if I fly, disgrace will befall my kin.
He drew the sword from its scabbard, and came out of the
porch.

31. He slew outright twenty-five of the Mughal Paštán youth.
By fate’s decree his sword broke and the steel betrayed him.

32. Taking the turban from his head they bound his hands behind
him.
Thus was Núrá taken, taken and cast into the imperial prison.

33. Núramade and Phulamade 1 were taken captive and cast into
the imperial prison.
The mother Laddhí was taken, and cast into the prison.

34. Shannash, the aunt of Dúllá, was taken, and cast into the prison.
Sálemo, his daughter, was taken, calling on her father.

35. Said Sálemo: — "Listen grandfather Jalál-ud-Dín
Release me as a slave girl, or I will seize thy skirt!"

36. "Thou hast fallen into the imperial prison. I will fill my
lamp with ghí."
"Grandfather, thou art of no Rájpút stock, but the son of a
slave-girl."

37. "If I return alive, I will have thee flayed." 
Repeat the Lord’s name 4 for He will take the boat across.

38. Said Núramde: —Listen mirdáš,
Take this letter to Nainabás.

39. If thou desirest to attack, then attack quickly, Sandalwál has
been plundered.
The mirdáš took his letter and gave it into Dúllá’s hand.

1 Wives of Dúllá.

* In the next world. A better translation appears to be —Thou hast got me imprisoned
at last, but at the Day of Judgment I will seize thy skirt, /. e. ‘accuse thee of this wrong;’
Sálemo knows Jalál-ud-Dín to be the cause of her distress, but will not stop to implore his
mercy.

* In sign of rejoicing.

* Spoken by the poet.
The story of Dayā Rám Gujar.

40. Dúlá said 'Listen, comrades!' And in a moment the saddles were on, with the gold laced saddle cloths.

41. On both sides they attacked and came into action. Swords rang in the field, and (Dúlá's men) slew right and left.

42. The King's forces fled, fled the Mughal and Pathán. Said Núra:—"Listen father, to my words!

43. Loose my bonds a little and see Núra's deeds.' Speedily his bonds were loosened, and he mounted a mare.

44. Swords rang in the field and (Dúlá and his men) slew right and left. Zia-ud-Dín came on foot to Laddhí:—

45. "Save me as if I were thy son I will cling to thy skirt (hereafter)." Meanwhile Dúlá came up and drew near his mother:—

46. "Point out to me the thief 1 of the field; mother tell me truly. My son the chief of the field has fled and reached Delhi."

47. Said the Mirza: "Mother hear me! Save me as thy son or I will seize thy skirt."

48. Said Laddhí—Listen Dúlá, my son If you slay him you will defile my thirty-two streams of milk.

49. He gave the Mirza a buffet which knocked out his thirty-two teeth.

THE STORY OF DAYÁ RÁM THE GUJAR, BY KALA JOGI OF KHAUḌA IN THE AMBÁLA DISTRICT.


1 Runaway.
2 Bigar, for baghair.
The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

"Chāpā Pānīpat kā lāde, surma Panjāb kā lāde.
Jātā Peshāwar kā lāde."" Jīve Dayā Rām dūdhārī, sohni sūrat par vārī.
Barī Gujarī motī mānde, ohotī ho dālgīr,
Botī Gujarī vās pā dwe, nainōn dhalādā nīr :—
"Saukān merti motī mānde, Dayā kāhin mārdjāgā.
Gānjari sūnni hōjīgēi,
Laṅke māre ro marenge,
Motī kis par pahneā"" Jīve Dayā Rām dūdhārī, sohni sūrat par vārī.
"Nā mātā merti sār sār roṛ, na jhure man mēn,
Ab ke phere yā barjānāye, Dayā jannān nāīe,
Moīe kā to sōg1 na karīye, ranwēs 2 kī sewā karīye,
Ran men bēṛe ko pāe, Dāmrī kā rdj karīye." Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
"Lā Gujarī, mere pāchōn kapre, lā mere pāchōn hathiār.
Thān se lā merī Lailī ghori, maṅī ho chūlūn sāndār,
Dūjan kā jāke gherūn lā dān tujhe sānche motī,
Gujari tujhe ān pahnāānā." Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
"Saiān mere jītā rahye !
Amī3 hāl pīṭā rahye
Urjaē terā hawār nimānā,
Dūnīyā se kād bāsān ?
Nekī tere sang chalegi,
Baṅ badshāh ke jāṛēgā !" Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
Ohēṅkē Dayā ne ghorī perī ohārī ton tūtā tang,
Yā Gujarī kāhā mārdjāegā, yā machēgā jang.
Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
Onē barje,4 Dhore barje, barje sab parvār,
Ujālapār kī rāndī barje, ' mat jā tuā mert yār;'
Sandal terī bēṛī barje, ran men tēṛā bēṛā barje,
Bābal b bindā na jīvenge kātāri khaē marenge.
Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
Aṅkh Dayā, tēṛā mādh ke plālē,
Bhaṅdān bānti kambān
Aṅkhā sohnd gābrā Dayā rūp ādī Kārtār,
Mūnchnān tēṛā bāl khā rahān.
Jīve Dayā Rām etc.
Pān saū ghorī chher Dayā ne rasta gherājāe,
Shahr Dehī dōla chale, Mīrdāpur ko ḫēē.
Dayā ne rasta gherād.

1 Sōg = sorrow, mourning.
2 Ranwēs = one who dies on the field of battle.
3 Amī, B. = water of life, nectar.
4 Barjān = restrain.
5 Babāl, husband.
The story of Dayá Rám Gujar.

The Gujars are like dád grass,
Other grasses get burnt up, but the dád is ever green
The Gujar’s wife said:—“Listen, Dayá Rám,
I have had gold and silver to wear in plenty, but never a pearl,
Bring me real pearls!

1 Suba = Governor.
Bring me strings of pearls, I would wear real pearls.
On pearls have I set my heart, without pearls I cannot live."

_Long live Dayá Rám,

Let me immolate myself for the beauty of thy face!

"Thus the Gujari mocked at thee, and the arrow hit the mark!
Either bring me real pearls, or turn beggar,
Bring me a shawl from Gujrat and a gown from Multán,
Bring me_sálú from Sángánér, and a comb from Karnál.
Bring me toothpowder from Delhi, and henna from Nárnaul.
Ivory bangles from Pánípat, antimony from the Punjab,
And shoes from Pesháwar."

_Long live Dayá Rám etc.
The Gujar's elder wife demanded pearls and his second wife was vexed:
In tears she went to her mother-in-law, her eyes shed tears.
"My co-wife is demanding pearls, and Dayá will be ruined.
The village will be ruined.
Our sons will perish.
On whom wilt thou put pearls?"

_Long live Dayá Rám etc.

"Do not weep, mother, do not repent and consider.
That Dayá was never born.
Mourn not my death, but worship me as I die on the field of battle.
Send me to the battlefield, and rule my little village."

_Long live Dayá Rám etc.

"Bring Gujari, my five garments, and my five weapons.
From her stable bring Lailí, my mare, I will mount her and away.
I will lay in wait for a palanquin, and bring real pearls,
My Gujari, for thee to wear."

"May Heaven prolong my husband's life!
Long may he drink the water of life.
The soul is to quit this body.
What can be taken away from this world?
Good deeds will go along with thee,
With the king will go ill deeds."

_Long live Dayá Rám etc.

He saddled the mare while sneezing, and the girth broke as soon as he mounted.

Either the Gujari will perish somewhere or a battle will begin.

_Long live Dayá Rám etc.

HHHH
The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

Aura, Dhaura and the whole family restrained him.
The courtesan of Ujālapur dissuaded him, saying, 'don't go, my beloved.'
Sandal, thy daughter, dissuaded thee, and to the battlefield thy son would not have thee go
Without my father we will not live, we will die by the dagger.
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
His eyes are cups of wine,
His eyebrows are like a bow,
A fine and handsome lad is Dayā, to whom the Creator gave beauty.
Thy moustachios are twisted.
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
Urging on 500 horse Dayā stopped the highway,
From Delhi city went the palanquin, on its way to Mīrānpur,
Dayā stopped the way.
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
When Naubat Khān, Governor, said:—"Listen, my men, Where is Dayā, tell me,
I will cut off his head, and never let him go alive."
Dayā Rām went and bowed.
Naubat Khān hurled a spear,
But Dayā Rām dodged it.
Dayā was preserved by God.
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
In the palanquin a lady spake:—"Listen, Dayā this palanquin belongs to a friend of thine, let it pass.
I will see that justice is done thee, and have a village bestowed on thee."
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
I will not rob thy treasure, or thy fire-arms,
Tell me, lady, what things are in your coffers,
Tell me, where are the real pearls?
For pearls I came in search,
My Gūjarī yearns for pearls.
Long live Dayā Rām etc.
The baker's loaves were looted and the betel leaf-seller's betel leaves,
A tawolān (female betel leaf-seller) was looted who was so beautiful that one would not care to part with a hundred and thousand tukas for her sake.
Her locks were curled.
Long live Dayā Ram etc.
He plundered three strings of pearls,
A shawl of Gujrat,
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

A gown of Multán,
Sáté from Sángáner,
A comb from Karnál,
Bangles from Pánípat.

**Long live Dayá Rám etc.**

He stole real pearls and brought them home, and asked Gájari to wear the pearls with pleasure.

And his Gájari adorned herself:—

“Long may my consort live,
Long may he drink the water of life,
Thy soul is to fly away,
What can be taken from this world?
Good deeds will go along with thee,
With the king deeds evil.”

**Long live Daya Ram, etc.**

**KISSA MIRZA AUR SÁHIBÁN KÁ.**

Pír dá Pír Mohá-ul dín, ghunsán dá Qutb Faríd!
Zírat chalná pér di, ráhip ghat wohír!
Bolan kilmre khumrída, japán faqír Faríd,
Nangán déndá kapre, bhukhe bhojan khrír!
As kar áwan mangte, Dilli ohbaq Kashmír,
As pújánwá jumal di, merd Shaíkh Bahídwal pír.
Charhdo Mirzé Khan ná mán matté dé khari:—

'Jis ghar hóre dostí, us ná jáyo gali
Tapan kárdhe tel de sir wích lát í all.
Supne andar móryo, teri súrat khák rali.'

Charh de Mirzé Khan ná, Wanjal ' déndá mat:—

'Sun sursándá merí lajj di bannhíg pag!
Ranná Bhattáán di dostí, khári jinhán dé mat?
Ape láwán ydrrán, ðpe dendýán dus!
Pare bigháni baílkke, mandí ná karyo kat!
Lathi hath náh ánwdí dánishmanándán di pat,'

Bhúñ ne vágdí phatlayán Ghat Allah dé kár:—

'Suní, wírá Mirzá merá! Bah ke káj sawárr!
Ek jánjí, ek máñjí, ek tere wékhan hár!
Hathi sardi bakháán, tást jhúlen árbar!
Káj wahúna máín phírdán: máinú kí káján ná?
Kái máhní káí ghoríáán, ántháán di dítte kátár?
Aj dá wár talá já; vág pichhán bhúwá.'

Jawdb Mirzá ki phúpphí:—

'Súttí supná wáchá, supna buri balde!
Bárd jhotá khéláá, Muglán kúthá dé!
Kdí jehí támí lagi, birhon ay!'
A version of Mirza and Sahiban.

Siroṇ mānḍra ḍhai payd, mahal gid karḍhye!
Aj kā wād ṭalē ḍā, vād pichhān bhavā!
Beṭe Harat Ali de, Hasan Hussain bhīrd!
Larde nāl Yahuḍidān, karde bahut jangdye.
Homi nā mīte paṅghamabā, tān bhī man nasye.

Yiḥ gal karke Mirza chalagayā, rūstā meṇ ek nāi se mād, us se pūnchhā : Tere pās ki hāi? Usne kahā :— Mere pās piḍārī suḥdh suṛgh, ďī hāi. Mirza ne piḍārī kholī, apni bakki nā chabūk mārīd, tad Bakki ne jawd bōttī :—

Jawd Bakkī kā.

'Mainnān mārā kord, jadd nā ḍāho lād; 
Main hūrdā dī bhain Padmaṇ, utrī tainnān dād;
Mērī gadar na pāyō ḍōṣha, haisen jat nibhāy.'

Bakkī se Mirza ne hāth jorkar kahā ke main bhūl gayd. Phir Bakkī daur chalt, aur janī nūn jā milī. Phir Mirze ne sāre janī utdōn ki pagṛi utdrī, aur apni mātī Bibo ke ghar chalāgāyā. Jāb logon ne janī ko bagair pagṛi ke dekhd to janī ne jawd bōttī nā ki :— 'Tumhāre dohte ne sātī pagṛi utdrī.' Unhoṅ ne kahā : 'Sānān khular nānān Mirza kīttīhe hui.' Ih gal sunke Mirze ne Bibo ko ḍōḥiyā : 'Māsi hunn Sāhibān nūn lāven, to main bāḥḍa hān.' Bibo ne apne bhirā ko kahā : 'Mainh siī hui, kaṭṭā nāhīn jhalāī. Lōg kahden hain ke je gānē baddī baklīyān chāṛō tān kaffe jhalī.'


Changī bhalī ghalōn, aon moṭhe lagg!
Kise ghārdī gaj mārīd gāyā kalēja chāt?
Sāhibān ghalōn tel nūn gayt pasdrī dī ḍāt.
Pārd kise nā tolīd, jin tolīd tīn ghaṭ.

Mirze kīttān ṭhōkīdān, mahlīn charhā jīye.
Hathōṅ gōla deke, Sāhibān lādāṭjīye.

'Je tā bhūkha dudh dā devān, dudh piyd.'

'Main bhukhā nahān dudh kā, dudhōṅ bhukh nā jō.
Bhūkha tere ishā dā, khol tani gal lā!

Ohaltē Dāndwādī nūn : jehri kare Khudā!

Kalāṃ Sāhibān.

'Kakī būrī rānglī, thaḷḷōn āṅvāt tor.
Je nahīn si ghar bdā dē, māṅg liṅvān hor.
Ghōre wīr Shāmir' de sabhe rāṭāb khor,
Khaṅē khand nihāryān, turē suṁm jākor!
Bhāniyān jān na dēṅge, dāḷāliyān de chör!'  

Jawdī Mirza.

'Bakktī wekh na dūblī, jhirē chit nā pā!
Uṭḍē nāl pakherāṇ, tāṯ kauṁ bāldye.
Bakkī nūn rowan farishte, mainā roye Khudā l'

Brother of Sāhibān
A version of Mirza and Sáfíbán.

Chah mert bel te, Kābā sī nīwāye!
Le chalān Dāndwād nū, tainū tattī nā lage rōd!

Log kahte hain.

"Asbak ratte ashkān, kohlū ratte tel!
Janj vagūtrī rahgayt, būhe baithā mel!
Thāli baṅnā rahgayā, kuppī tel phulel!
Sāhānjāre piṅdrādān, gahnē sāne hamail!"

Sāhībān Mirza leguyd, ghat Bakki dī bai!

Musannīf kahtā hai.

"Jand, kārīr, wān, beryān, bārī jhali ghane,
Sāwān sanj de nikle, sārī rdt bhane.
Tāngu mu’le maut de, khallān wdgā dhawer,
U打猎 bigāndī mārke badre kiyōn sawē?"

Jawāb Summa Māhī.

"Summaṁ māhī kākiyā, jhang siydlān dī bār,
Kuhende bārī hai nā, tain nā mutyār,
Ujār maillo pīyādo, daltı maillo awūr!
Sāwān Mirza mārnā, karkē kaul kārīr."

Jawāb Mirza.

Panje sīni bālīde, panje thaddī de jund
Gol kīye golīyā, wekb māh gaiyin de aand.
Dāth dāth márghaiy sūr mān, bārī pahun chorang
Māiś wādhiyā nāk pinhā dd, langaỹu panj nad
Mord muthā Dāndwādī nūn ditti, siyālān nūn kand.

Jawāb Kalīḍa Joṅī.

"Bhukkā Kalle pūkārdī, je Sumer veji,
Jāndī wār, de māin dīthā, ek Bakki, do ji!
Kannī bunde sir mūttīyān, kise bhalī di āhī,
Uhdī mānīt pālītāh guyd, nū láj na lī!
Jammā te marjāwana, mauton dārnā ki?"

Jawāb Sāhībān.

"Uth Mirza suttīyā! Kaui āye awādā"
Aaṅkhaṁ neze rūṅgī, karde ‘māro mār;’
Nahīn dhāṁdaū ṣāpe, nahīn mīr shikār,
Uth! Bakki te chārh bahye! Wūrye Dāndwādā."

Jawāb Mirza.

Unche dīshe jhaunyre rukhān bāhj-girān,
Bhāyīyān bāhj nā joryān, puttān bāhj nā nān!
Wekh jandore ki chhatri, thandī is di chẖān
Palk āhaunkā leliyā, jag wīch rahūgā nān.

‘Hamād, a pocket Qurān, worn in token of pilgrimage, in a gold embroidered crimson velvet or red morocco case slung by red silk cords over the left shoulder: Burton’s Al-
Madīna, I, pp. 142, 239.”
A version of Mirza and Sâhîbân.

Jawâb Sâhîbân.

Kutte mír Shamír de, chhapri án ware !
Lamb jawân mukhrá (bhan !) hatti ran charhe !
Gal wîch paške maun de (wahyán) án phare !
Jû tûn sangán áthiádân, paâkhi pain gare !
Khari ne hâñj lütâ liya, lütâ khub râre !

Jawâb Mirza.

Mandá kôtâ, Sâhîbân! Turkash tângin fand !
Sau sath kâni k'rán dé diyâm siyâsin wând !
Pahle Khán Shamír nûn, duje kulle de tang !
Tijê mârân us nû, jidhi pahlí tâ mang !
Chauthi wîch asmán de jhar, jhar payen spitang !
Tâlwhrán jhurmtâ ghaâttayâ, tîrân páyî dand !
Sirîn mûdsâd lehgayâ, naâgî ho gauyî jhand !
Kallâ Mirzâ mâridâ, múdî nû bhâyî band !
Je bhâyî hoûde úpne laye Siyâlâî nu wând !

TRANSLATION.

Saint of all saints is Muhî-ud-Dîn and the axis of all devotees is Farîd!

On a pilgrimage to this saint would I go! O guide put me on the way!

The doves male and female coo the name of Faqîr Farîd
Who giveth clothes to the naked and feedeth on rice and milk the hungry!

Full of hope come the needy, from Delhî and Kasmîr,
And the desires of all are fulfilled by my Shaikh, Bahâwâl Pîr.

By Mirza Khán as he was mounting to set forth, his mother stood and advised him:—

' Enter not the street wherein dwells your sweetheart,
I saw cauldrons of heated oil whence arose fiery flames.
I dreamt Thou hadst been slain and thy body mingled with dust.'

To Mirza Khán as he was mounting to set forth Wanjal gave counsel:—

' Heark O my son! Bind fast the turban of honour!
Vain is the friendship of women and dancers, for they are rotten!
They themselves make friendships, which they themselves betray.
Sitting in a stranger's company, speak ill of no man!
Even the wise when they have lost honour cannot regain it.'

His sister too seized his reins and bade him trust in God:—

' Hearken, Mirza, my brother! stay and set thy affairs a-right!
On the one hand are the wedding party and its attendants, on the other the lookers-on!
The elephant moves in Winter, but only the racer is found at Court!
Listlessly I wander about, for what have I do with them?
So many milk-buffaloes, so many mares and strings of camels!
Let but this day go by! Turn Thy steed again!
The reply of Mirza's father's sister:
'Whilst I slept I dreamed a dream—a fearful dream!
That while a buffalo-calf was lowing the Mughals came and slaughtered it!
A dark-browed songstress stood beside the porch!
The lofty towers fell down, and the palace crushed in rain!
Let but this day go by! Turn thy steed again!
Sons of Hazrat Ali were the brothers Hasan and Husain.
Fighting with the Jews they fought many battles
Even the Prophets escaped not what was doomed to pass, do thou also yield to Fate!'

Thus speaking Mirza went his way and meeting a barber on the road asked him what he had. He said:—'he had a small basket of toilet requisites.' This Mirza opened. Then he struck Bakki his mare with his whip and she replied:

'By whipping me thou hast brought dishonour on thy ancestry;
I am sister to the virgins of Paradise, as Padmani come to thee in dower;
My worth thou hast not prized, my lover, being but a luckless hoor.

Clasping his hands together Mirza spoke to Bakki:—'I forgot. Then Bakki galloped on and overtook the wedding processions and Mirza took off all the pagris of its members and went to his mother's sister Bibo's house. When people saw the procession without a pagri in it its members retorted that it was her daughter's son who had removed them. The people said they did not know where Mirza was. Hearing this Mirza said to Bibo:—'Aunt! I can only be saved if thou bringst Sáhibán.' Bibo said to her brother: 'Our she-buffalo has calved, but she will not suckle her calf. People say that if a newly wed girl fed her on boiled grain she will suckle her calf.' Thereupon her brother Khiwá sent his newly wed daughter along with her. She took her to Mirza. They met, and after meeting Sáhibán went off home again.

I had sent them hence hale and hearty, but thou comest leaning on another's shoulder!

Has some gházi pierced they liver through with his goad?
Sáhibán was sent to fetch oil and went to the grocer's shop.

*Lit. containing henna, a comb, red thread etc.
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

Yet no one gave her full weight, whosoever weighed gave short weight.

Mirza drove in pegs and by them climbed into her mansion.

After searching (the text is obscure and not translatable here).

Sáhibán says:--

'If thou art athirst for milk I can give thee milk to drink.'

Mirza says:--

'I am not thirsty for milk. Milk would not appease my thirst.'  
I hunger for thy love! Now loose thy girdle and embrace me!

Let us then go to Dánábád, and may God do what He wills!

Sáhibán's reply:--

'Thy light brown mare hath come afar from the steppes.

If thy father's house had not another, thou should'st have borrowed one.

The steeds of Shamír, my brother, all are stall-fed on sweetened food,

Fed on sugar and flour mixed together they stamp their hoofs!

So fast are they that they will not let seducer escape or runaways like us take flight!'

Mirza's reply:--

Think not that Bakkí is lean, nor let despair afflict them!

She can outpace the birds in their flight and no racer can match her.

For Bakkí the angels weep as weeps God for me!

Mount my steed, bowing thy head to the Ka'aba!

I will carry thee to Dánábád, not even the sirocco shall catch thee!'  
People all say:--

'Lovers are with lovers, as is an oil-press with oil!'

The wedding procession was left in the lurch, and the visitors sitting at the door!

In the dish pomade remained, and in the goatskin some scented oil!

In the box ankle-rings yet left and ornaments of all kinds, even the khámãl.

Mirza put Sáhibán on the back of his mare and carried her off!

Saith the poet:--

Thro' the dense jungle studded with jánd, karír and wild shrubs,

Setting out at dawn they spent the whole night travelling.

Death watched his opportunity, the pair panting like bellows.

Stealing another man's property why do you sleep in the forest?

Sammán's reply:--

'Sammán Máhi called aloud,

The brown milk buffalo in the dense forest is missing and the belle is not among the spinsters spinning.
Follow the untrodden path; ye who are a-foot and follow the beaten path ye who are mounted.
Pledge your honour and kill Mirza, alone.'

Mirza's reply:——
My face towards Dánáwád, and my back towards Siál.
Kal's reply:——
' Kalla empty stomached called out—live, O Sammýr live!
I saw Bakkí with two riders entering the jungle!
With rings in her ears, wearing her hair braided,—the daughter
of a man,
Goes unveiled without shame or sorrow!
Man is mortal, wherefore then fear death?'

Sáhibán's address:——
' Rise sleeping Mirza! Many horsemen have arrived,
With coloured lances in their hands, crying 'kill him,' 'kill
him.'
They are not looking for themselves, nor are they a hunting party.
Get up and mounting Bakkí let us reach Dánábád.'

Mirza's reply:——
The cottages in a village look high when no trees surround it,
No pair can be without a brother and no name without a son!
Look at the shady janá tree and its refreshing shade,
Let me snatch a short rest and leave my name in the world.

Sáhibán's reply:——
Lo! Shamýr's dogs have come and entered the pond!
A tall youth with muffled face has come!
The angels of death put round our necks the rings of death!
As a Jáť struck with hail on his side,
Mirza was openly plundered, losing his all!

Mirza's answer:——
Sáhibán thou did still to hang thy quiver on the janá tree!
My 160 arrows would have the Siáls!
My first arrow would have hit Khán Shamýr and my second struck
the flank of his steed!
With the third I should have aimed at him to whom thou wast
betrothed!
My fourth would have flown to the sky and brought down moths!
Now are they encompassed by swordsmen urged on by bowmen!
The turban fell from his head, and his hair was uncovered!
Mirza fell alone, unaided by brother or kinsman!
If his brothers had been there, each would have coped with the band
of the Siáls.
A mystical poem.

GIT MIRĀN SAYYID HUSSAIN WALĪ.

THE SONG OF MIRAN SAYYID HUSSAIN, THE SAINT

1
Shaikh musáhib busurg the dáná,
Mírán Sayyid Hussain nál já parhá dogáná.

2
Shaikh Shahdb se le le maslhdh,
Khásí posák mangd’í.

3
Chírá hará, hará thá jámá,
Pašká hará kamar se bhári.

4
Hári dáp talówár nál ji,
So kamar bích lafhá’í.

5
Gainde ki dhál par hará phúl ji,
Boghn ki chámke siyáhi.

6
Khásah kaṭár pah sálim dhár jí
gúthi maíne ki hári laga’í.

7
Tükke hare bhare the tarkash,
Tín san chótar chatrá’í.

8
Nezá hará, harí thí bairakh;
Hári baundí ni nál jhan nd’í.

9
Khánká ghorá sás sab sín hára jí,
Aur sar kalghi hári súhá’í.

10
Hári posh aur bakhtár posh jí,
Aur Mírán ke sang chalte sûr sipáhi.

11
Mírán bhaye aswár khíng ke úpar,
Sang hári fawj bánd’í.

12
Káfar bahut, Turk the thore,
Mírán Sayyid Hussain síhá kéie ghoré.

13
Mírán ne síhá kéie ghoré,
Báje tabal aur fakore.

14
Ali Ali karke jore,
Rán men larte nárá sûre.

Mírán ki choli hál aswári.

15
Faujda gañ báq bahín hál,
Láyá tegha ko nikáí,

Larte ápá men hasmál,
Rán men phailá hai guláí.

Rán ki suno bis taíyári.

Báñ men hone láyí karolí,
Bése lókpatán mârien golí.

Así macché jaísí holi,
Bhíyá’vaktón men choli.

Ohhúť rakt bhári pichká’í.

'Bairag, P. Bairak or-kh, H. — a flag.'
The song of Mīrān Sayyid Hussain.

\{ Īshī āndāhī to gambhīr, \\
    Īrtī retā jo 'abīr. \\
\}

\{ Chhātī bālokhī aurā tīr, \\
    Dābā lohā men sharīr. \\
\}

Wahān parā juāh ek bhārī.

\{ Ban men kūdd ek Shaikh, \\
    Māulā rūkhā āskī ūkī ūkī ! \\
\}

\{ Tārā sarmukh āyā dekh, \\
    Usne bālokhī māri phēk. \\
\}

Tārā ne simat sāng jāb marī.

\{ Zakhm Shaikh Abu ne khāyā, \\
    Aur unko Māulā ne bachāyā. \\
\}

\{ Sote tege ko lagāyā, \\
    Kāt Tārā ko girāyā. \\
\}

Rājā ke lagā zakhm tan kārī.

\{ Gayī kāfūr ki jān, \\
    Aur jāllā dosakh ke darmiyān. \\
\}

\{ Larā Mīrān kā jauwān, \\
    Hūā Māulā mihauwān. \\
\}

Rājā ki bhāg gayī fauj sārī.

\{ Khabardār khabren dain : \\
    Rājā yeh hī'ars hai merī : \\
\}

\{ Khet vaḥā Mīrān ji ke hāth, \\
    Dhan dhan Sayyid aur saīdā ! \\
\}

\{ Larte guzrī sdrī rāt, \\
    Kahī hākhārī ne bāt. \\
\}

Rājā ki ghunghat fauj khād gayī sārī.

\{ Jab Tārā mārā gayā, \\
    Mīrān fateh kārī Kartār, \\
\}

\{ Khabar bhayī Pirīthī Rāo ko, \\
    Sun ulti khâi pachhār. \\
\}

\{ ulti khāyī pachhār ji nainon nīr āwe bhārā. \\
    Koī lāuwe loth ultihā ke yān hukum āp Rājā karā \\
\}

\{ Rājā farāwāh bhāī ko bālāwē, \\
    Are dī'ī re bahīyā mānō bāt hāmārī ! \\
\}

\{ Tārā mārā jāwe nā tujhe lāj āwe ?, \\
    Are dī'ī re bahīyā ṭūṭī bān bāhn ṭīkārī ! \\
\}
The song of Mír án Sayyid Hussain.

35} {Nahí aúár lenge ist jagat niyáni,
Bár bár janmón nahí mathári.

Is sindági se hai marná khsá,
Are de re bahiyá karo hál tatiári!

Rájá sun líjíye mujhe hukm dhíye
Gí'tun jde ran men karún már bhári.

Rájá farmáyá dánká dílwáyá,
A'í sunkar fauj simát kar sári.

Aye Rájpút wa kitne rájá,
Hainge fíl aswár bare bare chhatar dhári.

40} {Pánehón hathyár Rájá áp sájá,
Tarkash, tír, talvárá aur adhál kárá,

Díá top, sar par líá pahan bakhtár
Rá'o kumar ke bich men khoshá katári.

Rájá áp terá lá'o háthí merá
Jís par jhúl kunchán ki hai jhúl kári.

Kishná charhá píth háthí kí,
Aur kar kúdá Megal aswári.

Kishná háthí pah charhá,
Yáddá Sambhú ko kará.

45} {Thá wuh ghusse men bhára
Hold áge ko barhá.

Rájá liye kaṭak fauj dal bhári.

Man men yád Shambhú ko kare
Jab Kishná háthí par charhe.

Bhá'i ká baalá líjo já'á eke
Yún hukm áp Rájá kare.

Tírthí bát kare bhá'i se
Tum já'ë Turk ko máro,

Uško máro, uškí laskhar luto,
Yún Rájá jawab thakáro.

50} {Kishná bát kahí bhá'í se —
Jo báihná likhá leláro,

Qismat ke likhe hongé sohi,
Jo rachá dp Kartádro.

Rájá be yaqín nahín samjhe dín re
Woh Rájá bárá ganwáro!

Uske sahs háthí chalen kor men
Sang beshumdr aswáro.

Bari bari topen Rájá jutwáve,
Liye kainchún bán sah niyáro.

55} {Rájá pahúncchá já'ë kaṭak dal andur
Jahán lothon ké páre kádro.
The song of Mîrâd Sayyid Hussain.

{ Ohâ aur gîch, mar rai râhâ re
Aur le Shambhû ká nâm sang jî gáro.

{ Rájá pahúncbâ án jahán thá maiddân jî
Aur káthi par se Kishná khara lalkâro

{ Aâ Musalmán Mîrâd Sultán lo kahâ mán!
Kîn nô laro án jî?

{ Jin ne mâro bîr hâmâro.

Khabardâr khabren dayî
Khareân kâheân Mîrâd se hîl

60

{ Iân men marûn tabal phir se lajâ'î
Suno Zaid Alî ke lâl.

Khabardâr jásûs ne khabren dîn
Aji aje merâ dyâ chhâr râjo.

{ Charhe hâl lalkâr ke áp Mîrâd
Heqâ kîng charne kâ dîn dâjî!

Mîrâd ne farmdyâ kîng ko mangdyâ
{ Jîs par sin kanchan ki yeh shakal sâjo.

Charheân Shaikh Shahâb aur asp Bokhârî
Charheân Rûmî, Hâlbî aur Irân sârî.

Charheân hâl lalkâr ke dîn kâjâ.

65

Mîrâd pahûncbâ án jahán thá maiddân jî
Gaye bhdâ qeyar jîb kîmmat hârî.

{ Jâhân ran kambhâ gdrâ Sayyid wahin thârd
Bhîrî sôr se sôr sunke qeyar bhdâgo.

{ Rájá pahûncbâ án jahán thá maiddân jî,
Aur káthi par se kharâ Kishnâ lalkârê.

Mîrâd kharâ sarûk hâte jwâbê,
Sher sarûkha d'âtê kyâ râkhi gîdâr mén lâb.

{ Mîrâd ko dekh Rájá kahne lagâ,
Abhî hai bâlî umr nàdân.

Makke ko phîr jâyio tû kahâ hâmârâ mân

70

{ Lo kahâ mán merâ Sultân jî,
Yahán nâhagg jân gawâîo.

Main mûrân tumhîn lâj dwe mujko,
Yûn Râjá jwâb sundânô.

{ Mîrâd kalmon mukh jharên phûlîjî,
Mîrâd sunke bât muskâyâno.

{ Rájá tujhko mûrân tére gâr'h ko lûtân,
As nàhîn dîn nabi ká mâno.

{ Innâ sukhân sunâ Rájâ ne,
Wuh ghussah jôr dîi khâno.

75 { Rájá ne âpns fawâj ko lâb bulakê,
Râjput Bû'î kiyâ Râno.
The song of Mirán Sayyid Hussain.

\{ Māṁ pārī Chauhān Bāndelā, 
Rahe ranke bich lakh chāno. 
\{ Mīrān ko chāron taraf se līā ghar ke, 
Jaise badli men chānd chhipāno. 
\{ Māṁ kahān tak sīffat karān Sayyidān kī, 
Jīnke shākēn jagat bakhānō ? 
\{ Jīs waqt Mīrān pakre shamshe ko, 
Rājā kī sāton sūrat gahlāhānō. 

80 \{ Pakar shamshe lai āsth men, 
So rann ke bich Mīrān kharo. 
\{ Arē Rd’ō Kīshnā sun-lījo 
So hāl kalmah mukh se bhāro. 
\{ Arē Rd’ō Kīshnā lenā mān kahā ! 
Parho hāl kalmāh Mīrān farmāydā re. 
\{ Rājāh sun pāwe ghussā jī meŋ khďwe, 
Unne aṃpī faunjō ko bulwāydān re. 
\{ Rājā hukm kīnā topen dāgh dānā, 
Dhūān dūr ghubār woh sarsāvyān re. 

85 \{ ’Ashaq falak topen chhuten dana nan, 
Dhan dhan jinnān karke golā ayiyeān re. 
\{ Kā qā kahār karhe hawāi topan chhūttī, 
Jaīse khuk aur sūr machāyān re. 
\{ Tan man kāfar chogor wahān to golā barse, 
Jaīse Indar’ār barsāt jhar láyān re. 
\{ Mīrān Sayyid Hussain liye kamān daston, 
Ghussah karkar karke karkayiyeān re. 
\{ Mīrān ke tīr chhūte āke ran men tēte 
Sānd nā nān karke woh phān nāyān re. 

90 \{ Lāgā tēghā chalne sunke kāyār bhāge, 
Tēte tīr talwāro jhan nayiyeān re. 
\{ Nēnd khod bakhīt wakahān to giren kāt kāt, 
Lāgā tan men sakhm woh bhāl kāiyeān re. 
\{ Sūr bīr late ranke darmiyān ji, 
Aur chhūttī se chhūttī bhīr jāyān re. 
\{ Jogan lālkāre Shimbhū sāng gāre, 
Woh kafār āpār naubat ayiyeān re.

TRANSLATION.

1. Shaikh Mushtib was a sage,
And he used to say the morning and evening prayers with Mirán Sayyid Hussain.

On the advice of Shaikh Shahib,
He sent for fine raiment.
The song of Mirān Sayyid Hussain.

Geren was his turban, green his coat,
Green his waistband round his waist.
Green was the shield, with the sword
Hung round his waist.

5. On the shield of rhinoceros hide was worked a green flower,
   And it was lacquered with black varnish.
A good dagger with ornel edge
In a sheath of green chintz.

Green were his arrows,
All three were perfect.
And green the quiver deftly wrought,
Green was his spear, and green his standard.
And over it was a green knob which whirled round and round.
His horse carried a green saddle and trappings,
And on his head he wore a green helmet.

10. Dressed all in green, and harnessed in green,
    Mirān was attended by gallant men-at-arms.
    Mirān mounted his steed,
    And led his troops all clad in a green uniform.
    Countless were the unbelievers, and but few the Turks,
    Mirān Sayyid Hussain rode his steed upright.
    When Mirān rode his steed upright,
    The drums were beaten.
    Side by Side, calling upon Ali,
    The gallant warriors fought in the battle.
    Thus rode the Mirān’s chivalry.

15. The troops fell into an ambuscade,
    All drew their swords,
    And fighting on the defensive,
    Besprinkled the field of battle with red.¹
    Learn the twenty ways of waging war.
    Loud rose the din of battle,
    As the sons of warriors fired their pieces.
    The battle was in full swing, like the Holī festival,
    And garments were drenched in blood,
    As if squirts full of blood were being discharged.
    A heavy dust-storm arose,
    Sand scattered like powdered talo.

¹Lit. red powder, guīdī, which is used at the Holī.
20. Spears and arrows were thrown,
Bodies became wet with blood.

A terrible combat raged.
In the midst of the battle upprose a Shaikh,
Whose honour was safe with God!
Tárá seeing him advanced, came before him
And the Shaikh cast his lance at him,

But Tárá drew back and threw his spear.
And the Shaikh and his companions received wounds,
But God saved their lives.
Drawing his sword
He attacked him, and cut down Tárá,

_ The Rájá receiving a mortal wound._

25. The infidel lost his life,
And burns in the midst of Hell.
Mírán's brave youths fought on,
And God was kind.

All the Rájá's army fled.
The scouts brought in words,
(Saying) "Rájá! This is our report:
The field remains in Mírán's hands,
Honour to the Sayyid and his race!
The whole night passed in fighting."
Thus spake the messengers.

_ The Rájá's army fled in shameful rout._

30. Tárá was slain,
And God gave the victory to Mírán,
When Pirthí Ráo learnt the news,
Hearing it, he fell prone.
He fell prone, and his eyes were filled with tears.
He himself gave the order that his body should be brought in.

And he bade them call his brother,
"O my brother! Hearken to my words!
Art thou not ashamed that Tárá has been killed?
Oh my brother! One of our arms hath been broken!

35. We shall never be re-born in this world,
Our mother will never again give us birth.
'Twere better to die than to cling to this life,
Oh my brother! Forthwith make ready!"
"Oh Rájá! Hear me, and give me thy commands!"
Though I perish on the field I will deal our enemies a heavy blow.'

By beat of drum the Rájá proclaimed his orders,
Hearing it, all his forces assembled.
Rájpúts came, and many a Rájá,
Mounted on elephants, with umbrellas over their heads.

40. The Rájá put on the five arms,
The quiver, the arrow, the sword, and the strong shield,
He put on also his helmet and his armour,
And stuck his dirk into his girdle.
The Rájá himself bade them bring his elephant,
On which was a saddle-cloth embroidered with gold.
Krishná rode on the elephant's back,
And Megal also rode forth.
Mounted on his elephant, Krishná called to mind the god Shambhú.

45. Full of wrath he
With a mighty force advanced.
Remembering the god Shambhú in his heart,
When Krishná mounted his elephant,
"Go and take vengeance for thy brother."
Thus the Rájá bade him.
And again addressing his brother,
(He said) :—"Go and smite the Turk
Smite him, and plunder his camp"
Such were the Rájá's orders.

50. Krishna spake to his brother :
"Whosoever be written in the book of fate,
Whosoever is written, that shall come to pass,
As predestined by God."
The Rájá was a sceptic, and did not comprehend the faith of Islám:
Such a clown was he!
Twenty-two elephants moved with him in line,
Countless horsemen rode with him.
The Rájá had his heavy guns yoked,
Taking cross-bows and various weapons

55. The Rájá won his way to the midst of the dense throng
Where the dead lay in heaps,
Over them hovered kites and vultures.
The song of Mirà' Sayyid Husayn.

Invoking Shambhú's name he couched his lance.
The Rájá reached the scene of battle,
Standing on his elephant Kríshna shouted aloud,
"Thou Musúlmán! Mírá' Súltán! Grant me this boon!
Why dost thou not come forward to meet me in fight?"
Scouts brought in the news,
And told Mírá' this news:—

60. "O son of Zaid Ali! In the battle beat the drum!"
Careful spies brought in word
That the Rájá has come forward.
Then Mírá' himself mounted his horse, and shouted aloud:—
"This is the day to mount our steeds!"
Mírá' bade them bring his horse,
On which was a golden saddle,
And Shaikh Shaháb rode on Bokhára steed,
And the men of Turkey, Aleppo and Irán all mounted.

All rode impetuously in the cause of the faith, shouting aloud.

Mírá' reached the field of battle,
And the coward fled when his courage failed him.
Where the battle raged most fiercely, there stood the Sayyid steadfast.

With the brave fought the brave, but the faint-hearted fled.
The Rájá reached the field of battle,
And from his elephant's back Kríshná shouted,
Standing faced him and thus answered his challenge.
Mírá' seeing the Rájá, called to him:—
"When the lion comes forward, what strength remains to the jackal?"
Seeing Mírá' the Rájá spake:—
Thou art but young in years and ignorant,

Get thee gone to Mecca, and listen to my words.

70. "Hearken, O Súltán, to my words,
Here thou wilt but vainly lose thy life.
If I slay thee, I shall be put to shame,"
Thus the Rájá answered.
From Mírá’s mouth came words like flowers
Hearing these words Mírá’ smiled.
"Rájá! I shall slay thee and plunder thy stronghold
Unless thou wilt embrace the Prophet's faith."
Hearing this the Rájá was enraged at heart,

75. The Rájá summoned all his forces,
The song of Mírán Sayyid Hussain.

All his Rájpúts, Rá’os and Ránás.
"I am a Chauhán of Bundela,
I will that the combat begin now."
Mírán was surrounded on all sides,
As the moon is hidden by the clouds.
How shall I sing the praises of the Sayyid,
Whose exploits are known throughout the world?
When Mírán grasped his sword,
The Rájá’s seven senses were lost.

80. In his hand he grasped his sword,
As he stood among the horsemen.
Hail! Rá’o Krishná! Hear me,
Repeat the kalma with thy lips.
Hail! Rá’o Krishná! accept my counsel!
"Repeat the kalma!" Thus commanded Mírán.
As the Rájá listened he grew enraged at heart,
And called upon his soldiers.
He bade the cannon open fire,
And they belched forth smoke.

85. The cannons opened fire
And the balls fell in showers.
The round iron discs flew into the air and made a noise like the grunting of wild boars.
In his hands Mírán Sayyid Hussain took his bow and Mírán’s arrows flew, just as Indra sends down rain in torrents.

90. When the swords began to play, the cowards fled,
Arrows, swords and spears were broken into pieces.
Lances and armour were splintered into fragments,
Bodies were wounded and cries of pain arose.
Brave men fought in the midst of the battle
Breast to breast
Jogán Lál saith: Shimblá threw away the spear,
Now came the time for the dagger.
SECTION 6—Sikhism and the Story of Banda Bairagi.

Life of Nának.—Nának, the founder of the Sikh faith, was the son of Kálú Chand, a Khatri of the Bedi section, and was born at Tal-wanđi, a village on the Rávi not far from Lahore, on the full moon day in Kétak Sambat 1426, or 14 years earlier than Luther. His father was a simple peasant, employed by Ráí Boe, a Muhammadán Rájpút of the Bháṭṭi tribe, the owner of the village, as an appraiser of produce. His mother's name was Tripta.

When only 5 years old the sister of Nának's mother, Bibi Lakho, came to see her sister and observing the boy's indifference to worldly things said to her: 'Thy son is soft headed.' Nának rejoined: Thine will be four times as soft headed; thus predicting the birth of the famous saint Vába Rám Thamman whose shrine is at the place of that name near Kádr. 5

Of Nának's life few authentic details have come down to us, and these are contained in a jaunmákhí or biography, assigned by Trumpp to the later years of Gurú Arjan or his immediate successors. This work refers to hymns in the Granth Sikhí and must therefore have been compiled after it. Mohsan-i-Páni appears to refer to separate stories which even in his time were not collected in one work. This biography contains few of the miracles and other incidents found in the later jaunmákhís, and as it is an early record of Nának's life it may be regarded as authentic in all material points.

1 One account averts that Kálú or Kallu had no sons until one day a safr visited his hut and was there fed, whereupon he sent some fragmengs of his mál to Kálú's wife promising her a famouse son. She went as cu-otorary for her confinement to Márí near Kó Khachá (or Kána Kachá), 15 miles south of Lahore) where her parents lived. Here her son was born and he received the somewhat disparaging name of Nának, because he was born in the house of his nánd or maternal grandfather. See McGregor's History of the Sikhs, I, p. 32, and Cunningham's Jíto, p. 40, and note. This account is rejected by the better-informed who say that Hardial, the family priest, drew up the boy's horoscope and divined for him the name of Nának to which his parents objected as it was common to both Hindus and Muhammadans. The priest rejoined that his calculations disclosed that the boy was destined to be revered by both creeds: Philosoplic Hist. of the Sikh Religion, by Kházn Singh, Lahore, 1914, p. 55. B. Gurkaksh Singh however writes:—"third Nának's sister was older than himself and she was named Nánakí. The brother was given her name, as very often happens. This is a simpler and more natural explanation than too other two given. Perhaps the girl was born in her maternal grandfather's house and so named Nánakí."

* Talwandi Ráí-Bulár or "of wit and wealth" is now called Ráipur. McGregor, I, 32. The date of Nának's birth is also given as the 3rd of light half of Baisakh.

At Talwandi now stands the famous Nánkána Sáhib on the site of the house, in which Nának was born; the Kára Sáhib, the sacred field into which Nának when absorbed in contemplation let his father's cattle stray but in which no sign of damage done to the crop could be found; a temple on the site where a snake shaded his face with its hood while he lay sunk in contemplation and another where the shade of the tree stood still: Kházn Singh, op. cit., p. 80.

* Kházn Singh, op. cit., p. 56. Rám Thamman was a Bairági, and a cousin of Nának; see vol. I, p. 87 ff. Thamman = Thawan, the Greek ophidianis or elephantis, or Skámr, a grass Pteniium echteroides, Punjabi Dicts., pp. 115, 205, 204. But possibly Thamman is derived from thám, a post or pillar, Sanskr. Thamba and may thus be connected with Stamb Náth, a form of Shiva.
As a child Nának was devoted to meditation on God, and at the age of 7 he was sent to the Hindu village school, where he composed the 35 verses\(^1\) of the *Patti* in the Rāg Asā of the *Graṅth*. Here Nának received all his secular instruction, for he was early employed by his father as a buffalo-herd.

In due course he married and two sons were born to him, but this did not prevent his leading a life remote from thoughts of this world and his superhuman character was revealed to Rái Bulār, the son of Rái Bhoie, who found him one day sleeping beneath a tree whose shadow had stood still to shelter him, while those of the other trees had moved, with the waning noon.\(^2\)

Nának showed no bent for any worldly vocation, but delighted in the society of saints and even wandering *faqīr*, and at last his father in despair sent him to Sultánpur, a town now in the Kapūrthala State, where his brother-in-law Jairám, husband of his sister, Nánaki, was employed as a factor to Nawáb Daulat Khán the Lodi, who after his long governorship of the Punjab called in Bābar to aid him against his master's injustice.

At Sultánpur Nának devoted himself to his duties, but his wife and children were left or remained at Talwândi, sometimes regarded as an indication that his domestic life was not happy. His wife however rejoined him after his travels and lived with him till his death. There too he was joined by an old acquaintance, Mardána the Dúm, an itinerant musician, who accompanied his improvised hymns on his *rabāb* or harp.\(^3\)

At Sultánpur too Nának was destined to receive that definite call to the office of religious leader to which he owes his title of Gúrú. While bathing one day in the canal he was taken up by angels and transported into the presence of God who gave him a goblet of nectar with the command to spread the fame of Gúr (Hari) through the world. Meanwhile his servant had carried home the news of his disappearance in the water, and the Khán had actually set fishermen to drag the canal for his body, when he re-appeared.

After this event Gúrú Nának took the decisive step of distributing all that he had among the poor and accompanied by Mardána he left his house and began to preach. In popular phrase he turned *faqīr*. His first pronouncement 'There is no Hindu and no Mussalmán' led to his being cited, at the Qází's instance, to appear before the Nawáb, who

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\(^1\) 35, not 34 as usually stated. Each verse began with a letter of the alphabet. The letters are exactly the same 35, as are now found in the Gurmukhi alphabet, even including the letter (r) which is peculiar to Gurmukhi, thus proving that the Gurmukhi alphabet existed before his time and was not invented by the second Gúrú, Angad, though the name Gurmukhi may have replaced its original name, which was possibly Tánkre. See the pamphlet: *The Origin of the Gurmukhi Characters*, Coronation Printing Works, Hall Bazar, Amritsar. Sir George Grierson holds that the alphabet is derived from the Sárada through the Tākri of the Hills and the *langā* script of the plains: J. R. A. S., 1918, p. 577.

\(^2\) Subsequently the legend ran that a huge black snake had raised its hood over Nának's head to shield him from the sun's rays while he slept.

\(^3\) Mardána was the founder of the Rabhi group of the Dom-Miriāi. Cunningham calls him the harper, or rather a chanter, and player upon a stringed instrument like a guitar: *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 42.
invited him to accompany him to the mosque. Nának did so—and while the Qázi led the prayers, he laughed. To the Qázi’s remonstrances he replied that the latter had left a feast in his own courtyard and had throughout the prayers been anxious lest it should fall into the well. Amazed at Nának’s power of reading his thoughts the Qázi fell at his feet and acknowledged his power.

After this incident Nának set out on what are often called his five pilgrimages, thus beginning his mission to call the people to the right path. The first lay eastward,1 to the shrine of Shaikhé Sajan who had built a temple for Hindus and a mosque for Muhammadans—a proof of the religious toleration in fashion at this period of Indian history. But the Shaikh was given to murdering those who put up with him in his shop and stealing their property, until the Gurd saw through him and made him become a repentant follower of his teaching. Tradition also takes Nának to Delhi, where he restored a dead elephant to life and interviewed the Mughal emperor. Besides Shaikhé Sajan he encountered many other faghr, whom he converted. At the sack of Sayyidpur he was captured by Bábár’s troops and carried off, but coming under Bábár’s own notice he was honourably used and set at liberty.2

But he soon set out on his second or southward pilgrimage. That he ever reached Ceylon or formed there a samgat (congregation) of his disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of this journey have been preserved.

At Siálkot he heard that Hamza Ghaus was undergoing a 40 days’ fast in order to acquire power to destroy the town, so he sat under a plum (ber) tree and called thrice to the faghr. Receiving no reply he stood up and gazed at the lofty tower in a vault of which the faghr had shut himself, and burst open its walls so that the sun fell on the face of the recluse. This saint had promised sons to a Khatri of the town in return for a promise that the first-born should become his disciple and as the vow was broken had condemned all the inhabitants to annihilation. The Gurd impressed on him the injustice of punishing all for the faults of a few.3 The Ber Bábá Nának still commemorates this incident.

On his 3rd tour the Gurd who was returning from Russia and Turkistán reached Hassan Abdál in 1520. On the top of the hill was a spring of water. Its summit was occupied by Wali Gandhári, a Muhammadan saint, who grew jealous of the Gurd and refused to let

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1 Khazán Singh locates Sajan at Tulamba and places the incident in the second tour. The Shaikh inveigled Mardána into his house and maltreated him, hoping to secure the Gurd’s accumulated offerings in his possession. Tulamba had been in Taimur’s time a considerable centre of religious learning for his biographies speak of its Sáyida, umma and shakhés: E. H. I., 111, pp. 418, 484, cited in the Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 373. No mention of Sajan is traceable. But at Chawáli Mashálik in Malái tábáli is a Darbár Sálib of Bábá Nának: tób., p. 123. So too at Nigáhá there is a shrine to Bábá Nának north-west of the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar: Dera Gházri Khán Gazetteer, 1899, p. 53.

2 This must have occurred in 1524, and though Nának does not mention the occurrence in the Granth, it may well have happened. In this pilgrimage to the East Nának supplemented his imperfect schooling by constant dialectics with Muhammadan Shaikhs and other faghr. He then returned to Talwändi.

3 Khazán Singh, p. 75.
Mardana draw water from it, so the spring dried up and re-appeared at
the spot where the Gurû had halted. The Wali cast a huge rock down
from the hill upon it, but the Gurû stopped the rock with his hand,
leaving an impression of it on the hill-side.1 Thence he continued his
tour through Siâlkot and witnessed the sack of Saídpur, near Emin-
ábád, which he had foretold.2

Again Nának returned to Talwândi, but only to make thence his
third pilgrimage northwards into Kashmir, where he climbed Mount
Sumera and had a lengthy discussion with the chiefs of the Jogis and
according to some accounts with Shiva himself.

His fourth pilgrimage was to the West to Mecca, where he lay
down and by chance turned his feet towards the Ka'aba. When
reproached for this by the Qâzî, Rukn-ud-Din, he challenged him to
lay his feet in any direction where God’s house did not lie, and wherever the Qâzî turned Nának’s feet, there appeared the Ka’aba.3

Gurû Nanak’s fifth and last pilgrimage may be regarded as purely
allegorical. He went to Gorakh-hattri where he discoursed with the
84 Siddhis, or disciples of Gorakh Nath. A temple exists at Nánakmáta
in the Kumáon or Naini Tâl Tarai, about 10 miles from Khatima, a
station on the Rohilkhand-Kumáon Railway. Not far from this place
are still to be found several maths of yogis, from one of which sweet
soap-nuts (mîtha retha) are obtained by the mahant at Nánakmáta.
Two such trees are known in the Almora district; one at the place called the Gûtha retha by the hillmen, the other on the road from Lahughát
dhunnaghát. It appears that where new shoots spring from old
decayed trunks, the fruit they bear loses its bitterness. Gorakh-hattri
may be the name of some math of yogis in these hills. ‘It was also,’
observes S. Gurbaksh Bakhsh, ‘the name of a well-known math at the
Indian end of the Khaibar Pass, about two stages from Pesháwar.
Bahar, who went twice to visit the place, gives an account of it and
describes it as a well-frequented place to which Hindus came from dis-
tant places, and went through the ceremony of shaving themselves
clean. Several low underground cells, entry to which was obtained
by crawling along on all fours, and immense heaps of hair marked
the place.’ This seems to be the well-known Gor-Khattari at Pesháwar.
Other authorities say that this the Gurû’s last pilgrimage was to the
East and that it took him to Gorakhmáta or Nánakmata.

Other accounts give more detailed and less ambitious accounts of
the pilgrimages. On his first the Gurû visited Eminábád where he
meditated on a bed of pebbles (ror) where the Rori Sâhib now stands.4
Here he composed a hymn in which he reproached the Khatris for
subsisting on alms wrung from the people and expounded the merits of
earning a livelihood by honest labour.

1 Khaz’n Singh, p. 101.
2 Ib., p. 102.
3 The chola or cloak said to have been presented to him at Mecca is preserved at Dara
Bâba Nának. It is inscribed with thousands of words and figures: Gurdaspur Gazetteer,
1914, p. 30.
4 Khaz’n Singh, p. 70.
Nânak went to several other places also. At Haridwâr he pointed out to the Hindus the hollowness of sending water to their forefathers. At Kurukshetra he proved the uselessness of such vain beliefs as not eating meat at an eclipse. At Jagnsthâ he pointed out the right way to worship God and said that it did not consist in lighting lamps and so on. Among the other countries that he visited were Kábul, Baghdád etc. But this pilgrimage is rejected altogether by the reforming Sikhs.

Nânak died at Kartâr-pur on the banks of the Râvi in the Jullundur District in the house of his family, with whom he appears to have been reconciled. Before his death he transmitted his Gurûship to Lahnâ, surnamed Angad, the second Gurû, by a strikingly simple ceremony. Nânak laid live pice before Angad and fell at his feet. This event occurred in 1537 A.D.

The successive Gurûs transmitted their office by this rite, but later on a cocoanut was also laid before the successor thus appointed. Gurû Nânak also went four times round his successor and then said that his own spirit had gone into his body so that he was from that moment to be regarded as Nânak himself. It is now a common Sikh belief that each Gurû inherited the spiritual light of Nânak and the doctrine is as old as Mohnsin-ul-Fâni.

Bhâi Budha, a Jât, affixed the tilak or coronation mark on Angad’s forehead and survived to witness the installation of no less than four of Angad’s successors. Tradition says that while very young he came to Nânak and referring to the devastation of the unripe crops wrought by Bâbar’s troops said that he was afraid of being untimely carried away by the angel of death. Nânak replied: ‘Thou art old (Budha) not young.’ So he was named Bhâi Budha and lived till 1627. The significance of the tilak is well known. It is often if not generally affixed by a dominant or autochthonous agricultural class and in this instance the choice of Bhâi Budha represented the Jât recognition of the Gurû’s chiefship. To his sons’ protests against their father’s choice of Angad, Gurû Nânak replied that not even the Gurû’s dogs suffered want, and that they should have clothes and food enough. In accord, probably, with this tradition, we find the Nânakputsra or descendants of Nânak employed towards the close of the Sikh period in bancha-bhara, a practice whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nânakputra who engaged to convey them for a stipulated sum from Jagádhir to Amritsar, then the emporium of the Sikh states, paying all duties. The Nânakputras, from the sanctity which attaches to their persons, engaged enjoyed certain exemptions and were less subject to molestation from custom-officers’ importance than others.

1 Angad is said to mean ‘own body’ (fr. eng. Sanskr. ‘body’), because Lahnâ obeyed Gurû Nânak’s order to eat of a corpse which vanished when he began to do so; McGregor’s Hist. of the Sikhs, I, p. 39, and Malcolm’s Sikh A, p. 208. But a more probable account is that he was blessed by the Gurû and proclaimed as flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood; as the Gurû’s self, in fact.

6 Als eine Art Reichszapfel (Trumpp, Die Religion der Sikhs, p. 11)—cf. Murrays History of the Punjab, I, p. 169. But Khazân Singh says that the cocoanut was used at Gurû Angad’s nomination.
Nának’s attitude to Islám is illustrated by several incidents in the above sketch of his life. To these the latter janam-sádhán make many additions, which at least record the traditional attitude of the earlier Sikhism to Islám. Thus immediately after Nának’s election for a spiritual life he is said to have been visited by Khwája Khizr, the Muhammadan saint, who taught him all earthly knowledge.

The traditional account of Gurú Nának’s funeral also records his attitude towards the two religions. When the Hindus and the Muhammadans both claimed his body he bade them lay flowers on either side of it, for Hindus on the right and for Muhammadans on the left, bidding them see whose flowers remained fresh till the following day. But next morning both lots of flowers were found fresh, while the body had vanished, signifying that it belonged to neither, yet equally to both the creeds. Nának expressed his religious thought in verses, composed in Panjábi, which form no insignificant part of the Gráunth. Nának was absorbed, to use the Sikh phrase, on the 10th of October 1588 (the 10th of the light half of Asúj, Sambat 1586).

His successor, Gurú Angad, was a Khatri of the Tribhun section, who had fulfilled the Gurú’s ideal of unquestioning obedience to his will. Though perhaps illiterate, the invention of the Gurmukhi alphabet in 1533 is ascribed to Gurú Angad, and he also had much of what he had learnt about Nának from Bálá, the Sindhu Ját, a disciple of that Gurú, reduced to writing.

He himself however composed a few verses which are preserved in the Gráunth. He earned his living by twisting the coarse twine made of manj, thus following Nának’s teaching about alms. His death occurred in 1552 or 1553 at Khadúr near Govindwál on the Biá, where he dwelt in seclusion since his accession to the Gurúship. He had appointed his follower Amár Dás, a Khatri of the Bhalá section, to succeed him, passing over his own sons as unworthy.

Gurú Amár Dás resided at Govindwál whence he sent out 22 of his numerous disciples to various parts of the country to preach, dividing it into as many manjás or districts. He also built Kajáravál. But his most important act was the separation of the passive recluses of the Udási order from the active lay Sikhs, thus giving the latter body something of a social character in addition to the religious ties which held it together. He organised and maintained a public refectory (langar) at which all the four castes ate together and no question was raised as to whether the food had been cooked by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh. Before his accession he had been a Vaishnava, and after it he built at Govindwál the grand baoli or oblong well with its 84 steps.

1 B. Gurubhaksh however writes:—"The tradition that the second Gurú invented the Gurmukhi alphabet is based on a misreading of the spurious book called the Janam-sádhán of Bháy Bálá. Gurú Angad only secured the Janam-patri or horoscope of Gurú Nának from his uncle Lán: see the introductory portion of this sikhí given in Dr. Trumpp’s Translation of the Gráunth. The peculiar script of Gurú Gobind Singh’s letters is an earlier stage of Gurmukhi.

The Panth-Prákhásh calls them pādās. Manjá means a large couch so that ‘see’ would be a good translation of the term. Cf. Akbar’s 22 provinces: G. C. Narang, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 23.

2 Khánán Singh, p. 118.
and landing places. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these steps one by one on the same day repeating the jāpī with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 8,400,000 transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. Gurū Amar Dās also pronounced against the Brahmanical rite of satī, reformed the ceremonies in vogue at marriage and death, forbade pilgrimages and the like, and added largely to the poetical literature of the Sikhs. His verses in the Granth are distinguished for simplicity and clearness. Gurū Amar Dās left two sons Mān and Mohari, but bestowed the barkat or apostolic virtue upon Rām Dās, his son-in-law, as a reward for his daughter’s filial love and obedience as well as the worth of Rām Dās himself.

Rām Dās succeeded as Gurū in 1574. He was also a Khatri of the Sodhi section, which has played so pre-eminent a part in Sikhism. Gurū Amar Dās is said to have found an attentive listener in Akbar, but Rām Dās entered into still closer relations with that tolerant emperor, and is said to have received from him the grant of a piece of land whereon he founded Rāmdāspur, subsequently known as Amritsar, or the ‘pool of salvation’ from the ancient tank which lay in it, and which he repaired and enlarged. According to some authorities he also built in its midst the Harīmandar, or temple of God (Hari), in which no idols were set up.

Gurū Rām Dās’ poetical contributions to the Granth are clear and easy to understand, reproducing the traditional circle of Sikh thought as enunciated by the earlier Gurūs.

This, the fourth Gurū, was succeeded by Arjau, his youngest son, and henceforth the office becomes hereditary in the Sodhi section. Moreover with the accession of Arjau on the 3rd Bhādon sudi 1580, according to the oldest known record, the Sikh community enters on a new phase. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a faqīr and dressed in costly raiment. Though not, it is sometimes said, a Sanskrit scholar, Gurū Arjau was a man of considerable literary attainments and nearly half the Adi Granth was composed by him.

He also collected the hymns of his predecessors and adding to them selections from the writings of the earlier reformers, Kabīr, Nāmdeo, Rāvi Dās, and others, compiled the Granth or ‘Book’ of the Sikh commonwealth. A decalogue of ten commandments ascribed to this, the fifth Gurū, has recently been discovered in Eastern Bengal. It is naturally very like the Mosaic, but one of the manuscripts indicates that the Sikhs were being boycotted and found it difficult to marry.

But Arjau’s activity was not confined to spiritual affairs. Hitherto the Gurūs had lived on their own earnings like Angad, or on the voluntary offerings of their followers though these seem to have been in the main ear-marked to charitable purposes by Amar Dās, but Gurū Arjau established the beginnings of a fiscal system, appointing collectors, called masands, to each of whom was assigned a definite district.

1 Not his eldest son. Arjau’s elder brother Pirthi Chand had founded a rival sect, the Mīrās. The eldest son was more than once set aside as personally unfit or not available.

Their deputies were called *meorás,* a term borrowed from Akbar's system. These appointments indicated an attempt at regular administration. Some writers hint that the 22 *seks* or *manjas* of Gurú Amar Dās became the 22 fiscal units o. Gurú Arjan. If this was so the change is significant of the gradual transformation of Sikhism even at that early stage. But disciples were also sent to Kábul, Kandahár, Sindh and even Turkistán not only to spread the Sikh faith but also for purposes of trade. He also permitted himself to be addressed as *sacha pādhāh* or 'true king,' 'Sodhi Sultán,' the Sodhi Sultán. Apparently he obtained this title in consequence of the dignities bestowed on him for his services against Nálagarh. He continued Nának's policy of toleration for and good relations with the Muhammadans, for the famous saint Mír Mîr was a great friend of his and the happening to visit the Gurú at this time he was asked to lay foundation stone of the Harímandar in 1589. But it was not well and truly laid and though the mason righted it the Gurú prophesied that the temple would fall down and have to be rebuilt. In 1590 he founded Tarn Tāran.

Gurú Arjan's chief opponent was Chandu Lál, a *dīwán* or finance minister of Akbar, whose daughter the Gurú refused to accept for his son Har Govind. This led to an enmity which had dire results. Chandu Lál denounced the Gurú to the emperor as an enemy of Islám and though Akbar himself was not induced to persecute the Gurú—on the contrary he honoured him in various ways and an account of Akbar's visiting Gurú Arjan at his home and remitting the land revenue on a famine-stricken area at his request is given in the *Seerul mutakhārin*—Chandu Lál's hostility predisposed his successor JahÁngir against him. It was he who informed that emperor of the Gurú's loan of Rs. 5000 to 'prince Khursu. Indeed the *Dabistán,* which contains the most probable account of Gurú Arjan's death, says he was accused, like

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1 Khasán Singh, p. 118. Akbar had employed *Meoras* or Mewáís, of the Mewáí, as dāk-runners, spies and on other delicate duties: *Afí-n-Akbari,* I, p. 232. The definition of *meora* as 'a Gurú's priest' cited in Vol. III, p. 86 infra, is misleading.

2 Narang, p. 35. He suggests that *masand* is a corruption of *masnad-i-dád* or 'Excellency,' a title of the Muqáil governors, and that though there are now no Sikh *masands* the system still continues in the sect founded by Banda, and the *masands* exist under the style of *Bháí* (in that sect). But a writer in the *Dacca Review* for January 1916 (p. 317) speaks of the term as equivalent to *sangatsa.* And he writes: 'the original number' (of the *masands*) got very much multiplied (under the successors of that third Gurú. With the gradual transformation of Sikhism, this system also underwent a change and the bishops did not remain purely spiritual guides, but became collectors of tithes etc. (p. 316) This confirms the view expressed in the text. Followers of *masandas,* who were in charge of *sangatsa,* were called *sangitsa* or *masondis,* not *masandas* themselves. Trumpp says Gurú Arjan introduced a regular system of taxation, compelling all Sikhs to contribute 'according to their means or other gains.' But this Gurú appears to have established the titles, *dasawadh,* *dasawáth,* 'a regular tenth contributed to the Gurús': *vide Panjábi Dícty,* s. *e.* In the Western Punjab, at any rate, this title was called *sikhi* or was replaced by a new tax called by that term.

3 According to Khasán Singh (p. 130) these titles were assumed first by Gurú Hargovind.

4 Khasán Singh, p. 119. Gurú Arjan's *haoli* in the Dabbi Bazar at Lahore was also made by the Muhammadán governor, Hosain Khán: p. 121.

5 II p. 272 et seq.
many other Punjab notables, of actual participation in Prince Khusrū’s rebellion. It is certain that he was condemned by Jahāngīr to a heavy fine. Unable or unwilling to pay the sum demanded he was exposed of the sun’s rays and perished of exhaustion in 1606.

Arjan’s son Har Govind succeeded to the Guruship. He wore two swords typifying amīrī or secular and faqīrī or spiritual authority, and he was the first Gurū to take up arms against the Muhammadans to whom he certainly ascribed his father’s death, whatever the precise circumstances may have been. He built the stronghold of Hargovindpūr on the upper reaches of the Beās, and thence harried the plains. To his standard flocked many whom want and misgovern ment had driven from their homes. But at last Gurū Har Govind fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and Jahāngīr kept him a prisoner at Gwālīor for 12 years, until in 1628, on that emperor’s death, he obtained his freedom by sacrificing his treasures. Returning to Kiratpur the Gurū renewed his attacks on the Muhammadan land-owners and imperial officials of the plains. One of his last exploits was an expedition to Nānakmāṭā, in the Tarai near Nainī Tāl, whose faqīr Almast, the Udāsi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the pipal tree under which Gurū Nānak had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Nāth. This or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Gurū, to Shujātpūr near Dacca and had there founded saṅgat. This saṅgat at Shujātpūr was called after Natha Sāhib, third in succession to this Almast. In 1636, the Gurū restored him to his shrine and returned to Kiratpur.

1 According to the Tānīkā of Jahāngīr he waited upon Khusrū when the latter halted at his residence, and placed the saffron finger-mark or fīka upon his forehead: J. A. S. B., 1907, p. 603. The meeting took place at Tāru-Tāran according to Khāzān Singh, p. 125.

2 The Sikh accounts aver that Chandu Lāl continued his intrigues against Gurū Har Govind and prevailed on Jahāngīr to demand payment by him of the fine imposed on the father, but the Gurū forbade the Sikhs to raise the money. Mūn Mīr however interceded with Jahāngīr at Delhi and not only obtained his release but reconciled him to this emperor whom he accompanied on his tour in Rājpūtāna and who even employed him to subdue the rebellious chief of Nālāgarh: Khāzān Singh, p. 129. This account is easily reconcilable with that of the Dīdīīāh (II, p. 274) which represents Gurū Har Govind as entering Jahāngīr’s service and continuing to serve Shāh Jāhān: yet the latter emperor sent troops against him and they drove him out of Rāmāsdāpur (Amritsar) and plundered his lands there. The Gurū was victorious in his struggle with Paimān Khān, who resisted the fortification of Hargovindpūr, but imperial troops interfered and drove him to seek refuge amongst the Hill States: ib., p. 277. The testimony of Mohsin-i-Fānī is in some ways the more valuable in that he was a Muhammadan.

3 Malcolm’s Sketch (p. 82) reproduces a tradition which is not based on any written or authentic proof.

Other authorities say that the Gurū was invited by the emperor to Delhi and thence accompanied him to Agra. There misled by an astrologer the emperor requested the Gurū to fast and pray for him for a period of forty days in the solitary hill fort of Gwālīor. This was a plot on the part of Chandu and other enemies of the Gurū to get him out of the way. But the emperor soon realized his mistake, sent for the Gurū and at his request liberated many of the hill Nājīs imprisoned in Gwālīor.

4 Dacca Review, 1916, p. 228. Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal. The Nānakmāṭā near Nainī Tāl seems to have been called the ‘Nānakmāṭ of Almstrāj.’ B. Gurbakhsh Singh writes regarding the saṅgat at Shujātpūr: ‘The inscription on a stone in the well of this saṅgat commemorates the name of the original founder and his “Mother Lodge” of Nānakmāṭa. This new saṅgat was not named Nānakmāṭ, but it was under the Lodge at Nānakmāṭa in Nainī Tāl, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place.'
through Aligarh, Delhi and Karnal. This life of active military enterprise, lightened at intervals by sport, absorbed all Har Govind's energies and he contributed nothing to the Granth.

But interesting stories are recorded of his aversion to the ostentatious or undue exercise of spiritual power. Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, had restored to life a cow accidentally killed by a Sikh. The Guru rebuked him for this uncontrolled exhibition of spiritual force and the Baba went to the tomb of Badhan Shah, a Muhammadan jagir, where he lay down and gave up his soul. Similarly, Atal Rai, his fourth son, as a boy of 9 restored to life a playmate who had died of snake-bite and, he too when reproached by the Guru for vanity with the giver and taker of life by exercising miraculous power over death covered himself with a sheet and breathed his last. His tomb is close to the Kaulsars at Amritsar and is the highest building in that town.

Guru Har Govind was known also as the Chhatwán Bâdshâ or 6th king among the Sikhs and so offerings of kârâk pârâhâr are made at the Darbâr Sahib at Lahore on the 6th of every month and the building is illuminated.

On his death at Kiratpur in 1645 his grandson Har Rai succeeded him. Of this Guru we have an account by the author of the Dibisân, who knew him personally. Less warlike than his grandfather, Guru Har Rai still maintained the pomp and circumstances of a semi-independent military chieftain. His body-guard consisted of 300 cavalry with 60 musqueteers, and 800 horses were stalled in his stables. His alliance was successfully sought by another rebellious scion of the Mughal house, Dárá Shikoh, who soon perished. Thereupon the Guru retreated to Kiratpur whence he sent his son Râm Rai to Delhi to negotiate pardon. Aurangzeb received the young envoy graciously, but detained him as a hostage for his father's loyalty. Har Rai contributed not a single verse to the Sikh scriptures. Dying in 1661 at Kiratpur he left his office to his second son Har Kishan, the 8th Guru, and as yet a minor. Râm Rai, still a hostage, appealed to Aurangzeb, who seized

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1 His prowess as an archer is still remembered for he would shoot an arrow from Srigovindpur to the shrine of Daudana, a distance of about half a mile: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 17.
2 Khazânu Singh, pp. 140-1.
3 Muhammad Latif: Lahore, its History etc., p. 197.
4 Macauliffe places this event in Sbt. 1701 (= 1644 A.D.), but this appears to be an error. The Dibisân gives the year as 1645 and its correctness has now been proved, by a manuscript recently found in Eastern Bengal. Its author had seen this Guru at Kiratpur in 1644. Macauliffe rightly rejected the Hindustani version of the Guru's death, according to which he caused himself to be shut up in Patalpur and bade Guru Har Rai not to open the door till the 7th day, when he was found dead: Dacca Review, 1915, p. 375.
5 Gurditta, his father and Har Govind's eldest son, had become an Udâsi, and this disqualified him for the office of Guru, now a quasi-secular chiefship. From a tent-pag driven in by him sprang the Tabli Sahib, a large shrâkâm at Shahgarh Kohtiw, a village in the south-west of Shakargarh tahâli: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 17.
6 We do not know why Râm Rai was passed over. As a hostage he may have been held ineligible. A somewhat similar incident occurs in Babâwalpur history. According to the Sikh accounts he has misquoted a verse of Guru Nânak: Khazânu Singh, p. 145. An early tradition recorded by the Court Historian of Manâra Janjît Singh makes Râm Rai, the brother of Har Rai, son of Baba Gurditta, on being superseded appeal to the emperor, who would not or could not help him, and upheld the election. Baba Gurditta had married a second wife much against the wishes of his father, and Râm Rai was his son by that wife: see the Undââbâ-Tawâdîrkh by Lâia Sohan Lâl, Sûri. Vakl, Lahore Darbar.
the pretext for interference in the Guru’s domestic affairs and summoned Har Kishan to Delhi. There he died of small-pox, after declaring that the Sikhs would find the next Guru in Bakála, a village on the Beás. Disputes regarding the succession inevitably arose and some of the Sodhs set up a Guru of their own, while Rám Ráí urged his claims in reliance on imperial support. This, however, only alienated his own followers, and despairing of success he retreated to Dehra Dún, where he founded a sect of his own.

At length in 1664 Teg Bahádur obtained recognition as the 9th Guru. Teg Bahádur was a great figure among the Sikhs. From his birth he was destined to be a scourge to his enemies, and foreseeing this his father named him Teg Bahádur. His personal likeness to Bábá Nának was also striking. Nevertheless his recognition was keenly contested by Dhir Mal, the elder son of Gurditta, the Udásí, and Teg Bahádur was driven to seek refuge on a piece of land which he purchased from the Kahlúr Rájá. Here in 1685 he founded Anauropolis. Still harassed by his opponents the Guru set out on a progress through the Máiwa country—a tract still dotted with shrines, tanks and dharmshálas which commemorate his visits. Then he wandered through the Kurúshetra, and thence into Lower India, where the Sikh faith had many scattered adherents. The Sikh accounts of this progress are perhaps inaccurate in detail, but it is certain that Teg Bahádur’s itinerary was designed both to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach the Sikh doctrine throughout Lower India. Incidentally the existing records show that the network of Sikh organisation had been spread as far east as Patna and even Dacca, where a masand was posted. Dacca indeed became a hazár sangat or provincial sangat, at first under the

1 Sikh authorities say that 23 Sodhs of Bakála each claimed to be the rightful Guru, but they all failed to stand the test of divining what sun one Makhan Sháh, a Lábána, had vowed to offer the Guru when he escaped shipwreck.

2 Teg Bahádur was the 5th son of Guru Har Govind and his wife Nánaki, and was born at Anuritgar on Baités 5, 1678 Sambat (1621 A.D.).

3 Trumpp is almost certainly wrong in making Dhir Mal a son of Guru Rám Dás: Adi Granth, p. cxvi. He is cited by Macleod, §§ 101 and 104. The genealogy given in the latter paragraph should be as follows:—

4th Guru Rám Dás.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pirthi Chand (Mal).</th>
<th>Mahádev.</th>
<th>5th Guru Arjan Dev.</th>
<th>6th Guru Har Govind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Mínás.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

9th Guru Teg Bahádur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dhir Mal.</th>
<th>7th Guru Har Ráí.</th>
<th>10th Guru Gobind Singh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8th Guru Har Krishan.

founder of the Rám Ráís.

Khasin Singh does not say whose son Dhir Mal was, but he states that he had possessions of the Granth and supported Rám Ráí’s pretensions: pp. 150-51.

We also find he Guru assigning the offerings of Hámán and Hissár to Galara, a masand who lived at Chihka.
pontifical throne at Anandpur and later under the takht or archbishopric at Patna. The sangats thus established were not merely places of worship but also wayside refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers and each was under a masand, a term equivalent to viceroy. When in 1666 Teg Bahadur visited Dacca he found prosperous sangats at Sylhet, Chittagong, Sondip, Lashtar and elsewhere and by the time of Guru Govind Singh Dacca had earned the title of the home of Sikhism. At Patna in 1666 was born the future Guru Gobind Singh. Not long afterwards the Guru returned to the Punjab, but Govind Singh remained in his native land until the Guru sent for him and he went to Anandpur.

Recent research has thrown considerable light on the life and propaganda of Guru Teg Bahadur. At that period the Aorras went north to Kabul and Kandahar, Balkh, Bukhara and even Russia, while the Khatri monopolised the markets of Eastern and Southern India. Hence when Teg Bahadur was persecuted by his Sodhi brethren and when even the mutradis of the temple at Amritsar shut its doors against him he found adherents in the Khatri communities dotted all over Hindustan, the Deccan and Eastern Bengal. These colonies probably preserved the secular Khatriya tradition of the independence of thought and freedom from Brahmanical control.

The enterprise of the Sikh missionaries and the distances to which they travelled may be gauged by the recently discovered itinerary of a pilgrim to the Sikh temples in Southern India and Ceylon. The author must have lived long before 1675, but he must have taken boat at Negapatam on the Coromandel coast and returned through Malayalam, in which country he found stray colonies of Bhatra Sikhs and met Mayadaman, grandson of Shivnath, at Sattur. Inquiries recently made by B. Gurbaksh Singh have thrown much light on the history of Sikhism in Southern India.

The author of the itinerary mentions a viceroy at Tanjore—Airapati Naik. This and other indications would fix his date soon after the battle of Talikote in Akbar's time. Other details as regards topography are also substantially correct. This account places Shiv Nath at Jaffna, in the extreme north of Ceylon. Sikh temples still exist at Ramesulvar, Salur, Bhaker and Shivkanji in Madras and Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples also exist at Burhanpur, Surat.

1 There were four of these takhts or 'thrones' at Anandpur, Amritsar, Patna, and Nander (Haidarabad, Deccan).


3 Zb., 1916, p. 377 f.

4 Zb., 1916, p. 376. Trumpp discredited this story, but its substantial truth must now be regarded as established in spite of the pilgrim's exaggerations in his account of the victims consumed at the daily gogya in the principal temple in Ceylon. The name given in the Sikh books is Shivnath and not Shivndih. Nittih in Buddhist literature means an evil spirit and udh has sacred associations as in Padam udh etc. It is quite possible that the name was changed on purpose and the Sikh books give it correctly as known at Jaffna. Another explanation is that Shivnath in Persian character was misread as Shivndih by early chroniclers. Even in Gurmukhi Shivndih is apt to be misread as Shivndih, the letters b and th being so alike. For a similar reason Banda would be obliged to call himself a Khatri instead of a Khatri in the Deccan, where the term Khatri is used for Dhaj weavers.
BOMBAY (and Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amrāoti, Nirmal (District Adilshāh—in the Nizām’s Dominions). Manuscript copies of the Granth Sāhib are to be found at Burhānpur and Sūrat, and another old copy with one Bola J Tripathi at Lonovala (Poona).

The sāngat at Colombo is in Colombo fort and a Brahmin Misra Jāwāla Parsāh is now in charge. A Sindhi firm—Topan Singh, Mothūwāl—claim to have been established in Ceylon from before Gurū Nānak’s time. Their head office is at Karachi and their munki or agent in Colombo, Gopāl Dās by name, is still known to be a good Sikh. Certain Egyptian mummies in the Colombo Museum are curiously enough identified by the local Sikhs as Shivnath, his wife and son! Large numbers of Khatri has been established in Burhānpur from very remote times, and are found as far south as Madras, where a Khatri, Rājā Tuljarām, lived not many years ago in Tirmalkheri (Madras town).

At Salur where Gurū Nānak is supposed to have held discussions with yogis many māths or yogi temples are found.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb’s policy was bearing fruit. In his attempt to Muhammadanize India he had excited grave opposition and Gurū Teg Bahādur recognised that if Gurū Nānak’s acquiescence in the Moslem sovereignty was to be revoked his own life must be the price of the revocation. Accordingly he sent the Kashmiri pandits who had appealed to him in their distress to make a petition to the emperor in these words:—We live on the offerings of the Khatri. Gurū Teg Bahādur, the foremost among them, is now seated on the throne of Gurū Nānak and is Gurū of all the Hindus. If thou canst first make him a Mussalmān, then all the Sikhs and Brahmins who follow him, will of their own accord adopt thy faith. The emperor accordingly summoned the Gurū to Delhi and he replied that he would come after the rains. That season he passed at Saifābād with Saïf-ul-Dīn whom he converted and then dismissing all his followers save five, among whom was his diwan, Matī Dās Chhibra, he set out for Delhi. At Saumāna a Pathān offered him a refuge, but the Gurū went on to Delhi. There he was seized and resisting every inducement to forsake his faith was eventually put to death. To his son Govind Rāi he sent a dying message to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. Govind Rāi, then a boy of 9, received this behest at Lakhnaur, whence he and his mother retired to Anandpur.

There he received his father’s head, which was cremated at that place. Govind Rāi was then acknowledged as the 10th Gurū in 1675.

THE SIKHS’ RELATIONS WITH THE HILL STATES.

The first of the Hill Rājās to accept the teaching of the Gurūs was the Rājā of Haripur, in Kangra. He was permitted to see the Gurū

1 Gurū Nānak, it was said, had promised Bābar the empire for 7 generations. Six emperors of his line had reigned, and Teg Bahādur would offer his own life in lieu of the 7th.

2 Saifābād lies 4 or 5 miles from Patīālā.

Govind Rāi was here visited by Bhitkham Shāh, owner of Kuhrām and Siānā, 4 miles from Lakhnaur, and of Thaska which the emperor had bestowed on him. Govind Rāi guaranteed his possession of Thaska during the future Sikh domination. Govind Rāi’s close connection with leading Muhammadans is remarkable.
Amar Dás after eating from his kitchen at which food was prepared and eaten by all castes without distinction. This occurred before 1574.

In 1618 Gurú Har Govind had subdued Tárá Chand, Rájá of Nálagarh, who had been in revolt against Jahangir. He was brought before the emperor and the Gurú for his services obtained the honorary command of 1,000 men and 7 guns, with high judicial functions and other honours.

In 1627 Gurú Har Govind was invited by some of the Hill Rájás to visit their territory, but he sent Bábá Gurditta, his eldest son, to the (Jaswán) Dún and Hindúr (Nálagarh) and he founded Kíratpur in that year.

In 1635 however we find Gurú Har Govind himself visiting Tárá Chand's territory.

In 1642 he joined forces with this State and helped the Rájá to defeat the Nawáb of Rúpar.

About 1656 we find the Sikhs reducing the Rájá of Kahlúr (Biláspur) to submission.

In 1682 Rájá Bhim Chand of Biláspur, in whose territory the Gurú Govind Singh was then residing, demanded gifts which included an elephant called Parádi (or loans which he did not intend to return) from his guest. He deputed his wástr, Parmánand, to obtain these exactions, but the Gurú declined to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. The Rájá's personal threat of expulsion was equally ineffectual and so he attacked the Gurú but was routed, losing many men.

In 1684 Gurú Govind Singh visited the Sirmúr territory at the Rájá's invitation and founded Páonta on the banks of the Jamna.

Bhim Chand's defeat, however, had rankled and he leagued himself with the Rájás of Goler, Kaṭoch, Jaswál, Káthgarh and Nálagarh against him.

In 1685 they attacked him at Páonta and won over 500 Patháns who had been discharged from the imperial service and whom he had...

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1 Khazáu Singál, p. 118.
2 Jb., p. 133.
3 Jb., p. 136.
4 Jb., p. 139.
5 Jb., p. 148.
6 Jb., p. 164. The Sirmúr Gáktíter, p. 15, gives a slightly different account. It says that the Gurú declined to surrender an elephant to Rájá Bhim Chand and Hari Chand, both of Biláspur, so they compelled him to leave Amándpur, then in that state, and he came to Toka whence he was brought to Náhan by the Rájá of Sirmúr. Thence he proceeded to Páonta. Meanwhile the Biláspur Rájá had returned the presents made by the Gurú to Rájá Fateh Sháh of Ghárhwál whose daughter was marrying a Biláspur prince. This insult determined the Gurú to prepare for war and at Bhargánál, 3 miles from Páonta, he defeated both Hari Chand and Fateh Sháh. The Gurú resided at Páonta from 1686 to 1689.
7 Jb., p. 112.
8 Jb., p. 186.
employed on the advice of his friend Budhu Sháh of Sádhaúra. An equal number of Udásás also deserted him though they had long been fed on his bounty, and if Budhu Sháh had not joined him with 2000 disciples the day would have gone against him. The Gurú then left Páonta for Anandpur and founded Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Kesgarh and Fatehgarh to keep the hill states in check.¹

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect revenue from the hill Rájas however led some at least of them to change sides, for we soon find the Gurú aiding them with troops to repel a force sent against them. Bhím Chand too had certainly concluded peace with the Gurú, and the Biláspur chronicles even say that in alliance with him he defied the imperial authorities at Kángra and defeated the governor Alif Khan at Nádaun,² but many hill Rájas joined Ghulám Hussín Khán in his expedition from Lahore.³ Before he reached Anandpur however he was opposed by one of the hill Rájas who aided by forces sent by the Gurú completely defeated him.

1757 S.

But in 1700 disputes arose about fuel and grass and Rájas Bhím Chand and Alam Chand with the help of the Rájas of Biláspur and Nálagarh attacked the Sikhs in the forest, only to be completely routed. Bhím Chand⁴ then convened a council of the Rájas of Sirmur, Kángra, Daraul, Parauli, Dadwál, Srínagar (Garhwál) and other states, besides those mentioned above and they attacked Anandpur with 20,000 men, but failed to take it by siege and were dispersed. But obtaining promise of a reinforcement of 2000 men from the Mughal governor of Sirhind they treacherously attacked him again, only to meet with a second reverse, and yet they were able to compel Ajit Singh to evacuate Kíratpur. The history of this episode is obscure. The Gurú was apparently on friendly terms with the Ráj of Bassauli and in 1701 he concluded peace with Bhím Chand once more, though he had been the leader of the confederacy against him. Soon after the Gurú visited Rawálsar in Mandi.

Gurú Govind Singh is said to have come up into the hills from Biláspur at the end of the 17th century and went as far as Sultánpur in Kulu. There the Rájá asked him to perform a miracle whereupon the Gurú

² Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, p. 6. The year of this victory is not stated but it appears to have been won late in Bhím Chand’s reign. 1665-92 A.D. B. Gurbaksh Singh points out that it must have occurred before 1755 at any rate, as in that year Gurú Gobind Singh wrote an account of all these engagements. The elephant came from Dacca. Unfortunately neither this letter nor the one that followed a few months later is dated, but they were certainly sent after 1748 S. which is the date of the first letter, written while peace still prevailed, though war material was being collected. So the hostilities must have commenced between 1748 and 1755 S., more probably nearer the former date, say about 1749 S. or 1692 A. ¹. Gurú Gobind Singh’s letter to the ancestors of the Phulkian chiefs, now preserved at Patiala, is dated 1753 S. It invites them to aid him with their horsemen. This appears to have been the last engagement of Gurú Gobind Singh with the Hill Rájás, and an account of it is given in the introduction to his Bachitra Nátsak, completed in 1755 S. The dates of these engagements therefore fall between 1748 and 1755 S.
⁴ Khazán Singh says Rájá Bhím Chand of Biláspur, but a few lines before he writes as if another Bhím Chand were meant and in this he is correct for Bhím Chand of Biláspur had abdicated in 1692 : Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, p. 6.
took hold of his own beard and drew it out to a great length, but the Rájá in his turn breathed out a flame which consumed the Gurú's beard and also had him imprisoned in an iron cage.\(^1\) The Gurú then caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all to Mandi, where the reigning chief—Rájá Sidh Sain, A.D. 1684-1727—received him with honour and treated him hospitably.\(^2\) Govind Singh's journey into the hills seems to have been with the object of seeking assistance from the hill chiefs against the Muhammadans. He remained some time at Mandi and the Rájá became his disciple. On his departure he told the Rájá to ask anything he might desire and it would be granted. The Rájá expressed a wish that his capital might never fall into the hands of an enemy, and this promise was given in the following cryptic couplet still current in Mandi:—

\[
\text{Mandi ko jab látenge,} \\
\text{Aṣámī gole chhútenge.}
\]

"When Mandi is plundered

Heavenly shots will be fired."

Vigne who visited Mandi in 1839 says that down to that time the Sikhs had never entered the capital though the State had long been tributary to them—indeed from 1809—and for some superstitious notions connected with the above prophecy no servant of Mahárája Ranjit Singh had ever been sent to Mandi.\(^3\) The receiver of the revenue on behalf of the Sikhs was quartered outside the town and the Mahárája's officer in attendance on Vigne did not enter it.

By some the promise is said to have been made by Banda, the follower of Gurú Govind, but there is no evidence to prove that he ever visited Mandi.

Mandi continued to enjoy immunity from Sikh intrusion till 1840 when a force under General Ventura was sent into the hills under the orders of Naó Nihál Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh. Mandi was occupied and the Rájá taken by treachery and sent as a prisoner to Amritsar, where he was confined for some time in the fort of Govindgarh. In the following spring, soon after the accession of Mahárája Sher Singh in January 1841, the Rájá was released and allowed to return to his capital.\(^4\) General Ventura when returning to Lahore at the close of his expedition took with him the trophies of 200 hill forts—chiefly in Mandi and Kulu—including those of Kamlágarh, the famous Mandi stronghold which till then was a virgin fortress.\(^5\)

The Sirmúr Gazetteer (p. 15) which is silent regarding the events of 1700-01 says that Kirat Parkásh, Rájá of that State from 1754-70, turned his arms against the Sikhs, taking Narángarh, Morni,

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2 The Rájás of the Punjab, pp. 580-86.
3 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 9.
4 Vigne's Travels, p. 100.
5 Mandi Gazetteer., p. 11.
The Sikhs in Kángra and Chamba.

Pinjaur and other tracts (from them apparently). He then entered into an alliance with Rája Amar Singh of Patiála.

According to the Biláspur chronicles Mahán Chand, Rája of that State, 1778-1824 A. D., waged war with the Rája's of Nálagarh, and Kángra and the Sodhí of Anandpur, but they do not state expressly that the Sodhís were in alliance with those states. An account of the latter Sikh incursions into the hills will be found in Barnes' Kángra Settlement Report, §§ 56-82, and one of their rule in Kulu in Sir James Lyall's Kángra Settlement Report, §§ 82-5. No attempt was apparently made to proselytise the hill people and to this day a Rájpút is very rarely a Sikh. Nevertheless there were a few Sikh shrines in the hills at l'asonta, in Sírmúr, and at Harípúr in Mahlog is a gurdwára, the see (gaddí) of a sect of gurús widely revered by Sikhs and Hindus in the lower hills and adjacent plains. This see was founded by Jawáhir Singh, who appears to have been the great-grandson of Ganga, founder of the Gángusháhfs (Volume II, p. 278).

Elsewhere in the hills hardly a trace of Sikhism exists. In Kángra Nának's teachings resulted in the foundation of a shrine near Rániwál, but it differs little if at all from any other shrine in Kángra. It is called Báwá Fathu's shrine.

Three hundred years ago a Brahman of the Bhari iláqa in Ráwalpíndi asked Bedi Báwa Parjapati for a charm, as his children had all died and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brahman had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathu, to the Bedi, who kept him with him. So Báwá Fathu became a sikh and people began to pay him visits. The Brahmans of the shrine are descendants of Báwá Parjapati, a bhagat of Gurú Nának. The fair is held on 1st Baisákh.

In Chamba Sikhism never obtained a footing.

The first mention of the Sikhs in connection with Chamba is in the reign of Ráj Singh (A.D. 1764-94), when that Rájá obtained the help of the Ráмагharhí Sardárs against Jammu and Basohli in 1774-5. In the following year the state became tributary to Jai Singh Kanhiya and paid Rs. 4,001 of tribute. This probably continued to be the case till 1785-6 when Jai Singh having been defeated in the plains was compelled to retire from the hills—the suzerainty of the hill states of the Kángra group passing into the hands of Sansár Chand of Kángra. Chamba came under Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, but was only once visited by a Sikh army in 1844.

Basohli was under the Sikhs in 1783 when Forster passed through it. They had probably been called in in the previous year on account of the invasion of Ráj Singh of Chamba in 1782, referred to by Forster.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, p. 7.
3 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 99.
5 Ib., p. 108.
In the inner mountains of Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār Sikhism seems never to have obtained any real footing. Kashtwār was under Muhammadan rulers—who were nominally at least subject to the Durrāns in Kashmir and later to Ranjit Deo of Jammu, and finally to the Rājās of Chamba, to whom the suzerainty of these states was transferred by Jammu towards the end of the 18th century.

In the outer hills from the Sutlej to the Jhelum Sikh influence began to be felt soon after the middle of the 18th century. In their conflicts with one another the hill chiefstains often called in to their help one or another of the Sikh leaders, and the latter took advantage of the opportunity thus given them to establish their power in the hills. The first of these to acquire supremacy in the hills to the east of the Rāvi was Jassa Singh of the Rāmgarhiā misl who had probably in the first instance been called upon for help in the way described. 1 He assisted Rāj Singh of Chamba in expelling the Basohli army in 1775 and the latter state received help from another misl, probably that of Jai Singh Kanhiya in 1783-8. 2 In a similar manner, when a feud took place between Ranjit Deo of Jammu and his son Brijrāj Deo in A.D. 1774, the former received help from the Bhangi misl and the latter from the Sukarehakia misl, the Sikhs being only mercenaries and ready to sell their swords to the highest bidder. When they came they generally came to stay, and by the beginning of the 19th century all the states of the outer hills, except Kashtwār, had become tribu-
tary.

That the tenets of the Sikh faith took root to any extent in the hills is highly improbable, though some of the Rājās may have given a nominal adhesion. Between Ranjit Singh and the hill chiefs no love was lost. They despised him as an upstart of lower status socially than themselves: and possessing no claim to their homage and allegiance. To Ranjit Singh the Rājpūt chiefs were an object of special aversion, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to countenance an organization in which high caste counted for nothing. 3

Among the common people however a certain amount of veneration was developed for the personality of Nānak and his descendants called Bedis. For a long time probably the Sikhs in Chamba and possibly in other parts of the hills have been in the habit of transmitting a yearly offering in cash to one of the Sikh shrines in the plains and about 30 years ago this usage spread almost all over the state, but more especially in the Churān wisārat and assumed the character of a voluntary cess on the Hindu community. This cess is farmed out by some Bābās or descendants of Nānak, residing in Chamba, at the rate of 4 chakīta (nearly an anna) in cash and one māni of grain (4 kachcha sers) for each household, the cash being paid to the Bābās and the grain going to the collector of the cess as his remuneration.

1 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 99.
2 Forster's Travels.
3 Ranjit Singh — Rulers of India.
Nānak as a saint is believed to control one of the infectious fevers, probably typhus, and the offering is meant as a propitiation to ensure protection from the disease. This belief is probably prevalent in other parts of the hills also.

In the Simla Hills an Udāsi ascetic has become a Hindu god under the name of the Dughli deota, whose temple is on a peak of the Darla dhār, a smaller range running from south-east to north-west through the centre of the State, parallel with the Bāri dhār. A fair is held on the 1st Asauj. Dughli is the name of the place. The temple was erected over the tomb of an Udāsi faqīr of noted piety. It is a resort of Udāsis, and the local people have converted the original saint into a god.1

Gurū Govind Singh.—We now come to that great historic figure, the 10th and last Gurū of the Sikhs. Surrounded during his childhood by Hindu influences, Govind Rāi succeeded to his office under every temptation to remain within the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and indeed one tradition asserts that his first act was to ascend to the temple of Nainā Devī which stands on a precipitous hill overlooking the Sutlej. Here the Brahmans called on him to sacrifice one of his four sons to the goddess, but their mothers refused to surrender them for this object, and finally five Sikhs offered their heads. One of them was duly offered to the goddess, who promised a world-wide fame for the Gurū's creed. Mythical as the story undoubtedly is, it does not do more than show that Govind Rāi was in no way hostile to Hinduism at his accession. But it is not accepted as even metaphorically true by more advanced Sikh opinion. The cult of Devī is no doubt often alluded to in the Sikh writings and histories. Thus Gurū Angad's father had been a devotee of Jawālamukhi, but the Gurū himself was not. His successor Amar Dās had been a Vaishnava, but he was a firm adherent of Nānak's teaching. Nevertheless we hear of no explicit condemnation of the cult of Devī until the time of Gurū Govind Singh whose ideas were opposed by the priests. They proposed the performance of a great homa rite for the propitiation of Durgā, so that she might appear and bless the new Khālsa sect, and they also preached the power of the goddess, persuading the Sikhs to make offerings and sacrifices to her in order to obtain invincibility. The Gurū assented to the proposal in order to prove the hollowness of this cult of Devī and a peak close to Nainā Devī was chosen for the rite. The recitation of hymns began in 1697 and was kept up for a whole year, the chief pandīr constantly prophesying her advent and finally declaring that she would require the sacrifice of some holy person, hinting at the Gurū's eldest son. But the Gurū suggested that the pandīr's superior sanctity qualified him as the victim. This suggestion led the pandīr to depart, never to return, and his companions followed suit. The Gurū cast all the accumulated ghī &c. into the great fire pit and declared that the sword he held in his hand was the Devī’s symbol. She did not appear. Then the Gurū feasted Brahmans, but expounded to them the brotherhood5 of man.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bāghal, p. 6. The place-name Dughli is clearly derived from the deota whose own name would seem to mean thin or 'emaciated,'
Soon after the Guru however began to lead a life of seclusion and the masses believed that his mind had suffered by the appearance of the Devi or some such cause.\footnote{Khasán Singh, pp. 170-73}

The account current in the hills of this event is characteristically different and illustrates the conflict between the teaching of the Sikh Gurus and the orthodox cult of Devi. The story goes that Guru Govind before embarking on his campaign against the Turks sought the aid of Nainá Deví. He brought with him a Brahman of Benáres and for months kept up the home. At last the Deví appeared and the Guru, awe-stricken, presented his sword which she touched and disappeared. The Brahman, however, declared that the stigma or defect in the rite caused by the Guru’s display of fear could only be removed by the sacrifice of one of his sons. To this he agreed, but the mothers of his four sons objected. So one of his followers was sacrificed, the goddess re-appeared and promised prosperity to his sect.\footnote{Sinha Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, pp. 13-14.}

Guru Govind Singh was, however, bitterly opposed to Islám. The execution of his father called for retribution, and the Guru early instituted the pahnú or rite of initiation whereby a chosen few\footnote{According to some writers the Guru initiated five Sikhs only by the pahnú. Each was styled Bhájí, to denote that he was spiritually a brother of his fellows. These appear to be the five alluded to below. Their names were Sákib Singh, Dáya Singh, Himmát Singh, Dhárm Singh and Mokham Singh.} were admitted into a sacred brotherhood, called the Khálísa or pure commonwealth of the Sikh votaries. To emphasize the change thereby effected in the initiates\footnote{Litt. ‘lion.’ Singh had long been an affix of names among the military classes of India, though not, I think, confined to Khatriyas (Temple, Proper Names of Punjáb, p. 14).} being the Guru altered his cognomen, whatever it might formerly have been, into Singh,\footnote{A precisely similar change of suffix is usual (i) among jásírs—in entering a religious order, and (ii) among heirs to the crown—in ascending the throne.} he himself assuming the style of Govind Singh instead of Govind Ráí.\footnote{Macauliffe in Calc. Rev., 1881, p. 162.}

As the outward and visible sign of this initiation the Sikh was enjoined to wear the 5 K’s—

the kes or long hair;

the kachh or short drawers ending above the knee;

the kaça or iron bangle;

the kripán or small knife with an iron handle round which the kes is rolled and fastened to the head\footnote{The error is due apparently to the fact that the pahnú of Gurd Govind Singh was called the khánda pahnú or initiation of the dagger, whereas Banda initiated by the charán pahnú, whereas the initiate drinks water in which the Guru’s foot (charán) has been washed: Khasán Singh, p. 219. The Sikh was always to go armed. Malcolm says an initiate was presented with 6 weapons, a sword, firelock, bow and arrow, and a pike: Sketch, in Asiatic Researches, XI, p. 285. Cunningham, p. 79.} (some authorities give instead the khánda or steel knife)\footnote{Macauliffe in Calc. Rev., 1881, p. 162.};

and the kañgha or comb.
The rite of the pahul.

In accord with, and in amplification of, these signs the Sikh initiate was enjoined, as one under a vow, not to cut his hair or beard, or indeed to shave any part of his person. 1

1 In Sikhism the number 5 has always had a mystical significance. Guru Govind Singh deputed 5 chosen Sikhs to Ban lā's army, and bestowed on him 5 arrows to protect him in extremity: ib., p. 157.


But the pahul was the essential rite. It is difficult to say why it has ever been described as a form of baptism. The initiate, after washing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose. Some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn stir it with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the Granth. After this some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The rules or rituals of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called amrit, and amrit chakkar, 'drinking nectar,' is thus another name for Sikh 'baptism.' The amrit is supposed to confer mortality on this new son of Govind Singh, to make him a Singh (lion) and a true Khatriya. Finally karah prashad (holy sweetsmeats) is distributed among those present: Naraingh, p. 51, cf. p. 78. At initiation the Sikh also becomes a son of Mahā Dēvī, the childless wife of Guru Govind Singh, who asked for issue and was told she would become the mother of the whole Khalsa: Khāṣān Singh, p. 161. Women are also initiated by the khanda pahul and Khāṣān Singh says that Mughal and Sayyid women were so initiated in 1750. They were taken in marriage by the Singhas: p. 249. On the other hand Macauliffe says that Guru Govind Singh appears to have left no instructions regarding the forms of prayer for women or their initiation in the new religion. Nevertheless they offered him homage in his wanderings, ministered to his necessities and received salvation from him as the reward of their attentions. Childless women who visited him miraculously received the gift of children. Mothers, he indicated, could expiate the dread crime of (female) infanticide by simply bathing in full costume in a sacred tank. Women are said to have fought in his battles and to have been wounded on behalf of the Khalsa; and it is recorded that the saintly and childless Māli Bāgo, attired in the Sikh kāṭh and a pecha or turban, and armed with a ponderous javelin, commanded a body of the ten faithful Sikhs with whom she watched over the Guru in his nightly slumbers: Cal. Rev., 1881, p. 75.

Pandit Sheo Narain, R.B., gives an interesting history of the rite of initiation in his paper on pahul (Sikh baptism) in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, IV, pp. 62-77. Deriving the term from pan, 'fact' and hal, 'shaken' or 'stirred,' he ascribes its origin to Guru Naṅk. In its inception the rite consisted of washing a toe of the Guru in a basin of water which was then drunk by the initiate who had had to spend some time as a novice in the service of the Guru of his order and attain a certain degree of self-abnegation. Bhāī Kāśān Singh states that the initiate also drank water touched by the foot of other devīt Sikhs, whatever their original castes, so that all pride of caste was destroyed. In the time of Guru Arjan the water was not tasted by the Guru's too, but simply placed under the maṅja or māna of the Guru. But Guru Govind Singh greatly elaborated the rite and changed its significance.

At the khanda pahul, instituted by him, an iron vessel is filled with water and sugar, waters are mixed in it. Instead of being placed below the maṅja it is net in front of it. The presence of the Granth Sahib is indispensable, together with a reader (granthi) and five initiated Sikhs, of pure and unblemished character, called piārs. (The Granth now-a-days represents the Guru and the five piārs the original five companions.) The novice constantly mutters the Waḥ Gurdā, standing throughout the rite. The granthi and the five ministers then announce to the congregation that a candidate desires to enter the fold of Sikhism and on its tacitly assenting the granthi exclaims: Sat Gurdā deīgaya, 'the true Gurdū has asessed.' Then prayers are offered, the Guru's spiritual presence invoked and the novice blessed by the ministers who assume the hirdān or cildery pose. One of them holds the vessel with both hands, another fills it with water, a third puts in sugar, a fourth draws a sword and sits opposite the holder of the vessel, and the fifth, the leading minister, thrusts a two-edged dagger into the water and stirs the sugar unceasingly, while he recites the Ḍapī, Ḍap Sahib, Ḍaupā and Swāgyād from the Granth. He then passes the dagger to his colleagues who repeat the rite. On its return to him he also repeats the rite, but recites the Anānd. Then all five stand up and offer a prayer. The initiation begins with an invocation by the leading minister, after which the granthi again asks the congregation to assent and repeats the phrase Sat Gurdā deīgaya. Then the five ministers approach the candidate, who repeats the muḷ-maṅtra (root text), the first stanzas of the Ḍapī, five times. Instructed in the
He also wore blue clothes, a colour abhorrent to the Hindu, though anciently worn by Balráma himself. He also avoided the use of tobacco.

Lastly, the Gurú enjoined ablution of the head, arms and thighs \textit{(punjanish, or panj ishnánd, i.e., washing of 5).}

The first initiates of the Gurú were 5 men of various different castes and hailing from distant parts of India. They were a barber of Southern India, a Khatri of the Punjab, a Kahár of Jagannáth, a Jáét of Hastinâpur (Delhi), a Chhipa of Dwárka in Guzerát, just one may say, the very classes among which Sikhism has had its fewest converts. ³

The Gurú also denounced 5 bodies of men, \textit{viz.} (i) the Miná-Dhirmallia sectaries, (ii) the liám Rálás, (iii) the masándis, (iv) the kurímárs, or those who destroyed girl infants, and (v) the bháddánis, who shaved their children's heads. The Gurú also denounced certain practices, \textit{viz.} the use of the jāmo, the karma or belief in metempy-essentials of the Sikh creed he bows before the Guránth and sits in a solitary posture. Five handfuls of amrit are placed in his hands and he repeats the Wál Gurú ka káliás etc. over each. He then sanctifies his sight by gazing at the principal minister who sprinkles the mixture five times over his face. Then the rest of it is given him to drink, and if more than one novice be initiated at the same time the cup is passed from mouth to mouth to obliterate all caste scruples.

The addition of sugar to the water is accounted for by the following episode: — Gurú Govind Singh intended to use pure water in the rite, but Mátá Sáhib Dewán brought patákhas and mixed them with it. The Gurú remarked that he had meant to use water stirred by a sword, but the Wál Gurú intended otherwise. The sweetness added signified that although a Sikh should be a soldier yet he should enjoy peace at home, with God, his Gurú and the world and that he is only to fight defensively. Tradition adds that once the Gurú split some of the amrit and the birds drank it and began to quarrel. The Mátá Sáhib to avert this error persuaded the Gurú to mix patákhas in the water. Women also receive the pañal, but in their case a single-edged dagger is used, though it is said that efforts are being made to review the ancient practices which used a two-edged one in their initiation also.

The whole history of the rite, its origin and development, show how fundamentally it differs from the ritual significance of baptism. A similar custom will be noticed among the Baloch.

¹ But Muhammadans often prefer blue to any other colour for clothes. No Sikh will or should wear clothes dyed kasumbha, or saffron, the favourite colour of Hindu devotees. Guru Singh escaped disguised in blue clothing when he escaped from the battle of Chamkaur, personating a priest of Uch.

² Cunningham (p. 79) following Bhai Gurdás Bhatta says 'Krishna' but Balráma is alluded to.

³ The list was clearly an appeal to the non-existent sentiment of nationality.

⁴ The causes of Gurú Govind Singh's hostility to the masándis are quite obscure. Malcolm says he put to death many of this tribe (sic), and described them as 'a sect who call themselves Gurús, or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines': Sketch in \textit{A.S. Res.}, XI, p. 286. They opposed him in his propaganda of the sword, rebelled, established their own sects, and were the saugatias referred to in his letters.

Other Gurús retained their masándis and at Ghránin in the Sáhibgarh tabal of Patía the Maráthi Sákh Khatris are still masándis of Gurú Rám Rái in Dehra Dún. They are descendants of Bhai Bálú of Gondwáli in Amritsar who was appointed by Gurú Amr Dés and whose shrine is at Dádan in Ludhiana. They now serve the guruniwád in Dehra Dún and also the darbáres of Mátá Rákháur at Mání Mátira and Bábí Guritá in Kirátpur: Phulkaun States \textit{Gazetteer}, 1909, p. 98.

⁵ Cunningham, pp. 78-9. For bháddánis Dr. S. N. Rajevári says 'huqa-smokers' (nari-mádr) is now substituted in the pañal site, but no stress from either class is now regarded as impracticable.
The Sikhs of Banda.

chosis, the distinction of castes (kélnas), and division of classes. Their watchwords must be Krtinásh, kül-ásh, dhármanásh, karmáš, ‘For-sake occupation and family, ritual and ceremonies.’

The transition from theocracy to monarchy.—Gúrú Govind Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Gúrú, of the Sikhs by Banda, the ‘Slave’ of the departed Gúrú once a Bairágí devotee but converted to the Sikh faith by the Gúrú’s supernatural powers. But Banda was nothing more than a devoted, almost fanatical, military commander and under his leadership the political development of the Sikhs ceased. Banda’s religious doctrines indeed showed Hinduizing tendencies. His rule was, however, too short to be an enduring influence in Sikhism, for in 1716 he was captured by Abdal Samad Khán, governor of Kashmir and the Punjab, and put to death at Delhi.

The Bandáí Sikhs.—The régime founded by Govind Singh was however destined, even before its birth, to be profoundly affected by separatism and even schism. The principal exponent of a more violent policy than the Gúrú’s was the famous Banda. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by dissensions among his sons. Govind Singh found a protector or at least a sympathiser in the emperor Bahádur Sháh, but he was not able or willing to restrain the activities of Banda. This man had a curious history. By birth a Rájput of Rajauri in Kashmir he had changed his name of Lachhman Bálá to Nárin Dás at the shrine of Rám Thammán near Kasúr and became a Bairágí in 1886. But in 1691 he became a Jogi and an adept in occult science with the name of Mádho Dáś. Meeting the Gúrú, probably at Náder, he was given the title of Bahádur, with that of Banda which he had earned by his submission to the Gúrú, together with five arrows and other weapons. But he was not initiated with the pahúl and while imparting to him his spiritual power the Gúrú enjoined on him five rules according to which he was to remain strictly celibate and truthful, not to start a new sect or use a cushion in a Sikh temple, or allow himself to be styled Gúrú, but live in peace with the Singhís.

Banda proceeded to wage open and relentless war on all Muham-dans and he was joined by the Singhís. He exacted vengeance for

1 According to Cunningham, p. 74.
2 Ib., pp. 94-5.
3 Another account makes Banda also a Punjab Khatri of the Siálkot District—perhaps of the Kapúr section. The verses quoted at the end of this section also make him a Khatri of the Sodhi clan. He was married in a Mehra or Maháwa family. The former would make him a Kapúr or a Khanna and the latter a Sodhi according to the endogamous laws prevailing in the Punjab. See note on p. 722.
4 He possessed a volume called the Siddh Anuváda, compiled by a disciple of Gorakhnáth; Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion under Banda in Cal. Rec., 1891, p. 155.
5 This is very uncertain, as indeed is the whole question of Banda’s relations with Govind Singh; see Khán’s Singh, pp. 158-200. There seems some reason to believe that he had been active before the death of Govind Singh and possibly it was that Gúrú’s death which caused the leaderless Sikhs to flock to his standard.
6 Other authorities say he was so initiated.
the execution of Gurú Teg Bahádur and for the treachery of the Patháns of Damla. Moreover he reduced Sádhaura in spite of its adherence to the Gurú, and some four months before his death he destroyed Sirhind with merciless slaughter. To its province he appointed a governor and a diwan, organised its administration and the collection of its revenue.

This victory made many join the Khálsa, but it was not followed up at least by Banda himself. One of his first acts was to chastise the Ráam Ráyás of Páel, and then after exacting contributions from Máler Kotla and Ráikot he retreated to Mukhlaspur in the hills, renamed it Lohgarh, and provided it with immense stores, but he himself retired into the Joharsar hills for religious meditation. Meanwhile the Sikhs met with defeats at Tirauri and Kharar, but were joined by Banda at Burail and a victory there enabled them to regain Sirhind, which they had lost. But before he failed to take Jalálábád by siege and after defeats at Ladwá and Sháhábád in 1709, Sirhind was re-occupied by the Muhammadians and the Sikhs retired to the hills. Banda had apparently again retired to Lohgarh whence he emerged for another advance on Sirhind and regained all the country lost by the Sikhs. But again his triumph was short lived for he met with a crushing reverse at Saháranpur-Buria at the hands of prince Ráfi-us-sháh and was driven back to Lohgarh. Thence he escaped in disguise, fleeing into the hills and getting possession of Sirhind again, but only for a short time as in 1711 the emperor's appearance in person made him seek refuge in the hills once more. At Patámkot he had a successful encounter with the Mughals, killing Sháhá Khán, a jawándar, and Bázíd Khán. The emperor issued an edict that all Hindus should shave off their beards and that all Singhás should be indiscriminately massacred, a step which led to the slaughter of thousands of Hindus on suspicion.

Bahádur Sháh's death in 1712 led to the usual strife amongst his sons for sovereignty and Banda took full advantage of it to occupy Sirhind again and compel the Rájás of Sirmur, Nálagarh and Biláspur to submit formally to his allegiance. He reduced the Muhammádán jásirádárs of Rápar, Bassí and Bahálpur to a similar position, and in 1714 was strong enough to hold a regal darbár at Amritsar, at which he appeared in royal dress with an aigrette on his head.

1 Khazán Singh, op. cit., p. 208.
3 Lohgarh, the Sikh name for Mukhlaspur, stood on a steep hill a few miles from Sádhaura. It is now marked by a mound on a hill encompassed by two mountain streams; G. C. Narang, p. 110. It must not be confused with the fort in Gurdáspur, also styled by some Lohgarh, ib., p. 114. But the precise site of this latter Lohgarh is also in dispute. It is identified with Gurdáspur itself and with a village still called Lohgarh near Túnsagar, but its site is probably a mound in Bathwála, a village one mile north of Gurdáspur; Gurdáspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 18.
4 Khazán Singh says Tirauri, Sirhind and Kharar, and then observes that the third battle took place at Buraill. He probably means Tirauri in the province of Sirhind.
6 The Rájá of Sirmur was charged with having allowed him to pass through his territory and was sent a state prisoner to Delhi; ib., p. 214.
7 Ib., p. 216.
8 Ib., p. 216.
next step was to take Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Baitha, which last named town he gave up to indiscriminate pillage and massacre, beginning with its wealthiest quarter, the mukalla of the Qâzis. These events were followed by the reluctant submission of the Kângra chiefs.

In 1713 Fârrukhshâr's reign began and he promptly attacked the Sikhs on two sides, calling in a large army from Kashmir and sending picked forces from the east against them at the same time. The Sikhs rallied at Sirhind, but were compelled to fall back on Lohgarh which was besieged, until Banda rallied forth from his hill fastnesses and drove back the imperialists, thus bringing the country between Lahore and the Jumna under Sikh control. Fârrukhshâr next tried to use the influence of Gurâ Govind Singh's widow against Banda, who was excommunicated on eight counts in that he had married, started a new creed, substituted a charan pahul for the Sikh khanda pahul, invented the war-cry of fateh daras (victory of faith), in lieu of the Sikh war-cry, attired himself in royal robes, styled himself the 11th Gurâ and claimed to rule the Sikhs, his followers being called Bandâl instead of the Singh of the Gurâ. Banda's answer to these charges was significant. He said he was merely a Bairâgi faqir and not the follower of Govind Singh: yet that he was merely carrying out his orders for the campaign of vengeance and the protection of the Khalsa.

This edict led to the disruption of the Sikhs, the true or Tat Khalsa holding Amritsar, while Banda went to Gurdaspur. His power lay chiefly along the Jammu border as far as Attock, but he had adherents also in Ambala whose faujdâr they defeated. But all his efforts at a reconciliation with the Tat Khalsa failed and in 1711 he was captured at the siege of Gurdaspur. He is generally said to have been put to death with great cruelty at Dehli, but another tradition is that by a mental process he survived his tortures and resuscitated himself. Refusing the offer of some Singh to place themselves under his leadership he retired to Bhabbar on the Chenab in the Riasâ pargana of Jammu where he died in 1741, leaving a son whose descendants still hold charge of his shrine.

Banda's relations to the Tat Khalsa are not very clear. It certainly fought against him at his siege of Lahore, but generally refused to do so. It had made terms with the Mughal governors, but was certainly reluctant to join them in repressing Banda. The Imperialist attitude to the Sikhs indeed changed as soon as Banda had been captured, and the Singh's retaliated. In 1725 they proclaimed their intention of holding the Dwâlî fair at Amritsar, but the Bandâl Sikhs, still more numerous than the Singh's, disputed the claim. It was settled by lot and most of the

1 According to Macauliffe (Calâ Rev., 1881, p. 159) he prescribed garments dyed with safflower and red turban in lieu of the blue clothes of the Sikh.

2 The followers of Banda Bairagâr are said to still form a sect in the south-west of the Punjab under the name of the Banda-panthi. Macdonald, § 107. Cunningham also mentions them. Hist., p. 378.

3 According to Macauliffe, Banda's hostility to the Sikhs became acute in his later years and he openly proclaimed his purpose to establish himself as Gurâ and offer hecatombs of Sikh opponents to Kâlî. Such sacrifices initiated and sanctioned by Govind, Banda declared necessary for the success of a new religion and his would succeed, when he had filled with human blood the khapar or sacred cup of the malevolent deity: Calâ Rev., 1881, p. 169. "Khapar = skull."
Bandāl Sikhs went over to the Tat Khālsa, being initiated by the khanda pahul. Confused, desultory fighting ensued with the Imperialists, but in 1781 a Sikh force surprised their main body at Bhilowal, 20 miles from Lahore, and then Farrukhsār weakly offered them a jādīr of Rs. 100,000, with the title of Nawāb to cease their depredations. This latter offer the Sikh leaders were all rejected, but Kapūr Singh of Faizullapur, then working a hand-pankhā, was decked in the imperial robe, and proclaimed Nawāb. Whatever the truth of this story may be, Kapūr Singh became a notable figure among the Sikhs. He had succeeded his father as leader of the Singhis who subsequently formed the Faizullapuri mīāl in 1915, and in various battles received no less than 43 wounds. It was considered a great honour to be initiated by him and among many others Ala Singh, Rājā of Patiāla, and many of his relations received the pahul at his hands. He paved the way for the Khālsa's rise to power and its transformation into a monarchy. He appears to have designated Jassa Singh Ahlūwālia as his successor in the leadership of the Khālsa.

The Singhis or their leaders however certainly accepted the Dipālpur, Kanganwāl and Jhabal parganas in jādīr and abandoning plunder contrived to subsist on its income. But as their numbers increased they divided in 1734 into two dalis or armies, one called the Budhā or veteran, the other the Taru or young. The latter had five patthas, companies or groups, viz. the Shahids, Amritsarias (headed by Khatri of Amritsar), the Dallewalias (headed by Khatri of Dallewala), that of Bābā Kahn Singh, and the Rāmdāsiās (headed by Rāmdāsi or Mazhabi Singh). These dāls fought in unison, especially in the submontane tracts along the Jammu border, and the division had no religious significance.

The events of the next few years can only be very briefly touched upon. It is however necessary to hark back first for a moment to Banda's relations with the Rājpūt chiefs of the Kāngra hills and the adjoining tracts in the north-west corner of the Punjab plains. As already described the Kāngra chiefs had reluctantly submitted to him in 1714, and he had undoubtedly found allies in the hills whence he descended in that year to fall upon the country round Bāṭalā and Kālānaur, and whither he fled when imperial troops were sent against him. In 1716 however he again emerged from his strongholds, falling upon the two towns just mentioned and sacking them with much slaughter of the Muhammadans, including the famous family of Shaikh-ul-Ahmad. But some of the hill Rājās sided with the Mughal governors, for Abdul Samad Daler-jang, governor of Lahore, set out in pursuit of him assisted not only by the ḍākim of Eminábād, Pasrúr, Patṭi and Kālānaur but also by Rājā Bhīm Singh of Kātoch and Dhrūva Dēva of Jarsota. But Nādir Shah's invasion in 1738-9 appears to have led indirect-

1 Ib. pp. 277-8, where an account of Kapūr Singh is given which totally negatives the idea that he ever worked a pankha.
2 Q. C. Narang calls it the Tardna-dal, p. 126. Neither form is given in Maya Singh's Punjabi Dīzīty.
3 Its leaders were Phillon Jātā and an Ahlūwālia; ib., p. 237. The Dallewalia of the Tārn dāl appear to be quite distinct from the Dallewalia mīāl.
4 Ib., p. 239.
ly to a general combination between the Mughal governors and the Hill Rajás to put down the Sikhs, although they had fiercely assailed the invader on his retreat. The Sikhs had seized the opportunity allowed them by the confusion created by the invasion to plunder Muhammadan villages and Nawáb Kapúr Singh had refused to join Nawáb Zakariá Khán, governor of Lahore, in resisting them. A demand for restitution of half the booty wrested from Nádir Sháh was rejected by the Sikhs and this exposed them to the enmity of Hindus as well as Muhammadans.

After Ahmad Sháh's invasion of 1748 a proclamation issued for their extermination. About 15,000 Sikhs had collected in the dense jungle of Káhnúwán which Lakhpát Ráí, Khatri, chief minister to the governor at Lahore, invested. His blockade lasted three months and when the Sikhs had exhausted their ammunition they tried to cut their way out towards the hills through Pathánkoṭ, only to find the pass blocked by the Hill Rajás under orders from the governor of Lahore. Finally they broke through towards the south and directed their course towards the Málwa. This fight was known as the Chhota Ghallughara. Again in 1756 when Adúa Beg, governor of Lahore, fled before Ahmad Sháh's invasion of that year he sought protection under the Hill Rajás.

After Banda's execution the Sikhs waged implacable war against the Muhammadans, but made no attempt to establish an organised government. In 1748, Cunningham states, the dal of the Khálśa, 'the army of the elect,' was proclaimed by Jassa Singh Kalál, one of their ablest leaders and head of the Ahlúwálía misl, and a few years later he struck coins in the Mughal mint at Lahore with the legend: 'Coined by the grace of the Khálśa in the country of Ahmad, conqueror by Jassa the Kalál.' In 1761 when Ahmad Sháh retired from the Punjab after his great victory at Pánipat, Jassa Singh attacked him while he was crossing the Biás and released about 22,000 Hindu captives, male and female. For this feat he was popularly known as Bandiechór or 'the liberator.' He also occupied Lahore. But the Sikhs had to cope with internal dissensions, for about this time the mahán, who was Hindál's successor at his shrine in Jandíála, turned against the Singhás and tampered with Nánák's biography. He had destroyed hundreds of innocent Singhás and now called in the aid of the Abdálí whose forces in 1682 raised the siege of Jandíála which the Sikhs abandoned, concentrating at

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2 *Ib.*, p. 244.


4 *Hist.*, p. 101. It would appear that Jassa Singh only revived the dal, no longer divided, but whether he gave it a new significance cannot be affirmed with any certainty.

5 Cunningham, p. 105. G. C. Narang gives the inscription:—

Sikka vàd dar faḥán bafsál-i-Ákhl, Mult-i-Ahmád girif Jassa Kálś.

Which would give rather a different meaning. He adds that the Sikhs used the old Mughal mint and that Jassa Singh was styled Pádsháh by his own followers, but the Sikhs never regarded him as such, nor did he claim any superiority over the Khálśa: p. 147. Lepel Griffin says that 'Ákhl,' not 'Khálśa,' is the correct reading, but he points out that no such coins are extant and that the gáis and mullás very possibly struck a few to incite Ahmad Sháh's resentment against the Sikhs: *The Bajús of the Punjab*, p. 461.

6 Khánzád Singh, p. 252.
The Siege of Sirhind which they would probably have taken in that year but for the advance of the Sháh’s forces, allied to the Muhammadan chiefs of Máler Koṭla, Baroch and other places. Their great defeat at the hands of the Abdáli near Hathür—the vada ghallú-ghara or great defeat—followed in the same year.

Nevertheless in 1763 the Sikhs took Sirhind, sacked and destroyed it. This event virtually decided the fate of the Punjab proper as far as the Abdáli were concerned, and the generally received account is that in 1762 Álà Singh of Patísla received the first title of Rájà ever bestowed on a Sikh chieftain, and, though no coins of his appear to be extant seem to have minted rupees in 1763 or two years before his death which occurred in 1765. The Sikh policy was radically changed from that time. The Phulkian chiefs became sovereigns in their own States. Tradition indeed describes how after their victory at Sirhind in 1763 “the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his.” This description may well have been true of their earlier conquests, but the old Mughal province of Sirhind was partitioned in a much more systematic way.

In 1764 the Sikh chiefs assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their supremacy and struck the Nánaksháhi or Govindsháhi rupee which bore the inscription:

**Deg va Teg va Fatih nusrat be drang, Yáft wa Nának Gurú Govind Singh.**

“Gurú Govind Singh received from Nának,
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing.”

This inscription was adhered to in the main by later Sikh chiefs, including Ranjít Singh, though petty chiefs occasionally inserted the emperor’s name. It was also retained by Nábha, but never adopted by the other two Phulkian States.

From time to time attempts were made to restore the Sikh theocracy, under representatives of the sacred Khatri families. For instance in 1800 Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Bábá Nának, ‘pretended to religious inspiration,’ collected a large force, invested Ludhiana, took Máler Koṭla and ‘called on George Thomas to obey

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1 Khúsán Singh, p. 255.
2 Khúsán Singh however gives a different account of the Abdáli’s ‘lease’ of Sirhind Province to the Patísla chief. According to him it was offered by Ahmad Sháh in 1765 to the Patíslas of Máler Koṭla and the chiefs of Rákit, but they refused it owing to their fear of the Sikhs. It was accordingly farmed to Álà Singh with the title of Rájà i-Rájà, an Mahindar Bahádur and he was at the same time permitted to strike coin in his own name. The Singh chiefs declined to accept jágirs offered to them through the Rájà. Khúsán Singh adds that he was put under a religious ban for his submission to the Abdáli; p. 260.
3 See Griffin’s *Rájás of the Punjab* pp. 26, 255-8. For the curious inscription on the coins of Patísla and Jind see pp. 266-7.
4 Khúsán Singh, p. 264. The deg, lit. a big cooking vessel, typifies the earth which produces food for the world: *ibid*, p. 607. Teg Bahádur had disclaimed that designation, saying that he aspired to be called Deg Bahádur or ‘the lord of bounty’ not ‘lord of the sword’; *ibid*, p. 150. Cf. Cunningham, p. 59, note.
5 Cunningham, p. 111, note.
him as the true representative of the Sikh prophet. But the time had gone by for militant religious leaders and the Bedi soon retired north of the Sutlej.

THE SIKH RÉGIME.

The Sikh government was a curious mixture of theocracy, democracy and absolutism. At its head stood the Gurú, and in later times the Mahárája. Below them was the Gurúmatá or council of the Gurú which was in theory convened in any emergency. Of its precise constitution little is known, but it included the Sikh chiefs and was held at Amritsar. It was convened by the Akáls (or according to other authorities by the granthís), and was, like them, established by the 10th or last Gurú Govind Singh, its last meeting being held in 1805 when the British drove Holkar to seek an asylum in the Punjab. Its main function, or one of its chief functions, was to choose a leader of the Khásá armies, but on occasion it acted as a judicial body, deciding a case of disputed succession. Its meetings were conducted with religious solemnity. When the members were seated the holy books were placed before them and to these they bowed with the customary exclamations: \textit{Wáh Gurújí ká Khásá! Wáh Gurújí ki fáteh.} One account has it that cakes of wheat, butter and sugar were placed upon the volumes and covered with a cloth. After they had received the salutations of the assembly its members rose, the granthís or Akáls prayed, and music was performed.

When the prayers were finished the granthís bade the assembly be seated, and the cakes were uncovered, to be eaten by all, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, high or low, as a token of union in a common cause. The Akáls then proclaimed: \textit{Sirdárs! This is a Gurúmatá,} whereupon prayers were again said aloud. The chiefs then swore on the Granth to lay aside all feuds, and proceeded to the business of the assembly. After this council ceased to meet the Akáls lost much of their influence.

After the Gurúmatá had ceased to meet the army gradually came to be the representative assembly of the Sikhs, and in turn was represented by a committee or assembly of committees, termed panck or panchá-

\footnote{Cunningham, p. 131.}

\footnote{Macauliffe, indeed, states that the Gurúmatá was established by Gurú Hargovind (\textit{Culc., Rev.,} 1881, p. 63), while Cunningham says that perhaps the first regular Gurúmatá was held in 1762 when the army of the \textquoteleft Khásá\textquoteright assembled at Amritsar (p. 108), but it is very doubtful whether the Sikhs were strong enough in that year to hold Amritsar in any force. This is, moreover, intrinsically improbable. The Gurúmatá, W is most likely, was founded by Gurú Govind Singh in pursuance of his general and well-defined policy, especially in view of the fact that with him the line of the Gurú would end. In 1762 the Sikhs had no known democratic leader and their whole policy was on the verge of a complete reversal, from democratic theocracy to monarchy.}

Khazán Singh gives a very different meaning to the term \textit{gurúmatá.} He applies the term to a resolution passed by any assembly of \textit{5} orthodox Sikhs, the Gurú (Govind Singh) having laid it down that wherever \textit{5} such Singhs were gathered together the Gurú must be considered as present among them, and enjoined that all affairs of State or religion must be considered at such an assembly: p. 225. But he adds, \textquoteleft all State affairs were carried out by \textit{gurúmatás} (resolutions of a cabinet-council) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to.'

\footnote{Lopol Griffin: \textit{Law of Inheritance to Sikh Chiefships,} p. 50.}

\footnote{Murray's \textit{History of the Punjab,} pp. 131-2.}
The Sikhs confederacies.

yat, i.e. a jury or committee of five, composed of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithful Sikh soldiers, or from their particular influence in their native villages. Under this system, rude as it was, the relation of the Sikh army to the State had wholly changed: it was no longer the willing instrument of the Government, but looked upon itself and was regarded by others as the Khalsa itself assembled by tribes or centuries to take its part in public affairs. Even in the crude form of representation thus achieved, the Sikh people were enabled to interfere with effect, and with some degree of consistency, in the nomination and removal of their rulers, but in this large assemblage military license was sometimes added to the popular tumult, and the corrupt spirit of mercenaries to the barbarous ignorance of ploughmen.

The head of the Khalsa exercised both spiritual and temporal authority, and this office devolved by appointment, not by natural descent, until the demise of the 16th and last Guru. Thus Bábá Nának bequeathed his spiritual office to Lelna, a Tribun Khatri, who took the title and name of Guru Angad. His two sons were not even initiated as Sikhs and his office descended to Amar Dáš, a Bhalla Khatri, who had served him in the capacity of a water-carrier. Amar Dáš left a daughter, on whose husband Rám Dáš, a Sodhi Khatri, he bestowed the barkat or apostolic virtue, as a reward for her filial love and obedience. It is also said that Rám Dáš' wife obtained from Guru Amar Dáš a promise that the sacred office should remain with her posterity. However this may be, the fatal principle that spiritual sanctity follows natural descent was now introduced and Arjan Dev, Rám Dáš' eldest son, succeeded his father. Under him the customary offerings of the Sikh converts or adherents were reduced to a systematic tax, and the first attempts at regular administration were made. On his death his brother Pirthi Chand aspired to the succession, but his son Har Govind, although only a boy of eleven, was acknowledged as Guru. Har Govind was succeeded by his grandson, Har Ráí, the younger son of his elder son, Gurditta.

Har Ráí also left two sons—Rám Ráí, the offspring of a hand-maiden and Har Kishen. The latter was duly acknowledged, but died in childhood, and the succession passed to Teg Bahádur, the third son of Har Govind. From him it descended to his only son Govind, the tenth and last of the Gurus. But on his death in 1708 the line of the Gurus came to an end, for, in anticipation of his death, after he had been mortally wounded by one of Páinda Khán's two sons, he appointed the Granth Sahib as his successor, with the customary rites of a Guru's installation, and entrusted his Khalsa to the bosom of the ever-lasting Divine, declaring that the appointed ten had accomplished their mission.

Guru Govind organised the Sikhs as a militant democracy. He

1 Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 253-4.
2 Pirthi Chand however retained a few followers, called Mínás according to Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 57 n. His descendants hold Guru Har Saháí in Ferozepore.
3 This is Murray's account—in his History of the Punjab, I, 97. Cunningham, however, speaks of Dir Mál as Gurditta's younger son: p. 64 n.
4 Khásán Singh, p. 208.
instituted the pakul, a rite of initiation, on the one hand; on the other requiring his followers to break the Brahminical thread: and this rite was far from being merely religious.

The initiated Sikhs (pakulins or Singhis) formed the Khalsa, the 'chosen' or 'elect,' the commonwealth or state of the Gurd and year by year the •ravat Khalsa or whole Sikh people met once at least at Amritsar during the Dashehra.

This commonwealth was organised into a number of misls or confederacies.

These confederacies were loosely organised and varied from time to time in power, and even in designation. They are usually recorded to twelve in number, but more correctly as eight, supplemented by four dehas or camps.

The following were the Sikh misls, and the castes from which they were, at least mainly, recruited: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Bangals, so called because they were addicted to hemp (bang).</td>
<td>Jäts</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>Amritsar, Tarun Taran, Gujrát, Wazirabad, Sialkot and Chiniot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Nikháins, or standard-bearers, from nikha, a standard.</td>
<td>Khatris and Rangrethas or converted sweepers.</td>
<td>Amúsila</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rangharé, a village near Amritsar.</td>
<td>Tokhás or Bharáís (carpenters) and Jäts.</td>
<td>Sri Hargí Singh, punjas on the Blús.</td>
<td>Hargí vindpur, Batálí, and Mikerían punjas on the Blús.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Ahlánál, from Ahlú, a village near Lahore.</td>
<td>Kalás</td>
<td>Kapúthala</td>
<td>Surmahal, Talwandi, Phagwara, Kana Phillon, and Harihá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Khánúa or Ghánúa, from Ghání, a village near Lahore.</td>
<td>Sohán</td>
<td>Ajuála, Sohán, Nág, Jurdáspur, Dehra Bábá Nának, Kalánau, Pañhán-kót and Sujánpur.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Faiázalpuría, or Singh-puria.</td>
<td>Jäts</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>Jilandhar, Haibatpur, Patí etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Sukh-Chakía.</td>
<td>Jäts</td>
<td>Gujránwála</td>
<td>Gujránwála, Kunja etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Dallánál.</td>
<td>Jäts</td>
<td>Ráhón</td>
<td>Nakodar, Talban, Dálí, Ráhón, Phillaur etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pakul possibly means 'gate,' Gr. pute; if this is so, the idea underlying the rite has some striking analogies with the modern Pers. báb. But a better explanation is that it means 'whetting,' as a blacksmith hardens soft iron.

2 Khalsa for Khala, Ar.: lit. pure, special, free. In India its original meaning was apparently "crown province" or domain: Tabagáñ-t-Náṣiri, as V. and T. 746, 787 bás. Khalsa was originally used to denote the followers of Gurd Govind as opposed to the Khilás, i.e. those of Gurd Nának, but this latter term has now fallen almost entirely out of use.

3 Cunningham, p. 112.

4 Misl is also an Arabic word, meaning, literally, 'alike' or 'equal.' For the equality among the Sikh Sirdárs see Lawrence's Adventures in the Punjab, pp. 121, 182 (k).

5 This word is of obscure origin, and various etymologies have been proposed, but it is suggested that it is a corruption of the English word 'republic.' It occurs at least as early as 1849 in Cunningham's History of the Sikhs (pp. 75 n. and 879) but lambad (from number) appears to have been adopted quite as early by the Sikhs.

6 Not to be confused with the Dallánál of the Tarun Bal.
### Sikh divisions.

#### The four dehrs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Possessions allotted in 1769</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shahids, or 'martyrs'</td>
<td>Jāta</td>
<td>Sháhízāpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nakkās; from Nakka</td>
<td>Jāta</td>
<td>Chúntán</td>
<td>Chúntán, Bahrwál, Khem Karn, Khudín etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Panjgarhias or Krewa-Singhis, who were divided into (a) Shám-Singhan and (b) Kalsias, the latter being further subdivided into Land-pindán and Baránpindán, or Firk and Jatálán.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Phúlkán</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patálá, Nábhá &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Territorial divisions.

The Sikhs formed several territorial groups. The two principal divisions were, and still are, the Mánjhi and Málwá. The former derived its name from the Mánjha or 'mid land' and originally included all the Sikhs north of the Sutlej, while the term Málwá was applied to all south of that river, though the Málwá only includes the tract which lies between Sirhind and Sirsa. But besides these two divisions minor groups were distinguished. The Sikhs settled in the Sindh Ságar Doáb were known as Dhanigheb Singh, and those in the Chinhát Doáb as Gujarát Singh. Those of the Rachna Doáb were designated Dharpí Singh, the term Mánjhi being sometimes confined to the Sikhs of the Mánjha proper. The Sikhs in the Jullundur Doáb were known as Doáb Singh, and those of the country south of the Sutlej as Málwá Singh.

#### Taxation.

From the tracts of country which the Sikhs subdued but could not hold, they exacted rákhí or the price of 'protection.' This tribute was regularly levied and varied in amount from a fifth to a half of the revenue or government share of the produce.

#### The Sikh military resources.

The great mass of Sikhs were horsemen and speedily became famous for their effective use of the matchlock when mounted. Infantry was used almost solely to garrison forts, and cannon, among the early Sikhs, was unknown. Very varying estimates were formed of their numbers. In 1783 Forster estimated them at 200,000, but others put them at 300,000 men! Browne reckoned them at 78,000 horse and 25,000 foot. Twenty years later Franklin declared they mustered 243,000 cavalry, but, apparently on George Thomas.

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1 Khazán Singh justly describes this as a religious rather than a military body: p. 280.
2 It was a militant order of Sikhism, but not to be confused with the Akálás or Nihangs, as G. C. Narang appears to suggest: p. 180. Founded by Dāp Singh, a Jāt of Pohu in Amritsar, its most prominent member was Sucha Singh.
3 Sometimes called, quite erroneously, the Nagarias.
5 Murray, J., 81.
6 Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 118 a.
authority, subsequently reduced their effective strength to 64,000, within 1800, only 40 field guns.

In later times the Sikhs enlisted Muhammadas in their light cavalry and they were called gurcharas.

Sikh quotes.—According to Osborne the quot it is an arm peculiar to the Akálís. It is a steel ring, 6" to 9" in diameter, and about 1" in breadth, very thin and with its edges ground very sharp. The Akálís are said to be able to lop off a limb at 60 or 80 yards distance, but Osborne had a poor opinion of their skill.

Rosaries.—The Sikh rosaries are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Sikhs</th>
<th>lohe ki māla, of iron beads.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánakpanthís</td>
<td>sphaṭik, white crystal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kókas</td>
<td>un ki māla, black (and white) beads of wool.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sikhs also use a rosary of 27 beads and a head bead, black and made of iron.¹

-Sikhism in art.—In art Sikhism cannot claim an exalted place. The Sikhs had indeed began to counteract some of the tendencies of the later Muhammadan style. The Sikh wood-carving was their most characteristic medium. It is distinguished by elaborately lined and twisted foliage, with small grotesque figures of men and animals, but it retained the late Mughal pillar, pilaster and mîhrāb, with flatness of relief, absence of under-cutting, a free use of geometric diapers, incised in line merely, in relief or in framed lattice-work.²

The following notes supplement the account of the Akálís (Vol. II, p. 9) and that of the Nirmalas (III, p. 172):—

The Bibeki Akálís—The strictest of the Akálís acquired the title of Bibeki (from a Sanskrit word 'meaning discrimination') or 'the conscien-
tious' and engravenf on their own creed all the prejudices of Hinduism. With the Vaishnavas they would not eat meat or any article of food or drink not prepared with their own hands. To such an extreme was this rule pushed that they would not taste food cooked by their wives, eat fruit bought in the market or drink water which they themselves had not drawn from the well. They considered it a sin to eat bare-headed and would pay a fine to the temple if they did so inadvertently. They did not remove the hair from any part of their persons and in lieu of the Hindu jameo wore a sword. They were very strict in wearing the 5 Ks: and will not drink water without immersing in it a knife or dagger. They added the word singh as an affix to all substantives and sometimes the other parts of speech, and they transposed all feminine nouns into the masculine gender. Thus they would say: 'place the inkstand singh on the table singh; and kanghi a comb became kangha.

Some Akálís call themselves Nihangs, from nihang 'a crocodile.' Their high-peaked turbans are said to have earned them this title from

¹ L. N. Q., IV, § 146.
² Journal of Ind. Art, I, p. 29.
Guru Govind Singh, but another version has it that during one of Zamán Sháh's marauding inroads they donned the high-peaked turbans of the Turki soldiers and so disguised attacked his force at night and destroyed it. Yet a third account is that the lofty turban or dambdá ("high-tailed") was not adopted by them till Ranjit Singh's time when the example of Bhola Singh, a gigantic Akáli whose height was enhanced by his high-peaked turban, induced them to adopt a similar head-gear.¹

Authorities differ as to the origin of the blue dress. It is said to have been adopted in imitation of Guru Govind Singh who escaped by donning the blue garb of a Muhammadan pilgrim to Mecca and personating a priest of Uch when he was driven from Chamkaur and pursued into the wastes round Bhatinda.

According to Macauliffe² the Nirmalas do not deem the pakul or rite of initiation of vital importance though they are baptised Sikhs. Many do not wear long hair and for the kachh they substitute the loosely tied langota or loin-cloth of the Hindu jagir. Above all they wear the ochre-coloured bhagwa, a colour forbidden to all true followers of Guru Govind Singh.

Some account of the Sawaiwal-sháhis; an off-shoot of the Sikhs, will be found in Volume III, page 380 infra. The conjecture put forward in the Punjab Census Report, 1902 (page 135), that they are identical with the Cháwal-sháhis appears correct, since their founder Somán was an Aroa of the Cháwala section. The title of Sháh was bestowed on him by Gurú Arjan as a reward for his zeal in helping to construct the Hari-mandar tank at Amritsar. To its cost he devoted his income. His descendants continued to serve the Gurús, and when the tenth Gurú gave amrit to his disciples Mihar Sháh, a descendant of Somán Sháh, was allowed to take it also. Hence the Gurú added the title of Singh to that of Sháh and his descendants still bear the double title. The Gurú also conferred on him the right to levy sikhi in Sindhi etc. and made him Gurú of those parts of India. He also bestowed on him 5 gifts, viz. a writ of appointment, a copy of the Granth in his own handwriting, a drum, a hammer and 5 vers of khichri. He was enjoined: (1) to keep alive the memory of kál (death) and Akáli (God), (2) to propagate religion and take peaceful measures for the public weal, (3) to rise in the last watch of the night in order to show humility by worshipping God, (4) to maintain the Gurú's langar, (5) to lead people to the right path; and (6) to cherish a sincere belief in the báchans (sayings) and báns (hymns) composed by the Gurú. Many people of all castes, Brahmans, Achárijs, Bháts, Khatris and other Hindus became his disciples. His followers are to this day found in Kábúl, Kandahár, Khost, Bangash and Dawar, as well as all over the Western Punjab. They pay an annual náváná as well as dues at marriages and deaths.

² *The Sikh Religion under Banda* in Calcutta Rev., 1891, p. 188.
³ *Sikhi* was equivalent to the ddamadh or else replaced that title, the right to collect which had been abused by the maccandás.
Mihar Shâh Singh's son, Gharib Shâh Singh, followed in his father's footsteps. Of his three sons, Himmât Shâh Singh, Samran Shâh Singh and Sanwâl Shâh Singh, the eldest had a son Sundar Shâh Singh, whose descendants, found in Isa Khel, Lakhî and Bammu, are known as Sundar Sháhís. The descendants of the other two sons are found in Bhakkar and Dera Ismâîl Khán. Of them one family went to tahsil Rangpur and one to Odo-Sultán in Jhang. The Sanwâl-sháhís must not be confused with the Bháí Khel, who are not Cháwâlas but Hojâs. They collect nasrána in the Western Punjab and pay a fixed contribution to the Gurús of Gurú Koṭ and Har Saháí in Ferozepur but do not act as their agents, and if they cease to pay their quota they cease also to collect nasrána. All affect the title of Singh, whether they wear the kes or not. The Cháwâla Sánwâl-sháhís take brides from the Utrádha Aṛoras and give them to be Bháí Khel and others.

**SOME SIKH SHRINES.**

The principal Sikh shrines are at Amritsar and in the Gurdâspur District. A description of them here would require too much space, but a few notes on the lesser shrines in Gurdâspur and elsewhere may be of interest.

In Gurdâspur the mandir at Dehra Bábâ Nának is visited by Sikhs on the Baisâkhi, on the pûranmâshí in Kâtik, the Diwáli, and from 21st to 23rd Phâghan when the Chola Sáhib ceremony is observed. Built in 1744 S. the mandir contains the tomb of Gurú Nának. Its affairs are managed by an Udâsî mahanât who is celibate and succession is governed by spiritual descent. A bhog of kaṭh parshúd is offered every morning and on fast days milk is offered as such.

At the Tahli Sáhib mandir no fair is held. Bábâ Sri Chand is said to have cleaned his teeth here with a dâtan (toothbrush) and to have planted it in the ground. From it sprang the tahli tree, after which the temple is named. Portraits of Gurú Nának and his son Bábâ Sri Chand are painted on its walls. Its affairs are managed by an Udâsî mahanât who is also celibate. Food cooked in the temple is offered to the Granth. Another Tahli Sáhib has a similar origin. It also is in charge of an Udâsî mahanât.

At the mandir of Sri Chola Sáhib annual fairs are held on the pûranmâshí in Kâtak, Baisâkhi, Diwáli and on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phâghan. It is called after the Chola Sáhib or 'gown' preserved in it. Founded in 1941 S. it contains a Granth and its affairs are managed by Bâwás, but its pujâri is a Bedi who is not celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship.

Connected with this are some smaller temples in the town—all managed by the mahanât. Another Sri Chola mandir is visited on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phãghan. Founded in 1947 S. it contains nothing but the chola. Its pujâri is a Bedi who is not celibate. A bhog of flowers is offered in the morning.

A shrine of peculiar interest is the mosque (masjîd) of Gurú Har Gobind Sáhib. No fair is held here. An adversary of this Gurú in the
service of Shāh Jahān complained to the emperor that the Gurū was biased against the Muhammadans, whereupon the emperor held an enquiry. The officers entrusted with it came to the Gurū and found him building this mosque, but the precise year of its foundation is not known. Its affairs are managed by one Sāín Pohu Shāh, a Qureshi. The Imām is held in respect both by the Hindūs and Muhammadans.

At the mandir of Manji Mátā Sāhib no fair is held. It is said that the mother (mātā) of Gurū Bhāg Singh, a descendant of Dhir Mal, performed her devotions on a bed where the present temple stands. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains the Manji Sāhib or bedstead. Its pujārī is a Brahman, appointed by the Gurū of Kartārpur. It is connected with the chief mandir in Kartārpur.

At the Damdama Sāhib mandir a monthly fair is held every pīrān māṇī, and once a year on the Baisākhī.

Gurū Har Gobind used to walk along the bank of the Beās to practise archery. After his death it was revealed in a vision to Bhāi Kāhn Singh that the point of an arrow once shot had stuck in the tharrā or platform which formed the Gurū’s seat. He was also directed to build the mandir. Founded in 1555 S., it contains no image, but a Granth is kept in a bāradari. Its affairs are managed by an Udāsī sādhu. A bāgh of karpūr parahād is offered to the Granth, a sacred lamp is kept lit and fire burning at all times.

The history of the Darbār Sāhib in Nichla Kalān in Batālā tahsil, a gurdwāra at which 4 fairs are held, on the Baisākhī, during the shrādhs, on Māgh 1st and the Amāwaz of each month, is obscure. An old man, it is said, had been given the power to work miracles by Gurū Nānak. He lived in the village of Rām Dās. After his death, one Sāhib Rām Kaur, seventh in descent from him and blessed with the same gift, was installed on the gaddī. But of his four sons, Kishen Kaur, Mohar Singū, Anūp Singh and Jawāhīr Singh, only Mohar Singh succeeded him. He was on bad terms with his brothers, and so once when Sāhib Rām Kaur and Anūp Singh went out shooting they found themselves shut out of the temple on their return. By the advice of the neighbouring villagers they took possession of land in Nichā Kalān where after Anūp Singh’s death a samādh of brick was built—nearly 200 years ago.

At the mandir of the Darbār Sāhib in Dera Bābā Nānak fairs are held on the shankrānt 1st or 1st of every Hindu month, and also on the pīrān māṇī. Gurū Nānak’s wedding was celebrated here in the light half of Bhādon in 1548 S. His father-in-law was Mūla, a Khatri, and this mandir was erected in commemoration of the marriage. Mahārājā Sher Singū began the masonry building but it was not complete till after his death, according to the janamsādhī. The Granth Sāhib repose in its centre. On all four sides are rooms for parkārānāh or circumambulation. On its walls are pictures of the ten Gurūs. Its manager is an Arora of Batālā, and his duties are to recite the Granth and look after the mandir. The mantras for worship are shabdās or hymns from the Sukhmani and Granth Sāhibs.
Hindus and Sikhs offer cash, grain, clothes etc. At 9 a.m. kachha bhojan or bhoog is offered. A bhoog of karah is offered on the sankranti, amawas and parshadhi, i.e. on the new and full moon days of each month. During the night lamps are lit. The masonry thatra on which the wedding party of Gurudwara Nanaak rested is much respected by the people.

The Darbar Sahib fair at Barbata village is held on the Baisakhi. Bawa Sri Chand, its founder, came here to meditate on God. The Granth reposes on a Manji Sahib. The puja is a Sarsuti Brahman and recites the Granth daily. He also feeds all travellers lodging in the mandir. A bhoog of food prepared in the morning or karah parshad offered by votaries is first laid before the Granth Sahib and then distributed among those present.

A curious feature of the Patthi Sahib at Lahore, which includes a number of buildings in a walled enclosure, is the fact that a samadhi of Nank Deota is found in it side by side with one of Bawa Sri Chand, and another of Kubha Diwan, the hump-backed accountant of Ranjit Singh, to which no sanctity seems to attach.

The Gurudwara or 'tank of the Gurudwara' at Khosa Kotla, in Zira tahsil, Ferozepur, lies near the village where the Manji Sahib of the 6th Gurudwara Har Gobind, is kept. It was founded nearly 100 years ago. An Udasi sahdu is in charge and a fair is held on the Maghi festival. Visitors, both men and women, dig earth from the tank and make offerings of grain, gur, milk, cash etc., all of which the sahdu takes to the Manji Sahib before which they bow. Karah parshad or confection is distributed among them. Earth is also dug from a chhappar or pond of Bawa Andeer, but no fair is held at it.

The sthan or sanctuary of Gurudwara Har Gobind in Sanur village is also called Gurudwara Sar. A fair is held there at the Maghi and Baisakhi when the Granth is opened and read, Sikhs paying it special reverence and making offerings to it. The temple was founded nearly 150 years ago. Its puja is a Soqhi. The Granth is opened on the 1st of every Hindu month and verses recited. At the gurdwara situate at Takhtapur a annual fair is held on the 12th January. Most of the visitors are Sikhs who bathe and make offerings to the temple. The village was founded by one Takhtu Bawa Nanaak is said to have honoured it with his presence, and so did Gurudwara Har Gobind and Gobind Singh. The tank near the temple was made by Ranjit Singh, and some small gurdwara are attached to it. It is in charge of an Udasi.

The mandir at Daroli in tahsil Moga is called Mata Damodari, and two annual fairs are held at it, one on the Lobri, the other on the Baisakhi. Mata Damodari was a goddess and a disciple of Gurudwara Har Gobind, and her tomb lies near the mandir. This temple was built in S. 1710. No Brahman is employed as the puja is always a Sikh. He keeps the mandir clean, washes the chabutra or platform in the morning and lights a sacred lamp in the evening. Lastly a drum is beaten. At a maffri near the mandir a lamp is lit every evening. The maffri is also
washed in the morning. The temple at Siráí Mangha in tahal Muktsar is known as Gurú Nának ji ká gurdwára and a fair is held there on the Baisákhi. While touring through the country, Gurú Nának came to this place and while resting on a mound used a dání or toothbrush which he thrust into the ground. It grew into a tree which still thrives. Some 65 years ago one Bháí Bálá raised a wall around the mandir. The mandir contains no image, but only a stone with Gurú Nának's foot-print on it. Its administration is carried on by the Bháí's descendants and they employ an Udási, who keeps it clean, lights a lamp in the evening, and gives food and water to travellers from the langár. The servants of the mandir had always been sádhus, and succession had been governed by spiritual relationship until the death of Bháí Bálá whose natural descendants succeed him as he left no disciple. At the fair the Granth is recited and karäh parshád offered as bhog to it. Visitors make offerings and receive karäh parshád which they deem sacred. A lamp is always kept burning and Hindus also make offerings to the Granth.

"The maj or monastery of Gurú Angad is at his birthplace and people makes vows and offerings to it if their prayers are fulfilled. The pujáris take all the offerings. No lamp is kept burning.

The Gurudwára known as the Sri Darbár Sáhib is the scene of a fair held from the 1st to the 3rd of Mágh every year. It is so called because when Gurú Gobind Singh fled before the Mughal army he took shelter here and recited the Granth on May 17th, 1707. Ever since then the fair has been celebrated. In olden times the tank here was called Ishar or Khandrána, but after the battle in which his followers fell and received mukt or salvation it was named Mukatsar or the 'pool of salvation.'

The mandir was founded in 1718, and was built by Sardár Udhe Singh of Kaithal. The Darbár Sáhib contains a sword, disc etc. Its administration is carried on by a Bhandári Khatri, and by the 11 members of the Darbár Sáhib.

Two of them are attached to the mandir to supply water and prepare and distribute food. The manager is responsible for all the expenditure. The members meet at night in the temple after the raah-i-rás or evening prayer, and before the distribution of food, some 10 loaves with pulse are offered to the Granth, a conch being sounded to inform those present in the temple that the food is ready. It is then brought out and distributed among them and they receive the loaves which are believed to be sacred. All that remain are taken to the langár. Offerings are made by Hindus in general as well as by Sikhs.

Other temples connected with this are:—the Shahid Ganj, Tibbi Sáhib, Mukh-manjan Sáhib and Tamba Sáhib. The Shahid Ganj is where Gurú Gobind Singh's followers were slain and burnt. The Tibbi Sáhib is where he fought the enemy. This sanctuary lies a mile to the west of the Darbár Sáhib. From it the Gurú went to the waste lands, west of the Tibbi Sáhib, which are called the Mukh-manjan Sáhib, because the Gurú cleaned his teeth there. The Tamba Sáhib is
so called because Gurú Gobind Singh pitched his tent there. It was founded by Mahárája Karm Singh, Chief of Pátiála, in 1900.

The mandir in Gurú Har Saháí is called ‘Pothi-Mála.’ No fair is held here, but the Baisákhí is observed as a fair. It is so called because it contains a pothi or religious book and a mála or rosary said to have belonged to Gurú Nának, and its foundation dates from his time. They are kept by the Gurú’s descendants, who hold charge of the temple, in the house believed to have been occupied by him. Ten years ago a new building was constructed and the mála and pothi brought from Chúñián and placed therein. The gaddí is always occupied by the eldest son of the family. When people come to do homage to these relics the pujári bathes and dons the topí, chola etc., which were worn by Gurú Nának. He then displays the pothi and mála, provided a nasrana of Rs. 101 is laid before them. Karáh parshád is offered daily as bhog.

When votaries in distant places, such as Bannu, Kohát, Pesháwar, Hazára and Kábul, dedicate offerings to Gurú Nának at weddings etc. they are sent to this temple.

The temple at Chúñián in Lahore is connected with this mandir, and it is held by a member of the same family. An ordinary fair is held there on the Baisákhí.

At the samádhí of Bhai Sarúp Dás at Bagahke, a fair is held on the Baisákhí. Some 50 years ago the corpse of Bhai Sarúp Dás was burnt at this spot, where his disciple Púran Dás built a samádhí in 1921. The administration of the mandir vests in Bhai Sáhib Dás, a disciple of the late Púran Dás. But an Udáši disciple, who is employed in the mandir, lives in a separate house near the well attached to the main temple which he keeps clean and in which he lights a lamp. Only the Bairági sádhu however officiates in the temple, and he receives all the offerings with a fee of Rs. 1-4-0 at every wedding. On the Baisákhí karáh parshád is offered as bhog and then distributed among those present. A lamp is always kept burning in the temple. All Hindus make offerings according to their means.

At the temple called Gupt Sar a fair is held on the Baisákhí. When Gurú Gobind Singh during his war with the Muhammadans reached this place his soldiers demanded their pay and he found a hidden treasure in a tank most of which he distributed to them. The balance, it is said, disappeared at the same spot. Hence the tank came to be called the Gupt Sar or ‘tank of the hidden store.’ The temple possesses a chakkar (disc) and jhanda (banner). No Brahman is employed, but a lamp is kept burning and Hindus make offerings to it. Cash collected is spent on the up-keep of the mandir.

At the Gurudwára in Ropáná no fair is held. The people gather there on the Baisákhí and offer karáh parshád. Gurú Gobind Singh threw away his used dátan or toothbrush here and it turned into a green tree, a miracle which caused people to worship the place. In the temple are deposited a chakkar, nishán (standard) and other weapons. Its administration is carried on by the present pujári, a Ját. No Brah-
man is employed. It rests with the residents of the village to employ any person whom they deem fit. It is said that once a Sikh Guru visited this place, and after his departure it was held sacred by the Hindus and Sikhs who bathe in the pond. The use of charas and bhog is not common. A lamp is lighted at the temple.

At the mandir called Faqir Sar in Muktsar tahsil an annual fair is held.

At a pond in Bhondar village a fair is held annually at the Baisakhi. As Guru Gobind Singh's horse drank water from it people bathe in it every year, but no building is attached to it. Formerly a faqir used to live at the pond but after his death some 12 years ago, people simply collect on the day of the fair to pay homage to the pond and play sanochi.

At the mandir of Guru Gobind Singh at Haripur near Abohar, two fairs are held, one on the pu ran máshí in Katak, the other on the Chetar chandás in Chet. About 800 persons, Bagri Jats etc. attend them. Charn Dás took up his abode in Haripur in S. 1927, and founded the temple in Sawan S. 1933. When the people of the Bazar began to worship the mandir he sank a well for drinking water. When he had got 1 1/2 yards down, an iron box was found in which were an image of Nársingh, an iron disc, a footprint of Guru Nának on a stone, an iron rod, a sword, a closed book etc. The image of Nársingh is carved on a stone slab. These things were sent to Mr. Wakefield, then Deputy Commissioner of Sirsa, but they were brought back and placed in the mandir. Since then Hindus frequent it to see the relics. The footprint on the stone is regarded as that of Guru Nának and a hand print on the other side is supposed to be that of one Kirpal Udási. The administration of the mandir is carried on by one Charn Dás. Its income from offerings is estimated at Rs. 125, excluding Rs. 7, the value of the grain offered, which is divided equally between Charn Dás and the Bishnoi faqirs. The former keeps the mandir clean and burns incense twice a day. Karah parshad is distributed among those present. The fair is patronized by Jaits, Aorás, Sikhs, Bagris and Bishnois. It only lasts one day.

At the Guru Sar in Bázidpur, tahsil Ferozepur, a fair is held on the Basant panchmi. Guru Gobind Singh rested here for a short time, so the place was held sacred. In the time of Rانjít Singh a faqir constructed a gurudwára. At the fair the Faridkot State supplies 50 mans of grain and one of salt for the requirements of visitors who are all fed free. Báwá Sidha Dás faqir, a Chhamba, lives in the temple and recites the Granth in the morning. Disciple succeeds guru. A kettle-drum is beaten at night. Charas is not used nor is there any rite of bhog. Lamps are lit in the evening. The gurudwára in Sayyidpur is connected with this.

In Ludhiána the Bháí Bálá fair is held on the 10th suddi of Mákha in the waste land of Dad. Bháí Bálá was a disciple of Guru Nának and at his samadhi here about 10,000 people from the neighbourhood visit the fair. Hindus offer grain, cash etc. which are taken by Masand Khatri of Kudhani in Patiala. People also bring curds made the pre.
vious night, and after being presented to the shrine they are distributed
and eaten. There is also a pond here, and people attending the fair
consider it a religious duty to dig out of it seven handfuls of earth with
their hands.

A temple in Kangra is:

| Mandir Dera Bāba Nānak. | Udāsi | None | Food cooked by the pujārī is offered as bhog, but on the first day of every
Bāba Nānak is said to have stayed here for a while and wrought miracles. The temple contains a stone on which
his foot-print is marked. Its length is a cubit and breadth a foot. It stands on a pedestal. A flag is also planted on one side of it. Near it is the tomb of Bāwa Mehr Dās, one of the Billāpur chiefs. |

The Philosophy of Sikhism.

A Sikh gentleman contributes the following instructive note on Sikh ideals:

The Guru observed:—'All men are suffering in one way or another; the source of all misery is attachment to material things. Desire generates attachment; desire precedes illusion. Illusion is removed by the knowledge of the spirit; the spirit lives in every particle of the universe; it lives within us, without us and everywhere. God is all 'Life,' 'Knowledge' and 'Bliss,' and to know God is to be God. Therefore happiness cannot be obtained in material enjoyment but in the knowledge of God. This is the essence of Sikhism. Until the soul has become free from desire of material objects, it has to suffer births and rebirths under the law of transmigration of souls.

The stages of practice.—The next question is how to become one with God and secure a stage of eternal happiness. The Guru says there are three stages:—(1) Discipline, (2) Meditation, and (3) Gītā.

(1) Discipline.—The beginner must begin by keeping the company of good people (sādh-sangai) and cultivate purity of character. Character (achar) supplies the soil for the sowing of the seed which is meditation on the name (Nām) and gītā is the fruit (sukhphal). Discipline means total subjugation of the lower instinct (ausris guṇas), of lust (kām), anger (karokh), blind attachment (moh), covetousness (lobh), vanity (akangkha); and development of the higher virtues (daivi guṇas), such as the proper use of the bodily essence (sīl), contentment (santōk), kindness of all forms of life (daya), faith in Divine existence (dharma), purity of body and mind (sukh), charity and benevolence (dān), toleration (dharma), and thoughtfulness (vichār). To discipline his mind one must always keep (sat sang, the company of holy men and learn to live independently by earning an honest livelihood. True
discipline is cultivated not by living in seclusion but by leading a life useful in all respects. The Gurū's tenet is: 'Fulfil all the duties of domestic and social life, but let not your heart forget your spiritual nature.'

(2) Meditation.—When the character-building is complete the aākhāri is initiated into the society of the pure (khalṣa). He is baptised (given amrīta) by the 5 chosen Khālsa (Pānch Gurū Khālsa) and taught the method of meditation on the true name (Satnām). The message communicated to him at the amrīta runs: 'Henceforth you belong to the community of the Khālsa, your father is Sri Gurū Gobind Singh (protector of the universe), your mother Sāhib Devi (the supreme power), your abode Anandpur (the city of bliss), your caste Sodh-bans (the family of the Lord). You will be bound to wear the 5 national symbols (rāhit of the five kā'ī): (i) The keshā, to preserve your brain in its normal condition. This is the sign of Yogi, implying abhorrence of all artificialities due to the desire to appear beautiful: (ii) kachh, meant to teach you the habit of using the life-fluid properly: (iii) kirpān, to teach you the necessity of cultivating physical development and warn you against the danger of bodily deterioration: (iv) kara to bind you to obedience of the Gurū's law as given in the Holy Granth: (v) kūnghā, as the comb keeps the hair pure, even so twice a day you should try to purge away all filthy thoughts from your mind. You shall also recite five bāṇīs every day:

1. Japp—Comprising the main principles of Sikh spiritualism, ethics and divinity.
2. Jap—Giving the attributes of God, personal and impersonal.
3. Swayas—Inculcating the transitoriness of material enjoyments and emphasising the brevity of human life.
4. Rakhīrās—The prayer for peace.

You shall believe in the Gurūs as the 10 manifestations of one and the same Lord: and obey the commandments given in the Holy Granth.

You will have to meditate on the holy name with full concentration of mind every day in the early morning.

You must perform all ceremonies (saunskaras) according to the instructions of the Khālsa.

Methods of meditation.—In the first stage attention must be fixed on the personality of the Gurū by reading his life and by constantly thinking of the attributes to be cultivated. Afterwards, silent repetition of the name together with the understanding of the sense in the mind. By constant practice the name itself vanishes and the spirit makes itself manifest in the devotee's heart according to his conception.

(3) The gnāna stage.—Ultimately the individual soul enjoys perfect union with the supreme soul. In this stage the bhūgat sees the one God
within, without and everywhere and realises that:—"In Him he lives, moves and has his being."

Notable features of the Sikh ideals.—The Sikh believes that the supreme soul has fully manifested itself in the Gurú. He is therefore, the creator, the preserver; and, it is he who is the destroyer of the universe. He thus concentrates all his love on the Gurú in a manner so earnest that he is ready never to flinch from the path laid down for him by the Gurú even at the risk of his life. History narrates that in the time of Furrukhsíar Rs 80 were offered as a prize for the head of a Sikh with his kephas (hair) yet never was Sikh known to betray his faith for worldly gain, however much he was tempted. Day and night the Sikh meditates on the self-radiant point ever effulgent in his breast through the grace of his Gurú, and moves in the world self-poised, self-satisfied, and self-contented. He has full control over his temper and it is his object to make the most of the chances given him by serving others in all possible ways.

He has realised that as no form can endure he must one day pass away. The hour of death being uncertain he must use all his energy, wisdom and wealth in philanthropic deeds. Free from all vanity, he has totally resigned his will to the Gurú. He is indifferent to pleasure and pain and is heedless of enology or abuse. Gold and dust are equal in his eyes. Thus ever singing his master’s praises, he goes to the Home of Bliss after death, which he has really conquered in this life.

Growth of the Khalsa community.—Gurú Nának Deva spent his whole life travelling from place to place, sowing the seed of divine love wherever he met a true seeker of God. In the course of time millions in distant lands became his followers. ¹

¹ Gurú Nának—Gurú Nának did not receive any secular education. The following verses show that he did not attend to lessons taught in school. One day he was asked to write out some Arithmetical tables. He replied:

"Burn worldly love, grind its ashes and make them into ink, turn the superior intellect into paper.

Make divine love thy pen and thy heart the writer: ask thy Gurú and write his instructions,

Write God’s name, write his praises, write that he hath neither end nor limit,

O Master! learn to write this account,

So that whenever it is called for a true mark may be found thereon.

There greatness is obtained, everlasting joys and everlasting delights,

They in whose hearts is the true name have the mark of it on their brows,

By God’s mercy men obtain it and not by idle words;

One man cometh, another goeth, we give them great names,

Some men God created to beg and some to preside over great courts,

When they have departed they shall know that without the name they are of no account;

I greatly fear thine anger, O God! my body pineth and wasteth away;

They who had been called Kings and Lords are beheld as ashes,
Guru Angad worked on his lines and devised a new Panjabi alphabet in which the lives, hymns, and sermons of the Gurús were written.

The efforts of Siri Guru Amar Dás were mainly devoted to the abolition of caste distinctions. He taught 'that good actions are commendable to God and that all men are equal.' He introduced the system of performing all ceremonies with the help of the Guru Bani and instructed the Sikhs to throw off the yoke of the Brahman priesthood.

The fourth Guru Ram Dás began the Golden Temple at Amritsar as a centre for the Sikhs, to which they might come from all parts to unite themselves by the bond of brotherly love so essential to strengthen the national tie.

Guru Arjan ordered every Sikh to set apart one-tenth of his income for religious and charitable purposes. He framed rules of devotion and collected all the hymns of his four predecessors into the holy scripture called the Granth to which he himself largely contributed. This new form of Sikhism raised up many enemies to the Guru, and so he instructed his son Guru Har Govind to devise means of safety for his disciples.

Guru Har Govind introduced military exercises and horsemanship among his Sikhs. In course of time they became good soldiers, and whenever their foes became aggressive they gave proofs of their valour, courage and military skill.

Nának when men departeth all false affections are surrendered.

Upon this the school-master acknowledged Guru Nának as a perfect saint and did the homage to him.'

The incident called the sacho sauda may also be mentioned:—Kálú, father of Nának, desired his son to embrace a mercantile life, so he sent him to Chúbharkána now in Gujrátwála and buy articles for trade. Nának set out with a servant and on his way met some holy men. He spent all the money in their service, and on his return home when questioned by his father he replied that he had done 'true trade.'

The Guru's condemnation of the rite of investiture with the jameo (sacred thread) is:

Pandit Haridárl, family priest, was invited to perform this ceremony and when all the members of Kálú's brotherhood were present, Guru Nának enquired its meaning. The priest explained that the jameo was the basis of the Hindu religion and without it a man would remain a Sudra. Hearing this the young Guru uttered the following hymn in the Asa De Wár:

1. Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, confine its knot, truth its twist,
2. That would make a soul; if thou have it, O Brahman! then put it on me;
3. It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned or lost;
4. Best the man, O Nának! who goeth with such a thread on his neck.
5. Thou purchasest a jameo for four darpás and seated in a square puttest it on
6. Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the Guru of the Hindus.
7. Man dieth, the jameo faileth off and the soul departeth without it.

The Pandit was angry at this and the Guru then uttered the following:

1. By adoring and praising the Name honour and a true thread are obtained,
2. In this way a sacred thread shall be put on which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God's court.
The story about Naina Devī has been wrongly represented in the text. The idea of the Guru was to show the Pandits and the people the hollowness of the cult of Devī. The first Gurus had already refused to accept the worship of any deity except the one Almighty God; Guru Gobind Singh was not bitterly opposed to Islam and the pahul or amrit sanšār was not for the purpose of retribution. The pahul in fact is a form of baptism, and the method of its administering proves it.

**The Sikh View of Transmigration.**

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls emanated from God:

As from one fire millions of sparks arise, though rising separately, they unite again in the fire,

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling it again blend with the dust,

As in one stream millions of waves are produced, the waves being made of water all become water,

So from God’s form non-sentient and sentient things are manifested.

Springing from Him shall all be united in Him.

**The Conception of Divinity.**

‘God is without passion, without colour, without form, without outline,

He is without wordly love, without anger, without enmity, without jealousy,

He is without Karma, without error, without birth and without caste,

He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother etc.’

**The Definition of Khālsa, the Pure.**

1. He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on any one but the one God.

2. Who hath full love and confidence in God, who puttest no faith even by mistake in fasting or worshipping, cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogis’ places of sepulchre,

3. Who only recognizesthe one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life, Hindu penances and austerities,

4. And in whose heart the light of the perfect one shineth, he is recognized as a pure member of the Khālsa.

**The Ballad of Hari Singh Nalwā of Amritsar.**

Larā Sirdār Hari Singh Nalwā sukna Shahr Amritsar.

1. Sohnā banād Ambarsar, sohnā banā dardār,
   Sang marmaṛ patthar lagō chāndī chāḥā keōwar.
2. Many lakhs worth of gold and a thousand lakhs of pearls were used. It is mainly inhabited by bankers, petty shop-keepers being few.

3. In the house of Mahán Singh was born Ranjít Singh, the great soul descended from Heaven. He had thousands of horses and maintained armies numbering a thousand lakhs.

4. In the Khaibar Pass war began, and swords flashed like lightning. Thither Hari Singh was sent in command of the forces.

5. ‘O Sikhs, I trust not Tejá Singh’s army. So my first camp will be on the hither side of the Rávi’s bank, and my second beyond it. My third halt will be at Púl Kanjri and my fourth at Wazírábád.’

6. Patting his bay steed Ranjít Singh said: ‘Save my honour for the sake of my grey hairs.’
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

7. A small cloud arose and rain began to fall in torrents. The Sikhs drinking water from the ponds became anxious.

8. 'O my brothers, press on, for I am with you.' There has Hari Singh, commander of the forces, been killed.

9. Sirdar Teja Singh has also been killed. One of the warriors went to burn Hari Singh Nalwa's body.

10. From Lahore set out the Firangi obeying the impulse of pride and marching stage by stage met the Sikhs at Ludhiana.

11. Posts were opened at every door, and a police station established in the midst of the city. The English defeated the Sikhs, for 't was the will of God!

12. Straight from Lahore came the Firangi with hat on head and employed many masons in metalling the roads, holding a stick in his hand.

13. 'Thy roads will be metalled by those who are unfortunate.' Trouble seized the Sikhs at last and none sided with them!

The Talk of LachhmanDas, otherwise Banda Sahib, Disciple of the Guru Sahib, the Singh.

Ahwál Lachhman Dás usrf Banda Sahib, Chela Guru Singh Sahib.

Dohá.

1 { Abohalá nagar hai Sri Gangá ke pás,
Sádhú Lachhman Dás hai bairági, kare nívás.

2 { Khatrí Sodhi-lans, sín, bhájo, bairági d'é,
Abohal nagrí Gangá-tá, sádhe táp ko jáé.

Chautpá.

3 { Sundar Rém bághcháh lágd,
Sukh saumáhá, dukh nírkhat bhágd.

4 { Anek bánt phal phál suhá d'é,
Khat, mírg, gunjád, luháti sukh d'é.

5 { Wá ke madh bani amráí,
Sukh-su-vás sab bhánt suhái.

Dohá.

6 { Amráí ke bhích ek palang bichhá sukhr-sár,
Ohdr bír ohan tarf rahi rakhwále, bándkaí.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Ohupat.

7 { Aur koi baithe tahad jade,
Patak bhum marde so tain.

8 { Jo palang ke neres jawat,
Phir jawat pachhe nahin awat.

9 { Pakr pachhane Gangad tae,
Turit karen Amrapur wais.

Dohad.

10 { Sri Gurud ke panth men sakal bhaye balvain,
Badshah daswain bhae Gurud Gobind Singh dain.

Kabit.

11 { Gurud Nanak, Gur Angad, Gur Amardas, Gurud Ramdas, Gurud Arjan dharo,
Gurud Hargobinda, Har Rai, Har Krishn bichhro,

12 { Tegh Bahadar, bhayo, nain dhar ek man lino,
Sabad gurud upadesh dain sangat ko dind.

13 { Kalad dhar Gurud Gobind Singh bhae, amar bhaye Kalad men sakhi,
Jhankar, bhayo, tirlak men birde, pef satgur ki rakh.

Dohad.

14 { Sri Gurud Gobinda Singhji dhaire dharm Autar,
Malleekhan ke hat karne parbal, bhayo, balkar.

Kabit.

15 { Ashp ke aswar bhayo, Gurud Gobind Singhji sail sadhaya,
Gang ashman kiyo hit hit, sun bhayo, Lachhman Das ke bakh men dayo.

16 { Palang bichhen bano ati sundar baiyhat wandhah kharh, sendaiyo,
Bir rahe bal loei na lagi dhan, Gurud ko tef sendaiyo.

Kabit.

17 { Lachhman Das Sadh Gunh ashman kar pujn path matitr jaf
Amrit dya hain.
Age sti Gobind Singh baiyhat par pank mahnin, dharm autar
shubhr aij sadhaya hain.

18 { Nirik chakrit, bhayo, also baiy kaun dyo, tej wa partap jin bismay
Sadhaya hain.
Birna ko aaija kar pakhdae nar, also ahankar bukh us kaun
Dyo hain?

Ohupat.

19 { Biran dekh bhaat bal deyao;
Palang nahe satho athaya.

20 { Guru Gobind Singh jo abtar,
Ki de karde biran bakhar?
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Dohá.

21 { Pehchhat Gurú Gobind Singh tum ko sāhīb kaun?
   At-parchand újjal tuje kūn dhar baiṭhe maun?

22 { Sāhīb ke banda bhaye, ehhī hamāro nām,
   Nīs dān jāde baiṭheke Parmeshwar Sīr Rām.

Chaupái.

23 { Tum banda sāhīb ke pyāro,
   Te jas asī tap karnewāle.

24 { Ab kar apne shashtar dhāro,
   Dharm kāt yēl bachan hamāro.

25 { Malechhān, sun, judh rachāo,
   Banda Sāhīb nām kahāo.

26 { Lāchchān Dās ji sant ne liō teg kar dhār,
   Mughlān ke hat kārne lage karan dangār.

27 { Wāhe Gurū ki fatah, so wāhe Gurū kā rāj!
   Gurū Gobind Singh amar khān, kō dharm kā kāj.

Chaupái.

28 { Judh karat Turkān sūn bhārī,
   Mughlān ki bēh sen sanghārī.

29 { Jang Sarānā bhāk bīdē bhaye,
   Tiāg deh Gur surpur gayo.

Dohá.

30 { Dhūjā Lahānā, bhaye, sikh Gurū kā jān,
   Ik shat mohar Gobind Singh dēnē thē mān.

Chaupái.

31 { Dhūjhe ko Gurū bachhan sunāyā,
   Sikh Gurū kā bahut suhāyā.

32 { Ab tum jād apne gām,
   Kēd jāe tīhān bīsrām.

Kabit.

33 { Gurū Gobind Singh kahe Dhūjhe kē : gām tumhāre āwenge,
   Do unglī tumrē kar apni pakar nishānī lāwenge.

34 { Sikh apnā bhej tujhē ko apne pās mangāwenge,
   Tab jāno tum Gurū hamārā ek sah moharēn pāwenge.

Chaupái.

35 { Charh bidān Gur surg sādhāre,
   Dhūjā apne dwārē āye.

36 { Bahut dwas sūn phēr kahe īsē,
   Gur ke charhōn lāge ās.

37 { 'Kab Gur is des mēn āwen,
   Do unglī mūr kē paktawē;
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

{Ek sau mohar mo se mangen?
Dhan bhág more jad jágen.'

Kabit

39 {Ohándr-Bhásá gá naaí kne Bándah tapp ko áyo hai,
Mahán puvíit s bhání ko dekhí baiít kahun sukh páyo hai.
40 {Desán ke bhúnál áke, sab ne mátho náyo hai,
Dhúthhe got Labáne Gur ke áye sis lagáyo hai.

Ohaupái.

41 {Dhúthá apne pás pái mangáyo ;
Bandhá Sáhib báchan sundáyo.
42 {Dó únglí tin ko párí aí,
Ek sau mohar nám sundáí.
43 {Dhútho mun men pavm úchháhá.
Dhan dhan karat charn leiptáhá.
44 {Báhor apne ghar ko áyá,
Sakul kútumh pás mangáwy.
45 {Ek sau mohren thél bhadráyá,
Bhúkan bistar sang suhádá.
46 {Káhn pán sakale pakáván,
Sang líc' opárí sujáán.
47 {Bájáin dhál sang suh-kááí,
Náchén Dhúta bahor suháí,
48 {Náchán kúdát Gur pah jáwen,
Múkhh se gionat sabá suháwén.

Kabit.

49 {“Gur Láño re, Gurá lááho re, Gurá suháyo re,
Jin Turkán ko sis útár, so Gur mílú hamáro re,
50 {Dhan Gurá Gobínd Singh úttal dháryo dharm abtáro re,
Dhan Gurá Gobínd Singh sákhí fí áb Dhúte ko táro re.

Ohaupái.

51 {Wáh Gurújí bhág hamáre,
Áj Gurú jí mile piáre.
52 {Tégh útáká Mughal jin máré,
Sakal Hind ko dharm suháre.
53 {Ji Gur apné ko manáwe,
Charn gahe múktí phál páwen.
54 {Gur ko charn rahún leiptáí,
Ant kál Gúr hót saháí.
55 {Dhól bajón báhe, Dhúthá náhe en,
Prem bhard báhe údham náche.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

56 {Nohat gavat Gur pah dyo, 
Oharn Gurdu ke sri nivayo.

Dohā.

57 {Bāāshā dawoon, bhayo, Gurd Bhind Singh dy-e: 
Ikādās Banda Sahib ji, táro sikh su hà-e!

58 {Ohand-Bhāgā Gangā ke nikat nivās kión parbal trikūth dhār 
sundār sūhāt hāi, 
Kanchan ke thāmb okapāt bane, kanchan ke kanchan ko mandār 
jor bahu bhānt hāi.

59 {Anek hī parkāraan ke bājat bājantr mahā gavat sābd nek bhānt ke 
sūhāt hāi; 
Ohār khinti chāle āt mātho jī'ēn ko nivīt āhan Gurd Banda 
Śāhib dhāro ghat hāi.

Kabīt.

60 {Des hī des chāle buh dawat, kōs hazdrōke sikh sūhāwen, 
Wāhe Gurd Banda Śāhib ko bāl'ānām jāpeñ muktī phal pāwen.

61 {Dhol mārdang pakhāwai sang bājāwat bāje sābd jā gāwen, 
Utt des nivās kiyo; jo nóml jāpeñ muktī phal pāwen.

62 {Śri Gurd Bande Śāhib ko dhāro parhm sūhāte, 
Uṭjāl Hākīm Rāj ne sobhā kahī band'e.

Translation.

1 {Abchal is a town close by holy Ganges, 
And in it lived a saint, one Lachhman Dās Bairāgī.

2 {He was a Khatri of the Sodhi sect, but he became a Bairāgī, 
At Abchal town on the Ganges bank he performed penance.

3 {In it lay a beautiful and pleasant garden, 
In it (was found) every kind of pleasure, without pain.

4 {In it were countless kinds of fruits and flowers, 
Birds and deer added pleasure to its delights.

5 {In it stood a summer house, just at its centre, 
A pleasant dwelling which afforded joys of every kind.

6 {In it was spread a luxurious couch, 
Which was guarded on all four sides by four champions, 
Powerful men.

7 {If any one went to sit thereon, 
They straightway threw him on the ground.

8 {Whosoever even approached the couch, 
Never came back alive.

9 {They cast him into the Ganges, 
(And) forthwith he entered Heaven.

10 {All the Gurd's followers became powerful, 
Gurd Govind Singh was the 10th King.
Possibly an allusion to the four muktis of the Sikh Gurd.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Know then the Gurus:—

Teg Bahadur, who believed in the unity of God
Gave the boon of the Guru’s teaching to his followers.

Guru Govind Singh was glorious, and in the Kali Yuga immortal,
His story resounded through three worlds, and he kept up the glories of his Guru

Holy Govind Singh was an incarnation,
He showed his might in assaults on the Mlechhas,

Mounted on his horse Guru Govind Singh went forth,
Bathed joyously in the Ganges and so came to Lachhman Das’ garden.

There he found the splendid couch and seated himself thereon with great delight,
In vain the birs (champions) put forth all their strength:
Blessed be the glorious Guru!

So Lachhman Das the saint, after bathing and reciting his prayers, returned to the summer house,
Where he found Govind Singh seated on the couch, (him) who was an incarnation of God and most glorious!

Saying him he was amazed (and said): ‘Who is seated here, ?’
Seeing his glory and his splendour he was astounded.
(And) he bade the guardians (saying): ‘Cast out this fellow, who is seated so arrogantly here!’

The champions exerted all their strength,
But the couch did not move.

Guru Govind Singh was an incarnation of God,
What could the mighty champions do?

Guru Govind Singh asked: ‘What saint art thou?’
Thou who art so glorious, why art thou silent?

‘I am the Servant of God, that is my name!
Day and night I repeat God’s name.’

Thou art the beloved Servant of God,
Glorious one! and a performer of penance.

Take warlike weapons in thy hand,
And listen to my preaching.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

25 { Attack the Mlechhas courageously,
And earn the title of 'God's Slave.'

26 { Lachhman Dás, the holy one, took in his hand the sword,
And resolved to put the Mughals to death in battle.

27 { (His war-cry was) 'Victory to the Gurú! Thus shall be
the Gurú's reign!'

28 { Gurú Govind Singh is immortal, he hath done works of piety.

29 { He made fierce war on the Turks,
Many Mughals were destroyed.

30 { He fought at Sarandh with all his might,
The Gurú gave up his life, and went to Heaven.

31 { Dhúthá Labána became a disciple of the Gurú,
And had a mind to offer him 100 gold mohars.

32 { The Gurú exhorted Dhúthá,
And he, the Gurú's disciple, was greatly pleased.

33 { The Gurú said: 'Now get thee to thy village,
And dwell there in peace.'

34 { Gurú Govind Singh said to Dhúthá: 'We will come to
your village,
Grasping two of your fingers we will make a sign.

35 { I shall call you to me through one of my own disciples,
Then know that your Gurú will accept the 100 mohars.'

36 { Ascending his (celestial) chariot, the Gurú went to Heaven,
And Dhúthá returned home.

37 { Many days he waited there,
In expectation of his Gurú's coming.

38 { (Thinking) 'When will the Gurú come to this country,
And give me his two fingers to hold?

39 { And ask me for the 100 mohars?
Blessed then will be my lot?'

40 { To the bank of the Chenab river came Banda to do penance,
Seeing the great purity of its soil there he rested.

41 { All the rulers of the land came to do him homage,
Dhúthá Labána bowed his head to the Gurú.

42 { He called Dhúthá to him,
Bandá, 'God's Slave' spake to him.

43 { He gave him his two fingers,
And mentioned the 100 mohars.

44 { Dhúthá was greatly delighted in his heart,
Saying again and again 'Blessed one!' he clung to his feet.
Then he returned home,
And sent for all his kinsmen.

He filled a platter with the 100 mohars,
And a quantity of jewels and clothes.

With food and drink and all kinds of sweetmeats;
Taking his whole family with him.

Drums were beaten for joy,
Dhúthá danced before them from love.

Dancing, leaping, he went to the Gurú,
With his lips he sang his praises.

I have found my Gurú, my Gurú, and he hath comforted me!
He who had cut off the Turks’ heads, he is my Gurú.

Blessed be Gurú Govind Singh, who is an incarnation of God,
Blessed be Gurú Govind Singh, who has saved Dhúthá!

O! blessed Gurú, happy is my lot,
To-day have I met with my beloved Gurú.

Taking up the sword he has slain the Mughals,
Restored religion to all India.

Whose believeth in his Gurú,
And embraceth his feet, will get the reward of salvation.

Let me remain clinging to the Gurú’s feet,
In the end the Gurú will save me.

Many drums were beaten, and Dhúthá danced,
Filled with love he danced fervently.

With dance and song he went to the Gurú,
And bowed his head at the Gurú’s feet.

Gurú Govind Singh appeared as the 10th King,
The 11th was Banda, ‘God’s slave.’ Save thy disciples!

He made his abode by the Chenab’s holy stream, where is
the goddess, most powerful and ever glorious has golden
pillars.

Numerous hymns are sung there with musical instruments
which are pleasing to the ear,
People from all directions come and pay homage there. Blessed
is the advent of Gurú Banda Sáhib in this world.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

People from all countries and Sikhs from thousand kos come there and repeat the name of Waḥgurū Banda Sahib and obtain salvation.

They sing the hymns there with different kinds of drums. Banda has taken up his abode in the northern country, he who will repeat name will obtain salvation.

All should deeply love Gurū Banda Sahib and see how Hákim Rāi praises the unique being—The Sublime.
CHAPTER II.

RIGHTS AND CEREMONIES.

SECTION I.—HINDU PREGNANCY OBSERVANCES.

The first menstruation after marriage.

The first menstruation after the marriage has been consummated is the occasion of a strict tabu in Mani. The wife must touch no one, and should not even see any one, to secure which she is shut up in a dark room. She must not use milk, oil or meat, and while she is still impure the following rite is performed:—On a day chosen as auspicious by a Brahman, all the wife’s female relatives assemble, and kinswomen wash her head with gondhana. Then after she has bathed, five cakes of flour, walnuts and pomegranates are put in her lap, with a pretty child, in order that she too may bear such a child. Looking into its face she gives it some money and cakes, and then the family priest makes her worship Ganpati. In return he receives a fee in money, with the things offered to the goddess. The women spend the ensuing night in singing.

The earlier observances in pregnancy.

If a woman’s children all die, she procures, in the third month of her pregnancy, a piece of iron, taken out of a sunken boat, and from it has a kari or manacle made. This she wears on her right leg, and it is believed to prevent her future children’s premature death. [Dera Ghasi Khan District.]

In Fazilka an observance, now nearly extinct, is observed by Hindu Aorpas in the third month of a first pregnancy. It is called the ankh sabzi, because after it the wife ceases to apply antimony to her eyes. Her parents send her rice which is distributed among her kin.

In Siakkot the observance of the third month is called thakni. Dried dates and pieces of cocoonut are given to the wife, and of these she eats a little, the rest being distributed among her kinmen. In Hoshiarpur a similar rite is observed; loaves of wheat flour fried in ghur are distributed among the brotherhood, and both husband and wife put on new clothes and worship the family god.

In the extreme south-east hardly any observances during pregnancy are reported, though in Hisar the kansi rite—described below—is in

1 In Patiala if the woman eats real pearls in her monsoon she will also give birth to a male child.

2 But in Gurdaspur the rite known as thakni (clearly — thakni) is said to be observed on the first day of the sixth month. The woman on this date washes her head with curd and puts on new clothes: saltish comestibles, such as papaya, pukka and rassids, or vermicelli, being distributed among the brotherhood. The thakni is followed by the great raiti, held early in the eighth month, which is a religious ceremony. The woman’s parents send her presents, and she washes her head etc., as in the thakni. But a pandit is called in and performs certain religious rites. The women of the family also sing certain ritual hymns, and the occasion is one of great rejoicing. Pun-sawa, defined by Platts (Hindustani Dictionary, p. 270), to mean “causing the birth of a male child—the first of the essential ceremonies of Hindu initiation—held on the mother’s first perceiving signs of a living conception,” is now obsolete in the Simla hills. So, too, is the steaft, which used to be performed in the sixth month.
vogue in some parts. But elsewhere such observances are usual and somewhat elaborate. Thus in Jind during a first pregnancy (jethā khamal) we find the mitthā bohīā, a social ceremony, in which at the end of the third month a basket full of sweets is sent to the woman by her mother, with a suit and a half of clothes, and Rs. 5 in money. At the fifth month a second similar ceremony, the sadh, is observed, the mother sending her daughter two and a half suits of clothes, one and a quarter maunds of sweetmeats, and Rs. 7.

Later observances.

During the seventh month occurs a rite of a religious character, called the bīḍān kā bhōjān bharnā. This consists in the woman’s offering four and a quarter sers of rice to the bībis or spirits, in ten thāls or plates, of which one is given to a Dūnnī, another to a land-holder’s wife, a third to the husband, a fourth being allotted to the woman herself, and the rest to other relatives.

The pregnancy rites, however, which are, strictly speaking, religious, are the garbh sanskār, and foreshadow the jānu, mūṇḍan and jāmeo sanskār or rites at birth, (first) tonsure and initiation, which will be described in due course.

The garbh sanskār includes two distinct rites, the chhoṭi or lesser, and the bārt rītān or greater rites, which are observed in the fifth and seventh months, respectively, of the pregnancy throughout the Central Panjab. In the former the woman bathes, her hair is plaited and she is dressed in clothes presented by her parents. Her neighbours and kinswomen also assemble to sing songs and fill her lap with grain and cakes made of grain flour fried in ghī. Her mother-in-law is also congratulated, and similar eatables distributed among the husband’s brotherhood.

At the commencement of the seventh month the husband’s parents celebrate the bārt rītān; but first of all the wife’s parents send her a new tevar, a cocoanut, dried dates and money, together with a present of clothes to her husband’s parents, who on their part present her with new clothes. On a lucky day chosen by the Brahman, the husband and wife, dressed in new clothes, sit side by side and revere images of the gods drawn by the Brahman on the floor. The husband’s mother then places a cocoanut and dried dates in the wife’s lap, and congratulations are exchanged. Huge loaves of flour fried in ghī are then distributed among the brotherhood.

In Ferozepur these rites are replaced by the jār bharnēkī and bhog bharnēkī observances. Of these the former simply consists in making kachchhī pīnnī or rolls, of which two are marked with saffron and given to the wife, who either eats them or divides them among young girls and the brotherhood. The second rite is however far more elaborate.

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1 Mitthā ‘sweet’; bohīā a small basket, Panj. Diety., p. 283.
2 Sadh, s.f. lit. “a half.”
3 To these four sanskār should apparently be added a fifth, the nām karn or naming which precedes the mūṇḍan.
4 E.g. by the Lahoria Khatri, but the Bunga Khatri are said only to observe the bārt rītān.
5 Tewar, or tevar, three articles of clothing; a trousseau consisting of a gow, shawls and shift (ghaghri, dopatta and kurtī). The tevar consists of two articles only.
6 The pinnī are made in the following proportions, rice flour 6½ sers, sugar 2½, and ghī 1 ser.
The wife's parents send her a double tewar, with a shawl and turban for the husband, and other things. Then, on the day of the new moon, the wife visits each member of the brotherhood in her house, and gives him some rice as a summons to the rite. Before the kinswomen assemble a corner of the eastern wall of the house is plastered, and seven hand marks made on it with rice-flour mixed in water. A wooden plank is also set up before the wall and a lamp lighted. The kinswomen bring with them some of the grain and rice given them the previous day, and scatter the rice near the lamp, piling the grain in a heap close to it. The plates are then put in one place; twenty-two sers khām of rice are then boiled, with five of sugar and two and one-half of gīt, the mixture being divided in precisely equal portions on the plates among the kinswomen, who object if one gets more than another. The idea, doubtless, is to convey equal fertility to all.

The clothes presented by the wife's parents are next put on her, and her skirt tied to that of an unmarried kinsman. The pair then walk round the plates seven times, and are asked to bow to the lamp. It is believed that the boy will thus soon be himself married. Their skirts are then untied.

A vessel is now placed in the wife's hands and each kinswoman gives her a little rice from their plates, which she eats. Her husband's mother is then congratulated. The grain brought by the kinswoman is shared equally by the Mailhra? (waterman), and her Brahman priest.

**Mid-pregnancy.**

It is clear that the chhoṭi rícān are observed at or about the time when half the period of gestation has elapsed, and indeed the rite is called the adh-gābh in Amritsār, Gujranwāla, and in Bahāwalpur. In Hoshiārpur it is not known by that name, but it is observed on the second evening of the lunar month in the fifth month of pregnancy, and a second rite corresponding to it is held on the second day of the ninth lunar month. In Jhelum it is observed on an auspicious day in the fourth or fifth month. The wife bathes, and is dressed in new clothes, her hair is plaited and her hands stained with henna. Her kinswomen sing songs throughout the night. All this is supposed to prevent miscarriage. Her parents also send her some sweets which are put in her lap. In Siālkoṭ the adh-gābh is also said to be observed, but not by the Jats, and is described as simply consisting in the distribution of pāpar, pakawas etc. among the brotherhood.

In Siālkoṭ the mid-pregnancy rite is called the pāṇ bhāri or the 'heavy feet.'

In Rājānpur tāhrs a rite called chhilwān from chhil, 'loin,' is commonly observed among Hindus as well as Muhammadans. After six months in every conception the pregnant woman is required to bathe

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1 But Bāns, who come from the south-east, do not observe the adh-gābh. One account says it is observed in different ways, by all sects of Brahmanas and Hindus; another, that it is called rīt and is observed, in different ways, by Brahmanas, Mahājans, Khasirs, Sunārs and Huwars, but not by Jats; while a third alleges that the adh-gābh is performed in different ways, but on the same principle, by all Hindus; whereas the kānṣī is confined to Brahmanas, Khasirs and Arooras. In Ajnāla it is said not to be observed at all.

2 In Hoshiārpur the wife's parents send her a piece of red sādī and some zīc. She bathes and puts on the sādī. Rice is also distributed among the brotherhood.
under the direction of a dāi (midwife) who ties beads round her loins, thereby implying the safe completion of the conception and easy labour.

The seventh month: kanjī.

Corresponding again to the bari ritān, described above, is the kanjī,1 which is usually observed in the seventh month, though sometimes postponed to the ninth. It is very generally observed, except in the extreme south-east, but it varies in details and often bears no distinctive name.

In Hissar it is observed in the seventh or ninth month, and among the Bāgrīs the wife’s parents send clothes for herself and her husband.

In Hoshiāpur this ceremony is called ritān, and is observed on the first of the lunar month (seventh or eighth). The present wife’s parents send her ten to twenty loaves fried in gī, pāpāra, and pākāuras, clothes for herself, and her husband, one or two ornaments, and from one to seven rupees in cash. Food is also distributed to the brotherhood and menials, Brahmans being also fed in the name of ancestors. In some places the wife’s parents feed Brahmans, giving them wheat-flour and kari.2 Or again the wife’s parents send her clothes and money, after which she bathes, and then both she and her husband pray that the child may be a boy.

In Amritsar the kanjī is observed in the seventh or ninth month, by all castes but not in all parts of the district. In Ajnālā it is called ritān.

In Gujránwāla the kanjī or ritān is very similar. It is observed in the eighth month, and is sometimes held in the house of the wife’s parents.3

In Gurdāspur a wife, when pregnant for the first time, is sent to her parents’ house in the seventh month, and presented with a ser of jaggery, as an intimation to them of her condition. Her parents give her clothes for herself, her husband and his mother, and other presents, with which she returns to her husband’s house. On the rising of the

1 Apparently kanjī is a kind of sweetmeat: Hoshiāpur.
2 Made of gram flour and cardis fried in oil.
3 But in Rāmnagar, a town in the Gujránwāla District, it is said that no rite is observed in the seventh or ninth month, only the adh-gāthā being observed.

In Muzaffargarh no special rite is observed during pregnancy by Muhammadans, but Hindus usually observe the madhwan and kanjī during the 6th and 8th months; when a woman is pregnant for the first time. This is an occasion for feasting and rejoicing. The parents of the pregnant woman send her clothes and other presents at the kanjī; she bathes, washes her hair, and puts on her new clothes and ornaments. This ceremony is intended to show ala to make the fact of the first pregnancy of a bride public, or at least well-known in the brotherhood. A particular custom among Muhammadans of good family is called gudd dana. It is performed at the end of the 8th month. The dāi brings the pregnant lady a basket of fruits and having washed and dressed in red from head to foot the lady takes the fruit in her hands or handkerchief or other cloth. The dāi then divides the sex of the child and generally informs the mother of it.

In Jind tahsil during the seventh month among Hindus Chhāmbas the pregnant woman performs the rite of bhog bharna offering 10 Ś or 5 Ā sera of rice to the Bhī or spirits, while rice with gaw is distributed among the brotherhood. Among Muhammadan Saqqās during the seventh month the woman’s parents send her a suit of clothes which she puts on, and a feast is given to the brotherhood.
new moon in the seventh month, a Brahman is called in, and the husband and wife are seated side by side, with their near kinsmen. A jar (kumâh) is then filled with water, and a lamp filled with ghî put over it and lighted. The Brahman makes an idol of Gauûsh out of flour, and worships their ancestors. The garments of the pair are then tied together (a rite called gand chitrâwa), and their pedigrees to the third degree recited, their ancestors' names being also written on a sheet of paper which is hung up on the wall. Rice is next distributed among the brotherhood. A small gold ornament, presented by her parents, is also hung round the wife's neck, and this is eventually given to the child when born.

In Siûkot the rite is not very dissimilar. The wife's parents send her presents, and on the appearance of the new moon, i.e. on the second of the lunar month, she is bathed and dressed. Ancestors are worshipped. This rite called rît in Panjâbî, bhûrâ in Lahore, bhûra in Montgomery and sîmanat in Sanskrit, is known as sâwâni in Jammu, in which tract the Dogras celebrate it by feasting kinsmen.

In Jhelum the rite is kept in the seventh or ninth month. The wife's parents send her sweets and fruits, and these are put in her lap. After this she must not leave her house. Both at the kanjî and adh-gabh in this district the wife bathes, and then receives a gift of clothes from her husband's younger brother, or other young kinsman, in whose face she gazes before she puts them on.

In Talagang the kanjî or rît is observed on an auspicious day in the seventh month at the house of the wife's parents, and all males are excluded from it, and not even informed of it, though boiled rice is distributed to the brotherhood on this occasion. In Hazro this rît is observed at 4 p.m. on the day of the new moon in the seventh month, and the priest's wife conducts it. Some jaggery is cut up with a knife and a portion given to her, while the rest is distributed among the near kin.

The Dewâ-dhâmî.

Another ceremony, with which the husband's parents are closely associated, is the Dewâ-dhâmî.²

In Montgomery this rite is observed in the seventh or eighth month. The family priestess lights a lamp fed with ghî in a corner of the house, making a hearth and seven cakes of earth, and covering the latter with vermilion. Before these things the husband and wife prostrate themselves, and big loaves of flour fried in ghî are then distributed among the brotherhood. Until these articles have all been removed, the women of the family do not spin or do any other work. The things are then collected and given to the parents, who in return present the wife with a trewar,² a rupee and a half ser of jaggery. This rite is observed three days before the kanjî ceremony. But in Gujûwâla it is said to

² Dewâ or Dewâ, a lamp; dhâmî, not given in the dictionaries, is possibly to be derived from P. dhâm, i.e. a feast.
Trewar = trewar: see note ² to p. 762 supra.
be held at the same time as the rāj, and it must be held in the lower storey of the house, by night, the lamp being lighted in the southern corner.

In Hazro, the deva-dhāmi is also held on the same rāj, by the kinswomen and the priest's wife—all males being excluded. The priestess begins by kindling a lamp and causing the wife to worship Ganesh. Sweetened rice or bread is then distributed. Next morning rice is boiled or halva made; and the wife is bathed and dressed in the clothes sent by her parents. Another woman is then seated by her to represent her husband, and on her knees are put all the clothes received for him. Seven vessels and covers of cowdung are then made, and cardamoms, rice, barley, mung (pulse), piwa and two copper coins are placed in each. These vessels are then put between the two women, and the wife removes the covers, which the other woman replaces. This is done thrice. Then both dip their fingers in milk and water and each tries to seize the other's fingers thrice. Both then chew cardamoms, which they spit over each other, and finally the rice or halva is given to the priestess, who also gets five annas or Re. 1/4. Next day she is called in again and lights the lamp, which she extinguishes with milk and water. This ends the rāj.

In Bahávalpur, on the other hand, the deva-dhāmi is performed by the husband's father, who lights a lamp in a corner of the house, making an effigy of Ganesh and worshipping his ancestors, with his face turned to the north or towards the Ganges. While worshipping he must unloose the string of his chọla or shirt, or the gods will not accept his devotions.

In Mandi the rāj of the fifth and seventh months are not observed at all, but in the beginning of the eighth month the athwahdn1 is celebrated by putting an idol of Ganpati on a red chauki; and this the wife worships for a month, during which period she must not bathe, change her old clothes, or cross a river. In the beginning of the ninth month follows the bardnāte, at which the wife's kinswomen assemble to bathe her, make her put on new clothes and look at a handsome boy to ensure her own child being a son. This boy is dismissed with a present of money. Then the wife is made to stand up, and a korchief is tied round her waist, cakes, money, gold and silver, flowers, a cocomut, a pomegranate, and a mixture of rice, sesamum and sugar, sent by her parents, are put in her lap. Of the money, part goes to the priest, and the rest to the midwife. On this occasion her nearest relative also gives the wife money and ornaments for her own use. Then the wife reverses Ganpati, and a vessel (kalam) of earth, brass or copper is put in an octagonal jantkar (diagram), and in it is placed a cocomut, with an image of Vishnu. The wife is then directed to worship the kalam, and after that a hawan is performed, a he-goat 2 being sacrificed to appease the fire deity. Brahmans and near relatives are then fed, and the kinswomen sing songs and make merry all night. This rite is observed in every pregnancy.

1 The Sanskr. paw san. In the parent State of Suket the athwād is observed in the eighth or ninth month. The woman's parents send her clothes for herself and the child. The clothes are perfumed. A rupee is also sent. They also send one or two garments for the husband’s mother.

2 Or occasionally a cocomut, which is split into two pieces.
The final observances.

The eighth and ninth months.

If we exclude such of the foregoing observances as are postponed till the eighth or ninth month, there are few which are necessarily held in either of these two months. In Hisār the kanjī is observed in the seventh or ninth month,¹ and in some places the adh garbh² is actually said to be deferred till the ninth month. In parts of Hošiārpur there is, however, a distinct rite in the ninth month, on the second day, thus corresponding to the rite in the seventh. A corner of the house is plastered, and the wife is seated there, with her face to the east, and made to worship Gānesh. A coconut and a rupee are also put in her lap by way of shaqūn or good angury, and boiled rice is set before. Sweets etc. sent by her parents are distributed among the brotherhood.³ In the northern part of the same district it is said that the rīt is held in the ninth month, and consists simply in the distribution of kartī (gram flour cooked in whey) to the brotherhood in order to proclaim the pregnancy.⁴

Aṭhwānsā.

At the commencement of the eighth month the Shaikhawat Rājpūtas observe a rite called the aṭhwānsā. The wife’s parents send her clothes, ornaments, fruit, money and on their receipt all her kinswomen assemble. Brahmans then worship the gods and the wife bathes, after which she puts on the new clothes. With this the following custom among the same people appears to be connected.

After birth a child of either sex is bathed in the blood of a he-goat and a necklet of its flesh is put round the child’s neck. Then it is dressed in a blue kurtā and cap, with a belt of blue silk round its waist. These clothes are worn for six or seven months, but the necklet is retained for two years and the belt worn till it reaches the age of five.

Māwali.

All Hindūs who believe in the god Māwali perform the following rite in the seventh month: a mixture of rice, mūng and barley is made and an earthen vessel sent for from the potter’s house. This is marked seven times with three things, henna, black and red colouring. Then boiled rice and the dish described above are placed in her lap seven times, some cooked mūng being also put in the middle of the vessel. Lastly, a red thread is put in it and taken out by the midwife, who deposits it under a ber tree. All the members of the family then eat the food.

¹ In Pāsīka the kanjī is said to be held only in the ninth month. In Cujráwāla it is observed in the seventh or eighth.
² Adh-garbh = adh-gabh.
³ The Bāsdeo Brahmans observe this rite in the eighth month, and feast the whole brotherhood, males and females, on this occasion, great quantities of card and sugar being given them.
⁴ It is also said that the rīt in this part varies in different castes, and that it is repeated several times. It is specifically described as being observed thrice, in the fifth month (when kanjī and pulkūrṇa are distributed); in the seventh (when boiled rice and pulse are sent round), and in the ninth (when moist gram and jaggery are distributed among the brotherhood). It is not stated that all three rites are observed by the same caste.
Hindu birth observances.

The following rites are observed during pregnancy in Chamba:—The woman should not go near a dead body even of a near relative, nor cross a stream, especially in the evening, lest the water spirit exert an evil influence on her, nor should she visit a woman newly delivered. In all these cases the danger feared is abortion from the influence of evil spirits. If a snake appears and is trying to escape the people believe that the shadow of a pregnant woman falling on it will cause it to crawl slowly.1

Eclipses in pregnancy.

During pregnancy the parents are both peculiarly susceptible to the effects of an eclipse, and it is safest for the wife to keep her bed and not even see the eclipse, in Ambâla, but the father is not under any such necessity. In Dera Ghâzi Khán, however, either parents must avoid applying antimony to the eyelids, or a tilak to the forehead, during an eclipse, lest the child be so marked. Both should also avoid locking or unlocking a lock, lest its fingers be bent and powerless. If they cut wood with an axe, the child will have a hare-lip; or if they break anything, such as a piece of wood, its fingers will be marked. In short, anything such as stamping or printing done during an eclipse is liable to leave its impress on the child’s body.2

Abortion.

If abortion has ever occurred, or is feared for the woman, syánas or wizards prevent it by giving her (i) a piece of wood from a scaffold on which a man has been hanged, or (ii) pice which have been thrown over the hólad or hearse of an old person, or (iii) a tiger’s flesh or claw. The idea in each of these charms is to increase the vitality or prolong the life of the child.

SECTION 2.—HINDU BIRTH OBSERVANCES.

I.—Observances before and at birth.

Lucky and unlucky births.—The auspiciousness—or the reverse—of a birth depends upon several factors, such as the season or time of its occurrence, its sequence relative to preceding birth in the family,3 and the child’s position at birth.

Premature birth.—Birth in the eighth month of pregnancy is attributed to a cat having entered the mother’s room in a former confinement. A child born in this month will, it is believed, die on the eighth day, in the eighth month, or eighth or eighteenth year, after birth.

1 In Kânga in the eighth month of pregnancy the pregnant woman is seated inside a chauând in which bel-bâhe leaves are placed and in which a small lamp is lit. Pâjâ is done to Ganesh. This is called athad.

2 During an eclipse of the sun or moon a pregnant woman should lie with her body straight, lest the child be born crooked. Every morning she should be careful to look first at her husband’s face, so that the child may resemble him. If any one else is frequently seen it will take after him. If her husband is absent she should look at the faces of her other children or at her own face in a looking glass, or at her sister’s face, but not at her brother’s.

3 For the significance of the sequence of births, see Folk Lore, vol. xiii, pp. 53—67, and pp. 279—280.
Lucky births.

Hence the number eight is never mentioned in speaking of a child's age, un-ginat or 'uncounted' being used instead; thus, an-ginat dim = eighth day, an-ginat bhera = eighth year.

The athvāhā.-In the Dera tahsil of Kāngra a child born in the eighth month is called an athvāhā (fr. ath, 8), and is regarded as unlucky to both its parents, foreboding the father's death. As a remedy a spinning-wheel is passed thrice round the mother's head, and then given to the midwife.

In Kāngra a child which dies at birth, or immediately after it, is inauspicious, and its nose is bored, for a gold ring to be inserted, in order to avert its evil influence.

Monday is an unlucky day for birth, and as a remedy the child's nose or ear is bored. In some parts, e.g. among orthodox Hindūs in Bahāwalpur, Ferozepur and Mandi, the following remedies are used to counteract the evil influences of the various planets:

Saturn: seven kinds of grain, or anything black, such as iron or a black buffalo, should be given away in charity.

Mars: articles such as copper, gur, cloth dyed red, oil etc.

The Sun: reddish things, such as ghī, gold, wheat, a red-coloured cow etc.

The Moon: white articles, such as silver, rice, a white cow, white cloth etc.

Mercury and Venus: green articles such as mūng (a kind of pulse), green cloth or fruit, such as oranges etc.

Jupiter: yellow things, such as yellow cloth, gram-pulse, yellow sweetmeats (nuktī and laddū), gold etc.

To avert the evil effects of Rāh (or ascending node): coconuts, ghī, sugar (khand) and mātī (a kind of pulse); and that of Kret or typhon (the descending node): samosa (a kind of sweetmeat) and bluish cloth are given in charity.

This is termed girah-pūja (or worship of the planets).

A birth which occurs during the panchak period will, it is believed, be followed by the birth of three children of the same sex.

The gandes are five days which fall in the dark half of the lunar month, and a child born on any of these dates bodes ill to its parents. Accordingly, the father must not see the child until, in the recurrence of the nakshatra in which it was born, he has worshipped the gods, or until five dolls have been made, put in a copper vessel and anxiously propitiated. Fruit is placed before them, as they are believed to eat; and Brahmans recite mantras. Lastly, an earthen jar is pierced with twenty-eight holes and filled with water and various drugs. It is then hung up some distance from the ground and the water allowed to trickle on to the parents' heads. After this the Brahmans are rewarded.

1 But the same writer (S. Gurdial Singh in J. A. S. Bengal, iii, Pt. I, p. 205), says that a child is never said to be so many days or months old, but so many years, e.g. chūr bhera = four days or four months old, as well as four years.
Lucky times for birth.

As we have already seen, eclipses affect the parents during pregnancy. So too a child, of either sex, born during an eclipse brings ill luck, to avert which the following observances are in vogue, at least in Kāṅgāra:—

The image in gold of the deity connected with the asterism in which the eclipse occurred, and one of the sun (if it was eclipsed), or of the moon (in the case of its eclipse), together with an image of Rāhu, are reverenced. A hawan is also performed, ak wood being used if the sun was eclipsed, or, if the moon, palas. Like other unlucky children, a child born under an eclipse is weighed every month, on the sankrānt day, against seven kinds of grain, all of which is given away.

A child (unlike a calf) born in Bhādon is lucky, while one born in Kāṭak is inauspicious, and the mother of such a child should be turned out of the house, though she may be given to a Brahman and then redeemed from him. Children born under certain asterism are peculiarly liable not only to misfortune themselves, but to cause evil to others, and various rites are performed to avert the consequences of their birth.

A child born in Kāṭak must either undergo symbolical birth from a cow (goparsab), or also both it and the parents must bathe on the first sankrānt after the end of Kāṭak in water drawn from seven wells and mixed with turmeric, sandal, ginger and other drugs. These are termed sarbokhadi, and are placed in an unbaked earthen jar, with 1000 orifices and a lip, the appropriate mantras being duly recited. Water from seven wells or rivers is then similarly purified by mantras. The parents, with the child in its mother's lap, are then placed under a sieve, through which the water is poured. Hawan is then performed, and lastly a tray of ghī is given away by the parents in charity.

A child born when the moon is in the sixth or eighth zodiacal sign is ill-omened, and to avert its influence the following rite is observed: On the twenty-seventh day after the birth a basket made of bamboo is filled with sixteen vers (thirty-two lbs.) of rice, some camphor, a pearl, a piece of white cloth and some silver and given away in charity, together with a team of white calves yoked, and vessels of milk and ghī. Worship, in which white sandal-wood and white flowers figure, is also performed. This, however, is an orthodox rite, and in Kāṅgāra the popular idea is that a child born in the ghāti-chandarmān, i.e. when the moon is inauspicious, is not ill-omened.

The unlucky tithe or lunar days for birth are the amavas, or last day of the dark half; and the ekāḥūrdauṣṭi (vulg. chaudaś) are fourteenth, the last day but one. Children born on the former day are unpromising to the father, those born on the latter to the mother. To avert their evil influence an idol of Shiva is made of silver, and in an earthen jar are placed leaves from various trees, mango, palas, piṭal etc. A coconut is then placed on the jar, which is covered with a red cloth; and on this is put the idol of Shiva, after it has been purified by mantras. Hawan is performed with sesame, pulse (māš) and white mustard. The idol is given to a Brahman.
The following thirteen nakshatras are unlucky:—

1. Assuuni, 7. Grahn (eclipse),
2. Rawati, 8. Atepát,
3. Maghán, 9. Shankránthi,
4. Shelkhán, 10. Gand,
5. Múlan, 11. Chándás,
6. Jeshtán, 12. Amáwas,
13. Bhadra,

especially 1 to 6—each charan having special influence of its own. Thus in Shelkhán the second charan is fatal to wealth, the third to the mother, and the fourth to the father. In the Jeshthá asterism, which is divided into ten charans, each of six ghatis, we have the following scheme:—

Birth in second charan: father.
Birth in first charan: mother.

Father.

Mother, fourth charan: brother; third charan.

Elder brother, eighth charan child, to itself if born in fifth charan; o the 'members of its family' if in sixth or seventh; to its father-in law in the ninth; and to everything in the tenth.

In the Múl asterism the first charan is unpropitious to the father, the second to the mother, and the third to wealth.

1 In Núpur tahsíl of Kángra the evil influence of a birth in any unlucky nakshatras is averted by bathing the parents and child with water from a jar, containing 1000 holes, into which leaves from 108 male trees (mango, pipal, basian, are male; while sákh, 'pear,' and bér, 'plum,' are feminine). Children born in the remaining seven of the thirteen nakshatras specified are not very unlucky, and the planets are merely worshipped by more rigid observers of Hindu precepts.

2 Lit. 'foot.'

3 To avert the evil influence five earthen jars, filled with water and leaves (pipal etc.) are covered with a red cloth, and the golden image of a serpent placed on them and worshipped. The person to whom the birth forebodes evil gives alms, and a hawan performed with gáhi: Kángra. In Dehra the five jars should contain gold images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra and Varuna.

4 Special attention may here be directed to the position of the mother’s brother in astrology. The part played by him in weddings may conceivably have an astrological basis. He is curiously affected by his sister’s child cutting its upper teeth first; see Indian Antiquary, vol. xxxi. 1902, p. 292.

5 To avert the evil a piece of ground is plastered with cow-dung and a platform for a hawan made on it. On this platform mantras are written in flour. In five jars, full of water, are put the leaves of five trees (pipal, mango, palákhor, palas, and a fifth), with panchamrit and panchcharbh. In a sixth jar, unbaked, with 1400 orifices are placed 167 different drugs. The parents and child are then drenched through a sieve, and then they join in the hawan, which must be celebrated by sixteen Brahmans. Finally parents and child bathe in the water: from the five jars. [Kángra.]

6 The rites are the same as in the case of a Jóshtha birth, except that the idol made is a gold one of a rákshasa: Kángra.

Among Hindus in Ambálá astrologers are consulted about the auspiciousness of the birth. If the child was born at an inauspicious time, called gandmul, 27 days after the birth the child and its mother are bathed in water containing drugs in solution. The water is poured on them from a pitcher with a hundred holes bored in it. In some parts if the child is a male the father gets certain incantations recited over food which is given to the poor so that his ancestors’ souls may benefit thereby.
Lucky children.

The Ganda.—The fourth charan in the Shelkhan Jeshthá and Reoti asterisms, and the first in the Múl, Ashwini and Maghá are called ganda, and a birth in these is unlucky: if it occur by day, to the father; if by night, to the mother; and if in the morning or evening, to the child itself.1

But all these refinements are hardly known to popular astrology, and the general practice is to regard births in Jeshthá, Múla, Ashlekhán and Maghán asterisms only as unlucky.2

In the Simla hills the evil influence of a birth in the Krishnpak chudás is averted by propitiating the nine planets. A birth at the end of a month and in the Jamgandbhäj, Kalijag etc. is unlucky to the parents etc.; and they should not see the child’s face until alms have been offered. Triplets portend the speedy death of parents, and to avert the evil, hawan is performed, alms are given to the parohit and the śánti mukat is read.

The couvade.

Repeated inquiries had hitherto failed to elicit any trace of the couvadé in these Provinces, but Mr. H. W. Emerson, C.S., has now found it in Manjí where ‘the man goes to bed when a son is born: either the mother or the father must be on his back for three months and as the mother does most of the work the father does most of the lying-in.’

The first-born.

Speaking generally, the birth of the first-born child, provided it is not a girl, is the occasion for special rejoicings — and in Kánga a pilgrimage is made to the family god (kul-deota), and a he-goat, called the kudha randa, is let loose in his honour, another being also sacrificed at his shrine, and a feast given.3

In Saraj a few people of the village visit the parents’ house and fire off guns. The father feasts them, and gives each guest a small turban and a rupee; the village deota and musician also receiving each a rupee. This money is called wálkás ka rupiyá, and it is all deposited with an honorary treasurer, and when enough has been collected a great feast is held.

In Hamirpur the panjáb rite, which consists in giving alms to the poor, is observed on the eleventh day after the birth. Brahmans and the kinsmen are also feasted, menials also receiving gifts. A good deal of money is thus spent.

1 The rites resemble those in the Jeshtha or Múl cases, but a cow is also given as alms in the child’s name: Kánga.
2 In the Dera tahsil of Kánga the rites observed on such births, or in those which occur under an auspicious (ghaták) moon, are simple. Images of Brahma, Indar, Suraj (Sun) and the Moon (Chandarmá) are placed in four jars, with the leaves of seven trees; the jars are then filled with water and covered with a red and white cloth. Mother and child are then sprinkled with the water.
3 A great many Hindu women who have never had children, or been unable to bring up any, propitiate the Deity by vowing that their first-born, if preserved, shall, till he comes of age, or of a certain age, serve in the procession of the Tazia as a water-carrier, or in some other capacity; and such sons always wear the green uniform till they attain that age during the Muharram, and serve as their mothers have vowed, they shall serve, but return to Hindu rites and ceremonies as soon as the Muharram is over, without prejudice to their cate or reproach from their associates. MS. note in a copy of Stimson’s Rambles and Recollections (7 by the late Mr. Carr Stephen).
Unlucky children.

The first-born has always held a peculiarly sacred position, especially if born to parents who have long been without offspring in answer to a vow, in which case sacrifice of the child was common in India. The Mairs used to sacrifice a first-born son to Mata, the small-pox goddess, while Muhammadans throughout Northern India believe that first-born children can stop excessive rain by certain rites. On the other hand a first-born son will in Telingana attract lightning. A first-born child (Jesht) must not be married in Jesht; P. N. Q., III, §10. Twins, as is well known, are peculiarly uncanny.

But many remarkable ideas cluster round the third conception or round a child of one sex born after three children of the other sex. Thus in the South-West Punjab on the borders of Sindh the former superstition prevails and its results are thus described:—

Trikhal is the third conception after two births (without regard to the sexes of the former children). It is a Jafti word, meaning ‘third’ and implies contempt. This conception is considered unlucky among Hindus, especially in Jampilur tahsil. Every effort is made to effect abortion, and in many cases it undoubtedly takes place. It is also suspected that the third child is killed at birth if the attempts to cause abortion have failed, but fear of the law prevents any attempt to kill it if it survives its birth.

The Trikhal.—This however appears to be a local variant as the other superstition is far more prevalent and its effects and the measures taken to avert them are thus described:—

A child of one sex born after three children of the other sex is called, in Punjabi, trikhai, as, for example, a boy born after three girls. Such a child is considered unlucky, and its birth portends—(1) the death of a parent; (2) loss of wealth by the parents; (3) the taking fire of the house in which it was born; or (4) some other calamity, such as lightning or snake-bite.

If this child grows up without its parents suffering any injury, and is taller than the parents, they are benefited instead of injured by the birth, their lives are prolonged, or if poor they become rich and are protected against all misfortunes. Many Hindús also believe that the children born after a trikhai cannot live long.

The following remedies are adopted at the birth of such a child to avert its evil effects:—

(1) The father pours a quantity of ghī down the gutter of the roof of the room in which the child was born

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1 Moore's Hindu Infanticide, pp. 198-9.
2 Sherring: Hindu Tribes and Castes, III, p. 66.
3 P. N. and Q., I, §§ 116 and 468.

But in Dahomey a boy born after twins has a special name (dose), according to Barton: Mission to Gelele Ets. of Dahome, I, p. 39, Memorial Edition.
Unlucky children.

(2) A brass tray is broken in the centre and the child passed through the hole.

(3) A horse-shoe is painted with sandur (red oxide of mercury) and scented with gugal (a drug) and attached to the bed of the mother. The shoe is re-painted with sandur and scented every Tuesday.

(4) If the third day after the birth be a Sunday, a ceremony known as trikhal shanti (or propitiation of the trikhal) is performed. Green leaves from seven trees are collected and put in an earthen pitcher with 101 holes in its bottom. Another pitcher is filled with water taken from seven wells. The mother, with her child, sits under the drain of the roof of the house in which the child was born. A pandit recites to her a katha from the trikhal shanti shashtra while a kinswoman of the mother holds a sieve over her head. The pitcher containing the green leaves is placed on the sieve, and the father pours the water of the seven wells down the drain of the roof, so that the water passing through the pitcher and the sieve may trickle slowly over the mother's head.

(5) If the charm, whose figure is given below, be set in gold and tied to the neck of the mother all evil is avoided:

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This belief relates chiefly to the first trikhal born in the family; it applies to boys more than to girls (and indeed it is said in Kasur¹ that a girl after three boys is not unlucky at all) and evil is to be feared by both parents but principally to the parent of corresponding sex. Moreover a boy born after three girls is also apt to be himself unlucky.

The ceremonies used to avert the ill-effects are often those employed when a child is born under an evil nakshatra but for a trikhal—

Five earthen pitchers filled with water containing gold images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indar and Rudar are worshipped, whereas in the case of a birth under the asterisms of Je-ta, Mula, Ashelkán and Magán the leaves of 7 trees² are used as described above and in the case

¹ P. N. Q., III, § 458.
² And in Amritsar a girl so born is called 'bukkhal' or lucky child; ibid, II, § 824, also § 186 (in Bombay).
³ They should be male trees (katha, anár, tát etc.) according to an account from Jählen.
of a child born in Kátka.

Four images of Brahma, Indar, Rudar and Súraj are placed in 4 pitchers covered with red and white cloth and a little of the water sprinkled over the mother and child.

Lastly for a child born during an eclipse —

Three gold images, one of the nakṣatra of birth, another of Ráhu and a third of the sun or moon (as the eclipse may have been), are worshipped.

Another name for the trikhal is tretar (said to be derived from Skr. tré, 3 and attar, enemy), and in Hoshiárpur the performance of a fire sacrifice with the aid of a Brahman after the sútak period is usual. Vála wood is burnt and sugar etc. thrown on to it.

In Karnál and Rohtak a son born after three girls is usually called télar (or named Telu Rám) and in Rohtak various ways of averting the evil he may bring are described. In one the parents sit on a plough and bathe from an earthen vessel containing 108 or 101 holes with water from the Ganges and 27 wells, 108 medicines and milk. The water is passed through a sieve, but in some places a sieve is held to be unlucky. In another ceremony the parents bathe in water (passed through a sieve) drawn from 27 wells and in which stones from 27 places and leaves from 27 trees have been placed. This must be done 27 days after the birth. 27, 14 or 7 Brahmans are also feasted. After these ceremonies a pair of snakes are made of a precious metal and given with 7 kinds of grain to the Dakaut Brahman. In another right a horse-shoe, painted with vermilion figures, is burnt on the third or tenth day after the birth. It is lucky if this day falls on a Sunday.

The superstition appears then to take various forms and the rites practised are very diverse, those used to avoid other unlucky births being often resorted to, though it appears that strictly speaking special rites should be performed. It is said to be confined in Sirmúr State to immigrants from Hoshiárpur. It is possibly connected with the astrological doctrine of trines but the powers of the first-born are not thereby explained. The belief and rites are said to be described in the śástras. In 1885 a Sanskrit book called Trikhal-shánts was published at Lahore giving an account of the belief. The sage Pushkar asks Baurat what is trikhal can be propitiated. The reply is that it should be abandoned as it will cause the death of its parents and maternal uncle 1 within 7 months and also destroy itself.

The eighth child. 2—The eighth child is very unlucky if a son as he is sure to cause his father’s death. 3 But in Karnál the 8th child is regarded as peculiarly dangerous to the mother. The remedy is to pass a charhka or spinning wheel thrice round the mother and give it to the midwife. The charhka must be in perfect order.

1 The part which the maternal uncle plays in marriage rites is well known. He is in grave peril if his sister’s child cut its upper teeth first.

2 Connected apparently with the eight names of Rudra. Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, IV, pp. 288, et seqg.

3 N. Q. L, V, § 94.
Dhāsi sira or '2½ heads.'—Mr. W. S. Talbot writes that in Jhelum trīkkāl is drilled with 2½ holes—a local expression meaning 2 holes in one ear and 1 in the other, or 1 in each ear and 1 in the nose. In Muzaffargarh a dhās-sira, mula or saal-sira is a child whose head has not been properly shaped.

There is no objection to twins. But in Kangra if a boy and a girl be born together it is sometimes regarded as unlucky.

In Karnál different classes have different ideas about twins. Among both Hindus and Muhammadans some consider them a good omen while other Hindus think they forebode ill-luck. Women do not consider their birth evil and they have a proverb that the woman who gives birth to twins goes straight to paradise on her death.

In Ambala twins being weaker than single children frequently die, and so they are considered ominous. It is believed that if at intercourse air gets in it splits the seed in two and thus gives rise to twins. It is also said that if a pregnant woman eats a fruit which has grown in a pair, she will give birth to twins.

In Hoshiarpur a child which first teethes from its upper jaw is considered unlucky to its maternal uncle. To remove the evil effects its mother goes beyond the limits of her village on the path leading to her parents' house. From the opposite direction comes the maternal uncle of the child, bringing with him a white brass tray, 1½ sers of rice, 7 pice, a yard of cloth and 4 iron nails, all except the tray and nails, knotted in the cloth. The maternal uncle drives the 4 nails in the ground in a square, touches the child's teeth with the tray, and then puts the tray and the cloth with the other articles wrapped in it within the square between the nails and returns home. The uncle and his sister must not talk or see each other's faces. The sister sits with her child clinging to her shoulder, her veil drawn and her back towards her brother, and he returns in silence after the ceremony, which is called dāntōn ka thakna or 'the charm of the teeth.'

In Karnál when a child of either sex cuts the front teeth of its upper jaw first it is a bad omen to the maternal uncle. His sister, the mother of the child, sends him word of the event. On receiving the message the maternal uncle takes a bronze cup of medium size, a quarter of a ser of kasār or jamīrit (wheat flour baked in ghī and mixed with sugar) and half a coconut in a piece of red cloth (khārwa) and proceeds to his sister's house without informing her or any other person in the house of his arrival, which is kept strictly secret. He goes quickly on to the roof of the house in which his sister lives and puts the cup &c. on it, or if there is no staircase he throws them upon it. After this ceremony he retraces his steps silently without speaking to, or even seeing the face of, his sister and returns home. When it is known that the ceremony has been finished the things are taken from the roof and used without scruple.

It is performed differently in villages situate in the neighbourhood of Patiala. A time is fixed and a place appointed for the ceremony. The child's mother goes to the place, which is always fixed beyond the
limits of the village on the road to her brother's house. He starts from his own village and halts a mile from the place till he gets news of his sister's arrival. He brings with him an old three-pie coin (Mauzuri paisa) with an iron nail, but nothing else. When he is informed that everything is ready, he proceeds to the place. His sister takes her child up in her arms so that its face is towards the way her brother is coming, she herself standing facing the village whence she came. The brother comes silently and opens the mouth of the child, touches its teeth with the paisa and iron nail, without showing himself or seeing his sister's face and after burying these things on the spot returns to his village.

Place of confinement. — It is a very general, but by no means universal custom for the wife to return to her own parents' house for her first confinement.

A child born in the house of his nana, or mother's father, often receives the name of Nanak.¹

Care is taken not to let the fact that the pains of labour have begun be noised abroad, lest publicity increase their severity. And if the pains are severe a tray (chali), on which a charm is written, is shown to the patient in order to remove them.

It appears to be the universal custom for delivery to be effected on the ground.² But after it is over the mother is usually seated on a mat or cassock. It appears to be almost the universal custom to tell her that she has given birth to a girl, ³ in the curious belief that if she were to learn that she had become the mother of a son, the after-birth would not come away.

As a rule the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp knife, but in Ludhiana it is tied with the jama of an elderly man belonging to the family. This is also the usage in Hoshiarpur and Sialkot, but in these districts, if the child be a girl, the cord is tied with the thread of a spinning-wheel. Any other method is supposed to injure the child. In Gujranwala the cord is not cut till two or three hours after birth.

Disposition of the after-birth. — In Ferozepore the secundaries are buried in a corner of the house.

— In Mandi the after-birth is buried at the spot where the child was born, after the eldest matron of the family has made the mother worship it.

Death in childbirth. — If a woman die within thirteen days of her delivery it is believed that she will return in the guise of a malignant spirit to torment her husband and family. To avert this a Shanti is performed at her funeral, a piece of red cloth and the grass image of her child being placed on the bier. Some people also drive nails through her head and eyes, while others also fasten nails on either side of the door of their house.

¹ Cf. Temple in Proper Names of Panjabis, p. 50.
² In Hoshiarpur delivery is said to be effected on a chapur.
³ And if she has given birth to a girl, sh is told she has borne a stone.
Post-natal practices.

In Hoshiárpur a woman whose child has died within forty days is called as parakhádwy.¹ and she must not see a woman in confinement during the first forty days after birth.

II.—Observances subsequent to the birth.

The observances after birth are manifold, and their character complex, so that it is as difficult to distinguish between the religious and social observances, as it is to say what usages are based on magic and what on the first glimmerings of medical skill. Nevertheless, under much that is barbarous and puerile there are traces of more rational ideas regarding cleanliness, and even a kind of primitive anticipation of antiseptic treatment. One important point to note is that the observances are far less elaborate in the case of a girl child, and this idea, that the birth of a girl is a misfortune, re-acts injuriously on the mother, less care being bestowed upon her, and every observance being hurried over and many stinted, if the child is not a boy. Thus in Rawalpindi the mother of a son is carefully tended for forty days, but if the child is a girl for only twenty-one.

The period of impurity.—The period of impurity is most commonly called sitak but it is known as chhăl, especially in the north-west of the Punjab.

Its duration is, in theory, ten days among Brahmans, twelve among Khatris, fifteen among Vaisyas and thirty among Sudras, thus varying inversely with the purity of the caste. But in practice it is eleven days among Brahmans and thirteen among Khatris; or only eleven or thirteen for all castes.²

Among the Jats of Hoshiárpur, who may in this connection be regarded as typical of the Hindus of the Punjab proper, the following is the method of treatment after birth:—

The midwife washes the child in a vessel into which silver has been thrown, before she gives it to the mother. But the child is not suckled for one and a half days.

² In Rohtak and Lahán it would appear to be only ten, expiring with the dasáthan.
In Gujráwál it is said to be thirteen days for Brahmanas and sixteen for others.

In Patiala it is generally believed that death in child-bed is ominous for the other women of the family who may yet bear children, and more or less so for the husband also should he take a second wife, because the dead woman’s evil spirit will vex her; the prophylactic measures, generally undertaken, with slight modification in different localities are:—Just after the death 4 iron nails are driven into the ground round the corpse, and when it is taken from the house-door to the burial-ground rape-seed is scattered all the way behind it, and a wizard follows it reciting incantations. Midway the bearers set the body on the ground and 4 more nails are driven into it. On reaching the burning-ground it is cremated without any ceremony, but on the 3rd or 4th day when the ashes have cooled the unburnt bones are picked up and the ashes collected into a conical heap on which the lower part of a hand flour-mill is placed while two iron nails are driven towards the head and two towards the feet of the body as it lay when placed on the pile, and the wizard reading some incantation completes the ceremony. After all this the husband still has to go to Pehowa where he undergoes purification under the guidance of the Brahmanas of that place.

In Sangrur the Gayathri mantra is recited by a Brahman when a woman dies in child-birth among the Náis, to prevent her becoming an evil spirit. The sweepers drive an iron nail in the ground for the same purpose, and the Jánwars send for a Qáxi to recite some words called kilá. No unusual treatment is practised among other low castes in this tahsil,
Post-natal precautions.

The pap must be washed by the husband’s sister before the child can be fed. For this she receives a fee.

As on all auspicious occasions, oil is thrown on the ground and under the mother’s bed, beneath which green dûh grass is also placed, as it is a sign of prosperity; and as such some is also presented to the child’s father by his friends.

To prevent mischief to the mother or the child, a number of precautions are taken:

(i) Fire must be kept in the room, as must also
(ii) Grain close to the bed, as an emblem of good luck.
(iii) Water must also be kept there, as it is a purifier; and
(iv) A weapon should be placed close by the mother.
(v) Under the bed should also be kept the handle of a plough.
(vi) There should be a lock on the bed, or else it should have a chain round it. This is termed bel marta.
(vii) On no account should a cat be allowed in the room, nor should the mother hear one call, or even mention the word ‘cat.’ It is most unlucky for her to dream of the animal, and if one is seen in the room, ashes should be thrown over it.
(viii) The house should not be swept with a broom—lest the luck be swept out of it.
(ix) No small drain into the room should be left open, lest ill-luck enter by an aperture which must be unclean.

(x) A lamp must be kept burning all night, and allowed to burn itself out in the morning. A con is called ghar kâ dúwâ, so if the lamp were blown out, he too would be destroyed.

Neither mother nor child must come out of the room for thirteen days.

On the thirteenth day the mother gives her old clothes to the midwife, who sometimes shares them with the nain. The latter brings some cow’s urine in a thikra or jar, with green grass, a supâra, and a nahrnâ, or nail-parer. She sprinkles the cow’s urine over the mother with the grass, burns some incense, and parérs her nails for the first time since her confinement. Then the mother must put on the nain’s (the nain’s husband’s, not the nain’s) slippers, and walk out of the room carrying the child. The nain sprinkles oil on the ground outside the door, and there the jhêwari, or some other medial, stands with a

1 Probably because the plough turns the soil which produces grain, and so witches will not come near it.

2 In Panjabi bel na or belnâ—to press or roll; also to strike the bridegroom’s hand at a wedding. Bel marnâ is not traceable in the Panjabi Dictionary.

3 In Jind the nain makes nãyta (a mark said to be like a cross) on the wall near the door, and receives a rupee and some rice; and the mother eats some khichri (rice and some pulse, cooked) on this day.
Post-natal rites.

Pot of water and some green grass. Both she and the nain are paid for their services.

In the outer room Vidiha (vulg. Bidi) Mata is worshipped, no men, not even a Brahman, being present. The women make an idol of gobhar, covering it with a red cloth and offering to it the food cooked for the feast. Drums are then beaten, Brahmans and relatives fed, and the members of the household congratulated. The idol is kept for one and a quarter months and then deposited near the well.

The period of confinement lasts forty days, and the mother must not stain the palms of her hands with henna, nor wear clothes dyed with kasumbha, until the ancestors have been worshipped and kinsmen feasted. On this occasion the dhidanis, or girls born in the tribe, must also be fed, fed and revered.

Third day.—On the third day the observance called bahir is current in Rohitak, and, as the name denotes, the mother on this day comes ‘outside’ from the room in which she was confined, at an auspicious hour fixed by a Brahman. The women of the brotherhood assemble at her house, each bringing half a pao of grain. The nain makes a chank on the ground, in which are depicted the planets. The eldest woman of the family then puts five sers of grain, some jaggery and oil on the chank, and all the others follow suit. Then the mother comes out of her house and touches the grain, which is divided, with the jaggery and oil, between the nain, the Brahman and the midwife. A chhatik of jaggery is then given to each female of the brotherhood present, and songs are sung. Menials also get their dues, and, when the mother comes out of the house, the nai waits at the door with a matera with which she touches the boy, for which she gets a rupee. He also puts blades of dabh grass in the turbans of the child’s forbears, in order that they may multiply like the grass. For this he receives a second rupee.

In Hoshiapur the mother in some places is bathed on the third day, if she has given birth to a girl: a function postponed to the fifth day if her child is a boy. In Sirmur, too, she bathes on the third or fifth day; and in Mandi a rite called the tirphal ká gontar is observed.

1 Or dhidhan or dhidán, a sister or daughter. The term is used by Brahmans, mirdás etc., in addressing the daughter or sister of a patron.

2 This rite is thus described: The courtyard of the house is swept, and circles drawn on it with mud. These circles are called makal. The threshold of the house is painted red. The person who sweeps the yard gets purí tar (rice, sugar, cash etc.). Then the mother is bathed in hot water and made to worship Gaipati, whose idol is put on a yellow chank, and offerings made to it. A Brahman now makes panchgabh, mixing it up in a jar with a blade of dabh grass. He gives three spoonfuls of this mixture to the mother and thus removes her impurity. He next receives his fee in money, and then places a ball of cow-dung, containing gold, silver, a pearl, and a bead of coral, near the idol. This ball is called bhidín, and is worshipped like the goddess. After all this, the mother’s breasts are washed and she suckles the child. Then balls of boiled rice are placed daily in the chank for three days—until the impurity has been removed—and are then given to the midwife. The mother’s brother then goes to the forest with a Brahman and a musician, and cuts four branches from a thokar (Euphorbia Royleana), and these he is made to worship by the Brahman, who receives a fee for this from the mother’s brother. Of these four branches the Brahman places two, one on each side of the door of the house in which the birth took place, and sticks two in cow-dung near Gaipati’s chank. They are then covered with a red cloth. The mother’s brother’s forehead is then marked with the tilak, and the nearest kinsmen are fed. Songs are also sung. The eldest matron of the family also gives the mother rice mixed with salt, a dish called pichhiaga. (Pichhi—rice water.)
on the former day. In Rawalpindi the mother bathes on the third, fifth or seventh day, and churi (baked bread, sugar, and gift) is then distributed among the females of the brotherhood. In the evening of the same day she puts the child in a winnowing basket and takes it outside the village gate—accompanied by the midwife.

Fourth day.—As a rule the mother bathes on the third day, or on one bearing an odd number after it, but in the Dasuya tahsil of Hoshiarpur she is bathed on the fourth, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-first, thirtieth, and forty-eighth days.

Fifth day.—Excluding the bathing already mentioned, the rites of the fifth day are confined to Jhelum, in which district the panjwan or fifth-day observance simply consists in a bath, and Hoshiarpur. In the latter district a foster-brother is made for the child out of cow-dung, and grain, sweets and bread placed beneath it. A red cloth is then thrown over it. All these things are the midwife's perquisite. The rite is performed both for a girl and a boy. The mother also bathes on this occasion, and her head is washed with milk and cow's urine. Elsewhere in this same district the mother is bathed on the fifth or seventh day, and the nain plait her hair. Then she is brought out into the courtyard, wearing the nain's dopatta or shawl. The yard is previously plastered with cow-dung, and in it the mother is seated on a stool, and given cow's urine and Ganges water to drink. She then re-enters the room in the house, which has in the meanwhile been re-plastered with cow-dung. Inside she sits by a wall, close to which is placed some grain on which a lamp is lit. Each of the kinswomen then brings some grain and money and puts them by the lamp. Then rice, loaves and mush are distributed among the brotherhood, the grain and money brought being divided by the midwife and the nain.

Sixth day.—The ceremony called the chhafi was doubtless originally, as the name implies, observed on the sixth day, but it is now extinct (in Sirmur), or else held on the sixth or any subsequent date. Only in Maudi must the rite called chhafi gontar actually be held on the sixth day.

Elsewhere the chhafi is known as the akuman, and is held only in cases when the child was a boy.

1 In Gujranwala the chhafi is described as being observed on the fifth day, on which day the child is named.

2 This resembles the tirphalla. The house is swept, as before, and Ganpati again worshipped. Then images of a cow, a calf, and a herdsmen are made of brass. These are known as dada wachha, and are placed near the goddess' idol. Panchgabh is given to the mother. The females of the brotherhood assemble and sing songs. They are regaled on moist grain, and red thread is then sent to the mother's parents, a custom called dart dena, or 'giving the thread.' In return they send money and sweetmeats. In Maudi is also performed the third or last gontar. On the evening preceding the day fixed for this rite, the house is swept. All the near kinswomen are invited, and they spend the night in singing, while the priest makes the mother worship Ganpati. Alms are also given to avert evil planetary influences. On the following day the priest performs a havan (hon), in much the usual way. The mother and all the members of her family are then purified, and finally a biyahi of cow-dung is made, and the mother instructed to clean her teeth with twigs of a fragrant plant. These twigs are stuck in the biyahi and preserved as long as the child lives, being worshipped at its birthdays. The biyahi, with the twigs stuck in it, must, at this gontar, be set adrift on a river or stream.
When the mother goes to her parents' house for her confinement the chhasī is observed on her return to her husband's house, and in Purosepur it is in this case postponed till the twenty-first day.

In Ludhiana the rite is simple. The mother is bathed (chhasī ka asknān), and boiled rice and sweets are distributed among the members of the brotherhood. The mother fasts all day until sunset, when she is given starch to eat and then she is brought out of the room by the midwife with a lamp burning in the winnowing basket. After the sixth day the mother is not so carefully looked after.

In Amritsar the chhasī is said not to be observed by Brahmans or Khatri, but only by Aroças.

In Montgomery the e'hati is termed sathi,¹ and the Brahman suggests the boy's name—no such observance being required for a girl.²

In Rohilkhand Loharu it is said to be the occasion on which the goddess of fortune will visit the house and partake of grain and water therein, so water is set forth, and pen, paper and ink placed ready for her to record a happy future for the child.

The kinswomen and the priest's wife sing songs all night, the idea being that the goddess will record a better fate for the child if they are awake and a lamp is kept burning. After this the mother is allowed to eat grain, and the child is dressed in a kurta and cap, and ornaments are put on it. If it is a boy, mango leaves are hung on the door of the house, and thāpās or hand-prints made on either side of it in the corners, with henna.

Special care is taken that the sounds of mourning may not reach the mother's ears if a death occurs in the neighbouring houses.

Dhamn—he. In the Hazro tahsil of Attock the term dhamn is applied to the custom whereby the mother keeps her bedding on the ground.³ On the first Sunday or Thursday after the birth, mother and child are bathed and dressed in new clothes. They are then placed on a charpè. Sweet porridge is also distributed among the brotherhood on this day. If during the dhamn period thunder is heard, a pewter vessel is beaten, lest the sound of the thunder reach the mother's ears.

Seventh day. The sītāwān, or seventh-day observance, is only known by that name in Jhelum and Rawalpindi, in which districts it consists merely in a bath—as in Hoshiarpur—in lieu of or in addition to those previously taken.

Tenth day. The tenth day is not generally marked by any special rites, in spite of the fact that it gives its name to the dān̄tham (lit., bathing on the tenth day after childbirth).⁴ In Sirmur it is also called somātha, and is observed at any time before the child is five years old.

Dhamn—he. In Siâlkot the dhamn rite is observed on the eleventh day by Brahmans, and by other castes on the thirteenth, i.e., after the sūtak is over. Four copper coins are placed under the mother's feet.

¹ By corruption, apparently.
² In this district, the dhamn appears to be observed, as a distinct rite, on the first Sunday or Wednesday after the birth.
³ According to the Punjabi Dictionary, dhamn or dhamnak in 'otobātī means 'the period of child-birth.'
⁴ Plutus, sub voce.
and an idol made of cow-dung. After bathing and putting on new clothes the mother worships a lamp, placed before the idol on a pile of grain (which is the midwife's perquisite). Each woman of the brotherhood then gives her a coconuut and five dates. She is then taken to the kitchen, where a Brahman administers the panchgan, receiving a fee of annas four or eight, and a meal. Lastly the idol is taken away outside the village and placed under a plum tree. On this same day the child is invested with the taragga, a thread on which are strung a cowry, an iron ring, another of green glass, a tiger's claw, and a piece of the child's umbilical cord, cut off after its birth. The kinswomen are also feasted on this occasion. In the Dogar country this thread is made of silk.

Thirteenth day.—The thirteenth day is important, because the satak period very commonly ends on that day, and it is therefore signalised by rites of purification. Very generally the mother is bathed, all the earthen vessels in the house are broken or replaced, and those of metal cleaned. Clothes also are washed, and the house plastered. Brahmans are sometimes fed, and occasionally the child is named on this day or dressed for the first time.

Twenty-first day.—The twenty-first day is merely marked in Hoshiárpur by bathing the mother and purifying all the vessels used by her since the birth by fire.

Thirtieth day.—The thirtieth day is only the occasion for a bath, in Hoshiárpur.

Fortieth day.—On the fortieth day the mother bathes for the last time, and then ceases to be even ceremonially impure, and can take part again in the duties of the family kitchen. Strangers also can now take food from the house.

The chuña karam.—In Mandi an observance called the chuña karam or jarolan is held in the third or fifth year of the child's life in Mághi, Phágán, Baisákhi, Jeth or Hár, which months are auspicious for it. Two children must undergo the rite together. All their relatives are summoned the previous day. On the day fixed a chank is painted red, and over it is placed a platter, made of cow-dung, and containing four hollows, one of which is filled with cold water, another with hot, a third with milk, and a fourth with curds. In each a little Ganges water is also poured, and a bundle of dúbh grass is placed on the platter. A little oil is then dropped on the children's heads, and their bodies are rubbed with táfán. They are next bathed, and the eldest matron of the family passes sweets round their heads to avert evil spirits from them. Then they are made to reverence Ganpati, and the priest parts their hair into three, tying each with red thread. A young girl is then told to apply all the contents of the platter, with the dúbh grass, to their

1 Like the isagáhri, in some parts of the Punjab, and probably, the sótra in Amritsar, the taragga appears to foreshadow the jānec, and to be a stop-gap for it during childhood, until the child is of an age to be invested with the sacred thread. For taragga, of tarágat or targar (targar = also), which means a string tied round the waist; a string or silver string worn round the waist of men or boys, especially Márwáris (Punjabi Dictionary, p. 1106).

2 This is not done in Amritsar, in which district the room is simply cleansed.

3 Hindi sófan, a paste made of meal, turmeric, oil and scent, used to clean and soften the skin.
Various rites.

Brahmans are then fed. Next day at dawn the priest makes the two children worship the nine planets, and then he receives his fee in money. Oil is then poured on their heads and the barber cuts their hair, which must fall into the mother’s skirt. The barber is paid his due. The mothers offer the hair at the temples of their family goddesses. Then the children are bathed and dressed in new clothes, their brothers’ wives, or their sisters, painting their eyes with antimony. A goldsmith then bores their ears and puts gold ear-rings in them, receiving a he-goat and some cash as his fee. Copper coins are finally distributed among the poor, and a feast given to the Brahmans and near kinsmen.

Well worship.—In Rohtak a month or so after the birth of a boy, a rite called dagkar pūja is observed. If the mother is very weak the other women of the house place a jar of water by her, and they themselves visit the nearest well, singing songs as they go. The well is worshipped, rice and dubh grass being offered to it. On their return copper coins are given to the menials. Or if the mother cannot perform this rite herself, it is observed at home. In Ferozepur the mother goes, on the twenty-first day, to a well, and there distributes boiled barley amongst children.

Suckling.—Suckling the child for the first time is the occasion for a curious rite. At sunset the midwife washes the mother’s breasts with water, using some blades of dubh grass as a brush. They are again washed by the child’s sister or some other female. The midwife gets annas two or four, the sister a rupee, for this. Next day the midwife brings some green sārī leaves and ties them with a maulī thread to the house door—a fee of annas two, or four being paid her for this also. In Ferozepur the child is not suckled till the evening after its birth, and then the mother’s breasts are washed by a young girl, who gets a rupee if the child is a boy, but only annas two or four if it is a girl. Jaggery is applied to the child’s lips before it is given the breast. If the milk does not flow freely the child is given sheep’s milk.

Fosterage.—Fosterage is not very common in the Punjab, and sometimes it is a mere concession to superstition, as when a Brahman declares that it is inauspicious for a mother to see her child it is put out to nurse, if the parent can afford it.

Head Compression.—For some notes on this practice in the Punjab reference may be made to Man, 1902, No. 2.

Chōla.—The ceremony of clothing a child for the first time is usually called chōla, and is held on various dates. In Bāwalpindi a Brahman fixes a day; in Amritsar also this is the usual custom, but often Arorās and Khatri hold it on the thirteenth day.

In Ferozepur the chōla ceremony is elaborate, and is thus described:—A part of the house is plastered and a figure of a cow made by the midwife—both with cow-dung. This image is covered with red cloth and designated the Bīdh-māta, or ‘goddess of fortune.’ Next the barber brings cow’s urine in a cup, in which he also puts some blades of dubh grass. Then the mother puts on the barber’s shoes, and, holding his skirt in her hand, she reverses the Bīdh-māta, her children sitting on

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1 This rite is called jara senecha.
her lap. Two copper coins, the barber’s perquisite, are also placed beneath her feet. The barber now applies the cow’s urine to the child’s lips, with the dubh grass, and then gives it to the mother, who is thus purified, as is the child. If the latter is a boy the parents place a rupee in the cup, but if it is a girl an anna two or four suffice. Pinjiri and lumps of parched wheat are distributed to the brotherhood, and the females belonging to it place grain before the image of Bishnú-máta. This grain is divided between the barber and the midwife. The mother is given strengthening food after this. The ceremony 1 appears to be usually observed on the thirteenth day, but this is not always the case.

In Montgomery the chola also takes place on the thirteenth day, but if the boy was born on one of the six unlucky asterisms, the observance is postponed till the twenty-seventh. In Gujranwala, however, the chola is held as early as the first day, i.e. immediately after birth, or on any day till the thirteenth. Speaking generally, the customs connected with the rite are social rather than religious, but in Hoshiarpur the family god’s temple or some Muhammadan saint’s shrine is usually visited.

Chhushak.—In Rohtak the mother’s parents send her clothes and ornaments for herself, the child, and her husband. This present is called chhushak, and it is sent in response to the bohdhí (vide supra).

Festivals.—The Lohri following a birth is observed with special pomp, copper coins and cowries being given away to the poor.

So, too, the next Diwáli is celebrated by a grander illumination than usual, sweets being also distributed among the brotherhood.

Tonsure.—The first tonsure of a child is an important rite, but it is known by various names and celebrated in various ways by different castes, 2 and in different localities. In the south-west it is known as the jhand 3 and elsewhere as the mūndan or bhaddan. 4 If the mother has made a vow prior to the birth of her child to observe the rite at a certain shrine or temple, it is duly carried out there; otherwise it may be done at home. 5 An auspicious hour should be fixed by a Brahman, or the rite should be performed on the marriage of a near kinsman, or on the Baisakhi or Dussehra. In Hoshiarpur 6 a boy’s ears are bored on this occasion, and some people smear his forehead with goat’s blood.

In Ludhiana the rite is, like the birth observances, described as the mūndan sanskár, and it is unlucky to shave a child’s head until it has

1. The accounts of the chola rite are very confused, because chola literally means a cloak, and the child is dressed in that garment on other occasions, e.g. on the fifth, seventh, or ninth day; when the mother is bathed the child is dressed in a yellow chola.

2. A boy born after several successive female children, is dressed in one made of cloth, which must be given by a friend (Ferozepur). But in Edwalpindi the cloth is got from a friend or the mother’s relatives under any circumstances.

3. The Hindu Bani of Mahráj in Ferozepur have a special time for the rite vis., the light shafts of Asan and Chet, and a lock of the hair is then left uncut.

4. Jhand, lit. ladung, or down, is the hair on the head of a new-born child.


6. Some sections have fixed places for the observance of the rite, e.g. the Khanná Khatri’s observe it at Dinápur. In Edwalpindi, most of the Khatri’s observe it at home, but not so the Jaggé and Awall sections, and some families observe it at Kháda in the Baisakhi, or at the Jogi shrine at Kot Sarang.

7. But in this district a distinction appears to be drawn between the cutting off of the jhand, which is removed at a tank or under a janda tree, before the child is three (though only a few families observe this rite), and the regular bhaddan, which is performed at a thaddanára or gur.jwára between three and five years of age, and is often celebrated with considerable pomp.
been performed. The menials receive fees, and the brotherhood is
regaled with sweets at the first tonsure, after which bodi\(^1\) or tuft of hair is
allowed to grow,\(^2\) but it is more usual to let the bodi grow after the
marriage of a near kinsman.

As a rule the rite is performed between the ages of one and a
quarter\(^3\) and four years, or, in Ferozepur,\(^4\) as soon as the child has cut
its teeth. Sometimes the rite is repeated once or twice. In Gujranwala
the observance is called \(\text{rit}\) and is held in the third or fifth year.

In short, the observance is essentially a domestic usage, varying in
its details according to the ancestral custom of the caste, section, or even
family. Sometimes women vow that a child’s hair shall never be cut
(Montgomery), and a girl’s hair is never cut. Among Sikhs the rite is
not very common, and, if practised, is observed when the child is only
two or three months old. In a well-to-do family the rite is the occasion
for a feast to Brahmans, otherwise Brahmans appear to have no part in it.

The janeo or sacred thread.—We are accustomed to talk of the
\(\text{janeo}\) or ‘sacred thread of caste,’ as if it were invariably worn by the
three higher or ‘twice-born’ castes, and not by the fourth or Sudra
caste, and as if the ‘sacred thread’ were the same or only slightly
different for all the three higher castes. But an examination of the facts
as they stand not only shows the extraordinary variety of form which
the janeo takes but also proves that it is inaccurate and misleading to
call the janeo ‘the thread of caste.’ At the present day it is not always
worn by the higher castes, while on the other hand the so-called Sudra
castes not infrequently wear it.

As a general rule we may say that the form of the janeo varies in
every caste or group or sect. It will thus be most convenient to deal
with the form of janeo as worn by each caste.

The tagādhri.—It was formerly customary among Hindus for
children to wear the tagādhri before they reached the ages at which the
\(\text{janeo}\) could be worn, and in some parts of the Punjab the custom still
survives. The tagādhri is worn round the waist, and is made of munj
or, if the parents are wealthy, of silver.

Making the janeo.—Pure cotton is purchased in August, and on
the 13th day after the new moon it is spun into thread by a Brahman
girl (Jhelum), or by a married woman whose husband is alive (Gujarat),
ever by a widow. The cotton should be picked from a field free from
filth.

A janeo may consist of one or two agras.

The making of on agras is thus described:—There are three lines on
the fingers. The Brahmans should wind the single thread over the upper
line 96 times, the Khatris over the central line 86 times, and the Vaisyas
over the lowest 76 times. The thread is then made into three folds and
twisted on a kath, a special tool used in preparing the janeo. It is then

\(^1\) Bodi, or \(\text{munna}\) or \(\text{rakh\(\text{i}\)}\).

\(^2\) In Ferozepur the bodi is allowed to grow on the Pasi\(\text{r}\) or Dacehra, and in Rawal-

\(^3\) One account puts the minimum age at five months (Ferozepur).

\(^4\) It is stated that in this district some people shave the child on an auspicious day
without informing the parents. If this is so, comparison may be made with the idea that
unlucky children should not see their parents.
The making of a janeo.

folded in three folds a second time so that there are now 9 threads in the cord. To make an agra it is again folded thrice, making 27 threads in each agra. The number of granthis or knots in an agra depends on the number of parvaras or famous ancestors in each gotra. One agra is allowed to a Brahman in the Brahmohari or discipleship stage, the second being added when he reaches the second, the Grijahashtram or house-holder stage. The first thread should be twisted from right to left, the second from left to right, (and so on).

The second agra is made in the same way. When two agras are worn they are knotted together by three or five knots.

The most usual or orthodox rules appear to be that the material, length and age of initiation for each caste or varna should be:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahman... Cotton 96 chappas 8th year up to 16th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fora. Chhatri ... Hemp 95 &quot; 11th &quot; &quot; 22nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisya ... Wool 94 &quot; 12th &quot; &quot; 24th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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A chappa is four fingers' breadth. The first year in each case specified above is called mukhat kāl, i.e. the precise or proper time. After that janeo may be put on in the gau kāl, i.e. up to the last year specified, after which the man is anudhiman or disqualified.

There are, however, modifications. Thus if a Brahman wishes to become learned in the Vedas, he should assume the janeo in his 5th year, if a Kshatriya desire strength, in his 6th year, and if a Vaisya desire success in cultivation, in his 8th year: Manu Smriti, Chap. II, 36 and 37.

The Khatri's janeo should, according to one account, be of silk thread, and the Vaisya's of pashmina. In Benares a janeo of silk lace is made into which certain vāntras are interwoven. Sometimes in Sirmur it is made of fibre from the bark of the gudāia tree.

The rules as to material are not now observed at all strictly. As we shall see the janeo of wool is now characteristic of certain religious castes. But the rules as to length are still very generally observed.

E.g. the Gaddis of Kângra have four social groups:

1. Brahmans with a janeo of ... 96 chappas
2. Râjputs ... } 95
3. Khatris ... 94

The ordinary janeo is of three kinds:

Brahmgandh { (i) with 5 knots for the higher grades of Brahmans.

Vishnugandh, with 1 knot, for all other castes.

Initiation.—The ceremony of initiation should take place at an auspicious time.
Modes of wearing the janeo.

When the ceremony is performed the boy's head is shaved, only the shikha, bodi or chota (the lock of hair on the top of the head) being left. He then bathes.

He is then seated on the skin of an animal (deer, sheep or goat according to his caste), and is given a stick or staff of a particular tree. Or according to another account he must don a deer-skin (mriti charam), take a rulas dand, or staff of dhak wood, in his hand, and put on padakas or khurao (wooden shoes). The rites in ancient times included various burnt offerings made in pits (hawan kund), over which a wooden frame (bedi) was placed. The 9 planets were also worshipped.

Then the guru seats the boy on his left side, and after making him promise to obey the orders he will receive, covers both their heads with a long cloth (safa), and amidst the beating of drums and sounding of conches (to prevent others hearing what he says to the boy), whispers in his right ear a mantra which is never revealed to any one but himself.

Then the boy goes to his mother and first begs alms of her, subsequently begging of all the women of the assembled brotherhood. Alms, consisting of rice, money, both small silver and copper, silver rings, etc., are thrown by them into his jholi or pilgrim's wallet. These are offered to the guru, who then puts the janeo on the boy.

The modes in which the janeo is worn.—The janeo is ordinarily worn over the left shoulder, across the back and chest, and under the right shoulder.

But in worshipping the gods there are three distinct ways in which the janeo should be worn:

(i) nitya-shabih: in worshipping the gods the janeo is still worn on the left shoulder, but is held across the palm under the thumb of the left hand. The right hand is kept over it forward.

(ii) ap-shabih: in naming the pitris the janeo is worn on the right shoulder, and the libation of water made with the fingers of the right hand, the palm being kept above them so as to pour the water to the left. This is the worship of pitrus or ancestral manes.

(iii) In worship of the rishis the janeo is placed round the neck and allowed to fall like a necklace. The libation is made with both hands so as to pour it inwards towards the chest.

The janeo of the Jogis.—All twelve panthas or orders of the Jogis wear the janeo, which is made by certain special members of the sect and not by ordinary Jogis or by Brahmans. 16 strands, each 9 cubits long, are taken. These strands are divided into 8 parts, each of 2 strands, and each part is then wrapped round a stick and twisted to the right. All 8 parts are then twisted into one rope, which is again divided into 6 strands. These are finally knotted together by a Brahmin knot, and to them is attached a pavishti (a ring of gold or rhinoceros horn), and to this again a nadi, also of the latter material. This janeo should be of black wool, and is worn like a necklace.

The Kalli-sutar.—Besides the janeo, Acharaj Brahmans, Vaishnav and Bairagi sadhus wear a kalli-sutar, or thread round the loins, made of wool or munj.

This Mantra is called Gāyatrī and runs:

Tat Sāvitur ēvāryam bhargo devasya Dharmāhi yo yo nāh prachodayat. “Let us worship the supreme light of the Sun, the God of all things, who can so well guide our understanding, like an eye suspended in the vault of Heaven.”
SECTION 3.—MUHAMMADAN PREGNANCY OBSERVANCES

Charm against miscarriage.

Among some tribes a woman who has previously miscarried wears a charm, such as a thread or amulet, on her navel; others wear a cowry on that part to avert the child's being born dead. The charms are blown upon before being put on, the fee paid depending on one's means.

Satwáhin.

In Ambála the observance in the seventh month, or satwáhin, is said to be confined to the towns. It simply consists in the parents sending sugar, rice etc. to their daughter on her first pregnancy; a woman related to the family also drops fruit into her lap.

In Sírmúr the woman's parents try to arrange for her to be sent to their house, but if this cannot be done they send her presents of rice, sweets, fruit etc., with clothes for herself and the child. This is called kioka.¹

In Kángra on the commencement of the seventh month the woman's parents bring her presents consisting of red clothes, dry fruit, henna, scented oil, and missí, with other perfumes and an ornament, preferably one for the arm. These gifts are brought in a procession, musicians and singers accompanying it. On arriving at the husband's house, they make their daughter sit on a stool, while the naín dresses her in the red suit and dyes her hands with the henna. She is also garlanded with flowers, and her lap filled with dry fruits, such as cocoa-nuts or dates. These are all eaten, apparently by her husband's parents, she herself not being permitted to partake of them. Then the husband's parents make karáhi of flour, gur and gháis), and this is eaten by people of the qotár but by no others. Persons not belonging to the qotár are feasted separately. Prior to this observance a pregnant wife may not wear new clothes or ornaments. After it she must not go to her father's house until forty days have elapsed from her confinement.

In Kapúrthala the parents first send their daughter clothes etc. in the sixth or seventh month, and then she is taken to their house, the sweets sent by them being divided among her husband's kin. Similarly in Ludhiana it is thought that the first confinement ought to take place in the woman's own house. In Máler Koṭía the Muhammadans, especially the dominant Pathán families, observe two distinct customs on a first pregnancy. As a rule the first, the satwáhan, takes place at the husband's house. The woman's mother is formally notified of the fact that her daughter is in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and she comes to the house, bringing a suit of clothes, sweets and dried fruit. Towards the end of the seventh month the woman bathes and puts on new clothes brought by her mother, perfuming herself with scents. Fruit is then put in her lap, and she then sits on a floor which has been plastered while a miránam sings the appointed eulogies, called sohlu, of Shaikh Sadr Jahán, to a drum accompaniment.

¹Kioka, not traceable in the dictionaries.
Throughout this performance the woman sits with her head bent down, and her hair unloosed, but combed and oiled. Occasionally she falls into an ecstasy under the influence of the Súriikh, who often makes her his mouth-piece. Sweets are then sent round to relations and neighbours, and the mirásaa dismissed with her fee. In the evening the darweeshes are fed at the mother's expense, and next day she takes her daughter home, if the husband's parents agree to this.

In Lahore the rít is observed in the beginning of the seventh month, as follows:—The kinswomen assemble and eat out of one tray, the matrons of the family giving the woman fresh fruits as an auspicious omen. The mothers of the couple are also congratulated. Then the kinswomen are feasted, and a Dúmní sings songs. After this the woman is dressed in coloured garments, and puts on ornaments of flowers. At night her hands are stained with henna and the girls of the family sing. This observance is only held by the lower classes of Muhammadáns, such as the Kakezaís (distillers), Qasábís (butchers), Aráíba (market gardeners), Dhoáís (washer men) and máshkís or watermen. Among all classes the woman’s mother brings her to her own house at the commencement of the ninth month, and on the day of her arrival sends for the almonds, dates, saffron etc. required on or after her delivery. Paláshás are distributed among the family, and also among the women of the quarter, a rite called swáda by the women.

It is a very general rule among all Muhammadan castes in the north of the Punjab that the woman should avoid eating fruit, wearing fine clothes, or any kind of adornment until the rít is performed on the commencement of the seventh month. This rít consists merely in feasting the brotherhood, but it is also not uncommon for the woman’s parents to send her a present of a treason, and to boil rice which is eaten at a feast in the name of their ancestors. The treason is then given to the husband’s sister or the daughter of his nearest kinsman. After the rít the woman may use scent. Wheat, too, is parched, mixed with jaggery, and made into balls, which are distributed among the brotherhood.

In Rawalpindi a pregnant woman avoids the use of antimony, or dándúsá. She also avoids the shade of the dharek and the shadow of a woman suffering from atrá, i.e. one whose children die in infancy.

In Fatehjang rít is observed in the seventh month, halwā being distributed among the brotherhood. This is done either in her parents' home, or for chewing, in order to redden the lips.

1 Dándásá or walnut bark is used as a tooth stick (the literal meaning of the word),
2 Dharek, the Melia Azedarach.

2 Atrá (lit. a bead—the word does not appear in the Panjábi Dictionary). An atráwáddi is a woman whose children are born prematurely and generally die. A bead, which changes its colour, is believed to counteract the effects of atrá. This bead is rare and is sold by gypsies at fancy prices. It is also tied to the leg of a new-born child as a talisman against atrá; and atrá ka manka means one of a changeable, volatile disposition (manka = bead in Panjábi).
house, or in her husband's, but in the former case the consent of the husband's parents is necessary.

The satwánṣa.

Muhammadans in Hánṣi observe the satwánṣa in the seventh month of pregnancy. Seven or nine jars of water are brought from as many different wells, and the woman bathes in the water thus brought. Some Muhammadans take the woman to the nearest mosque with the jars on her head, and make her draw water from the well attached to the mosque. Her nearest kinswomen accompany her and the observance is often held at night. Others simply give the woman a hot bath.¹

Friday, at the time of the Asar prayers, is an auspicious day for this ceremony, in connection with which alms are given in the names of ancestors and the Prophet.

Some castes send the woman a suit of green clothes, red bangles, a naherna, some mehndi, and a silver vessel. The clothes and bangles are worn by the woman, but the henna is used not only by her, but by her friends as well, if they are desirous of offspring, while the naherna and silver vessel are kept for the chhati. After this one and a quarter pūdos of sugar are sent to each relative and friend. Some families boil rice with sugar, and with it feast the woman and seven others who are also married, some being also given to fagirs. After this the woman is given vegetables and sweets.

In Sirsa the rite is called satwánṣi and simply consists in the parents sending their daughter a gift of clothes, henna and dried fruit in the seventh month of her pregnancy. In Rohtak the satwánṣi is held at the beginning of the seventh month. The woman is dressed in red, and sugar also put in her lap. The Dūm woman, who sings on the occasion, gets a rupee or two.

In Rohtak among the more orthodox Muhammadans there are no regular rites during pregnancy, but the barber is sent to announce it to the mother's parents, and he takes them a rupee as til chāwalti.² In the seventh month one or two men, and several of the women, bring-parched unhusked rice, patāshās and fruit, with some red cloth, to the woman, with cloth for her husband's parents and near kinsmen. The woman puts on the red cloth, and the rice etc. is thrown into her lap. The menials also get certain dues. This ceremony, however, is not universal.

The determination of sex.

If the milk in the woman's breasts before birth be thin the birth of a boy is anticipated, otherwise a girl is expected. Or sometimes some of the milk is put in a shell and fire applied to it; if it dries up completely, a girl is expected, otherwise a boy.

¹ The Hammāls of Hánṣi have a curious custom, which looks like a relic of the cowage. The woman's parents send her a present of Rs. 5, a suit of clothes, some scent and a comb. After bathing she puts on her husband's trousers, and a chaplet of flowers. Dūm women also sing songs on this occasion. Boiled rice is distributed among the brotherhood.

² Til chāwalti is simply rice and til mixed: it is used as a food.
Moslem pregnancy rites.

In the city of Delhi, where Muhammadans of good birth are numerous, many elaborate customs connected with pregnancy survive. The craving for tart, savoury food has given rise to the polite phrase: in ká khatte-mithe ko jí cháhé tā ko, lit. ‘her heart yearns for bitter-sweet things,’ i.e. ‘she is pregnant.’ Other phrases are páon bhárt honā (to be heavy-footed), do-jíya hona (to have a second life), din čharhā (to dawn), unmed hona (to have hopes) etc.: and women friends say mubárak salámát! i.e. ‘may you be blessed and the child be safe!’ to the expectant mother.

The satwánsa in Delhi.

When the seventh month begins the woman’s parents bring her sadhar, a Hindu custom. This sadhar consists of kinds of vegetables, dried fruits, cakes etc., and at 4 p.m. the woman’s lap is filled with these things; then she bathes and is dressed in coloured garments, with a red sheet over her head, and flower ornaments are put on her to make her, as it were, again a bride. Her husband’s sisters then fill her lap with the seven kinds of fruit etc. and receive presents of money in return. They get the vegetables, dried fruit, the head sheet, and the rupees of the neg, all the rest being divided amongst the other members of the family. A coconut is then broken in half; and if the kernel be white the woman will have njli phíl or white fruit, i.e. a boy. This coconut is called jhandála, or ‘hairy,’ just as a new-born child is so called.

The naumásá in Delhi.

At the beginning of the ninth month, the woman’s parents send her various presents, including a red veil, seven kinds of fruit, neg for the husband’s sisters, and rupees to buy the panjírī, which must be made at the woman’s house. Her lap is filled, as in the satwánsa, by the husband’s near kinswomen. The midwife at this stage rubs the woman with oil, and receives a fee, to which all the women contribute. The fruit is the perquisite of the husband’s sisters, together with the neg and the red veil, as before. The midwife gets the nail-parer, one of the presents given by the woman’s parents, and the silver oil-cup used for the oil. The woman now goes to her parents’ house—an observance called páon pherná, or turning the feet, with some panjírī, and returns some six or seven days later, bringing with her fresh fruit and sweets. After the naumásá is finished, the midwife goes to buy the kioka or various drugs required for the confinement.

In Þera Gházi Khán some Muhammadans have the Hindu superstitions regarding the effects of an eclipse on the foetus, if either parent undergo violent exertion.

1 Sadhar is said to mean seven things in Hindi. In some families it is brought in the fifth month.
2 Neg is any customary present at weddings etc. made to relatives or to servants, v. Shakespere’s Hindustani Dictionary, s. v.
3 In songs a new-born child is often so termed: cf. nolá.
4 Panjírī consists of five (whence the term) ingredients, viz., dry dates, gum, water-lily seed, coconut and ginger—all mixed with sají or meal and fried in phí.
5 Cf. supra, p. 723: the word seems to have a different meaning in Sirmdr.
SECTION 4.—MUHAMMADAN BIRTH OBSERVANCES.

When the birth-pains commence, Bibi Mariam ka panja, a leaf whose shape resembles that of a hand, is put in a jar of water. As delivery approaches, the leaf opens out, and as it does so the birth takes place. This observance also, it is believed, facilitates the delivery.

Sayyids and faqirs also indite charms, which are tied round the patient’s waist, or sometimes a Muhammad-Shahi rupee, on which is inscribed the kalima, is put into water, which is then given her to drink. In Kangra the bāng, or call to prayer, is pronounced in the room set apart for the confinement by one of the men of the family, the call being a prayer used in any time of trouble.

Birth ceremonies.—As among Hindūs, delivery is usually effected on the ground, the mother being made to lie on a quilt with her head to the north and her feet to the south. She thus faces Mecca, and if she dies in child-birth she expires in the posture in which Muhamma-
dans are buried.

If the child is a girl, the parents give some grain in an old black hāndī (an old used pot) to the midwife. But if the child is a boy they give her a rupee, and the relations also give her money, called the wel, according to their means.

Whether it be the hot or cold season, the mother remains in confinement for one week. If in good health she is bathed on the sixth day, provided that it is a Friday or Monday, the latter being the day on which the Prophet was born.

During the actual confinement only those women who are closely related to the patient are allowed to be present, but her mother is sure to be one of them. Some stand in the courtyard in the open, with outstretched arms, and, looking upwards, pray: Ḥāḥī! is ki mushkil ādān ho! (‘God! grant that her troubles may be lightened!’); others vow dauna (sweets put in cups made of folded leaves) to Mushkil-kusha. Meanwhile the midwife tells the mother: Jheli do, jheli, i.e. ‘bear down.’

A child born feet foremost is called a pa’el, and women believe that a few gentle kicks from one so born will relieve pains in the back.

As soon as the child is born the mother is told that she has given birth to a one-eyed girl in order that the heat engendered by this ill news may force out the after-birth quickly, and that the joy of having given birth to a male child may not retard it.

Immediately after the child has been born its umbilical cord is tied up with kalāwa, a bit of thread dyed red and yellow, and severed with a knife, the thread being thrown round the child’s neck until the rest of the cord falls off. The part actually cut off is buried in a pot inside the

1 This leaf is said to be imported from Arabia. But one account speaks of it as a kind of grass or piece of wood shaped naturally like a hand, obtained from Arabia.
2 But in some parts, e.g. in Jind and Karnal, she is allowed to lie on a bed.
3 Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, is so-called on account of his humane qualities.
4 This is also done in Lahore.
house, a charcoal fire being kept burning on top of it for six days until it is all burnt up. Into this pot the near kinswomen put annas two or four, as a present to the midwife. Some betel-leaf and silver are also placed in it, and when buried, turmeric and charcoal are thrown in to keep off evil spirits. The cord of a pahlawñthi, or first-born child, is invariably so buried, but if a woman’s children do not live she has it buried outside the house. The midwife now gets her nāl kafāl or fee, for cutting the cord, in money; but among the wealthy the mother’s parents and her husband add gold or silver bracelets, according to their position.

In Amritsar and Gujrāt the parents’ or mothers’ formal permission to the severance of the cord must be obtained by the midwife. But in Rāwalpindi the eldest and most respected woman of the family takes up the child as soon as it is born in order to communicate her own virtues to it. She also buries the secundines on the spot where the birth has taken place, and cuts the cord, which is preserved with great care. The Ghebas do not use a knife to cut the cord, but a nārra or nalla or ‘spindle,’ obtained by the midwife from a weaver’s house. With this the midwife cuts the cord, after pressing it with her feet, and then buries it in the ground.

After birth a child is bathed, its head being pressed to give it a round shape, and tied up in a qasāba or handkerchief folded in a triangle. The nose also is pressed to prevent its hardening on exposure into a bad shape.

The mulla is next sent for without delay. He repeats the subah kī azān in the child’s right ear, and the takbir in its left. Baṭāshūs chewed, or something sweet, are also applied to its palate.

The first-born child is supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to the influence of genii, evil spirits, lightning and the evil-eye.

The Khattars of Rāwalpindi have the uncut part of the cord, after it has dried up and fallen off, encoased in silver and hung round the child’s neck as a charm against stomachache.

Throughout the south-east Punjab the umbilical cord is carefully buried, often with the after-birth, in an earthen vessel (jākār) in a corner of the house. In Hissār, neither parent should touch the cord. In Kāngra, the midwife cuts the cord on the coin which she gets as her fee. Besides this she receives presents from the kinswomen etc. and these are called nār kafāl. Among the Kashmīris only the secundines are buried, the piece of the cord cut off being kept to cure the child if it gets sores eyes. In Amritsar the uncut piece is preserved with the jhand. In Pīra Ghāzī Khān the cord is carefully preserved and buried on the right of the house-door. In Multān it is buried where the birth took place.

This is also done in Hissār, but neither there nor in Delhi is any vessel used to force the head into a round shape.

The morining call to prayer. But usually the azān pure and simple is specified (for this see Hughes’ Dictionary of Islam, p. 7. Azān). The usual synonym for azān is the P. bāng, lit.: a call, or cock-crow. In the south-east of the Punjab it is whispered, in Bahāwalpur repeated in a loud voice, and elsewhere recited or repeated apparently in the ordinary voice.
The *mulla* receives a *gift.* After bathing, the child is made to lick honey, and then the *ghutti* is administered.

After the *ghutti* has been given, *i.e.* on the third day, the child's father's sister washes the mother's breasts with milk or with water squeezed out of kneaded flour, and then her hair, in which some green blades of grass are woven. The following song is sung by her or on her behalf:

*Bhāya, bhāya, ma'īn teri mā ki jāit,*
*Holari sunkar, bādhāwa lekar āit,*
*Bhāya, bhāya, ma'īn teri mā ki jāit:* *
Chhāti dhulāi kaṭori lāngi, to lat dhulāi rupaiyā,*
*Pāuñ dhulān ko cherti lungi; to khaṃ cha ḱaṅk ko ghotā.*

"Brother! I am thy mother's own daughter, and hearing that a son has been born into the family, I have come to felicitate thee. For having washed the breasts, I expect a silver cup as a present, and money for washing her tresses. I will accept from thee a hand-maiden to wash my feet, and for my husband a horse to ride."

For this observance the father's sister receives a *neg,* varied according to her brother's position, but not less than Re. 1 as 4.

From the time the child is born a knife, sword, or piece of iron is kept under the mother's head, to ward off evil spirits.

On the next or a subsequent day the husband's sisters make and distribute the *achhwānt* amongst the kinsfolk and receive a present in return; but amongst the poor the mother alone is given *achhwānt.*

For six days the mother is never left alone, partly lest she overlay her child, partly to keep off evil spirits. Amongst the well-to-do a lamp is kept burning continuously for forty days (but only for six among

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1 His fee varies, depending mainly on the child's sex. If it is a boy he gets a rupee or more, with some flour and sugar; if a girl, only an anna—in Hisār. Sometimes he whispers the call to prayer through a †tāva or tube; and, if the child is a girl, he sometimes whispers the *tākār* in both its ears, not the *bāng.* If a *mulla* is not available, any man of reputed piety may perform the rite, receiving some *swāt* stuff only, not a fee. In Karnāl a man of good repute is called in to perform on the third day, and he receives no fee, but sweets are distributed. Or the eldest male of the family may perform it in lieu of a *mulla.* In Kāngle this duty devolves on the child's uncle, or any pious member of the family. In Māler Kōta the rite is administered with considerable solemnity. A woman stands with her back towards Mecca, holding the child so that it may face the Qibla. As the *mulla* turns the *naša* she turns its right ear towards him, and then its left as he recites the *tākār.* Until the *naša* is thus repeated, the belief is that the child is convulsed with fear. In Jind some juice of the date is poured into the child's mouth, if it is a boy, in token of welcome.

2 She is called *dāiyāni.* But in Sīlīkot the breasts are washed by the *naši.*

3 Called *de* kadāūk or milk of flour, and it is used because amongst Hindūs it would be sin to throw the milk after it had been used for washing, on the ground.

4 *Achhwānt* (or *chē)—in Sirmūr) = candle, Platts, s v., where it appears to be traced back to *afzān.* It may, however, be derived from *chē,* sē. It is given to the mother for six days. A cup of it is sent to every house in the brotherhood on the day of the birth (Hisār), but not universally. The *chhwānt* (or—) is also distributed among kinmen and neighbours in Māler Kōta, and in return they send money to the midwife, according to their means. It is also given to the mother, but only for three or four days. Its ingredients vary, and for delicate women *wadāū or fujube* is substituted.
the poor), and a stove is kept alight, in hot weather or cold. Wild rue is also burnt for six days, to keep off the evil-eye and purify the air. Lest the mother sleep on, and her blood so stagnate and gets cold, women take it in turns to sing jachágiirān or lullabies, of which the following are examples:

1. *Mere bábāl ko liikho sandes, jhandulā āj hūā.*
   Bábāl hamāre rājā ke chākar; bīrān tāle bhej:
   Jhandulā āj hūā.

   "Tell my father that his daughter has borne a son: my father is a servant of the Rājā, i.e. he is well-to-do; and that my brother is yet a child: the young one was born this day."

2. Āj jumān bīyā mere rāj dulāre ne, pālnā bāndāungī, rī, pālnā bāndāungī!
   Ghī khichrī bhejī, bābal,
   Hubrang, sughar jachā ko main tāre
dikhāungī, rī, pālnā bāndāungī!

   "The beloved of my kingdom, my prince was born to-day. I will make a cradle for him to sleep in, dear women! I will assuredly make a cradle for him! My father, having heard this news, has sent ghī and khichrī for me. Hubrang (the poet who wrote this song), says 'I will show the stars to this accomplished mother, i.e. I will perform the ceremony of the chhatī.'"

3. Jachā, merī kāhe ko rūthī, main terā itr, khilaunā rī!
   Kaho to jachā rānti, dāti ko bulā dūn—kaho kone palāng bichhā,dūn—kaho thaï thai nāchān.

   Chorus—Jachā merī ącē, ącē.

   Soth main bhūl āyā, ab la dūnā, rī!—hāth men kūndi, bājali men solā lāyā, rī! soth bhūl āyā, rī!

   Chorus—Jachā merī ącē, ącē.

   Tere holar kā naukā, ae begam, main terā naukā, terā chākar, rī, soth main bhūl āyā rī!

   Chorus—Jachā, merī kāhe ko rūthī; main terā itr, khilaunā, rī!

This is a comic *sachāgīrī*—as if it were made by, and sung for, the husband. The husband addresses the wife and says: "Beloved jachā, why are you sulky with me? I am in truth your scented toy: if you require a midwife, I will send for her; if you desire a bed, I will make one for you in the corner—should even this not please you I will dance (tuāi thāf) 1 to amuse you. I confess that I forgot to bring dry ginger for the *sachā-kūndā*, but I can go for it immediately and bring it quickly—my hand was employed bringing the kūndi (stone mortar), and under my armpit I had the *sonṭā* (a heavy wooden

1 To beat time, as in music, and dance, clapping the hands.
Moslem birth observances.

The fine, beautiful, nut-brown, slender child, to show his beauty in the world, has given me the pains of childbirth: go, and tell its father that he should proclaim its advent by a naubat (music on the upper storey or roof); have nafiri played, so that I may be rewarded for my pains by its soothing melody: and tell the mother’s father of the child to arrange to bring the khichri with all due magnificence, for the chhatti (sixth day) is given by him: go, and tell the mother’s brother of the child also to make ready the haansli (necklet) and kurta (wristlets), i.e. give orders to the goldsmith to prepare them: go also, and tell the mother’s sister to have ready the kurte (shirts) and caps, for these are supplied by her: warn the farther also that on this joyous occasion he must give us a dance by the bhanda and bhagatie.”

This last song, though it is in reality the pean of joy sung by Deokij on the birth of her son Krishna, is still sung among the Muhammadans.

The clothes worn by the mother at her confinement are given on the day of birth to the midwife, and are replaced by new ones on her chhatti or chila.

It was formerly the custom that the lobe of that side of the ear by which the child was born was pierced, the object being that the child might live—women having a belief that the piercing of a vein in the ear is a preventative of mortal disease (presumably convulsions); further with the same object, the end of the nose was also pierced on the same day and a nose-ring inserted: but this custom is now rare among the lower castes.

From the day of birth, the nakji (‘nose-cut,’ or noseless-one, i.e.
the cat) is not allowed in the mother's room, in the belief that she is possessed of genii, or more probably in order to protect the buried umbilical cord from any possibility of injury, and she is kept out till the chhätti or, chilla.

It is also worthy of remark that a hıjrá (eunuch) goes daily to each ma’kallah (street) and cries Huá te tá? Kaun sá ghar jágá? (i.e., 'Has a son been born?' 'Which house has awakened?') Some child, or the sweeper of that quarter, informs him of the family in which a son or a daughter was born; going to that house he gets two pice for a daughter and four for a son, and informs all the bhandás, bhändelas etc. (players, actors, buffoons, etc.) from that time the bhändela sarane, hıjra, shá ŋaiyam-tayd, shúm-walíyan, and bhánd, bhagatíy of the town, all those whose business it is to sing, dance, play, or amuse, begin to come, and after singing or acting for an hour or two demand their presents and go away, only to come back again on the chhätti.

Thikri.—All the females in the house at the time of the birth drop some coins, from one pice to two annas, into a ḥiṅkri, the lower part of an earthen jar, the first to do so being the patient's mother or mother-in-law. If any near kinwoman is negotiating a betrothal, she drops a rupee into the jar, and this renders the agreement irrevocable. This is called the the ḥiṅkri ki aagáí. The money dropped into the jar is the midwife's perquisite.

The ağıa or tonsure.—The ağıa is an orthodox Muhammadan rite, consisting in shaving the child's head for the first time, on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, or thirty-fifth day after birth, and sacrificing two goats or sheep for a boy and one for a girl.1 This simple rite has, however, been confused with, or influenced by the observances proper to, the bhánd; in places, it has never been adopted, or if adopted has become obsolete.2 As a rule the ağıa is celebrated within seven days of the birth.3

The child's head is shaved, and the weight of the hair in gold or silver given away as alms.4

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1 The meaning of the word aġiga is disputed. It may mean (1) the hair on a newborn child's head, like ḥhand; or (2) be a derivative of the root aġ (to cut or sacrifice). Even amongst orthodox Muhammadans the observances vary, of. the Miskul-ul-Maṣdib, Mathews, II, pp. 315, 16.

2 In Bhiwáni it is only observed by well-to-do people, never by the peasantry, sa uomine, but on the chhätti the child's head is shaved. Occasionally a vow is made that the child's head shall not be shaved unless and until it can be done at a specified place. Or part of the hair is left uncatt, to be subsequently shaved off in fulfillment of the vow. In Bálkoit the aġiga is displacing the old dhámán rite.

3 It is very commonly held on the chhätti, or on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, or twenty-eighth, in Hissár; on the seventh or tenth in Bhiwáni; on the seventh, fourteenth, or fortieth in Sirmir; at any time within six months in Kánpur, very commonly on the fifth, or in Nápur, on the eighth; in Máler Koṭla on the sixth; on the seventh, eleventh, or twenty-first in Lahór; it is also very common in the central Punjab to perform it on the sixth, thirteenth etc. day, e.g. if the birth occurred on a Monday, it would be held on the following Sunday, and so on.

4 In Delhi, and some other parts, this is the barber's perquisite.
Moslem birth observances.

The hair itself is carefully buried in the earth. For a boy two he-goats are sacrificed and for a girl one. The bones must not be broken, but carefully buried in the ground. The flesh is distributed among the brotherhood uncooked; or else they are feasted on it.

But the child's parents, and its parents' parents must not eat of the flesh. Such are the main outlines of the rite.

*Beri* barkana.—A blue cotton thread, called *beri*, is tied to the left foot of a child in the name of Muin-ud-Din Chishti of Ajmer, and when it is three or four years old it is taken to the shrine of that saint, and the parents there make an offering of five and a quarter *sers* of *maleko*, two pieces and a trouser-string.

*Bindū bandhana.—* If a man's children die in infancy, he puts a bit of *bindū* or silver wire in the left ear of his next child.

*Petā charhāna.—* Women desirous of offspring often vow to offer *petā* to the shrine of Dāna Sher at Hissār, if their wish is granted. A little of the *petā* is given to the custodian of the shrine, and the rest is distributed among the brotherhood.

The chhatī or sixth day.—The religious observance of the *aqīqa* is closely associated with the *chhaṭṭī*, the *chichak*, and the naming of the child, three observances which will now be described.

As among the Hindūs, the *chhaṭṭī*, in spite of its name, is not necessarily held on the sixth day of the birth. Thus in Delhi the mother and child are bathed on the Monday or Wednesday nearest the sixth day, the former being an auspicious day because the Prophet was born on that day, the latter because: *Budh iš hye ki sab kām suḥ k hon, i.e. Wednesday, in order that all things may be right*, and thus all subsequent children may be sons.

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1. But in Delhi it is done over to the washerwoman, to be thrown into the river; in Hissār it is carefully preserved; in Mālo Koṭa it is kept wrapped up in bread; in Rawalpindi the hair is caught by the sister, or father's sister of the child, lest it fall on the ground, and kept in the house with great care.
2. In Kāṅgra the goats must be young and free from blemish, and of a uniform colour for a girl; the latter is the only essential condition.
3. Or as carefully preserved; while the head and feet are given to the barber, and the skin to the washerman or the *sudāth* (Hāni). In Kāṅgra, the bones are buried within the house. In Amritsar, a portion of the flesh is given to the midwife, and the rest distributed among the brotherhood; both bones and blood are buried. In Shāhpur the flesh is given to the poor, and the bones are buried in the graveyard, after being placed in an earthen jar. In Dera Ghūzī Khān, both bones and blood are carefully preserved (buried) at separate places.
4. If the flesh is thus distributed it would appear that the bones need not be kept intact (Ludhianā).
5. Only the grandparents, the great-grandparents apparently not being debarred.
6. In Bohābak the thread is described as black, and as being tied on both feet. The child's hair is also allowed to grow until the period of the vow has expired, when it is cut at the shrine.
7. *Maleka*, thick hand-made bread broken or pounded, and then mixed with sugar and ghee.
Moslem birth observances.

The mother sits on a stool while her husband’s sisters pour milk, or water squeezed out of flour, over her head; green grass or a thin slice of betel-leaf are put into the water or milk. In return the sister-in-law receives presents (neg). Then the mother bathes, and taking the child in her arms, puts on her nose-ring and sits on the bed. The guests, mostly women—though among the higher classes near male relatives are also invited—come in. Outside the men are entertained by eunuchs, bhánás, Sháh-tiayam-taíya, and dancing-girls; while inside the house Domnis and chhúnevállán give displays of dancing. The mother, with her head wrapped in gold lace, sits enthroned like a queen, the child’s head being also enfolded in a kerchief. Mubárak bádián or congratulatory songs are sung, such as:

Jami jam shádíán, mubárak bádián;
 Báwey fazsand salámat, salámat-bádián.

“May you be ever blessed with such happiness; nay, may you, with your son, ever enjoy peace.”

Or—

Naurang chhúre-wállán, méri jaehá ránián:
 Suhá jordá pahin suhágan motti bhari rántán:
 Naurang chhúre-wállán.

“Our Zacha queen, with bracelets of many colours and robe of red, a wife whose lord is alive, and the parting of whose hair is decked with pearls, yea, she is our bride.”

In Hisår the chhâtít is observed on the sixth day, the mother and child being bathed, the brotherhood feasted and the mother dressed in new clothes. Her father also sends the cheochák, or gift of clothes, and the agáqa is observed on this day. If a man does not observe the chhâtít it is said:— Châtté na chhíllá hogayá.

Like the Hindús, Muhammadans imagine that on this the sixth night the child is peculiarly subject to demoniacal influences.1

In Lahore the mother and child are bathed on the first Thursday or Sunday: this is called chhâtít ká ghural, and food called su’dák ká kháná 2 is sent to all the women of the family.

The chhúchhák.—The chhúchhák is very commonly observed on the chhâtít, but it may be postponed to the fortieth day, and indeed there appears to be no absolutely fixed day for its observance. In the central Punjab the first confinement ordinarily takes place at the house of the mother’s parents, and in this case the mother, if the child is a boy, brings back with her some gold and silver ornaments for herself and the boy on her return to her husband’s house. These gifts are called chhúchhák. In the south-east the first confinement is arranged for a

1 Among the zamindârî of Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur a ceremony called the dâyân is observed on the sixth or eleventh day after birth; chhîllre or small loaves, also termed wâdîán, are cooked, dipped in syrup, and distributed among the brotherhood.

2 Sudan.
her husband's house, but the mother visits her father's house some four or six months later and then brings back the chhúchhak.\footnote{Platts, sub voces, says chhúchhak is the ceremony observed after childbirth (when the mother visits her father—generally forty days after childbirth—and returns with presents; so the presents made on this occasion. The derivation of the word is obscure. In Hissár it takes the form cheechhak.}

Generally speaking, the chhúchhak appears to be used for any present sent to the mother or child on the chháttī, aqīqa etc. by her parents or other relatives, or even by relatives of the child's father. In Rohtak, indeed, the term appears to be limited to the presents made by the father's sister of the child.

In Hissár mention is made of a gift called jamavana, made by the mother's parents to her. It consists of gum, ghi and sugar, with clothes and ornaments for the child, and would appear to be distinct from the chhúchhak.

\textit{Weham}.—Closely analogous to the chhúchhak is the weham observance, which is widely spread throughout the submontane and southwestern districts.

In Lahore the weham is, among well-to-do people, a link in a chain of elaborate observances. On the chhila, or fortieth day, the women of the family assemble and make presents to the mother and child, who are then taken to a shrine. Ghāri is then distributed among the women, and the kinswomen of the mother's mother are also given food from her house. Her mother then sends her clothes and ornaments, for herself and the child. These gifts are called weham. The observance is only observed on the birth of a first-born child. Poor people also observe it, but on a smaller scale.\footnote{In Kapārthala the observances are simple. On the third day the father sends a man of khichri to his wife's father, and he, on the eighth day, sends in return pinjiri, clothes and ornaments for the mother.} After it, the midwife is dismissed.

On the day after the mother goes to her parents' house and returns with her child and the weham presents, the women of the mahālā come to view them, and the child's grandmother distributes sweetmeats and punjiri to the brotherhood. In return the women each give the child a rupee, or less.

In Amritsar the term weham is applied to the presents made by the mother to each of the kinswomen assembled on the fortieth day.

In Baháwalpur the parents give her on the eighth, twenty-first, or fortieth day, when she bathes, pinjis,\footnote{Punjirs are rolls made of ghi, flour and gur, and weighing about half a pda each.} and a trewar for herself and her child; together with other clothes for it, according to its sex. If wealthy they also give a silver bracelet, or hasli, a silver necklace or a gold mohar for the child.\footnote{In Sialkot the parents send their daughter ghi and sugar on the same day, with or without pinjis, to recruit her strength. They also send clothes for the midwife, as well as to the mother and child, and an ornament for the latter. Well-to-do people also permit the ornament to be given by the father's sister.}
Moslem birth observances.

The treatment of the mother.

In theory the mother is bathed on the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth days, as in Rohatg, Hisar, Karnal, Ambala and Sirmur; but to this rule there are numerous exceptions.

The bath on the fortieth day is called chhilla (lit., fortieth), and that on the tenth daswán, on the twentieth biswán, and on the thirtieth bisván. In the Karnal District these three earlier baths are called chhota chhilla; and in Delhi, the daswán chhilla (tenth), biswán chhilla (twentieth), chhota chhilla (thirtieth), and bara chilla (fortieth)—a curious instance of the confused use of precise terms in Indian observances.

Showing the stars to the mother.—On the night of the chhätti, mother and child are both dressed, their heads being enfolded in three-cornered embroidered bands (qade boiling), and the mother is seated on a low stool in the courtyard of the house. Two women, holding naked swords in their hands, bring her out; the midwife carrying chaumak to light the way. Standing on the stool with the child in her arms and the Qurán on her head, the mother looks towards the sky and counts seven stars, while her companions bring the points of the swords together over her head, forming a crescent so that jinn and paris may not pass over her, and from this day the danger that they may overshadow her ceases.

Meanwhile the father goes to the mother's bed, and standing thereon repeats the bismillah in full. He then shoots an arrow into the ceiling, at the mirg. Hence this observance is called the "mirg marna," and the wife's mother gives her son-in-law a neg on the occasion.

Once, on the birth of a prince in the family of Bahadur Shah, King of Delhi, the poet Shah Nazir of Delhi, described this custom thus:

Wahi n phir shah ne yih raasm ki wa'ne:
Chhaparkhat par qadam rakh, ho ke shaddan,
Adä kar harf i 'Bismillah' saraä,
Kamän-o-tîr lekar mirg màrâ;
Namûndär is tarh tha saqf men tîr,
Falak par kakhakâh kis faise tahir.

As well as on the sixth chhätti.

E.g., in Sisra she is said to be bathed (only) on the sixth and fortieth days. Or on the fifth, seventh, or tenth (Karnal), every eighth day (Kapârthala). In one account from Hisar it is said that the chhilla is only given on the fortieth day if it falls on a Friday. In Lahore the seventh, eleventh, twenty-first and thirty-first are said to be the days for the baths; or according to another account, on the first Friday (chhätti ka ghulat) and on the tenth (on both these days the midwife gets dues), on the twenty-first (when panji is distributed and a feast held in memory of the ancestors), and on the thirtieth and fortieth days. In Siáikot the mother is bathed on the fifth, if the child be a girl, and on the eighth if it is a boy.

Fr. chaumak, i.e. 'with four mouths.' It is made of dough, in the shape of a four-cornered cup, to hold four wicks and is fed with ghî.
"Forthwith (while his consort was viewing the stars) the king observed the rite, standing on his wife's bed with a bow and arrow in his hand, and after repeating all the _bismillah_, his arrow shot by him into the roof looked like the Milky Way in the firmament."

After seeing the stars the mother returns and seats herself on her bed; a table-cloth is spread in front, the stool being used for a table, and on this is placed food, including seven kinds of vegetables and various dishes. The _sadh rani_ or 'queen mother', together with seven other women, whose husbands are living, takes a little from each dish, and the only words heard are _mubarak! salamun_. Songs are also sung:

_Jachá-jab dekhne ko ái tāre,_
_Chhatti ki dhúm jo pahuncher falak tak,_

_Sitāre charh-i-gardún ne utāre:_
_Qamar aur mushtari donon pukāre._

_Húr fursand yih sab ko mubarak:_
_Khudi ne kyá khushi donon ko ái kai:_

_Kaho, larke ká báwá, mirgy máre:_
_Damémé baj gae—gúnje naqáre._

"When the mother came out to see the stars, the revolving heavens were pleased, and showered stars upon her head (showered stars over her, like the money thrown at weddings etc. upon the chief character in the ceremony). As the child that was born will be a blessing to all, tell his father to perform the _mirg márná_, whereby his courage may be proved. When the sounds of rejoicing at the _chhatti_ reached the skies, the Moon and Jupiter cried: 'What joy hath God bestowed on both (the parents), that the drums have thundered forth their _happy_.'

Some _rupiahs_ are now thrown into the _chaumak_ as a present to the midwife.

In the imperial family another custom, called _Bigir-bachhá_, also prevailed, and the other Mughals of Delhi also observe it with slight variations. A big, sweet loaf was made of 5½ _sers_ of flour, baked in the ground, and the middle portion taken out, leaving only the rim; on top of this naked swords were placed, and on the right and left arrows stuck into it; seven _suhágans_, three in front of the loaf and four to the left of it, stood in line; one woman passed the child through the hole, saying, _Bigir-bachhá, 'take the child';_ the next one would say, _Allah nizahbán, bachiha, ' God is the protector of the child';_ and, passing the child between her legs, would say to the third _Bigir-bachhá_.

In this way, each of the seven _suhágans_ passed the child seven times through the loaf, and between her legs. This is the only Mughal custom foreign to India, all the others being similar to those prevailing in it.

This observance is very widespread, but there are several interesting local variations. Thus, in Ludhiana the Jats, Gujars, Aráins, Dogars etc. observe this rite on the third day, and the mother goes to the door of the house accompanied by a boy who has a _phálá_ (ploughshare) over his shoulder and a _parain_ or ox-goad in his hand. In Máler Koṭla the rite is called _chhatti ko táre dekhápá,_ 'to show the stars of the sixth.'
Moslem birth observances.

The mother comes out attended by the midwife and a woman carrying a lamp. A man of the family carries the Qurán, out of which he reads certain passages to the child. In her mouth the mother has some uncooked rice, and in her hand an iron weapon or implement, while in her lap is some uncooked khicri. Thrice she spits rice out of her mouth to the right and thrice to the left. The reader of the Qurán gets a silver coin and some gur, and the midwife takes the khechri. On this day, the sixth, the mother is bidden to eat her fill, otherwise the child will have an insatiable appetite all its life.

In Kângra the mother sees the stars on the seventh day, unless it fall on a Friday. She bathes and observes the chief points described above in this ceremony, but the sword is held over her head by her husband, and a woman reads the Qurán. In Gujrá the Chhibh Râjputn have an observance of their own. On the third, fifth, or seventh day the mother leaves her room. A square is made with whitewash or rice-flour in a wall, and red lines drawn across it diagonally. At their intersection a picture of the new moon is made, and a sieve placed over it, at which one of the child's near kinsmen shoots seven arrows.

Sardán karne ki rasm.—Just after the târe dikhâna the families of the old Mughal dynasty performed another called the sardán karne ki rasm; which is also observed by people of the city of Delhi, but not necessarily on that date, as any time before the child teething will do. Women believe that if a child which has not teetned be lifted above the head, it will pass white motions, for which this observance is a preventative, or, if the disease has begun, a cure. It is performed thus:—The ropes used to tighten a native bed are loosened, and two women, who must be mother and daughter, are called in: one of them gets on the bed, with the child in her arms, while the other sits on the ground towards the foot of the bed. The former then passes the child through the opening in the loosened ropes down to the latter, and she passes it back again to the former. This is done seven times. The two women receive the same gifts as are given in the bigir buchha ceremony. In Delhi city this observance is called shirâdán, and is only practised if the child actually gets ill. The woman ask the question shirâdán gayâ? They reply gayâ each time they pass the child through the ropes.

Menials' offerings.—Offerings made by menials to the child play an important part in the observances in Râwalpindi and Gujrá. In the former district a boy is presented with a totâ by the tailor: with a chaplet of dharâk and sirîs leaves by the flower-woman:—this is hung on the outer door as a safeguard against the influence of women who have miscarried; the washerman daubs the wall near the outer door with stuff from his washtub as a charm against the evil eye: the mâchhi makes a net and casts it over the child, as an augury that he may remain dutiful and obedient to parental control; the sweeper (musallâ)

Because if she bathe on a Friday she will be barren for twelve years! Tuesday and Sunday are the lucky days for the bathing.

* Sardán; possibly a contraction of sar-gardán, i.e. that which is passed over the head; shirâdán clearly from šir, milk.

* A toy made of several pieces of cloth of all colours, strung on a thread like the tail of a kite. This is hung on to the roof of the house but without any express meaning. This is also done in Gujrá.

* This is done in Gujrá by the Arâfn or flower-woman and she receives a rupee.
Moslem birth observances.

brings a small bow and arrow, placing them near the boy’s head, so that he may be manly; the shoemaker presents a deerskin; and the kamánqar or painter brings a paper horse. Each of these dependents receives his customary dues in return.

In the villages of Gujrát the family Brahman of a Muhammadan family makes an imitation pipal tree, before the fortieth day, and receives from rupee one to five, according to the family’s position.

Dhaman.—The dhaman rite is observed among Muhammadans in Siálkot and Gujrát. In the latter district the mother bathes on the fifth or seventh day and puts on new clothes. Bread with halvá is distributed among the brotherhood. This is called dhaman kurná.1 In Siálkot the observance merely consists in the kinswomen assembling a few days after the birth, and in distributing halvá and chapátís among the brotherhood.

Pichháwán.—The belief in the evil effects of the shadow (pichháwán) of a woman whose child has died young survives among the Muhammadans of Gujrát. Every precaution is taken to prevent her getting access to mother or child, and green sarín leaves are hung over the outer door to avert the pichháwán. Certain tanks are believed to have the power of curing children who are affected by pichháwán and so waste away, if bathed therein.

Kunisht.—A curious custom, not very clearly described, is observed in Siálkot by certain tribes. During the first year, if the child be a boy, the wives of the family prostrate themselves before a heap of sugar, which is spread out on a blanket and divided into as many shares as there are proprietors in the village, invoking the elders’ good-will. The daughters of the tribe are strictly forbidden to use this sugar, when it has been distributed among the brotherhood, presumably because they will on marriage cease to be members of the tribe or of the village community.

Nosterage.—In well-to-do families a wet nurse (anná) is chosen from some decent family, with a nurse (mánś) to dress the children; a dādá to bring them up, and a girl (ehhochho) to wash soiled clothes, and to play with the children, under the mother’s supervision.

In the morning the ehhochho plays with the children, humming the following verses:

For boys—1. Míán áwe dáron se,
      Ghorá bándhán khájúron se.
      “My master has come from a far country;
      I will tie his horse to a tall palm tree.”

1 Among the Gujarás the Brahman actually comes in on this day and makes a chauka in which a lamp of flour is lit. Huge leaves of bread, each weighing a topa, are given to the menials and the Brahman himself gets a topa of flour. In well-to-do families a special kind of halvá is made and eaten by the members of the got, but no one else may partake of it. Even married daughters cannot eat this halvá because in marriage they cease to be members of their paternal got. On the other hand a share is sent to a son’s wife if she is absent.

Kunisht means apparently, ‘hell,’ ‘younger,’ ‘of the lowest degree,’ in Punjábi.
Meelen birth observances.

2. Miân âwe daur ke.
   Dushman ki chhâte tor ke.
   "My master comes dashing in, after smashing in the foe's breast."
   "Master comes with a rush; Giving the foe's breast a crush."

Or 3. Jug, jug, jug, jug¹, fia karo,
   Dudh malîda piyâ karo.
   "Long, long, may you live on; Milk, crushed bread with butter, live on."

When the dâdâ washes the child's face she sings:—
   Chhîchî, chhîchî kawâ khâe;
   Dâdâ dhati nanna khâe.
   "The dirt, the dirt, the crows may eat; Milkie, ricie, tiny will eat."

At noon, the annâ sings the following lullaby (lori):—
   Â jd, rl ! nindiyâ tâ á kyun na jâ?
   Mere bâle ki ankhon men, ghul mil jâ.
   Áti hûn, biwi, áti hûn:
   Do, châr, bâle khilâti hûn.
   "Come, Lady Sleep! why don't you come?
   To the eyes of my baby, O come!
   I am coming, Lady, coming!
   Playing with a few children—I am coming!"

Or Tu so, mere bâle! tâ so mere bhole! jab tak bîli hai mind:
   Phir jo paregâ tû dunyâ ke dhande, kaisi hai jhulâ! kaisi hai mind!

Chorus.—Tu so, mere etc. etc.
   Khel, tamâske, kar le tû sâre; kahtî hûn tujh se, ankhôn ke târe!
   Zindâ hai mân bhâ, bâp bhâ bâre: kar le tû drâm Sayyad piyâre.

Chorus.—Tu so, mere etc. etc.
   Khel tum aise khelnâ, laînâ! jin sena ho mân bâp kâ jalmâ:
   Dunyâ se qar, qar, sanbhal-kar chalnâ; sakri hai ghûthî, rûstu phisalnâ.

Chorus.—Tu so, mere etc. etc.
   "Sleep, my babe! my innocent babe! while to the child there's sleep,
   Caught up in the whirl of (life's) business; where is thy cradle, where thy sleep!"

¹ Hindi for an age, epoch, period, long time, always.
Moslem birth observances.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc. etc.

All fun and frolic, go enjoy: I am telling you, my dearest boy!

Your parents are living yet; Sayyid, dear, take the rest you can get.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc.

Play such games, my dear boy, as your parents won't annoy:

Walk the world in fear, in careful mode; narrow its vale, slippery its road.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc.

At night, on seeing the moon, he is thus amused:

Ohandá mámún, dár ke.
Bare pakáwen, bûr ke;
Āp kháwen thâlt men,
Ham ko dewen piyáli men;

Piyáli gâl tút,
Ohandá mámún gae rûsh,
Piyáli dí aur,
Ohandá mámún de dau.

"Uncle moon afar, fries fritters of saw-dust; he himself eats off plates and gives me (food) in small cups: the cup broke, and uncle moon was angry: another cup came, uncle moon came running."

Sometimes the nurse sits near the lamp, and, reaching out her hand to the flame and passing it close to her face and eyes, repeats:

Akkho! makko!
Mere miyán, Allâh! rakho.

"Akkho! makko!
God! preserve my master."

When the child is just able to articulate, she sits him on her knees, and swings him, resting on her back, and moving her knees up and down, while she sings:

Jhujjhu Jhote, jhujjhu-jhú:
Jhujjhú ki dâlí jhûm pari;
Miyán ne chun, chum, god bhari.
Pakke, pokke, miyáu khâén;
Kachche, kachche naukar khâén.

Jhujjhu = jujube or her tree. The purport is that her little master is supposed to be on a swing, hung on a tree, which are her legs, and that as the branches swing, the fruit drops down, the child fills his lap, eating the ripe ones himself, and the servants the unripe ones. Afterwards she puts up her legs as high as they will go, and says:

Khabardár rahíyo, bu-hiýá! rájá ká koṭ girî hái: Agá! rá! rá! dhám!

"Look out, old woman! the king's fort is tumbling down: crash crash! down! thud!"

WWW
Moslem birth observances.

If it is a girl, she amuses her thus:—

1. **Bīw! ri! tā bāt, change din āt:**
   
   *Jivēn tere bāp aur bhai!*
   
   "Miss, you are princess; you have come at a nice time: May your father and brother live long."

2. **Bīw, beṭiyān, chhāpār khat men beṭiyān:**
   
   *Māre magrārī ke jawāb na deṭiyān!*
   
   "Miss daughter, you lie in a mosquito curtain:
Through pride, you don’t answer me!"

3. **Akkhō! makkhō! meri bīw ko, Allāh! rakho.**
   
   "Akkhō! Makkhō! O, God! preserve my lady!"

If, while asleep, the child smiles, they say that Bihāt is making it laugh. Bihāt, or Beh Mātā, is a Hindu goddess, who, it is believed, makes the child smile at times, and at others weep, by whispering in its ear that its mother is dead or alive.

**Rat-fagā** or vigil.—The name *rat-fagā*, or vigil, is applied to any merry-making which is kept up all night by the women. A vigil is kept on the occasion of a chaṭṭī dūgh-chutā, sāl-girāh, bismillāh, or wedding. The frying-pan is kept on the fire all night, and fritters are made, *Allah miyān ka rāhm* being also baked. This is done to ensure divine favour. At the same time, the *bhū ki niāz*, or offering to Fátima, daughter of Muhammad, is also made. Seven kinds of fruit and vegetables, in plain or sweetened rice, are served in new earthen vessels. On this offering are also placed some *misāi, phuḍ (*scented*) oil, *surma* (antimony), henna, *kalāsca* (coloured thread), sandal-wood and five annas as *churāqū* or lamp fee. Formerly it was also customary to put some slaked lime in a small plate, into which the *pāk-dāmanā* or chaste wives, who partook of the food offered in the *niāz*, dipped their fingers, and licked off the lime which adhered to them, in the belief that blood would thereby be caused to flow from the mouth of those who were unfaithful.

**Circumcision.**—Around so primitive a rite as circumcision, cluster, as might be anticipated, countless local and tribal usages, accretions on the orthodox observance. This is simple. Though not even alluded to in the Qurān, the rite is held to be *sunnat, i.e. founded on the customs of the Prophet*, but no religious observances appear to be prescribed in connection with it.

1 A kind of biscuit, flat and round, made of a kind of *halwa* prepared from a rice and flour, kneaded in *gāt* and sugar, and in which are mixed dried fruits.
2 The proportions being 5:1 *sars* of rice to 2:1 *sars* of sugar and 1/3 of curd.
3 See article in *Hughes’ Dictionary of Islam*. In the Punjab the rite is commonly called *khānād, of A. *khānād* or *khiddū*; but the term *tahor, i.e. tahur* (purification) is also used.
Circumcision should be performed between the ages of seven and twelve, but it is permissible on or after the seventh day after birth. It is very commonly done in the *chāttī*.

As a rule the operation is effected at home, but in places the boy is taken to the mosque, and it is done in front of the door.

The keynote to the observances connected with the operation lie in the fact that it is regarded as a wedding—indeed, in the south-west of Bahāwalpur it is actually termed *shādī*. In accordance with this idea the boy is treated like a bridegroom, dressed in yellow clothes, and mounted on a horse. Before the operation the brotherhood is sometimes notified, sugar or dates being sent out to its members.

On the day itself the brotherhood is feasted, and entertained with dances. The women sing songs, and sometimes *dom săs* are employed to keep the singing up all night.

It is not unusual to half intoxicate the boy with *ma'jūn*, so that he may not feel the pain.

As a rule the barber operates, but in Kāŋra the Abdāl is sometimes employed, and in the west of the Punjab the Pirhain. In Bahāwalpur the boy is told by the guests to slap the Pirhain, who gets as many rupees as he receives slaps. Naturally as the father has to pay, he urges the boy not to slap the operator.

In Kāŋra the boy is seated on a basket, in which is placed a cock, the barber’s perquisite. In Lahore he is seated on a stool, to which his hand is tied by a piece of *mauli* thread, and unless a companion in suffering has been found for him, the top of an earthen vessel is simultaneously cut off.

The barber receives a substantial reward. He puts his *katori*, or cup, on the stool in the midst of his assembled guests, and each of them puts a coin into it.

In Māler Kōṭla the boy is ceremoniously bathed on a wooden stool, and then his mother’s brother ties a *kangna* of thread, called *khamani*, on which are strung a betel nut, an iron ring and a piece of liquorice. After the operation the barber bids the uncle take the boy away, and he does so carrying him in his arms.

In Bahāwalpur the boy’s mother stands by with a *Qurān* on her head during the operation, her women friends standing round her while she dips the hem of her petticoat in a vessel full of water.

The foreskin, when removed, is generally buried, but sometimes it is thrown on the roof, or even attached to it with a piece of straw, in Hisār. In Bahāwalpur it is called *khāl*, and is carefully preserved, being sometimes buried in the floor, which, being near the water pitchers, always remains wet. In Delhi it is tied together with a peacock’s feather to the boy’s left foot, so that no one’s shadow may affect him; but this custom is falling into disuse.

In Rāwalpindi the operation is often carried out on the same day as the *aqīqa*. The child’s sisters and his father’s sisters are present with clothes, and they sing:—

*Harid ni māye Hārid, Hārid te bhāgi bhāria, Jī ghar ek beṛā jamia, Hārid ni māye Hārid, Hārid te bhāgi bhāria.***
Moslem birth observances.

"Oh, mother! How blessed and peaceful is that house in which such a son has been born! Mark well that daughters alone have been useful on the occasion."

Vows.

A vow (H. omamiat, in Punjabi manaut) is not infrequently made by a barren woman that she will offer a cloth, light a lamp, and have her child's first tonsure performed at a specified shrine if offspring be vouchsafed to her. The period for such an observance is always specified in the vow, but it is usually limited to a time before the child attains the age of twelve years.

Badháwa.—Another type of vow is to place a silver necklet round the child's neck every year, or to make him wear a hama'il, and add one rupee or more to it every year until he attains the age of seven, ten or twelve, when the accumulated silver is sold and the proceeds given to the poor. If the necklet is sold at the age of ten the observance is called dasawndh. The necklet should be put on the child's neck on the last Wednesday in Safar, the second month of the Muhammadan year. In Amritsar this is called Badháwa 1'ír Sáhib.

In Siálkot the term badháwa 3 is applied to the custom of putting on the hama'il and adding a rupee year by year. After the twelfth year it belongs to his wife, but the vow may stipulate that a certain share of the value shall go to a certain shrine, and the number of years may vary. In Ludhiána the sale-proceeds are often supplemented by further gifts, and go to feed the poor. The object is to invoke God's favour on the child.

Half-heads.—(In fulfilment of vows) in Ludhiána, some people shave only half the child's head at a time, every week. The right half is first shaved, from back to front; then the left. This is done for some years, and then a niáz is offered, and the whole head shaved. 4

Imámown-ka-paik.—During the first ten days of the Muharram, some people get their children made messengers of the Imáms (imámown-ka-paik), thus: ten yards of muslin are cut into four equal parts, lengthways, and two are dyed green and two black. One of each colour is then taken and made into a sheet, giving two sheets, of which one is wrapped round the head and the other round the waist. Some ten or fifteen small bells are then strung on a cotton thread, which is also tied round the

1 But in Siálkot and Baháwalpur the hasli or hama'il becomes the property of the boy's wife when he marries. In Hisáar the sale-proceeds are sometimes spent in sweets, which are distributed among the brotherhood. In Kapurthala the necklets are sometimes sent to the shrine to which the vow was made, and sometimes they are divided among the near kinmen of the child's mother.

2 Dasawndh, lit. a tithe, also a votive offering made at the age of ten; see P. Dictionary, sub voce dasawndh. Sometimes a rupee is simply put by each year till the child is ten.

3 Badháwa—lit. increase, growing. But in P. Dictionary it is said to mean the ornament put on a child's neck in fulfilment of a vow.

4 In Siálkot this custom is modified: only children whose brothers and sisters have died, or whose parents are old, are treated thus—half the head being shaved, and the other half left, in order that the Angel of Death may pass them by as too ugly. This is equivalent to giving an opprobrious name to the child.
waist. The boy goes barefoot, but his pagrí is adorned with feathers. On the tenth day of Hasan's martyrdom, rice and milk are cooked and distributed among Muhammadan households.

**Jhand.**—In contrast to the religious rite of aqiqā is that called the jhand, which is done either in accordance with an express vow, or which may be regarded as the fulfillment of a tacit vow. In Hisár the rite is said to be extinct, but other accounts appear to contradict this. The jhand is commonly observed within the chila, or forty days from the birth, but it may be deferred till a much later age. In Kapurthala the aqiqā is called jhand utána, but in Māler Kotla, if the aqiqā is not performed, the jhand, i.e., a lock of hair is left on the head and cut off generally at shrine of Shaikh Sadr Jahán, a vow being made that it will be done if the child live a certain time, generally twelve years.

The jhand rite is not confined to boys, but is observed in the case of girls also—the only difference being that the barber's fee is diminished by half in the latter case.

In Kāngra the hair is mixed with flour, baked into a loaf, and thrown over running water; but as a rule the hair is weighed and its weight in silver given to the barber. In Lahore, however, great importance is attached to the jhand or first tonsure. It is generally removed on the fortieth day after the chila observance is over, but some people do this on the aqiqā day. In either case the hair is scrupulously preserved, and sometimes placed in a silver amulet or always carried about with one. The hair is deemed sacred, and kept by one on commencing any new work. Women believe that no evil influence can prevail over one who has it near her. But some people tie the hair to the child's bed. The barber is paid from rupees one to five, and other menials get dues from the mother's mother. Jhand, too, is very often performed on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first or fortieth day, and silver equal to the weight of the hair is given away in charity, the hair being then buried in the ground. But if a vow has been made the rite is carried out in fulfillment of that vow, and the jhand, or a lock of the hair, removed at the specified shrine. There, too, a he-goat is sacrificed, and some people even sacrifice a he-goat every year until the child attains the age of twelve or twenty-one. Besides which bracelets are put on the child until he is twelve.

Among the Chibh Rájpáts of Gujrat the first tonsure must be performed within seven years at the shrine of the martyr Shádī, ancestor of the tribe, and until it is done the mother must abstain from meat. If the hair is cut a lock must be left. This lock is called Bábé Sháhid. At the shrine a goat is sacrificed, the mother eats the liver, and the rest is given away as alms.

In Sháhpur the jhand is observed on the seventh, eighth or ninth day, a chūrī of bread, ghi and gur being distributed among relatives.

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1. If the boy be a Shia his remaining garments will be black; if a Sunni, green.

2. Vows appear to be made at the shrine of Dána Sher of Bhauna to cut the jhand there at a specified age but this seems to be regarded as part of the aqiqā.
Hindu betrothal observances.

or friends. But a lock of hair called *liś* is kept and removed some years later at a Pir’s shrine; but the observance is not common.

In Rāwalpindi the *jhanda* is removed between the seventh and twelfth days; the sister or father’s sister holds the child in her lap and catches the hair. The Ghebas keep three locks or tufts of hair—called *suchī bōdi*—which remain until the child is circumcised.

In Rāwalpindi, when a child has been shaved on the seventh day, a lock of hair is left, to be removed at the shrine of a saint at the time fixed in the vow. Other people, in accordance with a vow, place a *kansli* on the child’s neck and sell it at the end of the seventh year, offering the money to the shrine. Other but similar vows are made, and in fulfilling them the parents put on new clothes, fast, and feed the poor with the food specified in their vows.

*Māruṇḍon ki rasm.*—When the child is about five or six months old its mother’s mother sends some *māruṇḍa,* and these are distributed in the family. The *māruṇḍa* are balls made of wheat or parched rice mixed with sweets, or else of moṭe chūr ke laḍḍu mūng ki ḍal mixed with syrup, together with poppy seed or ‘boiled wheat’. The balls are made by closing the fist (*mutthī ke band karne se*), and are sent because at this age the child begins to open and close its fists.

SECTION 5.—HINDU BETROTHAL OBSERVANCES.

Shastric ideas on betrothal.

A Hindu friend has furnished me with following account of orthodox Shastric ideas on the subject of betrothal, and I prefix it to my notes on ‘Hindu Betrothal Observances in the Punjab’, as it contains many points of interest.

The relatives who can give a binding promise of betrothal are:—the father, paternal grandfather, brother, a *sakulīga,* and lastly the mother. But if any one of these disregard the *prīkrāli* or *kālachār* (family custom) he loses his or her privilege and it devolves on the next in order. *E.g.* if the father is inclined to sell his daughter, the right to betroth devolves on the grandfather, and so on.

Betrothal being governed by various considerations, it is no hardship on a boy or girl to betroth them in infancy. The guardian of the girl should not only see the boy’s body, but have regard to his conduct, family means, education and repute. He should choose one whose age is double that of the girl, but not treble her age or more. The boy should be sound in body and in mind, and his family should be free from hereditary disease. He should not live too far away, be constantly

1 *Māruṇḍa* or *māruṇḍa,* a ball of parched sugar mixed with crude sugar, sometimes of a large size; *P. Dictionary,* pp. 781, 777, 779.

2 Pandit Shīb Rām Dās, a Brahman of the Gaṅgār section (Bashīst gotra) of Bunjāli status, whose family was originally settled in the Jhang District.

3 The *sakulīga,* i.e. one of the same *kul* or family.
Hindu betrothal observances.

Engaged in war, or an ascetic, and, apart from these general considerations, he should have the following particularized qualifications:

Broad or deep should be his chest, face and forehead, his navel, voice and sātya (inherent power).

Short his throat, back, male organ and legs.

Fine (sukham) his hair, nails, teeth, flesh and the joints of his fingers.

Long the distances between his eyebrows and his breasts, his arms, his nostrils and his chin.

Red should be his palate and tongue, the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands, and both the corners of each eye.

Countless other points of palmistry have also to be considered. Thus, a boy with no lines, or too many, in his hand will be poor and short-lived. Lastly horoscopes have to be consulted, and it is important that neither party should have been born in the mangal ras, or house of Mars, because, if so, his or her mate is doomed to an early death.

On the other hand the girl should be aspinda, i.e. not related to the boy within the following degrees, thus:

She should not be of the same gotra as the boy. (The got of the maternal grandfather is also sometimes avoided.)

She should be a virgin, beautiful, young and free from disease. She should also have a brother, for otherwise, according to the marriage contract, her first-born son would have to be given to her father, in order that he might become her maternal grandfather's heir. Various other qualifications are prescribed; health, good repute, a swan-like gait, fine teeth and hair, delicate limbs and soft red-soled feet without prominent joints. Her fingers and toes should be separated, and the palm of her hand shaped like a lotus for luck. Her shape should be fish-like, and on the soles of her feet there should be the marks of a goad and barley-corns. Her knees should be round, her legs free from hair, her forehead broad and prominent, his navel deep, with three deep wrinkles in the abdomen, the nipples round and hard, the throat like a lion's, the lips as red as a trisna fruit, the voice soft like a cuckoo's, the nostrils evenly matched, and the eye like a lotus. Lastly, her little toes should not touch the ground lest she become a widow; the second toe should not project beyond the big toe lest her character be lost, and her legs should not be long and thin, for that, too, is an omen of widowhood. Hair on the legs presages misfortune, and a prominent abdomen lasting sickness and sterility. Her eyes should not be a reddish brown, nor like those of a cat, for the latter denote easy virtue. Hair on the nipples will bring misfortune on her husband. Dry hair and everted lips show a quarrelsome temper, and so on.

1 Some of the Pashnu verses descriptive of good looks popular in Kurram run:

Nin mein o li daila chhi paide the gulna
Narai mooli sarinda zulfi tareena
Nin mein o lidalla ding girda mirmuna
Hindu betrothal observances.

Sastric law classifies women into four groups: Padmani, Chitarni, Sankhani and Hastni.

When all these points have been investigated and the betrothal decided on, an auspicious day is fixed for its celebration, which should not take place in the month of Poh, Kátik or Chet, when Venus and Jupiter are on the wane, during the śṛḍhānas, annual or general, dwitik (intercalated month), or the anatrá, when Venus and Jupiter are in the same rāśi, and so on. Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are also to be avoided.

Betrothal was generally observed during the following Nakshatras (asterisms):

- Phalgani.
- Utrán and Parhán
- Khárán
- Bhadrapadán
- Also in Rohni, Kritkán, Mrigshár, Maghhán, Hust, Swáti, Utradhán, Kután and Reota.

On the day appointed for the rite the boy's party go to the girl's house and both parties are there seated, while Brahmans recite the mangha-charan or benedictory prayers, and Shri Ganeshji is worshipped.

Zi ghan jan kum thha maula ka laqhruna
Chhok wistillai chhok naraiku faraduna
Khúdai thhi mihrban forami thha sutatuna
Thka náraí gâtí maléchho ná pataithhi
Thka sarkai shhundi laalo pa shhawn sari thhi
Samandai jína ta mástorgi sari thhi
Khúdai mihrbán thhi forami thha suratuna
Thka khumari itargo zi ajab thhithon thhi
Thha ding garđan khóí zeir mer to masítgar thhi
Thha mayanu urko mukhki istir safar thhi
Bakhtawar thhi chhi khwri shhándi sarúna
Nin mein ehí pám okro ding garđan masalai kee
Ding náraí poza pa mukhki ti jálala kai
Kawun yanh bakhtawar thha sanni pa kakalí kí
Sirin alak thhi mur chá to dir oku khúmú
Mahomd Ali Khan dair guñagár thhi kila nílóri kódímá
Paroona tyar tala o lidalla nasínua
Bala tar singa thha shwódo swaoro na tespína
Maulah thha mukkhi rakshha chha pát armadáuna.

The complexion should be fair, the face and brow broad, the chin round, the nose thin and aquiline, the eyes black, and (one regrets to say) lustful. The hair, eyebrows and eyelashes should all be long and black, the teeth white and the lips red; the charms of rosy cheeks are enhanced by a black or a green mole; the neck should be long, the fingers tapering and the waist slim.
in a brass dish (thāl); rice is thrown on Ganesha and the boy’s party, and sometimes red-coloured water is also sprinkled over them. The girl’s guardian then announces that the girl, daughter of so-and-so, is betrothed to the son of so-and-so. This is called the wābdan, i.e. ‘the dān or gift by word of mouth,’ and is the essence of the betrothal contract. It is now irrevocable, and there is a very strong feeling against breaking it.

When once the promise has passed the lips of the girl’s father, it can only be withdrawn for grave causes. A Sanskrit adage says:—
Sakrit pradiyate kanya, ‘a girl is given but once.’ Formerly, in respectable families, a betrothed girl whose fiancé had died could not be married, and if such a marriage occurred it brought social discredit on the family. A Mirotra, Khatri family in Multán is still looked down upon because it once contracted a marriage of this kind.

Then a āne, or sacred thread, fruit, flowers and some clothes are given to the boy by the girl’s brother or Brahmans. The girl’s Brahmans applies the tīlak to the boy and his kinsmen. The boy’s parents and kinsmen make gifts to Brahmans and distribute money among them, an observance called nāvdu (lit. name).

The boy is next taken to his father’s house when a morsel of bread, butter, sugar and khichri is given him. This rite is called Grāhan deya (or gift of a morsel of bread). The females also distribute khichri to the brotherhood, who, in return, give them presents. Till far into the night, songs are sung by the women.

Betrothal thus effected creates a kind of relationship, so that if one of the parties to it dies, the other is counted impure for three days.

In some families gur and a rupee, five pieces of turmeric, some supāri (betel-nut), rice and fruit are thrown into the laps of the boy’s party at the betrothal.

Taking money for a girl is strictly forbidden by the Śastrās, and one who takes it goes to hell.

A proverb says:—
Kanjar te Qasái, chāt nāl chāt wātāi—meaning that low-caste men are divided into (i) Kanjars who prostitute their girls; (ii) butchers, who kill them; and (iii) those who exchange their persons.

Modern Hindu observances.

Amongst the Hindús betrothal is a contract, and is, as a rule, an indispensable preliminary to the marriage of a girl, though a woman once married cannot again be betrothed according to the ceremonies of a first betrothal. 2

Betrothals are of three kinds:—

(i) dharm 3 or pun, in which the girl is given by her parents as a quasi-religious offering to her future husband.

1 This is the custom in the Jhang District.
2 Punjāb Customary Law, ii, p. 118.
3 Dharm dī pachār in parts of the South-West Punjāb.
Hindu betrothal observances.

(ii) \textit{watta satta} \(^1\) (exchange), in which two or more families exchange brides.

(iii) \textit{takke} or \textit{takkian di pachár}, in parts of the south-west Punjab, in which a bride-price is more or less openly paid.\(^2\)

(i) The \textit{dharm} or ritual form of betrothal is a religious rite. In it the initiative is almost invariably taken by the girl’s parents.\(^3\)

Thus in Gurgasón her father sends his family barber and priest to search for a suitable boy. When they have found one they return, and, if horoscopes are kept, compare those of the pair to see if they are in accord. If the girl’s father approves of the match he sends the two delegates again to the boy’s house with the signs of betrothal called \textit{tiká} or \textit{nikka}.\(^4\) If the boy’s father approves of the match,\(^5\) he calls his kindred together and in their presence the delegates\(^6\) place the tokens in the boy’s lap, and some sweets into his mouth, simultaneously proclaiming the girl’s name. The girl’s barber or priest also makes a mark (\textit{tiikā}) on the boy’s forehead with his thumb.\(^7\) During the ceremony the boy is seated on a wooden plank (\textit{chaukī} or \textit{patī}) slightly raised off the ground, on which, after it has been swept and smeared with cow-dung, a square (\textit{chaukī}) has been traced with flour.

The signs of betrothal vary, but in the South-East Punjab there is almost always a rupee, often a coconut and sometimes clothes.

Elsewhere in the Province the coconut is replaced by dates, usually five in number, but often two or seven; thus in Gurdaspur the girl’s father sends seven nuts (\textit{chhowāra}), one or more rupees and some clothes as a \textit{shagān} or conventional gift to the boy. These are made over to him by the \textit{lágī} (a priest, a barber, or a bard) at his parents’ house in

\(^1\) \textit{Watti di pachár} in parts of the South-West.

\(^2\) Such a betrothal (or the price paid for it) is said to be called \textit{dambōh} in Ludhiana. \textit{Fum} betrothal is confined to the higher castes, and instances rarely occur among them of the initiative being taken by the boy’s people. Indeed, the instances noted are all from the Western Punjab, where the Hindu element holds a subordinate place under the Muhammadan tribes. Thus in Shapur, among most of the Khatri and Aropas, the boy’s father takes the first step, but among the Khokharain, or upper class Khatri, the girl’s father does so (\textit{xv}, pp. 22-23). In Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan, on the Indus, the boy’s father always appears to take the initiative (\textit{xx}, pp. 14-15; \textit{xvi}, pp. 23), but this is not the case in Peshawar (\textit{xvii}, p. 23).

\(^3\) In Hindi a betrothal is called \textit{sgaī}, in Punjabi \textit{mangva} or \textit{mangā}, from \textit{mangnā} ‘to beg in marriage’. \textit{Kurmā} is a term widely used, especially in the Punjab. In Muzaffargarh (South-West Punjab) \textit{pachār} is the term used by Hindus. \textit{Ropnā} is also used in the Eastern Punjab for betrothal, but it literally means the present (of seven dried dates etc.) sent by the girl’s father to the prospective bridegroom.

\(^4\) Also called \textit{ropnā} (in Sirsa). The use of the term \textit{tiikā} (\textit{nikka} in Punjabi) in this sense is unusual and apparently confined to the South-eastern Punjab. Thus in Hānsi the girl’s father sends a barber with a rupee to the boy’s house, and the barber gives this rupee (which is called \textit{tiikā}) to the boy. In Jhelum \textit{tiikā} is used as equivalent to \textit{tilkh}.

\(^5\) No public inquiry is made about the girl, but the women find out among themselves.

\(^6\) Called \textit{negi} as entitled to \textit{neg or ık}, i.e. dues, in the South-East Punjab. But a commoner term is \textit{lägī}, i.e. one entitled to \textit{lāgy}, dues.

\(^7\) This mark is more correctly and usually called \textit{tilkh}. It is usually made on the boy’s forehead by the girl’s Brahman with turmeric and rice. Occasionally her barber affixes it. In Jhelum it is affixed during the reception of the \textit{shagān}. 
the presence of his kinsmen, and in return he sends the girl a *shagun* of ornaments and clothes.¹

In the Western Punjab the rite is quite as distinctively religious. Thus in Muzaffargarh, although the boy's father and kinsmen take the initiative and go empty-handed to the girl's house,² they are there met by her father or guardian with his kinsmen and presented with *gur*, fruits or clothes, and the Brahman, if present, performs the worship of Ganesha and recites the *gotrabhār*. The *gur* and fruits are taken to the boy's house and there distributed.³

This rite is held on an auspicious day and must be solemnized at the girl's father's shop or pleasure-house, but not at the house where his women-kind live,⁴ and after it the boy's father is called *putreta* and the girl's *dheta*, the relationship called *sain* or *senr* henceforth existing between them. This relationship prevents their visiting each other or even eating together, while the future son-in-law (*jawātra*) may not even speak to his father-in-law (*sohra*).

Thus betrothal in the South-West Punjab is a solemn rite and the tie it creates is irrevocable, so much so that it can only be annulled owing to impotence or incurable disease, and even when the boy or girl is thought to be dying the tie between the pair is solemnly cancelled by the following rite:—

In Muzaffargarh, where the rite is called *pānī pilāwan* (i.e. giving water to drink), the boy is called to the girl's death-bed and made to stand by her pillow and drink some water. The girl also drinks, and then the boy says, 'Thou art my sister.' This, of course, dissolves the betrothal, but it is understood that if the patient recover the tie will hold good. In the event of the boy's not arriving till she is dead the girl's body is not burnt until he has looked upon her face, or if the body has to be burnt before his arrival some cotton is smeared with blood from her forehead and thrown into his house. Every effort is however made to prevent the cotton being thus thrown into the house and a watch is kept over it, the belief being that, if the cotton is thrown in, it will bring ruin upon the dwelling. After four days the blood-stained cotton cannot be thrown in and the house is safe.

In the adjacent State of Bahāwalpur a very similar ceremony called *mathe lāyāwan* is performed to cancel the betrothal. Thus, if the girl be at the point of death the boy goes to her and standing by her death-bed gives her some sweets, saying, *hān kāti mithāi ghin,‘ dear sister, take this sweetmeat,' and she must reply *tiā bhirāwā,‘ brother, give it me."

¹ P.C.L., xii, p. 3.
² They say they have come to arrange for the *pachār* (betrothal) of so-and-so *chandirī's* (notable's) son. The reply is that the girl's father will consider the proposal (*wichār karvā*), and it appears to be etiquette for him to promise a reply in a week or a fortnight's time, when the boy's people again approach him.
³ P.C.L., xx, p. 15.
⁴ In Jhang there is a survival of this rite, a girl being shown her betrothed's bier, if the latter die before their wedding; or she breaks a clod of earth at his door or behind his bier, and, having washed her clothes, returns home.
This cancels the betrothal, but if the sick child recover and the parents of the couple agree to the renewal of the contract the betrothal ceremonies are again performed by the parties.

The *mathe lagáwan* must be done at the house of the sick child, but his or her parents do their utmost to prevent it as it brings calamity upon their family. If they knowingly permit it no other Kirár will contract an alliance with them. Consequently guards are posted at the door of the sick child’s house to keep out the intruder who makes every effort to get in. Both sides resort to violence, so much so that sticks are sometimes used and serious affrays ensue. Disguise is even sometimes resorted to in order to obtain access to the sick child; for instance, the garb of a sweeper etc., but if this too fails it is sufficient for the betrothed to strike his or her forehead against the wall of the sick child’s house. This knocking the wall, which is termed *sawan*, must be performed within four days from the sick child’s death, after which it is of no avail. If a child fails to perform the *mathe lagáwan* or *sawan* he or she cannot secure a second betrothal, being regarded as ill-starred, but if the ceremony be duly performed he or she is considered purified, and can readily contract a second betrothal.¹

(ii) Betrothal by change is further divisible into three or more varieties, viz.: (i) *ambo sambandá* or simple exchange; (ii) *treubaní* or threefold barter²; (iii) *chobhamí* or fourfold, and so on, in Muzaffargarh.³ In all these the parties concerned meet at one place by appointment, and enter into the contract of giving the girls, one to the other, after which each girl’s guardian gives gur or fruits to the guardian of the boy to whom his girl is betrothed. Then the Brahman, if present, performs worship of Ganesha and recites the *gotrauchár*. The gur or fruits are taken home and distributed.

In Jhang exchange betrothal is called *amo sámna*, a term which in Multán is applied to direct, as opposed to *tarain vatni* or indirect exchange. In Ludhiána betrothal by exchange is called *határh*.

In Ludhiána exchange marriage (*batte ká biyáh*) sometimes takes the form called *bádhe ká biyáh* in which a girl of, say, eighteen years of age is exchanged for one of five. In such a case, a kind of disparity fine (*bádhdá*) has to be paid to the party giving the adult girl.

Among the Gaddís of Chamba, marriage by exchange is called *bola*, and the first of the rites observed resembles those described below in a *dharma-puna* betrothal. But when all the boy’s people go to complete the alliance, a grindstone, pestle and *sil* (mortar) with three or five lumps of gur, *supári bahan*, and *rolián*, are placed before them, and the *parish* taking the *supári* etc. in the fold of his garment puts them in the mortar, receiving a fee of four annas from the boy’s father before grinding them. He then mentions the names of the betrothed pair, and pounds up the spices. Then the *supári* etc. is put in a dish with the gur broken into small pieces, and distributed among the guests, the boy’s

¹ The *mathe lagáwan* is also observed in the villages of the Multán District.
² In which three betrothals are arranged in connection with one another.
³ F.C.L., xx. p. 16.
father first taking a piece. The elder members of the bride's family do not take any, as that would be contrary to etiquette. Then the boy's father puts one rupee four annas in the dish, and from this silver the girl's parents have an ornament made for her. She also presents herself before the boy's father, and he gives her a rupee. The rest of the ceremony resembles that observed in a dharmapūna betrothal, but the coins put in the vessel come out of the boy's father's pocket. The whole rite is repeated in the other family's house, but not necessarily on the same day. Tuesday, Friday or Saturday is an unlucky day for these observances.

(iii) In betrothal by purchase the essential difference is that the initiative is taken by the boy's people, who go to the girl's house and there make the bargain. Then the girl's parents send their lāgis (or more usually one man, the nāi) to the boy's house where the ordinary rites are gone through.\footnote{P.C.L., v (Ludhiana), p. 43. But in Muzaffargarh Ganesh is not apparently worshipped in fakke betrothals, xx, p. 16.}

In the north-eastern (Himalayan) corner of the Punjab, the initiative is usually taken by the boy's people. After certain preliminary negotiations, they go to the girl's house with their priest (parohit) to perform the rites. In a dharmapūna betrothal the girl's father gives the parohit some dūh grass, with at least four copper coins, which are to be handed over to the boy's father in token that he accepts the alliance. All remain the night at the bride's house, and after a meal, her father gives eight copper coins to the boy's father. These he puts in his dish as a perquisite for the man who cleans it.\footnote{The above are the customs in vogue among the Gadīs of Chamba, but in the Churāh sub-division of that State the custom is for the boy's father or brother to place eight copper coins or as much as a rupee in the dish from which he has eaten. This is called ḫhāh, and the act jāth qānd. On the following day the betrothal contract is made.}

In Kulu, among the higher castes, the parohit fixes a day for the rite and is then sent with one or two men with a present of clothes, ornaments, and money to the bride's house. There he makes the girl worship Ganesh, and she is then dressed in the clothes, and gur is distributed among the villagers or neighbours. In return her parents send a sacred thread and a betel-nut for the bridegroom, in whose village also gur is distributed on the parohit's return.

Among the Kanets, the local god fixes the auspicious day for the rite, and on that day, the boy's father or brother with two companions, takes the clothes and ornaments to the bride's house. She puts them on and gur is then distributed without any worship of Ganesh. The lower classes have the same rites, but among them the boy also goes to his father-in-law's house at the betrothal.

When the initiative is not taken by the girl's father, it is fairly safe to assume that the parties are of low status or caste, and that the contract was not pun. Thus in Siālkot, among the Chūhrās, the boy's father goes to the girl's house with a female kinsman, and is then feasted, giving her father two rupees. Next the visitors are given an ordinary meal, and the girl's father gets another rupee. After this a blanket
is spread on the ground, and the girl's father, in the presence of his kin, brings a flat dish into which the boy's father puts the betrothal money, which varies in amount but is always considerable, sometimes amounting to fifty rupees.\(^1\)

Briefly, the essentials of a valid contract of betrothal are the public acceptance of the match, feasting and the exchange of gifts, the religious rites, if any are observed, being of secondary importance, even indeed if these are necessary to the validity of the contract.

It may be said generally that a contract of betrothal is irrevocable, except for certain definite causes, or in cases when it has become impossible of fulfilment. Even when its literal fulfilment is impossible owing to the death of the boy, there is a widespread feeling that an implied contract subsists to marry the girl to another member of his family. Instances of this custom are found in the Gujarós, Bors and Jats of Kaithal,\(^2\) the tribe of Sirs,\(^3\) and in the Sháhpur District, where the general feeling is that the girl is a valuable piece of property, and that betrothal is a contract to transfer her ownership to the boy's family, when she reaches a marriageable age, but the boy's death cancels the contract.\(^4\) It would appear that the castes or tribes which allow widow remarriage have a strong feeling that the betrothal duly effected gives the boy's family a claim on the girl's hand, so that, in the event of her original fiancé's death, she may be married to another boy of the family. In Jhelum, on the other hand, the contract is revocable unless the formality observed be the *warg*, which is to all intents a marriage.\(^5\)

Thus the advantages of the contract are all on the boy's side, in having secured a valuable chattel, little is thought of the girl's claim on the boy, only very exceptional circumstances would make the boy's family refuse to find another match for her in the event of his death. If the girl die the contract is void, her family having contracted to transfer a specific article, to wit a particular girl to the boy's family, and as that article no longer exists the bargain cannot be fulfilled, and her family has no claim to marry another of its girls to the boy.

The causes which justify a refusal to carry out a contract of betrothal are mainly physical (*e.g.* leprosy, impotence, blindness, or mortal disease in either party). Immorality on the part of the girl is generally also a valid cause. As a rule immorality on the boy's part is not recognized as a cause for refusal to carry out the contract, and, speaking generally, the contract is considered much more binding on the girl's relatives than on those of the boy, so much so that among the Jats of Lahore this principle is pushed to an extreme, and it is alleged that the boy can break off his betrothal at pleasure, whereas a girl cannot.\(^6\)

A betrothal is also said to be revocable on other grounds, *e.g.* on the discovery that the parties are within the prohibited degrees of re-

Hindu betrothal observances.

lationship,¹ or that they belong to different tribes,² and apostasy would also justify its revocation.³

As a rule, among Hindús, priority of betrothal gives the girl a social, though hardly a legal, claim to be married first, i.e. to be married before the fiancé takes another wife. The reason is that in a Hindu household the first married wife occupies a more or less privileged position.⁴

The ages of betrothal.

The age at which betrothal may be effected is not fixed, and it varies among different tribes and in different localities, so that it is impossible to generalize regarding it. Thus in Kaithal the Rájpúts assert that betrothal cannot take place before the age of ten, and girls are certainly betrothed at a much later age among Rájpúts than among other (and lower) tribes, so much so that it is common to defer a Rájpút girl's betrothal till she is fifteen or even twenty.⁵ In Ambála, the Gújars of Rápar put the lowest age of betrothal at five weeks; many tribes putting the maximum age at forty years,⁶ but it is not usual below five. Similarly in Gurdáspur,⁷ Siálkot,⁸ Shahpur, Jhelum, Péra Gházi Khán, and Muzaffargarh there is no restriction as to age, but the actual customs differ greatly according to circumstances. Thus there is a tendency to defer betrothal among the higher castes to a somewhat later age than is usual among the middle castes; e.g. in Lahore, Játs betroth from four to six; and Rájpúts from twelve to fourteen,⁹ in Shahpur, Hindús betroth from eight to twelve, and in Jhelum, before ten.¹⁰ Generally speaking in the Western Punjab girls are betrothed at a very early age, much earlier than is customary among the Muhammadans, but boys are often not betrothed till puberty or later. The feeling that it is a disgrace to have a grown-up daughter unmarried is very strong among Hindús. Throughout the Punjab pre-natal betrothal is unusual, but not unknown.

Some observances subsequent to betrothal.

These are purely social and of little importance. In Háinsi the boy's father sends sweets etc. for the girl on festivals. These she returns with some money. Later the boy's father sends her ornaments—called būda. These, too, are returned with some cash, oil and clothes added, only three or four ordinary trinkets being retained.

¹ P.C.L., x, p. 4.
² P.C.L., viii, p. 3; x, p. 4.
³ P.C.L., x, p. 4; xii, p. 4; xiv, p. 6; xix, p. 18; xx, p. 16.
⁴ Whereas among Muhammadans the four wives are, in the eye of the law at least, absolutely equal.
⁵ P.C.L., viii, p. 2.
⁶ P.C.L., x, p. 5.
⁷ P.C.L., xii, p. 3.
⁸ P.C.L., xiv, p. 3.
⁹ P.C.L., xiii, p. 3.
¹⁰ P.C.L., xv, p. 20; xix (?), p. 17.
Hindu betrothal observances.

In Multán and Muzaffargarh, there is a similar custom called *subha*, which consists in the exchanging presents of sweets at festivals. Clothes and toys are also sent. These presents, too, are sometimes returned by the girl's people. This custom is spreading, it is said, into Sirmûr.¹

Muzaffargarh also appears to have some distinctive local customs in the *sāg* or *wat wālawan*, which consists in the girl's father sending the boy's a request for *sāg* (vegetables).

The request is complied with and fruit of any kind in season sent. After this the fathers may have dealings with each other—a thing wholly forbidden to them before this observance. After it too comes the *wat sākхи*, in which the girl's father sends the boy's fresh fruit or green stuff. In both cases the fruit etc. is distributed among relatives and neighbours.

In Multán the betrotheds' fathers do not even salute each other when they meet, after the betrothal has once been effected, until the Rām sat observance has been duly performed. For this a lucky day is chosen, and then the girl's father with some of his kinsmen takes some sweets and Re. 1-4-0, Rs. 3 or Rs. 5 in cash to the boy's home, where he finds the latter's kinsmen also assembled. He presents the boy's father with the sweets etc. and salutes him, saying 'Rām Rām' (the usual Hindu greeting). After this the two fathers may salute each other if they meet.

In Jhang some time after the betrothal an observance called *piridās* is in vogue. The boy's kinsmen with some of his kinswomen visit the girl's home where they receive sweetstuff or a rupee each, and the women of the boy's party are seated on a *piri*.²

¹ Very similar to the *subha* observance, yet distinct from the observance called *gur* in Multán. It consists in sending *gur* (jaggery), fruit and vegetables with two rupees (Bahawalpur coinage, which is cheaper) to the boy's father, 'some time after the betrothal has been completed.'

² Betrothal among Hindûs in large towns is arranged by the womenfolk, the mother, grandmother or some other relative of the boy visiting the girl's mother till she gives her consent or refusal. Betrothal is formally announced by the girl's parents sending a lump of *gur* with a rupee to the boy's. In well-to-do families this ceremony, which is called *shagān*, 13 to 25 rupees with 100 *kīdās* (sugarcandy) are sent. In the case of a *mājū* (a widower) of good social status and well-to-do the amount often rises to Rs. 500 or even Rs. 1000.

After the betrothal comes the *pair pāndā* (to put in one's feet) ceremony. At this the girl's people send as many as 51 trays of *laḍḍa*, *lach* and other sweets to the boy's parents, followed on the same day by a formal visit paid by the woman of the boy's family (neighbours and friends are also invited, but no males) to the girl's. These ladies are served with light refreshments and among well-to-do families the boy's kinswomen get a cup of milk with a rupee each. The boy's mother takes the girl in her lap and a sarvadoors of Re. 1-4-0 is done. When the boy's party have left, the girl's in turn go to his house, where the girl's mother takes the boy in her lap and gives him a *mohar* or half *mohar*. One rupee each is given to all the other relatives of the boy, but his father and grandfather get a whole or half a *mohar* according to the status of the family. The girl's party are not served with refreshments. The boy's parents then celebrate the *bhājī*. In the case of a *mājū* there is no *pair pāndā*, strictly speaking, nor is there in that of a *soukān* (second wife when the first is still alive). In the latter case as much secrecy as is possible is observed by the boy's people.
SECTION 6.—HINDU MARRIAGE OBSERVANCES.

Among Hindu's marriage is of two kinds, regular and irregular. The former is a sacrament and in theory indissoluble, so that formal

A few days before the wedding on an auspicious day the dhany and mîni ceremony is observed. On this occasion too the girl's people send 51 trays of laddu &c. with a big châlî full of dahi (whey) to the boy's house. No females accompany these trays, only males doing so. They are met in an open space by the men of the boy's party, assembled there for the purpose. The mîni (= to meet) is now performed, the girl's party standing on one side and the boy's on the other. To begin with the girl's people present money to the boy's through their parohî commencing with Rs. 3 and rising by odd numbers, 5, 7 &c. to Rs. 17. Then the girl's people present jewellry and this is followed by the salâmî, which involves the gift of a rupee by the girl's relatives to each of the boy's. At the mîni the kinmen formally meet one another, and the boy his father-in-law to be. On the wedding night the girl's people send a mare to the boy's house to fetch him. After the necessary pûja in his house, he dons a mukat and then he and his sarbâla (a boy under 10 years of age and closely related to the bridegroom) don clothes especially prescribed and march out of the house after the tambol has been taken. The boy carries a sword in his hand. The boy then mounts the mare with the sarbâla behind him. The mare is fed on dâl. The boy's sister then holds the reins of the mare and refuses to release these until she gets some money as wâg phârdî (= to catch the reins). She sings the following song:—

Kî kuchh dena wîrâ vod phârdî
Kî kuchh wîrâ dâl charâdî.

'Brother dear! how much would you give me for catching the reins?'

Dear brother, how much would you give me for feeding your mare on dâl?'

The boy and his sarbâla then ride off to the girl's home accompanied by a couple of friends and a servant. On dismounting at it he is beaten with thin sticks (till márnu) by little girls who sing:—

Sas puchhâd, jawâd mera kehra,
Ji dûk hûtân gîndâ sir sehra.

'The mother-in-law asks: 'Who is my son-in-law?'

One with a gûnd round his wrist and a garland of flowers on his head."

This done the girl's relatives try to put a lâkâphû (an old skirt) round the boy's neck, but he resists it very strongly, being helped in this by the friends who had accompanied him. If the girl's relatives succeed it is anticipated that the boy will always remain obedient to the girl, otherwise it will be the other way round. This over, the boy goes into the house marching under a sieve with a lamp in it which he knocks over with his sword. He is then accommodated in a room till the time for the lâwân comes. In this room he is surrounded by girls and other females of the bride's family, who jest with him getting him to bow down before an old shoe of the girl wrapped in red cloth which is represented to him as a goddess but the boy does not always submit to this as he has been warned by his mother, sister &c. against such traps. When the time for the lâwân draws nigh, he goes to the bed, and is seated on a khârî turned upside down with the girl similarly seated alongside him. Here too a number of small girls behind him try to beat him with tiny wooden boxes called gâbbîs mûnâd and scold him with various tricks. He tries to snatch from them as many of the gâbbîs as he can.

The wedding rite having been gone through the khâtpûjâ is performed. In this the bride and bridegroom are seated on a bed with everything that forms a part of the dowry on it. The boy is asked by the bride's kinwomen to recite some chândas and for these he is paid a rupee each.

The chândas are:—

Chhând parâ fâ chhând prâge kesar,
Sas mîr Pûrânat, suhrah merâ Parmeshar.

After this the girl is taken to the joli, but before doing so the following song which moves every body to tears is sung:

Lai challe bôbâlai lai challe wai,
Mainâ joli pa bâhâr bôbâlai lai challe wai.
Rakh lai bôbâlai rakhh lai wai,
Mainâ rakhh un dûkâre c'hâr.
Hun ki bôbâl iera dâuva,
Was jordâ kîrâ dâuva.
divorce is not recognized. The latter is a civil as opposed to a religious union and is often dissoluble in practice. Thus there are, as it were,

"Father dear! they are taking me away!
Father dear! the kahôra are taking me away in a ḍolî!
Father dear, father dear! Keep me with you, do keep me with you,
Keep me a little longer!
Father dear! you can claim me no more!
I belong to some one else, your claim now is false."

When the bride has been seated in the ḍolî often with a little girl beside her, she goes on crying. The ḍolî is carried a few paces by her nearest relatives and then by the kahôra, the bridgroom going in front of it.

A few days before the marriage singing parties are invited to their houses by the parents of the pair. They consist of females only and sing at night when they are served with light refreshments. The songs sung at the girl's house are called sohâg and those at the boy's ghorîdô.

Sohâg.

Desa de râjd bdp chhaqîd, mahîdî rândî mân,
Paṭî lkhôda vir chhaqîd, chhaqîd sab parwî.

"I am leaving now my father, king of many a kingdom, and my mother, queen of many a palace!
I am leaving my dear brother who writes on paṭî's. I am leaving the whole family."

Ghorîdô.

Bîr tere naurangia chîrâ, kalgi dî ajaab bahîr.
Pai rîr makhmâl dî jâtî turda pabbi dè bhâr.

The Lohri Festival.

A month or so before the Lohri small boys and girls go from house to house begging for wood and cowdung cakes which they collect till the Lohri night when a big bon-fire is lit and the girls sing:

Sofî sofî wai lokaprio sofî si,
Rol devo Mohan Lâl tainû waufi si.
Is waufi dî vei wadhaî si.
Ghar bâthdrî nûn sakki bhâdi dî si,
Pâ mâdî pa ñâkî koîttî nûn vei pai.
Kálâ kuttâ de dušôn, terídô jôwaî majhî gâîz.
Mohôde de kejdâdâri phul pawaî kejd.
Dâhri teri harti bhari, motîdô nâî farti bhari.
The boys sing—

Suṭ gohâ, khâ khoyâ.
Suṭ lâkar, khâ shâkar.
Isa O! Isa khol bhâdi khîsa.
Hîna O! hîna, ai ke hîna.

"If you cast cow-dung cake you will get khoya to eat,
If you throw wood you will get sugar to eat.
Brother dear! open your purse!
We won't move till we get something!"

Sâli mîśî dîn nî mástî lumaryât,
Sâdë châhîe kha nî mástî lumaryât.

"Give us our turn! aunt fox!
Est up our rats! aunt fox?"
Hindu marriage observances.

degrees of marriage, with something like corresponding degrees of legitimacy.

Of the eight ancient (so called) forms of Hindu marriage traces still survive. Thus in Gurdaspur it is said that the Brahmans form is still observed by Brahmins and Khatriis, while among Jats marriage generally takes place according to the asura form, in which a pecuniary is struck. 1 In Bahawalpur also the Brah man bidh in which the bride’s father so far from receiving a price for her gives her as much as he can afford is in vogue among the higher classes, while among the lower the asur bidh is practised. In the latter the girl’s father receives a consideration, no doubt, but neither in Gurdaspur nor in Bahawalpur does there appear to be any real difference in the ritual of these two kinds of marriage. Both are called bidh in Bahawalpur, and such differences as exist are matters of caste, i.e. social and not ritual.

In the hills the names of one or two of the old forms are said to be still in use. Thus in Kulu marriage is said to be of three kinds: (i) bedi bidh, the ordinary Hindu forms; (ii) viti mandi, 4 or 5 men go from the bridegroom to the bride’s house, dress her up, put a cap on her head, and then bring her home to the bridegroom; (iii) Ganesh puja, the form used by Brahmans, Khatriis, Sunars (goldsmiths, etc. in marrying a Kanet girl. 2 But another account distinguishes the three forms as Brahman, Gandharb and Garbhidh, and a third classifies the usage in vogue thus:—

(i) Brahman
(ii) Arsh (asura) 3 By the twice born castes and Kanets.
(iii) Gandharb, by low castes.

Side by side with these are current four forms of customary marriage, viz.—

1. Ghar-bidh, performed at the house of either party.
2. Viti mandi, in which the bridegroom accompanied by 4 or 5 kinsmen goes to the bride’s house and brings her home.
3. madhūsa, concubinage.
4. randol, widow-remarriage.

These four forms are more or less observed in all tribes. In Nos. (iii) 1 and 2 Ganesh worship is necessary; whereas in Nos. 3 and 4 a goat or sheep is sacrificed and kinsmen are feasted. The inconsistencies in these accounts show how fluid the customs in Kulu have become, and before describing any of the forms it will be convenient to glance at the classifications in vogue elsewhere in the hills.

1 P. C. L., xii. p. 7.
2 P. C. L., ii, p. 185.
Hindu marriage observances.

In Chamba the Gaddis recognise only three forms, *bidh*, i.e. regular marriage, *jindpukha*, and *jhanjarra* or widow-remarriage. But in the Churah *virdhat* of that State regular marriage would seem to be either (1) *jand* or (ii) *sir gaddi*; corresponding to the *jindpukha* is the *man-marsi* or marriage made by a couple of their own free will; while widow-remarriage is called *bandha lâna*.

The term *Jhanjara* is used for the remarriage of a widow in Kângra and Kulu as well as in Chamba. But in Sirmûr 'regular' marriage is termed *jhajra*, in contradistinction to *rit* or marriage with a woman purchased from her former husband—the *madkhula* of Kulu; but the *jhajra* is not the orthodox Brahmanical marriage, which is all but unknown in the trans-Giri part of Sirmûr. *Jhajra* is in fact solemnised without the *phera* and is thus performed: After the betrothal the bridegroom's father or in his absence any near relative with two or three other persons goes to the bride's house, taking with him a *nath*, some dresses, and as many ornaments as he wishes to present to her. The *pandit* reads certain *mantras* at an auspicious moment and the women sing the wedding songs. Then the *pandit* puts the *nath* into the bride's nose; and after that *gur* or sugar is distributed among those present. When this is over the bride puts on a red dress and follows the visitors to her husband's house, one or two relatives accompanying her. At an auspicious hour fixed by the *pandit* she enters her husband's house in which a p'theer of water has been placed, with quaint figures painted on the walls and an (earthen) lamp put near them. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit in front of these and incense is burned. *Gur* or sugar is then given to the bridegroom and he puts it in bride's palm and she eats it. In the same manner the bride gives *gur* to the bridegroom and he too eats it. This completes the marriage and the custom is called *gharavati*. Two or three days after this the bride's father goes to the bridegroom's house, accompanied by his friends and relatives to the number of 300 to 400, and the party are entertained there, first with sweet food and then with meat. No entertainment, however, is given if the bride's father has taken compensation for bringing her up. The whole ceremony is called *jhajra*.

Apparently then *jhajra* means 'putting the *nath* or nose-ring in the bride's nose,' but to the west, i.e. in Kulu and Kângra the term has come to be applied to widow-remarriage.

1 It appears to be also called *jir phuka* and is solemnised by burning a *kurjara* or *kahmali* bush, i.e. by setting light to the bush and tying the end of the bride's sheet to the bridegroom's wooden girdle and going round the fire eight times. This form is only permissible in the case of an educated girl marrying her paramour, or when the bride's parents will not consent to the marriage though they gave their consent to the contract of betrothal. It is celebrated by the mutual concurrence of the bride and bridegroom, and no priest or relations are required to attend its celebration.

2 At a *jand* wedding 5 or 7 men accompany the bridegroom to his father-in-law's house and there give the members of the bride's party Rs. 3 and a *he-goat*: in a *sir gaddi* double that amount is paid, but not always accepted, and the bridegroom is only accompanied by 3 men. In both forms a rupee is given to the bride for her *bandha*, an ornament.

3 *Jand* appears to mean presents: in Kulu it means presents made to members of the *bardi* or wedding party

*Sir gaddi* means 'plaiting the hair' and is an incident in formal marriage.

3 *Bandha lâna*, lit. to put on the *bandha*, the ornament which distinguishes a married woman.
Ritual marriage in the hills.—In Kula the parohit is sent for and given sweets and money. He then fixes an auspicious date for the wedding and prepares a lakhnotari or programme. This he takes to the bride’s house and expounds to her family. The day once fixed cannot be changed even if a death occur in either family. In Chamba among the Gaddis after the parohit has fixed a day two men are sent to the girl’s house with some qhi and if her people approve of it messengers from both sides go to the parohit and get him to prepare the lakhnotari.

2. Naming the day.—When both the parties are ready for the wedding an astrologer is asked to examine their horoscopes and fix a propitious time for the ceremony. The wedding is generally celebrated at night but in special cases it is performed during the day (hathlewda).

3. Investiture with the sacred thread.—In the twice-born castes (Brahman, Kshatria and Vaisya) the boy must be invested with the sacred thread before the wedding can take place.

4. Peta.—This is the first of the wedding ceremonies. Peta is made of māhū or pulse, finely ground, called piṭī. The bridgroom takes his seat on a woollen plate and the help of the principal deities is invoked, especially that of the goddess of wealth, who is represented by a current coin. This coin is used in every rite and is carefully preserved. After the marriage is over these deities are represented by images made of flour. Piṭī is distributed among all the relative and friends, with a sweetmeat made out of it.

5. Lagan.—The bride’s father sends to the other party clothes, jewels, cash, and cattle according to his circumstances. Among the Hill Rājpūts these presents are made by the bridgroom’s father.

6. Sāhā chifhi.—A letter fixing the date for the wedding and settling the number of followers in the bridal party is despatched by the bride’s father.

7. Mecha.—A barber is sent by the boy’s father to measure the girl for her wedding garments.

8. Brahmac bhoj.—Sweetmeats and cash are distributed among the Brahmans of the place. The distribution is three-fold, (1) per head; (2) per family; (3) per branch of that family.

9. Del.—A distribution of money among Brahmans and barbers, each of whom receives so many dels or shares according to the number of relatives he may be connected with, in some instances one man getting as many as 60 dels. Barbers get half as much as Brahmans. In the trans-Sutlej districts the ceremony is called thama, and the

1Among the Khatris and Brahmans of Gurdaspur along with the ‘sāhāchifhi’ are sent some cash, from Rs. 1 to Rs. 250 in amount, ornaments and clothes for the kūrmāni (boy’s mother); also a katora (cup) resembling a tabalbāz, some misri (refined sugar), a coconut and a rupee for the boy. These articles are known as the tikā. The boy’s parents give the bearer of the chifhi a bag containing bits of coconut, almonds, dried dates &c weighing at most 20 sars. They also give the bearer a bid (gift) for the girl.

2Now-a-days in Gurdaspur the girl’s boy’s parents with the sāhā chifhi send the boy’s parents a maadli as a mecha or measure for the preparation of the girl’s garments.

3These offerings are made not only at weddings, but on all auspicious occasions of a similar nature.
number of dels is fixed at 252 altogether.

The minimum rate per del is a quarter of an anna and the maximum one rupee among persons of ordinary means; and the bridegroom's father is put to ruinous expenditure on that ceremony which arises solely from a desire for ostentation. (This custom prevails generally among the Kaliṣe.)

10. Hath bhūr, chonk utanga.—This ceremony is observed by the women only. The bridegroom's mother or in her absence his nearest kinswoman, after bathing, dons new clothes and passes over the place where her son has performed the rites mentioned above. She then effaces the flour images used in them and stamps her handprint over the house door. It is considered a disastrous omen if any one save the mother or nearest kinswoman pass over the place in question.

11. Māṭāy.—The bridegroom after performing the usual religious rites is made to sit on a wooden stool. The near relatives rub perfumed oil and a fragrant substance called baṭna over his face, and he is supplied with a weapon to guard himself from sudden attack; he is girt with an auspicious thread called the kanga, and from this time he is never left alone till the wedding is over. On this day four or five small earthen vessels are hung up by a string in the middle of the courtyard of the house, and in these some medicines &c. are placed to purify the air and to protect the house from evil spirits or enchantments. In Gurdaspur the kinswomen assemble and 5 or 7 of them, whose husbands are alive oil the bridegroom or bride, as the case may be. This ceremony is also called tel chathānā, 'to apply oil.' Waṭna or baṭna is also rubbed on their bodies. On the same day pākwrās (lumps of flour) sweetened and fried and rice are distributed among the kindred, and the kanga or gāna, a coloured thread, is tied round the bridegroom's right wrist.

These ceremonies are performed by both the families concerned.

12. Chakhi chung, kothi āṭa &c.—The special millstone which is to be used to prepare the marriage feast is tested by some women of the family, who join in grinding a little corn in it in order to ensure that it is not impregnated with any poisonous substance. They in like manner examine the place where the flour and corn to be used in the wedding are kept. These are precautionary measures for the safety of the guests invited on the occasion.

There are also some other minor ceremonies observed by the women.

In Gurdaspur 5½ acre of wheat are ground on an auspicious day. The flour being put in an earthen vessel (kothi) which is also decked with a thread (mauli), and some of it is mixed with the flour meant for use of the wedding party. The hand-mill, in which the wheat was ground, is also decked with a mauli.

13. Shān.—This ceremony is performed on the morning of the wedding day. The bridegroom takes nīl, and the help of certain deities is invoked, so that no misfortune may befall during the continuance of the marriage. He dons a gorgeous red dress with a crown (mukat) and a garland of gold or lace on his head. All his kinsmen and friends pronounce blessings on him and money, called bhūr, is distributed
among the Brahmins present. A boy relative of the bridegroom is made his sarbálá, and if the bridegroom die the bride is wedded to the sarbálá, as her marriage must never be postponed, under any circumstances whatsoever, when she has once gone through the ceremony of jāl chatháná.

14. Ghori charhna, jandi kūtndá.—In the evening the bridegroom proceeds to the bride’s house with his sarbálá riding on a horse, the whole wedding procession following him. On his way he cuts a branch of a jandi tree with a sword. Apar is made on this occasion.

In Gurdáspur after the boy has mounted the mare the women sing songs and some cash (as siráwára) is waved round his head and then distributed among the ágís etc.

The first day in the bride’s house.

15. Júthá tikka.—While the barát is waiting outside the town this rite is performed. A line (tikka) is drawn in saffron on the bridegroom’s forehead, the residue being sent for the use of the bride. The object is that she may always remain obedient to her husband. Then some respectable persons of the town proceed in token of respect towards the barát to conduct them to the place appointed for their residence. Afsdr is now made.

16. Bateri.—On the first evening some uncooked food and sweetmeats are sent by the father of the bride for the bridal party’s dinner. A small quantity of sweetmeat is sent back to the bride after the bridegroom has eaten of it.

17. Milní.—At twilight the wedding party goes to the bride’s house, some of whose inmates approach and receive it with due respect. First sarnasdr is interchanged between the parties, and then an elderly kinman of the girl presents nasar to the boy’s father or other kinsman; sometimes a horse, cow or she-buffalo is given. This occasion is celebrated with fire-works and dancing, and the front of the house is illuminated. This done the bridegroom enters his future father-in-law’s house, and the rest of the party return to their abode.

The real rite according to the shúatrás is that the girl herself should come forward and present a nasar to her lord as a mark of obedience. But this custom is not now observed, as the marriage is celebrated in her childhood.

18. Chánnit jorna—An examination of the bridegroom to see whether he is an expert marksman or not. A chánnit with a lamp burning in it is hung in the middle of the doorway, and the boy takes it out with a sword.

19. Ghotá.—Before the bridegroom enters the house the bride is brought outside the door where she meets him, kneels and makes him an obeisance as a token of homage. Under the existing custom she is wrapped up in a blanket and taken under the bridegroom’s horse.

20. Jhili-fára.—Some married women go and bring water from a neighbouring well, singing wedding songs. With some of this water they make the bride bathe, and the rest is put into small mud vessels with which they make the bridegroom undergo certain ceremonies, intended to test his physical dexterity and capacity. The boy is further made to
utter some rough verses called *chanda*, for each of which he is given presents in cash by the kinswomen of the bride.

According to religious doctrines either the girl’s brother or a learned Brahman should be present to examine the boy at the betrothal, and he should then address these words to him in presence of the assembly: “My father or *yajñan* (as the case may be) will bestow his daughter on you in marriage subject to the following conditions:—

1. that you bathe before the nuptial rites in order to prove that you are free from all dangerous diseases;
2. that there is no defect in any of your organs;
3. that your manners are gentle and your life blameless; and
4. that you are not impotent.”

This custom, however, is now dropped.

21. *Sukh-pattari, salasaroch.*—The bridegroom sends the following articles for the bride as a first gift:—

1. A looking glass; 2. a comb; 3. perfumed oil; 4. saffron; 5. jewels; 6. a shawl.

This is to signify that in future she will have to adorn herself only with what he may from time to time provide. Some sandalwood medicines and spices are also sent with them, to express the hope that she may enjoy worldly pleasures with him in perfect health and happiness.

22. The nuptial fire.—In the courtyard of the house is erected a quadrangular structure of young trees framed in a square and prettily decorated with split and festooned leaves. This is called *bedi* and this rite is performed under it.

A priest, conversant with the Vedás, ignites the sacred fire and pours into it with due *mantars* a libation of clarified butter. Then the father of the bride welcomes the bridegroom in the prescribed form by offering water to wash his feet and by the well-known oblation called the *arghya*. He then gives his daughter’s hand to the boy thrice, reciting a holy *mantar*. This time both the boy and girl are installed on two separate stools, and for the first time see each other’s faces. The boy afterwards worships according to the ordinance the fire compound, and taking his wife’s hand by general invocation prays to the principal deities that they both may pass their lives in comfort, faithful to each other, and that their union may be blessed with healthy children. Both then walk round the nuptial fire, the wife holding the hem of her husband’s garments, to call to witness that effulgent light which pervades every quarter of the globe, that neither in thought, deed or word will either swerve from the path of duty. The husband then sprinkles holy water on his wife, and invokes that element that she may ever remain chaste and gentle and that her eyes, heart and mind may be his and his hers always.

A number of Vedic *mantars* are recited on this occasion, invoking the help of the Natural Power, personified in different gods, as well as beseeching the one Universal Spirit pervading all to bless the married pair. From these *mantars* it appears that marriage among the Aryans is not a civil contract,¹ but a spiritual union of two souls for

¹ *As in Islam*
their worldly happiness, the propagation of the race, the performance of the sacred sacrifices, the attainment of true knowledge of the secrets of nature, and the final absorption of the soul in the Absolute Soul, the source of all existence, conscientiousness and bliss, marriage for the mere satisfaction of lust being held abominable. It was for that reason that the Arya Shāstras prohibited remarriage of widows, for ties once consecrated by Vedic ceremonies were considered indissoluble for ever.

23. Lassi pair.—At the time when the nuptial rites are being performed, the mother of the bridegroom in her own house, in company with other relatives of the same sex, puts her feet in water mixed with milk. She then asks the old women to give her son and daughter-in-law their blessings that as the milk is mingled with the water so they may ever live in loving kindness one with another.

The second day in the bride's house.

24. Mittha bhat.—In the afternoon the marriage party is entertained with a feast worthy alike of the guests and the host. Various kinds of sweetmeats are laid out in an oval form over a white chaddar. Before they commence eating a senior male relative from the girl's side presents a nazar and sweetmeats to the father or a near kinsman of the boy. (This custom is not practised among the Hill Rājputs.) Each of them eats separately out of pattais made of leaves. At night supper is supplied.

The third day in the bride's house.

The bridal party is entertained in the same manner as before.

25. Varā sūi.—In the evening costly costumes, beautiful gold and silver ornaments, prepared for the bride, are sent to her, as well as some hannah, almonds and cocoanuts. The pomp displayed on this occasion is proportioned to the wealth of the family. The parents of the girl keep some of these articles for immediate use and the rest are sent back.

26. Khat (dowry).—Under the existing custom parents supply their daughter and son-in-law with all household furniture, such as clothes, kitchen utensils, cash, jewels, bedstead, razāie, carpets, cattle,—in short with every necessary article. These are kept outside for some time for the public view. The boy and girl are then made to sit on a bed, when with an eloquent and clear voice the fathers of both the parties pronounce blessing on the girl in these words:—'Be thou unto thy husband as Sītā unto Rāma, Rukmani unto Krishna, Damodri unto Rāwan, Sachi unto Indr, &c.'

1 In Gurdaspur this usage is also called khurī. The rest of the sweets is given to the bridgroom's barber. Similarly on the second day the bardī is entertained with sweets called bīhā bhat, the residue being given to the 'bride's barber. The sweets served on the third day are called danda.

2 These heroines were famous for their chastity and attachment to their lords.

3 At the khaal in Gurdaspur the bridal pair are seated on the couch given to the bridegroom in dower, and Ganech and the nine garahas are worshipped. Then the bride's father presents (as sankalpa) the bridgroom with all the ornaments, clothes, utensils, sweets, etc., which he means to give his daughter in dower having regard to his means. Then the heads of the pair are made to touch each other (a usage called sirā jor) and a rupee is waved round their heads and given to the barber. The bardī or wedding party then departs.
27. **Dākhila.**—When the bridal party returns home, on their arrival in the town the procession moves slowly through the bazār with great splendour. The boy mounted on a horse proceeds first and the wife is borne after him in a doli. Among the Hill Rājpūts the girl is carried first. *Apshār* is made at this time.

When the couple approach the house some women of the family receive them with due honour. The mother waves a cup of water seven times round her son and daughter-in-law, which she then drinks. This means that she, with pleasure and for her son’s love, takes on herself every misfortune that may in future time befall either of them.

28. **Til khelna.**—The senior relatives of the boy in succession put a handful of sesameum into the hands of the girl, which she returns to them at once.

This ceremony signifies that they wish the bride to bear children as numerous as the sesameum seeds which fall to the ground. Then the women sing:

*Jitne dharti til giresi,*

*Ume banhi put janesi.*

‘May the bride bear as many sons as sesameum seeds have fallen to the ground.’

29. **Bari kāth dālmā.**—A purse containing money is made over to the wife. She is at liberty to take any amount out of it to spend at her pleasure. The signification of this rite is that the husband entrusts to the care of his wife all his worldly goods. She then promises that she will spend nothing without his knowledge.

30. **God lemā la poke kā.** (to adopt a son).—A little boy is made to sit in the lap of the newly married girl, as a sign that she may also be a mother of sons. She then presents *nasars* to the elder relatives of her husband, and in return gets presents and clothes from them.

31. **Got kūndla.**—To convert the new girl into her husband’s got all the women of the family, including the girl, eat together rice and sweetmeat out of the same dish.

32. **Sat horā.**—The mud vessels that are hung in the middle of the house are now taken out.

33. **Kangna khelna.**—The sacred thread with which the waists of the husband and wife are encircled are now taken off and put into a large dish, when each of them tries to take possession of it and to achieve victory over the other. This is the last rite of marriage.

34. **Muklāmā.**—After a stay of few days the girl returns to her father’s house. The husband with some servants after a period varying from one to three years from the date of marriage goes to take her back. His father-in-law on this occasion supplies him with some clothes and jewels.

* In Gurdāspur this observance is also called *wapsi* or returning and the rite of waving the cup round the boy’s and girl’s heads is known as *pāni wārna.*
SECTION 7.—MUHAMMADAN BETROTHAL OBSERVANCES.

Terminology.

Among Muhammadans 'betrothal' is known as mangarni, mangni, manjan (and other forms of that word, which literally means 'asking' or 'begging'). It is also called sagdi, especially in the south-east, and kuruda. Another term is ropna, which literally means the present or token consisting of seven dried dates and various other things sent by a (Hindu) girl's father to his prospective son-in-law at or before the betrothal. It corresponds to the shagun among the higher castes, e.g. in Hoshiarpur. The Arabic word nasbat is also used, chiefly in the towns. Another common term is nata or nata, which has a somewhat derogatory meaning, so that nata dena means to give girl in marriage, an admission of inferiority in status. The bridegroom is styled mangedar or mangetar, a term also applied to a betrothed girl, while bendo is used in the south-east. In the north-east he is called dulo, or dulha, or naushdah, nausho, naud, or naudio being variant forms of the latter word, and in Gujranwala lard is also used. In the Talagang tahsil of Jhelum he is called naqha and his bride is kuri, literally a girl or a virgin. In the south-west shot is in common use.

The bride is correspondingly bendo, dulhan, or kvar in the south-west, and after she is married nudi or bahu. The latter term means literally son's wife.

In the Pashto of Peshawar betrothal is called koyidin. The bridegroom is called chaghul and the bride chunghal. During the days of marriage the chaghul and chunghal are respectively called khawand and nawi.

The boy's father is particularly, and the boy's kinsmen are generally, called putreto. Similarly the girl's father or party is dheta.

Preliminaries in betrothal.

In Arabia, it is said, marriage is usually adult, and it is not regarded as indecent that the bridegroom should see his future wife, but the seclusion of women in India renders this impossible, at least among the better classes. In consequence a naushdah or go-between is often employed to spy on the girl and report on her looks etc. to the boy's people. These go-betweens assume various disguises, such as cloth-sellers, in order to obtain access to the girl's house, while, on the other hand, a girl is not infrequently substituted for the one seen and reported

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1 E.g. mangarn in the Rajaipur tahsil of Pera Ghazi Khan.
2 Fr. karam, 'a relation of marriage.'
3 Or shagam, lit. 'an omen.'
4 Man geza, from man geza ati is also used.
5 This word appears to mean 'new king.'
6 See Maya Singh's Punjabi Dicly.
Moslem betrothal observances.

on by the go-between. Unpleasantness not unnaturally frequently results from such a deception. In theory Muhammadan law attaches great importance to mutual consent in marriage, but in India the practice is very often opposed to allowing even grown-up girls to express any opinion on a proposed betrothal. In fact, among the Muhammadans of Delhi there is a custom of pre-natal betrothal which is called थिक्री हिं मूंग,¹ because, if a girl be born according to anticipation, the boy’s mother drops a rupee into the girl baby’s bath or mixes sugar candy in the ghuttī given to her, as an earnest of the betrothal contract thus ratified. In Rohtak a boy’s mother or any near kinswoman may drop a rupee into the vessel used by a midwife, and by so doing apparently bespeaks the new-born girl for her son. The betrothal is there and then announced and congratulations are exchanged.

Contrary to the usual practice amongst Hindūs, the proposal among Muhammadans comes almost invariably from the boy’s side. The term बाताणा बात-फाना, to propose, is used when negotiations are opened by the boy’s people. When both sides are satisfied as to the suitability of the match a day is fixed ‘for sweetening the mouth’ (मूंग मिथाकार्मेकादस), and on that day a number of women, with a few men of the boy’s family, go to the girl’s house to perform the betrothal rites.² In the झांगूखाते मेला of जिंद the request by the boy’s father is called ठुक and he visits the girl’s father in the evening. The दुःईखाई is then observed, the senior member of the boy’s party commencing the prayer.

In Dera Ghâzi Khán the negotiations which precede a betrothal are called saowāl or ‘request,’ and may take place a month or more before the betrothal is solemnised.

The negotiations are, however, not infrequently opened by the girl’s people among the rural classes who are converts from Hinduism. Thus among the Meos of Gurgáon the girl’s party first visits the boy’s father, and reaches his house on the evening of an auspicious day in the lunar month. If they find the boy to their liking they are feasted, after giving a rupee each to the boy, his father, brother, father’s sister, and his मिरास and barber. The party is also feasted on the 2nd and third days, after which it sets out for its home, giving the boy’s parents Rs. 11 or 22 as a farewell gift. Of this sum a rupee is left in the vessel in which it was presented; the barber and मिरास take one rupee and the balance is given to the poor. The girl’s father in turn gives a rupee to the boy’s father. This is called मिलाप. Among other Muhammadans the observances vary. A ring or two is often sent to the boy, with other presents, and the rings are put on by the boy amongst his assembled kinsmen.³ A ring is often presented in sugar, and the kinsmen feasted with more or less ceremony.

¹ Fr. fíbrà, an earthen vessel. Mûng, asking.
² This paragraph applies to Delhi city.
³ The barber is given rice, गृह, and sugar, but nothing containing salt should be offered him on this occasion.
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When such a negotiation is initiated by the girl’s father certain special observances may occur. Thus in Siíaków a miráš, barber, or even a Brahman, is sent to the putreta or boy’s father, and when he reaches his house a little oil is dropped on the threshold before he enters it. This observance is called tel ḍalānā. The putreta’s lágiś also assemble, and the dheta’s lágiś is given some sugar in a plate, from which he takes a little in his mouth. This observance is called mumh juthálunā or juthálunā or juthálunā = to defile: P. D., p. 522. Then the lágiś is given khichrī. He eats some of it and drops a rupee and some copper coins in the plate. These are distributed among the putreta’s lágiś. Next day the boy’s kinsmen feast the lágiś on rice and sugar or mutton and bread. At the suhr prayer carpets are spread in the boy’s house and the whole brotherhood assemble. The boy is seated in front of the lágiś, who gives him from Re. 1 to Re. 25 as well as a date or sugarcandy to eat. Then he exchanges congratulations with them and observes the niyat khawar. After this all present congratulate the boy’s father. The dheta’s lágiś presents a sum varying from Re. 1 to Re. 11 for distribution among the boy’s kamsīs. The boy’s people also distribute tādās of sugar among the people on this occasion. Some well-to-do Jats and Rájpút families also send a camel, a horse, and ornaments such as bangles or butkían1 for the boy’s mother. This is called tikkā bheynā. On this occasion drums &c. are beaten in the boy’s father’s house. The persons present on the occasion give a rupee each to the boy’s father to be given to the lágiś. On the lágiś’s departure the boy’s father gives them as wuldágiś from Rs. 4 to Rs. 8, which is divided into four shares, three being given to the lágiś named above and the fourth to the lágiś of the maternal relatives. No mention is made on this occasion regarding the date of the wedding.

A very few wealthy families in Gujránwálā also observe this custom of sending a tikkā, but in a slightly different way. It consists in sending a barber, a miráš, a Brahman, and a tailor, with a horse, a camel, clothes for the boy and his parents, a gold finger-ring for the boy, Rs. 21 in cash, five lumps of candy, and some dried dates. On the arrival of the lágiś named, the boy’s father invites his kinsfolk to his house and displays the gifts mentioned. Congratulations are then exchanged and tādās distributed among those present. Rs. 2 to 5 are given to each of the bride’s lágiś, and they are then sent back. Various intermediaries are employed in the preliminary negotiation. Thus in the Bhakkar tahsil of Mfánwálī, on the Indus, a Sayyid, małavās, fagšr, or any respectable elder, is sent to the girl’s father by the boy’s to make a request (dhuknā) for her hand. If it is meant to accept it an ambiguous answer is given until the proposal has been repeated four or five times. Meanwhile the boy’s kinswomen begin visiting the girl’s family with presents, and finally the offer is accepted provided the parties be related or the boy’s father promises compensation or a girl in exchange. In the Leah tahsil of this district among the leading families, almost all Syyids and dominant Baloch, the first step to take when a boy reaches a marrying age is to send a dhuk or embassy of picked members of the family to the girl’s father. His refusal will be definite,

1 Budši, a gold coin worth Rs. 5 : P.D., p. 168.
Moslem betrothal observances.

not to say abrupt, but his acceptance ostensibly reluctant and well-considered. The families now begin to associate, but the girl veils herself from all the males of her intended husband's family.

But in Hazará generally no intermediary is employed save the barber, and he is not called when the parties belong to the same brotherhood, for then the womenfolk arrange matters. In Pesháwar an elderly kinswoman of the boy acts as daláda, or go-between, and it is only when she has succeeded in securing a bride for him that a jirga of Sayyids and ulamas is sent to the girl's parents. If they are wealthy they put off the jirga twice or thrice before finally consenting.

Even after these preliminary negotiations the final betrothal does not always take place at once. Thus in Bhakkar and Leiah a few days after the negotiations have closed the boy's people go to the girl's house and formally present her father with a few gold or silver ornaments for her use, and after the duá-i-khair has been repeated distribute sweetstuff. This observance is called nishápí, or 'token.' In Bhakkar the boy's father is said to place a ring on her fingers and a bhochkan or sheet on her head, and this is called nishándí. The betrothal follows a month or two later. But among the Utnánzais in Hazará the nishándí only precedes the betrothal by a couple of days, and is observed in rather a curious way: the boy's party takes present to the girl's village. After nightfall they are invited to her house, and the mírásl brings a plate, into which the boy's father puts the ornaments. Of these the girl's father takes two or three by way of nishándí, and then the betrothal is announced, the duá-i-khair recited, and congratulations exchanged. The mírásl's fee for this service varies from Rs. 4 to 8, twice that of the barber, so the part he plays must be regarded as important. The boy's teacher gets from Rs. 1 to 5. Among the Jadíns in this district the nishándí appears to be the betrothal itself, for when a match has been arranged the boy's father sends food—called jirga ki roti—to the girl's and then pays a visit (jirga), which must be made on a Monday or a Friday, and by night, to her house. The jirga or visitors are then fed, and a barber presents sugar in a plate to one of its members. He drops Rs. 30, 50, or whatever the girl's father demands, into it and the barber carries it into the house. The girl's father accepts part of the money and returns the rest. The duá-i-khair is then recited, and a rupee ¹ given to the mosque. A barber then gives the boy's kinsmen in a cup (kotora), into which they drop a rupee. In another cup mehdí is brought, and this is applied to each man by way of nishándí. Another rupee is dropped into this cup also. Within a week of the jirga's departure, some of the boy's kinsmen take a sweetmeat called pakván to the girl's house, where they spend the night. The return visit is called mílsl. At the next 'Id the boy's parents send the girl clothes and uncooked food, with an ornament if well-to-do, and similar presents are sent on every 'Id and Shab Barád until the wedding.

In Pesháwar also the nishándí is the nátá or betrothal. When the last jirga has obtained a definite promise of the girl, a body of the

¹ Called duá ki rupia.
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boy's kinsmen go to the girl's house, and take one to seven ornaments with them as nisháni. When they arrive they are seated on a carpet, and the barber brings a patnos into which each puts some money. The ornaments, too, are put in, and then the patnos is sent inside to the girl's womenfolk. The amount of money agreed upon and the nisháni are kept, and the patnos with the balance sent out again to the boy's kinsmen. The betrothal is completed by the father paying certain fees to the barber, the imám of the mosque, and the mutábíb. On the third day after this the girl's parents send the boy a ring and a suit of clothes—a gift called jord—and at each fair and festival his parents send her presents till the wedding.

In the Utmánnáma Tappa of Pesháwar the nisháni observance appears in all essentials under the name of thál—the plate in which the ornaments for the girl are placed. The thál ceremony concludes with the return, it is said, of all the ornaments and cash offered. However this may be, at its close each person present drinks some sharbat and puts some mehní on his hands—an observation called ghánt, which is held to make the betrothal binding. The third day after the betrothal the girl's kinswomen go to the boy's house for two or three days, and when they depart his parents give his future mother-in-law and sister-in-law a rupee each 'by way of parona.' This observance is called channa arta. Again, two or three days later the bridegroom, with two or three friends and females, goes by night to his father-in-law's house taking with him sweetmeats and cash Rs. 2 to 10. The party are feasted and then the bridegroom puts the money into the plate and sends it with the sweetmeats to his mother-in-law as salámána. Shortly afterwards the bride's parents come, flinging jets at him, and sprinkle scented water over him. This is called ubdáchwal. At each fair and festival after these ceremonies the bridegroom sends gold or silver ornaments for the bride.

In the Chakwál tahsíl of Jhelum a very similar custom exists. To ratify the understanding already arrived at, the boy's father goes one day to the girl's and presents her with sweetstuff and Rs. 21 in cash in the presence of her brotherhood. Her father accepts from Re. 1 to Rs. 5, rarely taking the whole, and coloured water is sprinkled over the whole of the boy's party. The duá-i-khair is recited at night, and they return next day. This is called nisháni raikhá. The boy does not accompany the party on this occasion. On the first 'Id after it, the boy's father sends presents for the girl, and if he is well-to-do he sends clothes to her mother and sister as well—when the gift would be called dháí temár dena, 'to gift 3 (literally 2½) sets of clothes'. The fathers may also exchange gifts of clothes, but if the bride's parents only receive garments for her they need only give sweetmeats in return. If this gift is brought by a barber the girl's father gives him a rupee, a turban, and a kurtá—an observance called kapre dená. At the next 'Id clothes &c. are only sent to the girl. In Talagang tahsíl the nisháni is merely a present of Rs. 5 in cash and as many paos of sugar made, it seems, at betrothal. So, too, in Haripur tahsíl, in Hazára, it is an ornament given to the girl at the mangeva. Finally, in Hoshiárpur, at least among the Pátháns, we find the nisháni following the solemn be-
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trothal, at which a mauali invokes the niyat khair twice and the girl’s father gives dried dates and sugar to the boy’s party by way ofȠegijn. The contract having thus become irrevocable, some date of the lunar month is fixed for the nikah, which merely consists in the interchange of presents, feeding of lâjis, and the payment by the girl’s father of sufficient money to buy the boy a ring.

Betrothal as an usage and as a rite.

In the Western Punjab Muhammadans tend to assimilate this betrothal to the regular nikâh, or wedding. This is especially the case in Hazâra. In that district some people celebrate the mangewa only at betrothal, others solemnise the nikâh simultaneously with it, but without fixing the amount of the dower. That appears to be fixed subsequently, and the nikâh is regarded as irrevocable when the amount of dower has been fixed. In Haripur tahsil, after the duâ-i-khair, the ritual of offer and acceptance is solemnised at the betrothal. In Attock tahsil, too, a mullâh officiates at this ceremony.

In the Râjanpur tahsil of Dera Ghâzi Khân the position is this: When persons of the same tribe make a betrothal by exchange, the nikâh is not performed at the betrothal, but the mangni is performed, and the duâ-i-khair is recited in connection therewith. But if a betrothal is made in consideration of a cash payment the nikâh is solemnised simultaneously with the mangni. The amount paid varies from Rs. 100 to 300. But elsewhere it is rare to find betrothal regarded as a religious rite, though occasionally the niyat khair, or invocation of a blessing, is invoked by the Qâzî’s reciting the duâ-i-satîh-khair, as in Ferozepur. In that district this is the only ceremony at a betrothal, the boy’s father visiting the bride’s and receiving a red khes, or mutâhâ, after the niyat khair, while the boy does not accompany his party. In Mandî the following times are considered inauspicious for a betrothal, and in fixing the date for it a Qâzî is consulted:

(1) The first ten days of the month of Muharram.
(2) The month between the ‗Id-ul-Fîter and the ‗Id-ul-Zahâ.
(3) The month of Jumâdi-us-Sânî.
(4) The last day of every month.
(5) The 3rd, 8th, 13th, and 18th of every month.

Auspicious days for a betrothal are:

(1) The 7th, 11th, 14th, 25th, and 27th of every month.
(2) All days except the 3rd, 8th, 13th, and 18th.

But this custom appears to be confined to that State, for in the adjacent district of Hoshiârpur any date may be fixed for the betrothal, and at most a mauali is called for the niyat khair. In Dasâya tahsil any date of the lunar month is fixed. This is called parnâ, and on it a party of four at least visits the bride’s house with presents, which vary according to the means of the parties. Among the Pathâns, called Wilâyâtî and Muhammadans of Kângra generally, betrothal is styled bale, or ‘assent.’ Among the Saddozai and Qizzilbash Pathâns of Hoshiârpur, for instance, the bale simply consists in a visit by the boy’s
friends to the girl's father and is formal acceptance of the proposed match. The boy himself does not take part in any of ceremonies before his wedding, though these are rather elaborate, and include the *vristi khor* (sweet-eating) and *rakhi-burjāni* (cloth-cutting). At some date after the *bale* the boy's father, accompanied by some of his family, takes some sweetmeat, pieces of silk and rich cloth, unsewn and uncut, for the bride, but ornaments are not sent till the eve of the wedding. This ceremony is performed with some little *tela*. The sweetmeat, which is always a mixture of *patāsha*, *mugal*, and *ilāichidāna* is arranged in trays carried by menials, who form a procession. Before them goes a band. The ladies of the boy's family follow in close carriages. Sometimes fireworks are also used. When this procession arrives at the girl's house the boy's mother or some elderly relative puts a ring on the bride's right-hand finger and says, 'bismi'llah' (by the name of God). She then throws a shawl round her shoulders. After this she cuts the cloth with scissors, repeating 'bismi'llah'. Congratulations to both the parties follow, and sweetmeat is distributed among the women inside the house as well as among the men outside. Finally, the date of the wedding is decided upon and publicly announced.

In Kāṅgra the *bale* is a little more formal, and it is also followed by similar observances. The boy's father, with some respectable elders, goes to the girl's house on the 11th, 17th, 27th or 29th of the month. The girl's father also assembles some men at his house before their arrival, and soon after he distributes sweetmeats, such as *patāshas*, giving a plateful of sugar with his own hands to the boy's father, and congratulations are exchanged. The giving of the sweetmeats shows that the girl's father has agreed to give his daughter to the boy. This ceremony is called *sharfi khor*, and females take no part in it. On this day, and sometimes on the next day too, the boy's father sends sweetmeats and fresh fruit to the girl. This sweetmeat is called *majāna rasā*. The fruit is distributed by the girl's parents among their relatives. Thenceforth (till the date of betrothal) on each *Id-ul-Fitr* the boy's parents send some *mehndi* and food to the girl, and a he-goat or ram is also sent to her on each *Id-ul-Zahā*. The animal is painted with *mehndi* and a silver *hameli* put round its neck. It is sacrificed by the girl's parents. On each last Wednesday of the month of Safar, 20 silver rings and a gold ring, with a suit of clothes and some *mehndi*, are sent by the boy's parents to the girl's. The silver rings are meant for her friends and the gold one for the girl herself. On the Shab Barāt fireworks are also sent for the girl. These practices are kept up till the *nikāh*, and there is no limit to the period intervening between the betrothal and the wedding.

The date of the *nikāh* is fixed in consultation. First of all the date of the *rakhat bari*, or cutting of the clothes, is settled. The boy's parents take even suits of silk clothes to the girl's house. These clothes are carried by servants on their heads. A pair of laced shoes is also taken. The first cloth for the bride is cut by the oldest and most respected matron of the family. The girl's parents supply the boy's with food for the night at the *rakhat bari*, and the men of his
party depart after taking it. This ceremony is performed ten or eleven days before the wedding.

The auspicious dates for a betrothal are variously given. In the Abbottabad tahsil of Hazara very few days are unlucky, and auspicious dates are the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 24th to 27th, 29th, and 30th. But one list from Rájanpur, in Dera Ghází Khán, omits the 2nd, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 15th, 16th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 25th, 26th, and 30th, while in the Leihá tahsil of Mianwáli the 7th, 11th, 14th, 24th, 25th, or 27th day of the moon is considered really prosperous, though, excepting the ten days of Ashurá, all other days of the year are admissible, whether lucky or not, for performing mangáná.

In Ferozepore no regard is paid to the date of the month, but the boy’s party should reach the girl’s house on a Thursday night.

In Lohára the usages in betrothal are typical of those in vogue in the south-east Panjab. In that State, betrothal (sagáí) is never solemnised on the 3rd, 13th, 23rd, 8th, 18th, or 28th of a lunar month.

The bridegroom (bendhá) only accompanies his father and kinsmen to the house of the bride (bendhán) if specially desired to do so by the bride’s father. The boy’s father then presents Rs. 35 in cash and a coconut in a vessel, together with 5½ seers of sugar, one seer of henna, and a silk cloth, which are put in the bride’s lap—an observance called gōd bharaná (literally, ‘to fill the lap’). Then the girl’s father gives the boy some cloth, a rupee, and a coconut, with clothes for himself and his mother. Next follows the shukarána, or thank-offering, a feast of rice, coarse sugar, and ghí, given to the boy’s party, during which the girl’s kinswomen fling insults (síthíntán) at them.

The betrothal ceremonies in vogue among the Muhammadans of the Lammán tract in Baháwalpur are described below:—

Betrothal is called manguán or mangewa. On the date fixed for the betrothal the putreja or boy’s father party pay a visit to the aketa or girl’s father, and this visit must be paid at night and on the 1st, 5th, 7th, 11th, 14th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 25th, 27th or 29th of the lunar month. The bridegroom accompanies the party, which takes a quantity of tapaná (sugar cakes) with them, and on arriving at the girl’s house the dún-i-fatih khair or niyát khair is observed, the ceremony being begun by the person who arranged the betrothal. After this the parties exchange congratulations and the bridegroom is given a lungí. The boy’s father usually distributes the tapaná, while the bride’s father entertains them with milk. The bridegroom’s party returns home the same night. Subsequently a party of women visit the girl’s father on behalf of bridegroom’s father, taking with them tapaná and a tewar, comprising a bockhan, in which are tied some coins (varying from ¼ annas to Rs. 25), fruit weighing from 2½ pános to 5 seers, a bracelet, a set of bangles and a ring (or pathi mundrés), and these ornaments and clothes are put on the bride by the women.

1 A pános = ¼ of a seer.
Muslim betrothal observances.

In well-to-do families a woman who makes bangles accompanies the party to the bride’s house and puts glass or ivory bangles on her. In other cases the bride is taken next day to a shop and the bangles are bought and put on there. After this the nose of the bride is bored, and as a compensation for the pain she is given 1½ chhatáks or 1½ pdos of sugar-candy. Finally the visitors are feasted with chána (rice or bread with ghī and sugar) by the bride’s father, but nothing that has been cut with a knife, such as meat, is given them. This ceremony is termed náth sára.

Usages subsequent to betrothal and prior to marriage.

Chandránán.—On the first day on which the new moon is seen in the lunar month following the betrothal the bridegroom visits his father-in-law in order to congratulate him on the new moon, and takes his meals in his house. This is termed chandránán kháwán. The bridegroom drops from Re. 1 to Rs. 10, according to his means, in the plate in which food is given him, and his father-in-law in return gives him a ring. This usage is virtually confined to Baháwalpur, being expressly non-existent or obsolete in almost every other part of the Punjab.

After the chandránán on both the ’Ids, on the Ashúra (the 10th of Muharram), the Shab Barát, and the last Wednesday in Safar the boy’s father sends uncooked food (rice, ghī, sugar &c.) to the bride. Here again nothing that has been cut may be sent, and this rule is observed even on the Baqr ’Id day (the festival on which sheep &c. are sacrificed).

But in Dera Gházi Khán only a rupee is sent to the bride on the first ’Id. No uncooked food is sent her on the Baqr ’Id, when her home is not far from the boy’s.

In Míáwáli, on the first ’Id-ul-Fitr, after the mangówá the boy’s father sends the bride a bhoochán and a silk kuriá, some rice, ghī, sugar &c. Besides these articles and clothes are sent on each ’Id or festival after the mangówá. This is termed varená or sanbhál bhejmá, to send a support or pledge.

After the betrothal various social observances take place, but however costly they may be, few have any religious or ritual significance. For example, among the Jadúns and in the Abbottabad tahsil of Hazará uncooked food is sent to the girl on each ’Id and Shab Barát after the betrothal. This usage is very widespread, but the customs as to what is sent vary considerably. Thus, in Pesháwar, well-to-do people send clothes and ornaments.

Round Mithankot, in Dera Gházi Khán, the bride’s nose is bored by the boy’s kinswomen, and they give her the sugar-candy, the one who actually performs the operation giving twice as much as the others.

Round Mithankot this restriction is only imposed on the bride.

In the Jampur tahsil of Dera Gházi Khán uncooked food is sent on the ’Ids, Muharram days, and Shab Parát, by the boy’s party, but not on the last Wednesday of the month of Safar.
Moslem betrothal observances.

In Gujránwála on the ’Id day after the maqni the boy’s party goes to the girl’s house with ornaments and clothes, which are put on the girl on that auspicious day. Even poor people take a suit of clothes and silver ornaments worth Rs 20 to 50, while the rich send silk clothes and ornaments costing as much as Rs. 500 to 3,000. Congratulations are exchanged between the parties, and sweets distributed on this occasion. This custom is, however, not in vogue among cultivators. It is confined to the higher castes living in towns.

Kawár ká sáwaná.—In Hoshiárpur the presents thus sent are called ’Idi and Shab Baráti. In Mandi on any festival day, such as the ’Id or Níáx, and at any marriage in the girl’s family after his betrothal, the boy is invited and feasted with rich food. This is called kawár ká sáwaná. On the other hand, among respectable families, the girl is supplied with clothes etc. till her nikáb.

A similar custom exists in Loláru. In that State bidári is a present of sweets etc. (including clothes, if they can be afforded) sent to the girl by the boy’s father on every festival between the betrothal and the wedding. If no ornaments or clothes were given to the girl on the day of the maqni they are sent with the first bidári. In return the girl’s parents also send a bidári to the boy. If the Tij festival of the Hindús in Lámá happens to fall between the betrothal and the wedding Mulammadans send sanidári to the bride. This consists of khafára (sweets shaped like dates), made of wheat flour and coarse sugar fried in oil, together with a suit of clothes for the girl.

In the Pindí Gheb tahsíl, on the day after the betrothal, the females on behalf of the boy’s father, visit the girl’s house, taking with them dried dates, maulí thread, and cash for her. This is called gão. The boy also visits the girl’s house on the second or third day, his mother-in-law gives him a gold or silver finger-ring or some cash. The girl’s other relations also give him money.

In Pesháwar city, at an undefined time after the manguwa, some of the boy’s kinswomen go to the bride’s house for the miñí, as it is called. They take sweetmeats with them, and the bride’s parents serve them with boiled rice and sugar, called chobba. This ceremony is performed during the day, and the women return home by night. They drop from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5 into the vessel from which they are given the rice. At every festival day the boy’s parents also send the girl rice and sugar, and in return for this they are given a chádar or dopaṭa.

But in Siálkot the miñí is not carried out by the womenfolk at all. In that district some time after the betrothal and before the wedding,

1 This usage is subject, of course, to endless variations, not only in different localities, but also in different castes. Thus in Ferozepur, after the manguwa, food, clothes, and ornaments are sent to the bride on the ’Id. Among Baddás the boy’s mother goes with these articles herself. The ornaments are a kandáli, bangles, a gokhrá (all of silver), and clothes—a gown and a kurtá. Sayyids send 5 sers of rice, a rupee, for the price of sugar, shoes, trumers, a laced kurtá, and dopaṭá, bangles, and karyán. Rájpútis send all he above except the rice, and in return the bride’s father sends a lunge, kurtá, turban, shoes, and a finger-ring for the boy on the last Wednesday. Among Aráis the boy’s father sends two sers of rice and one of sugar. Half of this is sent by the bride’s father in return.
the fathers of the boy and the girl meet together, and this is called mińl. The boy’s father on this occasion sends the girl some ornaments and clothes, which are put on her. In return her father may give the boy’s father valuable clothes and ornaments as well as a she-buffalo or a mare, but this is not generally done.

In Hazára the mińl appears to be called pair gela. Directly after the betrothal, on the return of the boy’s party from the girl’s village, his kinswomen, with other females of the village, visit the girl’s mother, taking with them drums and singing songs on their way. They also take sweetened bread fried in oil. This is called pair gela. The bride’s kinswomen return the visit in a similar way. By this it is intended that if a birth or death takes place in either of the two families their womenfolk can take part in the marriage festivities or the mourning rites.

The meaning of the term pair gela is not very clear. In Attock talwil it is thus described: After the conclusion of the betrothal on an ‘Id day, the boy’s mother, together with thirty or forty other females, the boy, and his sarbálás, visit the girl’s mother by day. She takes with her clothes, sweetmeats, and parched grain, and presents them to the girl’s mother, who distributes them among those present and dismisses her female visitors with present of clothes, but the boys and his sarbálás stay on for four or five days. On his departure his father-in-law to be gives him clothes and a ring. Sometimes the sarbálás are also given clothes. This is called pair gela. On the first ‘Id the boy’s mother also takes mehndi, jaggery, rice and clothes for the girl, and this is repeated on all subsequent ‘Ids.

But in the Haripur talwil of this district it is said that on the third day, or some time afterwards, the females of the boy’s family pay a visit by way of pair gela to the girl’s mother, taking with them ornaments &c. On their return the girl’s parents give them clothes, &c.

In Mianwáli a similar usage is called pai‘á chhorná. After the betrothal the boy goes to his father-in-law’s house, and after taking food there, he drops from Re. 1 to Re. 5 into the dish in which his dinner was served. His father-in-law to be then gives him a gold or silver ring in return.

Section 8—Muhammadan Marriage Observances.

In the following paper the observances followed, after those connected with betrothal have been completed, just before, at and after the wedding are described. No rigid classification by localities is possible, but speaking very generally the marriage observances of the Muhammadans in the South-East Punjab differ a good deal from those of the centre and north-east districts. In the latter the Muhammadans are few in numbers. The Muhammadans of the Western Punjab, including the North-West Frontier Province, have a good many characteristic usages not found in the centre or east. Roughly speaking then the arrangement in this account follows their territorial differences.

I.—In the South-East Punjab the wedding rites vary among different castes and tribes to a bewildering degree. Those in vogue in the Rohiin State may be regarded as typical and are described below, together with those found among the Meos who are Muhammadans with a strong survival of Hindu beliefs and ideas.
Moslem marriage observances.

Preparations for the wedding.

Ten or fifteen days before the date of the wedding the bride’s father sends the gandh (lit. a knot).1 In this observance a piece of silk is knotted as many times as there are days remaining till the wedding day. A kangnā or bracelet of silk (containing a ring of iron, another of lac and some rāt) is also made for the bridegroom. The gandh, the kangnā with a lump of sugar and a rupee, are sent to him by a barber and his sister or his father’s sister hangs the gandh on a peg.

Bān butānā then follows.2 This observance consists in rubbing the bodies of the pair with baṭnā 3 or 4 days before the wedding.3

Among the Moos of Gurgāon bān is said to be ‘taken out of’ the pair from their respective houses thus:—He (or she) is led out of the house, holding a plate on which is a lighted lamp, to a certain distance and is then brought back. This is done seven times. Kinswomen accompany him (or her), singing songs.

The bridegroom is also bathed by the women of his family and oiled. This observance is called tel charkhānā.

A knot in the gandh is untied every day, and when only one remains tied the boy’s father sends for his kinsfolk, who are feasted and in return present their neclā or zamol.

Shortly before the wedding party sets out from the boy’s home he is seated on a stool and bathed by the barber. At the same time seven women whose husbands are alive pound up barley in a mortar—an observance called fau ehhāre.4

After the boy has been bathed his mother’s brother lifts him down from the stool, a custom called pāṭā utārnā 5 or pīr kā utārnā.

After this four women lead the boy away under a piece of cloth held over him like a canopy, and seat him on a cot. He is then dressed in new clothes and the kangnā tied on his wrist.

Another observance which takes place a day or two before the wedding is the nikāsī. In this the boy, dressed in his new clothes, with the kangnā on his wrist and a chaplet of flowers tied round his head, is mounted on a mare (never on a horse) and taken to a mosque, where prayers are said by him and a congregation. On his return he goes round the whole town and is then taken to some house other than his own home until the wedding party sets out at night.

On the day of the nikāh when the wedding party reaches the girl’s home the ūntān observance is first held. In this the women assembled jēst with one another and hold a mock marriage, one dressed in man’s attire and holding a sword in her hand being wedded to another by a third who acts as the Qāzi. Another of the women also puts her face into the mouth of a jar and calls all the others ill names.

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1 See Note A on page 886.
2 See Note B on page 886.
3 See Note C on page 887.
4 In the Sangrūr tahsil of Jīnd when a wedding party among the Sayyīds sets out the boy is made to cut a branch of a jānd tree. When his party reaches the bride’s house the mirādī and barber each get from 3 to 15 pies. This fee is called pherd.

*Pef, a plank or shutter : Punjabi Dictionary, p. 882.
While the wedding party is still a mile or so from the bride’s home the boy’s father sends a bunch of green leaves (called hari dālī) by his barber to the father of the girl. The latter receives it seated on a wooden stool and (after giving the barber a rupee as his fee) stains his hands with red and places them on the barber’s breast or loins. The latter then returns. Meanwhile the wedding party is nearing the bride’s home and is met by the girl’s people, being conducted to a suitable place for its stay. Songs are now sung by the girl’s kinswomen and the potter’s wheel worshipped by them.

At sunset the bridegroom performs the toran. Five wooden arrows are hung up at the bride’s house-door and the bridegroom moves them with a stick.

After the toran the bridegroom goes to the bride’s house, but a barber stops the way and measures him with a thread, receiving for this a fee of Rs. 1-4. Then the bridegroom enters the house of the bride who has taken her stand inside the door. Giving her a rupee, he places his hand over hers—an observance called hath-levā or ‘hand-taking.’

The nikāh is now solemnised according to Muhammadan Law and the amount of the dower fixed.¹

Ceremonies after the wedding.

On the morning after the nikāh the bridegroom and his shāhbdā with their companions are feasted on khir, an usage called kawwar kalnovā.

After this sugar on a plate is set before the bridegroom and he puts some money into the plate—an observance called sālū artā.

Next, the pair are seated facing each other with an earthen plate full of water between them, and a silver ring, a nut and two or four coins are put on the bride’s head which she inclines, thus throwing the coins etc. into the water. Both then scramble for them in the plate—and the one who first gets the ring wins. This is done thrice. The rite is called pūā khelāū, ‘to gamble.’

On the day on which the wedding party is to return home the bridegroom goes to the bride’s house and there the pair sit facing each other. Here again the shāhbdā accompanies the bridegroom. The pair then come out of the house with their clothes knotted together. The bride’s father now gives her clothes etc., a couch and, if he can afford it, a horse, camel or cow. The wedding party departs, with the bride in a cart or on a camel if possible.

On nearing the bridegroom’s home the clothes of the pair are again knotted together. At the entrance the bridegroom’s sister bars their way till she receives her dues, and further in stand vessels through which the bridegroom must make a way with his sword, the bride

¹ Another usage prior to the nikāh consists in the sending of hari by the boy’s father to the bride. The hari consists of clothes, shoes, dried dates, almonds, maize, and, if he can afford them, ornaments.

After the hari the wedding-party take the boy to the girl’s house where her mother places a tray of sugar before him. Into this tray he puts a rupee, called adāndā or the mother-in-law’s due.

In Rohitak the hari is also called adhānā and consists of presents sent to the girl by the boy’s maternal relatives.

After the hari has been received the women of the bride’s family go to see the place where the boy’s party is staying—an usage known as derā jádnad or khir. There they are given dried fruits.
accompanying him. Both then seat themselves in the house and the shákhádá says:

*Bháti bháti majh ghar pahla béti ser gut.*

Throwing a cocoanut into the air he says also:

*Dahne goda dhakni aur bain goda suti.*

*Majhe ien laqdu aur bháti ko milen pát.*

The pair then separate.

Rice is then boiled by women whose husbands are alive and eaten by them and the bride—a rite called sáti (seven) suhágan kí kundá.

Two or four days later the bride's brother or other kinsman goes to bring her back to her own home, and he takes with him some sweets. This usage is called len hári.

Mukátádá takes place as a rule one or two years after the wedding. The husband fetches his wife from her home, receiving a present of ornaments from her father, if he can afford to give them.

1 Or chádá in Gurgion, e.g. among the Meos who have several usages. Sometimes the bridegroom accompanies the bride to her home, stays there 3 or 4 days and then returns with her. Sometimes mukátádá takes place after one, sometimes after three years, in which case it is much more formal and costly to the girl's father—and less so to the bridegroom.

Fixing the wedding-day. In the central districts this is not a very prominent rite, but in some parts it survives. Thus in Gjurát in order to fix a date for the wedding the girl's parents send a barber and mirád with Rs. 5 to Rs. 21 or a gold mohar for the boy, as well as Rs. 2 to Rs. 11 for the lájga which sum is also called 'village expenses' to the bridegroom's house. The boy's father then invites all his kinsmen and friends. The boy is seated in the midst of the assembly and the barber gives him sugarcandy to eat. He also puts in his skirt the cash or the gold mohar. Then congratulations are exchanged. This ceremony is called bhalak. The date of the marriage is fixed at it and the barber and mirád are given from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5 by the boy's party. His parents also dismiss the lájga with a chumni and Rs. 1 to Rs. 11 together with a bidh (bundle) containing dried fruits such as almonds, coconuts, dried raisins and patéshas.

In Gjuránsaha to 'tie the knot' or gañd píndá, as it is termed, is the ceremony of fixing a day for the marriage. If any ceremonies connected with the betrothal have not been already performed, they are now observed. The wedding day is fixed by correspondence between the parties or at a personal meeting.

So too in Manchí some respectable men of the boy's family go to the girl's house with a Qazi and he fixes there the dates of the nikáh and dhám, and that for applying mohátá. These dates are always close to one another. Congratulations are exchanged and sugar sent to relations to notify them of the date of wedding, the lájga deputed giving each of them sugar while they in return give him from one piece to two annas by way of wedáigít.

The nikáh ceremony is performed before the nikáh. Women of the boy's party paint his hands with mohátá at night. Then some mohátá, a silver ring and Rs. 1-5-0 in cash are sent to the girl through the lájga, women also going with him. Mohnátá is also applied to the girl. The females of both parties keep awake singing songs all night. On the next day at 4 p.m. bahuká is rubbed over the bridegroom's body and he is bathed. Then he is seated in a special room and some of his relatives and friends sit with him. He is dressed in such clothes as are worn by a bridegroom and a sihrá is placed round his head. At 8 or 9 p.m. the bridegroom is taken to a mosque in a palanquin or on a horse. He is then made to pass through the bazaars and all this time dancing girls dance before his horse and fireworks are let off. He is then taken at a slow pace with the whole of the wedding party to the bride's house, and all are seated then in a specially decorated room. The men of the girl's party and the Qazi also come there. The girl's guardian allows the Qazi to perform the nikáh. He first fixes the amount of the bride's dowry which depends on the will of her guardian. It is never below Rs. 32-8. If the amount is not fixed according to the demand of the bride's guardian he is entitled to marry her to another. Thereafter two witnesses and a nikáh are appointed by each party. They go with the Qazi to the bride and perform the ceremonies of offer and acceptance; she and the bridegroom are told to repeat the sacred kalma five times. The bháth ceremony is performed in the presence of all the kin. The dowry, viz. wearing apparel, bedding, a couch, household utensils and ornaments are given on this occasion. Dried fruits and sugarcandy are distributed among the people. The Qazi gets Rs. 1-4 for the ceremony while his assistant gets annas 4 for the dádá-dáhr. All these expenses are borne by the bridegroom. Besides copper coins are distributed among the poor. The bride's guardian feeds the wedding party.
II. Perhaps the best idea of the wedding rites current among the Muhammadans in the Central Punjab may be gathered from the following skeleton account of those prevalent in Gujranwala:—

Sihra bānāhād and Khāre chorbhād.—One day before the wedding the bridegroom is garlanded with flowers. This ceremony is called sihra bānāhād.2 On this day also tombol (presents in money) is offered by the brotherhood and the bridegroom's father gives to his kambus (menials) their lāg or dues according to his means. Before the sihra bānāhād the bridegroom ascends a khārd and breaks 5 or 7 chhumis.3

When the wedding procession is about to start, the boy is made to ride on a mare. This is called ghori chorbhād, and his sister asks for bāq shorū, or a fee for holding the reins. He gives her either a she-buffalo or money according to his means and wishes. Then his mother performs the sī wadnā or sacrificing over the head, the amount of money offered being a rupee or two which sum is also given to the kambus. After this the boy goes to do obeisance at the shrine of an ancestor of the tribe and then the procession leaves at such a time that it may

1In Bhubarpur on the wedding day the bridegroom bathes and a garland of flowers called sohān sihra is hung round his forehead. A coloured cloth is also tied round his head as a turban and saffron sprinkled over his clothes. But Muhammadans who are strict followers of the shari'ā do not observe these usages.

2This account says nothing of the māni chhak or articles sent by the maternal relatives of the bridegroom in Siālkot and forming part of the dowry. The māni chhak generally consists of a couch, pīrah, 21 large cakes of flour fried in gīt, 5 suits of clothes, 5 utensils and some ornaments. The articles given by the parents of the bride generally are ārei, chhaj-an or rings, phīl, chhunka and māhān (ornaments worn on the head), shumā, quilt, pillow, 21 suits of clothes, 101 laddus and sometime a horse, cow, she-buffalo and a camel. The bridegroom sits on a couch on this occasion.

3In Siālkot the wedding party on its arrival at the bride's house is put up in a hut outside the village. The bride's father sends it kushej, shorūt, etc., by a lāg who is given annas 8 or Re. 1 as his lāg. After this the party is called far and the barber on behalf of the bride's father brings with him a basket full of sugar and the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom meet together. The father of the bride gives the other on this occasion some money or a horse. The wedding party is then seated close to the bride's house. The bridegroom's father drops some cash in the basket of sugar. This is followed by a feast to the wedding party. A sieve is suspended in the way and is removed by a female barber on receipt of Re. 0-1-3 as her due. The sweeper also stands in the way of the wedding party and does not allow it to pass without getting his lāg also. The bride's sisters also exact their lāg which may amount to Re. 1-4-0. Then the wedding party is served with food. This is followed by the performance of the berā ghori ceremony. It may be noted that after the wedding party has taken its food until the next ceremony many sikhats (jests) are flung at it. Many obscene songs are sung on this occasion.

In Kāngra the niḥāk is performed after midnight and after it congratulations are exchanged and sweetmeats distributed. The bridegroom is then called inside the house by the women. The bride takes her seat on a mānak with females around her. The bridegroom takes his seat at her right and a piece of cloth is thrown over both of them. The Qurān and a looking glass are placed inside this sheet with a cup of sweet water and a spoon. The bridegroom gives a spoonful of the water to the bride and her relations also give her a spoonful to be given to the bridegroom. After this they look at each other's face in the looking glass. This ceremony is called ānā maanī. The bride is then taken to the house of her father-in-law in a palanquin. On the third day the females of the bride's family go to her husband's house to bring her back. The dowry is then exhibited to the kinsfolk. The bride sits on a mānak for three days. The bridegroom then comes, takes his wife's arm and leads her to a separate compartment in the presence of the other females. This is called chautki.
reach its destination at nightfall. Some people take with it a band, fireworks and dancing girls, but others do not. When the procession reaches the bride's village, some men come to receive it on behalf of the bride's father. It is then seated at a place where carpets have been spread. Huggas are first smoked and an hour or two later tea is served if it is winter and in the hot season shurbat by the bride's party, who then go away. Then the bride's father accompanied by some of his brotherhood enters the house in which the bridegroom's party has been lodged before food is served. As soon as he arrives the ceremony of milni is observed. If he is well-to-do he offers a mare as a milni present to his kurnam (the bridegroom's father) and they embrace each other. On this occasion too the lagis are given money as their fixed dues. After this the bride's father takes the bridegroom and his party with him to his house and provides a feast for them.

Chhamni turwānd.—Some women of the bride's party now come and take a chhamni or sieve which is hanging over the doorway and in which a lamp is burning. After this he and his party sleep, but early in the morning at about 4 A.M. he is awakened by the women of the bride's house and taken to a female apartment where the bride's sister makes him play berā ghori and exacts some money from him but the sum taken does not exceed Rs. 11.

Nikāh.—The actual wedding ceremony, the nikāh, is performed at 8 or 9 A.M. or at some later hour. On this occasion some people distribute chhokaras while others distribute uncooked rice mixed with sugar.

Post-nikāh ceremonies.—When the nikāh is over the bride is made to ascend a khārā and her maternal uncle causes her to descend from it and in return he gives her a she-buffalo or a sum of money which must exceed Rs. 11.

Dowry.—Then the bride's father places on cots whatever dowry he has prepared for his daughter, whereupon the parties meet together and give lāg to their karnas. This done, the dowry is packed up, the bride seated in a palanquin and the bridegroom's party departs with it and the dowry. When the bride arrives at her father-in-law's village, some women of his household accompanied by singing mirāsans receive her and bring her to their house.

Ceremonies observed on arrival at the bridegroom's house.—When she reaches the house door, she alights from the dooly and oil is sprinkled on the threshold.

Sacrificing water (suggested to mean drinking health).—After this the bridegroom's mother sacrifices water over his head and attempts to drink it but is dissuaded by her son. The bride is then seated on a carpet or mat or some suitable place in the house.

Mūnāh dikhlāi or face-showing ceremony.—The bridegroom's mother then gives a sum of money as mūnāh dikhlāi or 'showing the face' to the bride who removes the veil (ghūṅghat) from her face and is entertained with milk.
Moslem marriage observances.

Gând khoła (putting on the gánd).—The next morning the bridegroom and bride unto the gánd.

The bride returns to her father’s on the third day after the arrival at her father-in-law’s house.

In Shákargáh—although the máyán is said not to be performed—the day before the wedding party starts for the bride’s house, drums are beaten and next day the boy is seated on a khárá and batá rubbed on him but the practice of breaking chapáts ceased 18 or 17 years ago. His party should reach the bride’s house in the first part of the night. Some people take drummers with them. On their arrival the milní ceremony is performed.

In the milní the men of both the parties stand opposite one another at some distance, and representatives of each embrace. The bride’s representative gives a rupee to the boy’s. His barber also brings some sugar and rice in a vessel. An ulma recites the níyat kháir and gets Rs. 1-4-0 and 4 copper coins from the bride’s father as his fee. The barber also gets four annas on this occasion.

In Siákot the milní is thus described:—The girl’s father takes his stand on an open site outside the village of the boy’s father who comes to meet him there with all his party. Fireworks may be let off at this meeting which is called milní. It is too the mirásts of the parties recite their genealogies. The parties pass a rupee over one another’s head and give it to the mirásts. This is called sir wárnd kuran.

On the arrival of a wedding party in Hoshiárpur the customs of milní and peshkára are observed and the party is served with sharbat. It is also supplied with food for one or two days.

III.—In the Western Punjab we are introduced to a number of new rites and to a still greater number of new names for usages already described:—

Preparations for the wedding.

In Hazára preparations for the wedding are made a year or two after the mongéwa. When the date for it is fixed some money is given to the boy’s father to purchase párí kann or provisions, vis. wheat-flour or rice, ghí, pulse, salt, pepper, turmeric, wood, jaggery, cotton, couches, stools, utensils &c. required for the use of the wedding party. When these things have been procured by the bride’s father, he informs the boy’s father that the wedding party should reach his house on a certain day and that the máyán and jel ceremonies are to be performed on such and such days.

In Pesháwar city in order to fix a date for the wedding the girl’s parents send some respectable members of their kin to the boy’s parents. They also send some sweetmeats to the other party. The cash sent to them on this occasion is called gadh.

To prepare for the wedding in Attock the boy’s father with 10 or 15 men goes to the girl’s father and pays him from Rs. 15 to 30. This is called puchh. After this a date is fixed for the marriage.
Moslem marriage observances.

Among the Dhunds of Hazara after the betrothal a day is fixed for the wedding. On this day the boy's father pays Rs. 10 to 20 to the girl's father. This sum is called phich nankâ. The girl's father hands it over to the girl's maternal uncle and he in return gives her utensils, a couch and so on.

Among the Jaduns when some time after the betrothal preparations for the marriage are made the imum of a mosque is consulted to fix an auspicious day for the wedding.

Naming the day.—In Attuck tahsil the saila, the term applied to the ceremony of fixing a day for the marriage, is thus observed:—The boy's father with 3 or 4 other respectable persons goes to the girl's father and asks him what amount he will accept for the expenses of the wedding. He agrees to take as much grain or cash as he thinks will be consumed and in addition what he will have to spend on the bride's ornaments and clothes.

In Pindi Gheb when the parties are ready to celebrate the marriage two or three men of the boy's party go to the girl's father for the gandh edwan and to settle an amount to be paid for the supply of food to the wedding party. One day before the wedding the females assemble in the house of the boy's father and go to the girl's house with drums, mehndi &c. to unplait the girl's hair. This is called mendhi khola and mehndi tand. The wedding party sets out on the wedding day. The number of men in a wedding party depends on the position of the boy's father, and drummers and bandsmen are sometimes engaged. The party reaches the bridegroom's house in the evening and is put up in a separate house. On its arrival the bride's father sends it a pitcher of sharbat, a plate of halwa and another of mutton. The party is first served with the sharbat which is called handi sharbat while the mutton and halwa are placed before the bridegroom.

Gandh badhni.—In Leiah allowing a reasonable interval after the nishani the boy's party express a wish to have the wedding performed, consult a few near relations and friends and with the consent of the girl's guardians fix a date for it. To satisfy people that this has been done they exhibit a long, slightly twisted thread, coloured white, red and yellow, usually with a knot tied in it and keep it for future use. This thread is called mauki dâ dhaga. This done they distribute sweetmeats, repeat the dua-khair and withdraw. This ceremony is called gandh bandhni. The day thus fixed must be one of the following dates:—4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 17, 21, 24, 25, 26 or 27 of any moon, but the whole months of Katak and Chet and the 10 days of Asara are not allowable for marriage. A wedding during the remaining 20 days of Moharram, though admissible, is unlucky.

About a week or so before the wedding day the boy's father engages a barber or mirasi and handing him the thread sends him round to notify the date by delivering a bit of it to every relation and friend entitled to join in the ceremony. This is called gandh pherni. The

1 Mendhi khola.—A day or two before the wedding the bride-groom's womenfolk accompanied by his younger brother go to the bride's house and have her hair unplaited. Songs are sung on this occasion (Miunwali).
Moslem marriage observances.

preparations then begin. Among the Dňâns after the arrival of the boy's party the women perform the bera ghori at night. In this observance the boy gives the bride's kinswomen Rs. 1 to 5 Rs. in a thál. This sum is taken by a barber or mirâí. After this the boy is given sharbat to drink and the barber is given another rupee for this service.

In Multán on the wedding day the girl's kinswomen pass the night with the boy, making him walk through the moallas and bazars of the village. This is called tornâ.

In Attock tahasil before the arrival of the wedding party the boy and his sarbâla visit his father-in-law by night. He unplaits one lock of the girl's hair and the rest is unplaited by her sisters and brothers' wives. She is made to wash her hands and face and don fresh clothes. All the people sit outside the house on this occasion. A barber then conducts the leri ghori ceremony by placing a stool and lighting lamps on a thál before the boy. He and his sarbâla drop some copper or silver coins into the thál and this money is taken by the barber. After this the boy is made to walk through streets for the whole night.

On the wedding day in Bhakkar after levy of the tambol the bridgroom is taken to a mosque or shrine. He is then garlanded, a gánd tied on his hand and one of his kinsmen is made his sarbâla or best man. The garland is generally prepared by an Araí's wife. The gánd is a coloured thread. This is followed by the dhok or setting out of the wedding party to the girl's father's house, camels and horses being employed as conveyances. They reach it at nightfall and the girl's father supplies them with food once or twice. The nikâh is performed at 10 or 12 p.m.

In Mianwâli however the gánd is more elaborate. There the gánd banïha, as it is called, is in vogue among all tribes except the Pathâns. The boy's womenfolk get a thread from the girl's house and make from it a gánd, which consists of an iron ring, a cowry and a bead (mankâ). The gánd is knotted 7 times. Then the womenfolk return home and tie a similar gánd to the boy.

On the wedding day in Mianwâli or a day before it the females go to a well or river accompanied by the bridgroom's sister and sarbâla. The sister carries a pitcher on her head and draws water from the well. Songs are sung on the occasion. On their return home the bridgroom is bathed in this water and seated on a khârâ, bañâ is rubbed on his body. This is also called gharoli. After bathing the bridgroom is made to break dhaknis.

Among Pathâns in the Abbottábâd tahasil of Hazïra the nikâh is performed when the bride has been taken to the bridgroom's house. A mullán is sent for and seated on a cot with the bridgroom seated beside him. Two trusted persons called the witnesses then go to the bride to ask her consent to the contract. She empowers one of her relations to have the ceremony performed and fix the amount of dower. He is called the dán thálî, and the ceremony is performed after obtaining his permission. The amount of dower varies from Rs. 25 to 500. On the

1 No explanation of this curious usage is given. In Chakwâl mirâí women take the boy through the streets and bazars of the village by night and bring him back home in the morning. They sing songs as they go.
Moslem marriage observances.

The bride's departure her parents give her ornaments and clothes worth from Rs. 20 to 5000. The bridegroom is also given a suit of clothes.

In Chakwal those who are strict observers of Muhammadan Law use a mare instead of a goi to take the bride to her husband's house. On reaching its door she will not enter it until she is given some cash by her parents-in-law. On entering the house a child is placed in her lap, and she gives it a rupee. The bride stays in her father-in-law's house for the first time 4 or 5 days. Meanwhile the bridegroom's kinswomen visit her and give her money. This is called sa'âm karwât. The kinsmen also feast the bride and bridegroom. After this some relative of the bride comes to fetch her back to the house of her own father, and he brings sweets on behalf of her parents which are distributed among the kinsfolk.

In Leiah the observances are the same as in Bahawalpur, but at the first interview between the newly married couple no sooner has the bridegroom entered the bride's room than a woman ready waiting for the purpose flings a handful of water with all her strength into his face before she will allow him to come further. This is supposed to make him blind with love for the bride. This same woman then leads him close to the right side of the bride who, veiled and dressed in coloured garments, sits bent forward. Here he spreads a clean white cloth and says two rakots of nimz and then sits down. Next his father brings a little perfumed oil which he rubs on his son's head and then holding it in his right hand knocks it gently twice or thrice against that of the bride and wishing them prosperity retires. No male save the bridegroom now remains amidst the party of women, who surround the pair singing sihras or marriage songs and throwing flowers on their heads. On its conclusion some chosen women sit down and put a round piece of hard dry gur into the bride's right hand with instructions to hold it fast. The bridegroom is then told to try and open her palm with his right hand and take the gur without hurting her delicate fingers. It generally takes a few minutes to unfold the palm while the women around joke, laugh, clap hands and cry:—"Take courage, hold fast, don't unloose your palm &c." This done they put the same piece of gur into the bridegroom's hand bidding him not to hold it fast but to unfold his palm by and by, after the bride has merely touched it once or twice.

Some post-nuptial observances.

Takhat. In Jullundur on the morning after the nikâh the bride and the bridegroom are seated opposite to each other on a cot given to the former on her marriage. Several ceremonies are then performed. The bride puts a cloth round the bridegroom's neck and does not let him go until he promises her to give all that he may earn. This is called takhat ubelnâ. This is followed by the giving of warfs, a name...

1 In the villages of Bahawalpur the bride is taken to her husband's house on the back of a camel, ox or a mare, while in towns she rides in a ratâ (chariot) or on a mare, the custom of using a doli or planquin not being in vogue in this tract.

2 In Multan the ornaments and clothes put on the bride on the bridegroom's behalf on the wedding day are called warf while those given to the bridegroom on her behalf are called dâjû. Some rich people spend heavy sums on the dâjû. It consists of clothes, gold and silver ornaments, household utensils as well as a cow, a she-buffalo and sometimes a camel also. In some families dâjû is given on the satwâra day. The girl's parents feast the kinsfolk on this day.
Moslem marriage observances.

applied to those ornaments and clothes which are given to the bride on behalf of the bridegroom. It consists of ornaments, namely, a gold chaunk, silver khins, bánk, jhānjhar, phate, a gold motur and a ring called kawár bar ka chhālā, as well as 7 tewars. Moreover a suit of clothes for the bride and almonds, dried raisins, cocoanut kernel, dried dates, maul, mehul &c. are sent with the wari. Then the bride's parents exhibit her dowry, which consists of a gold nosering, ear-rings, 11 tewars and 7 bewar, 7 turbans, a couch, a stool, a box and some household utensils. Then the wedding party departs. Generally speaking a doṭi is employed for the conveyance of the bride and a horse for the bridegroom. When the bridegroom reaches his house his mother takes a cup full of milk and water mixed, passes it six times over her son's head and drinks it. Fowls are cooked on the bridegroom's arrival at his house. The kirnā is performed on the third day after marriage. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other in the presence of the women and a vessel full of water is put between them. They then undo each other's gándā. Thereafter a barber's wife throws a rupee, a ring and 7 copper coins into the water. This is called kauñná khelnā. On this day or the next boiled rice mixed with sugar called bhū bhat is distributed to the kinsfolk.

In Gujránwála after the dowry has been displayed the bridegroom goes inside the bride's house and pays his respects to each member of her family. In return for this each of them gives him a rupee. A līngā is also given to each member of the wedding party. This is called bhai jawārī. The bride's parting from her parents is always sorrowful. A doṭi is used for her conveyance. It is carried by kadārs and a female attendant accompanies her to her father-in-law's house, and on her return she gets a rupee as her lāg. On the bride's arrival at her new home she is first served with chūṛī, and her new female relations give her cash and patašhās by way of mãūkh dakhānā. Generally speaking she is sent back to her parents' house on the 3rd day. The man who accompanies her is given a suit of clothes on his return. The muklāwa ceremony is generally performed a year or two after the marriage and when the husband goes to his father-in-law's house for this ceremony his sister-in-law conceals his shoes. He puts up there for some time and then returns to his own house with his wife.

Bāht jawārī.—In Siálkot on the day after the wedding one lāddā is sent to each member of the wedding party in the morning. This is called bāht jawārī or breakfast. The barber who brings the lāddā gets Rs. 1 as his lāg. The wedding party is served with food at noon and then they make preparations to return home. The nikāh is often performed before the dinner.

Lāssī pair and got kunāla.—In Siálkot after the departure of the wedding party the bridegroom's mother and his uncle's wife put their feet in some lāssī. This is called lāssī pair pándā. Then milk and rice

1 A tewar consists of three garments, viz., a kurtā, trowsers and dopatha.

4 A bewar consists of two only, viz., a kurtā and dopatha.
are eaten by all the women together and manú thread is tied to the hair of the bridegroom's mother. This ceremony is called got kundūla.

Got kundūla.—But the got kundūla has another and more usual form. Thus in Hoshiárpur on the day after the wedding it is thus described:—Rice is boiled and put in a vessel from which all the near kinswomen and the bride eat together. One plateful of rice is also sent to each kinsman. By this ceremony the bride is admitted into the bridegroom's got. The lāgīs who come with the bride are given their dues and dismissed after 2 or 3 days. A little while later the near kinsmen of the bride bring some clothes and sweetmeats and take her to their house. This is called bhoj. Similarly the bridegroom is invited to his father-in-law's house. He takes with him 2 or 3 lāgīs and some sweetmeats. This is called manāhā jhukāo. Thereafter, when the bride's parents are ready to send her to her father-in-law's house, they invite some men of that family and send with her sweetmeats and clothes—half as much as was given in dowry. This is called the múklāwa. When the bride is sent for the third time, it is called tirojā.

Dhám.—In Mandi an observance called dhám is performed on the 3rd day after the wedding. The bride's guardian accompanied by both the parties as well as by the wedded pair goes to the house of the boy's father, and its womenfolk take the pair to a separate room and give the bride milk to drink. The boy's father serves both the parties with rice and mutton. Those of the bride's party who take this food are called the lādhi tarū, and it is called arandāl. As the Muhammadans of Mandi rarely marry outside the State the múklāwa is often performed the same night, but those who marry outside it perform this ceremony after the marriage. The date for it is fixed by the Qázi. The boy's father simply sends his son with some relatives to his father-in-law's house where they are feasted and on the following day the girl's father sends her back with his son-in-law after giving them some clothes.

In Siálkot the múklāwa ceremony is performed some time after the wedding. The bridegroom accompanied by his barber goes to his father-in-law's house taking with him 101 lāgūs which are given to the bride and lāgūs are distributed among the lāgūs. A pīthá, couch, spinning wheel, 'balls of various colours, spindles, clothes &c are given on this occasion by way of dowry. The bridegroom's shoes are also hidden and he makes a search for them everywhere, but when convinced that he cannot find them he gives Re. 1-4 to his sisters-in-law as their lāgū. This ceremony ends with the sending of the bride with the bridegroom.

Speaking generally in the Western Punjab the múklāwa is replaced by the natwāra or sathūr, which varies in many details. Thus in and around Máchwra in Dera Ghází Khán a week after the wedding the bridegroom goes to his father in-law's house with his bride, and they both stay there for a day or two and then come back. The gánás are removed on this day.

About Madgola the natwāra is also performed 7 days after the marriage, and the bridegroom takes his bride to her parents. Both of them ride a mare. The gánás are removed a day or two before the
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Salwāra and the bridegroom returns home with his wife a day or two afterwards. The bride's parents give her clothes on this occasion also. Round Asri the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law with his wife on the 7th day after marriage.

In Rājanpur too on the 7th day after the wedding the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house with his wife, and they put up there for 2, 3 or at most 7 days. They are given a bath and leave off the clothes worn at the wedding. Among the Baloch these clothes are given to a mirāst woman, but in other tribes they are taken back to the bridegroom's house. He gives the lungā which was given him by his father-in-law to the mirāst. After this the couple return home riding if their village be far off, but if it is very near they return by night on foot. The gānās are often removed on the same day, but some people keep them on until they break off themselves. When the bride returns to her father-in-law's house her near relations give her sweets varying from half a pāo to a pāo.

In Multān however the girl is sent to her father's house. This is called satkhira. The girl remains in their house for as long as he is willing to keep her. After that the bridegroom goes to fetch her back. On this occasion also her parents give her clothes and ornaments. After the marriage the girl's father abstains from eating at the house of his daughter.

Again in Bhakkar the females of the bride's family go 6 or 7 days after the wedding to the bridegroom's house and bring back the bride. She is kept there for some days, and then the bridegroom goes to fetch her and gets some clothes, sweetmeats &c.

In Chakwal tāhēt the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house a few days after the wedding, stays there 5 or 6 days, and is given a very warm reception. This is called satkhira. Then he takes his wife home.

In Bahawalpur the bride's mother and relations visit her 3 or 6 days after the wedding and in their presence and that of other women of the brotherhood the couple until each other's gānās. This is termed gānā-chhoran. The women of the bride's family distribute tikra (a kind of sweetmeat) and those of the bridegroom's chūrī, and the women of the brotherhood put tapāsā in the bride's lap. This ceremony is called podd. The bride is taken back to her parent's house on the 4th night, and stays there for an hour or two only. (This custom is more general in towns.) On the morning of the 4th day both bride and bridegroom visit the house of the former's parents and there take their supper, after which they return. This ceremony is termed satāwāra.

Some special local customs in Ferozepore.

A curious rite called bhatī jhalkā is current in Ferozepur. The boy accompanied by some women and his sister's husband as sarbāla goes outside the village. There a hearth (bhatī) is made and in it the sarbāla kindles a fire which is put out with the water brought from

[jhalka] = a flash, glance, splendour, etc. (Punjabi Dictionary, p. 481.)
the well by the brother's wife of the boy. This is done several times, and then the whole party returns to the boy's home. On his arrival there he is seated on the basket and bathed with the water from the well, for which service the barber is paid Rs. 2. All the kinsmen now contribute _neota_, and the bridegroom dons coloured clothes, saying _salām_ to all present and receiving in return something from each of his kinsmen. After this the cobbler puts shoes on the boy's feet and the potter brings two _chajnis_. These are placed near the basket with a pice under each, and the boy, jumping from the basket, smashes the _chajnis_. Sandal is then applied to his forehead—an observance called _munh chitarna_, or 'painting the face.' He is also garlanded. Next a plate is put before the boy and into it the _neota_ received from the brotherhood is placed. When the _neota_ is given the _mirāsī_ proclaims the amount given by each donor and concludes with the _jhukāi_ which runs:

_Jang par ḍō re so ḍhāre so ḍharm._—'If you give your due faithfully this well (otherwise you will be taken to task for not so doing)._'

After the _jhukāi_ the women take the boy to the jungle, singing songs as they go, and there they walk seven times round a _jand_ tree, twisting a red thread round its trunk. Then the bridegroom strikes it with a stick, whence this observance is called _jandi wadhi_ (wadhānu, to cut or reap). At this observance also a _mirāsī_ gets Re. 1. After it all the females return home and the wedding party sets out for the bride's house. On reaching her village it halts outside and if it has dancing girls with it they amuse it by dancing. Meanwhile the bride's father together with his _lāgīs_ comes to them and meets the father of the bridegroom. This is called _mīnīt_. Thereafter some girls come to the bridegroom and apply antimony to his eyes. After this the ceremony of _khudaknas_ is observed. A short time afterwards the party leaves for the house of the bride. While on their way the bridegroom's father gives the nearest relation of the bride from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. On entering the village fireworks (if there be any) are let off. The bride's father puts up the party in a separate house and the bridegroom is taken to the females. His mother-in-law takes some curd with his fingers and applies it to his eyebrows. She gives him Re. 1 on this occasion. Thereafter a _mirāsī_ female measures the bridegroom with a thread. The _mirāsī_ and the barber then take the party to the house of the bride. The bridegroom's father on this occasion gives the bride as much money as is asked by him. When this is settled the _nikāh_ ceremony is performed. On the occasion of its performance uncooked rice and sugar are distributed among those present. The person performing the _nikāh_ ceremony gets Rs. 1-4 as his fee. Thereafter the party is served with boiled rice and sugar. Those who are opulent entertain the party with mutton and rice. Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 are spent on this entertainment. The party puts up from one to three days. At the departure of the wedding party the bride's father assembles all his kinsmen and gives the following articles to the bride:—a couch, stool, antimony pot, plate, _chhanna_, quilt, pillow, clothes, clothes.

1 This water is drawn in a new pitcher by the boy's sister-in-law, on the third day. She goes to the well accompanied by women led by a _mirāsī_ beating a drum. For this the _mirāsī_ gets a fee of a rupee. Apparently the _wadhi_ or waterman also helps the sister-in-law, for he gets a fee of two rupees, besides some coarse sugar.
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nose-ring and ear-rings. At this time an empty vessel is placed before the bridegroom's father. He drops from Rs. 5 to Rs. 95 into the vessel. Both the parties give Rs. 12 to each other's kâmlas. When this is all over the bride is seated in a cart. She is attended by one of the female lâqis. The party stays for a short time outside the village. The headman of the village is given his fee by the father of the bridegroom. Thereafter the parties meet each other and the wedding party leaves the village. On the third day the bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other and a plate is placed between them. This plate is always full of a mixture of milk and water. The bride takes off the ornaments of the bridegroom and drops them into the mixture.

Dowry.—The terms for dowry are various and so are the customs connected with the institution itself which is chiefly notable for the disregard paid to the rights of the wife in what is ostentatiously given to her at marriage.

In Hoshiárpur one or two days before the wedding the bride's maternal uncle brings a nose-ring and ivory bangles with some clothes and cash for the bride. The articles are collectively called nána ke cchak and are exhibited to the kinsfolk. At or after the níkâh the amount of dower is fixed. It is in no case less than Rs. 3-8, but it may exceed Rs. 100 or even Rs. 1000. After this the wedding party is served with food and is supplied with food and is supplied with cots to sleep on. Wuri is the term applied to the valuable clothes, suhágpura¹ and dried fruits, sent by the bridegroom's father to the bride. Khat is the term applied to the clothes, ornaments, utensils and all other requisites of a new household supplied by the bride's parents to the bridegroom.³ The number of clothes &c. is not fixed. Rich folk in order to be well spoken of give 10l clothes, 40 pieces of cloth, Rs. 100 in cash, a palanquin, a box, a small wooden box, utensils, gold and silver ornaments, a mare, a she-camel, a she-buffalo and a suit of clothes for the bridegroom. Some Rájpúts give as much as Rs. 500 or Rs. 1000 in dowry. On such an occasion the members of the wedding party give a horse to the murtáši, and each member of it is given Re. 1 and a piece of cloth. Thereafter the parties depart. The boy's father passes some silver and copper coins over the doli.

In HazárÐ before the níkâh the bride's oâgil is sent for and asked by the Qâzi to fix the amount of dower. Of this there are two kinds, viz., sharâd or lawful and riwâji or customary. The amount of the former is Rs. 125 but that of the latter varies from Rs. 100 to one, two or more thousands of rupees. Some people execute bonds for the amount of dower. This classification is independent of the two

¹Unlike the Muhammadans in Bahawalpur the amount of dower is fixed in Hoshiárpur according to the bridegroom's pecuniary position at the níkâh. Dowry is called suhágpura in this district.

³In Gujrâvâlâ the khat or dowry which the bride's parents wish to give their daughter is presented to the bridegroom's father in open assembly. Generally it consists of from 17 to 21 tawars, 7 to 11 suits for the boy, utensils, a couch, stool, cattle and ornaments. New clothes are at the same time put on the bridegroom, and he is given a new suit of clothes by the bride's father &c. to put on. The salâm ceremony is performed on this occasion, that is the bridegroom pays his respects to his mother-in-law, father-in-law and other near relations. In return for this he gets Re. 1 from each of them.
kinds of legal dower, *vis.* deferred and prompt. In theory deferred
dower becomes due by the bridegroom when he cohabits with his wife,
but it is never paid on that occasion. After the *nikáb* the dowry is
placed in the courtyard of the house and shown to the people. The
money presented in the *tháli* by the boy’s father is spent on ornaments
for the girl; and these are put on her at her departure. The clothes
exhibited in the dowry are not sent to her father-in-law’s house but are
kept by her own father, and shefetches them when required.

Among the Jàdís of Pesháwar also the dowry to be given to the
girl is spread on a carpet and shown to the people, but it is not given
to the bride all at once, out of it only a suit of clothes is given her and
a suit is also given to the bridegroom. The remaining clothes are
given her when she comes back to her parents’ house.

Among the Swátís of Mansehra takesil the dowry merely consists of
a few clothes, ornaments, a cot and a quilt, and even the cost of the two
latter articles is borne by the bridegroom’s father.

In Bhakkar the *nikáb-khwán* who appears to be a *maulávi* goes to
the bride with two reliable witnesses and tells her that her *nikáb* is to be
performed with so and so. She replies that her father or brother is her
agent and the *maulávi* then asks his permission. The amount of dower
is fixed with the consent of the parties. In general it is 100 copper
coins with a gold *mohar* but it may be as high as Rs. 500 and a gold
*mohar*.

The boy’s father also gives or is supposed to give the bride glass or
ivory bangles, a gold *nose-ring*, a gold *champákuli*, silver *taróre*, gold
or silver earrings, and a silver *hamail*. Her father also gives her a gold
*khalmaú*, a gold *basautí*, a silver *losí*, rings for the hands and feet, 10
suits of clothes, a *trewar*, *bewar*, quilt, curtain, pillow, ladle, antimony
pot, pewter plate, couch, *pirha*, &c. A cow, buffalo or mare is also
given sometimes.

In Baháwalpu the amount of the dower is fixed. The boy’s father
usually takes with him some fruit, *gnér*, *til-shakkar* (sesamum and
sugar mixed), *kastí* (necklet), ring, *taróre* (an ornament worn on
foot); *bohatte* (armlets), *tákhti*, *dawítin*, or *patrdán* (square pieces of
silver worn round neck), all of silver (a *nath*, good nose-ring, which,
however, is more generally given by the townspeople); and a *trewar,
*trawar*, three garments, *vis.* a *bockhan* or *dopaíla*, *chola* or *kutlá*, and
*gákévá* (petticat) or *suthíthan* (trousers), a *gákéra* being given by the
Ját tribes in general and a *suthíthan* by the Baloch.¹ In villages the
bride’s father generally gives no feast to the bridegroom’s party, and in
towns too this custom is practised but rarely.

In the morning a *nakil* (guardian) and two witnesses go to the
bride to ask her consent to the contract, and when she gives it the *nikáb*
 ceremony is performed according to Muhammadan law. The barber or
the *mirásí* distributes *til-shakkar* or sesamum and sugar among those
present.

¹ In Dera Gházi Khán at the time of departure the bride’s father gives her the follow-
ing articles by way of *dáj*:—*bockhan* (10 to 15), gowns (5 to 7), earrings, *utumáls* &c.
Wealthy men give a cow or she-buffalo for their sons-in-law. The boy’s party is not served
with food by the bride’s party, but on the other hand the bride’s party is supplied with food
by the bridegroom’s party.
Moslem marriage observances.

Some special tribal customs.

An additional ceremony is performed among the Bhatti Rajputs of Ferozepore. When the bride reaches the house of her father-in-law she is seated opposite to the bridegroom. A sword is placed between them, and a reti (an instrument used by cobblers for stitching shoes) is also placed near their heads. After this the females commence singing, and keep it up the whole night. The cobbler gets 4 to 8 annas as his reward on this occasion. This is called rād jāpa or waking for the whole night. On the 7th day the bride goes back to her father's house. After this, the bridegroom is sent in company of a mirānt and a barber with the consent of the bride's father. On this occasion they bring back the bride. This is called muklāwa. Nothing is spent on the performance of this ceremony. The marriage expenses vary from Rs. 50 to Rs. 4,000.

In Hissār the Muhammadan Kahārs have some interesting ideas about marriage. To negotiate a betrothal 5 or 10 men of the girl's family visit the boy's home and his father and kinsmen entertain them there for a day. Three days later the boy's father summons his kinsmen and in their presence the girl's father or a near kinsman gives the boy a lump of sugar and a rupee. When the girl's party departs it is given a piece of cloth worth two rupees. This, it is said, makes the betrothal irrevocable. Prior to the wedding the girl's father sends a temar, or gift of three garments, and a dosāra (two garments, i.e. a phulkāri and a white sheet) by his barber to the boy's father. On his arrival he summons the boy's kinsmen and consults them as to the species of wedding to be performed. Weddings are of three kinds or degrees:—

(i) Superior or ghurc kī shādī, in which the boy's father fills an iron vessel with sweetmeats and then places a silver bangle worth Rs. 15 or 25 on top of it. One laddu (sweetmeat) is sent to each man invited. Seven feasts are also given to the boy's party in this kind of wedding. The dower must be not less than Rs. 101.

(ii) Gur kī shādī, in which 10 or 20 sers of coarse sugar are consumed, a little being sent to each invited guest. Five feasts must also be given to the boy's party. The dower fixed is Rs. 80.

(iii) Toge kī shādī, in which a red thread is sent to each guest, and only four feasts are given. The dower is Rs. 21. When the wedding party reaches the girl's home the eldest representatives of each party meet and the girl's gives the boy's party (or representative) a piece of cloth. This is called shurbat pilāna. The nikāh is then performed. Before leaving with the bride the boy's people send dried fruits to her house and then the girl's father gives her dower. On reaching their home the pair and all their near relatives must sleep on the ground as it would be unlucky to sleep on beds. This observance is known as thāpa. Next morning the women of the family take the couple outside the village to beat the ground with jāl sticks, an observance called ekhari.

The Pachhādas of Hissār have some distinctive wedding customs. In betrothal the barber and two men of the boy's family go to the girl's home and give her father some money. After being feasted there
two or three days the barber receives two rupees and each of his companions a piece of silk before they go. Per contra the boy's father has to pay the girl's Rs. 12 as menials' dues. This makes the betrothal irrevocable. When the parties have reached maturity the girl's father sends the boys three garments, which become the barber's perquisite. When the boy's party reaches the girl's village it must ride round it (gion kà phermi) before entering it. Meanwhile the girl's people come out to receive them with sharbat, for which the boy's father has to pay Rs. 3, together with Rs. 7 for antimony and Rs. 21 for the chhanj observance. The wedding party is then feasted. At the actual nikah sugar and rice are distributed, but they must be uncooked. This observance is said to be peculiar to the Pachhásas. Rs. 14 are next paid to the girl's party for menials' dues. Among the Pachhásas the gifts of the girl are called kharwa (apparently because they include a pair of sabots, kharwán). Another distinctive usage is the bhotani, the bride's mother-in-law giving her some money on her arrival at her father in-law's house.

Among the Wiláyati Patláns in Hisárá, e.g. at Tóhána, the wedding is a simple affair. No observances are usual until both the parties are of age, when a date is fixed for the nikáh. The boy's party proceeds to the girl's home and is there feasted. Next morning the girl is made over to them, with her dower, but she returns the very next day to her parents' house for the ordinary chauhlí observance to be held. On this occasion the boy's party sends her fruit and vegetables. She again goes to her husband's home at night, but visits her parents' house for a year after marriage on every Friday, whence the custom is called juna. These customs would obviously be impossible in a tribe which did not closely intermarry.

In Hisárá Qassás effect betrothals by exchange or if that is not feasible by purchase. The boy's father pays the girl's a rupee, or even less if he is poor, and receives from him an equal sum. He also has to pay the barber a fee of one rupee. When the parties are of age the girl's father convives a meeting of his kinsmen and proposes a date for the wedding. Then he sends the barber to the boy's father, with seven copper coins, a rupee, a lump of sugar and a bit of cloth, to announce the date proposed. The boy's father summons his kinsmen and, accepting the cloth and sugar, remits the other things to the barber. Boiled rice with sugar and ghi is then distributed among the kinsmen. This observance is called gath by the Qassás.

The boy's party goes to the girl's home on the day fixed for the wedding and is feasted on panjiri (made of coarse sugar and parched flour) in vessels, into which they drop from four annas to a rupee. Women of the boy's family accompany his party in this tribe and sing congratulatory songs at the nikah, those of the girl's side singing in reply. The miri is in which the eldest representative of the girl's party formally meets the eldest representative of the boy's and gives him sweetened water to drink together with a sum of money. The boy's party departs on the 3rd day after the wedding, after giving the bride a present of clothes and ornaments called barfi (a kind of dower), but of these the girl's father only keeps a few, returning the rest. When the bride departs her father also gives her a dowry of ornaments, clothes, utensils &c.
Moslem marriage observances.

In Lohárú the Qassábs are said to have some different usages. Thus at a betrothal the boy’s father gives the girl’s a rupee, receiving two in return. This is called salámi. Then the boy’s father puts some sweets in the girl’s lap—the godh bharc. He also gives her some silver ornaments. If the boy be present the girl’s father gives him a rupee, a cocoanut and a suit of clothes. Bidris (presents of sweets, clothes and ornaments) are also exchanged on every festival, twixt the betrothal and the wedding gándā.

Among Muhammadan Rájpúts in Hissár brides are purchased for cash, the amount being negotiated through a barber. As soon as it is settled the boy’s father summons his kinsmen and his son is seated on a chair while the barber places a lump of sugar in his mouth and a rupee in his hand. This is called ropná. A date is then fixed for the wedding and the boy’s party proceeds to the girl’s home. There it is received by representative men of her family bearing two or three vessels full of sweetened water. The eldest representatives of each side then meet formally in the milni, the girl’s representatives giving a rupee and a piece of cloth called rizá to the boy’s. Gifts are also made to menials. The boy’s party is suitably entertained and then the nikáh is solemnised according to Muhammadan Law. After the nikáh the boy is taken to his bride’s house and there his sister-in-law puts questions to him and the kango bó or bracelet which was tied on the wrist of the pair (sú) is unfastened. When the pair return to the boy’s house they are given a blanket to sleep on—an observance called thápndá. Muhammadan Ráwats in Hissár retain two Hindu rites: at betrothal they have the tilak marked on the boy’s forehead by the barber of the girl’s family; and they retain the teva or observance in vogue when the date for the wedding is fixed.

Among the Sayyids of Hissár the wedding is a very simple affair and closely resembles that in vogue among Patháns.

The few Shaikh Quraishis of Hissár intermarry with those of Patála. At betrothal the boy’s father sends the girl two ornaments, one of silver, the other of gold, through a trusted menial, usually a barber, who goes to her house alone. There he is given from one to five rupees and sent back. The nikáh is in accord with Muhammadan Law.

Among the Saddozai and Kizzilbash Patáháns of Hoshiárpur several special usages are in vogue. The bridegroom is led into the room where the bride is seated amidst her kinswomen. She stands up to show her respect for him, but as there is a belief that the one who sits down first will yield in influence to the other they each try to persuade the other to sit down first and this contest causes much merriment among the women.

Aina mussaf. — When the pair sit down a covering of silk or shawl is spread over them. First of all an open Qurán is put into their hands as a token of blessing. Then the bride gives her husband a spoonful of shúb-bál, and he does the same to her, but as the bride is shy some one holds her hand and puts the spoon into her husband’s mouth. Next a looking-glass is given to the pair and for the first time they see each other’s
faces in it. The bridegroom pays a few rupees for each of these ceremonies. When the *auwa mukhaf* (showing the Qur'ân and looking-glass) is over the bride's father or guardian puts her hand into that of the bridegroom and bids them farewell. This is always a touching scene. The bride is then taken to her husband's house in a palanquin with due pomp. When she reaches it the members of his family pay her some money, termed *rú-numát*, as a fee for seeing her face.

**Takht jami.**—On the 3rd day after the marriage the bride's mother and relations bring her dowry. She is seated on a cushion called *takht* or bride's 'throne.' Then the bridegroom leads her a few paces by the hand. When this is done they are allowed to become more familiar and they are at liberty to abandon their shyness.

**Faṭhúns of Peshúwar.**

In the Útman-námá *tappa* of Swábi tahsíl, in Peshúwar, some respectable person goes on the boy's behalf to the girl's parents and proposes the betrothal contract. If they accept a date is fixed. Before that date the boy's party sends some jaggery, rice and wheat flour to the bride's house and goes to her house on the night fixed. The articles referred to above are consumed on this occasion.

**Thál ceremony.**—After taking their meal at night the heads of both the parties sit in the courtyard of the bride's house and the *mirásī* or the barber places a basket containing 4 or 5 *sers* of jaggery in their midst. The head of the boy's party puts some rupees into the basket. The amount is not fixed, but is settled by the head of the bride's party. Generally it varies from Rs. 50 to 1000. Silver ornaments, such as bangles, *kangan* and bracelets, are also placed in the thál (plate). After this the basket is removed by the barber or *mirásī* who takes it inside the house, and it is returned filled with sugar by the inmates. This concludes the thál ceremony. The money and ornaments are afterwards returned. Then the bride's party sends *sharbat* and mehndí. Each person present drinks a little *sharbat* and some *mehndí* is placed on their palms. This is called the *ghánt* ceremony, and it is the binding element in the betrothal contract. After this congratulations are exchanged and the bridegroom's party returns home the same night.

**Channa ará.**—On the third day of the koyídan the bride's kinswomen assemble and take some wheat flour, *ghí* and jaggery to the bridegroom. They remain in his house for 2 or 3 days. *Halwa* and other sweetened articles are consumed as a feast. At departure the bridegroom's parents give his mother-in-law and sister-in-law Re. 1 each by way of *parona* (*dopatta*). This is called *channa ará.*

**Wádhi or marriage.**—The period between betrothal and marriage in this *toppa* is 1½ years. The date of the wedding is fixed by the eldest representative of the boy's family in consultation with the bride's parent. A suit of clothes is sent her prior to its fixture. Similarly a suit of clothes is sent to the boy by her parents. On the wedding day the boy's party reaches the bride's house at night. It is called *jáājí,* and the bride's party is *máuíj.* Both parties pass the time in friendly

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3 There are no customs of *mukháwa* and *morní doß* (sending the bride 'back to her parents' house) among these Faṭhúns.
festivity. After the distribution of ḍāg among the ḍāgīs the bride and bridegroom are dressed in new clothes. The bride is put in a ġolī. When it arrives the nikāh is performed and the parties retire in the morning. Marriages in this tappa are made on a low scale. In Peshawār the expenses are very heavy.

Pathans of Isa Khel.

Shudnāmā.—It is the beating of drums and the playing upon of musical instruments on the occasion.

Wā’ima.—Both the parties give a feast to their respective relations on the day of marriage. The practice of breaking dhaknts is in vogue in some families. When the bridegroom breaks them they say that he is a brave man. On the arrival of the wedding party at the bride’s house prayers are recited according to Muhammadan Law. The nikāh ceremony is performed through a vakīl and nikāh-khwān. After this dates and sweetmeats are distributed among those present. The ḍāgs are given to the mīrāsīs &c. The bride is conveyed on a camel or mare. Sometimes a palanquin is used for the purpose.

Tarija.—On the third day after the marriage the girl’s parents send the same articles as were sent by the boy’s parents by way of chan tārā and thāl karan.

Satwarā.—The bride returns to her parent’s house only a week after her marriage.

Khattaks of Kohdt.

Kwanda or betrothal.—The father of the boy accompanied by 5 or 6 persons and a mullākh goes to the girl’s father to obtain his consent to the betrothal in private. The vasumāna or price of the girl is also fixed at this visit. After that, on a Monday, Thursday or Friday, the father of the boy accompanied by 40 or 50 persons and a mullākh goes to the girl’s father for the betrothal ceremony. The boy also accompanies them. The nikāh is performed and the price is also paid. Gur supplied by the boy’s father is distributed by the barber. Among the ḍurkhs, gur is not distributed, but instead a goat supplied by the father of the boy is slaughtered. Niundra, called in Pashto achaunsi, is also paid then.

Four or five days after the betrothal a gold or silver finger ring and a suit of new clothes are sent by the boy’s father to the girl’s father for the girl. The girl is made to wear the finger ring and the dopatta (head dress) at once as a mark of betrothal. After this the father of the girl gives feast to the bridegroom and a few of his relations and gives the bridegroom a finger ring also. On the two ’Ids and Shab Brāt a suit of new clothes and cooked food are sent by the bridegroom’s father to the bride.

The father of the bridegroom accompanied by a barber and a mullākh goes to the bride’s father to fix the date of marriage, and the amount of rice, gīs &c. to be supplied by him for the feasting of the marriage party is also fixed.
Moslem marriage observances.

Two days before the marriage a few women on behalf of the bridegroom go in the afternoon to the house of the bride’s father. They take off the bride’s jewellery and make her sit in a corner of the house and some gur is distributed. This ceremony is called kenuval bithana (in Hindi). Next day in the afternoon many women on behalf of the bridegroom take fried jawar, grain or gur to the house of the bride’s father. This is called khaunai.

Before the starting of the marriage the bridegroom and his friends are made to wear a garland, called serī in Pashto, which they tie on their turbans. The marriage party usually starts in the afternoon and arrives at the bride’s house in the evening. Ornaments and clothes for the bride are taken by the marriage party with them. If the house of the bride is in a different village from the bridegroom’s, then the marriage party is fed by the bride’s father, but at the expense of the bridegroom. Jewellery and clothes are given to the bride as dowry by her parents. The bride is taken away in the evening. The father of the bridegroom then feeds the whole marriage party in his own house.

On the 3rd day after the marriage the mother or sister of the bride with some other women goes to the bridegroom’s house to take the bride back. This is called orayama (3rd day). The same day at night, the bride’s father gives food to the bridegroom and his relations and after keeping the bride for a day in his house sends her back with the bridegroom. On this occasion the bride’s father gives a cow, or clothes or jewellery to the bride which gift is called brakka, ‘share’.

Pathans of Isa Khel.

In Isa Khel tahsil the terms used for betrothal are the Persian khulwāstgāri and the Arabic khulba. Some of the boy’s kinsmen go to the girl’s father by day or night regardless of the date. They generally take with them a woman’s garment with two rupees, one for the barber and one for the mirāī, from 1½ paisa to 1¼ of sera of mehndi, jaggery, a silver ring, a gold dubbi, a kurī, and an orhū. The girl’s father serves them with sharbat and coloured water is thrown over them. Well-to-do people however take with them various ornaments of gold and silver, cloth and clothes. Some people also send Rs. 1-4 or 2-8 for the barber and mirāī by way of chan tārā or sehrā. The girl’s father in return gives 1¼ or 2½ sera of jaggery.

Munh chhurāwan.—After her betrothal the girl keeps parda from the boy’s relatives. A few days after the khulwāstgāri the near kinswomen of the boy go to the girl’s mother and each gives a rupee and a basketful of sugar to the bride. On receipt of this she discontinues her parda. This ceremony is called munh chhurāwan.

Thāl karan.—After the manqū the boy’s father’s party send chan tārā, i.e. 25 plates of halwā, each also containing 10 ḍharāīs or baked loaves. Besides these they send a sehra or 30 plates of halwā. The halwā &c. is distributed by the girl’s parents among their relatives.

Warena.—On each festival day after the manqū, such as the ’Id-ul-Fitr, ’Id-ul-Zuhā, the last Wednesday of Safar and the Shab Barát, the boy’s parents send the girl’s ghī, sugar or sugar-candy, rice, flour or baked loaves, a kurī and a silk orhū. But respectable families do not accept these things.
Some poor parents with a daughter accept wheat or money on account of the price of the he-goat or buffalo for feeding the girls who sing songs and live with the bride. Out of this money they feed the wedding party at the marriage, but respectable families do not accept such gifts as they are not lawful according to religion.

The Wazirs of Bannu.

Among the Wazirs, the preliminary bargain is effected by the father or other near relative of the boy. When this is arranged, 10 or 15 men of the boy's party with the boy go at bed-time to the girl's house, having sent beforehand sheep, wheat and other necessaries for a feast. Singing and dancing go on all night, a distinctive feature being that the old women of the bride's party come out with a coloured fluid like that used by Hindus at the time of the Holi and throw it on the men of the boy's party. The bride-price is paid in the morning, if it can be managed. The various murders, blood feuds and other wrongs lead sometimes to very young girls being betrothed to the aggrieved party, or else one is betrothed to a man on either side in order that peace may be made.

The price of the girl cannot in all cases be raised at once. For instance an uncle will promise his daughter to his nephew when they are both quite small. One informant stated that he paid nothing at his betrothal, but gave Rs. 100 a year after it, Rs. 200 two years later and that the marriage did not take place for another three years.

At the betrothal, which the Wazirs call kojhota, the girl's father gives her a large ring and a silk worked handkerchief.

The bridegroom does not go to the wedding (shadd) but only the men and women of his family and acquaintance. Very serious resistance is sometimes offered to his party on their arrival at the other village, which is timed for dark. There is then a feast in the girl's house, after which all the males go to the chaunk and begin singing and dancing. The women of the bridegroom's party attire the girl, dress her hair like a married woman’s, and put mehndi on her.

There is next an interchange of small presents, the young boys of the bridegroom’s party being given red ropes, and the girl’s silken braids by the parents of the girl. Each dancer is presented with a handkerchief. In the early morning the bride is taken away.

The brother or, if there be none, the father of the girl returns with her to her husband's house, but no other member of the girl's party. On arrival most of the villagers disperse, but near relatives remain and are fed at the expense of the bridegroom. The men also get a pagri each and a rupee each is given to the women. At bedtime the orthodox nikah takes place and is followed by consummation. People say that it is a sign of the degeneracy of the times that patience is not observed, and that in the old days modesty was used to prevent consummation for a long time. The brother is present during the nikah and leaves next day. Three nights are spent by the girl with her husband and then she goes back to her parents' house with her father or brother, who comes to
Moslem marriage observances.

fetch her. She stops away ten days or so and is again brought back by a relative of the husband. Her father is supposed to give her a second departure. Slight differences may occur in different sections. The points to notice are the presence of the bridegroom at the betrothal, his absence from the wedding, and the accompaniment of the girl by her brother to the husband’s house. The Đum plays little part except as a musician.

**NOTE A.**

The full expression is kāpā yā gadhān-pāwān attēm shāri‘ muqarrar karna and in Māwwāl it is thus described:— On any date in the daytime the boy’s father’s party visits the girl’s father, and he demands some wheat, a he-goat or heifer, cotton and cash. These articles are however only given by the rich, the poor giving nothing. They simply fix a date for the wedding and return. After this the tailor is sent for to make clothes for the boy who gives him Rs. 1. The date is fixed on any day between the 5th and 10th of the lunar month.

**NOTE B.**

The variations in the observance of gadhān-pawān are of course numerous. Thus in Shāhārshāh (taqı), Gurdaspur, a body of 20 or 25 persons of the boy’s party goes to the girl’s house taking 54 to 73 māns of sugar. On the first night of their visit they are feasted and the boy’s father drops from Rs. 1-4 to 11-4 in his dinner plate which the barber takes away, getting 4 annas as his fee. The rest of this money is returned by the girl’s parents. Next day the boy’s party is feasted again and in the evening the girl’s parents invite their kinsfolk. Each party sits separately and then the girl’s parents present clothes for the boy, with a ring. All these clothes are sent in a basket, and 63 sars of sugar go with it. Taking these gifts the boy’s parents drop to Rs. 20 to Rs. 60 into the basket which is returned to the girl’s parents through the barber. They pay the tāq to his dues according to the custom of the village and remit the balance. Each kīrā of the boy’s party also gets a rupee on this occasion. The females of the girl’s party too distribute sugar among their kinsfolk. Then comes the gadhān, the date for the wedding being fixed between the 11th and 17th of the lunar month as the nights are then moonlit.

In Jullundur where the cat pāndū occurs once a month or two before the wedding the date for it is fixed at an assembly held in the girl’s house and care is taken that neither the departure of the wedding party from her house nor the tēl charhān fall on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23rd or 28th day. The best dates for the wedding are the 10th, 14th, 20th and 25th.

In Sālikot gadhān-pawān is called gadhān pānā. The barber goes to the boy’s party with a tawwar which consists of a kūta, dōrafta and astūn, i.e., foa for the samdān (the boy’s mother or aunt). A little oil is dropped at the threshold on his arrival and his first meal consists of khīchāri. Then the kinsmen are invited and the girl’s father gives the boy a rupee, another to his barber and some copper coins to his tāq to. The tawwar is then shown to the kin and given to the boy’s party. In return it gives a bundle of mehndi, maulū, tapāshā, dates, dried raisins, cossamut, 11 sers of jaggery and 11 sers of sugar besides rice and sugar, for the girl. The date of the wedding is fixed on this day.

Chand pānā.—Then the parties send gani’s, i.e., they send jaggery and maulū to kīrāk to inform them of the date of the marriage and invite them to give tambol.

Gandhin pānā.—The father of the boy, accompanied by his brotherhood and taking with him some pur and āntāshā, visits the bride’s father and after consulting him fixes dates for the following ceremonies:—

1. the mendhī khālon dī or unplaiting the hair;
2. the chākān dī, the day on which ṣafna is rubbed on the bodies both of the boy and girl, and on which the gani’s are tied; and
3. the dhooe-dī, the date of marriage.

These dates are generally fixed at some intervals, thus if the 11th be fixed for the mendhī the 14th and 17th are fixed for the chākān and dhoo respectively.

1. Another term applied to fixing the date for a marriage is din dharān. It is used in Jullundur and on the day when it is held the boy’s father summons his kinsfolk, male and female, and songs are sung, sugar and copper coins being also distributed. Apparently this observance is different from and supplementary to the gath pāndū.

2. Round Mithankot the unplaiting must be done on the 11th, 14th, 17th, 21st or 25th of the month.
In the eastern Punjab, in the valley of the Jumna, the ceremony of fixing the date for the wedding is called *lagon*. Thus in Anbāla when the girl's father wishes it to be solemnised he summons his kinmen to fix the date for the *nikah* which must not be any date in the lunar month obnoxious to marriage according to Muhammadan Law or custom. As a rule the *nikah* is never solemnised in the same month as that in which the date of the *lagon* was declared. The girl's father then sends the boy's letter intimating the date fixed and with it a lump of *gur*, 5 or 7 *sura* of sugar, a handkerchief, ring and a few rupees, from Rs. 2 upwards according to his means. This is the usage known as *lagon*.

On the barber's arrival the boy's father invites his kinmen to view the presents. The letter is opened and all are informed of the date of the wedding, which is hardly ever changed. Some of the sweetmeat is then eaten by the boy, the rest being distributed among these present. The ring and the handkerchief are taken by him and he puts on the ring while all congratulate the boy's father or guardian. The barber is entertained for 2 or 3 days and then sent away with a gift for himself and an answer to the letter. This done both parties invite their relatives to attend the ceremony.

In Gujranwāla, when a barber, a *miśār* or both go to the bridegroom's house to fix a date for the marriage on behalf of the bride's father, they take with them a few rupees which is called the *gundā ki tevar*.

**Note C.**

But in some parts, principally towards the west and centre, other ceremonies precede the *bolaṇ*. Thus:

In the Chakwal bhaalī of Jhelum before the *māyā* a male or female barber takes oil in a vessel and stands by the boy. His kinmen then put oil on his head with their fingers. They also throw copper coins into the vessel of oil and these are taken by the barber. This ceremony is called *tel līgānd*. The *māyā* is then begun. The boy's party invite the kinfolk by sending round jaggery, and some mills are set up in the boy's house for grinding flour. Females who have received jaggery go to the boy's house and grind corn on his behalf. This is called *chakki chāng*. On the *māyā* day the parties distribute the jaggery to their kinfolk and if the boy's father be wealthy he procures by beat of drum in the village that no one should do anything in it the day before the wedding. On the wedding day a feast of muton, bread and *bolānd* is given to every one in the village. This is also called *chakāl dawā*. People incur very heavy expense in connection with this feast and many families have ruined themselves over it.

Similarly in Jullundur *māyā* is preceded by the *tel chakhrānd* which is performed a few days before the wedding. A little oil is rubbed on the girl and boy. Both are anointed on *khrānd* and *bolaṇ* is rubbed on their bodies. *Gāns* are tied to the right hand and foot of each. A *gānd* is also called *kawānd*. Henceforth they are considered to be *‘i māyā*"*" till their wedding. The boy is prohibited from leaving his house from this date. The *bolaṇ* is ground by seven females (whose husbands are alive) in a mill. This grinding is called *chakki chāng*. Both bride and bridegroom wear dirty clothes from this date. On the day of the wedding the bridegroom again sits on a *khrānd* and breaks *chapān*. He is also asked to put curd on his hair and wash his head with it. Thereafter the *nīgal-kaṭha* is observed and a garland of flowers is hung round the boy's head. The wedding party starts at about 8 p.m., if the bride's house is in the same village, but otherwise it starts at such a time as will enable it to reach her house at or about evening. The bridegroom rides a horse and the party follows him on foot. It is put up on an open site or in a house selected for this purpose. Among some tribes the *nikāḥ* is performed at 2 A.M. and by others at daybreak. A *kabīl* and two witnesses go to the bride to ask her consent to the contract and she gives it expressly or implicitly. After these formalities the *nikāḥ* is solemnised in the midst of the assembly as ordained by Muhammadan Law. The barber distributes sweetmeats or dates on this occasion.

This usage is called elsewhere *chikhrānd* and it is followed by a period during which the bride is said to be in *māyā*. Thus in the Bābālpur State from the date of the *chikhrānd* ceremony till her marriage the bride wears dirty clothes and is said to be in *māyā*, which the bridegroom also observes. The beating of drums, etc., begins from the very date of the *chikhrānd*. On the day of the *dho* the bridegroom mounts the *khrānd* (a basket) and breaks some *chānuś* (small earthen covers for pitchers &c).

1. In Chakwal Muhammadan preserve a curious Hindu custom. One day before the wedding party sets out the bridegroom pretends to be dismissed with his family and goes to some relative or friend's house. His father goes to pacify him, accompanied by the womenfolk of the family. He promises to give his son something and the master of the house also gives him sweets and clothes. Thereafter the father returns with his son, this is called *Nadhā rānd*. 
Moslem marriage observances.

The marriage procession starts in time to enable it to reach its destination at the time of the *suhur* (the second prayer, recited between 1 a.m. and 3 P.M.), or in the first quarter of the night. Villagers prefer to receive the party at the *suhur* time, while townsmen prefer the night.

Drums, trumpets &c. are carried on the back of a camel along with the marriage procession, and on arriving at the bride's village the bridegroom and his best man (*sobālā* or *sorbālā*) are made to stay apart in a hut (*sahal*) where they remain till the *nikāh*. But this custom is more general in villages than in towns. In Dera Ghazi Khān it is, however, not in vogue. In that district the bridegroom is the subject of a common practice. On the *chikār* day a sword or iron of some kind is placed in his hand and one of his kinsmen is told off to accompany him. This man is called a *hāmi* or 'iron man' and for his services he gets a handkerchief or a *rīха* in this district too the rites of *pithā* *tanānā* and *pīhā chamsā* are observed. In the former the boy's sister ties his 'shirt to her own and receives a gift of Rs. 1 to 20 for so doing. In the latter a *mirzaq* places some cotton in the boy's hand and he puts it in the girl's—this being repeated 4 or 5 times. Then follows the *sīrma* when all the women quit the house leaving the bridal pair inside. For 2 or 3 days after this the bride keeps her face veiled from her husband's father and brothers, but when they give her a *rapu* or so she abandons her *pārda* before them. This is called *γανθ κहलα* di.

The *mehndi* ceremony is observed to its fullest extent in Kāngra. On day before the wedding it is prepared at the girl's house being mixed with water and made into paste, in which wax-candles are stuck. Then all the boy's clothes and shoes are put in a plate. Men of the girl's party take these articles to the boy's house in the evening, but females alone take part in this ceremony. The girl's sister goes with them and applies the *mehndi* to the little finger of the boy's right hand, and some is also applied to the *sorbālā's*. A bit of cloth is taken to tie over the *mehndi*. When applying it the girl's sister drops Rs. 3 to 5 into the bridegroom's hands and he returns this sum with the addition of Rs. 2 or 3. The women take their food at the boy's house and return home at night, the bridegroom's mother-in-law or his elder brother's wife accompanying them. *Mehndi* is applied to the girl in the middle of the night by all the women whose husbands are alive. They too drop some money into the girl's hands, and then return home. The *nikāh* is performed next day.

The *mihda* period or condition is closely connected with the tying of the *gōnās*, but what the connection is does not appear. Thus in Gijrānwālā 3 or 4 days before the wedding the boy and girl are placed under *mihda* and the *gōnās* are tied. In this period their bodies are rubbed with *bafta* and *mehndi* (myrtle leaves ground and made into a paste) is applied to their hands and feet.

Among the Saddozai and Kīzīlābāsh Pathans of Hoshiarpur the *mihda* is unknown or has been reduced to a simple observance called *kina* or *mehndi* in which one day before the wedding the bridegroom's father sends little *kina* for the bride. Some, however, of her party, including her younger sister or any other little girl of her family, go first by night to apply saturated *kina* to his right finger and he pays her a *sister-in-law*-to-be a few *rapu* for her trouble as an act of courtesy. The remaining *kina* is sent back for the bride to dry her hands and feet with.

In Sillākot this usage is called *māda* *parna*. A few days before the wedding each party distributes *ghumandān*, boiled wheat, to its kinsmen after applying oil to the bride or bridegroom in this wise:—The boy or the girl is seated on a *khrād* (basket), below which a lamp is lit. The womenfolk sing and *sudguan* (women whose husbands are alive) apply oil to the heads of the boy and girl. They also put a little *wafānd* on their hands and rub the remainder on the body. A *gōnā* is then tied to their hands and from that day a knife is kept in the boy's hand so that he may not be overtake by demonic influences. He is also precluded from bathing or even going to a lonely place at any distance from his house. The girl's father also puts an iron bangle on her hand. Singing and beating of drums begin from the day of the *mihda* or *māda*, by *mehdā* women who sing such songs as the *jugni challa*, *rebh*, *banga*, *cherwāhi unnarauq* and *sasa* as sung by Manlavi Ghulam Rasul. One day before the relations assemble, i.e., on the wed day, the bride and bridegroom's hands are painted with *mehndi* which is also distributed to the kinsfolk. All the kinsmen too apply *mehndi* to their hands. After the *mīyā* *gōnās* are tied to the mill, slave, winning basket, water-pitchers &c.

In Sillākot a rite called *għarq* *gharqeli bharāni* is performed after midday in the following way:—The brother's wife of the boy or some other woman puts a pitcher on her head. Some bread is placed on the pitcher and covered with a piece of red cloth (*ādī*). This woman is accompanied by her husband and their *dopata* are tied together. Accompanied by several other women they then go to a well and the boy's sister-in-law takes the
Hindu death observances. 889

SECTION 9—HINDU DEATH OBSERVANCES.

Death observances in the Punjab are said to be based on two distinct schemes of ritual, one Vedic, the other based on the Garûr Purâna.

In the Vedic ceremony the body of the deceased, washed and clothed in new clothes, is taken to the place of cremation on a bier. There in the shanmûh dhûmi (place of cremation) a vedî (a rectangular pit for sacrificial fire) some 2 feet deep is dug, and the funeral pyre, of dhák, pîpal or, in the case of the rich, of sandal wood, is set up in it. On the pyre the body is laid and more wood placed over it. When the flames rise high, four men recite mantras from the Veda, and at the end of each mantra, at the syllable swâha, each casts into the fire an oblation of ghi mixed with camphor, saffron, and other aromatics. The weight of ghi, if thrown into the fire in the oblations, numbering 484 in all, must equal that of the corpse or at least 20 sers. When all the oblations have been made, and the dead body is completely consumed, all the deceased’s friends and relations bathe in a tank or river, and return home. After expressing their condolences, some return home, others help the survivors to clean and purify their house and perform a great havan; which being over, all the members of the household and their friends offer up prayers to the Almighty on behalf of the deceased’s soul and themselves. The havan may be prolonged a few days, in order to purify the air of the house. On the 3rd or 4th day the ceremony of aṣṭhisanchaya is performed, and in this the bones of the deceased are picked out of the ashes and thrown into a river. After this nothing is done for the deceased. But if the members of his family are people of means, they give money in alms to the poor or to some charitable movement or start a school, orphanage, sada varta etc., at their own expense, to commemorate the memory of the departed.

pitcher from her husband’s head and places it on the ground. The waterman then draws water from the well in this pitcher and receives a fee varying from 2 annas to 4. Then the husband puts the pitcher full of water on his wife’s head and returns to the boy’s house. The song sung at the gharî gharot runs as follow:—

Wâh wâh gharot bhur ayañ.
Wâh wâh sir te dhar ayañ.
Wâh wâh mî phut javein dî.
Wâh wâh mî nakhrî Nain dî.
Wâh wâh mî phut torî dî.
Wâh wâh mî nakhrî gorî dî.

When they reach the house the barber’s wife takes the pitcher, bread and a taka (two copper coins) as her perquisites while the red cloth is kept by the mistress of the house.

After the gharî gharot the boy is made to sit on a khârî by the barber’s wife, and a lamp is lit beneath it. Then he is washed and a little card thrown on his head. The women all stand round the khârî and the barber gets his wash of silver and copper coins in the vessel containing the curd. A rupee is also placed under the boy’s feet and this too is taken by the barber. All the women contribute wale on this occasion. The other monials also get wale. After the boy has bathed the barber covers his head with salâ and ties a phul-khî round his loins instead of a tâbân. He then jumps from the khârî and breaks some chapata. The tambol is then received and the barber is paid his dues. Theafter certain persons join the wedding procession. When on his departure to his father-in-law’s house the bridgroom mounts the mare, his brother’s wife puts autonomy into his eyes and his sister seizes the mare’s reins to exact their dues. The song sung on this occasion is:—

Ki kush dêndâ wîrî wâg pharâyît
Wîg pharâyît ghôri dêndî chardîyî.

“Oh brother let me see what thou givest for taking hold of the mare’s reins and for feeding her with gram.”
The other rites, observed by all the Hindus in general, follow the Gātrik Pūrāṇa Yaga Vālikī Śrīm and other śrīmātaṇa, which are believed to be based upon old Hindu books, such as the Grihya Sastras and Brahma Granthas. In this, the popular ritual, the body is washed, clothed and taken to the crematorium as in the Vedic rite, with only this difference that a panch rājī (small pieces of gold, silver, brass, coral and pearl) is thrust into its mouth, while it is being washed, and four pindas (balls of flour or boiled rice) are offered at four different places, while it is being carried from the house to the crematorium. A son or near kinsman of the deceased is singled out to go through all the death ceremonies, and in common parlance he is called karmādhar. He has to go barefoot and sleep on the ground for 11 days. When the body has reached the burning place the pyre is built generally of dhāk wood, without the vedī, and the corpse is burnt without going through the havan described above. The kapāl kirā or breaking of the skull is performed by the karmādhar. After it all return, wash their clothes and bodies at a tank or well and offer up tilakdāl (an offering of water mixed with sesame seeds) on behalf of the deceased’s soul.

But the karmādhar has still to go through many other ceremonies. He places a ghara for a male, and a chāli for a female, on a pipal tree, supported by its trunk and two branches, with a hole in the bottom which is loosely stopped by a few blades of kusha grass, so that the water may dribble through. This pot he has to fill with water twice daily for 10 days. Besides this, he has to go through two other daily ceremonies; the pinda or offering balls of boiled rice in the morning, and that of lighting an earthen lamp and placing it on a tripod of three small kanas or reeds in the evening. On the 4th day the ceremonies of ashtī sūnōya and the chaturdīk svarāds are performed. Food with nakśaṁ is given to a Mahā-Brahman and the deceased’s bones are picked out of the ashes and sent to Hardwār to be thrown into the sacred Ganges.

The dasāhi or shaving of all the members of the family and washing clothes is gone through on the 10th day.

The kirā karmā and pindī chhed ceremonies are performed on the 11th day. In the former, pindas are offered on behalf of the soul, and food and shaiya, which consists of a cot, a pair of shoes, an umbrella, some pots and ornaments, are given to the Mahā-Brahman for the sake of the dead. In the pindī chhed the pinda or ball representing the deceased’s soul is cut into three parts and each is mixed with three other balls representing his father, grandfather and great-grandfather if they are dead. It should not be performed if he died without male issue or unmarried, but some people do not observe this restriction. The bāraḥ is performed on the 12th day. In this ceremony 12 ghārās or chālīs (as deceased was a male or a female) filled with water, and each covered with a small piece of cloth, a mathā (a large cake of wheat flour cooked in ghī or a gavānda (a large cake of sugar) and some pieces are given to Brahmans.

The brahma-bhoja is performed on the 13th day in the case of a Brahman or Kshatriya and on the 17th in the case of a lower
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Food with *dakshāṇā* (two pieces at least as a fee or present) is given to 18 or 17 Brahmans. With this ends the ceremony.

If the family of the deceased is well-to-do, it gives a Brahman food every day in the morning only for one year; or else distributes *netak* or *laddū* 360 in number with some pice as *dakshāṇā* among the Brahmans. Hindus believe that the soul of departed has to walk a long distance for one year to reach the court of Dharma Rāj.

**Observances before and at death.**

When a person is *in extremis* he should be made to give away some grain, money and a cow in charity, and a pandit is sent for to recite verses from the *Bīṣhān Sahānsur-rām* and *Bhagvat Gīṭa.*

If the sufferer should recover after all this has been done he is asked what he desires and his wish, whatever it may be, is scrupulously fulfilled, if that be possible. If, however, he shows no signs of improvement, a space of ground near his *chārpaī* (cot) or some other place, is smeared with cow-dung and some *dab* grass scattered over it. On this grass a sheet is spread, and the dying person laid on it, with his feet to the east, and his head resting on the lap of his or her eldest son or next-of-kin. Some Ganges water is very commonly dropped into his mouth, together with one or two *tulsi* leaves, and, especially if he is a man of advanced age, a little gold. When death ensues, the corpse is covered with a cloth and its face turned towards the Ganges. It is extremely auspicious to die on a bed and in Rohtak it is believed that the soul will in that event be re-born as an evil spirit.

In Jind the dying man is laid on the ground and grain, money, a cow &c. are given away in alms according to his means with his own

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1. The orthodox alms are (i) the *gaudān* or gift of a cow, whose horns are ornamented with gold or silver rings, while her neck is girdled and her body covered with a piece of new cloth—red in the case of a female. Copper coins are placed at her feet and she is led up to the dying person who gives her to a Vedvâ Brahman who prays that she may lead the dying man by the tail to the next world. The donor also pours a few drops of water into the Vedvâ's hands. This ceremony is called *gaudān* 'gift of a cow', or *baitari*, 'viṣṭuṃ'. Subsequently (ii) the *raska* gift of sugar, alkal, soap cotton and other necessary of life, is given to the Vedvâ. I satly a *dīpa*, earthen lamp, containing a silver or gold coin is placed in the palm of dying person, and after the recital of *mantrās* is given to the Vedvâ, but this rite is not observed in all parts of the Punjab. This account comes from Shilkot. In Kâ nextPage it is believed that he who dies with the cow's tail in his hand, through the help of the cow (Baitān) crosses the deep Baitarīn river or Bhanjīa nādī which is supposed to exist between this world and heaven, and which it is difficult to cross without the aid of a cow. The cow is afterwards given to Brahmas. After this a lamp called *dīna bhairāyā* is lighted and placed by the head of the deceased, with a wick, which must last for 10 days. No new wick may be put in during that time and if burns out it is considered a bad omen.

2. In Jind when a child over 27 months of age, a grown-up person or an old one is dying the ground is first plastered with cow-dung. Then *kūsha* grass is spread and on that again a cloth is laid. On to that the dying person is taken down from the cot so that his feet point towards the south, i.e. to Lanka or Ceylon. This is called in Urdu *mizīl rāshā.*

3. Or Ganges water, with gold and a tiny pearl, are put in his mouth as passports into Swarga: Karnāī. In Multān a little before death a small piece of gold, a pearl and a porcelain bead are put into his mouth so that the deceased may be purified. A nut or anything given by *gurū* is also placed in his mouth.

**Note.**—A Hindu must not be allowed to die on a bed or even on a mat, as it is supposed that the soul in separating itself from the body in which it is incorporated, enters into another body which leads it to the abode of bliss destined for it, but if the dying man were to expire on a bed he would be obliged to carry it with him wherever he went, which it may be easily supposed would be very inconvenient.
hands. This is called the chhāya dān or akhīrī dān (last gift) and is supposed to avert the agonies of death so that the dying person either recovers or dies without further suffering.

In Kulu, according to a highly idealised account which can only apply to the highest castes, when a man is on his death-bed 7 species of grain, sattūja, some iron, wool, salt and money are put before him, and he is made to give these articles as his last alms or ant-dān: a cow bāitarī is also given. The scriptures already mentioned are read. If the sick man recovers the alms go to a Brahma, otherwise they are taken by the family achārāj, whose office is hereditary. Where it has no achārāj, the dān is given to a Nath and the cow to the local god. When dead, a dīpak dān or a gift of lamp is made and a panch-rātan (a collection of 5 metals) is put in the mouth. a saukh (conch) is blown to make death known to the neighbours, and the near relations are also informed.

Functions of the chief mourner.

The next of kin or nearest agnate of the deceased is, it may be said, ex-officio his chief mourner. In Ambāla he is commonly called the karmī dharmī or in Sālkot bhungīwaldā. 1

After the death he shaves his head, beard and moustache, leaves only the bōlt or scalp lock, bathes, as already described, puts on a clean loin-cloth and turban, and for a period of 14 days eschews leather shoes but not those of cloth or jute.

In theory the chief mourner is a Brahmacārya until all the rites due to the dead have been completed. It results from this his status that he must avoid several ceremonially impure acts, such as sexual intercourse, eating more than once a day, and taking medicine. He should bathe at least twice daily, and practise other ablutions. He should also avoid sleeping too long and, more especially, sleeping anywhere but on the ground. Lastly he ought to abandon secular business for a time and meditate on God day and night.

If the deceased has left a widow, she loosens her hair. Moreover she is, for a time, ceremonially impure and must not sleep on a bed or touch any household utensil. For 15 days, and until she has bathed in the Ganges or Jamnā, she may only eat once a day.

1 The bhungīwaldī or chief mourner (a person who is most nearly related to the deceased or who by common usage has the right to perform this function) doffs his clothes, gets his head and face shaved clean and then bathes in order to purify himself from the defilement of the barber’s touch. All the younger male relatives of the deceased also get their heads and faces shaved in honour of his death. The bhungīwaldī then puts on a dōlt, pārnā and turban of pure white cloth and a sacred thread, and performs hāvan (a sacrifice to fire) and saṃkāleśa giving a few alms to the achārāj who appears at the lamentable scene of mourning.

In Multān the body is bathed having its head towards the north and feet to the south. Then it is shrouded in white cloth if a male and in red if a female. A Mansuri coin is tied to the shroud.

The corpse is then washed and wrapped in a piece of ceremonially new cloth, is placed on a kind of state bed called vimāna. Several other costly coverings of silk and muslin are placed over it in order to show the high social status of the bereaved family. In the case of the death of an elder the vimāna or litter which is constructed of a plank of wood and several strips of bamboo, is decorated with artificial flowers and birds. Before starting all the women of the household, in particular the daughter-in-law and grand daughter-in-law walk round the litter and do obeisance giving alms to the family barber.
Hindu death observances.

In Ambálá 2 copper coins wrapped in red cloth are thrown over her husband's head to indicate that her married life is now over. In Montgomery 2 garments of red cloth (given by her own parents), and 2 of white (given by her parents-in-law) are put on by the widow on the 11th and 13th days respectively.

In Jind directly after death has ensued the deceased's son sits down on the ground near him and places his knee under his head—an usage called godá dená. In some places a lighted lamp is also held by the son. He then 'sits in kirá' (kirá baihná), changes all his clothes and puts on fresh ones which in the case of well-to-do people are of wool.

Before cremation all the sons and grandsons of the deceased get themselves shaved—bhuddar karwáná—in Jind, Bhakhkar and elsewhere, but the usage is not universal. Thus in Gurgaon only the eldest or youngest son may shave or one of his kinsmen may do so, but in some villages all the sons shave. In this district the hair shaved off is placed underneath the cloth spread on the arthi and taken to the burning ground.

If, in Gurgaon, the deceased's wife is alive she breaks her bangles in token that she has lost her suhág on her husband's death. This is called suhág utárná. These bangles are also placed on the arthi, like the hair. In Karnál she also unties her knot of hair, breaks and throws the pieces of her bangles and her nose-ring on to the corpse, with which they are wrapped up in the shroud. The other females of the household also discard their ornaments.

Soon after the death the body is washed, a man's corpse being washed by men and a woman's by women. The water for washing the dead should be drawn in a particular way: the chief mourner ought to take a pitcher and rope, go to a well and bathe. Then, without drying his body or changing his waist-cloth, he should draw a second pitcher full of water, using only one hand and one foot, and carry it home to wash the corpse. If the deceased was a man of high caste, the tilak is applied to his forehead, a jwára placed round his neck and a turban tied round his head. The body is invariably clothed: a man being dressed in white, and a married woman, whose husband is alive, in red called chundrá. A widow is also shrouded in red cloth, but no ornaments are used, whereas a wife whose husband is still living is decked in all her finery, a new set of bangles being put on her wrists, her teeth blackened with mousts, her eyes darkened with antimony, her nails stained with henna, and a bindi fastened on her forehead. The old are dressed with special care. If the death occurs too late for the body to be burnt before sunset it is kept in the house for the night, during which some 5 or 10 of the deceased's kinsmen watch the corpse.

1 So too for example in Bannu before the cremation all the deceased's children and grand-children get their heads, moustaches and foreheads shaved and very often the man who performs the kirya gets all the hair of his body shaved. In Isá Khel if a father or a mother dies, all the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons get their moustaches, beard and head shaved, but the eyebrows are not shaved at all. Only the eldest son is allowed to perform the kirya. If an elder brother or uncle dies without issue only he who performs his kirya gets shaved.

2 With the right hand alone: Karnál.

3 With 7 silver ornaments: and the gold nose-ring, if a wife; the latter being removed by the husband at the burning.
In Kulu if the death occurs early in the day so that the cremation can be effected that same day, a bier is made at once and after the corpse has been bathed and the *mrtuastha* (death-bed) and *dvarpa* (door) *pind* have been offered, it is placed on it, and a shroud put on the body. Four of the nearest male relatives carry the bier to the burning-place and midway the bier is put down, a *bhran* (rest) *pind* being given and the mat on which the man died burnt. All the way grain, fruits and pice are thrown over the corpse, which is then taken to the burning-place where the fourth *pind* is offered. A funeral pyre is then made, and when the corpse is put on it the 5th or *chita* *pind* is given. On the corpse are piled big logs of wood to press it down and the pile is then set on fire, first by the *kirm-burta* or man who gives the *pind* and then by others. All the near relations and neighbours, especially the brothers, sons etc. of the deceased should go with the *artha*. When the body is nearly burnt the skull cracks and the *parott* sprinkles water over the pile: this is called *kapal* (brain) *makha* or *kapal kirya*. The shroud is given to the *acharaj* and the other white cloth is given to the musicians or *Daga*is. When burnt to ashes, some on the very day of the burning and others on the third day wash away the ashes and take out the *asbis* (bones of the teeth and fingers) which they keep carefully and send down to Hardwar by one of the family or some reliable person. Some rape-seed and iron nails are spread on the burning-place.

As a general rule, death is swiftly followed by cremation among the Sikhs and Hindus, but there are many notable exceptions. Thus, the members of several religious sects and orders are buried, as also are very young children, and in certain cases exposure, especially by floating a body down a stream, is resorted to. But whether destined to be burnt or buried the treatment of the corpse is much the same.

The bier (*pinjri* or *artha*) is made of the pieces of the bed on which the deceased lay prior to his death, or of bamboo or *jarak* wood. Upon it is laid the hair shaved off by the next of kin, together with the wife's bangles if the deceased leaves a widow. Over the hair is spread a sheet on which the body is laid. For persons of great age or sanctity a *bawdn* replaces the *artha*.

**The carrying out of the corpse.**

After the body has been tied on to the bier the first *pind* is placed on the deceased's breast, before the bier is lifted up. The bier is then lifted on to the shoulders of four near kinsmen of the deceased, the body being carried feet foremost. As soon as it is taken out of the door of the house, a second *pind* is offered, the third being offered when it has passed the gate of the village or town, and the fourth at the

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1 By metathesis for *rathi* (*Plate*).

2 Sanskr. *cimana*.

3 The 5 *pinde* are all made of bruely flour, *ghis* and in Jind they are prepared at the time by the *Naib* or barber's wife and carried in a dish, *thaal*, by the *Maha* Bramsham who also carries a *garwad* or basin full of water.

4 Head foremost in Karnal: in which District, it is said, the bier is merely halted at a *tamb* and *pind* again placed on it. Then all the *pinde* are flung into the water and the body taken up again feet foremost.
Hindu death observances.

gharában or adhírárag or 'half way' between the gate and the burning ground. Before this fourth pind is offered water is sprinkled on the ground and the bier is set down, the first pind being replaced by this, the fourth. This rite is called bhisé dend, or the 'rest giving,' and the place of the halt is termed biérém, or 'the rest.' Here too the bier is turned round, so that the head of the corpse is now in front, though the same four kinsmen continue to carry it. The fifth pind is offered at the burning ground. These offerings are supposed to pacify the dús of Ráma (the messengers of the god of death). The bier is set down at the burning-ground, and the eldest son plasters a piece of ground with cow-dung and writes the name of Ráma seven times to invoke God's help for the dead. On the same ground the chita, funeral pile, is raised and the body being placed on it a panchratams (five metals) of gold, pearl, copper, silver and coral put in its mouth. In the case of a woman this is done at the house.

Cremation: The pyre.

The purest wood for the funeral pyre is sandal wood, which is, however, rarely used owing to its cost, pipálí, dák or jang being used instead, but a piece of white sandalwood is if possible placed on the pyre. Sometimes the wood is carried by the mourners themselves.

A pyre should be so constructed as to lie due north and south, in a rectangular pit some 2 feet deep, resembling the vedí or pit for the sacrificial fire.

When the pyre has been completed the fifth and last pind is offered and any valuable shawl or other cloth removed from the corpse, and given to a sweeper or a Mahá-Brahman.

The body is then unfastened, the cords which bind it to the bier being broken with one hand and one foot, and laid on the pyre.

The body is laid supine upon the pyre, its hands being placed behind and so underneath it to prevent its being cruel in the future life.

The shroud is torn near the mouth, and the panjrañí inserted in it, while chips of sandalwood with some túlís leaves are placed on the deceased's breast.

A man then takes the burning grass in his hands and walks once right round the pyre, keeping it on his right hand, and then turns back until he reaches the feet. Here he halts and throws the burning grass on to the pyre. As soon as it is ablaze all present withdraw out of reach of the smoke until the body is almost consumed when the chief mourner draws near again and pulling a bamboo out of the bier with it, smashes the deceased's skull. The smashing of the skull is said to be due to the idea that the life of man is constituted of ten elements, nine of which cease their functions at death, while the action of the tenth (dhanjiye) continues for three days after death, causing the body to swell if it remain unhurt. The seat of this, the tenth, element is in the skull, which is accordingly smashed in order to set it free. Finally

1 In Multán the gharában is considered essential. Midway to the crematorium, the bier is placed on the ground and the deceased's eldest son or the one who is to perform the krié kare walks round it three and breaks a pitcher full of water, which he has brought with him from his house. This is done so that if the deceased is in a trance he may regain his senses on hearing the noise.

2 So that it may see the sun in Multán.

3 He then throws the stick over the corpse beyond its feet.
he pours over the skull a cup of ghee, mixed with sandalwood and camphor. This rite of smashing the skull is called kapal kriya or 'the rite of the skull.'

Kār danda.

After this all the members of the funeral party take a piece of fuel and cast it on to the pyre; and as soon as the body has been completely consumed one of them takes the bamboo which was used to smash the skull, and with it draws a line on the ground from the head of the corpse to its feet, keeping the pyre on his left in so doing.¹

Mourning.

After this line has been drawn all the deceased’s kin stand at his feet with clasped hands and the next of kin raises a loud cry of sorrow—gāh mārnā.

Tilanjali.

After the gāh all the men go to a river or well, where they bathe, and wash all their clothes, save those made of wool. The deceased’s kinsmen and others now take a handful of water and facing southwards, cast it on the ground, saying his name and got. With this water sesame is mixed, whence it is called tilanjali. Or a little water mixed with sesame is distributed in the name of the deceased.

In former days a siāpa or mourning assembly lasted 10 days, but now-a-days it is held only for one day, when the women beat their breasts. But on the death of a full-grown man it lasts for several days, and the wife of a Bhāt leads the mourning, and for this she gets a fee which may vary from an anna to Re. 1-4-0.¹

In Siālkot cremation is called sanskūra and when the corpse is laid on the pyre its face is barred in order that the women of the family may have a last look at it. After pouring ghee and panchratni into the mouth the face is covered with the shroud. A piece of wood is then thrown over it from west to east and several logs of wood and splinters of sandal wood are placed on it. Before applying fire to the pile, the bhungiwalā performs a havan under the directions of the acharaj. Then a lighted torch is brought to him, but before he takes it, it is customary for him to show his grief by uttering mournful cries, and following his example all the near relatives present also weep. Then taking the torch the bhungiwalā sets fire to the four corners of the pile and walks round it four times throwing pieces of wood into it while the acharaj recites mantras. His example is followed by near relatives of the deceased. The women now leave the scene and collect on the banks of a river or tank to bathe, but the rest of the processionists wait until the skull cracks. This is called the kirpal kirya ceremony. After it they proceed to make their ablutions, but only at a few yards from the burning pile and they sit down again to perform the straw breaking ceremony.

In this the acharaj recites aloud a mantra ending in the familiar words yatra de tatra gachhate ‘whence he came, thither he goes.’ At the end of this mantra every one takes a straw, breaks it in two and

¹ A somewhat similar rite is found in Multān. There ‘they walk round the pyre three times and return home. On their way back at about 30 or 40 paces from the crematory they sit with their backs towards it and each draws a circle before him. Then the acharaj recites some mantras and they break a straw or bid farewell to the deceased for ever.’
Hindu death observances.

throws it backwards over his head. But the dhungwadá throws his straw without breaking it, thus showing that some connection still subsists between himself and the deceased.

After purifying themselves of the pollution of having carried a corpse they all return to the door of the deceased’s house, though no person may enter it as it is still defiled. Finally everybody taking leave of the relatives of the deceased returns to his own house, where it is usual to sprinkle water upon the clothes in order to completely purify oneself.

It is not until all these funeral rites and formalities have been accomplished that the people of the house are allowed to take any food, for they have neither eaten nor drunk anything since the moment that the deceased expired. All these practices are most rigorously observed.

After the above ceremonies the deceased’s relatives spread a carpet or mat on the ground publicly and sit on it the whole day. Friends and acquaintances of the bereaved family come from far and near to sit on the mat in order to express their grief at the death as well as to console with the relatives. This is called phú- pándá or carpet spreading. The same course is followed by the women of the family, but they spread a carpet in their own house and perform stándá, in which a hired woman of some low caste (śándá ki vásá) sings dirges and the women joining in the chorus, beat their thighs, naked breasts and heads in measured time.

At night several caste-fellows of the deceased sleep on the ground in his house in his honour. Every day for 4 days early in the morning all the males of the family utter loud cries which are followed by the weeping of the women.

If the death takes place late in the evening or at night then all the funeral ceremonies are postponed till the next morning and the corpse is kept indoors. But a stick just as long as the length of the deceased’s body is placed beside the dead, in fear, perhaps that the corpse may not get longer.

On returning from the burning ground in Jind the members of the party bathe at a tank and wash all their cotton clothes to purify themselves, while the Naí gives them sīm leaves, which they put in their mouths. On arriving at deceased’s house they sit in front of it in two rows through which the Naí passes pouring out water, which is also supposed to effect purification. Then they return to their homes.

As a rule no food is cooked in the deceased’s house on the day of death. Those who have married sons and daughters receive food from them. But elsewhere, as in Jind, any relative may supply the family with food, khichrá (rice and pulse), flour and ghô in case the deceased was an adult and sugar and rice also in case he was an old man. This provision is called barząd battá or ‘bitter food’ and the remains of it are not kept but distributed among the poor. In Gurgón if the deceased was a Brahman uncooked khichrá (a mixture of dál and rice), pulse and flour are brought by his jás máns and if he was a Mahájan they are purchased from the bazar. If the deceased was a man of any other tribe this food is sent by some of his relations. When it is cooked a gāngarás

1 Lit., a woman of the Naí or barber caste.
Hindu death observances.

(some loaves of bread given to a young cow) is given. After this the
man who has performed the funeral rites takes his food and is followed
by other members of the family.

The man who has to perform funeral rites cannot wear woolen
clothes but only a dhoti (waist cloth), nor is he allowed to wear leather
shoes. He spreads a cloth before his house door and sits there for the
whole day. Those who come to pay a visit of condolence stay with him
for a short time and then leave him after expressing sympathy with him
and the other heirs of the deceased.

A little before sunset this man goes for ghataharná a second
time. He fills a pitcher after taking a bath and then returns to his
house, but it is not necessary that a pandit should accompany him
in the evening. In the evening an earthen lamp is lighted on the
place where the deceased breathed his last. The wick of this lamp is
made so long that it may be sufficient to last for ten days.

In Bannu after burying a child or burning a person when the
people return home they call a Machhání or waterman's wife to the door
and give her a heap of corn. This ceremony is called bers bhárá. By it
the right of crossing the river in the lower regions is secured to the
deceased.

Nim ki pattí chábána.

The funeral party now returns to the village, accompanied by the
Náí who has plucked a branch of a nim tree. From this every one
takes a leave before he enters the village, and this he chews, and then
spits out as a token that all contamination has been removed; or to
accept another explanation, to invoke a curse on those who wilfully
failed to attend the funeral.

The actual funeral ceremonies are closed by a choudhri or other
elderly man saying, after the members of the party have sat for a time
close to the deceased's house, Bhádo dhoti sukhá, 'Brothers, change
your clothes.'

After the men of the house have returned from the funeral, the
women headed by the deceased's wife or mother (in the case of a man, or,
in the case of a woman, by her daughter-in-law) or by his nearest female
relative, go to bathe weeping and singing mournful dirges as they go.
After bathing they return in moist clothes to the deceased's house and
leaving his heir there go to their own homes. There they take a shudh
ushán, bath of purification, and then resume their ordinary duties.

The Náí now obtains from a Kumhár all the articles required for
the gat, together with those required for burning the lamp at the spot
where the deceased died. These articles include some dab grass, jeorán,
sesame, milk, Gange-water, an earthen jar, and tuśi leaves. The
chief mourner accompanied by a Náí takes these to a well by which he
hangs a jar, full of milk and sweet water or simply water, in a chhinká

1 She also takes with her the grass which was spread under the deceased's death-bed
and the earthen vessel used in washing the corpse, and casts these away outside the
village. This is called pälá usháná.

2 A ghára in the case of male, and a cháf in that of a female; Ambáló. In Kangra
this jar is called chohā and is hung on a stake of pálá wood fixed firmly in the ground
in front of the door.
Hindu death observances.

or net on the trunk and two branches of a tree, which the spirits are supposed to haunt. A small hole is made in the bottom of the pitcher and stuffed with dāb grass so that the water may trickle slowly to the ground. Hence it is called dhārrā (from dhār a stream) in Jind. In Gurgón certain trees are set apart for this rite, which is known as ghat mārā and for which certain mantras are prescribed.

A little before sunset this jar must be refilled, after the chief mourner has bathed, but the pandit need not accompany him. The jar has to be filled thus twice daily for 10 days. In the evening too a lamp has to be lighted at the place where the breast¹ of the corpse was or near the spot where the death occurred.² This lamp must be furnished with wick enough to last 10 days,³ and it must be kept burning day and night for that period, to light up the path of the departed spirit through Yāma-Loka. A small fire must also be kept burning there.

At the same time a lamp is lighted and placed on the ground outside the dead man’s house. Close to it but on the public road must also be placed a tikoni or tripod of reeds, tied together in the middle, on top of which is placed a cup full of water and milk but with a hole in it. All this is done while a pandit recites mantras. This is repeated on the two following days, a new lamp and tikoni being required each day. In Ambūla this observance is repeated daily for 10 days.

Next day the karam-kartā (one who gives the pind̐s), after bathing, cooks some rice to make three pind̐s on which pieces of betel nut and black wool are placed. A jar containing water, milk and ghi is placed on some sand in the compound on a teapot; and a very minute hole made in the bottom of the jar to let the water out slowly, and kusha (sacred grass) is put in the jar. In each of the nine subsequent days only one pind̐ is given and more water is poured in the jar to keep it full. A lamp is kept burning for nine days and the Gātur purāṇ is read by the priest to the audience, who offer money to the lamp, which goes to the priest. On the tenth day the lamp is taken away by a Nātha who gets As. 4, and the other things are thrown into a river or stream, everybody has his head shaved and washes his clothes; on the 11th day the śpinḍ karm is performed: a bed, umbrella, shoes, a cow, cooking utensils, a suit of clothes and jewelry being given to the achāraj.

In Multān on the day after the kīria some more wood is thrown on the pyre so that any part of the body unburnt may be completely cremated.

Soharnī.

Kanets and other low castes give one pind every third day, putting the pind in a hollow piece of wood and taking it to the river, where the karm-kartā holds it by one end and a carpenter by the other, the latter

¹ Whence it is called chhātī dīvā or ‘breast lamp’. Jind.
² In Kāgrā this lamp, called the divā dharāra, is said to be placed by the head of the corpse; and the wick must not be renewed; it is inauspicious if it fails to last the 10 days. Both this lamp and the chārāra are taken at the expiration of the 10 days to the river side, or to a spring, or placed under a bar or pipal tree.
³ Called the Jātrī in Jind.
Hindu death observances.

cutting the wood at the middle and thus the pinda is dropped into the water. Water is brought from the river in a pot, with which to knead some flour which is given to cows. Then a goat is killed and relatives and neighbours are fed. This is called sarvātā.

After the funeral a pāndit is sent for in Gurgāon to ascertain the soharm and terantu days.

The soharm, also called astat sanchi1 (or in ordinary speech phul chhugna) is performed on the third day after the death, provided it does not fall on a Bhadra, panchak, a Saturdāy or a Tuesday, in which case it is observed on an appropriate day.

The deceased's kinsmen go in a body to the pyre and there cook rice and pulse, each in separate vessels. A pinda is then placed by the deceased's skull, and eight balis 2 set round it in as many different directions.

The bones of the deceased, which are universally called phul, 3 are now picked up with an elaborate ceremonial. First of all the chief mourner picks up three, using only his thumb and little finger. These he places in a platter of leaves and then all those present collect the remaining bones. Secondly, the ashes are collected with a wooden hoe. Then the bones are washed in a kurel (the lower half of a pitcher) with milk and Ganges water. Lastly eight stakes are driven into the ground on either side of the pyre.

The bag in which the remains are placed should be of red cloth for a woman and of white for a man. But in Jhind only the bones of the hands, toes and the teeth are gathered into a the'i, a purse of silk or of deer-skin, and then taken to the Ganges or Pihewa tirath. In the Kurukshetra and Devadharti on the Juna this rite is not observed.

The rest of the ashes are collected into a heap, about which 4 pegs are driven into the ground, and round these cotton thread is tied.

The bones are carried by a kinsman, a Brahman or a Kabār.

But in Montgomery the bones are not picked up until the 4th day and they are then sent to the Ganges, while the ashes are cast into any running water. On the other hand in Rohtak the Jāts if well-to-do are said to despatch both bones and ashes to the Ganges while those of people dying of leprosy are cast into the Janna,4 while round Tohāna in Hisnār the ashes are merely piled up in the crematorium.

Hindus dwelling in the Kurukshetra do not send the bones to the Ganges but bury them in an earthen vessel after they have been washed with milk and Ganges water. This is a purely local custom.

1 Asthi sanchaya in some parts.

2 The bali consists of a little rice and pulse put in a dōsa or platter of leaves.

3 The only exception is in Multzān where the bones are called gola. To 'pick up' the bones is chhagna in Panjābi.

4 Distance is not a factor in the matter since in Bhakkar all Hindus send the bones to the Ganges.
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In Kulu among the higher classes the asthi (bones) should be taken to the Ganges within a year of the death. The man who takes them eats only once a day, because the patak is considered to have been renewed at this time. These bones are taken from the place of cremation and in an earthen pot put in a hollow of a tree or wall. When despatched they are wrapped up in silk cloth and hung round the bearer’s neck. If he is not one of the family, he is paid about Rs. 5 as remuneration in addition to the fee for the dán-pun at Hardwar and his expenses on the journey. On reaching Hardwar the bones are cast into the river and alms are given. Some water is taken home, where it is called Gangajal and worshipped. Brahmans are fed on his return and some cloth, cash and grain are given to the parohit.

The pindis.

In addition to the 5 pindis offered during the actual funeral, other pindis, which are believed to constitute the body of the dead man, are subsequently offered.

After the bones have been sent to the Ganges all the kinsmen return to the spot where the ghat is hanging. Then a patch of ground is plastered over and as many pindis offered as days have elapsed since the death. And from this day onwards a Brahman is fed at this same spot, or given 10 days’ supply of uncooked food.

After the phul chugna is over in Jind, the eldest son or he who performs the kiria karm has a kathā (reading) of the Garヴァr Purा�ṇa recited by a Brahman at the deceased’s house for 10 days among Vaisyas and for 13 among Brahmans, Kāyasths and Játs; and some money is spent on this kathā by the members of the family and kin.

Of patak or impurity.

Corresponding to the sūtak or ceremonial impurity which ensues on birth is the patak or bhīt, sometimes erroneously called sūtak which ensues on a death. In theory the period of this impurity is 10 days among Brahmans, 12 among Khatris, 15 among Vaisyas and a month for Sudras, but it is now in practice 13 days among all classes, or less according to the degree of relationship: e.g. the death of a kinsman in the 4th degree involves patak for 10 days, and that of one in the 10th degree for 1 day only.

Patak extends in theory always to kinsmen of the 7th degree.

These rules are, however, subject to many variations. For instance in Sialkot the bhīt lasts only from the day of death to the 11th day and no outsider ventures to eat or drink in the deceased’s house during this period.

But in Baháwalpur the family in which a death has taken place is held to be impure for 13 days, and other Hindus do not eat or drink with any of its members. The impurity extends to all the descendants
Hindu death observances.

of the common ancestor for five generations: thus if F dies all the descendants of—

A

B

C

D

E

are ceremonially impure. After the 13 days the members of the family remove this impurity by bathing, washing their clothes or putting on new ones, and by re-plastering their houses. A person affected by the bhūṭ or impurity is called bhūṭal.

In Bhakkar tahsīl the rules are the same, but the period is only one day on the death of a child of 6 months, 3 days on that of one of 5 years, 6 days if he was 10 years old and 13 days in the case of all persons whose age exceeded 10 years. It is removed by breaking old earthenware, as well as by washing clothes &c. On the last day an achāraṇj is fed and after taking his meal he recites mantras whereby the house is purified. But in other parts of Mīānwalī a family in which a child dies is impure for 8 days; and in all other cases for 11 days among Brahmans, 12 among Khatris and 13 days among other Hindus.

In Bannu the rule is that the pollution lasts for as many days as there were years in the dead child’s age. If one more than seven years dies the pollution lasts for 13 days, and affects the descendants of the four higher generations.

The kiridi karm is performed, at least in theory, on the close of the period of pollution. Thus in Gujarāntālī it is performed by the eldest or youngest son on the 18th day, as the family is deemed to be in sūṭak (state of impurity) for 13 days. This impurity affects the kin to the 3rd or 4th generation. So too in Kapūrthala the kiridi karm is performed among Brahmans on the 11th day after death, among Khatris on the 18th, while Vaish observe it on the 17th and Sudras on the 31st day after death.

In Shāhpur, however, the family is considered impure for only 12 days. This impurity affects all relations up to the 7th degree. On the 18th day it is removed by donning new clothes and plastering the house. A person affected with impurity is called marutak.

In Rohtak the sect of the Sat-Nāmī sādhūs does not mourn or perform any kiridi karm after death.

1 But the period of bhūṭ is also said to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of deceased</th>
<th>Duration of bhūṭ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six months</td>
<td>Immediately after burial or throwing into water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6 months, up to 3 years</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3 years, up to 5 years</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years, up to 10 years</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>11, 12, 13 days according to the caste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hindu death observances.

There is in some parts a tendency to simplify the full rites. Thus in Kohát after the body has been washed and five valuables put in its mouth it is carried on a bier by 4 men who are relieved from time to time on the way. There appears to be no adhmarg and the pinda karand (as it is termed) is only performed thrice, once at the place of death, once at the outer door of the house and lastly at the burning ground. After this the man who has offered the pinda carries a pitcher full of water round the body, breaks it and spills the water. The body is carried out with its feet towards the burning ground, but on reaching it is turned round so that its feet are towards its house. On the way raisins, dates and pice are thrown over the coffin, and if the deceased was a very old man flowers too are cast upon it.

At the burning ground the body is washed a second time and ghṛ is put in its mouth. After the kapal kiriá the man who is to perform the kiriá karm circumambulates the fire 6 times, being joined by all the other members of the deceased’s clan in the 7th round. Then all those attending the funeral withdraw. A short distance from the pyre on their way back all collect and each picks a few blades of grass while the acháraj pandit (sic) recites some mantras and on their completion all men except the one who is to do the kiriá karm cut the blades into pieces and when they come to some water bathe and wash their clothes. Then all the clansmen take water in their hands and putting sesame in while the acháraj recites mantras, throw it on the ground. The deceased’s family then gives the acháraj sweetmeats and 1½ yards of cloth are given to the man who is to perform the kiriá karm for his turban or bhungí. After prayers all may now depart or accompany the deceaseds family to their house which the kiriá karm man enters, but he or some other relation presently comes out and bids them adieu. When they reach their own houses they stand at the door while some one from inside sprinkles water over them before they enter.

A lamp placed in a small pit dug at the place of the death is kept burning for 10 days during which the pandit recites the Garat Purán by night or day. In the morning a pinda and in the evening tarkoksha is offered during these 10 days outside the door of the house. The kiriá man bathes twice daily, but eats only once, though he is given good food. Very early on the morning of the 10th day the lamp is taken to a spring or river where the pinda karm (sic) was done on the first day and put into the water with its face to the south. While so doing a naked weapon is placed on the kiriá man’s head and the same day all the deceased’s clansmen bathe and the boys get shaved. The kathá or reading ends on this day and the pandit is given some cloth and cash. The relations give turbans to the kiriá man, who is thus recognised as the deceased’s representative. Some cash is also given him and his kinsmen console and encourage him to do his work. Brahmans perform the kiriá on the 11th day, Khatris on the 13th and Aroras on the 15th. At this rite the acháraj makes figures of the deolás (gods) on the ground with dry flour and then reads mantras. After he has finished a bed with bedding, ornaments, grain, a cow, some cash &c. are given away in charity in the deceased’s name. Another rite called khorsha very like the kiriá is held on the 16th day when Brahmans are
Hindu death observances.

fed. Until the khorsha is done, the deceased's clansmen are considered impure (sutkhi) and other people will not eat or drink from their hands.

On the 4th day after death the bones are picked up to be thrown into the Ganges, but the ashes are collected and cast into the nearest river. On the 10th day khorsh (rice mixed with pulse) is cooked by a man not belonging to the family and distributed among the kinsfolk.

For 10 days the females assemble together and mourn.

Children dying under 5 are said to be affected by utkrdh, a kind of disease.

In Gurgan from the time the bier is taken up until it reaches the burning ground all the mourners keep saying in a loud voice Rām nām sat hau—sat bole gat hau 'The name of Rām (God) is true and will last till eternity. He who meditates on His name will get salvation.'

Kāraj or Kāj.

The kāj or dim ceremony is not performed on any particular day in Gurgan but care is taken to perform it as soon as possible. In villages the people cook rice with ghī and sugar, while Bāniās and Brahmins in the town fry laddus and kaachurfs. All kinsfolk whether living near or at a distance are invited and the people of the village, as well as Brahmins, Jogis and beggars are fed with sweetmeats. Some only entertain people of 36 castes on this occasion, while others invite men of every caste. The relations who are precluded by kinsship from eating from the bereaved house are given pattal or a separate share, and travellers visiting the village are treated in the same way. Others in addition to inviting kinsfolk in this way give Re. 1 and a laddu weighing a sar to each man of the tribe which does not disdain to receive alms. Some people have been known to spend about a lakh of rupees on an ancestor's kāj. Relations invited on the occasion are on their departure given cash as well as sweetmeats. Those who are bound by relationship to pay something give money when the deceased's heir binds his turban.

Among the Bishnois the dead are buried at a place called ogārā where cattle are tethered. It is believed that the deceased will not turn into an evil spirit by reason of cows' urine always falling on it. In the absence of such a place they bury the dead in a burial-ground or crematory. No ceremony is performed in the case of a child. But in that of a young or old person they perform the tīju or kāj ceremony on the 3rd day after death. The ceremonies connected with the 18th and 17th day are not performed. The kāj of a youthful person is on an ordinary scale, i.e. only 20 or 22 kinsmen and 5 or 6 Brahmins are served with food. Recitations from the sacred books are continued for three days. The kāj of an old person is celebrated with great éclat, large sums of money being spent on it. An ordinary Bishnoi only feasts all his villagers but rich folk spend thousands of rupees. A cow and the clothes of the deceased are given to a Brahman in charity.

Pūrian bhārnā.

The food prepared on the kāj day is at first placed on the deceased's tomb in the leaf of an ak plant together with a cup of water. It is believed that it is more auspicious if this food is eaten by
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crows than by any other bird. The period of impurity of pālak is limited to three days. The actual members of the family are alone considered to be impure. An observance peculiar to this sect is that the marriage of a daughter or granddaughter or great-grand-daughter of the deceased is celebrated on the kāj day.

Barnī baţhānā in Gurgāon.

This observance depends on the pecuniary means of the deceased's heir. On the sōharū pandits are sent for and made to recite the Gāyatri mantra about 125,010 times for the deceased's benefit at a place fixed by the owner of the house. All the pandits rise early and after bathing recite the mantra till 2 p.m. when they take food. If one of them has to make water while reciting the sacred verse, he may do so but cannot resume his place without washing. Smoking is also forbidden during this time. On the 11th day all the pandits assemble at the ghāj to perform kāران. After this they are dismissed with some dakhshnā or remuneration.

Banjūr ehhornā.

This rite is performed on the ekādşi or 11th day after death if the heirs are men of wealth and position. It consists in marrying a cow with a bull. The dues on this wedding are as usual given to the menials concerned, and after it the cow and bull are spotted with mohullī and let loose, to run wild, but the cow is generally given to a Mahā-Brahman, while the bull is branded so that it may not be put to work. Agriculturists will not harass a bull so branded. It is fed by the deceased's heir until full grown. Further it is never tethered with a rope or confined in any house. This rite is also called burkhotar ehhornā or akāl ehhornā. It is not necessary that it should be performed on the death of an old man, but it may be performed on the death of a young one, and generally speaking it is done in the former case also.

Gaukhas jārnā.

This is only performed when the banjūr ehhornā has been duly observed. It consists in planting a long bamboo (about the height of a man) in the ground outside the village with a human head dyed red on its top.

The erection of chhatrīs.

Rich men and those of good position often raise a fine building to the memory of a deceased ancestor at the place where his body was burnt. In the middle of it they erect a structure of the shape of an umbrella. Beneath this in the second storey they have the deceased's foot-print carved. These are always marked on hard ground whatever be the height of the building. Some chhatrīs in Gurgāon have cost Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 12,000 each. They are handsome buildings containing decorated staircases &c. They serve as shelters for travellers. Some people raise these chhatrīs to a considerable height so that they may be seen from the roofs of their houses.

The following superstitions are current in Gurgāon:

(1) One who joins in funeral procession to the burial or burning ground abstains from eating sweetmeats or drinking milk for that day.
(2) Those who raise a funeral pyre for the first time do not drink milk or eat sweetmeats for three days.

(3) If any one dies in the panchak, his death will be followed by another and so a panchak shànti is performed.

(4) The man who takes the remains of a deceased to the Ganges does not re-enter his house without going to the deceased’s burning place and sprinkling Ganges water on it.

(5) If the death of a young person occurs on some festival it is never celebrated until a male child has been born in the family on the same festival.

(6) A man is considered to be very lucky if he has a great-grandson at his death, and it is believed that he will go straight to the Paradise. But it is considered unfortunate if he leaves a great-great-grandson at his death as he will then go to hell. A body is watched till the sobari so that no one may take wood or coal from its pyre as it is believed that if this be done the spirit will fall under the control of some evil person.

Fruit of some kind is given to a husband and wife in halves on the death of a child so that they may soon be blessed with another one.

The shroud of a child dying of māsan (a wasting disease) is brought back to the house and carefully kept after being washed. On the birth of a second child it is laid on that shroud, the main object being that it may not die of that disorder.

A death is considered auspicious if it occurs during the amāwas and kanagat days, and it is believed that a man dying during those days will get an exalted place in Heaven.

If a man dies at a place of pilgrimage or while on his way to it intending to pass the rest of his life in meditation he is believed to have secured a place in Heaven.

In theory Hindu mourning lasts a year, during which period many rites have to be observed. The principal ones in Siālkot are: (i) the pinda offering:—On the day after the funeral, the bhungatā rises early and bathes, puts on a panițram (a straw ring), performs a havan, offers one pinda (a ball of boiled rice) and goes out to water a sacred pipal. All these practices are repeated every morning and evening up to the 10th day under the directions of the achāraj. The number of pindas, which are regularly placed side by side in water at a fixed locality, is increased until it reaches 10 on the 10th day. (ii) The chaitha:—On the 4th day, after performing these rites in the morning, as usual, the bhungatā with his friends and relatives goes to the cremation ground for the bone gathering (phul chunnā). The bones are generally picked up on the 4th day, but if it falls on an ill-omened day the rite is performed on the 3rd. Provided with panch savāya and other viands, he performs a havan there, and taking an earthen pot full of water and milk, sprinkles it over the ashes. He sits on his heels with his face to the east, performs the sankalpa once more, stirs the ashes with a small wooden spade, looking for any bones that may have escaped the flames, and puts them into an earthen pot reciting a mantra meanwhile. Taking up a portion of the ashes he throws them into any river near by.
The remainder he collects into a heap covering it with a piece of cloth supported on 4 sticks, like a canopy. Then he offers a sacrifice to it. These mementoes of the deceased he brings home and they are buried in a corner of the house to be thrown one day into the sacred waters of the Ganges.

In Shāhpur on the 4th day after the death all the bones and ashes of the deceased are thrown into the Ganges in the case of a rich person. But in that of a poor one only one bone from each limb is thrown into that river. The ashes however are always thrown in a stream. In Mianwali the remains are also collected on the 4th day. The bones washed with milk and Ganges water are put in a bag made of deer skin and thrown into the Ganges with some gold or silver while the ashes are thrown into any running channel.

In Isk Khel some kinsmen accompanied by an achāraj visit the crematory on this day to pick up bones which are put into a new earthen vessel while the ashes are thrown into a stream. The vessel is sent to the river Ganges. But if a stranger die on a journey both ashes and bones are thrown into the river. In this tahāl Gadar Purān is also recited on the 4th day.

The tenth day after death.

This day is known by various names. In the eastern districts it is called the dasāhi and in Jind two rites are observed on it: (1) all the kinsfolk (both men and women) of the deceased go to a tank and bathe there, but only the members of his family have their heads shaved as well; (2) his eldest son distributes 10 ekkhāndas (pieces of cloth) with 10 piece and 10 laḍḍūs of rice, each wrapped in a ekkhāná, and cooked gram among the Néi, Jhíwar, Brahman and relatives of his family. This observance is called dasāhi ke laḍḍū bhājānā. The kinsfolk do not take these things home, but give them to the poor, merely tasting the gram and throwing the rest away. This is said pātak nikhāna, ‘to avert the impurity,’ or evil influences of the death.

The dasgātar.

The 10th day after death is theoretically one of ceremonial importance. In Gurgaon it is known as the dasgātar, and upon it the first sefa is offered. During the 9 preceding days the ghat has been kept filled and a single pind offered daily, but on the 10th day all the deceased’s kinsmen go to the place where the jar hangs and there the next of kin, with some other (near) relatives, is shaved; and after bathing they give to a Mahá-Brahman all the necessaries of life.

This ceremony takes fully six hours, and is concluded by giving away 361 pindas, and lighting 360 lamps. In addition 16 special or khorsí pindas are given and tilānjali is also distributed 360 times. After this the ghat is untied, and the spot where the deceased died is plastered with cow-dung, mixed with cow’s urine and Ganges water, and is thus purified.

1 In Shāhpur on the 4th day an effigy of the deceased is made and sweetsmeats and copper coins distributed
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In Kulu on the 10th day after death a goat is killed and relations feasted. This is called somha. The ceremonies of jowdsah etc. are not observed. The higher classes perform the shudhi or purificatory rites on some auspicious day, and the lower on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the death. In this rite Brahmans, neighbours and relatives are feasted and sometimes a sheep is killed. The Kaneta of Lag drink lagri or sur (hill beers) on this occasion, while the Dágis kill a sheep or goat on the 3rd day. The following table shows after how many days the various tribes are considered to become purified after a death in the family:

Lower castes, Dágis, etc., 3 days.
Kaneta, 3, 5, 7, 11, or 18 days.
Brahmans, 11 days.
Rájpáts, 18 days.
Khatřis, 15 days.
Mahájans, Bohráns, Súds and goldsmiths, 16 days.

In Siálkot the 10th day or its ceremonial is called the dasahra. And after the ceremonies usual on it, the friends and caste-fellows of the chief mourner meet on the banks of a tank or river for the final ablutions. He and his near relatives are shaved on this day, shaving not having been allowed during the preceding 10 days. Having finally purified themselves the deceased's relatives hold a funeral feast to which all kinsfolk from far and near are invited. They stay two days in his house and then the women wash their clothes and hair with curds and soap. The earthen pot of water and the lamp which was kept burning day and night are also cast into water. But according to another account the purification is not attained or complete until the day of the kirda karm, the date of which varies.

The rites in Isá Khel are much the same, but in addition a few members of the community put a burning lamp before sunrise on a bundle of khas or kòshák and set it afloat on a river or pond. All the members of the family shave the head, moustaches and beard, and bathe after their return home. They also pour 360 pitchers of water at the root of a pipal tree with the aid of the acháraj who recites mantras all the time. The women also wash their heads and all the clothes worn in performing the above ceremonies. In the afternoon all the members of the community gather together, and the Brahman finishes reading the Garúr Purán the same day, receiving some cloth and a little money as his fee. But of late in the towns the Brahmans have not completed the Garúr Purán till the 14th day instead of the 10th, because the pollution is absolutely removed on the 14th and also because almsgiving to Brahmans is most proper when no impurity remains. On the day when the kirya ceremony is finished, the acháraj is offered a bedstead, a quilt, a coverlet, a few ornaments and a sum of money and is then dismissed.

After-death ceremonies.

On the third day some of the relations of the deceased go to the crematory for the purpose of what is known as phul chuga
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(collection of fragments of bones of the deceased) which without being brought over to the town are despatched to be thrown into the Ganges through a relation, a Brahman or a Kahár. The house is impure (pāta) for 15 days. On the 10th day the household perform daadhi, i.e. they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave and offer pīdā. On the 13th day a number of Brahmans are fed; the walls and the floor are besmeared with cow-dung; the earthen vessels are changed; the clothes are washed and thus the house is purified.

If the deceased left sons the eldest performs the kirya karm. This Sālikot ceremony is performed on the 11th day among Brahmans, on the 13th among Khatris, and among Vaishas on the 16th. Among Brahmans the ceremony is observed by the eldest son, among Khatris by the eldest or youngest son and among Vaishyas by the agent of the deceased. A family in which a death occurs is considered to be impure until the kirya karm has been performed.

The bhungwāla rises early to make his ablutions. The achāraj draws a chank (square) showing therein the symbols of various gods and goddesses on the ground and constructs a pandāl over it in his courtyard. Rice is boiled and several kinds of flowers, vegetables and scents provided. Indeed many other things are prepared which are indispensable for the sacrifices and offerings which he is to make. The kirya karm lasts for several hours and the ceremonies connected with it are too complicated and numerous to be detailed here. It is supposed that from this moment the departed is divested of his hideous form and assumes that of his forefathers to live among them in the abodes of bliss. This ceremony is observed by Kshatriyas and other castes excepting Brahmans on the 13th day. On this day, too, many Brahmans are summoned to a feast to be eaten by proxy for the deceased. Popularly the day is called Burā din or the evil day and on it a widow’s parents send her clothes, ornaments and cash according to their means in order that she may pass her widowhood in comfort.

Randepa or widowhood.—The same afternoon at the conclusion of the kirya karm, the randepa ceremony is observed. The deceased’s widow, after performing ablutions, decorates her body, puts on her richest garments and bedecks herself with all her jewels. Married women surround her, clasp her in their arms, and weep with her beating their heads and breasts in measured times crying and sobbing as loud as they can. Now too it is customary for the deceased’s relatives to give his widow valuable clothes and ornaments in token of their sympathy with her. But she then divests herself of all her jewels and rich garments which are never to be donned again in her afterlife, thus showing her fidelity and devotion to her departed husband.

On this day at the death of an elder splendid feasts are given to his daughters and grand-daughters’ husbands and their relatives. Ghī and turmeric, the use of which is strictly prohibited during the preceding 10 days of mourning, are now used in the preparation of diverse dainties for the entertainment of the guests. The bhungwāla puts on new clothes and turban bestowed on him, if married, by his father-in-law.

The eleventh day after death.

The rites on this day appear to be either the kirya karm or
survivals of the full kīrya rite. Thus in Jīnd on the 11th day after death a Brahman performs the pīnā dān. The pīnds consist of rice, flour, ghi and sugar, and mantras are read by the Brahman. A bedstead, clothes, utensils and grain are given in the deceased’s name according to his means in alms to an acharaj, who is supposed to satisfy the desires of the bhiṣa or ghost body by means of his mantras &c. This observance is called the kīrya of jyāraḥ or ceremony of 11th day. The eldest son who has performed the kīrya karm now changes his clothes and puts on a coloured turban.

In Bhiwānī the gudarwin is solemnised on the 11th or 12th night after death. Sweet-scented things are burnt in fire to the recitation of verses from the Vedas, and all tribes except the Sarhognis give the achāraja clothes, cash and utensils on this day.

The twelfth day after death.

Pārah.—In Ambala and Karnāl the 12th day after death is observed as follows:—Twelve gharās (or chājis in the case of a female) are filled with water, covered with a small piece of cloth, and with a mātka (a large cake of wheat flour fried in ghi) or a gandora (a large cake of sugar) and some pice, given to Brahmans.

Dvadsha.—Four pīnda, one for the deceased, and one each for his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are prepared on the 12th day at the place where the death occurred. The deceased’s own pīnda is cut into 3 parts, with a piece of silver or a blade of dāh grass, and each part knitted to one of the other three pīnda, to typify the dead man’s re-union with his forefathers. At this rite a Gujārti Brahman is feasted and fed. A gift of at least two utensils, a cup and a jar (tilī) is also made to him.

In Jīnd this rite is called the pīnda karm. It is observed on the 12th day by a Brahman, and four pīnda, money and food are given to a Bīrā Brahman.

Hawan.—In Gurgaon a havan is performed at the spot where the death occurred, and at night a fire of dhāuk wood is lighted and on it is thrown a mixture of ghi, barley, sesame, dried fruit and sugar, by means of a stick. The deceased’s house is now deemed purified.

The thirteenth day after death.

Brahmabhōja. Brahmans and Khutris celebrate the Brahmabhōja on the 13th day, other castes on the 17th. Food, with a fee of at least 2 pice, is given to 13 or 17 Brahmans.

Terawin.—On the 13th day at least 13 Brahmans (one of whom must be a female, if the deceased was a female) are fed. The second seyā dān, which is precisely like the first, is also offered on this day, but it is the perquisite of the pārok, the other 12 Brahmans each receiving a vessel of water covered with a bit of cloth, a cup full of sweetmeat a nut, kānool gota, and a pice.

This ceremony is sometimes held on the 12th day or, in Delhi, postponed to the 17th day after the death.

But in Bhiwānī on the 13th day only one Brahman is fed, the

1 Hence this rite is known as the pīnā chhedan kārām. In Karnāl it is said to be observed on the 11th day and as a rule only to be observed if the deceased left male issue, a condition not always adhered to.
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house plastered and cow’s urine and Ganges water sprinkled in it. It is then considered purified.

Dastār Bandī.—The ceremony of installing the heir, of which the dastār bandī or tying on of the pagri is emblematical,¹ is held in the afternoon of the 13th day after death. In Montgomery if the deceased had a shop his heir is made to open it.

The 13th is in a sense an auspicious day, auspicious that’s for the performance of rites designed to secure future happiness. Thus in Gujarāt a widow is made to don fine clothes and ornaments on the 13th or kirya day after her husband’s death and clothes and money are given her for her support in the hope that she will pass the rest of her life in resignation. Nevertheless the donors weep over her on this date. In order too to secure future fertility to the bereaved family some vegetables and water in a new pot are brought into the house on this date.

In Jind on the 18th or 17th day after death, the whole house is plastered and a hawan performed, so that the house is purified. In the case of a wealthy man 12 bronze ga-was (small pots) with covers filled with the water are upset and in the case of a poor one as many earthen ones are filled and upset. 13 or 17 Brahmans are feasted and the parohīl given a bed, utensils, clothes and money according to the donor’s means. In the case of an old man, the family if wealthy of the deceased perform a jag, called the bāra karna or ‘making known’ rite. A man of average wealth gives food to all the Brahmans of his town, and a rupee to each with a feast to his brotherhood.² A very wealthy person gives a jag to 20 or 80 villages in the neighbourhood. This custom, still prevalent in the villages of Jind tahsil, is also called kāj karna or hangama karna. The Neola ceremony is also practised at this time.

After this some wealthy men feast a Brahman daily in the deceased’s name, while others give him two loaves and an earthen pot filled with water every month.

Salārīn.—On the 17th day some food, clothes and utensils are often given to a Brahman, as in Montgomery.

The s tārwān or 17th day in Siālkot is the occasion for just as many elaborate ceremonies as are performed in the kirya karm, but the gifts offered now go to the family parohīl. In this district it is also called sātrāhīn and on it the period of impurity ends although the kirya karm is performed some days earlier according to the deceased’s caste.

On or after the seventeenth day the ceremony of dhārm shānta is observed in Isā Khel and the Brahman is again offered clothes and little money. The family also invites not less than 17 Brahman guests and offers them food of all kinds but especially khir and halwa or sweetmeat.

Some ceremonies are also observed on the 28th day or masak but it is needless to detail them here. (Siālkot.)

¹ Of the exchange of pagri or pagat.
² The number of villages varies from 1 to 101.
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Monthly commemoration.

The dead are commemorated by Hindus every month during the first year and thereafter annually. This monthly commemoration consists in feeding a Brahman (or a Brahman if the deceased was a female) on the day *tithi* in each lunar month corresponding to the date of the death. In Kābra this is called *māsak*, and consists in giving some flour and *ddl* to a Gujrāti Brahman, hence called Māhku or ‘he who receives the monthly offerings.’ Elsewhere the monthly gift consists of a pitcher of water and some food, or of necessaries of all kinds. The subsequent commemorations are really a continuation of the observances on the lunar date of the death.

Thus in Kulu the death of a man is commemorated by performing the yearly *shrādha* during the *kaniagats*. In these *shrādhas* priests and Brahmans are fed according to the position of the performer. Some also observe the *sambatsari shrādha*, which are not confined to the *kaniagats*, but on the contrary are performed on the lunar date of the death.

Annual commemorations.

The annual commemorations are the *baradhi* or *barī* or first anniversary, the *khiabi* or recurring anniversary, and the *chaubarni* or fourth anniversary of the death. The *barī* and *chaubarni* consist in the offering of a *sejadān*, and in feeding Brahmans and the poor. After the *chaubarni* the annual commemoration may be said to be merged in the general commemoration of the dead ensured by the observance of the *ganaga*1, but the *khiabi* is said to be observed every year until the heir goes to *Gyā* and celebrates the rite there. The *khiabi*, as the term implies, merely consists in feeding a Brahman or his wife.

Generally speaking all the ceremonies hitherto described are modified or liable to modification to meet various contingencies. For instance in the event of a death occurring just before the dates fixed for a wedding all the funeral and other rites which are usually spread over 15 days can be completed in 3 days or even 3 *pahrs* of 3 hours each.

But still more important are the modifications due to the age of the deceased, the circumstances under which death occurred, such as its cause or the time at which it happened.

The death-rites of children.

Very common are the customs in vogue in Bahāwalpur in which State if a child of less than six months dies it is buried under a tree, and a cup of water is put beside the grave at its head. But in Shahpur if a child of six months dies the body is thrown into a river or running channel and in some cases it is buried, but no cup of water is placed near the grave. A child over six months but under five years of age is buried or thrown into a river. But these rules are subject to endless variations. Thus in the towns of Jīnd children dying when under 27 months of age are merely taken down on to the ground and then buried. There is no *mansāl radānt*. Children in villages dying under the age of 6 years are similarly treated.

1In Kābra the offerings at the *barkhi* still go to the *achḍra∫*: those of the *chaubarkhi* to the *parshī* of the family.
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As a general rule children are buried and not burnt, if they die before attaining a certain age, which is very variously stated as being 6 months or a year in Gujranwala; 2 1/2 years or even 8 years in Hisar; before the 1st tonsure at 22 months in Kangra; 2 years generally in Sialkot, Gujranwala, Montgomery; 3 in Gujrat and in the Zafarwal tahsil of Sialkot; 5 years among Hindu Rajputs, Jats and Mahajans in Rohtak; 2 1/2 years in towns among the higher castes, but 6 years in villages among all castes in Jind; up to 10 years, if unmarried, in Gurgan; after cutting the teeth in Kapurthala.

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say why the ages reported are so discrepant and what the causes of the discrepancies are. In Kangra stress is laid on the mūntān sanskr or tonsure. If a child dies before that rite it is buried under a tree or behind the house; but if it dies after it is burnt. It is generally performed before the child is 22 months old, and only in the case of a male, but a girl child is also buried up to the age of 22 months. All persons more than 22 months old are said to be cremated in this district. So too in Multan children exceeding the age of 5 in general and those whose hair-shaving rite has been performed in particular are cremated. Elsewhere no such rule is known or at any rate reported. Thus in Rohtak among Mahajans, whose children are generally buried if under 5, those under 2 are carried to the burial-ground in the arms but those over 2 are borne on a bier. A child over 5 is cremated. If a child die of small-pox it is set adrift on the Ganges or Jamna. Hindus are especially careful that a child does not die on a cot as it is believed that one who dies on a bed transmigrates into an evil spirit. A dying person is therefore laid on the ground a little before death.

In Sialkot although children over 2 are cremated no kirya harm is performed for those under 10 and both the bones and ashes of such children are set adrift or buried. In Zafarwal tahsil they are interred in burial-grounds. Children who die after these periods are usually burnt in Hisar, though sometimes the body is set adrift on a canal or river—in Rohtak this is done only if the death was due to small-pox, and in Gurgan victims to that disorder are not burnt even up to the age of 12, but are set adrift on the Jamna or the Ganges, because Sita

1 In Hisar the custom seems to depend on the parents' position or caste. As a rule a child under 21/2 years is buried with a cup of milk at its pillow. But around Tohana children are buried in burial-grounds up to the age of 8, except in the case of pandit families when they are cremated after the age of 5. As a rule only well-to-do people send the remains to the Ganges, but it is indispensable that those of a married person should be cast into that river.

2 But another account says that if a child of less than 6 months dies it is buried but not under a tree and no cup of water is placed beside its grave except in the Duggar where the custom of placing the cup beside the grave does prevail.

3 But in the Khanghi Dogran tahsil of this district it is said that a child dying under one year is buried near a bush, while children over that age are cremated and both bones and ashes thrown into a river or canal. Only the bones of those dying when over 11 years of age are sent to the Ganges.

4 But another account from this same district says that among Hindu Jats children under the age of five are generally buried. If a Hindu boy between five and ten years dies, townsmen as well as rich people in villages set the body adrift in the Jamna, while ordinary villagers bury it in the burial-ground. Persons above the age of 10 are cremated. Jats are not townsmen and the account is not easily reconcilable with the one given in the text.
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would be displeased if they were cremated and the disease would spread. In Amritsar all children dying under 5 are said to be cast into a river or tank, or if that is not possible buried, and if less than one year old buried under a jand tree. Further, it is said, those exceeding 5 years of age are cremated and their kirya karm is performed on the 4th, 7th or 15th day, with reference to their age. In such cases the funeral pile is made of the reeds or sticks on which the body is carried to the crematory.

In Isa Khel children under 1 are buried near the banks of a stream or watercourse, but those who die between 1 and 2 are set afloat on a stream, with a jar of sand tied to the neck so that they may be eaten by fishes. And in Gujarat this is also done, but a second jar, filled with rice and sweetstuff, is also tied round the child’s neck.

Townpeople, and in villages the well-to-do, prefer to set the body of a child afloat on a stream, but villagers as a rule bury their children up to the age of about 10 in Rohtak; but in Montgomery children over 2 but under 5 (or even under 10 among the poor) are set afloat on a stream, those under 2 being buried in pits in a grove of trees. Similarly in Mauwali children under 6 months are buried in pits near the bank of a stream or under the shade of a tree and on the following day a cup of milk is placed near the grave.

Though cremation of children is not unusual, it is not the rule to vouchsafe them all the rites if they die before the age of 10, or even 14. But in Siilkot the rule is that up to 2 or 3 children are buried, from 3-5 they are burned and their ashes cast into a running stream, but their bones are not taken to the Ganges unless their age exceeds 5. In Kapurthala the body of a child which has cut its teeth but not reached puberty is cremated, but instead of the kirya karm only the dangātri is performed. This merely consists in both men and women bathing at a well or river.

In Dera Ghazi Khan the kirya karm rites of a boy of 10 are brief and only extend over 4 days, and it suffices to cast his bones and ashes into the Indus.

After marriage or attaining puberty the rule is that the body of a child, at whatever its age it may have died, should be cremated.

Children are buried in a place specially set apart for that purpose called the chhuṟ gada in Gurgāon, and masin in Jāmpur.

In Gurdaspur an infant under one year of age is buried under the bed of a stream, if there be one within reach; and a child under two is buried in a lonely spot far from the village and all paths, among bushes and preferably near water.

1 But in Dera Ghazi Khan only men and boys, young or old, who die before the Sīlā puja is performed, are said to be thrown into a river.

2 In Gujar the is said to consist in giving an acbārya a suit of clothes, which would fit the dead child, on the 4th day when its bones and ashes are cast into a stream. This is observed on that day it is called the dangātri.

3 Not traceable in dictionaries.

4 Cf. Pā. Diet., p. 787; maswāna = masin = burning-ground.
In Baháwalpur the body of a child under 6 months is buried under a tree.

The rites at the burial of a child are very simple and have already been noticed incidentally.

A cup of water is often put beside the grave at its head, and in Hissár a cup of sweet water is put by the head of a male child which was not being suckled at the time of its death. Sometimes a cup of milk and some sweetmeats are so placed.

It is a common custom for the relations to bring back on their return from the burial the leaves of a tree or vegetables and cast them into the mother’s lap, in order that she may continue to be fertile. A similar idea underlies the custom in Gujrát, where on the 13th day some vegetables and water are brought into the house in a new earthen jar, to ensure the continuance of the family’s fertility.

In Kapúrthala one of the ornaments belonging to a dead child is re-made into a foot-ornament which the mother puts on in order that she may bear another child.

When a child is buried and its body disinterred by jackals, there is a widespread belief that the parents will soon have another child, if the marks show that it was dragged towards their home; otherwise, their next child will be long in coming.

Another widespread superstition is that when a child dies its mother should take hold of its shroud and pull it towards her, in order that she may have another child; sometimes too a small piece of the shroud is torn off and sewn to her head-cloth. After burying the child the relations bring leaves of vegetables (ság) and put them in the lap of the mother, in hope that she may get another child. These beliefs are found in Baháwalpur and in Kángra and with variations elsewhere. Thus in Tohána the father or some other relative of the dead child brings green dabh grass and casts it into the mother’s lap. In Isá Khel the mother is forbidden to walk openly in the streets after the death of her child until she has menstruated a second time.

If a child aged between 4 and 6 die leaving a younger brother the parents take a black thread or a red thread equal to its height in length, and tie it round the younger boy’s leg where it remains until he has passed the age at which the elder child died. It is then thrown, with some sugar, into a river. This thread is called lákóh.

In Baháwalpur if a child aged 1 to 6 years who has a younger brother dies the parents take a red thread, touch the body with it and then fasten it round the leg of the younger boy, and it is not removed

1 In parts of Máfúwáí this is done by an Aráin.
2 In Déra Ghází Khán they are put into the father’s lap, and he places them in the child’s cradle. If a Hindu child dies in Shahpur the mother gets one of its ornaments re-made into one for her own feet, but the custom of dragging the shroud is extinct. Instead of putting greens into the mother’s skirt something such as sweetmeat is put into it.
3 To prevent this fire is kept burning at the grave for 3 days: Karnál. But in Gujrát just the opposite occurs, for the mother places bread on the grave in the hope that it will attract dogs to it and that they will disinter the corpse.
Hindu death observances.

until he has passed the age at which his elder brother died. This thread is called lákh. In Amritsar a child dying in such case is not buried until one of its ornaments has been put on the younger brother and a thread touched by the dead body tied on his right foot. When the younger brother has passed the age on which the child died these are both removed.

Effects of death on the mother.

Care is taken that the shadow of the dead child’s mother does not fall on any other woman until the milk disappears from her breasts, lest the other’s child pine away and die. When the milk has disappeared from the mother’s breasts she is taken to a place outside the town, and there made to bathe and put on new clothes. On her return some green vegetable is put in her skirt.

Effects on subsequent children.

If an infant whose parents are greatly attached to him dies and another child is subsequently born to them, they are careful not to make any show of affection for it. Thus if on the occasion of the deceased child’s birth they distributed gūr or sweetmeats they now distribute onions instead. So too in Bānum tahsil those whose children die one after the other distribute gūr instead of baláshas or sugarcandy on the birth of another child.

This custom is widely spread and the idea on which it is based gives rise to many similar customs. Thus in Hissáir the second child is dressed in clothes begged from another house. In and about Tohána blue woollen threads with cowries on them are tied to both his feet and not removed until he has passed the age at which the deceased child died. In Karál the father bores the nose of the son born afterwards and often gives it a girlish or worthless name, with a view to some away death from it; it being considered that the Death-god (Yána) strangles in his nose more male infants than female. In Kángra nothing is distributed at the birth of such a son and in Montgomery no ceremony is observed on his birth or it is observed with some alterations; e.g. the kinsmen are not feasted at the observance of the chōlu ceremony. In Sháhpur a child born after 3 or 4 children have died is given iron bangles made of the nails of a boat to put on its feet. In Gujrát if a man’s children do not live, he adopts the birth ceremonies of another caste avoiding those of his own.

A similar idea underlies the following custom:

If a man’s children do not live, he gives opprobrious names to those born afterwards. Such names are Khotá Rám (khotá, an ass), Tindân (worm), Lotás (an earthen vessel), Ledán (camel-dung), Chúhrá (a sweeper), Chúhá (rat), Giddar Mal (jackal), Lála-Lela (kid) and Daqqú Mal (frog) for boys; and Hirní (a doe), Rá mí (one mixed with others), Chúhrí (a sweeperess), Chúhi (she-rat), Chirá (sparrow), and Billo (cat), for girls.¹

¹ Similar names are given in Montgomery if a man has several daughters successively, the third or fourth being given such names as Akki or Naurí.
Hindu death observances.

Effects on subsequent wives.

The pāhājīs.—If a man in Bhakkar lose his first wife and marry again he places a pāhājīs or silver effigy of his first wife round the neck of the second, distributing, in memory of the former, sweetmeats among young girls. And for the first three nights he and his wife sleep with a naked sword between them.

If he lose his second wife also he is married the third time to an aś plant, or a sheep, so that the marriage to his third wife may be his fourth, not his third. His third wife wears the pāhājīs of the first two, and the other rites are also observed.

In Multān if a betrothed child is dying, members of the opposite party take some sweetmeats to him a little before his death. Of this a small quantity is kept and the rest sent back. By this the connection between them is considered to be severed for good.

Effects on a betrothed girl.

If a girl lose her fiancée she is made to stand in the way of the funeral cortége and pass under the bier in order to avert all evil in the future from her own life. In the south-west especially the fiancée's death is kept a secret from the girl's relatives, and rejoicings are actually held by his kinsmen, who go about their business as usual by day, and at night secretly carry out the corpse, wrapped in a blanket, to the burning ground. The fiancée's parents attribute his death to the girl, and her relatives perform rites to avert evil to her.

In Amritsar if either of two affianced parties die the survivor comes to the deceased's house and tries to knock his or her head against the wall. This clashing of head is considered by the deceased's heirs an unlucky omen. If the other party cannot find an opportunity to effect it, he tries to get a chance to touch a piece of cloth with one worn by the deceased. In former times the attempts to get access to the house or possession of such a piece of cloth even led to blows. Even in recent years the belief has led to trouble. Thus in 1903 a betrothed boy died of cholera at Lahore. So closely was the secret of his illness kept that the most essential sanitary precautions were ignored and he was carried out stealthily to be burnt, lest his fiancée should succeed in striking her head on the tharā or raised platform of his house, which was kept shut up. Failing in this the girl's father got his daughter's forehead marked with small stars and placed her, clad in a red cloth, in a hackney carriage. Accompanied by 3 or 4 persons he stopped it before the boy's house and made the girl alight from the carriage in order to strike her head on the tharā but the was prevented from doing so by the police posted there at the instance of the boy's father. He next tried to bribe the police but without success; then in desperation he tried to throw his daughter headlong across the tharā from the roof of the house, but he was prevented from doing this either by the police, and a free fight resulted between his party and them. Unsuccessful in all these attempts, he then went to the shamālan, but its gates had already been locked by the boy's father. The girl's partizans next tried to scale the walls, but those inside threw

2 Pahājī = co-wife; in Multāni = country-woman.
bricks at them, the besiegers retaliated and a hotly contested fight ensued, but at last the boy’s body was burnt and his ashes together with below them 6 inches of the earth were put in a cart and taken by another route to the river into which they were thrown.

Effects on a girl widow.

If the husband of a young girl dies his ashes are wrapped in a cloth which is put round the widow’s neck in the belief that she will pass the remainder of her life in patience and resignation.

In Montgomery if a young girl becomes a widow, two pieces of red cloth and two of white are put on her on the 11th and 13th days. The red cloth is given her by her own parents and the white by her husband’s.

Death rites of the old.

When in Jind an old man is dying the womenfolk of the family prostrate themselves before him and make an offering of money which is the barber’s perquisite. If an old man die, leaving grandsons and great-grandsons, his relatives throw silver flowers, shaped like chamba flowers, and silver coins (or if poor, copper coins) over his bier. In Mianwali only Muhammadans and Acharyas will take these flowers and coins, but towards Multan and generally elsewhere people pick them up and place them round their children’s necks, in hopes that they will thus live as long as the deceased. But in some places, such as Hissar, they are taken by the poor. This is the case too in Bhakkar where the same usage prevails in the case of a ‘perfect devotee’ of an unspecified sect or order who is further honoured by being cast into a river.

In Amritsar much joy is displayed on the death of an old person with living grandsons and great-grandsons and his kinsmen send pitchers full of water for a bath to his eldest son. These are broken and the wood purchased for cremating the body is pilfered. Flowers of gold and silver, almonds and dried dates passed over the funeral pyre are considered auspicious and the women strive their utmost to pick them up. The pyre is built of wood, wrapped in a silk cloth, which is taken by the Achāraj.

Death from disease or violence.

As we have already seen children who die of small-pox are often thrown into water. And in Multan children dying of that disorder, measles or whooping cough are in general thrown into a river, the idea being that the goddess of small-pox must not be burnt or cast into fire. When thrown into a river the body is put in a big earthen vessel full of earth and sand to sink it.

All who die of leprosy are cast into the Jumna. If a man be drowned and his body cannot be found his relatives go to Thanesar,

1 The Hītkari, Lahore, of July 19th, 1903.

* In Bannu when a young man or an old one dies, the kinfolk throw copper coins and resin over his bier, and the coins are given to a Muhammadan beggar, but no Hindu beggar will take them.
Hindu death observances.

and then make an effigy of him which is duly cremated on the banks of the Saraswati.

In Kulu in such a case a Narain-bal is performed at a sacred place, such as Kuruserhehar in the manner prescribed in the Shastros. A lighted lamp is placed on the breast of the corpse, if it has been found; otherwise an image of flour or kusha is made and the lamp is put on its breast. It is then cremated in the usual manner.

The lower castes take water in a pot and pour some rape-seed into it. A bee is also put in, and the chela buries the pot on the spot where the death occurred. A fowl is sacrificed there and then all the other performances are observed. The people say that if the Narain-bal be not performed the dead man goes to hell.

If in Multán a person dies so suddenly that the lamp cannot be lit before his death it is believed that he will become an evil spirit and to prevent this the person performing the kirga korm goes to the Ganges and performs the Narain-bal.

Death at certain times &c.

When a man dies in the panchak, idols of kusha grass are made, one for each of the remaining days of the panchak and burnt with the dead; some perform the ceremony of panchak shânti on the spindi day.

A death during a solar or lunar eclipse is considered inauspicious and in such cases grahan shânti is performed on the spindi day, but the other matters of ras and nakkhattar are not observed.

In Kulu when a man dies without issue or at enmity with his family, an image is made to represent him and worshipped by his survivors and their descendants as an autar deota (sonless deity). This image is worshipped before beginning to consume a new crop and at every festival it is kept at the village spring or at home. Non-performance of this ceremony is believed to cause illness or some other evil. The worship is continued indefinitely, as it is believed to do good to the survivors' descendants for ever.

Other beliefs.

The Kulu people believe in the predictions made by the chelas of a deota when at a burning place they see some one who was really elsewhere. To avert the danger they sacrifice a sheep, a goat or a fowl and recite certain mantras. Some cooked rice and meat are also put in a broken earthen jar and thrown away far from home. A priest or jotshi is sometimes consulted and advises charity.

It is unlucky to carry a corpse through a gate or door—lest death subsequently find its way through it. Thus if a death occur in one of the palaces of the Nawâbs of Bahâwalpur the body is carried out through a hole in the wall. So too in Mâler Kotla it is, or used to be, forbidden to bring a body into the town unless permission be obtained to break through the town wall, in which case the body must be brought in and taken out again by that gap.
Hindu death observances.

Death customs.

According to the older astrology the sky was divided into 27 lunar mansions (nakshatras), of which 21 thus lay in each of the 12 zodiacal signs (burj or ras); and of these nakshatras the last 5, viz. the second half of Dhanishta, Sat Bikkka, Purba-bhadrapad, Utara-bhadrapad and Reoti, occupy the signs of Aquarius (Kumb) and Pisces (Min). This period of 4 1/2 nakshatras is counted as 5 days and thence called panchak, or, dialectically, panjak.

This period is uncanny in several ways, and it is especially inauspicious for a death or, to recall the original idea, for a cremation, to occur in it. Any one so dying can only obtain salvation if a śaunti or expiatory ceremony be performed on his behalf. This consists in employing 5 Brahmans to recite verses, and on the 27th day after the death, on which the moon is again in the asterism in which the deceased died, the śaunti is performed, various things such as clothes, flowers and furniture being given away.

The chief superstitions appertaining to the panchak related, however, to the surviving kin, for the Hindus believe that a death in this period will involve the deaths of as many others of the family as there are days remaining in the panchak. To avert this the corpse should not be burnt until the panchak is over, or if this cannot be avoided as many dolls are made of cloth of the darabah or dabh grass (or among the well-to-do of copper or even gold) as there are days remaining. The dolls may also be made of cloth or cow dung, and in some places a branch of a mango tree is carried with the corpse and is burnt with it, as in Sirmur. In Dera Ghazi Khan wooden dolls are made. These are placed on the bier along with the dead body, and burnt with it. For instance, if a person dies on the 2nd day of the panchak, 3 dolls, and if on the 3rd, 2 dolls are made, and burnt with the corpse.

As always various additions to or variations of the rite occur locally. Thus in the Simla Hills, at least among the higher castes, 5 dolls are made and placed with the body, which is then carried out by the door, but 5 arrows are placed on the threshold. These arrows must each be cut in twain by a single sword-cut, otherwise as many persons will die as there are arrows remaining uncut, while the swordsman himself will die within the year. Great care is taken lest an enemy possess himself of the dolls. After the corpse has been burnt tiranjoli is given 5 times in the name of the 5 dolls. Then 5 Brahmans recite mantras, and make, usually in a thákurdwāra, a chauk on which they arrange 5 jars, one in the centre and one at each corner. Into these are poured water and pany-amrit, and they are then closed with bits of red silk on top of which are put copper plates with images of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Jām and Bhairon, one god engraved on each. The appropriate mantras are recited at least 1250, but not more than 125,000, times for each god and mantras are then recited in honour of

1 Note the custom of not burning children under 27 months of age. It is apparently inauspicious to associate 27 with burning.

2 But one account says that 5 dolls are always burnt, irrespective of the number of days remaining. These are named Pret-bah,—mukh-ap, bhumip and barta, and, after being worshipped with flowers etc. are placed on the pyre, at the head, eyelids, left armpit, abdomen and feet of the corpse: Kalsia.
Hindu death observances.

Gatri and Trikal (?). After the recitations are finished a hawan is performed. The Brahmans are fee'd and fed, and then take water from each jar and sprinkle it over the members of the deceased's family. This removes the evil effects of the death in the panchak. The head of the family also performs a chhaya-dān.

In the Pachhád tahal some people fill a new earthen pot with water from 5 different tanks or rivers and hang it from the door of the house by a rope made of 5 kinds of twine. The water of the Giri, or of large tanks which never run dry, is preferred. In the cis-Giri country a panjak šānti is performed by a Brahman who recites mantras. The corpse is not burnt on the ordinary burning ground but in some other place and, if practicable, in the lands of another village; and Brahmans are feasted one day before the ordinary time. People do not venture to wear new clothes or jewels, buy or sell cattle, lay the foundation of a house or take any new work in the hand during the panchak days.

Some of the Muhammadan peasantry in Baháwalpur believe in the panjak, but according to them any one dying in the first or last 5 days of a lunar month is said to have died in the panjakān; and the belief is that 5 or 7 members of the family must then die. The following measures are taken:

(i) While carrying the coffin they sprinkle mustard seed on the road to the graveyard. (ii) Blue pothas (small beads used by girls for decorating dolls) are put into the mouth of the corpse. (iii) A piece of ak plant is buried with the body. (iv) After the body has been buried, an iron peg is driven into the ground outside the grave, towards the deceased's head.

If a person dies during the panjak and his relations knowingly omit these ceremonies at his funeral, and deaths ensue in the family, they exhume the body, and ignorant people believe that it will by then have grown long teeth and eaten its shroud. Some sever the head from the corpse: others think it sufficient to drive a nail into the skull.

The occurrence of a death in the panchak also modifies the rites observed after the cremation. Thus on the 7th or 8th day after such a death orthodox Hindus of Dera Ghazi Khán sometimes make an image of 360 pieces of wood or of drubh grass and burn it, with full rites; and on the 27th a special panjak šānti is performed.

In Gujrat on the 13th or 27th day after death the Hindus fill 5 jars with grain of various kinds and make 5 dolls of metal—gold, silver or copper according to their means. These images are then worshipped and fed with butter, curds etc., and 5 Brahmans recite mantras, receiving Rs. 1-4 (5 4-anna pieces) for their services.

In Sirmúr, on the corresponding day of the panjak in the following month, a door frame, made of thimbu wood, is erected beside the house-door through which the corpse was taken out; and in this 7 different kinds of grain are stuck with cowdung. A special mantra is recited on these before they are stuck to the door. A he-goat's ear is also cut off and the blood sprinkled upon the frame. If these
ceremonies are not performed as many people of the family or the
village will die as there are days of the panchak remaining.

It is not easy to say what are the precise ideas originally under-
lying the panchak observances, but it would appear as if the leading
idea was that anything which occurs during this period is liable to
recur. For this reason it is unwise to provide anything likely to catch
fire—lest it get burnt and a funeral pyre ensue—during the panchak.
Accordingly fuel should not be bought, cloth purchased or even sewn,
beds be bought or houses thatched; nor should a pilgrimage be under-
taken towards the south, or indeed at all: nor should one sleep with
one’s head towards the south. It is indeed unlucky to commence any
new work, but as a set-off to the prevailing gloom of the period it is
peculiarly auspicious, at least in the south-west Punjab, for Hindu
women to wear ornaments during the panchak days, the idea being
that they will get as many more ornaments as there remain days before
the period expires.

If in Sirmúr a corpse has to be burnt on a Wednesday an iron
nail or peg is fixed at the spot where the death occurred, near the head,
before the body is removed. Otherwise another death will occur in
the house within a year. Generally speaking this superstition is only
common among Hindus, Muhammadans disregarding it.

In the Simla Hills it is believed that if a corpse be burnt on a
Sunday or a Tuesday, another will soon be burnt on the same ground.

If a person dies in the Swáti nakshatra the following ceremony
is performed, lest many deaths occur among the brotherhood and the
villagers. After the body has been burnt 5 wooden pegs are driven
into the ground, at the spot where it was burnt, in a peculiar shape,
and round these an untwisted cotton thread is tied. As the mourners
go back a hole is made in the road, at a short distance from the
pyre, and in this a he-goat’s head is buried with a loaf made of
7 kinds of grain, and a patha¹ in which are fixed 7 iron nails be-
smeared with goat’s blood and over which a special mantra is recited.

In the trans-Giri country if a person dies during the Swáti or Múl
nakshatras, or on the 1st or 7th day of either half of the lunar month
4 pegs of thimbu wood are fixed to the door of the house in which the
dead occurred, and a white woollen thread is tied round them, while
mantras are recited. Seven kinds of grain are also stuck with cow-
dung on to the upper part of the door. Six more deaths will take
place among the relations or villagers if this ceremony is not performed
for a death occurring in the Swáti or on the saptami (7th) day of either
half of the month, and an indefinite number will ensue on a death in
the Mula or on the Purima (first day of either half).

In the Simla Hills in the country beyond Phágú, a death in Makar
(Capricorn) portends the deaths of 7 kinsmen, and to avert its conse-
quences 7 dolls are made and 7 arrows cut in precisely the same way
as in the panchav rite. This superstition is called satak (from
sdt 7). In the same part of the hills it is also believed that if A die in

¹ A wooden tube through which seed is poured on to ploughed land.
the *nakshatra* of B's birth, B will die within the year, or fall victim to a dire disease. To avert this a rite is held in honour of Mahamarti, when the *nakshatra* recurs. B is covered with a white cloth and the Brahman, after performing a *chhayu-dan*, worships with offerings of 7 kinds of grain. In some places a he-goat is killed over B's head; but elsewhere the following is the ritual:—By night a large loaf of wheat-flour is baked, and round it lamps are lighted, a flour image of Jogni Devi being placed on its centre. About midnight a Brahman puts this loaf etc. before B and mutters *mantras*, offering 7 kinds of grain over his head and putting them also on the loaf. Then he sacrifices it over his head and takes it with 5 balis (victims, ordinarily he-goats) to the burning-ground, a few men following him. As he goes he signals for the sacrifices to be offered at various spots along the road, and those who follow him observe perfect silence, under pain of death, and do not look back, as that would vitiate the ceremony. The party, moreover, must not return to their homes that night but spend it in the forest or another village. At the burning-ground the Brahman deposits the loaf there and a he-goat is sacrificed, its flesh being consumed by the party on the spot, anything left being the Brahman's perquisite.

In the Simla Hills if the drum beaten at a Kanet funeral emit a loud sharp note, it is believed to portend another death in the village, and the rites in vogue are ineffective to prevent it.

In the Simla Hills the Kanets and lower castes, especially, after collecting the bones to take to Hardwar, drive two wooden pegs into the ground and place a mill-stone on the site of the pyre, enclosing it with thorns, in order to weigh down Jam, the god of burning-grounds, for several days. Otherwise he would devour people.

In the Simla Hills the musicians and the makers of the *bamdan* or hearse go to the burning-ground and kindle fire in a large stove for warmth, but if any one's shadow fall on the stove he will, it is believed, die within the year: or if part of his shadow fall on it, he will suffer sickness. Sitting round the stove these men profess to see a spirit flying through the air, as if impelled by some force into the stove. This spirit they identify as that of some one still living and to avert the omen he worships *nakshatras* and offers sacrifices.

It is usual in the Simla Hills, especially among Kanets, to drive two pegs, one at the head, the other at the feet, of the corpse, in order to prevent a demon's entering into it. If a demon does so, the body will grow to a great height and, standing erect, devour the survivors of its family. With the same object a lamp is also lit close by the corpse, and a weapon placed near it. If, when the pyre is lighted, the corpse fold a piece of the wood in its arms, it is taken as an omen that another of the family will soon die. This belief is held by the Kanets and lower castes of the Simla Hills, who in some parts think that if the ghostly effigy of the dead be seen wandering round the house, or if his voice be heard calling any one by name, he who is called or sees the ghost will die. It is believed that the spirit can find no home. In such cases *Narain-bal* or *Gayapind* is also performed.
Mostem death observances.

If within 4 years of a death in the Simla Hills any one of the deceased's family be attacked by dadra it is supposed that the dead man's funeral rites were not duly performed. So a Brahman is called in to ascertain all details by astrology: and a chela is sent into an ecstacy (khelma) until he reveals who it is that has become pitar. An image of the pitar must then be made, lest the sufferer become a leper, and a rupee placed before the chela by the members of the family, who give the pitar a certain period—6 months or a year—in which to cure the patient, if he desires to be worshipped as a true deota, otherwise they will have recourse to a doctor. For this period the patient is left without treatment of any kind. If he recovers, a temple is built to the pitar i otherwise he gets nothing. Such diseases are attributed to those dead whose gati or funeral rites were not performed, or who died a violent death, or who when in extremis felt a longing not to quit their family or yearned for wealth and so on; or who sacrificed their lives to their devotion to their families.

Section 10.—Muhammadan Death Observances.

Occasionally, for instance in Gujrát, old people who see their end drawing nigh build their own tombs, while still alive. And if they feel misgivings that their death rites will not be properly performed they feast their kinsfolk and the poor in anticipation of death. In Gurgát a good many men get their graves constructed of masonry and filled with grain before death. The grain remains there till their death and is given away in alms at their burial.

Amulets &c. are used to escape death. The Imám zamán ká rupiya is also protective, and as many as seven goats are sacrificed. Sometimes a disease is taken for the influence of an evil spirit. By others it is ascribed to the displeasure of Mfrán Sáhib, Madár Sáhib and Khwája Sáhib. The remedy is the sacrifice of a he-goat in the saint's name. Sometimes unmarried girls are feasted to secure recovery from sickness.

As soon as the shadow of the Angel of Death falls on a dying person, the first duty of his (or her) kinsfolk is to straighten the limbs, close the eyes and mouth of the deceased, place his hands one over the other on the breast and set his cot north and south so that his soul may depart with its face towards Mecca. Members of his family mourn and preparations are begun by his kinsfolk for digging the grave.

On the death of her husband a wife breaks her bangles and takes off all her jewellery in sign of widowhood.

Strict followers of the Muhammadan law recite the Sura-i-yasin or other verses relating to pardon for sins near one who is at the point of death. They also ask him to recite him himself. It is believed that this recital will draw his attention to one direction only and that if he dies he will not suffer any difficulty at the time of death.

In Ludhíana when the case is seen to be hopeless verses from the Qurán are recited, and just before death the medicines are stopped and

1 A disease in which blisters appear all over the body while the extremities are inflamed. (Not in P. Dicty.)

2 This is called raksh vair karn in Ambála.
pure honey with sweet water is given to the dying person in a spoon. The kalima is whispered to him and he is also bidden to recite it himself. He is now made to look towards the north.

In Gujrat something sweet, honey as a rule, or if that is not procurable, sharbat is poured into the dying person’s mouth.

In Kapurthala it is explained that the kalima literally means that God alone is worthy to accept devotion and that Muhammad is His Prophet, and that it is intended that the dying man may carry with him the idea of the unity of God. It is only when he is unable to speak that the Sura-i-yasin is recited to him. When he breathes his last the people burst into cries of mourning and females begin to beat their breasts, but in cultured circles the shock is borne with resignation and the bereaved repeat:-Inna-lillahi-wa inna ilahi rajiun, ‘we have come from God and to Him we will return.’

But in Gujrat when the end is seen to be near the mulldah is sent for to recite the Sura-i-yasin or other passages from the Qur'an and this is called Husbini parhdna although the Muhammadans in this district are Sunnis. If a mullah is not available a relative or friend can officiate. Great importance is also attached to the repetition of the kalima. All those standing round the death-bed repeat it and the dying person is required to do so too until the end approaches. A person dying with its words on his or her lips is considered to have had a happy end. In the ordinary affairs of life, a Muhammadan will take an oath:— ‘Be it my lot not to be able to repeat the kalima on my death-bed, should I fail to do such and such a thing.’

In the Leiah tahsil of Mianwali a form of death-bed confession is found. It is called hadia Qur'an. If the dying person is in his senses he takes the Qur'an in his hands and confesses all his sins, saying that he has brought God’s own words (in the Qur'an) as a claim to forgiveness. At the same time alms of different kinds equal in value to the Qur'an or the book itself is given to a poor orphan or a mullah who places it in the mosque where the village boys read. If however the dying man is not in his senses his rightful heir performs this rite.

When the bier has been carried out of the house, the people stand in one or two rows or as many as the space permits or as there may be present, with a mullah in front of them to pray for the deceased. This is called nimaz janazah. After this another hadyu is given and then those not closely connected with the bereaved family return while those of the brotherhood generally accompany the funeral to the burial ground where again when the grave is ready and it is time to bury the body a similar hadyu is made by the heir.

When the body is buried, the mullah standing at the tomb calls out the bang, the belief being that when the deceased who, by the departure of the soul, lives in a sleeping posture hears the call, he being a Muslim pronounces the La Ilaha Illallah-o-Muhammad-ur-rasul-Allah; and the two angels Munkir and Nakir, who recorded all his sins during life, go away thinking a Muslim who according to Islam is free from all pain when he repeats the above verse.
If the deceased was one of a well-to-do family and died a day or two before Friday eve, his heirs engage some hafiz or mulük to sit day and night at his tomb and repeat verses until that night, it being thought that on that auspicious night he will not be called to account for his sins and that afterwards too God will also show him mercy.

The brotherhood on the night after the death raise money by subscription and manage somehow to provide food for those who accompanied the funeral to the burial-ground. This is called kauri wate or rofi or kauri rofi which must not be confounded with mundir-chhor or munh-chhor which is the food supplied to the bereaved family by its nearest relation.

In Kangra the face of the dying person is turned towards Mecca. If possible the corpse is buried on the day of death but when this cannot be done the Qurán is recited and a knife placed upon the body to keep off evil spirits.

In Gurgan two classes of Muhammadans must be distinguished. The first includes the immigrant Shaikh, Sayid, Mughal, Pathan and Baloch and the second the indigenous Meo, Khánzada and Rajpúts converted to Islam by the former. But a large number of these converts have now become assimilated to the former class, and owing to this many Hindu customs have been adopted even by the immigrant classes though in a somewhat altered form, and they are of course still observed by Muhammadans who embraced Islam recently. Other Muhammadans of inferior rank found as tenants in villages are the Qasái, Kunjra, Bhatiara, Manhiar, Saqqa, Náí, Míráí, Dhunna, Telí and Rangrez, who are dependants of the two groups mentioned above and being affected by their influence observe the same rites and ceremonies as they do. When a body is taken to the graveyard the bier is sat down at least once on the way. This is called miqám déna. At this spot the head is always kept to the north. After the burial some grain and copper coins are given there in alms.

The place where a person breathed his last and was washed is called lakad and a lamp is kept burning there for 40 or at least 10 days. A man always remains sitting on the lakad.

Washing the body.

The body is washed with various rites and by various agents. For example in Gurgan some of those present at the death who are acquainted with the doctrines of Islam wash the body with the heirs’ permission. If it be washed in a river or tank it will not require lakad, but if washed inside the house a rectangular pit of the height of a man and 4 or 5 feet deep called lakad must be made for it. A flat board prepared from a public fund raised for this purpose is then put up over the lakad. Then the body is laid on the board, with its face to the east and feet to the west. The clothes are removed and the private parts covered with a piece of cloth. The garments of the deceased as well as the clothes of the bed on which he died are given to beggars. After this the washing is begun. First the dirt on the body is removed with gram flour &c. A first bath is given with sandal water, the second with
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camphor water and the third with pure water. But Sunnis bathe the body with hot water. The body of a male is washed by males and that of a female by females. Those who are to wash the body are chosen at the will of the family. One of them supplies the water, another pours it on the body and the third rubs it on. The private parts are not touched. Meanwhile the people assembled in the deceased's house recite prayers for the benefit of the departed soul. Rich people have the Qurän recited over the deceased person from his demise till the 3rd day, and sometimes the recitations are prolonged for a full year or more. These customs are in vogue among those who are to some extent educated or well-to-do. New converts observe them in a much simpler way.

In Gujrát the body is washed on a wooden board (patra) kept expressly for this purpose by the mulläh, with water drawn fresh from a well and mixed with green leaves from a ber tree. Only if the weather is cold is the water moderately warmed. If the deceased was a woman 3 or 4 of her silver ear-rings are given to the woman who washes her body. In other parts of the province, however, the mulläh's proper perform other functions. For example in Jullundur a special class of mullähs called mirda-sho washes the body of the deceased Moslem. But elsewhere such a duty does not appear to be performed by any special class. Thus in Shāhpur each mosque is in charge of an imâm or ulmā who teaches the boys to repeat the Qurän and officiates at weddings and funerals. But, it is also said, the mulläh recites the burial service (janâza) accompanied by the mourners. He gets as his fee a copy of the Qurän and a rupee or two, and he is also feasted with the guests.

In Ludhiana immediately after the death the kinsfolk are notified through the barber and the ghussál (washer of the body) is sent for. Meanwhile the Qâzi prepares the shroud. The body is washed in hot water being kept covered down to the knees. Rose water and camphor are also sprinkled over it. After this it is laid on a couch which is then carried to the grave-yard.

For the bath hot water with ber leaves boiled in it, soap and sweet-scented things such as rose water, camphor, sandal &c. are required.

The bath being prepared the body is laid on a wooden board with its feet facing west and veiled from sight with sheets, only the washerman (or woman as the case may be) and the nearest of kin remaining inside. The deceased's clothes are removed, the waist-cloth being used to cover the body from the navel to the knees. The washerman then rubs it with soap and water, towels being used to dry it and sandal-wood burnt to give it fragrance. Then the shroud, cut in two, is spread over the bed and the body is laid on one half and covered with the other down to the knees. Verses from the Qurän are written on the shroud with burnt charcoal or clay. Camphor dissolved in rose-water is painted

1 Purser, Jull. S. R., p. 68.
2 Shāhpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 85.
3 Ib., p. 8.
4 Sometimes the kalima or ayyat-ul-khurr is written on the coffin.
on every joint, the higher classes using scents instead. The lower sheet is then wrapped round the corpse, and knotted in three places, on the head, on the waist and over the feet. A copy of the Qurán is placed at the head of the body, and the nearest of kin, friends and others are shown the face of the deceased for the last time, accompanied with weeping. A red cloth is thrown over the corpse, if the deceased is an aged person.

Sometimes the toes of the hands and feet are tied together with a piece of cloth. This is called 

Ceremonies regarding the shroud.

After washing the body it is dried with white napkins and is laid on the cot on which it is to be carried to the graveyard and on which the shroud has been already spread. Before it is shrouded camphor is rubbed on the body as ordained by the shariá on all the points which touch the ground when the head is bowed in prayer. Then the shroud is wrapped round the body.

In Gurgón Shíá Muhammadians use the shroud on which verses from the Qurán are stamped with earth from Mecca, or if it be not obtainable they use white cloth as shroud and print the verses on it. As regards this the Shíás believe that followers of Hazrat Ali are exempted from the sorrows of the tomb and the fires of Hell and so they print verses on the shroud to let the angels know that the deceased was a Shíá and to prevent their troubling him. It is considered essential by some tribes to shroud the body of a female in red cloth.

The Chhímba (tailor or washerman) comes to the house without being called to supply cloth for the shroud &c. Country cloth is preferred for this as more durable. About 30 yards are required as the grave clothes consist of two sheets, a shroud, a prayer-cloth, four towels and a waist-band.

Among the agricultural tribes such as the Rájpút, Awán, Ját, Gujar, Dogar and Aráín of Luhlíána women spin cotton with folded feet in the month of Ramzán and make cloth which is kept in boxes for use as shrouds exclusively. It is always 40 yards in length. In towns the cloth is purchased from the bazar.

In tahsil Jämpur, Dera Gházi Khán, when the body is dressed in the shroud (kafeb) a piece of cloth called kafeb, wetted with ab-i-zam-som or water from the well at Mecca and inscribed with the words bismilláh-ur-rahmán-ur-rahim and the kalima, together with some khák-i-shafa or earth from Mecca, is placed on the breast. If these articles are not procurable the kafeb is wetted with ordinary water and a clean clot of earth used.

In Gujrát the mulláh merely writes the kalima on the shroud in geri (?)

In Gurgón if a woman die in child-birth some superstitious females tie an effi (skein) of cotton thread on her legs as she is believed
to have died in impurity and it is feared she may become an evil spirit and injure the family. As a further precaution a man throws mustard seed behind her bier from the place of her death all the way to the grave-yard and on reaching it he drives in 4 nails, one at each corner, and the 5th in the middle of the grave. By doing this, it is believed, the departed soul will not return.

The husband may not touch the body of his dead wife or even help to carry her coffin though comparative strangers may do so. If the deceased was old and his heirs are in easy circumstances and disposed to pomp, singers are engaged to lead the procession singing the maulad verses, a narration of Muhammad’s birth, loudly in chorus. Every Muhammadadán seeing a procession on its way to the grave-yard is religiously bound to join it. On arrival there ablutions are performed by the funeral party, preparatory to prayer. The coffin being placed in front, those who are to join in prayer arrange themselves into 3 or 5 rows, the mullah leading the service. This over, permission is given to all present to depart, but as a rule very few leave at this stage. All present sit on the ground and the ceremony of askát is performed, but only in the case of adults, minors being regarded as innocent and not answerable for their doings. The askát is thus performed.

Some cooked meal and cash, varying in amount according to the means of the parties, with a copy of the Qurán, are placed before the mullah in a basket. Another man sits in front of him so that it lies between them. The mullah then says solemnly:—“The deceased failed to obey certain commandments and to refrain from certain acts on Saturdays during his or her life. This meal, cash and Qurán are given in alms to atone for those sins” and so saying he passes the basket with its contents to the other man who gives it back again. The mullah again hands it over to him with the same words, but refers to the deceased’s sins on the Sundays in his life. This is repeated for each day of the week. The mullah is then paid Re. 1 with the copy of the Qurán, and the body is interred.1 The sheet spread over the coffin is now given to the Nái (barber). After the interment the cash and meal in the basket are distributed in alms. Informal prayers are again said for the benefit of the deceased and the funeral procession returns to the house of the deceased.

In Sialkot the askát is performed before the burial. Several mullahs sit in a circle, the leader being given a copy of the Qurán; a rupee and some copper coins, grain, salt, sweetmeat &c. are also placed before him. Then one of the mullahs makes over the sins of the deceased to another, he to a third and so on till the circle is completed. By this it is believed that the deceased’s soul is freed from the penalty of sin. Lastly the head mullah distributes the cash &c. among the poor and the other mullahs. If the deceased was old, clothes are distributed among the poor. The Qurán and a rupee are taken by the mullah himself.

In Shāhpur poor people only borrow a copy of the Qurán which changes hand for seven days simply as a matter of form. It is borrowed from a mullah who is given Rs. 1-4.

1 The ahli-hadis regard askát as an innovation and do not observe it.
Some of the deceased's relatives sit near the cot with the Qāzi who takes the Qurān in his hands, and offers it on the part of the deceased, as a sacrifice for his sins. The book then changes hands, the Qāzi is paid a rupee or more according to the position of the parties, and the Qurān is thus redeemed.

The followers and mourners in the meantime have washed their hands &c. for prayer. The Qāzi having spread the carpet stands forward, with his face towards the corpse, which is placed with its head to the north. Behind him the followers stand in odd lines and pray after which the corpse is taken to the grave into which it is lowered to two men who descend and place it in the lahd (burial niche). In sandy tracts, the knots tying the corpse are undone to admit of this being done. If the lahd is in one of the sides, the opening is closed with cloths or earthen vessels, if in the centre, with fuel wood. All the by-standers take a little earth in their hands, repeat some verses over it, and drop it at the head of the corpse. The cot is turned on its side as soon as the body has been taken off and in the case of an aged person the red cloth is given to the barber or mīrāsi. While the grave is being filled in the Qāzi recites the khatm or final prayer and then all present raise their hands to supplicate forgiveness for the deceased. The tosha is next distributed among the poor. When a corpse is carried out a cup of water is emptied to ensure the family's future safety. The cot brought back after the burial is not allowed to stand lengthwise.

When the body has been washed and is being placed in the coffin 7 cakes are cooked in the house and with some grain carried out with the corpse to the burial-ground. These cakes are called tosha ki roti or 'bread for the journey' as it is believed that this food will be needed by the dead person on his road to the other world. While the body is being carried to the burial-ground all who accompany it recite the khāima. At the ground all recite the prayer for the dead, standing in a circle round the body, and then lower it into the grave. The tosha ki roti and grain are then given to the poor. In some places after the burial a call to prayer (ādān) is made and a prayer offered for the soul of the departed. Alī: then return and after expressing their sorrow and sympathy with the relations of the deceased go home. In some places the women of the family cause fatīhas to be recited in the name of the brown worms of the tomb in the belief that they will dictate to the dead person the correct answers to the questions put by Munkir and Nakir.

So too in Raya while the body is being washed tosha (food for charitable purposes) consisting of halwā, boiled rice with sugar, and leaves is made ready in the house. The cot is lifted up, the towels and the waist-cloth going to the washerman (or woman as the case may be). Four men lift up the four legs of the cot, but as many men as can do so relieve them on the way, reciting verses from the Qurān all the while, regarding this as an act of piety. The cot and tosha are set down outside the cemetery.

* So too in Kāngra the carrying of the body is considered good for the soul of the carrier and for this reason the corpse is carried by the attendants turn by turn.
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But in Isā Khel when a body is carried to the graveyard all except the near relatives are given two annas each, so that the deceased's soul may not be indebted to them for their toil. Poor people however only give the bearers sweetened rice on a Thursday. The food given in this way is called khotten. The body before being taken to the burial-ground is shrouded in a cloth which is taken by the carpenter or ironsmith.

Ceremonies at the burial of the dead.

After washing and shrouding the body it is taken to the graveyard, the cot on which it is laid being carried by all the collaterals in turn but not by the nearest kinsmen such as the father, son &c. On the way to the graveyard they recite sacred verses, the kalima and prayers for the deceased. At a short distance from the graveyard the bier is set down north and south at a spot swept clean and all those present recite the funeral prayers. But they do not bow the head at this rite and only invoke blessings for the departed soul. Then the bier is carried on to the graveyard. The grave is always dug from north to south, and has two chambers, the lower, called lahād, in which the body is placed being as long as a man's height. The face of the body is kept towards the Qibla, that of a man being laid by men while that of a female is laid by her husband and other near relatives. Then the lahād is filled up with stones and bricks in such a way that earth from the upper walls may not fall on it. The upper part of the grave is then filled in with earth by all the mourners except the deceased's heirs. When filled in water is sprinkled over it and the chādar in which the dead body was wrapped is spread over it. The members of the funeral party now recite the ḥātiḥa or verses from the Qurān for the benefit of the departed soul and on their return console with the heirs. They then depart to their homes. Food and ḫalwi which are called lōsha as well as grain and cash are carried in some quantities to the graveyard and distributed among beggars after the burial.

When the janāsa of the corpse is being carried out in Dera Ghāzi Khān the Qurān is placed on the cot near the body and sweet-scented flowers, rose-water, otto of roses &c. are put on the shroud. Both the flowers and Qurān are removed when it is lowered into the grave.

When the body is taken out for burial some of those accompanying it recite the maulūd sharif, others the kalima sharif, slowly, until they reach the place where prayers called namās-s-janāsa are said. After the prayers the mullāḥ who read the janāsa stands close to the head of the deceased and calls on the assembly to give the benefit of the words, i.e. the kalām darūd, khaṭim Qurān or whatever they may have read before and then raises his hands, forgives the words read in favour of the deceased and prays for the forgiveness of his sins. After the prayer is finished the heir stands up and permits the people to go by calling out aloud, rukhāt ām, thrice. Then all who congregated for the sake of prayer return home while members of brotherhood carry the corpse to the tomb.
In Gurgán while the body is being carried to the grave-yard some water is thrown behind the bier on the way as it is believed that it will bring resignation to the deceased’s heirs. The women of houses on the route taken by the bier also cast the water out of their vessels, chew nim leaves and spit on the ground. The water is thrown out so that the departed soul may not stay in any vessel containing water and the nim leaves are chewed as a token that the shock is unbearable.

When the body is lowered into the grave the mullah is asked to write the kahima sharif with a stick on a mud brick which is put in the grave near the deceased’s head. When the body is in the grave the mullah calls on each of those present to recite the surat ikhlas over 7 cloths of earth and puts them together near the head of the deceased. Then all join in filling the tomb with earth.

Most of the Shias and some Sunnis place a written paper called ahndama in the deceased’s mouth in the grave. This ‘agreement’ contains a declaration by him of the principles and doctrines of Islam and it is placed on him with the idea that he may not be terrified at the questions put to him by Munkir and Nakir when they appear before him with dreadful looks, but may answer them with the aid of the agreement.

In Gurgán two loaves with ghí and sugar spread over them are tied in a handkerchief and are sent to the graveyard through a faqir with a pitcher full of cold water and a goblet, placed one over the other. After the burial the faqir recites the fatihâ over the bread and takes it to his house. These breads are called tosha (provisions for the journey). As in life a man requires provisions for a journey so a dead person requires tosha on his last journey from his house to the grave.

In Kohát the female neighbours assemble at the house and standing round the body continue to walk, beat their breasts and slap their faces. A matron leads the mourning and the rest walk in chorus after her.

Meanwhile the deceased’s friends and relations assemble for the funeral procession (jandasa) which is preceded by mullahs carrying from 3 to 21 Qurdas according to his rank. Women take no part in the assembly. At a short distance from the grave the corpse is set down, while the prayers for the dead (Arabic jandasa) are recited, the mourners ranging themselves behind the leading mullah (as imám) in lines of odd numbers varying from three to seven.

After the prayers money is distributed to the mullahs present, with grain and salt and a few copies of the Qurdas. Cash and grain are also given to the poor there present. At a child’s funeral the grain and salt are replaced by sweetmeats. The body is then taken to the grave which is dug north and south and after it has been let down and laid with the face to the west, stones are placed over it and the earth filled in. In the case of a man two tombstones are erected, one at the head, the other at the feet. For a woman a third stone is set up in the centre.

There are two kinds of graves—one on the tahad system containing a side sepulchre for the body, and the other a pit (cbhman) dug deep in the ground with an enclosing wall of stone or brick about 4 feet high. After the body has been returned to the dust the mullah recites the law of inheritance (mirâd kâ maslo) and then all present offer prayers, invoking blessings on the deceased.

Some of the mourners then accompany his heirs home and they give them cooked rice &c. (some is also given to the poor) and then dismiss them. Next day kinsfolk assemble in a mosque and offer prayers for the deceased. On the 3rd day 80 sigârds of the Qurdas are hand-ed in separate parts to mullahs and others who can read so that the
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Only two loaves are given because, it is said, Noah satisfied the hunger of Anak, who was of a great stature and whose hunger was never appeased, with only two loaves. Moreover it is often related in the miracles of saints and pirs who passed their lives in forests that they received two loaves and a goblet of water from God. So it is believed that a man's daily food as fixed by the Almighty is two loaves and a goblet of water. Dārā Shikoh also, when imprisoned by Alamgir, wrote to him that he only required two loaves and a cup of water.

It is essential that no flesh should be used in the fūshā and so sugar and ghi are used instead, because the food of people in Heaven generally consists of sweet things as is evident from the fact that there canals of milk and honey are believed to flow. The water of Kausar, a stream in heaven, is sweeter than honey and whiter than milk or ice. In the time of Moses, manna and salwa (a savoury food) were received by the Israelites in the wilderness. As to this tradition the people, contrary to what is written in the religious books, believe that these things were received from the sky in large plates and were softer and whiter than carded cotton and sweeter than anything on earth.

A dying person is laid with his face towards the Qibla and verses of the Qurān, especially the Sura-i-yasin, are recited. A copy of the Qurān and a little money are caused to be given by his hand in charity to a mullah. Kinsmen and relatives repeat the kalima aloud so that on hearing it he may do the same. In villages grain &c. is distributed to the poor in alms. When life is extinct, the face is wrapped in a cloth and a shroud and a bath are prepared. The shroud consists of 3 clothes in the case of a male and 5 in the case of a female. There must be one red cloth in the latter case. If the deceased was a young female a gahwara (cradle) is also made of white cloth. Moreover a dhodna, consisting of a dopatta or sheet of white muslin (malmal) or striped (dorwja) and a red dopatta, is put on the body and after burial one is given to the barber and the other to the washerman. This dhodna is given simply as a social usage. After the bath one ear-ring is given to the woman who washed the corpse and the other to the washerman. If the deceased be an old woman a coloured shawl (doshāla) is put on her and given to the barber after the burial.

When the bier is carried out to the graveyard some grain, halwa (a kind of pudding made of flour, ghi and sugar) and bread are taken with it and when the recital of the funeral prayers is over a rupee is given to the person who gave the bath and a rupee or a copy of the Qurān to the whole recitation may be finished in a short time. After its conclusion sweetmeats are distributed by the deceased's heirs and then one of the mulldas observes the kül khodni (a recitation of certain Suras of the Qurān called Kül), and is given some cash as his fee. Then follows the dastāranādī or formal recognition of the heir.

Every evening for 40 days the heirs supply food to the mulldā and every night a lamp is lit at the place where the body was washed. For some weeks too food is distributed every Thursday to the poor in his name, and on the last Thursday clothing, sweetmeats &c. are given to the mulldā and a general feast to the kinsfolk. For 2 or 3 years on the anniversary of the death the heirs distribute food and alms to the poor.

The cost of a funeral of an average agriculturist including food and alms may vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 according to his position.
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Swâm of the mosque. If the deceased was an old man or woman, people generally distribute pice in charity to such fagirs and blind men as may be present at the grave. The bread, halâd &c. mentioned above are also given in alms. Some people also appoint hâfs or readers of the Qurân to recite verses from it at the grave till the following Thursday. In the case of an old man's death kâmiâs of his family are also given a rupee or 8 annas each. This custom is not in force among the followers of Muhammad. When after the funeral they come back to the house any near kinsman or neighbour gives a meal to the bereaved family. One meal is always considered essential, but if there are more houses of brotherhood 3 meals at the outside are given. Immediately on the return from the funeral, rice and 4 loaves are sent to the person who bathed the body or to the mosque in the name of the deceased. But this custom is not observed by the ahî-i-hadîs.

The deceased's heirs do no business for 3 days but stay in the deorhi (entrance hall) or baihak (sitting place) for the fatîha-khâwi, and the kinsfolk come for that purpose. On the 3rd day the ceremony of qul-khâwi is performed, verses of the Qurân being recited for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Condolences are offered to the bereaved family with a request to recommence business. On the following Thursday the ceremony of khatam is performed and the deceased's clothes are given to the person who washed his corpse. Kinsmen are invited on this occasion also.

In the same way, khatam is performed on every Thursday or on the 10th, 21st or 30th day after death. On the 40th day (chihlam) a feast is given to umâ (learned men) and fagirs, and clothes, copies of the Qurân and cash are also distributed. Kinsmen are also invited if the deceased was an aged person. This custom is called roî-karna. These customs are not observed by the ahî-i-hadîs. One loaf or a man's meal (according to their means) is given daily for 40 days to the man who bathed the body or is sent to a mosque.

On the morning after the chihlam, i.e. early in the morning before the morning prayer, they bid farewell to the soul. The females cook rice and send it to the mulâh in the mosque and thus bid farewell to the soul. On this the women believe that the soul leaves the house. For a year food is given to fagirs at festivals and again after a year food is distributed among the poor.

The rites in Míánwâlí are peculiarly interesting because of the part played in them by the mulâh who is styled the dîmâr. After the isqât the deceased's body is washed by him and his old clothes are kept to be given away in alms on the 3rd day. After this it is shrouded, and also wrapped by the near relatives in sheets called uchghar. They may be of ordinary longcloth or of a valuable silk and, before the body is placed in the grave, they are removed and distributed among the potters, ironsmiths and carpenters who dug the grave, and on hearing of the death went to the graveyard of their own accord for that purpose. After burial the surface of the grave is raised a little and the coffin is buried with the body.
Moslem death observances.

The bereaved family is supplied with kaori rogi by a brother or relative of the deceased. Fire is not kindled in their house for three days. Relatives and friends at once join in the mourning and are served with kaori rogi. Though the mourning mat is burnt all the mourners sleep on the ground or on cots turned upside down. This state of affairs lasts for 3 days, during which the dindar (or washer of the dead) gets some of kaori rogi. Contrary to the usage elsewhere the dindar leads the funeral prayers. On the 3rd day gul khwani is performed in the following manner:—

The dindar has a basket of grain put before him with a vessel of water containing leaves of a plum tree, recites verses from Qur’an and blows them on to the water, which is then spilt at the place where the body was washed. It is believed that the deceased’s soul is benefited by this. The grain etc. is taken by the dindar.

The old clothes are now cast down at the place where the body was washed and are removed on the third day when the water is spilt. After the gul the mourners bathe, wash their own and the deceased’s clothes which are given to the dindar. Rich folk give him a new suit and if the deceased’s widow survives some ornaments also. The eldest member of the family is next made to don a dastar which is given by the relatives, to signify that he has become the deceased’s representative. They also give him one or two rupees.

At the fatah-khawani ceremony held immediately after the burial the relatives also contribute a rupee each. A little before death the whole of the Qur’an is recited and the reciters given a Qur’an or cash. On the second day after death the relatives visit the grave and recite the whole Qur’an there. On the first Thursday after death sweetened rice or halwa is prepared, but before the relatives are served with it, it is given to the dindar. This practice is continued for seven days, except by the poor who can only afford it for the first Thursday, the dindar is also fed daily for 40 days, and it is essential that his food should be sent him before sunset. It is called arwah and is intended for the deceased’s benefit. The dindar is also fed and given an ornament on the first ‘Id after death. The couch on which the deceased lay before death is broken to pieces and its strings are buried with the body. In the month of Shehban halwa or some other sweet meat is prepared and is sent to the mullah and dindar. This is called ruh-rilana. Every year in Muharram the relatives visit the grave and pour a little water over it.

For the benefit of the soul of any ancestor who died an accidental or unnatural death, and for a childless ancestor, Qassabs feed the poor in their names every Thursday, or at least twice a year.

The gul-khwani ceremony is performed on the third day. The old clothes of the deceased are given to the mullah. Sometimes new ones are also made and given away in charity for the benefit of his soul. On this day too the lawful heir is made to put on a dastar by his pir.
Moslem death observances.

or a Sayyid. Sometimes on the 7th day food is given to the poor, but this is not common.

On the 10th, 20th and 40th days after death relations and friends may collect and eat together and also distribute food to the poor but this also is not usual.

From the 3rd day to the 40th, two loaves (i.e. food sufficient for one man) generally flavoured with sugar and ghi are sent to a faqir daily before nightfall. These loaves are called ubhā ki rotiān. Uthā means inauspicious. On each Thursday in the first 40 days nīās is given for the deceased’s benefit as on the 3rd day.

The chaliswān ceremony in connection with a female’s death is generally performed on the 28th and in the case of a male on the 30th day or in special cases on the 30th. On this day the deceased’s heirs feast their kinsfolk according to their means, and they in return give them a turban and some money. The expenses of this ceremony generally depend on one’s means. On this occasion too nīās is given and the fatīha recited as on the soyām, but no cup of water is sent to the faqir with the bread. It is not necessary that the bread should be cooked by the same person who did so on the first day. On the 40th day a new suit of clothes is given away in the deceased’s name, but the custom of giving away ornaments does not exist. On the same day his soul is dismissed in the following manner:—

In the evening a vessel full of water is placed near the lahad (where the dead body was washed). In it are put two copper coins and a few plates of rice, bread and halwā are set by it. The near female relatives light a lamp and wake for the whole night. In the morning a faqir comes, takes the vessel of water with the plate and back to the door with his face towards the females. On reaching the door he turns round and goes to his own house. As he quits the deceased’s house the females weep as bitterly as if his bier were being carried out. The people believe that the soul after leaving the body remains in two places, Allain and Sajjain, and maintains its connection with the grave and lahad for 40 days. It is also believed that the soul is allowed a walk at the time of maghrub prayers, and that it continues anxious to receive the nīās &c. given for its benefit. Hence the chaliswān or 40th day rite is performed 10 days before the actual day. After the 40th day the soul is believed to be set free every Thursday and for this reason on each Thursday the fatīha is recited for its benefit. It is also believed to receive food given to faqirs and so several kinds of food are given them at the fatīha. The tamāhi, chhamāhi and barsi ceremonies are performed after 3 and 6 months and a year respectively. One day before the ‘Id, Bakar ‘Id, Muharram and Shab Barāt as also on the 14th of Rajab halwā and bread are given as nīās. This is usually done for one year only, but some people observe these ceremonies always. Nothing is given by way of nīās before the 3rd day because the soul is not set free from Allain and Sajjain before that day. The reason assigned for the 10 days’ interval between the daswān, biswān and chaliswān, which last is generally performed on the 30th
day, is that mourning lasts 10 days just as the first 10 days of Muharram are observed as days of mourning for the death of Hussain.

A widow does not wear glass bangles or coloured clothes. If a woman dies married, her hands are stained with mahndi and antimony is applied to her eyes after her body has been washed. On a man's death his widow's parents give their daughter bangles, called the bangles of widowhood. If her parents be well off they also give her ornaments and cash by way of khichri. On the death of a female also her parents give some cash by way of khichri. When a saint dies his Urs is celebrated annually on the day of his death. All his followers and believers gather together on that day and cook food, they also offer niyaz, recite the fatiha and light an earthen lamp on his grave every Thursday. Fruit and sweets are also offered at his grave. In Qadarma and Naqshbandia families the members sit near a grave, sing hymns in praise of the Almighty and recite eulogies of the saint. They also repeat verses from the Qur'an, but use no musical instruments, a prohibition not observed in Chishti circles. Singers and prostitutes dance at their tombs on the Urs.

On the 7th or 10th day after death a khatam is given, i.e. food is cooked and offered to the qazi, faqirs, the tomb-digger, and bier-bearers of the deceased. It consists of milk, halwa, vegetables, meat, pulse, fruit, rice and dry bread. Some people do this on four Thursdays after the death within 40 days, give the deceased's clothes to the qazi, with some cash and a Qur'an.

From the tijā to the 40th day the deceased's heirs feed a needy person once a day for the good of his soul. The daswān and biwān ceremonies are performed in different ways by different sects of Muhammadans. Nān (bread) and halwa or other food is distributed by them to their kinsfolk as well as to the poor.

The followers of the Imámia sect also hold another assembly in honour of their martyrs in addition to those already named. After it has dispersed they recite the fatiha prayers first in honour of the martyrs on the field of Karbala and then for the benefit of the departed soul.

On the 3rd day, after the kul-khwāni the deceased's heirs place some palm leaves, sweet scented flowers, and green leaves of a fruit tree on his tomb. These are called phul-patri. It is believed that these reduce or alleviate his sufferings.

After the tijā the parents-in-law of a deceased husband give his widow some cash, clothes and ornaments which are called jora rangdūla or garb of widowhood.

The custom of giving kaura watta for 3 days after death is in vogue among the Muhammadan Tulis of Peshawar city and for those no one eats anything from the deceased's house, nor is any food cooked by his family. Each of his relatives sends it food in turn. After the three days food is again cooked by the deceased's family. The qul-khwāni and dasturbandi ceremonies are also performed on.
that day. Other Muhammadans, viz. the Shi'a Qizilbash and Kashmiri communities living in Peshawar, eat nothing from the deceased's house for 40 days after a death but they send nothing to it. The Paracha, Wastur and Qazi residents of the city do not eat or drink from the house for 3 days. With these exceptions there are no restrictions on eating or drinking from the deceased's family at a death. All others eat and drink from the bereaved family's house during the 40 days.

The menial tribes living in the city give Re. 1 on the day of the qulth-wa'isi by way of kaura wafta. This custom is not in vogue among the high castes.

On their return from the cemetery all those taking part in the funeral turn their faces towards it when some way from it and recite the fatihah. The cot is carried by a menial, but not on his head in the usual way until he reaches the village.

All men assemble at the takia and repeat the fatihah. Then all but the heirs depart and they must stay there 3 days at least.

The practice of sitting for prayer between the grave and the deceased's house is termed goda-divana, 'knee-resting.'

In Bannu tahail on the evening of the funeral the deceased's heirs feast people who come to pay them a visit of condolence. This feast is called shuma. All those assembled recite the khatma about 100,000 times for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Food is sent to the mullah every evening for 40 days in succession. But no other ceremony is performed in this district. Even the qul-khwaani is not performed on the 3rd day. The deceased's heirs merely sit in chauk from the 1st day to the 3rd to receive the visits of condolence from people who pray for the deceased and then depart. Quraishis, Sayyids and Ulmá sit in a mosque.

But in Marwat after the burial the deceased's brother or some other near kinsman supplies the bereaved family with food for the night and this is called kauri rozi. The mourning (tiddi) lasts for 3 days, and on the 3rd the family bathes and washes its clothes. The deceased's clothes are given away in charity. The qul-khwaani ceremony is performed and the whole of the Qur'an recited for the benefit of his soul. His clothes are washed and given to the imám of a mosque with some cash. The custom of giving ornaments is extinct. The deceased's heir is invested with a dastur on the 3rd day, but his kinsmen contribute no cash. Rice, halwa and rozi are given in charity for 5 or 6 Thursdays, but during this time no khatam prayers are recited. Alms are also given for the benefit of the departed soul on the 20th day, and for 40 days a loaf with ghil and sugar is sent to the imám who washed the corpse. It is always sent in the evening and is called the rindishan di gogi. There is no rule that it should be cooked by the woman who did so on the first day. The custom of giving a goblet of sweet water is extinct. On the 40th day alms are also given according to one's means. A year or two after death the heir gives a feast called shuma to his kinsmen.
During the day the kinsmen sit with the men but after the evening meal it is essential for each sex to sit with the mourners of that sex for 3 or 4 days, obviously in order to soothe their grief.

On the 3rd day (tīz) friends and relatives collect at the deceased’s house or at the mosque and recite the kalima once over each grain in a heap of grain, so that the total recitations number 125,000. This grain is then distributed. This rite is called the kal panchhāyat in Ambāla.

After this a new turban is put on the head of the heir and he is thus recognised the legal and religious heir of the deceased.

The ceremony known as tīz or soyam or of picking up the bones is performed on the 3rd day after a burial by strict Muhammadans in the following way:—All the heirs and relatives of the deceased rise early and assemble at his house. Those who are literate recite the Qurān, those who are not the kalima over each grain of the parched grain which stands there in a heap. Sunnis close this ceremony by reciting the five verses called Panjat from the Qurān, while Shia’s close it by reciting the fatihah prayers in the names of deceased ancestors and prophets slain at Karbala. Those who embraced Islam recently such as the Rājput, Khānzādas, Gujar, Meos &c., excepting a few persons who are well versed in their religious principles, do not observe this rite.

In Gurgāon the daswān ceremony is performed on the evening of the 9th and the biswān on the evening of the 19th day. On these days also the fatihah is recited and food is distributed as on the 3rd day. These ceremonies are performed one day before the actual day because among Muhammadans a day includes the day and subsequent night and begins at sunrise.

In Gurgāon on the morning of the 3rd day, soyam, the qul khwāni or phul ceremony is performed. The Muhammadan custom is that all assemble and some parched grain weighing 12½ bers is placed before each. Each then recites the first half of the kalima (La illā ilāhū) only on the first 10 grains, and the whole of it on the 11th, keeping all the grain by their side. The whole kalima is not recited on each grain so as to maintain the distinction between the Prophet and the Almighty. After this all the grain is made into a heap and sweetened ilāchī dāna of the same weight is mixed with it. Then incense lobān and agar are burnt and verses from the Qurān &c. are recited for the benefit of the departed soul. Lastly the grain is distributed among Allah-present. The incense is burnt to purify the air.

Camphorated water is also sprinkled on the bier and coffin. The fatihah is also recited on reaching the grave, and flowers are thrown on it, for which reason the soyam ceremony is called phul. On the same evening aād or fatihah is offered for the benefit of the deceased. Seven kinds of food, halwā, khir, flesh, bread, rice &c. are cooked and distributed among the poor after recitation of the fatihah.

Ceremonies regarding Karvi khichri.

At meal times remote relations of the deceased send cooked khichri for his family and any guests who have come for the occasion, the relatives supplying the bereaved family by turns.
Early in the morning after the interment the head of the family repairs to the graveyard and sits by the grave, others following him as they come. Prayers are said for the benefit of the deceased till sunrise when all return to his house. This is done for three days. But this custom is not general, being confined to certain tribes such as Kashmirs.

The day after the death, food-offering to the Qâzî commences, and he is given one meal every day for 40 days, the earthen vessels and the clothes used being also presented to him.

About two sors of gram, maize or some other grain is taken and the gul verse is read over it grain by grain 125,000 times. It is then boiled and distributed among children.

In some places this custom is observed differently. Early in the morning Qâzîs are invited to meet in a mosque and read the Qurân. At about midday the community collects, the Qâzîs receive offerings from the heirs, and the whole community then bestow the spiritual benefit of the Qurân reading on the departed spirit.

Leiah.

The kul-khwâni for children is observed both in towns and the villages. The Chandias of Leiah town observe it at the tombs of the aged, but others perform it on the 3rd day after death, at the deceased’s house or a mosque. All the mullâhs recite in turn, one sipárah each, for the benefit of the deceased’s soul. Hadia, money varying from Rs. 1-4-0 to 10 or more, is given by the kinsfolk either at death after the janâsa or at the burial. Trusting in the Qurân as their mediator, they begin their prayers thus: ‘O God! Forgive this man all his sins.’

The price of the Qurân is taken and out of the money the cost of the paper and ink used, as hâdia is paid and annas 2 or more given to each kul-khwâni, the remainder being distributed among the poor who are present. In villages grain is distributed instead. Besides this hâdia wealthy people also distribute alms in cash and in grain. When the kul-khwâni is celebrated on the 3rd day the clothes worn by the deceased’s heirs and some new ones are given to the person who washed the body and to relatives and friends.

On the day of the kul-khwâni the near kinsmen let the deceased’s heir put on a turban (dastâr) and also give him a cloth for a turban and cash from 4 annas to Re. 1 as bhâji. The kinsfolk pay Re. 1 or flour according to their means. In villages, those who give bhâji are feasted; but this custom does not exist in towns. Wealthy people both in villages and towns appoint mullâhs to recite verses from the Qurân at the tomb for 3 or 4 days and even till the evening of the first Thursday after death. Whatever part of the Qurân they recite, they bestow it for the benefit of the deceased’s soul. Members of the bereaved family give a meal, at their own cost, to the mullâhs, who get besides a fee of 4 annas per day.

Wealthy people distribute sweet rice, meat or meals to the kinsfolk and friends every Thursday for 7 weeks. They give in charity sweet rice, and pudding made of half-ground grain. There is no custom of
Observances in Karnal

appointing mullâhs, at the tombs of infants, because they are innocent. Food consisting of bread with ghâl and sugar on it and some milk or sharbat is sent every day before sunset to the mullâh for 20 or sometimes 40 days. This is called the soul's spiritual food. It need not necessarily be prepared by the same woman.

Various usages prevail regarding the reading of the Qurân at the grave after death. Thus in Ambâlā some well-to-do people engage maulâvis versed in the Qurân to recite from it at the grave for a period.

In some cases the mullâhs are asked to recite the Qurân on the grave till the following Thursday. This ceremony is in vogue among followers of the Hâdis sect, but elsewhere it is said that the followers of the Hâdis sect do not perform any ceremony.

If the heirs are well-to do they build a hut near the grave and engage four mullâhs to sit in it, and recite the Qurân through from end to end day and night. These four mullâhs may take it in turns to recite the Qurân, but the recital must be continuous and not stopped even for a moment till the following Thursday evening when they are dismissed with a fee ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 10. The deceased's heirs have to feed the mullâhs during these days.

In Raya also from the moment of burial, Qurân readers are employed to recite the Holy Book at the tomb which they do uninterruptedly day and night to the close of the following Thursday. The belief is that so long as the reading continues the deceased escapes the torments of the tomb. But this is not done for one who dies on a Thursday, as the belief is that by virtue of that day, he will escape the torments. The reciters of course receive offerings.

In Dera Ghâzi Khân wealthy people arrange for háfis to sit at the tomb after burial and recite the Qurân day and night and supply them with food there. They continue this recitation till the following Thursday and when it is completed each is paid Rs. 2 or Rs. 2-8-0 as hâdya Qurân Sharîf. The object of this is that when the angels Munkir and Nakir come to ask questions from the deceased about his deeds he may find it easy to answer them by the blessing of the Qurân.

After burial the deceased's heirs distribute sweetmeat at the tomb or give some cash to faqirs by way of hâdya Qurân Sharîf.

The custom of visiting the graves of dead relatives and throwing fresh earth over them at festivals, particularly in Muharram, is fast dying out, men of the new light as the phrase goes, being very indifferent to it.

Section 11.—Domestic Observances in the South-East Punjab.

The following account of domestic observances in Karnál is reproduced from the Settlement Report of that District written in 1899 by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson:—

When a woman is about to be delivered she is taken off the bed and put on the ground. If a boy is born, a brass tray is beaten to
spread the news. A net is hung up in the doorway, and a garland (lāndarwāl) of mango leaves; and a branch of nim is stuck into the wall by the doorway, and a fire lighted in the threshold, which is kept up night and day. Thus no evil spirits can pass. The swaddling clothes should be got from another person’s house. They are called potra; thus potra kā amā is equivalent to ‘a gentleman from his cradle.’ For 3 days the child is not suckled. For 5 days no one from outside, except the midwife, goes into the house. On the night of the 6th day (natives always count the night preceding the day as belonging to it) the whole household sits up and watches over the child; for on the 6th day (chhatā) the child’s destiny (lekha) is written down, especially so to his immunity from small-pox. If the child goes hungry on this day, he will be stingy all his life; and a miser is accordingly called chhatā ka bhūkha; so a prosperous man is called chhatā ka rāja. On the 6th day the female relations come on visits of congratulation, but they must not go into the room where the woman is lying in. The father’s sister, too, comes and washes the mother’s nipple and puts it into the child’s mouth, and the mother takes off her necklace and gives it to her sister-in-law; gur is divided to the brotherhood. On the 7th day the female Dam or bard comes and sings. Till the 10th day the house is impure (sūtak); and no one can eat or drink from it, and no man can go into it unless belonging to the household. On the 10th day (dasūhan) the net is taken down, the fire let out; if the clothes washed, all the earthen vessels renewed, and the house new plastered; the Brahmins come and do hom to purify the house, and tie a tāgrī of yellow string round the boy’s waist; and the Brahmins and assembled brotherhood are feasted. The child is often named on this day; the Brahman casting the horoscope and fixing the name. But the parents sometimes change the name if they do not approve of the Brahman’s selection. At the birth of a girl the tray is not beaten, no feasting takes place, and no net is hung up or fire lighted. The mother remains impure for five weeks; no one can eat or drink from her hands; and she takes her food separately. As soon as there is hair enough the boy’s head is shaved and his choti (scalplock) made; but there are no further ceremonies till his betrothal.

Ibid. § 317 Betrothal is called sāta; the ceremony sāgā. It generally takes place in infancy. When the father of a girl wishes to betrothe her he makes inquiry for a marriageable boy of good family, the village barber acting the part of go-between. If matters are satisfactory he sends the barber to the boy’s village, who puts either a ring or one rupee into the boy’s hand. This is called ropma (fr. rohna to restrain); and if the boy’s father returns Re 1-½, called bidādig, to the barber to take to the girl’s father, he hereby accepts the offer and elences the engagement. This engagement is not a necessary preliminary of betrothal; and is most customary among castes, such as the Bājpūṭe, who marry at a comparatively late age, and who do not wish to go to the expense of a formal betrothal so long beforehand, for fear one of the children should die and the money be wasted. Among the Gujars, on the other hand, the above ceremony constitutes betrothal; but the tīka is affixed at the time by the Brahman as described below. It is possible for the proposal to come from the boy’s side, in
which case he sends his sister's necklace; and if the girl keeps its proposal is accepted. But this is only done when the families are already acquainted.

When it is decided to proceed to the betrothal (saqdi), the barber *Ibid*, § 318. and Brahman are sent with the pich-nasial; or one rupee which has been all night in the milk which is set for butter, a loin-cloth (pich) and a coconut (nasial). The boy is seated in a chair before the brotherhood, the Brahman puts the tilka or mark on the boy’s forehead and the other things into his lap, and gur is divided by the boy's father, who takes hold of the hand of each near relation in turn and puts some gur into it. The boy's father then gives Re. 1-4 to the Brahman and double that to the barber. This is called ne or lagi, and must be brought back to the girl's father; and when so brought back completes the betrothal. Ordinarily no relation of the girl may take any part in the embassy (lagas) of betrothal; but Brahmins send the girl's brother-in-law or relation by marriage. Exchange of betrothals between two families (šanta nata) is considered very disgraceful; and if done at all, is done by a tripartite betrothal, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. Among the Jats, if the boy dies his father has a right to claim the girl for his other son; or, in default of another any male relation in that degree. If the girl dies her family has no claim.

Jats marry at about 5 or 7 years old; Rors and Gujarats at 12 to *Ibid*, § 319. 14; Rajputs at 15, 16, or even older. The prohibited degrees are thus described:—Every genus (gos) is exogamous; that is, that while every man must marry into his own tribe, no man can marry into his own genus. But this is by no means the only limitation imposed upon inter-marriage. In the first place, no man can marry into a family, of whatever genus it may be, that is settled in his own village or in any village immediately adjoining his own. The strength of this custom is shown by an answer given me, to the effect that the speaker could not marry into a 'family of his own genus, even if it lived 100 miles off.' The prohibition is based upon simjor ki biradari, or the relationship founded upon a common boundary; and is clearly a survival from marriage by capture. This limitation is further extended by the Rajputs, so that no man of them can marry into any family living in the thapa into any family of which his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather married. Thus if a Mandhār Rajput married a Chauhān Rajput of thapa Jundla, his son, grandson, and great-grandson would not be able to marry any Chauhān of any village in the Jundla thapa. But beyond this, and the prohibition against marrying within the genus, the Rajputs have no further limitations on inter-marriage. Among the other castes the thapa is not excluded; but no man can marry into any family of the genus to which his mother or his father's mother belongs, wherever these genera may be found. The Gujars, however, who are generally lax in their rules, often only exclude such persons of these genera as live in the individual village from which the relation in question came. In some parts of Ambala the people are beginning to add the mother's mother's genus, or even to substitute it for the father's mother's genus; and this may perhaps be a last stage of the change from relationship through women to relationship through men.

However other people give Re. 1-4, the Jats pay Re. 1 and 4 fakas, that is 8 country pice at 6 to the anna.
Foster relationship is equivalent to blood relationship as a bar to marriage. Any number of wives may be married, but a second wife is seldom taken unless the first is childless. A sister of a first wife may be married, or any relation in the same degree; but not above or below.

Ibid., § 320

The boy’s Brahman fixes an auspicious day, and decides how many ceremonial oilings (bān) the boy is to undergo. It must be 5, 7, 9, or 11; and the girl will undergo two fewer than the boy. The boy’s father then sends a lagan or tevā, generally 9, 11, or 15 days before the wedding, which is a letter communicating the number of bāns and the number of guests to be expected, and is accompanied by a loin-cloth or a complete suit of female clothes (twal) and a pair of shoes. In all these communications the Brahman who takes the letters always gets Re. 1-4.

Ibid., § 321

The boy and girl then undergo their bāns in their respective homes. The women collect and bathe them while singing, and rub them from head to foot with oil and turmeric and peamal. The bāns are given one each night, and are so arranged that the boy’s will end the night before the procession starts, and the girl’s the night before the wedding. After each bān the mother performs the ceremonies of ārata and sena as described below to the boy. The girl has only sena performed, as ārata can under no circumstances be performed over a female. The day of the first bān is called ḫuladāhā, or ‘red hand.’ Seven women with living husbands husk 5½ seers of rice and make sweets with it. The Brahman comes and sticks up two small round saucers, bottom outwards, against the wall with flour, and in front of them a flour lamp is kept alight in honour of ancestors. On either side he makes five marks of a bloody hand on the wall. This is done in each house. In the girl’s village the street turnings all the way from the village gate to the bride’s house, and the house itself, are also marked with red or red and white marks. After the first bān the boy has the rākṣ or black woollen thread, with a small iron ring (chhālā) and some yellow cloth and betel-nut, tied round his left ankle. The girl has her small gold nosering put on; for up to that time she can only wear a silver one; and she must not wear a large one till she goes to live with her husband. She also takes off her silver wristlets (chırā) which no married woman may wear; and substitutes for them at least five of glass on each arm. These glass wristlets and her nosering form her sohāg, and a woman who has a husband living (s hā an) must always wear them. When her husband dies she breaks the wristlets off her arm, and throws the pieces and nosering on to the corpse, and they are wrapped up with it in the shroud. After that she may wear silver wristlets again. And occasionally, if a widow has plenty of grown-up sons, she will continue to wear the sohāg.

Ibid., § 322

The day before the procession is to start or arrive, as the case may be, the manda or manda is erected. At the boy’s house they take five seed-stems of the long sarkara grass and tie them over the lintel. They dig a hole in front and to the right of the threshold, put money in it, and stand a plough beam straight up in it. To this they hang two small cakes fried in ghī, with three little saucers under and two above this, and two pie, all tied on a thread. Finally, some five beran culms, and a dogar, or two vessels of water one on top of the other,
are brought by the mother, attended by singing women, and after worship of the potter wheel (chak) are put by the door as a good omen. At the girl’s house the same is done; but instead of burying the plough beam, they erect a sort of tent with one central pole, and four cross sticks, or a stool with its four legs upwards, at the top, and on each is hung a brass water pot upside down surrounding a full one in the middle; or a curtained enclosure is formed, open to the sky, with at each corner a lichi or ‘nest’ of five earthen vessels, one on top of the other, with a tripod of bamboos over each.

On the same day the mother’s brother of the boy or girl brings the bhát. This is provided by the mother’s father, and consists of a presents of clothes; and necessarily includes the wedding suit for the bride or bridgroom, and in the case of the boy, the loin-cloth and head-dress he is to wear at the marriage; for all that either party then wears must always be provided by his or her mother’s brother. The boy’s maternal uncle also brings a girl’s suit of clothes and a wedding ring, and the girl wears both suits of clothes at the wedding. When the bhát is given, the boy’s or girl’s mother performs the ceremony of árata or minna. She takes a 5-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot. She also performs s terrorism, which consists in picking up her petticoat and touching his body all over with it. They then take the brother in-doors and feed him on ladquis or sweetmeat balls. The people then at the boy’s village collect in the village common room and the neota (§ 337 infra) is collected the bhátí (giver of the bhát) putting in his money first, which is a free gift and not entered in the account.

On the day when the marriage procession (janet, baráat) is to start, the boy receives his last bán and is dressed in his wedding suits, the kanga or seven-knotted sacred thread is tied on his wrist, and his head-dress is tied on, consisting of a crown (called mor) of mica and tinsel, a pechi or band of silver tinsel over the turban, and a sera or fringed vizer of gold tinsel.

He then performs the ceremony of ghurchari. The barber leads him, while singing women follow, and the mother with a vessel of water; and his sister puts her wrap over her right hand, and on it places rice which she flings at his crown as the boy goes along. He then gives her Re. 1, worships the gods of the homestead, and gives Re. 1 to the Bairagi. He is then put into a palanquin, and the procession to which every house nearly related must contribute a representative, and which consists of males only, starts, as much as possible on horseback, with music of sorts. At each village they pass through they are met by the barber, the Dám, and the Brahmans, whom they pay money to, and who put dábhá grass on the father’s head and pray that he may flourish like it. The procession must reach the girl’s village after the midday meal.

A place, rigorously outside the village, has been appointed for them called bág or goira. The girl’s relations come to meet them, bring in a loin-cloth and 11 takas and a little rice and sweetmeats in a tray. The two parties sit down, the Brahmans read sacred texts, the girl’s Brahman affixes the tiša on the boy’s forehead, and gives a loin-cloth and 11 takas, taking a loin-cloth and 21 takas in exchange. The two
fathers then embrace, and the girl’s father takes Re. 1 from his turbar, and gives it to the boy’s father, who gives him in exchange the clotl, which is to form the paṭka at the wedding. The girl’s father then asks the boy’s father for either 11 or 14 pice, the gosra kā kharok or expenses of the goria; and these he distributes to the menial bystanders, and makes the boy’s father pay something to the barber and Brahman. The procession then proceeds to the girl’s house, the boy being put on a horse, and pice being thrown over his head as a scramble (bakhier) for the menials. They do not go into the house; but at the door stand women singing and holding flour lamps. The boy is stood on a stool, and the girl’s elder married sister, or if she has no married sister her brother’s married daughter, performs to him the ceremonies of ārata and sewal already described, and the boy’s father gives her Rs. 1-4. She also performs the ceremony of wārpher by waving a pot of water over the boy’s head and then drinking a little of it, and waving a rupee round his head. The girl’s and boy’s relations then fight for the stool on which the boy stood, and the boy’s relations win, and carry it off in triumph to the jandalwāsa or a-dālāwāsa, which is the place fixed for the residence of the guests. This should, in theory, be outside the village; but for the convenience sake it is generally in the chopāl. Presently the guests are bidden to the girl’s house, where they eat; but the boy stays in the jandalwāsa, as he must not enter the girl’s house till the wedding itself. So, too, the girl’s relations do not eat; for they cannot eat that day till the wedding ceremony is over. This ends the first day called dhakāo.

Ibid., § 326. That night, at some time after sunset, the wedding ceremony (phera) takes place. Shortly before it the girl’s barber goes to the jandalwāsa, where the boy’s father gives him a complete suit of clothes for the girl, some jewels, sacred coloured strings to tie her hair up (nāla), some henna for her hands, and a ring called the yoke-ring (jña li amūlhā). The girl wears nothing at all of her own unless it be a pair of scanty drawers (ākola); and she is dressed up in the above things, and also in the clothes brought in the bhāt by her maternal uncle, one on top of the other. The ring she wears on the first finger; and on her head she wears the cholasop, or an unsewn and unlemmed reddish yellow cloth provided by her maternal grandfather, used only at weddings, but worn after the ceremony till it wears out. Meanwhile her relations sit down with their Brahman under the manda.

There a place on the ground (chauri, bādi) has been fresh plastered, and the Brahman makes a square enclosure (mandal or pūrat) of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire (hawam) of dhak wood, and ghī, and sugar, and sesamum. Meanwhile the other party has been sent for; and the boy, dressed in the clothes brought, by his maternal uncle, comes attended by his father and nearest relations only. They sit down to the north, the girl’s people to the south, and two stools are placed facing the east, on which the boy and girl, who are fetched, after all have sat down by her mother’s brother, are seated each next his or her people, so that she is on his right hand. When the ceremony commences the girl’s people hold up a cloth for a minute so as to hide the boy and girl from the boy’s people, ‘just as a matter of form.’ The Brahman puts five little earthen pots (kulśa) in the sacred
enclosure, and makes the boy and girl dip their third fingers into turmeric and touch piece, which he then puts into the pots, the boy offering twice as many as the girl. Sacred texts are then recited. The girl then turns her hand-palm upwards, her father puts one rupee and a little water into it, and takes the hand and the rupee and solemnly places them in the boy’s hand, saying main apni larki din, kanya din: ‘I give you my daughter; I give her virgin,’ This is called kanya din. Then the sacred fire is stirred up, the Brahman ties the hem (palla) of the girl’s wrap to a piece of cloth called the patká, and the boy takes the latter over his shoulder and leads her around the fire counter clockwise four times, and then she goes in front and leads him round three times. Meanwhile the family priests recite the tribe and gend of each, and the names of their ancestors for four generations. The pheá, and constitutes the real marriage. After this the Brahmins formally ask each whether he or she accepts, the other, and is ready to perform duties which are set forth in time-honoured and very impressive and beautiful language. The boy and girl then sit down, each where the other sat before; and this completes the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the girl’s house, where the girl’s mother unties the boy’s head-dress and gives him a little ghi and gur mixed up. There two small earthen saucers have been fixed with flour against the wall, bottom outwards, and a lamp lighted in front of them. This they worship; the boy returns to the jandalwás, after redeeming his shoes, which the women have stolen, by paying Rs. 1-4; while the girl stays with her people.

On the second day (baithór) the boy’s people must not eat food of the girl’s people; and they get it from their relations and friends in the village. Various ceremonies involving payment to Brahmins and barbers are performed.

At night the girl’s father and friends go to the jandalwás; the two fathers, who are now each other’s simdi, embrace; the girl’s father gives his simdi one rupee and invites the whole barát, including the boy, to eat at the girl’s house. But when, after eating, they have returned to the jandalwás, the girl’s friends follow then and make them give a nominal payment for it, called roti ká kharch, which is given to the menials.

On the third day, called tida, the ucota is collected in the girl’s house just as it was in the boy’s house before the barát started. The boy’s people then eat at the girl’s house, and return to the jandalwás, whereth they are presently summoned to take leave (tida kono). The boy’s father then presents a bari, which is a gift of sugar, almonds, sacred threads, fruits &c. to the girl’s people. The ceremony of patta is then performed. The girl’s relations form a pachhýat or council, and demand a certain sum from the boy’s father from which the village menials then and there receive their fixed dues. The money is called patta. The girl’s pach having ascertained that all have been paid, formally asks the boy’s father whether any one in the village has taken or demanded ought of him save this money; and he replies in the negative. During this ceremony the girl’s father sits quite apart, as he must have nothing whatever to do with taking money from the boy’s people, and in fact often insists upon paying the patta himself. While the patta

MMMMM
is being distibuted, the girl's mother makes the boy perform the ceremony of band khulāi, which consists in untying one knot of the manda. She then puts the tika on his forehead and gives one rupee and two laddus (a sweetmeat made into a ball), and the other women also feed him. This is called jahāri. Then the girl's father presents the dān or dower, which includes money, clothes, vessels &c.; but no female jewels; and the barāt returns to the sandhiwāsa. The boy's father then visits all the women (cūtān) of his own gens who live in the village, and gives each one rupee. The horses and bullocks are then got out, and should assemble at the outer gate of the village, though they sometimes go to the door of the house for convenience. Her maternal uncle takes the girl, and, followed by women singing, places her in the ox cart in which she is to travel. She is accompanied by a female barber called the larumbi, and the boy is kept apart. When they are just starting the two fathers embrace, and the girl's father gives the other one rupee and his blessing; but the girl's mother comes up, and having dipped her hand in henna, claps the boy's father on the back so as to leave a bloody mark of a hand (thapa) on his clothes. A few pice are scrambled over the heads of the happy pair; and the procession starts for home, the girl screaming and crying as a most essential form.

Ibid. § 230.

When the barāt reaches the boy's village, the friends are collected at the boy's door, which has five red marks of a hand on the wall on either side. The boy and girl are stood on the stool which the barāt have brought from the other village and the boy's mother measures them both with a se's or string made of the hair of a bullock's tail, which is then thrown away. She also performs the ceremony of sewal and waves a vessel of water over their heads and drinks a little of it. The boy's sister stands in the doorway, and will not admit them till the boy pays her one rupee. That night the boy and girl sleep on the floor, and above where they sleep are two mud saucers stuck, bottom outwards, against the wall, and a lighted lamp before them.

On the next auspicious day the girl puts on the wrap with the patra still knotted to it; the boy takes it over his shoulder and leads her off, attended by women only and music, to worship the god of the homestead, the sacred tulsi tree, the small pux goddess, and all the village deities and the wheel of the potter, who gives them a nest of vessels for good luck. They go outside the village and perform kesara, which consists in the boy and girl taking each a stick and fighting together by striking seven blows or more. Then comes the ceremony of kangna khetna. The girl unites the kangua or 7-knotted sacred thread which the Brahman tied round the boy's wrist before he started, and he undoes hers. The kangnas are then tied to the girl's yoke-ring; and it is flung by the boy's brother's wife into a vessel of milk and water with dabh grass in it. The two then dip for it several times with their hands, the finder being rewarded with cheers. Till this ceremony is performed the boy and girl must sleep on the ground and not on bedsteads. Then the boy's elder brother's wife (his bhāsi) sits down, opens her legs, and takes the boy between her

1 Among the Rājputa there are two kangnas, one with a rupee and the other with betelnut tied to it. This ceremony is performed with the former kangua at the girl's village the day after the phera, and with the latter as described above.
thighs. The girl sits similarly between the boy’s thighs, and takes a little boy into her lap. The girl or his mother gives him two laddús; and he says, ‘a son for my sister-in-law, and two laddús for me.’ Some few days after a barber comes from the girl’s village, and takes her back to her home.

So far the bride and bridegroom are infants, and of course the marriage has not been consummated; in fact, a child conceived at this stage would be illegitimate. The consummation takes place after the return of the girl to her husband’s house, called chillā or muhādama. This takes place when the girl is puñert; but must be in either the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, or 11th year after the wedding. The girl’s people fix the day; and the boy with some male friends, but without his father, goes to fetch her. The girl then for the first time wears a large nosering, an armlet (tandā), and a boddice or angī. The girl’s father gives her some clothes and jewels, and they go off home. As they start the girl must scream and cry bitterly, and bewail some near male relation who has lately died, saying, ‘oh! my father is dead,’ or ‘oh! my brother is dead.’ After reaching home they live together as man and wife.

The girl stays with her husband a few weeks only; and must then return to her father’s home and stay there six months or a year. She is then brought back for good by her husband, her father presenting her with her trousseau (pidār) of clothes and jewels. This she retains; but all clothes given by her father to the boy’s father previous to this, at marriage or chillā, must be divided among the female relations of the boy’s father and not retained by him.

This is the course of affairs when the parties marry in infancy. But among Rājpūts who always marry late, and generally when the marriage has from any cause been delayed till puberty, there is no muhādama, but on the third day before the barāṭ starts the ceremony of pūra phera, or changing the stools is performed. The girl changes all her clothes, putting on clothes provided by her father, and also a large nosering, armlets, and boddice. The boy and girl are then seated on stools and exchange places, each sitting where the other was, and the pālka is tied up. The girl’s father presents both the dower and the trousseau at the same time; and the pair, on reaching home, live as man and wife.

Among Musalmāns there is no phera; the nikāh or Muslim is substituted for it, which the qādi reads in the presence of witnesses. Envoys (makīles) go into the girl’s house to take her consent and come out and announce it; the boy consents himself three times, and the ceremony is complete. But among converts to Islam, at any rate, the other customs and ceremonies are almost exactly the same. Of late years the Musalmāns have begun to leave off the sorna and dārāta and they often use no pechī, though they retain the sora.

Local and tribal variations are numerous, but quite unimportant. There are innumerable minūtī which I have not detailed, and which vary greatly, though quite constant for each tribe or locality. The Rājpūts never use a mar, nor have the customs of khāpa; and the tent is often omitted from the manda in the Khādīr.
The wife has to hide her face before all the elder brothers and other elder relations of her husband; not so before the younger ones, elder and younger being, of course, a matter of genealogical degree, and not of age. Nor may she ever mention the name of any of the elder ones, or even of her husband himself.

When once the ceremonial goings and comings are over—among Rājputās, for instance, where there is no mūldwa, directly the wedding is over—she may never return to her father’s house except with his special leave; and if he sends for her, he has to give her a fresh dowry.

The village into which his daughter is married is utterly tabooed for the father, and her elder brother, and all near elder relations. They may not go to it, even drink water from a well in that village; for it is shameful to take anything from one’s daughter or her belongings. On the other hand, the father is continually giving things to his daughter and her husband as long as he lives. Even the more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy’s father can go to the girl’s village by leave of her father, but not without

There is a curious custom called neota by which all the branches of a family contribute towards the expenses of a marriage in any of its component households. If A and B are relations, and A first marries his daughter, B will contribute, say, Rs. 10. If B then marries his daughter, A must contribute more than this, or say Rs. 12. At further marriages, so long as the neota consists between them, the contribution will always be Rs. 10, so that B will always owe A Rs. 2; but if either wishes to put an end to the neota, he will contribute, if A, only Rs. 8, if B Rs. 12. This clears the account, and, ipso facto, closes the neota. The neota is always headed by the bhāti or mother’s brother; but his contribution is a free gift, and does not enter into the account, which is confined to the relations of the male line. These contribute even when the relationship is very distant indeed.

This is the real neota; and is only called into play on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter or son of the house. But in a somewhat similar manner, when the bhāti is to be provided by the mother’s father, he sends a little gur to each neotāra, or person between whom and himself neota exists; and they make small contributions, generally Re. 1 each. So, too, when the boy’s father gives gur to his relations at his son’s betrothal they each return him Re. 1.

The Rājputās call the custom bel instead of neota, and take it, in the case of the bhāti, only from descendants of a common great-grandfather.

As I have said, a man may marry as often as he pleases. If he marries again on the death of his wife, he is called dheju. The ceremonies are exactly the same for a man’s different marriages. But under no circumstances can a woman perform the pēra twice in her life. Thus, among the Rājputās, Brahmins and Tagās, who do not allow karēw; or kārā?, a widow cannot under any circumstances

1 In one village there is a shrine to an ancestor who had died childless. It is known by his nickname, and not by his proper name, because the women of the family do not like to pronounce the latter.
remarry. But among other castes a remarriage is allowed under the
above name. It is, in its essence, the Jewish levirate; that is to say,
on the death of a man his younger brother has first claim to the widow.
then his elder brother, and after them other relations in the same degree;
though karewa cannot be performed while the girl is a minor, and her
consent is necessary. But it has been extended so that a man may
marry a widow whom he could not have married as a virgin, the only res-
triction being that she is not of his own gens. Thus, a Gujar may marry
a Jat or Ror widow of any gens but his own. I need hardly say that
neither marriage, nor adoption, nor any other ceremony, can change
the gens of a man or woman; that being, under all circumstances, the
gens of the original father. Even women of menial castes can be so
married; but the woman is then called heri hui, though it is still a
real marriage. 'At the same time any marriage out of one's own caste,
even if with a higher one, is thought disgraceful.

The marriage must not take place within a year of the husband's
death. It is effected by the man throwing a red wrap over the woman's
head and putting wristlets (chitra) on her arm in presence of male and
female members of the brotherhood. There is no necola in karewa, because
there are no expenses.

When a Hindu is on the point of death, he is taken off the bed
and put with his feet to the east on the ground, on a fresh plastered
spot strewn with the sacred dūḥ grass and sesame. Ganges water
and milk, and a tiny pearl (they can be bought for a few pice), and
gold, are put into his mouth. The friends are called in and the son or
nearest heir shaved completely in public, draws water with his right
hand alone, bathes and puts on a clean lion-cloth, turban, and handker-
chief, and nc other clothes. Meanwhile the widow has broken her
sokag, and throws it on the corpse, which the men or women of the
family, according to its sex, bathe with the water the son has drawn,
put on it a loin-cloth, and sew it up in a shroud (nūji or ghūgi). They
then place it on the bier (arti or pinji) and bear it out head foremost.
At the door a Brahman meets it with pindas (halls of dough) and water
which the son places on the bier by the head of the corpse. On the
road they stop by a tank or some water, and pindas are again put on the
bier. Then all the pindas are flung into the water, and the bier is
taken up the reverse way with the feet foremost. When they reach
the burning place (chhalla), the corpse is placed on the pyre (chita),
and the son taking sacred fire, lit by the Brahman, lights the wood (dāg
dena) and fans it. This is the kīra tarm so often mentioned. When
the bone of the skull is exposed, the son takes one of the sticks of
which the bier was made, drives it through the skull (kapal kiri) and
throws it over the corpse beyond the feet. When the corpse is com-
pletely burnt, all bathe and return together to the house, and then go
off to their homes. The burning should be on the day of death, if
possible; but it should always be before sunset.

If the burning was performed on the bank of the Jumna, water
is thrown on the ashes; if in the Kurukshetra, the bones are thrown into
one of the sacred tanks, and all is over. Otherwise, on the third day
the knuckle-bones and other small fragments of bones (phāl) are col-
clected. If they can be taken to the Ganges at once, well and good;
if not they are buried in the jungle. But they must not be brought into the village in any case; and when once ready to be taken to the Ganges, they must not be put down anywhere, but must always be hung up till finally thrown by a Brahman into the stream. Their bearer, who must be either a relation, or a Brahman, or Jhawar, must sleep on the ground, and not on a bed, on his way to the Ganges. After the death a ghara of water with a hole in the bottom, stuffed with dalk grass so that water will drip from it, is hung in a pipal tree; and the water is filled, and a lamp lighted daily for 11 days.

Ibid. § 342.

The house is impure (patak) till the 13th day after death. On the 10th day the Maha Brahman or Acharij comes. The household perform dasahi; that is, they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer 10 pins, and give the Acharij grain enough for 10 meals. On the 11th or day of sapinda, a bull calf is let loose, with a trident (tarsa) branded on his shoulder or quarter, to become a pest. The Acharij is seated on the dead man's bedstead, and they make obeisance to him and lift him up, bedstead and all. He then takes the bedstead and all the wearing apparel of the dead man, and goes off on his donkey. But he is held to be so utterly impure that in many villages they will not allow him to come inside, but take the things out to him. On the 12th day the Gujarati Brahman is fed, being given sidha or the uncooked materials for dinner only, as he will not eat food cooked even by Gaur Brahmans. On the 13th day the Gaur Brahmans are fed, and then the whole brotherhood; the walls are plastered, the earthen vessels changed, all clothes washed, and the house becomes pure. If the man died on his bed instead of on the ground, the house is impure for 45 days; and after the 11th day special ceremonies called jap have to be performed to purify it. Again, if he has died on certain inauspicious days of the month, called panchak, 5 or 7 Brahmans have to perform bari in order to ease his spirit.

Ibid. § 343.

The same ceremonies are observed on the death of a woman. Children under 8 years of age are buried without ceremony.

There are no particular ceremonies observed at the death of a Musalman, who is, of course, buried with his feet to the south. Gosains and Jogis are buried sitting up in salt; and used to be so buried alive before our rule. Their graves are called samada. Bairagis are burnt, and in the case of an abbott a samad erected over some of the bones. Chamars are burnt; while sweepers are buried upside down (munda).

Ibid. § 344.

The disembodied spirit while on its travels is called parel; and remains in this state for one year, making 12 monthly stages. For the first 12 days after death a lamp is kept lit, and a bowl of water with a hole in the bottom for it to drip from kept full in a pipal tree for the use of the spirit. At the end of each month the son gives his family priest the 'monthly ghara' which consists of a sidha or uncooked food for two meals, a ghara of water, a towel, an umbrella, and a pair of the wooden shoes (khardun) used where the impure leather is objectionable. At the first anniversary of the death (tarnaut) he gives the Brahman a bedstead and bedding, a complete suit of clothes, some vessels, and such other parts of a complete outfit as he can afford. This is called sajja. He also gives him a cow with a calf at foot and some rupees in water.
SECTION 12—FICTIONAL KINSHIP IN THE PUNJAB.

The ideas underlying the formation of the ties of fictional kinship and the effects of those ties, when formed, are not only of importance from a practical point of view, as illustrating such practices as adoption, rules of succession, and the like, but they are also of considerable interest as illustrating the possibilities of castes, or even tribes, having been formed by processes of accretion. Among the most primitive races on the North-West Frontier of India the ties of fosterage are very strong, more stringent even than those of blood kinship¹; and throughout India, at least among the non-Muslims, adoption plays a very important role in the law of inheritance.² The following notes on these ideas and customs have been collected in an attempt to ascertain how far fictional kinship is now formed in the Punjab.

Gangá-bháis—a fraternal relationship entailing the consequences of natural kinship and thus operating as a bar to marriage between the parties, who become Gangá-bháis each to the other, is established by making a pilgrimage to the Ganges together and there drinking the waters of the sacred river from each other's hands.³ This relationship is also established between two women (or even between a man and a woman),⁴ irrespective of caste, and the parties should drink thrice,⁵ or seven times, while lasting friendship and sisterhood are vowed. In Gurgton women who exchange dopattás (shawls) at a sacred place, or on a pilgrimage, become Gangá-bahin, Jamná bahin (if that river is the place of pilgrimage), or, generally, tirath-bahin. Such women each treat the other's husband as a jíśa, i.e. as a sister's husband, and it is said that the custom of making these alliances is more prevalent among women than among men, and more binding also. With the extension of facilities for making pilgrimages this custom is becoming rarer, but when a pilgrimage involved journeying and living together the tie was often contracted, and it is still not rare in cases where some service or aid was rendered. A Sanskrit adage declares that no wrong should be done to a person with whom one has walked seven paces, an idea to which the seven steps at a wedding owe their significance.

The pahul.—Among Sikhs the taking of the pahul together creates a similar tie, and those bound by it are called gurbháis. Here again caste is disregarded and the relationship created operates as an absolute bar to marriage.

Adoption.—Adoption, as a religious rite, is not very common in the Punjab, even among Hindus. It is solemnized with few rites, and is usually called god lend, or 'taking in the lap.' An adopted son is

¹ E.g., among the so-called Dards; see Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, pp. 32-3.
² E.g., among the Nambydri Brahmans of Kesah, on the Malabar coast (see Calcutta Review, 1901, pp. 121 et seq.), we find two kinds of religious and one of secular adoption. All three forms have remarkable effects on the laws of succession.
³ It is said that the exchange of pongsal at Hardwar merely cements a long and intimate friendship without creating any bond of artificial kinship.
⁴ It is, however, said that this tie is only contracted between women. It is apparently rare between a man and a woman, but not unknown. In Multan the tie is called bhíqáspi and does exist between men and women. In Wide-Awake Stories (Mrs. F. A. Steel and Sir R. C. Temple) Princess Ambergine exchanges veils with the Queen and drinks milk out of the same cup with her 'as is the custom when two people say they will be sisters': p. 81.
⁵ This is called in Panjab chulláin lena [literally 'to take handfuls' (of water)]. Women thus become dharm-bahin, if Hindus.
Fictitious kinship.

termed *putrela* by Hindus. But besides the custom of formal adoption a kind of informal adoption of a man or woman as father or mother is not unusual. The adoptive parent is thenceforth treated as a natural parent, but apparently no legal results ensue.

Exchanging *gânduṇa*—An analogous tie can be created between two youths by exchanging *gânduṇa* or wedding wristlets, and eating rice and milk together. The youth who is to be married puts on a *gánduṇa*, and his would-be friend unties it, while a Brahman repeats the following *mantrā*:

**TRANSLITERATION.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Manglang}^3 & \text{ Bhagwán-Vishnu}^4 \\
\text{Manglang Garar-dhwij}^5 & \\
\text{Manglang Pūnri-kakhīyā}^6 \\
\text{Manglā yatno}^7 & \text{ Hari.}^8
\end{align*}
\]

**TRANSLATION.**

* Bhagwán Vishnu \{ is the embodiment of bliss.  
* Garar-dhwij  
* Pūnri-kakhīyā  
* Hari is the abode of happiness.  
* God is the centre of all bliss, happiness emanates from Him.

This is a benediction (*asāh kādā*) which a Brahman gives to other men. The idea being ‘May God, the embodiment of all bliss, give you happiness.’

Another *mantrā*:

\[
\text{Yeu baadhikho Parājā dān-vardro, Mahā-lala!}! \\
\text{Te-nalwāng pari-badhnumi-rakhe mā-chal mā-chal!}!
\]

“In the name of Him who killed Rājā Bali, the mighty leader of the Dāits, I fasten this rakhī thread round your wrist and protect you, may you persevere, cleave to it, and never deviate from it.”

Generally this *mantrā* is recited when a rakhī (amulet) is tied by a Brahman at the Rakhrī festival (on the full-moon day in the month of Sāwan).

Various other means are adopted to create or cement enduring friendships, hardly amounting to fictitious relationship. Thus the *mundūn* ceremony affords an opportunity to swear lasting friendships.

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1. The subject of adoption is fully treated in the present writer’s *Compendium of the Punjab Customary Law.*
2. *Gánduṇa, M.*, a string of coloured cords or of goat’s hair. The man or youth who unfastens the *gánduṇa* of a bridegroom at his wedding is also bound to him by special ties of friendship.
3. Happiness, fortune, bliss, felicity.
4. The second deity of the sacred triad, entrusted with the preservation of the world.
5. An epithet of Vishnu. *Garaj* is represented as the vehicle of Vishnu and as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings and a golden body. *Dhwij* means a banner, flag. It generally bears a picture of the deity’s vehicle.
6. An epithet of Vishnu. Lit., having eyes like a white lotus flower (*punrik=white lotus, kakhīyā=eyes*).
7. Lit., house, residence.
8. An epithet of Vishnu.
batáshas being distributed among those present, or a child of the same age being made to catch the boy’s hair as it falls, and thus form a tie of kinship with him. Simultaneous circumcission forms a similar bond.

Among the Sánskrit friendship is sworn by one man’s placing a sword between himself and his friend. The latter removes it, and the tie is complete.

Paghwat. — But far commoner than the solemn religious bond created by the foregoing fictions is the looser social bond created by the exchange of pagris, or pagwat, as it is called in Gujrát. As a rule this exchange creates a bond like that of kinship, though it is said that only among Hindus is its existence a bar to intermarriage, and that among Muhammadans this is not the case. The pagr or turban is typical of a man’s honour, so that the exchange means that the honour of one party becomes that of the other.

Such ‘brothers’ are ordinarily termed pag-bhát or dharam-bhát, the latter term being ordinarily used to denote a brother artificially created as opposed to a natural brother.

Chádáar or orhnd-badál.—Women in the same way exchange chádáars or orhndés, and among Muhammadans become dharam-bähin or indw-bähin to each other. But these customs are more prevalent among Hindus than among Muhammadans.

A custom prevalent among children is noted in Ambála; friendship is made or broken off by placing the finger on the chin and moving it backwards and forwards, saying merí teri yári hodi, ‘There is friendship twixt thee and me,’ or merí terí yári kut, ‘Our friendship is broken.’ In Multán children hold their thumbs in their mouths and lock their little fingers together, one saying, ‘Is thy friendship like a sieve, or a river?’ If the other reply, ‘like a river,’ the friendship is cemented. Occasionally instead of a sieve and a river, a brass vessel and a grinding-stone are the simile. But the friendship may be broken off by taking a little dust in the palm and blowing it away, or, in Jhang, by breaking a straw.

These modes of creating fictitious relationship, or the ideas which underlie them, appear to be the basis of certain practices which exist in various parts of the Punjab.

These practices on the one hand find analogies in the custom of seeking asylum, while on the other they merge in certain forms of oaths.

The pagwat finds a curious application among cattle-lifters and other criminals. Finding himself suspected, the chief offers to restore the stolen property, on condition that the owner exchanges pagris with him as a pledge that he will not lodge a complaint.

An apparent extension of this practice is the custom of tallá pándé, but in Ambála, for instance, it is said that no such tie is created, because pagwat sometimes takes place between persons of different religions (and between them no such tie could be created). In Jhang and Multán it creates no such tie.

Of, the adage, Waqr Barárdán Bhiastrón, Ki hinda pagg in-watán ? When Barárs and Bhiastrón are at enmity, what avail is it to exchange pagris?

Tallá, a small piece of cloth, a patch; tikr and tigr are not given in Maya Singh’s, Panjab Dictionary, but both are said to have the same meaning as tallá. In the Jhang district at a wedding the bridegroom’s friend casts a piece of cloth over the bride’s head in precisely the same way.
Fictitious kinship.

pañā, tiñā, or śīrā, as it is variously called. This custom may be thus described. The supplicant casts a piece of clothing over the head of his enemy’s daughter or sister, whether he be the person whom he has actually wronged, or a witness against him, or his would-be captor. If he cannot get access to the girl herself he employs a Mirāsan or a Manbhiānī to go to her father’s house and throw the cloth over her head in his name. It suffices to give the girl a small ornament instead of casting a cloth over her. By this means a complainant or a hostile witness may be compelled to assist a thief or any wrong-doer instead of pressing the charge against him; or a loan may be extorted from a money-lender. 1

Among Muhammadans in the Western Punjab the relatives of a man in trouble with the police approach the complainant with a Quran which they place in his hands and thus constrain him to abandon the prosecution. In former times, it is said, if a man who had a feud died, and his kinsman could not, or would not, continue the feud they took his corpse to his enemy and thus compelled him to friendship. This is called pallo pānā, 2 or niyāt khāir. 3 Refusal involves divine displeasure. In the Mīrwaḷī district it is customary for one side to send Sayyids, Brahmans, or daughters 4 as envoys to the rival faction in order to induce it to give up its claims. If this request is refused and the rival party meets with misfortune, it is attributed to its rejection of the terms proposed by the Sayyids, or the other envoys. In the same district it is customary for a thief to send a widow (called ḍādlī sīrī) 5 to beg for mercy from the complainant. Such an envoy refuses to sit until her request is granted.

The custom of casting one’s garment over an enemy’s daughter is found as far west as Kōhāt, but in that district another method is also in vogue. The thief, or one of his relatives, goes to the complainant’s house, places his hands on his chulha (hearth or oven) and says: ṭa angh-are mā wunisale da, ‘I have grasped your oven’; thus claiming his hospitality.

Compurgation is also not unknown. Thus in Gujrat if A is suspected of stealing B’s cattle, but denies his guilt, the parties nominate an arbitrator and agree to abide by his word. This is called sunh lamna, or taking an oath, but it is termed ra- dēna in Jhang, Multān &c.

1 In Gujrat the supplicant party assembles all the respectable men of the locality, and they go in a body to the house of whom the favours is sought. This is called mēla (? surely mela) pānā. In Dera (Hāzi Khān the dedication is formed in a very similar way, and is called mēraj (? mehar, ? a crowd). Both Hindus and Muhammadans have this custom but only the latter take a Quran with them.

2 Pallo, the border of a shawl; pānā, to spread out the end of one’s shawl, to invoke a blessing; so called because Hindus spread out the end of their shawls on the ground before them when invoking a blessing.

3 If the complainant violate his solemn promise on the Quran to take no action he is said to be niyāt khāir khārs, and is cut off from all social intercourse with his fellows, being only received again into fellowship after he has given them presents and feasted the whole brotherhood. The surrender of the corpse reminds one of the attachment of the dead for debt. See The Grateful Dead.

4 Among some of the low castes daughters act as priests, vīra Brahmans.

5 Ādi sīrī, lit. ‘black-head’ apparently. A widow would seem to be sent because she is the most deserving or pitiable of all supplicants.
Nanwati.—Very similar in idea is the Pathan custom of nanwati, or nakaura. If a man seeks mercy, or the protection of a powerful patron, he or his relative goes to his house with a posse of leading men of the village and there kills a goat or a sheep by way of peace-offering.

Sayyid Ahmad Dehliari furnishes some curious information on the customs among women in Delhi. He informs me that the princesses of the old Mughal dynasty, when resident in the palace, used to effect a tie of sisterhood, called sanakkhi. Sanakkhi is the breast-bone of a fowl or pigeon, and two ladies used to break it, as we break a wishing bone. They then became sanakhi, each to the other, and the tie thus created was a very strong one. The custom is said to have been brought with them from Turkestân. Similar ties were formed by women of the palace who were known as dilfán, ‘heart’s life,’ jar-i-man, jamila, dushman (lit., ‘enemy’), dagána, chagána, &c., but these ties were less binding. Dilfima may be taken to mean ‘confidante.’ Dagána is applied to two ladies of equal age whose friendship is strengthened by eating philippine almonds, ‘as if they were sisters, born of one mother.’ Chárváni would appear to be derived from chhá, 6, and to mean one who is six times dearer than a sister. Dushman is used, curiously enough, to imply that the enemy of either is also the enemy of the other.

Among the women of Delhi generally, the terms applied to such adoptive sisters are suheli (companion), baineli, and sakheli, but the latter term is seldom used except in poetry. Another term for adopted sister is munk-toli, or ‘adopted by word of mouth.’ Other terms remind one of the pagri-badal or topi-badal brotherhoods formed among men and include the challa-badal-bahin, or sister by exchange of rings, and daffa-badal-bahin, or sister by exchange of scarves. The latter tie is formed ceremoniously, each ‘sister’ sending the other an embroidered scarf (doputta) in a tray and putting on the one received from her, after which a number of invited guests are feasted. Religious sisterhood is formed by following the same faith and becoming chin-i-bahin; by affecting the same spiritual teacher (pir) and becoming pir-bahin; or by drinking the water from the Jumna or Ganges from each other’s hands while bathing in one of those rivers, and thus becoming Jumna or Ganga-bahin. The latter is the stronger tie. Foster sisters are styled dush-sharik-bahin.

1 Sanakkhi, Pers., means ‘chin’; Platts’ Hindustani Dictionary, p. 618, but it does not give nanwati.
2 Jân-i-man, ‘life of mine,’ or possibly ‘life of my heart.’ I can trace none of these Palace terms in Platts.
3 These palace terms have been somewhat disregarded, or have at least lost much of their original force, in rekhtí, the doggerel verses written in women’s language and expressing their sentiments (Platts, p. 611). Chagána, however, occurs in the verse: Mesi gais s’ashti ko tinke chhunode, Qurbán ki thi chagána woh khamuí Laid in the Tarkira-i-Gulistan-i-Sakhna of Mirza Fakhru-ud-Mulk. With the exception of dagána and chagána they are said to occur in three books, the Chatá-bhanchi, Sughrarmoheli, and Bas-t-aahir, written by a gentleman who had been brought up in the Delhi Palace, and describing the colloquial language used therein.
5 An adopted visitor, or female friend; Platts, p. 194.
6 A female friend etc., see Platts, p. 666.
7 In Northern India, from Agra as far south as Bihár, the term gaiyan is much in use among women and in poetry. In Márwar and Upper India the corresponding term is saini, which Platts (p. 648) gives as a synonym of sakheli. See p. 928 for gadda, ‘a partner,’ or ‘female companion.’
CHAPTER III.

CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

SECTION I.—CASTE MARKS.

Caste marks, like sectarian marks, probably had a religious origin, but they should nevertheless be carefully distinguished from the latter. They are in themselves only a part of the symbolism of caste, and find counterparts in various other outward signs and observances, which distinguish one caste from another.

According to the commonly-accepted theoretical division of Hindu society, the outward and visible signs of the castes were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaisya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing in skins</td>
<td>black deer</td>
<td>red deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred thread</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>hemp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhák</td>
<td>bar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Brahmacáryas of each of the above castes are said to have been distinguished by more elaborate differences in the matters of clothing and staff. Thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaisya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under garment</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper garment of skin</td>
<td>black-buck</td>
<td>rúrá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhák</td>
<td>bilva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of staff</td>
<td>to the head</td>
<td>to the forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdle</td>
<td>múnj</td>
<td>mūrba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a difference also, according to caste, in the forms of the words used by the Brahmacáryas in asking alms:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaisya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavít bhikkhyam</td>
<td>bhikkhyam bhavít</td>
<td>bhikkhyam déhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déhi</td>
<td>déhi</td>
<td>bhavít</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In connection with the above distributions of clothing and adornments, each of the four chief castes wore, on the forehead between the eyebrows, a distinctive caste mark of coloured sandal-wood paste.

1 I. e. of the wood of the buta frondosa, fícus Indica and acacia Arbórea, respectively.
2 Called the chháhchháh.
3 Ágle marmelos, or wood-apple.
4 Fícus glomerata.
5 According to Manu, stóka 45. The varieties of the Brahmacárya staff above given are arranged according to the Gṛhyásutra. Manu, stóka 45, gives a wider range of choice: e. g. Brahmana, dhák or bilva; Kshatriya, bar or khairád (acacia catechu); Vaisya, jāl or gúlar.
6 A vetch.
7 A creeper.
8 See Pémakara, Gṛhyásutra, ed. Kesáji Med. Hall, under the authority of the Mahárájá of Hathvá, St. 1902: Khándá II, pp. 800 ff.; stóras 16 to 28. Manu, Dágá 2, st. 45, 45, 46 etc.
9 Itrahmanas also used bhabhát, asbes, for this purpose.
CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS.

Caste Marks: Manu, Grihyasūtra, etc.

Caste Marks: Meru Tantra.

Vaishnava Sectarial Marks.


Marks of Hindu Religious Orders.

January, 1917.—No.57861 Ed.
Caste marks.

(vide Plate, figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4). The colour, as well as the form, of the caste-mark was distinctive for each caste, as under:

- Brahmana.
- Kshatriya.
- Vaisya.
- Sādṛa.

White.
- red.
- pale yellow.
- black.

According to a sloka in the Padma Purāṇ, the colours abovementioned correspond with the complexion of each caste, which was assumed to convey its general mental qualities:

- Brahmana.
- Kshatriya.
- Vaisya.
- Sādṛa.

Venerable.
- merciless.
- merciful.
- vain.

The Mera Tantra, however, prescribes quite a different set of marks (vide Plate, figs. 5, 6 and 6a, 7 and 8):

- Brahmana.
- Kshatriya.
- Vaisya.
- Sādṛa.

Vardhapundra. 1
- trīpūndra, ardha-chandrákā. chaukā.

Other authorities again permit Brahmanas to wear the trīpūndra in its straight form, though Shāktakas might wear both, while the vardhapundra is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

The materials for the vardhapundra wear also varied to saffron, clay, turmeric and earth from sacred places. In modern practice the colour is rarely pure white.

Historically the discrepancies to be observed in the authorities more than probably represent local feeling at various epochs and show that at no time was there any hard and fast general rule. Nowadays, in practice, the distinctions noted in the books do not exist, and customs that are not to be found in them are observed. E.g., the sacred thread is usually of cotton, and caste distinction is shown by the knots used; the castes assumed to represent the old Brahmana and Kshatriya divisions employing the brahm-gaṅgh, and those representing the old Vaisyas, the viṣṇu-gaṅgh.

SECTION II.—SECTARIAN MARKS.

1. Vaishnava.

Sectarian marks as now used are probably of comparatively modern form. That of the Vaishnavas is the urdhvāṇḍ, representing the bishnapad or footprint of Viṣṇu: (Plate, fig. 9).

It is also described as consisting of two upright lines with a point between them (see Plate, fig. 5), and as a simple vertical line. This last statement is, however, expressly contradicted by another account, which says that Vaishnavas are forbidden to use the single vertical line, and proceed to prescribe marks for each of the great Vaishnava sects and their offshoots as understood in the Punjab.

This account leads us into an extremely instructive presentation of sect development among Vaishnavas in the Northern parts of India. These sects are given as follows, employing the terms for them used by the modern Punjābis:

1 Out of two forms; three straight lines or three lines curved upwards.
CHAPTER IV.

SUPERSTITIONS AND CEREMONIES RELATING TO DWELLINGS IN THE PANJAB.

SECTION I.—THE ASPECT OF THE HOUSE.

1. The south.

A southern aspect is unlucky.

In Jullundur (Jalandhar) it means that it will generally remain empty. In Lahore a house facing south, or a site on which a house facing south, can only be built, has a markedly lower selling value than one with any other aspect. Builders make every effort to avoid a southern aspect. In Gurgáon a house should, if possible, face towards the Ganges, never south. In Dera Gházi Khán this aspect is specially unlucky.

2. The astrological aspect.

In Trans-Giri Sírmúr the nám rás1 of the village settles the aspect in the first instance. If it is Kumbh, Tulá or Brichhak, the house must face west: if in Brikh, Kunyá or Makar, south: if in Mín, Kírk or Míthán, north.

The house must never face east. But north and south are also unlucky,2 as the north aspect brings poverty and the south admits demons. Therefore when a house, according to the nám rás rule ought to face north, south or east, it is made to face north-east or north-west, south-east or south-west.

3. Other aspects.

In Amritsar a house built in front of a tree, or facing a tank or river, is unlucky.3

SECTION II.—TIMES FOR BUILDING.

1. The auspicious moment.

In Sírmúr a handful of earth from the site selected is taken to a Brahman, who predicts the auspicious moment for laying the foundations, by declaring that a leopard, cow, fox or other animal or drum will be heard at the appointed time. The prophecy usually comes off, because it is made with due regard to local circumstances at the time, but if it fails, the time is postponed and another day fixed.

1 The Hindi alphabet is divided among the twelve zodiacal signs, each of which affects the letters allotted to it. The nám rás is the sign to which the initial letter of the name of the village (as also of a person) belongs.

2 Also among Muhammadans in Dera Gházi Khán.

3 In this District, if a pipal tree grows within the house precincts, it is unlucky. But in Lahore symmetry and even safety are sacrificed in order to preserve a pipal tree growing on the site of a house, or within its precincts, unless the tree can be easily transplanted.
Building ceremonies.


Baisak, Bhadon, Magh and Phagun are lucky, unless the builder’s nam rās is in Saturn, Mars, Ketu or Rahu.

In Kangra, the only lucky months are those between Magh and Hār.

In Dera Ghazi Khān, the lucky months are Sāwan, Kātik, Poh, Phagun and Baisak.

Phagun and Baisak are the lucky months. (Sāwan provides sons: Kātik brings gold and silver: Poh finds worship acceptable to God.) The unlucky months are Hār, Bhadon, Asauj, Maghar, Magh, Chet and Jeth. Hār breeds mice: Bhadon makes the owner ill: Asauj produces family quarrels: Maghar produces debt: Magh creates danger of fire: Chet brings ill-luck, and Jeth loss of the money spent in building.

SECTION III.—FOUNDATION CEREMONIES,

1. Sirmur.

In Trans-Girī Sirmūr a betel-nut, for fertility, and a pīrindā for longevity, are always, and a hair from a tiger’s or a leopard’s moustache for courage is often placed beneath the foundation stone.

Elsewhere in Sirmūr four jars containing articles, brought from Hardwār or other sacred place, are set at the four corners of the house, and on these are laid the foundation stones.

2. Kangra.

In Kangra tahsil the foundations are laid at an auspicious moment, when a stone chakāt (grindstone), called vāstā, is placed in them and worshipped, a goat being sacrificed and kārāḥ pārshād offered to it.

3. Ambala.

In Ambāla, the foundation is laid at the time fixed by a Brahman, and oil is poured on the spot, gur being distributed to those present.

4. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, the foundation rites are called shalā asthāpan, ‘setting up of the stone.’

A pit is dug at an auspicious moment, and mangoes, betel leaves with an iron peg driven through them into the earth, curds, bārī (a mess of pulā), and gur are placed in it as offerings. White rape-seed and asafotsa are then sprinkled over the pit. Next a new jar, covered with a spotted red and yellow cloth and containing a coconut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper, recording the year, day and hour of laying the foundation, is placed in it. Lastly, oil is sprinkled over the jar, the gods and serpent are worshipped, and the pit is closed with five or seven flat bricks.

1A silk cord for tying a woman’s hair. Usually it denotes a wife’s good fortune, but here long life to the men of the family.
The object of the various articles used in this ceremony is as follows:—Mangoes for fertility; betel leaves for a gentle temper; the iron peg for strength to the foundations; the coconut for riches in fruit; grain and money. The curds and gur are offerings to the gods, and the rape seed and asafetida ward off evil spirits.

SECTION IV—THE ARCHITRAVE.

1. Ambala.

When the door frame is set up, a gandá of wool, with a small bag of madder tied to it, is fastened to the lintel, to avert calamity and for the prosperity of the inhabitants.

2. Amritsar.

The door frame is set up at an auspicious moment, and a mauí thread, with a bag containing rice, rape-seed, a bit of red silk cloth, a kaurí, a ring of iron and of glass, is tied to it to the northward. Gur is distributed and the gods worshipped. Five or seven impressions of the hand in red are then made on the frame, to signify the completion of the rites.

The door frame is guarded until the walls reach the top of it, lest a woman should bewitch the frame and cause death or injury to the owner.

The ‘Five Gods’ are often carved on the lintel for the protection of the inmates.


A kángni of red thread, an iron ring, a betel nut and mustard seed are all tied to the lintel to keep off the evil spirits.

SECTION V.—COMPLETION CEREMONIES.

1. Sirmur.

As the house approaches completion a pirindá, a betel nut, and an iron ring, called the three shákhs, are tied to a beam and to the lintel of the door. The iron ring is a protection against evil spirits.

2. Kangra.

The completion rite is called pataishta, when Brahmans and the kinsmen are feasted and a goat is sacrificed. An image of Ganesh carved in stone, called wásíd or jagjúp, is also set up in a niche in the hall.

3. Ambala.

When the building is finished a black kángi (pot) is hung inside it and a black hand is painted on the wall to avert the evil eye.

4. Amritsar.

A house should not be roofed during the parjá in any month, but at a fixed auspicious time. The roof should have an odd number of beams.
Building ceremonies.

A staircase should always be to the left of the entrance and contain an odd number of steps.

SECTION VI.—OCCUPATION CEREMONIES.

1. Ambala.

Before occupation a Brahman is asked to fix the mahurat, or lucky time for entrance. Seven or eleven days previously a pandit performs a havan inside the house. On the day fixed for the occupation pandits also recite mantras to avert evil spirits and the owner feeds Brahmans and gives alms.

2. Amritsar.

A Brahman fixes a lucky day for the occupation when the ceremony of chath is performed. As a preliminary, green leaves from seven trees are tied to a mauli on the outer door. The gods are worshipped, havan is performed and figures of five or seven gods are drawn on the ground, together with that of Wastá, the house god.¹

After first throwing a little oil on the threshold, the master and his family enter at an auspicious moment, carrying a new jar full of water, flowers, gur, yellow thread, fnnit, nuts, etc., while the housewife carries a jug of curds. The master wears new clothes and a turban. Both man and wife, together with a quiet milch cow, are led by a girl, wearing a red cloth on her head and a nose-ring. Sometimes a sacred book is carried in also. A Brahman recites mantras and then all the articles brought in are placed north and south of a bedí, in which are stuck flags of ten various colours. These are afterwards removed and affixed to the outer wall of the house on either side of the door. Brahmans and kinsmen are fed and the ceremonies are ended.


The chath,² or occupation ceremony, simply consists here of the worship of a figure of Ganesh painted in red or smeared with flour on the house-wall by the owner.


Before occupation havan is performed, the kathi of Sat Nárain is recited and food given to the Brahmans.

5. Ludhiana.

Before occupying a new house the ceremony of griha pratishta is performed.

Before occupying a house that has not been lived in for some time, the ceremony of bhastá pujá is performed.

SECTION VII.—THE FORM OF THE HOUSE.

1. General.

It is unlucky to build a house broader in front than at the back. Such a house is called sher-dahan, lion-mouthed, or bhagh-mahan, tiger-mouthed.

¹See above section III, 2: and section V, 2.
²See preceding paragraph.
Building ceremonies.

A house, to be lucky, should be gau-mukhā, cow-mouthed, or broader behind than in front.

Houses, also, to be lucky, should have an equal number of sides, preferably four, six or twelve sides.

2. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, a house that is kushák-dahan, open-mouthed, or wider in front than behind, will make the tenant spend more than his income.

A house with its front higher than its back is unlucky.

SECTION VIII.—THE ROOF.

1. Ceilings.

The beams of the upper storey¹ must not cross the rafter of the lower storey, but lie parallel with them. If they do cross it is a bad omen, and the condition is called-gul. This does not apply to the ceilings of different rooms on the same floor.

2. Rafters.

Rafters are counted in sets of three, the first of each set being called respectively bhastiuraj (lord of the dwelling), Ind (for Indar, the rain-god), Yām (for Yāma, the god of death), or simply ráj. Endeavour is always made to so arrange the rafters that the last may be counted as ráj² as that brings luck. If the counting ends in Ind, the roof will leak, which is tolerated: but on no account must the last rafter be counted as Yām, as that would bring death or adversity.

3. Thatch.

Some Gújars of the Palwal tahsil of Gurgaon affect thatched roofs, as any other kind will bring down on them the wrath of their Pīr, or patron saint.

SECTION IX.—STRUCTURAL ALTERATIONS.

Between the months of Hār and Kátik the gods are asleep and no structural alteration should then be made.

SECTION X.—CEREMONIAL DECORATIONS.

1. General.

On numerous specified occasions, the house is decorated or marked with figures and designs, everyone of which has, or originally had, a meaning of its own. They are always drawn by the women, never by men.

¹ Upper storeys are sometimes tabu’d; e.g., the Najar Jāts of the Samrāla tahsil of Ludhiana think an upper storey brings bad luck.
² Thus with four rafters, the last counts as Ind: with seven rafters, the last would count as Yām: with ten rafters the last would count as ráj, the lucky number.
Building ceremonies.

2. Figures used on religious festivals in Gurgaon.

(a) Solono.

On the Solono day a figure, called soni (Plate I, fig. 2), is drawn in red on the house-wall. It is said to represent the asterism Srávana, and is worshipped by placing sweetmeats before it, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

(b) Nag Panchami.

On the Nag Panchami, 5th of lunar Bhádon, the figure shown on Plate 1, fig. 1, is drawn in black on the house-wall. It represents the snake-god in his dwelling and is believed to prevent the house from being infested with snakes.

(c) Kálik and Dwálit.

In Gurgaon, Báníás and Brahmans draw the figure on Plate II, on the house-wall. It must be begun on the 4th and finished on the 8th of lunar Kálik.

The first part (a) is called sián and represents Rádhikí (Rádhá) spouse of Krishna. This is worshipped on the 8th of lunar Kálik by placing sweetmeats before it.

The second part (b) represents the goddess Amanashyá and is worshipped at noon on the Dwálit by placing before it rice and milk, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

The third part (c) represents Lakshmi as the goddess of wealth, and is worshipped at midnight on the Dwálit by placing money before it. An all-night vigil is kept on this occasion.

(d) Deo-uthán.

On the Deo-úthán day in Kálik when the gods awake from their sleep the figure in Plate III is drawn in the courtyard of the house and worshipped by placing before it fruit and vegetables in season. The women of the household call in a Brahmání, and with her they sing songs and beat the mat with which the figures are covered, and then, it is believed, the gods are awakened from their sleep. The male representation to the right is of Náráyan.

(e) Náráyan.

On Náráyan's day white dots are made on the tops of the figures, in parallel rows on the house-wall; and figures of birds and animals, all in white dots, are also drawn.

3. Figures of deotas.

In Sírmúr a house is at once abandoned if the sign or image of a deola is painted on it, in the belief that it was thereby become sacred.

4. Weddings.

Chariots, peafowl and many other objects are drawn on the house-walls at a wedding. In Gurgaon, in addition, a picture of the god Vinnák or Bindák,² covered over with an earthen jar fastened to the

² Sanskr. Vinnáyaka or Vinnáyikā (?).
Building ceremonies.

wall is drawn several days before the wedding of a male member of the family, and is worshipped daily to avert calamity.

(5) The Dehra.

In Kāngra, every house should possess a dehṛā, upon which a ball of clay, made by an elderly woman of the family, is placed on the birth of a child. This ball is called Bhaín or Atam Dévi.

At the wedding of a boy or girl the enclosure of the dehṛā is plastered over with cowdung and the figure of the dehṛā drawn anew with ground rice in red and yellow. See Plate I, fig. 1.

The enclosure in which the dehṛā is drawn is decorated with pictures of Ganesh, Dévi, Shib and Párbatí adorned with flowers, and so are both sides of the door. In the courtyard of the house a chariot is drawn with wheat flour on a portion of the yard plastered with cowdung.

SECTION 11.—CEREMONIAL MARKS AND SIGNS.

1. Swastika.

(a) Form.

The usual form of the sátiá or satiá is but in Dera Gházi Khán District a curious arm is added. See Plate I, fig. 1.

(b) Meaning.

The satiá is divided into four main lines which represents the gods of the Four Quarters:—Kuber, north; Yam ná, south; Indar, east; Varun, west. The four additions represent the gods of the half quarters:—Isar, north-east; Agni, south-east; Vayu, north-west; Nainit, south-west. In the centre sits Ganpati, lord of divine hosts.

(c) Uses.

To bring luck; it is drawn on the doors of and inside houses and shops in Gurgáon.

To avert the evil eye; it is drawn in black on newly-built houses.

To avert evil spirits; after the Holi or festival of the harvest god, by matrons in red or yellow on either side of the house door; and after the birth of a boy, by a girl of the family or by a Brahman on the seventh day after the birth with seven twigs inserted in it.

2. Bandarwal.

(a) Form.

A bandarwal is properly a string of siras or mango leaves tied across the door as a sign of rejoicing.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,

Plate II.
Building ceremonies.

(b) Variants.

In Ludhiana it is termed kainknyawal.

In Sirmur a bandarwali of red flowers is tied all around the houses on the first of Baisakh to invoke the blessing of Sri Gul.

In Sirmur, in Bhado branch of tejbal is kept at the door to avert evil spirits and daga.

A common variant is a row of (probably seven) cyphers under a line.

In Kangra, at a wedding or birthday, seven cyphers are drawn on the house-wall in saffron, and ghri is poured on them seven times. This mark is termed bisodaibhara, and is a symbol of Lakshmi as goddess of wealth.

In Firozpur, the Bhadracs carve in wood over their doors during a wedding the following figure:

3. Thapa.

(a) Meaning.

A thap is an impression of a hand, and popularly represents the hand of an ancestor raised in blessing on those who do them homage. In the Shastras, thapas represent the hands of Asvi, god of wealth, and Pusha, god of intelligence.

(b) Use.

A thap is always a sign of rejoicing.

(c) Gurgaon.

In Gurgaon, five or seven thapas in red beside the house door denote the birth of a boy or a wedding in the family: a single thapa in yellow, with another drawn in ghri, denotes that a vigil (jugrata) is being kept in honour of the house goddess.

(d) Ludhiana.

Thapas stamped with turmeric, roli or ghri denote rejoicing. At weddings they are placed on both the bride’s and bridegroom’s house. In the former they are worshipped by the newly-married couple immediately after the pheras, and in the former after the bride enters it.

SECTION XII.—SHOPS AND OUT-HOUSES.

1. Shops.

In Gujrat the thara is a large, raised, circular mark on shop walls. It begins by being a circle, nine inches in diameter, to the right of the door. Every Sunday it is rubbed over with wet cowdung, and incense (dhap) is burnt before it. In time the layers of cowdung form a considerable incrustation on the wall. (Thara literally means a platform).

1 Vide Punjab Notes and Queries, 1886, § 771.
Building ceremonies.

2. Out-houses.

The kothá, if meant for treasure, is invariably ornamented, and if built into the wall of the dwelling house, the style of decoration suggests that the aid of some protecting power is invoked. The outer edge is enclosed with a square beading of notches in three longitudinal and five transverse lines alternately, making a continuous chain. The corners are furnished with a pentagonal lozenge with a dot in the centre, an adaptation of the circle with a dot. This chain of three and five /\ /\ \ /\ /\ \ /\ \ is continued all round the kothá, but occasionally in the upper centre, for five consecutive times, the five transverse notches are left out, and the three longitudinal ones are made into figures of three tongues turned about alternately, by inclining two notches to an angle and making the third spring out of it, thus, ≪≫≪≫≪. Beneath the beading at the four corners is added a svadīska without the usual regular additions, but with four dots, /\ /\ /\ /\ suggestive of the modern Vaishnava innovations of the four elements. The door is surrounded by a double beading of a square, topped by a larger one with trefoils in the corners, and two serpents with their heads back to back in the centre. Their eyes are dots, but the symbol being incomplete without the mystic three, a dot is placed between the two heads so as to form the apex of a triangle. The trefoils are double, the lower being the larger of the two showing a dot on each leaflet, while the upper one has only two dots, one in the centre and one in the stalk.

If the kothá be for storing grain, it has a hole in the bottom for taking the grain out of it, and this is ornamented with the sun symbol,¹ a circle with curved radii or spokes.

SECTION 13.—MUHAMMADAN USAGES,

All the foregoing observances are, as a rule, confined to Hindus, and then chiefly to the higher castes. The Muhammadan observances are much more simple.

1. Gujarat.

In occupying a new house, friends and kinsmen are feasted and some alms distributed.

2. Dera Ghazi Khan.

On laying the foundation, gur is distributed as alms. On completion alms are distributed and a sacrifice (ratwāl) of a living animal is made to avert evil. The formal entry is made at an auspicious time fixed by the ulama, the owner carrying a Qurān, with some salt and a jar of water as emblems of fertility.

¹ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Series II, § 75.
CHAPTER V.
DANCING.

In Bahawalpur there are several kinds of dances:—

1. Jhumar khás or sádá.
2. dákínwád or chhej.

Of these the former is in general use among Muhammadans, and the latter among Hindus (Kirárs), especially among the Pushkarn Brahmans.

The sádá jhumar is further sub-divided into 3 varieties, called sidhi, Balochki and tretari.

In the sidhi the performers stand erect, moving in a circle both feet and hands moving in time to a drum, the hands not being raised above the breast. In the Balochki the movements are the same, but the hands are raised above the head. Tretari simply means 'accompanined' by three claps of the hands to each beat of the drum.

The jhumar is performed to the accompaniment of songs both secular (e.g. in praise of the Nawab) and religious.

It is also performed by Muhammadans, when they visit a shrine to offer a na'az or man'vati such as áta-gháta (or flour and a he-goat). That is to say it has sometimes a religious character.

The sádá jhumar is also called záláwin if, performed by women, and már'dáwin if danced by men. The záláwin is danced by village women, or by Mirásans, in a spot which is somewhat secluded, and may take part in it, if nearly related to the women who dance it. There is no difference in the manner in which záláwin and márdáwin are performed.

The chhej of the Hindus is also of three kinds:—(i) sidhi, (ii) phírwi and (iii) lítháwin. In the sidhi the dancers also circle round a drum, keeping time with their feet and turning now to the right, now to the left. Sticks (dáka) are carried. The Pushkarn also perform this dance individually. The following are the songs:—

Subh sadiq sahabia manen.

Pamoon putran kon gane gehne.

1 Jhumar, on the Indus.
2 Jhumir, on the Chenab.

A circular dance of the Jás at weddings and other occasions. There are three kinds:—

1. Lammmochar or southern.
2. Tretari or 'with three claps of the hands.'
3. Tirkki, or quick-time.

Jhomri—dancer. (Mullani Glossary, p. 87.)

In Bhahpur:

1. Ghumbar, a. m. circular dance of men.
2. Ghirí, s. f. women.
3. Sammi, a. m. Bagha, a. m. (mar or vaga) a circular dance, beating with feet, and raising arms alternately. Grammar and Dictionary of Western Punjabi, p. 60.

*HIBO, S. F.—A circular dance danced by Jás at weddings and wherever they happen to collect in large numbers. They form a ring and dance round; their arms stretched out on a level with the head, are moved round with a wavy motion. The other circular dance in vogue is 'jhumir,' which differs from HIBO only in that the dancers keep the hands low and clap them together as they move.

* The rhythm is tan na na, tan na na tan, tan, tan.
Or the following dohra:—
Mihi Ram nam di bol,
Jind gyn tonu te ghot.
Jeero Ram nam ahidwan,
Wai Kunthwich wada pawan.
Mihi Ram nam, etc.

'Ram's name is sweet; let one devote his life to him who contemplates God, because thus he will be rewarded with heaven.'

The sidhi then is distinctly a religious dance.

(ii) The phirwi or chinan jhumar is performed thus:—

The dancers, who may number 100, carry sticks (d.kas) and dance in a circle, and from time to time dancers change places. Thus A goes to A1, and, still keeping time with hands, feet, and stick to the music, fence with C and E. Similarly D. move to D1. and fence with B and G and so on.

(iii) The bithawin is performed sitting, the players swaying their bodies, otherwise it is like the sidhi.

The two latter dances are not much in vogue.

Kirárs who are expert in the chhej are in great request for the chandráta, i.e. the Wednesday, Sunday or Friday, preceding the day fixed for a wedding.

There is also a dance called dhamaal, performed by Játs in the Minchínábád iláqa. They dance round a drum singing:—

'Allah Muhammad Chár-Yár, Háji Qutb Faríd'; (i.e., God, Muhammad, his four Caliphs, and Qutb Faríd.)

While uttering the word 'Faríd' the Játs dance enthusiastically. Here the dance has distinctly a religious character.

There are one or two points to notice about dancing. In the first place it is, as a popular pastime, confined almost entirely to the hill's and the Indus valley. Elsewhere it is a profession, and confined to certain castes. Further where it is allowable for people to do their own dancing, without calling in the professionals, it is more or less confined to religious or ceremonial occasions. For example, the Wazíris hold public dances at certain fixed places upon the 'Id. It would be of interest to know if the Khatáks have special occasions on which dances are held.

1 (Lorimer's Wasirí Pashto, p. 326).
(a) Lakhmiji or Sri,  
 founded by Rámánúj Achárya.

The Panjábi followers of Rámánúj are divided into two sects, using the same sectarian mark, but of different colours (see Plate, fig. 10). That is, the inner part of the mark is called sri, and is coloured yellow by the Rámánúj Sect, and red by the Rámánand Sect, who are bairágis.

(b) Seshji,  
 founded by Mādhav Achárya.

This sect also has two divisions, and they use quite separate marks. That of the Seshji Sect is a tuli leaf and is called sri gunjān mali (Plate, fig. 11), and that of the Gopálji Sect has a peculiar elongation down the nose (Plate, fig. 12).

(c) Mahádevji or Rudra,  
 founded by Balabh Achárya.

This sect has seven gaddis or seats, six of which use the urdhpung mark, some with a dot below it (Plate, figs. 13a and 13b). The seventh gaddi, at Gokalnáth near Mathura, uses two vertical lines (Plate, fig. 14).

(d) Sankádika,  
 founded by Nimbark Achárya.

This sect uses a modification of the urdhpung with the sri (Plate, fig. 15)\(^1\).

2. Saivas.

The Saivas commonly use the curved tripund (see Plate, fig. 6a), representing a half-moon, the symbol of Siva. The tripund is, however, not of a constant character, being also described as three oblique lines with a point under them or simply as three parallel lines (Plate, fig. 6). It also takes the form shown in Plate I, fig. 16.

The parallel or curved form of the tripund with a dot on the central line (Plate, figs. 17 and 17a) is utilized to show the particular form of worship affected by the Saiva devotee. The worshipper of Siva wears the tripund made of achara, saffron or sandal. The worshipper of his consort Devi has the central dot made of sandal coloured red. The worshipper of Gancásh has the central dot of sindür (vermilion). The worshipper of Súrya wears no special colour, but his tripund mark is sometimes red.

\(^1\) Vaishnavas have of course other insignia, as the necklace of tuli beads, in contradistinction to the rudraksha of the Saivas. The Vaishnava sectarian marks in Southern India differ altogether.—vide Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, 3rd ed., p. 113.
3. Other Hindus.

The Šáktaks are distinguished by a single dot of vermillion¹ (Plate, fig. 18).

The Samarts, the Sanos and the Shankars are said to use the ārdhpuṇḍ and the tripuṇḍ indifferently, and the Ganpatis to use the tripuṇḍ only.

4. Jains.

The mark of the Jains is said to be a vertically elongated dot of saffron. The Indian Buddhists are said to distinguish themselves by the same mark (Plate, fig. 19).

Another account however says that the Sitambri Jains use a round saffron dot (Plate, fig. 20), while the Digambri Jains wear a thick vertical line of saffron (Plate, fig. 21).


The Religious Orders of the Hindus wear certain marks which may be regarded as sectorial. Thus the Bairagis and some Udásis paint a curious mark (Plate, fig. 22) on the forehead, and also wear their hair long (jata).

Jogis, both of the Anghar and Kanphatta degrees, as Saivas wear the tripuṇḍ without any special embellishments.

Suthrā-sháhís paint the forehead black.²

The Achári Bráhman in the first stage of his career wears a red vertical line with a white one on either side.³ (Plate, fig. 23.)

Some minor religious orders have sectorial marks of their own, such as the mystic word om, painted on the forehead. Others wear the tripuṇḍ with two lines added above (Plate, fig. 24). Others have a tulsi-patra inside a tripuṇḍ, a complicated combination (Plate, figs. 3 and 11).

Section III.—PILGRIMAGE STAMPS.

Hindus generally, it is said, are required by their religion to tattoo the hands in blue when going on a pilgrimage. Saniásís who visit Hinglaj in Balúchistán are also said to tattoo an emblem of Mahádev under the sleeve.

Branding is, however, a much more common device, at least when the pilgrim belongs to a religious order. Thus, Bairágís who visit Rámá, sixty miles from Dwárka, have the seal of Rámá seared on the

¹ A single mark on the head is worn in Kohát by the Tari Shoki, a class of Mussalmán faqirs, who wear a long cloak, often carry a trident tied to the shoulder, and “revolve a metal plate.”

² Sikhs do not use any mark as a rule, though some wear a dot, and their sectaries appear to have no distinguishing marks other than those used by the Udásis and Suthrā-sháhís.

³ This appears to resemble the Vaishnava namam of Southern India.
wrist so as to leave a black brand. Those who visit Dwārka itself have a ṭapt mudra, or brand of a conch, discus, mace, or lotus, as emblems of Viṣṇu, or a name of Viṣṇu, burnt on the arms.1 Those again who visit Rāmeshwara have the right shoulder branded thus.2

Section IV.—FEMALE CASTE MARKS.

I add here a cutting from the Pioneer of the 26th May 1907, reproducing a note from the Madras Mail as to the custom of wearing caste marks by women in Southern India. I have not heard that there is a similar custom in the Punjab:

"The caste marks worn by women are confined to the forehead and are, says a writer on caste marks in Southern India in the Madras Mail, more uniform than those affected by the men. The orthodox mark invariably worn on religious and ceremonial occasions is a small saffron spot in the centre of the forehead. But the more popular and fashionable mark is a tiny one made with a glue-like substance, usually jet black in colour, called in Tamil sandhu, which is obtained by frying sago till it gets charred and then boiling it in water. Sandhu is also prepared in various fancy colours. Women who have not reached their twenties are sometimes partial to the use of kuchchilipottus, or small tinsel discs, available in the bazaar at the rate of about half-a-dozen for a pie. To attach these to the skin, the commonest material used is the gum of the jack-fruit, quantities of which will be found sticking to a wall or pillar in the house, ready for immediate use. Theogue of the kuchchilipottus is on the wane, however.

In the more orthodox families, it is considered objectionable that the forehead of a woman should remain blank even for a moment, and accordingly it is permanently marked with a tattooed vertical line, the operation being performed generally by women of the Korava tribe. The blister takes sometimes a fortnight to heal, but the Hindu woman, who is nothing if not a martyr by temperament and training, suffers the pain uncomplainingly."

1 The ṭapt mudra is a 'burnt impression' as opposed to the cital mudra or 'cold impression,' which means the painting of emblems daily on the forehead, chest or arms with gopi chandan or clay, while worshipping a god.

years ago in such places as Hardwar, Ceylon, Murshidabad, and so on. But I have never reproduced or used them, as I could not ascertain to which shrines they belonged. When the stamp contained a name it was usually Rām-nām, Rām Nārāyan or some such Vaishnava term.—Ed., Indian Antiquary.]
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