

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

Since these paragraphs were written not only has a great deal more knowledge of Jainism and its teaching been acquired by European scholarship, but the Jains themselves have in the last two or three decades displayed considerable intellectual activity. Whatever the causes of this may be, and one of them at least has been the stimulus of contact with western inquiry and thought, it has resulted in the formation of new groups or the revival of old groups under new names or the adaptation of old names to new ideals. The attempt to describe the Jains as a caste and to unravel their sects made in Vol. III, pp. 340-9 *infra*, fails because Jainism, like all other living creeds, is in a state of flux. Recently the Sthánakwási group has come to the front. In 1901 the term Thánakwási was returned as a mere synonym of *sadh-mārgi* or Dhúndia, an ascetic of extreme orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> But the Sthánakwásis 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 Svetámbaras quite distinct from the Dhúndias.<sup>2</sup> Ibbetson, who does not allude to the Sthánakwási, thus describes the Dhúndias :—“ A more modern sect is the Dhúndia, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or *dhúnd*. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or *putti* before the mouth originated ; and the Terahpantthis and Dhúndias<sup>3</sup> carry their regard for animals to extremes, teaching that no living thing should be interfered with, that a cat should be permitted to catch a mouse, or a snake to enter the cradle of a child. It would appear that the Dhúndias are wholly celibate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them *pujári* or ‘ worshippers.’ They are, I believe, confined to the Svetámbara section, the Digambaras laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it.” By *pujári* may have been meant *pujara*. The priests of the Dhúndias are called *puj* or *sri puj*.

#### Classification of the Jain sects and orders.

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

Digambara	...	Tera-panthi	} Mandirpanthi or Pujári.
		Bis-panthi	
		Swetámbara	
Swetámbara	...	Dhúndia Baístola	} Dhúndia.
		Tera-panthi	

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 343 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Pb. Census Rep., 1911, § 229.

<sup>3</sup> This should read “ Tera-panthi sect of the Dhúndias.”



But, putting aside the non-idolatrous Sthánakwásis and Dhúndias,<sup>1</sup> 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 Svetāmbara. 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 Bíspanthi, 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 Svetāmbaras. Horace Wilson notes that the Bíspanthis are said by some to be the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terahpanthis are a dissenting branch.<sup>2</sup>
- (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 Svetāmbara 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 Svetāmbara have no recognised sub-sects, but their ascetics generally known as *sādhus* appear to have a special sub-division called Sambegi or Samegi. The *sādhus* form a superior order or the superior degree in an order, the *jatís* being an inferior order or novitiates in the order in which the *sādhu* holds the higher degree.<sup>3</sup>

The Digambaras also have ascetics, called *muni*<sup>4</sup> who appear to be identical with the *sādhus*, described in Vol. III, p. 344 *infra*. In both of these main sects the laity is or ought to be called Saráoogi,<sup>5</sup> the more

<sup>1</sup> 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 Baístola who go a step further and will interfere to protect one animal against another.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fagan also affirms that the Bíspanthi are the more orthodox. They are divided into 4 sub-sects—Nandi, Sain, Singh and Bir called after the names of their *rishis*—according to him: Pb. *Census Report*, 1892, § 123. But these may be sub-orders. The Bíspanthi reverence the *guru*, the 24 Arhats and the *Shástras*.

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

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. III, pp. 341-2.

<sup>4</sup> MacLagan, § 122.

<sup>5</sup> Ibbetson translates Saráwak by 'laity': Cf. MacLagan, § 122.



honorific term Bhābra 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 saints from birth and so their images should be naked and unadorned, while the Svetāmbara hold that they only attained sanctity on reaching manhood and so should be clothed and decked with jewels.<sup>1</sup> 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 Bānia and Bhābra 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 Kandelwāl Bānias and Bhābras as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwāl Bānias, on the other hand, are, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The Mahesri Bānias are seldom if ever Jains.<sup>2</sup> 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 Sarāogis, 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 Sarāogi 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 shews how strictly the tribe adheres to its sect. This erroneous use of the words apparently extends to some parts of the Punjab. The Bhābras of Hushyārpur, who are of course Svetāmbaras, state distinctly that all Jains are Sarāogis, themselves included; but a Bhābra of Gurdāspur emphasized his assertion that no Agarwāl could become a Bhābra by pointing out that the former were all Sarāogis. On the other hand Mr. Wilson writes that in Sirsa, on the Rājputāna border, the words Oswāl and Sarāogi, 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 Oswāls to the Svetāmbara sect, that the term Oswāl is used for the latter while Sarāogi is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only.<sup>3</sup> There is a local tradition that Pārasnāth, the probable founder of the Svetāmbara sect, was an Oswāl of Osia or Osnagar in Jodhpur,

Ibbetson,  
§ 259.

<sup>1</sup> MacLagan, § 122.

<sup>2</sup> The very term Mahesri denotes that they are Vaishnava *Hindus*: H. A. R.

<sup>3</sup> So in Sindh and Gūjarāt the tribal name Mahesri is used to distinguish Hindu from Jain Bānias.



the place from which the Oswáls take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Benáres and died in Behar."

The same authority points out that the Swetámbara and Digambara do not intermarry, and the Bhábras do not intermarry with Saráogis.<sup>1</sup> But the Swetámbara and Dhúndia are said to intermarry.<sup>2</sup> These restrictions are purely sectarian, but they may well be accentuated by tribal distinctions. However this may be the sectarianism of the Jains does not appear to have relaxed their caste system but to have introduced into it new restrictions on intermarriage. The Jain tenets have however had other important social consequences. Not only is monogamy the general rule, but the survivor of a married couple should not marry again and this ideal is followed to some extent by Hindus in the whole south-eastern Punjab. Women also hold a better position in Jainism than they do in most Hindu castes.

*The Jain philosophy.*

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

Jainism goes back to a very remote period and to those primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation which gav rise to the oldest philosophies of the Sankhya 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 Sankhya and Yoga, Jainism recognises a dualism of matter and soul. Souls are principally all alike substances (monads) characterized by intelligence, connexion with matter causing the differences actually in them. Matter is a something capable of becoming anything, as in the Sankhya. 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 Sankhya, 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 Nigantha<sup>3</sup> and of Nátaputta, an epithet of the last Jain prophet, Vardhamána Mahávira, its leader in Buddha's time. Mahávira indeed was probably somewhat older than Buddha. He was not however the founder of the sect, and no such traditions as make

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 81 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskr. 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 Pārshva, the last but one of the Tirthankaras, has better claims to be considered the founder of Jainism. He died 250 years before Mahāvīra. His predecessor, Arishtanemi, is said to have died 84,000 years before the latter's *nirvāna* 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 *Syādvāda* to which the Jains attach so much importance that it is frequently used as a synonym for the Jain system itself.

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

Metaphysically all things, *dravya* or substances, are divided into 'lifeless,' *ajīvakaḥaya*, and 'lives' or 'souls,' *jīva*. The former comprise space, *ākāśa*, 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 (*pāpa*) and merits (*pūṇya*), respectively. Space again is divided into *lokākāśa*, 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 (*samsārīn*) and liberated (*mukta*). The former are still subject to the cycle of birth, the latter have accomplished absolute purity, will be embodied no more, dwell in perfection at the top of the universe and have no more to do with worldly affairs. They have reached *nirvāṇa* i. *nirvṛiti* or *mukti*.

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



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 *nirjarā* or 'purging off.' The *bandha* and *nirjarā* processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After death it goes, with its *karmanasharīra*, 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 (*samjñin*), while the lower animals are *asamjñin*. The Jain notions about beings with only one organ are in part peculiar to themselves. As the four elements are animated by souls, so particles of earth, water etc., are the body of souls called earth-lives, water-lives and so on. These elementary lives live, die and are re-born, in the same or another elementary body. They may be gross or subtle, and the latter are invisible. The last class of one-organised lives are plants; in some species each plant is the body of one soul only, but of other species each plant is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, such as nutrition and respiration, in common. That plants have souls is a belief shared by other Indian philosophies, but the Jains have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross, and can only exist in the habitable world; but those of which each is a colony of plant-lives may also be subtle and, being invisible, may be distributed all over the world. Such plants are called *nigoda*, and are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable *nigodas* form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, as a box is filled with powder. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached *nirvāna*. But an infinitesimal fraction of a single *nigoda* has sufficed to replace all the souls liberated since the beginningless past down to the present, so the *samsāra* will never be empty of living beings.

Mundane beings are also divided or cross-divided into four grades (*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



it has penetrated the soul it is transformed into 8 kinds (*prakṛitī*) of *karma* singly or severally which form the *kārmanasharīra*, 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; *āyuska*, 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 *leshya*s. The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental 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.<sup>1</sup>

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the vitiating action of *karma*, and this is its developmental or *pārindmika* 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 *audayika* state. But by proper efforts *karma* may be neutralized (*āpashamīta*) for a time, though it is still present, then the soul is in the *aupashamika* state. When it is annihilated, the soul is in the *kṣapita* state, which is necessary for reaching *nirvāna*. The *kṣhāyika* and *aupashamika* are the states of holy men, but ordinary good men are in a *kṣhāyopashamika* 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 (*taras*) 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 *dīkṣā*. 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 (*śīlavratas*).—he may limit the distance to which he will go in any direction (*digvirati*); 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 *gunāvratas*); he may also reduce the area in which he may move (*deshavirata*); give up, by sitting motionless and meditating on holy

<sup>1</sup> 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 (*sāmāyika*) ; live as a monk on the 8th, 11th or 15th day of the lunar fortnight at least once a month (*pañśadhōpavāsa*) ; and provide for monks. These 4 last vows are called *śikṣhāvratā* or disciplinary. Eating by night is forbidden to all Jains, monks or laymen, as are certain kinds of food. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view, *viz.* to enable laymen to participate in the merits of monastic life without absolutely renouncing the world. Jainism differed from early Buddhism in that it regarded the lay state as preliminary to, and in many cases a preparation for, the monastic life, instead of regarding the laity as outsiders. But in modern times a change seems to have come about in this respect as the monastic order is now recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. Nevertheless the principle that the duties of the laity differ only in degree, not in kind, from those of the monks, has contributed greatly to the stability of Jainism. Monastic discipline is elaborate<sup>1</sup> but not as a rule severe or grotesque. In Jain asceticism *yoga* means the activity of body, speech and mind through which *karma*-matter pours into the soul and to prevent this *āsrava* it is necessary to regulate those activities by the 3 *gūptis* or guardings of the mind etc. The monk must also observe the 5 *saṃitis*, *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,' *bālatapas*, 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 (*dhyāna*) 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 *karma* may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called *samudghāta*. Then in the last

<sup>1</sup> For the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, an old collection of disciplinary rules for Jaina monks, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 257 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 Jambúsvámin, the disciple of Mahāvira's disciple Sudharman, and he was liberated on his death. Hence during the rest of the present Avasarpini period no body will be born who will reach *nirvāna* in the same existence though *nirvāna* 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 *gunasthānas* or fourteen steps which lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

The terms *āsrava* or pouring in and *samvara* or stoppage are as old as Jainism, and from it the Buddhists must have borrowed the former term. But they use it in a different sense and instead of *āsrava* they employ the term *āravakshaya* or 'destruction of the *āsrava* 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 *samvara* denotes 'restraint,' as in *sīlasamvara* '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, *upāśraya*, corresponding to the Buddhist *vihāras*. The Svetāmbara as a rule only visit places where there are such *upāśrayas* 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 (*śaikṣa*) is initiated he takes the vows (*vrataḍāna*), renounces the world (*pravaraṇyā*) and takes *dīkṣa*. 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 *upādhyāya*, *āchārya*, *vāchaka*, *ganin* etc. according to his qualifications and functions as a teacher and superior.

The Jain cosmography differs widely from that of the Brahmans, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens. The world has in time neither beginning nor end. In space the Universe occupies the part called Lokākāsha as distinguished from the absolute void. It is figured as a spindle resting on half of another, or as a woman with her



arms akimbo. Older still is the comparison with a man: the earth's disk is in the lower part of the middle and forms the man's waist, below it are the hells and above it the upper regions. These regions are too numerous to be detailed here, but in the centre of the earth itself towers Mt. Meru, 100,000 *yojanas* high, round which revolve suns, moons and stars. Immediately above its summit begins the threefold system of heavenly regions called *Vinanas*, the abodes of the *Vaimānika* gods, which number 26 in all. In *Ishatpragbhāra*, the highest, dwell the souls in liberation.<sup>1</sup>

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 *bālamarana* or 'unwise death' and recommend *pūṇḍitarāna* 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 observe for 11 months, he becomes practically a monk and at its end abstains from all food and devotes himself to self-mortification, patiently awaiting death which will ensue within a month. In the case of a monk the period of self-mortification lasts 12 years instead of as many months, but during it he should try to ward off premature death. At the end of this period he should abstain from all food and the severance of the soul from the body may be brought about by three different methods in two of which the movements of the limbs are restricted.<sup>2</sup>

A system of theology and mythology so rich in ideas naturally produced an equal variety of religious symbolism in art and Jain iconography is as highly developed as Buddhist. But the subject has not yet been fully studied. Some notes on it are given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>3</sup> but complete explanations are lacking. It appears however that a *kevalin's* place in heaven is represented on earth by a *simhasarana*, 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*.<sup>3</sup> All the elaborate architecture and art lavished on such a building have their meanings, as have the processional entries and ritual. Animals, it should be noted, appear to be admitted to the shrine, though not to its inmost rampart.<sup>4</sup> The whole picture of such a shrine drawn in the manuals used by Jain artists is an extraordinarily comprehensive one of all nature joining in the worship of one who has attained to perfect knowledge and listening to his teaching.

<sup>1</sup> E. R. E., Vol. 4, pp. 160-1, *Jain Cosmography* by H. Jacobi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 4, pp. 484-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 125 f. and p. 153 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 157-8. It may be conjectured that these are the higher animals.



The doctrine of *karma* lent itself equally to the construction of countless tales which pointed a moral, inculcating reverence for life in all its forms and the need for self-purification. These tales were embodied in stone reliefs whose interpretation is being slowly worked out by the aid of such Jain scriptures as the *Tīrthukalpa* just as the Buddhist sculptures are being translated with the help of the *Jātakas*. The story of the princess who was born a kite for the slaughter of a snake resembling a fowl but was reborn as a princess as a reward for her kindness to a tired Jaina nun in her last incarnation but one will be found in an article on *Jaina Iconography* by Prof. Bhandarkar.<sup>1</sup>

*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 (*nīhvana*) according to the Svetāmbaras. 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.<sup>2</sup> But the last-named know nothing of the earlier schisms and say that under Bhadrabāhu rose the Ardhapālaka sect which in 80 A. D. developed into the Svetāmbara sect. This is the more remarkable in that doctrinal differences are not acute. The Digambaras<sup>3</sup> hold that *kevalins*, such as the Tīrthankaras, live without food, that Mahāvīra's embryo was not removed from Devānanda's womb to that of Trishalā, that a monk who owns any property, even clothes, and a woman, cannot reach *nirvāna*. While the Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Svetāmbaras, holding that they were lost after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*, they recognise one at least of the most authoritative Svetāmbara *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 (*mūlasaṅgha*) split into four *ganas*—Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva—about the close of the 1st century A. D.<sup>3</sup>

The list of Svetāmbara patriarchs begins with Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd, Sāndilya or Skandila. In some cases the names of the disciples of each patriarch, and of the schools and branches (or orders) styled *gana*, *kula* or *śākhā*, 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 *gachchas* 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 *gachchas*, the Tapā, Anhelā &c. and the most interesting is the Upakesa *gachcha*, 'known as the Oswāl Jains,'

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., 1905-6, p. 141 f.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Digvasanas : E. R. E., Vol. 4, p. 704. Another Svetāmbara version is that in 83 A. D. Shivabhūti started the heretical sect of the Botikas or Digambaras : *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> For details of these four 'orders' see Vol. II, *infra*, p. 346.



who begin their descent from Pārsva, Mahāvira's predecessor.<sup>1</sup> 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 ikádshi* in Maghar Sambat 1948 (7th April 1887). On that day an annual fair is held and the banner of the temple is carried through the town in a great procession. This is called *rath jatra*. 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 *pujāris* are employed as servants, their duties being to open the *mandir*, clean it and supply fresh water for the washing of the images &c. Worship is generally performed by Jains, but in their absence it is performed by the temple servants who are Brahmans. As a rule, the *pujāri* must bear a good character and avoid eating flesh, drinking wine &c. It is of little importance whether he be celibate or not. The *pujāri* is not hereditary and is dismissed on infringement of any of the above rules. No special reverence is paid to the chief priest. The usage of *charas* is forbidden. Sweetmeat is used as *bhog*, but anything else may also be offered as such to the image. It is important to light the sacred lamp and burn *dhūp* and incense in the temple. Cash offerings are deposited in its treasury, and are only spent on its upkeep. No other shrines are connected with this. Many pictures of certain gods are hung on the temple walls.

At the *mandir* of the Saraogis at Tehl in Karnál an annual fair, called Kalsá Jal, is held on the 14th of the light half of Bhádon, and at this the image of Mahárāj 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, Mahábiri and Ajat Náth, each 1½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by the Saraogi community, each member taking duty in turn. No special reverence is paid to the *pujāri* on duty and there is no ritual or sacred lamp.

<sup>1</sup> The above, from H. Jacobi's account in E. R. E., Vol. 7, p. 478, differs a good deal from that given *infra* in Vol. II, pp. 846-7.



#### 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 sprang 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. Ibbetson,  
§ 210.

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



evil.<sup>1</sup> 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 Musalmán 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.

Ibbetson,  
§ 211.

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

<sup>1</sup> "I suspect that in many cases the strictly territorial nature of the aboriginal gods facilitated their inclusion in the Hindu worship. It would be less difficult to recognise a deity who did not even claim authority beyond certain set bounds, or pretend to rival the Vedic gods in their limitless power ; and it would seem especially reasonable on entering a territory to propitiate the local powers who might be offended by the intrusion. The gods of the hills were, and many of them are still, undoubtedly territorial—see *infra*, Hinduism in the Himalayas. It would be interesting to discover whether the aboriginal gods of the plains presented the same characteristic. With them the limits of the tribe would probably define the territory, in the absence of any impassable physical boundaries such as are afforded by mountain ranges." [Ibbetson.]





was absolutely confined to the priestly class.<sup>1</sup> 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 envelopes a high-caste Hindu from his mother's womb. And so the special power and sanctity of the Brahman came to depend for its very existence upon the stringency with which caste-distinctions were maintained; the act of worship was subordinated to the idea of ceremonial purity, and for a definite creed was substituted the domination of a priestly class, itself divided into a thousand sects and holding a thousand varieties of doctrine. To the aborigine who, with his gods on his back, sought admission within the pale of Hinduism, these restrictions presented no obstacle. They were but developments of the system which obtains in all primitive forms of society: and so far as they differed from the rules which he already observed, they tended to raise him in the social scale by hedging him round with an exclusiveness which was flattering if inconvenient. But to the outcast, whose hereditary habits or occupation rendered him impure from the birth, admission was impossible, at least to the full privileges of Hinduism.<sup>2</sup>

Ibbetson,  
§ 212.

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

Ibbetson,  
§ 213.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Anathema 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,<sup>1</sup> is still a Hindu. But the masses must observe the rules; and any who should, like Buddha or Bába 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 Brahman; and for this reason, and not because they worship a different god, the Hindu holds their touch to be pollution. The Sikh has fallen away from his original faith; in his reverence for the Brahman and his observance of caste-rules he differs only in degree from his Hindu neighbour; and I shall presently show how difficult it is to draw the line between the two religions. The Jain I take to be little more than a Hindu sect.

#### VEDIC CULTS.

At a census when a man is asked to say what deity he specially affects, he will often say that he worships all the gods alike. But whatever gods he may name they are not as a rule those of the *Vedas* or *Puranas*. Nevertheless the worship of Brahma is still to be found in the Punjab. Thus Adi Brahma is worshipped at Tiri in Kulú. 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.<sup>2</sup> Adi Brahma also seems to have a temple at Khokhan Dera in Kulu where he is worshipped at four festivals, one held on the 1st of Baisákh, Sáwan and Asuj and on the full moon day of Maghar, each lasting four days. Brahman *deota* also has a temple at a place called Darewa-i-Dhara in Kothi 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

<sup>1</sup> An Aghori was caught by the police in the Rohtak district about 1881 in the act of devouring a newly buried child which he had dug up for the purpose. For other instances of *aghorbidya*, which seems to be a term for their ritual cannibalism, see Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, II, p. 15. Also Oman's *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, pp. 184-5, there cited.

<sup>2</sup> N.I.N.Q., I, § 431, citing Moorcroft and Trebeck's *Journey to Ladakh*, I, p. 176.



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

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

Brahm himself is returned by some, but a man who returns himself as a worshipper of Brahm<sup>2</sup> generally means little more than that he worships the Supreme God, — *Parmeshar ko mántá hai*, or *Khudá ko mántá hai*,—an assertion in which almost all Hindus would join. The term Brahm-panthí 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 Hazára, and was started by a man called Gautam Raghi, and its holy book is termed the *Nyáyak Granth*.<sup>3</sup> 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.

MacIagan,  
§ 46.

The other two members of the Hindu Triad—Shíva and Vishnú—are more frequently before the minds of the modern Hindu than Brahm, and their respective worships represent two distinct forms of belief and practice regarding which I shall be speaking presently. Omitting for the present Rám Chandra and Krishn, whose cult is closely connected with that of Vishnú, the most popular of the minor deities are Ganesh and Hanúmán and Bhairon. Ganesh is the well-known elephant deity, the "obviator of difficulties and impediments," and as such is invoked at the commencement of a journey or of work of any kind. He is worshipped, first of all the gods in holy rites; women are particularly devoted to his worship; and his followers fast in his name on the 19th of each month, more especially in Mágh. He is also known as the Sangat-deota.

The worship of Hanumán or Mahábír, the monkey-god, is closely connected with that of Rám, in whose aid Hanúmán fought against the demons of Lanká. He is represented as a red-coloured monkey with a long tail and is worshipped by all castes. He is supposed, however, to be the particular patron of the wandering acrobats of the

<sup>1</sup> Wynyard's *Ambála Settlement Rep.*, § 419.

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

<sup>3</sup> During his residence in the Himalayas Gautama founded the Nyáyak sect: S. C. R., II, p. 430. But the Gautam Raghi of the text may be the Gautama Rikhi, author of the *Nyáya* or dialectical philosophy described in Colebrooke's *Essays*, I, p. 280 ff. Gautama was also called Akshapáda or Akshacharana and his followers Ashapádáh, but no trace of such a school is now to be found in this Province, unless it is represented by the modern Brahm-panthis. A scandalous legend about this Gautama *rishi* will be found on p. 126 *infra*. The term *nyáya* has many meanings, but its most usual one is 'logic'; Platts' *Hindustani Dicty.*, p. 1164. It is not confined to Hinduism, the *Nyáyavatara* of Siddha Sena Divakara being the earliest Jain work on pure logic.



Hissar district, the Bādīs of the Bāgar and the Nats of the Jangal or Des. A small shrine to Hanúmān 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 Gurkhri, four miles from Kāngra town, there is a temple to Anjana, wife of Kesari and mother of Hanúmān, whom Anjana bore to Vāyu or Pavana, the wind, not to her husband Kesari, a monkey. Hence Hanúmān obtained his metronym of Anjaneya. A fair is held in her honour in October and many years ago a man attending this fair disturbed a bees' nest and a song was composed to celebrate the event.<sup>1</sup>

Bhairon or Bhairava is described *infra*.

MacLagan,  
 § 49.

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 Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārat*, favourite objects of worship in the east, and sometimes addressed as the Panj-Pīr. Many are the legends current about these heroes and they are localised at quite a number of places. The hill of Mokshpuri, just above Dunga Gali, has an elevation of 9232 ft. Its name means 'hill of salvation' and on its summit is a *Pāṇḍuān da Sthān*, or 'place of the Pāṇḍuas,' where it is said they were visited and tempted by *apsaras* who still frequent the place. Such *sthāns* are not uncommon in the Himalayas. They are also known as Pāñch Pāṇḍu and often consist of a small square enclosure: in this stands a tree, on which rags are hung. At every *sankrānt* 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.<sup>2</sup> Another hero is Shāmji, the Chauhān Rājā of Garh Dadna, who gave his head to Krishna and Arjan on condition that he should be allowed to see the fight between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.<sup>3</sup> And there is Dhanwantar or Dhanwānū, 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 Pāṇḍavas, from whom the Achāraj clan, the Brahmans 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 Brahm, the Lord of Creatures, the Great Potter who shapes the plastic world. Similarly the northern branch of the Kāisths revere their semi-divine ancestor Chatargupt, the watcher of good and bad actions, who sits with his great register before him in the audit office of the nether world. So also Biāsji, the sage Vyāsa, 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Calc. Rev.*, 1882, p. 53, or *Selections from the C. R.*, VII, 1896, p. 449. See also p. 129 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, VIII, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> This Shāmji has his shrine at Kotla in the Jaipur State.



Pándu the pale accompanied by his two wives, Mádrí and Kuntí or Pritha, retired to the Himalayas. There they bore the five Pándavas, sons of various gods but acknowledged by him as his own.<sup>1</sup>

The interesting rock-temples at Mukeshwar on the Rávi, five miles above Sháhpur in Gurdáspur, are said to date back to the Pándavas, and to have been visited by Arjan and Párbati. A long cleft in the rock a little way up the river is known as Arjan's *chula* or hearth.<sup>2</sup> Shiv as Achleswar Maháráj has a temple at Achal a few miles from Batála. It lies in a tank and is ascribed to the same mythical period.<sup>3</sup>

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

The temple contains 101 stone images, each 1½ feet high. Marble images of Ganesh, Durga, Bishnú and Súraj Bhagwán stand in the four corners of the temple. Each is 3 feet high. Besides these, there is a marble image of Gauri Shankar. Annual fairs are held on 1st Baisákh, the *naumi* and *dasmi* in Kátak, on every *amávás* and on the *chetar chandas* (14th of the light half of Chet).

#### THE WORSHIP OF NATURE.

The chief characteristic of the Vedic mythology is that it is a worship of nature in all its aspects. In the modern Punjab that mythology has disappeared almost completely, but the worship of nature is still a living force in popular religion. Nature is revered or propitiated, coerced or bargained with in many diverse ways, but through all the rites with which she can be influenced runs the pantheistic idea. As God is in all Nature so He speaks through all Nature. Everything, living or inanimate, can speak as His 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

<sup>1</sup> *S. C. R.*, VIII, p. 123. He appears to be identical with or confused with Gúga, Chauhán, of Gach Darera. In the Himalayas Panjpiri is often regarded as a single personage and identified with Zahir Pír or Gúga, but the distinction of personages is also recognised in their representation by five stones placed under a *pípál* and smeared with red lead. *P. N. Q.*, III., § 159. See also p. 136 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Gurdáspur *Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, p. 31.





logical control of intuition. Upon the firm and safe basis that nature provides auguries which are a certain indication of coming events, man has hurried to the conclusion that everything in nature is a portent, forgetting that the happening of such events as the southward flight of birds is explained by readily 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

Ibbetson,  
§ 219.

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

<sup>1</sup> Ihering'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 excreta of red puppies which had been sacrificed.—Cf. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experiences of the Roman People*, pp. 293 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 295.



him, not Deva but Devata, a godling, not a god.<sup>1</sup> 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 Brahmans. After each harvest, and occasionally between whiles, Brahmans are fed in his honour; and he is each morning saluted with an invocation as the good man steps out of his house. He is *par excellence* the great god of the villager, who will always name him first of all his deities. After him comes, at least in the east of the Province, *Jamna Ji*, or *Lady Jamna*. She is bathed in periodically. Brahmans are fed in her honour, and the waters of the canal which is fed from her stream are held in such respect by the villagers that they describe the terrible evils which they work in the land as springing "from Lady Jamna's friendship." *Dharti Māta*, or *Mother Earth*, holds the next place of honour. The pious man does obeisance to and invokes her as he rises from his bed in the morning, and even the 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 Karnāl. Sunday is sacred to him and on that day no salt is eaten, and no milk set for *ghi*, 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 Brahmans 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 (*argha*).<sup>2</sup>

#### THE LEGENDS OF RAJA RASĀLU.

Rājā Rasālū, or Rāsālū according to Cunningham,<sup>3</sup> is even more important in Punjab folklore than Gūga. According to that authority his legend belongs essentially to the Pothwār, between the Jhelum

<sup>1</sup> 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 Multān; *ibid.* V, pp. 115 and 120. Farishta says the Hindus used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Suraj (*sic*) taught them idolatry: Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, p. lxxviii. But in later times images of Surya or Aditya were rare: *A. S. R.*, XIII, p. 68. For the absence of temples to the Sun see *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> This should also be done to the new moon also, on the evening of her appearance: *Karnāl S. R.*, p. 147. According to MacLagan (§ 43) the worshippers of the sun, according to the manuals, are termed Sauras or Saurapatrias, and constitute one of the main sects of Hinduism. The old constitutional god Surya is, however, little attended to now except in the south and east, where Śuraj Narain is almost the sole orthodox deity of the Hindu pantheon who finds a place in the common religion of the peasants.

<sup>3</sup> *A. S. R.* II, p. 153. The meaning of the name is not at all certain. *Rasāl* is a present to a friend: *Panjabī Dicty*, p. 957. The present writer is inclined to think that Rāsālū is derived from *risāla* 'a troop of horse,' and that Rāsālū means the rider, the charioteer of the sun. But *risāla* is a Persian word, not Sanskrit or even Hindi. "The people in Chamba pronounce the name Rasālū. Cunningham identified Rāsālū 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 Rasālū is simply Rāi Sālū. Sālū is found in the *Rājatarang* as short for Sālāvāhana—as the name ought to be spelt—not Sālāvahana. The change of the terminal ā to u is very common in Indian names. In olden times the title *Rāi* was in common use for Rājā e.g. Rāi Pithora of Delhi, and I could give many other examples" (Hutchinson).

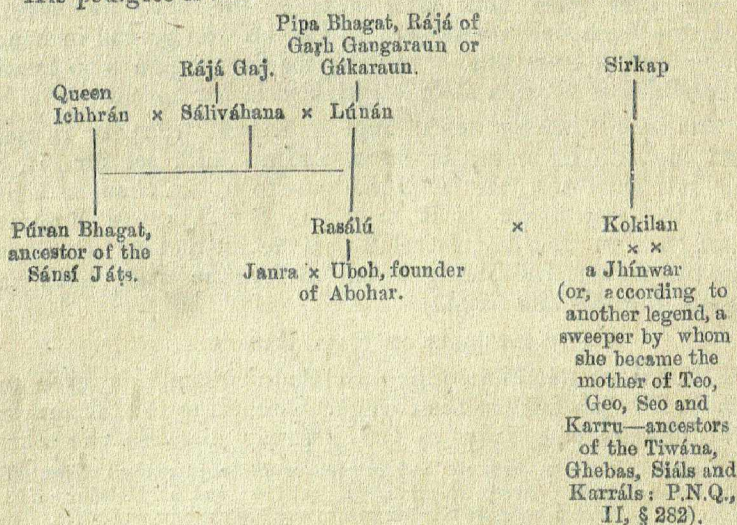


## Rájá Rasálú.

and Indus, but is also well-known at Ambá Kapi, near Lahore, the legendary residence of Rájá Sir-kap. Ambá Kapi is the general name for seven places named after three brothers, Rájás Sir-kap, Sir-sukh and Ambá and their four sisters Kápi, Kalpi, Munda and Mandehi. All seven are also described as *rákshasas* 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-bacha stream and Cunningham connects this with the story of Budha's offering of his body to appease the seven tiger cubs.

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

His pedigree is :—



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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Or *S. O. R.*, 1896, p. 188.



moment, doubt it. Thus, as the sun in his course rests not in toiling and travelling, so Rasálú'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 Rasálú, after a series of magical thunderbolts hurled at him by the giants, is found, shortly after, standing calm and undaunted. Hence Rasálú 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 uncivilized, is familiar. Again, one large class of the old nature myths relates to the fortunes of 'fatal children,' in whose lives the destruction of their parents is involved—even as the rising sun destroys his parent the darkness, from which he springs. These children are almost invariably the subject of prophecy, and though exposed and made to suffer in infancy, invariably grow up beautiful, brave and generous. Thus, Perseus, who kills Akrisius : Œdipus, who smites his father Laius ; and Rasálú, whose destiny it was to slay Salvahn his father. Again, like the early ideal of Samson, and like the later ideal of Arthur, Rasálú is the king of spotless purity. Moreover, as the sun dies in the west but rises again, so Rasálú, in common with King Arthur, is expected to appear once more.

"Then, Rájá Rasálú has a wonderful horse, who at a crisis warns his master not to touch him with whip or spur. In like manner, in the sun-myth of Phaeton, that hero is charged not to touch with his whip the horses of Helios. To take one more instance, the legend of Mír Shikári is, as the author has remarked, the story of Orpheus, of Amphion and of Pan; but it is also the story of Hermes, Sigurd, Volker, 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 Rasálú, 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."

Pūran Bhagat, also called Gyánsarúpa or Purakh Siddh Chauranjwénáth, or Chaurangi Náth, is one of the *gurús* or hierarchs of the Kane-phatta Jogis. Legend makes him a son of Sáliváhana by Ráni Achhrán and Rája Rasálú's elder brother. He is beloved by his step-mother Ráni Lúnán<sup>1</sup> and is calumniated by her and has his feet and hands cut off. Thrown into a well at Kallowál near Siálkot by his father he is rescued by Gorakhnáth, who has his ears bored and makes him his disciple. He revisits Siálkot 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 Pūran to Ráni Sundrán of Sangaldíp<sup>2</sup> to beg alms of her. She would fain make him her husband, but he refuses to rule and even when bidden to accept

<sup>1</sup> One variant makes Ráni Lúnán, a Chamár woman. Subsequently Rasálú, seeing the evils of marrying women of low caste fixed limits within which each caste should marry.

<sup>2</sup> Temple (*Legends of the Punjab*, II, p. 276) would identify Sangaldíp with Sákala-dvípa or Shákā-dvípa in the northern Punjab. It would be the country round Siálkot.



her kingdom by Goraknāth he disobeys his *gurā* and becomes a Jogi, while Sundrān casts herself down and kills herself.<sup>1</sup>

As Chaurangi Nāth Pūran visited the Bohar monastery of the Jogis in Rohtak, but was refused food until he brought fodder for their cattle. He obeyed but cursed the place which fell into ruins, only the Kālā Mahāl remaining intact, but no religious rites are performed in that building which is a small arched room with walls  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. It is said to have belonged to the PAGAL PANTH of the Jogis. When Chaurangi Nāth revisited the place he established his fire or *dhāni* and worshipped there for 12 years. Once a Banjāra 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 *dhāni*. This building contains no wood, its walls are  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick and its shape suggests layers of sugar sacks. In it a lamp is kept burning day and night.<sup>2</sup>

Bisāde is said to have been a disciple of Pūran Bhagat, and he has a very old temple at Baliāna in Rohtak. *Gharbari*, non-celibate Jogis, take the offerings. Milk is offered on the 14th *sudi* of the month and a fair held on that day in Māgh.

MOON-WORSHIP.—The worship or propitiation of the moon takes various forms. At first sight of a new moon Hindus take seven threads from the end of their turbans<sup>3</sup> and present them to her. Then throwing the end of the turban round their necks they say: *Chandanā, bhāgi bhayā thand wartān, te roti kapra bahut devin*. 'O moon, make us prosperous and happy, and grant us bread and clothes in plenty.' Then they exchange with one another the salutation 'Rām, Rām!' 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 Bhādon, 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

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

MacLagan,  
 § 43.

<sup>1</sup> For details see Temple, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 375 (*The Legend of Pūran Bhagat*), I, p. 2 etc. Also P. N. Q., II, § 390.

<sup>2</sup> Rohtak *Gazetteer*, 1910, pp. 63-4. A similar tale is told of the Ghaibi Pīr (*ib.*, p. 63), and a song sung to Bāwa Farid has the same theme.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammadans do this and then throw the shreds to the right. They also toss a coin into the air. P. N. Q., II., § 254.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., II, §§ 255-256.

<sup>5</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 87. It will be noticed that here the Moon is male.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, § 862.





faithful gifts of oil and iron. Saníchar is the god after whom Saturday is named and the Dakauts receive their offerings on that day.

Those returned as Budh-worshippers may possibly be men with a reverence for Buddha, but more probably they refer to the planet Mercury, from whom Budhwár, or Wednesday, is named.<sup>1</sup> 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 Ráhu and Ketu's persecutions.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

In Gilgit portents are generally supposed to foreshadow political events. Thus heavy rain forebodes invasion from Yasín, 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 Puniál chiefs.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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 Siálkot 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, *másur*, *alsé* and *tíl*, which are called *phál-sak* or *lshhkmár* 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.<sup>6</sup>

Astrology plays a large part in all the affairs of life, and may even be used to foretell natural events. The chief exponents of the science are Sahdeo and his spouse Bhandli, Bhaddali or Bhádali, whose couplets are usually addressed to each other turn and turn about.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, in Gurgaon at any rate they may refer to the worshippers of the small-pox goddess under her name of Budho.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 103.

<sup>3</sup> Ghulam Muhammad : *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*, Monographs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, I., § 691.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 107. Apparently this is done once, in every lunar month, not only at a lunar eclipse.

<sup>6</sup> Prinsep's *Siálkot Sett. Rep.*, §§ 128-9. Probably the people have no conception of any electric current at all.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 134 of Vol. II.



Thus clouds and lightning on the 1st of the light half (*sudi prītham*) of Baisākh presage an abundant harvest as does the concurrence of Thursday and the asterism Rohini in the *akhaitij* or *akhtij* the 1st Baisākh, on which date the accounts of the last harvest are settled.

If the asterisms Mūl and Kārḥ 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* (*pūranmāsi*) of Chait fall on a Monday, Thursday or Wednesday there will be rejoicing in every house.

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

*Aswani gale, Bharni gale, gale Jestha Mūl,  
 Pārbā Khūd dharūkia upje sāton chūl.*

If Aswani and Bharni, which fall in May, Jestha and Mūl, at the end of December and in January, all be wet and Pūrvāshādhā in January be cloudy, the seven grains will flourish.<sup>1</sup>

The following story about Venus or Shukar comes from Siālkot :—The Rikhi Prigugi had a son called Shukar and a disciple (*sewak*) named Bala Rājā. Bala worshipped God so fervently that He promised to appear before him and receive the *pirthi 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 *kadams* 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 *srāp*, turned him into a star and cursed him, saying that no woman 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' (*waṇṭiān dā tāra*). It appears sometimes in the west, sometimes in the east and at other times not at all.

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, §§ 858 and 706.



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.<sup>1</sup>

A comet, *púchhalwála tára* or *dumdár sitára*, will bring epidemics or famine and if one appears subscriptions are raised to feed Brahmans and *faqírs*.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

The whirlwind contains an evil spirit and to avoid meeting one you should say:—*Hanúmán Jodha, terí kár*—‘O warrior Hanúmán! thy charmed circle (protect me).’ *Hanúmán* is invoked in the same words said seven times if you meet a *shūt*, 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 *Hanúmán Jodha* to serve you in difficulties.<sup>4</sup>

Dust-storms are avoided by invoking *Hazrat Sulaimán* thrice, pointing the while with the fourth finger to the direction you wish the storm to take.<sup>5</sup>

The East wind or *purwá* comes over the sea and is harmful to mankind, though it brings more rain than the *pachhwá* or west wind which is land-borne.<sup>6</sup>

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.’<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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 Kailás brought down to Sāngla by the wishes of an ancient king

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 598.

<sup>2</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 424.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, §§ 36, 37. For shrines of the Māma Bhānja or Uncle and his Sister's Son, see *infra*, under ISLAM.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, §§ 38, 39. A variant is *Bhái Pherú, terí kár*, *Bhái Pheru* the *numen* in the small whirlwinds so common in the Punjab. He is the husband of *Deví* and is represented as a disciple of *Sakhi Sarwar*. See *Legends of the Punjab*, III, p. 301, and II, pp. 104 and 106.

<sup>5</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 685.

<sup>6</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 349.

<sup>7</sup> *Karnál S. R.*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> For a parallel in Europe see *Whitehead's Gaspard de Coligny*, p. 218. The German foot chose the moment of advance to nutting for pay at M. ncontour 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.<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, and the GADDIS' land is Shivbhúmi.

EARTH-WORSHIP.—On the 14th of the light half of Kátik is held the *surgtukri* 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 *ghi*-fed lamp. After this they return home, having performed a good work leading to heaven.<sup>3</sup>

About 5 miles from Ráwalpindi at the Chir Pahár there is a cleft which tradition says was caused by Rájá Rasálú's sword when he clove a demon in twain. The mark of his horse's hoof is also there.<sup>4</sup>

About 10 miles north of Ráwalpindi is a famous Rámkund or Ráma's pool, with a Hanúmán *kund*, a Lachhman *kund*, a Súraj *kund* and a Síta *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 Baisákh at the *snkránt*.<sup>5</sup> Two miles to the east of it is a Gupt-Ganga or silent pool in a running stream, which is also a *tírath*. 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 Núrpur Sháhán, where a Muhammadan fair is held on the 1st Thursday after Baisákh 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-Latif Barri or Barri Sultán, said to have been a pupil of Sayyid Hayát-ul-Nur, Qádiria. 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.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q. I., § 199. Raldang = Mahádeo.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 482.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 561.

<sup>5</sup> Visvamitra 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 Rájá Min Singh of Ambar, but it is opposed to all history, though it contains much of interest as folk-lore: S. C. R., VIII, pp 119-21.

<sup>6</sup> S. C. R., VIII, pp. 121-2.



At the western summit of the Sakesar hill are some rugged rocks called the Virgins—Kunwāri, whose origin is thus described:—In the time of Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, the country was infested by bands of *ghāzis* or *jihādīs* who used to carry off booty and village maidens to their fastnesses in Afghānistān. Some of them visited Bāgh, 'the garden,' a village whose ruins are still traceable, held by the Tarer, a tribe now apparently extinct, and the Tarer put some of their daughters to death to prevent their falling into the bandits' hands, while others sought refuge among the rocks which rent in twain at their prayers and swallowed them up. The Tarers then scattered among the neighbouring villages.<sup>1</sup> Ranithrod in Rāwalpindi owes its name to the legend that the Rājput 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.<sup>2</sup>

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, *gurū* of Yudishthira.<sup>3</sup> But the best exemplar of this is furnished by the Kurukshetr, an account of which will be found in Cunningham's *Arch. Surrey Reports*.

Attock (Atak) on the Indus means a stoppage, and various modern legends attach to it from Sikh times.<sup>4</sup> Kot Bithaur in the hills nearby was Rājā 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.<sup>5</sup>

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 Pāndavas' time Jālandhara, who reigned from the Sutlej to the Kāngra hills, founded it, but it was destroyed and refounded by a *faqir* Jālandharnāth, in the days of Vikramaditya.<sup>6</sup> Many myths are attached to it and its tanks, named Gūpha and Brahmkuṇḍ. Rāhon was originally Raghupur, and possesses a Surajkund or sun-pool, and an old Hindu temple, while Nūrmahal was once a Rājput fort called Kot Kahlūr or Ghalūr. It has a sacred well called Ganga.<sup>7</sup>

Another account makes Trigartta, *Sankr.* for 'three forts,' the country between the Sutlej, Beās and Rāvi, while Jālandhara was the portion of the hills over which Shiva threw Jālandhara to the

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 637. The Tarer are probably the modern criminal tribe called Terā; see Vol. III, p. 453 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 1053.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 1029.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 293.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, § 376.



*daityas* and its seat of government was Kángra.<sup>1</sup> Tradition also has it that Jálandhar was overwhelmed by a great flood in A. D. 1343.

Bhāgsu, near Dharmsála, is so called because of the following legend. When Vāsuki (Básak) Nág, king of the serpents, robbed Shiva of the bowl which contained the water of immortality Shiva taxed him with the theft, and in his flight Vāsuki turned the bowl upside down, and caused the water to flow out. This happened at Bhāgsu, which is named from Vāsuki's flight (*bhāg*).<sup>2</sup>

Illiterate Hindus believe that sleeping with feet to the north is an insult to the *deotas* as well as to the ancestors (*pitrs*), as they reside in that quarter. Literate Hindus have the same belief, on the theory that the attractive influence of the North is dangerous.<sup>3</sup>

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 Deví.<sup>4</sup>

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 Jampurí, 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.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

Another prescription is to put a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  sers of rain water into a new *ghara* and bury it at a spot on to which a roof spout discharges. This will stop the rain at once.<sup>6</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 222. But Dr. Hutchison writes:—

"Trigarta—as it should be spelt—cannot bear the meaning of 'three forts.' It is a case of confusing the word *gar* with *grh*. The latter means 'fort', but *gar* means a small stream or river. According to Cunningham the three rivers referred to were the Sutlej, Beas and Rávi. Vogel says that *gar* cannot properly be used to indicate a big river, and that Trigarta more probably refers to the Bánganga, Kurálí and Nayagul—the principal rivers of Kángra—which unite at Siba fort and flow into the Bías under the name of Trigadh which is the same as Trigár. The final *ta* means country or region, and is often found in hill names e.g. Kuluta."

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 950.—Oldham records a legend which makes Bhāgsu Nág originally a serpent *deota* whose temple has now, under Brahmanical influence, become sacred to Shiva and changed its name to Bhāgsu Náth. The old stone figure of the snake still remains under a tree close by, but Shiva, i.e. a *linga*, occupies the temple.

<sup>3</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 107.—For the pre-Christian belief that the North was under the prince of the Power of the Air, see Durandus' *Symbolism of Churches*, p. xcy.

<sup>4</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 192.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV., § 419, § 43.

<sup>6</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 514.





course the clouds dispel.<sup>1</sup> Another and unsavoury method of frightening away clouds is practised by Hindu grain-dealers who have been speculating for a rise. When clouds appear they take a loaf into the fields or place rice, sugar etc. at a cross-road, and then *bique consedens supra panem alvum exonerant*. Or they lay in wait for people on a dark night and *stercore advenientes conspuicant: necnon asinorum terga eodem purgamine onerant*. These practices are said to be common in the Mánjha and to occur in Ambála.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, rain may be caused by throwing a pot of filth over the threshold of an old woman with a bad temper. If she is annoyed and expresses her feelings rain will come down, but the rite may fail and the crone, keeping her wrath to herself, 'retaliate in kind.'<sup>4</sup> To bring rain girls also pour water in which cowdung has been dissolved on an old woman, or she is made to sit just under the spout of the roof.<sup>5</sup> In Kulu the *deotas* are directed by the Rájá to send it and they are fined if it does not fall in the time allowed.<sup>6</sup>

To Hindus the rainbow is Rám Chandra's bow: to Muhammadans that of Bába Adam.<sup>7</sup> But in the Punjab it is generally called *piñh*, the swing or the old woman's swing, and in Multáni the *piñgh* of Bíbi Bai who is very plausibly identified with Sakhi Sarwar's wife.<sup>8</sup> In Pashtu it is called the 'old woman's swing,' but in the Marwat it is called the bowl (*kásah*) and in Balochi *drín*, a word of unknown significance.

The Milky Way is in Multáni *bera da ghas*, 'the path of (Noah's) boat,' but is also called Akás Ganga, or the heavenly Ganges, the 'white garland,' the 'gate of heaven' and 'Bhagwán's court-house.'<sup>9</sup>

Wells disused and forgotten are believed to be revealed in dreams—at least to dreamers gifted with a special faculty for their discovery.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 539.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, §§ 578, 833. Ibbetson's explanation, that the use of *ghi* instead of the cheaper oil and the waste of the food 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.

<sup>3</sup> Ghulam Muhammad, *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Monograph I, pp. 112-13.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 791.

<sup>5</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 572.

<sup>6</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 249.

<sup>7</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 491. In Sanskrit it was either Sakrachápa, or Indrachápa, 'Indra's bow,' and so on. P. N. Q., I, § 1058.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 305.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, §§ 1027, 308, 610, (519), 523.

<sup>10</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 695.



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.<sup>1</sup> Goats will not lie down over an old well, and are said to detect it by stamping with their feet.<sup>2</sup> *Fagirs* are occasionally said to have the same power.

A goat is also a peace-offering, at least in Rāwalpindi, when the offering must apparently be accepted when tendered by one who wishes to close a feud. At Buria in Ambāla, near Jagādhrī, is or was a sacred well, but its efficacy has departed. The Ganga at Nūrmahal 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 Yunāni school of medicine. Wells act as safety-valves for the trembling, however, so earthquakes are common in Persia and Kashmīr, where wells are scarce, and rare in the Punjab.<sup>3</sup> Earthquakes are also said to be caused by the Earth Mother's anger at the prevalence of sin.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

Worship of the Ganges is distinctive of the APAPANTHIS, but it is not confined to them. Under the name of Bhagīrathi it is worshipped very often, and principally by the Ods who claim descent from Bhagīratha, the Puranic hero who brought the Ganges down from heaven.<sup>8</sup>

Yāma, the god of death, is supposed to live in rivers. He is propitiated by making an image of gold according to one's means. This is worshipped and then given to a Brahman.

The worship of the Beās is hardly distinguishable from that of the Rishi Vyāsa<sup>9</sup> whose shrine is at or near Bashist on the Beās

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., I, §§ 117, 118, 119, 344, 345, 694.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 183.

<sup>4</sup> I. N. Q., IV., § 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, § 489.

<sup>6</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 591.

<sup>7</sup> P. N. Q., III, §§ 180, 179.

<sup>8</sup> MacLagan says the Ols often wear a black blanket, either because the Ganges has not flowed to the place where their ancestors' bones repose and so they wear mourning till it does so, or because Bhagīratha's father had sworn never to drink twice out of the same well, but one day he dug very deep and was buried by the well falling in on him—so they wear black blankets and bury their dead: Punjab *Census Rep.*, 1902, p. 103. For a charming picture of Bhagīratha with Shiva and Pārvati, see Gomaraswamy's *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, Plate 76 and p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> Arranger of the *Vedas* and composer of the *Purānas*.



in Kulu where Moorcroft and Trebeck<sup>1</sup> found his image, about 1½ feet high, standing against the wall nearest the rock of a temple built a few feet in front of it. Its walls of loose stone form three sides of a quadrangle, the side next the stream being open so as to leave access to it free for its presiding genius, Vyása. By its side stood a smaller figure. Both images were much worn. The Rishi lived, however, at Vyás Asthal (now Bastali) in the Kurukshetr, and there the Ganges flowed underground to save him the trouble of going to bathe in that river, bringing too his *loṭa* and loin-cloth which he had left there to convince him that the water was really that of the Ganges.<sup>2</sup>

In the same way the Sarsuti or Saraswati river is not always to be distinguished from Saraswati, the goddess of learning, but only the former is at all extensively worshipped and then only locally. The Márkanda 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 Khwāja Khizr is also important.

Dr. J. Hutchison regards the *minjran ká mela* held in Chamba as probably a survival of the aboriginal worship of the river-god, but it is possibly connected with the cult of Mahádeo, to whom are offered ears (*minjran*) of basil.<sup>3</sup> This *mela* is held on the third Sunday in Sáwan. In its main features it is peculiar to Chamba, though the name is known, and some of the ceremonies are observed in other parts of the hills. The essential part of the *mela* consists in the throwing into the 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 art 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 *mela* 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, *drub* 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 *mela* is probably of aboriginal origin, and connected with the earth-worship which was prevalent among the aborigines of the hills. It was probably intended to secure good rains and a bountiful harvest.

TREE AND ANIMAL WORSHIP.—Traces of tree worship are still Ibbetson, common. Most members of the Fig tribe, and especially the *pípal* § 233.

<sup>1</sup> Journey to Ladákh, I, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 862.

<sup>3</sup> 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 direst extremities of famine will their leaves be cut for the cattle. Sacred groves are found in most villages from which no one may cut wood or pick fruit. The *jand* (*Prosopis spicigera*) is 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 Kāngra, 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 *deodār* worship of Kulu has been described. Several of the Jāt tribes revere certain plants. Some will not burn the wood of the cotton plant, the women of others veil their faces before the *nīm* (*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 Rājputs). 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 *pīpal* should be watered in Baisākh. *Tīraths* 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 *pīpal* is regarded as the Brahman among trees, while the *siras* is regarded as the *sirdār* or head of all save the *pīpal* by Jāts, 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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 1060. The *pīpal* is also worshipped as the abode of the Panjpiri and Nār Singh, and where there is no *pīpal* the *bar* or banyan is substituted; *ib.*, III, § 189.



The indigo plant is by caste a *mektar* or sweeper and so orthodox Hindus have a strong dislike to blue clothes and to growing indigo.<sup>1</sup> It was a disgraceful punishment to have one's face smeared with it whence the proverb: *nīl kā tīkā mujhe mat lagwānā*: '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 *pīpal* is really worshipped. As this tree does not grow much above an elevation of 3,000 feet its worship is prevalent only in the lower and outer valleys of the State. The Nāg and Devī temples are frequently found in cedar groves and the *Cedrus deodara* is then regarded as sacred, and may not be cut down. The tree itself, however, is not worshipped, nor is it looked upon as sacred unless it is close to a temple. The same is true of other trees which are believed to be the abode of malevolent spirits, such as the *kainth*, fig, pomegranate etc. The tree is not worshipped, only the spirit residing in it. Even the shadow of these trees is injurious. But though many of the forest trees are believed to be the abodes of evil spirits the Banbirs—see page —also dwell in certain trees.

Tree worship is practised in several ways. Thus at domestic festivals many Brahmans and Khattris perform rites to the *jand* (*Prosopis spicigera*). Some families never put on their children clothes made at home, but only those begged off friends, and the ceremony of putting on a child's first clothes is observed when it is three years old. It is then taken to a *jand* from which a twig is cut and planted at its foot. A *swāstika* 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 *swāstika*. *Mantras* from the *Yājur 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 fee, round its loins. In front this thread has a small triangle of red silk lined with *sālu*—like the only garment of very small girls. This may be done in order to disguise the boy as a girl, and the custom is said to refer to the extermination of the Kshatria boys by Paras Rāma.<sup>2</sup>

The *ānla* (*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 pinnate leaves of the *jand* and its galls make it resemble the *ānla* it too is worshipped in the same way.<sup>3</sup> At weddings its worship is widely practised, and in Muzaffargarh 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.<sup>4</sup>

The *chickra* (*butea frondosa*) is sacred because of its use for funeral pyres.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 581, § 715.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 844.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 449.

<sup>4</sup> Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 22.



The *tulsi* is worshipped among women by placing a lamp made of flour at its root and saying: *Tulsi dīva hālā, Mainun mardī nān sambhālā*: 'I have lit a lamp for Tulsi and she will take care of me when I die.' The *pīpal* is worshipped in the same way with the rhyme:—

*Patte patte Govind baiṭha, ṭahni ṭahni Deota,  
 Mudh te Sri Kishan baiṭhā, dhan Brahma Deota.*

'Govind sits on every leaf, and a god on every branch.

And on the trunk holy Krishna: glory to Brahma *devata*.'<sup>1</sup>

And the worship of the *pīpal* is believed to be equal to that of the above gods. A *tulsi* plant is kept in an orthodox Hindu house partly because it is Vishnu's plant, partly because it is sweet-scented and a deodoriser. Much the same ideas prevail regarding the sandal-wood tree. The tendrils of the *pīpal* make a cooling medicine for children, and its leaves are a powerful charm in fever.<sup>2</sup>

The *kīkar* tree also has magical powers. For fever take a cotton thread and wind it in hanks of seven threads from your left big toe round your head. Then tie these hanks round a *kīkar* and embrace its trunks seven times. This propitiates the tree, and it will cause the fever to leave you. Such hanks are often seen round *kīkar* trees.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

See also under Mahādeo, note 1 *infra*, and at p. 121 note, *supra*, under Panjpiri.<sup>5</sup>

Trees also play important rôles at weddings and in connection with marriage.<sup>6</sup>

A *babūl* (*Acacia Arabica*) or *lasūra* (*Cordia myra*) planted near a house will ruin the dwellers in it.<sup>7</sup> Orthodox Hindus too will not sleep under a *babūl* 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.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the shade of a *nīm* 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.<sup>9</sup>

In Karnāl the leaves of the *siras* are especially powerful and after them those of the mango. They are hung in garlands with an inscription on a platter in the middle, and the whole is called a *ṭoṭka*. The *jaṇḍ* is also a very sacred tree.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 556.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, §§ 713-14.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 352.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 816.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 159.

<sup>6</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 182.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 203.

<sup>9</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 118.

<sup>10</sup> *Sett. Rep.*, p. 154.



Besides the *babúl* and *lasúra* the *beri* and *arand* (castor-oil plant) are haunted by evil spirits. The *pipal* too is said to be so haunted and the *kikar* unlucky.<sup>1</sup>

The egg-plant, *baingan*, is unlucky and not eaten because its seed remains in the stomach for a year, and if the eater die within that term he will go to hell. But another version makes the egg-plant<sup>2</sup> a forbidden vegetable because once a number of fairies were eating its fruit and one of them got caught in its thorns. The Rájá asked her what she wished and she said: 'I wish to be released: to-day is the *ikádshi* (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 Rájá made her give up to the fairy all the benefits she had derived from her fast, and then the *baingan* released its captive. Fasting on the *ikádshi* was then unknown. The *baingan* is also said to be objected to for a prudish idea.<sup>3</sup> It is also likened in a catch to a Malang, a *faqír*, with green cap and purple face.<sup>4</sup>

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. *Rákshasas* also inhabit trees after nightfall.<sup>5</sup>

The *dál* of *mísúr* or pulse is objected to because it resembles drops of blood and the carrot, turnip and other vegetables for prudish reasons. Jogis collect the herb called *jari-búti* from the Dhángir hill near Pathánkot 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.<sup>6</sup>

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 Bhaṛbhunja or Bhujwá who are *mahápápi*, 'great sinners,' butchering the grain they parch. Indigo too is full of insects which are killed while it is rotting in the vat,<sup>7</sup> and they will retaliate on the workers in the next birth.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

The cow is worshipped on the 8th of the light half of Kátik, on the Gopáshtami, 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 (*perá*), her feet dusted and obeisance done to her with the prayer: 'O cow, our

<sup>1</sup> I. N. Q., IV., §§ 42, 180.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., III., § 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III., § 778.

<sup>4</sup> I. N. Q., IV., § 68 (13).

<sup>5</sup> P. N. Q., II., § 738.

<sup>6</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 117.

<sup>7</sup> P. N. Q., III., §§ 586, 792.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, § 715.

<sup>9</sup> I. N. Q., IV., § 120.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, § 426.



mother, keep us happy.' A woman thus worshipping the cow marks her own forehead also with sandal-wood and red lead<sup>1</sup>. A song sung on this occasion runs :—' O ploughman, thou of the yoke, I recall to thy memory, eat thine own earnings, and credit mine to Hari's account.'

To let a cow die with a rope round its neck is a heinous sin : its value must be given to Brahmans and a pilgrimage made to the Ganges. A cow when ill is at once let loose.<sup>2</sup>

Bulls are let loose as scape-goats, the sins of their deliverers' forefathers being transferred to them. They are called Brahmani.<sup>3</sup>

No Hindu will ride on a bull as it is sacred, nor on a mare in foal as it injures the foal whenever conceived.<sup>4</sup>

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

A bullock with a small fleshy growth, called *jibh* or tongue, in the corner of its eye or on its head or back must not be yoked by any Hindu, in Gurgaon, under pain of excommunication. Such an animal is called *nādia*,<sup>5</sup> and must be given to a Jogī who takes him about with trappings and strings of couries on him when begging to excite reverence by exhibition of the sacred mark.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

The horse is commonly given the title of Ghāzi Mard or Ghāzi Mían—Conquering hero.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, §§ 480, 837.

<sup>2</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 492.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 391.

<sup>4</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 366.

<sup>5</sup> The derivation suggested there is from *nandi*, the sacred bull of Shiva, but the word *nādia* may come from *nādh*, 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. 252), but not in the Punjab apparently. For the *nād* of the Jogis see Vol. II, pp. 390, 399, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 6.

<sup>7</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 196.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 1063.

<sup>9</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 188.

<sup>10</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 290.

<sup>11</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 553.



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.<sup>1</sup>

Do not abuse your house rats, for then they will not injure your chattels.<sup>2</sup> If poison is mentioned they will understand and not touch it, so when mixing it people say they are cooking food for neighbours.<sup>3</sup>

A camel's right hoof is a potent charm against rats and will clear a house of them.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

Pious Hindus consider it a duty to release caged birds, especially on holidays like the *amāvās* and *kārdāshi* of each month.<sup>6</sup>

The peacock is sacred to Hindus as being the vehicle of Saraswati,<sup>7</sup> 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!<sup>8</sup>

Thunder can be heard by the peacock 100 *kos* away, and their cry portends rain.<sup>9</sup>

The *garuda*—adjutant crane—is Vishnu's vehicle, and one should manage to catch a sight of it on the Dasahra.<sup>10</sup>

If a crow picks up a woman's kerchief and drops it she will at once give it to a beggar.<sup>11</sup>

Grain is also scattered for crows to eat and the birds are netted for sale to pious people who let them go again. The chief purchasers are Bānias' wives who are believed to be specially liable to metempsychosis into crows, so the trappers hold up a crow in front of each Bānia's shop and cry: 'Behold so-and-so's wife.' This compels the wife to buy the bird and she immediately releases it.<sup>12</sup>

The kite, crow, kingfisher, owl and snake are all believed to live 1000 years.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup>

The parrot is called Ganga Rām by Hindus, and Mīān Mitthu by Muhammadans.<sup>15</sup>

A *chakor* (partridge) is often kept to ward off evil, as it takes upon itself all its owner's misfortunes.<sup>16</sup>

The partridge, both the *tītar* and *chakor*, are averters of the evil eye. They eat fire at the full moon.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 279.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, § 653.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 244.

<sup>5</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 497.

<sup>6</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 648.

<sup>7</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 479.

<sup>8</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 496.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 194.

<sup>10</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 112.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Arch. S. Rep.*, V, p. 136.

<sup>13</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 353.

<sup>14</sup> P. N. Q., III, §§ 380-1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 883, and I. N. Q., IV, § 472.

For the cult of Mīān Mitthu in Gurdāspur see *infra*.

<sup>16</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 289.

<sup>17</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 495.



## Débris of nature-worship.

The dove is said never to mate twice, and if one of a pair dies its mate pines to death.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>—a portent of death to one of its parents—will cure it of that habit.<sup>4</sup> Yet in Muzaffargarh it is a bad omen to see the blue-jay or *chánh*.

Killing a pigeon is considered unlawful among the Khesghi Patháns of Kasúr. Some Muhammadans regard it as a Sayyid among birds, and therefore it is a sin to kill it—though it is lawful food.<sup>5</sup>

The *mahára* is a bird which causes *mánhkhur*,<sup>6</sup> foot-and-mouth disease, in Multán.

The *maláí*, butcher-bird or shrike, is ill-omened if seen in flight.<sup>7</sup>

The heron standing on one leg is the type of a sanctimonious hypocrite, so it is styled *bagla bhagat*.<sup>8</sup>

Locusts go off to the east, when they die of eating salt earth (*reh*).<sup>9</sup>

The large glow-worm which comes out in the rains is in the Murree hills called the *honwála kúra* because it was in its former life a *faqír* who refused fire to Behmáta or Bidhi Máta, 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 = havan*—apparently.<sup>10</sup>

The many-hued grass-hopper which feeds on the *ak* is called *Rámji kí-gáo* or *Rám's cow* in Hariána.<sup>11</sup> The little Indian squirrel is similarly called *Rám Ghandr ká bhagat* because when that god was bridging the sea 'twixt India and Lanka the squirrel helped by shaking dust from its body on to the bridge. The black lines in its body are the marks of his fingers.<sup>12</sup>

Ants are fed in Kángra with five articles, called *panjiri* or *gullar*, for luck.<sup>13</sup>

Sir James Lyall noticed that the practice of beating pots and pans to induce bees to settle in a swarm previous to hiving prevails in Kulu, as it did or does in English country places. The Kulu men at the same time tell the queen-bee and her subjects:—*Besh, Maháráni, besh, aur tobí agge jási, Maháráni rí drohí osi*; "Be seated, great queen, be seated, and (turning to the bees) an appeal has been made to the queen against your going any further."

The *chhapáki* is an ash-coloured bird, the size of a dove. If you kill one and then touch a person afflicted with itch he will be cured.<sup>14</sup>

Owls and goat suckers, *ghugh*, *ullán*, and *huk*, are all birds of ill-omen, especially the *ghugh*, which is called the *Kirakku shính* or

<sup>1</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 177.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 600, p. 142, cf. p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, III, § 585.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, III, § 780.

<sup>5</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, §§ 75, 440.

<sup>6</sup> *Panjabí Dicty*, p. 698.

<sup>7</sup> Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 855.

<sup>9</sup> Sirsa S. R., p. 255.

<sup>10</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.*, III, § 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, III, § 281.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, III, § 273.

<sup>14</sup> Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 30.





'Kirárs' tiger,' from the superstitious dread in which that caste holds it.<sup>1</sup> The *chikri* or button owl is equally unlucky, apparently on account of its ugliness.

In Muzaffargarh the kite, *hil* (Hindi *chil*), is supposed to be male for 6 months in the year and female during the other half. In much the same way the popular belief on the banks of the Indus is that if *metkra* or fenugreek (*trigonelle*, *foenum graecum*) be sown before noon *metkra* will grow, if after noon *assán* (*brassica eruca*). Under certain circumstances *morhi* (*Ervum lens*) turns into a seed called *rári*.<sup>2</sup>

The king crow, *kal-kalichi*, *kariche* or *karchhi* is revered by the Shias because it brought water to the dying Imám, Hassan, and also because it is always astir early. Its note is said to be : *uttih sohágan*, *chakki pí*, 'get up, good wife, and grind corn.'<sup>3</sup>

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

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 *sáhnán*, is credited with restorative powers.<sup>5</sup>

#### 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.<sup>6</sup> If you see a snake on a Sunday you will see it for 8 successive Sundays.<sup>7</sup>

When a snake is seen, say Sayyids and other Musalmáns 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

The *Singhs*, 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

<sup>1</sup> Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4 p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *Muttáni Glossary*.

<sup>4</sup> Muzaffargarh Gazetteer p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 671.

<sup>7</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 256.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., I., § 122. A snake should be called *shey*, 'tiger,' or *rassi*, 'rope,' never by its proper name.

<sup>9</sup> P. N. Q., I., § 607.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, I., § 937.



eleventh day after calving is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable. They are generally distinguished by some colour, the most commonly worshipped being Káli, Hari, and Bhúri Singh, or black, green, and grey. But the diviner will often declare a fever to be caused by some Singh whom no one has even heard of before, but to whom a shrine must be built; and so they multiply in the most perplexing manner. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes, a fact which is revealed in a dream, when again a shrine must be built. If a peasant sees a snake he will salute it; and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. They are the servants of Rájá Básak Nág, king of Patál or Tartarus; and their worship is most certainly connected in the minds of the people with that of the *pitr* or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Sunday is their day, and Brahmans do not object to be fed at their shrines, though they will not take the offerings which are generally of an impure nature. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

Mrs. F. A. Steel vouches for the following account of snake-worship:—During nine days in Bhádon the snake is worshipped by all castes and religions; but at the end of Sáwan Mirási women of the 'snake' tribe make a snake of flour, paint it red and black, and place it on a winnowing basket with its head poised like a cobra's. This basket they carry round the village singing verses invoking Alláh and Gúga Pír. Every one should give them a small cake and some butter, but generally only a little flour or grain is given, though in houses where there is a newly married bride Re. 1-4-0 and some clothes are given, and this gift is also made if a son has been born. Finally the flour snake is buried and a small grave built over it, at which the women worship during the nine days of Bhádon. The night before they set curds, but next morning instead of churning it they take it to the snake's grave and offer a small portion, kneeling and touching the ground with their foreheads. They then divide the curds amongst their children. No butter is made or eaten on that day. Where snakes abound this rite is performed in jungles where they are known to be.<sup>1</sup>

That certain persons are believed to be immune from snake-bite is undeniable. Thus in Kángra a man has been known to allow himself to be bitten by a poisonous snake once a year in the rains. First bitten by a cobra he was cured by prayers at a shrine to Gúga called Kútiári dá Gúga. Such persons are said to give out a peculiar odour and to feel a kind of intoxication when the time for getting bitten, which they cannot escape, comes round. They recover in a few days. Some people believe that the snake that bites

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 555. Mrs. Steel also declares that the Snake *edit* or tribe is not uncommon, and that they are Muhammadans of Kasúr. 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 ask 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.



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

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 *nīgrā* or ungrateful and killed forthwith.<sup>3</sup> Many Hindus take a lamp used at the Diwāli to their houses to scare snakes away from them for the next six months<sup>4</sup>; and the *chuhri saresh* or *churi-saroj*, the fragrant *Artemisia elegans*, is also kept in houses to frighten them away.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

The existence of a two headed snake (*domānha*) is believed in and any person once bitten by such a snake will be regularly sought out and bitten by it every year afterwards.<sup>7</sup> Such an experience confers immunity even from poisonous snakes though insensibility ensues.<sup>8</sup> Certain simples are used to cure snake-bite, but a purely magic rite consists in taking a handful of shoots and, while praising the snake's ancestors, fanning the wound with them. This is called *dāli hālūā* and is done in Kāngra.<sup>9</sup> Pouring water and milk down a snake's hole is a preventive of snake-bite.<sup>10</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 995.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 353.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 176.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 534.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 291.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 452.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 788.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 672.

<sup>11</sup> See Sir J. G. Frazer's valuable article on *The Serpent and the Tree of Life* in *Essays presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 413 ff. Support to his theory will be found in the following account of a primitive Nāg cult in the Simla Hills recently thus described by Mr. H. W. Emerson :—" In the remote tract called Tikrāl, which lies near the source of the 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 Nāgs, who hibernate during the winter, going to sleep at the first fall of snow and only waking up again at the Phag, the festival which corresponds to the Holi in the plains, when they are aroused by their worshippers. Each temple has a small aperture cut through an outer wall of the second storey and opening into the chamber where the god's couch is laid. A miniature image is placed below the window inside the room. A few days previous to the full moon two parties are chosen from the subjects of the god, each composed of from 8 to 10 men. One party represents the god's defenders, the other his awakeners; but the members of both have to prepare themselves for their sacred duties by fasting until the appointed day arrives. On that day they arm themselves with a large supply of snow-balls, the snow being brought from the hills above, if, as rarely happens, it has melted from round the homesteads. The assailants stand about 20 paces from the window, while the rest take up their position immediately below it. All hold their snow-balls ready in the skirts of their long coats and at a given signal go into action, but whereas the god's support-



## Snake-worship in the Simla Hills

Another rain god of serpent origin in the Simla Hills is Basharu. Once a woman was cutting grass when her sickle struck a three-faced image of gold. She took it home and placed it in her cow shed, hoping that her herds would multiply. But next morning the shed was full of water and the cattle all drowned. So she gave it to a Brahman who put it in his granary. But next morning it too was filled with water and so he set the people to build the image a temple a mile or two away whence the god still controls the weather according to the wishes of his votaries. As he had no village green he drained a lake by coming down in spate one night and cutting a deep channel. On the sward his festivals are now held. At the one in early spring the god is rejuvenated by being carried to his birth-place and there laid on his side so that he may be recharged as it were with the divine essence which still emanates from his natal soil. This process takes 6 or 7 hours, during which his bearers lie prostrate and his worshippers keep strict silence, but his musicians play—to assist the ascent or transmission of the divine spirit, as well as to relieve the tedium of the god's inactivity. No sacrifices are offered.

On the Upper Sutlej a snake goddess gave birth to seven sons, the territorial gods of as many valleys. They had no father, or at least his name is not known. Her own home is a spring 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

ers pelt his adversaries they are themselves safe from attack and the other party must aim at the open window. Should no ball fall into the room where the deity reclines before the stock of ammunition is exhausted the throwers have to pay a fine of several rams, since their indifferent skill has then defeated the very object of the mimic battle. The god sleeps on unconscious of the efforts made to break his slumber and other means are taken to rouse him from his lethargy. Men creep up the staircase carrying trumpets and conch shells and when all are ready blow a mighty blast in unison. Others bang the door and rattle its massive chains shouting to the god to bestir himself. This at best is but a poor way of awakening the Nág, 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 omen is considered most auspicious. They then leap and dance with joy, shouting that the god has risen from his bed. The *fidei defensores*, on the other hand, feign to be horror-stricken at the sacrilege, and pursue the culprits with a running fire of snow, 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 Nág, while commending his supporters for their spirited defence, thanks his assailants for their kindly thought in rousing him now that the time of winter cold has passed and the season of spring time is at hand. Thus every one is pleased and the assembly prepare to listen to the further sayings of their god. The god will tell the story of his journey from Kashmir and the many incidents which happened on the way. Then he foretells the future, prophesying what fortune will attend the rules of the neighbouring States, which crops will flourish and which fail, whether the herds and flocks will multiply, what domestic sorrows will befall his subjects, and in general whether the year will be a good or evil one. The announcement of harvest prospects and the interpretation of omens is a special feature of the oracles which often continue for many hours. On its completion the audience commence a feast which lasts for several days. Drinking, dancing and singing are its main features, and the god as usual joins heart and soul in the merriment."





his leave. If one of them has lost his vigour his followers bring him to Gunga, and having obtained his consent, carry the god to the spring and lay him there in his litter, prone on his side. Such energy oozes from the fountain that in a hour or two he is reinvigorated for several years and can bestow blessings on his people until his strength runs down again. Some say that the snake herself appears in serpent form and men have seen her licking the 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 NAG CULTS IN CHAMBA.

Dr. J. Hutchison describes the Nág and Deví cults as the oldest in the Chamba hills, and Dr. Vogel regards the Nágas as water spirits, typifying the alternately beneficial and destructive power of water. This theory, however, does not adequately explain how the Nágas of Brahmanic and Buddhist literature and the Nágs of the Himalayan valleys came to be regarded as snake gods. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham's theory<sup>1</sup> that the so-called snake-gods and *devís* are the deified rulers of the people has little to commend it, and is based on the assumption that the hooded snake was the racial emblem of the ruled. It is safer to regard both the Nágs and the *devís* as emblems of the powers of fertility and reproduction.

The Nág shrines in Chamba are very numerous, and there are also Nágni shrines, but the latter are not common. The image in these shrines is usually of 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 *tírsúl* or trident, a lamp, an incense holder, a *gurf* or weapon like a sword, and finally the iron chain or *sangal* with which the *chela* scourges himself. This is said to be an exact copy of that shown in the hand of the Egyptian god Osiris. Springs of water are believed to be under the control of these snake godlings, and, in some parts of the hills, to such a degree are springs and wells associated with snake influence in the minds of the people that Nág is the name in common use for a spring of cool and refreshing water. A spring will usually be found in proximity to a Nág temple. Many of the Nága godlings are believed to have the power to grant rain, and in times of drought they are diligently propitiated. *Jágras* or vigils are held in connection with the temples, incense is burnt and sheep and goats are offered in sacrifice. The *pújára* gets the head and the *chela* the shoulder, while the low caste musicians are given the entrails and cooked food. The rest of the animal is taken away and consumed by the offerer and his family or friends. Money offered is equally divided between the *pújára* and *chela*; also dry grain. If people belonging to a low caste offer cooked food, which is not often done, it is given back to them after being presented to the Nág. A *jágra* or vigil is always held at the time of a *mela*, which as a rule takes place once a year at each shrine.

The Nág and Deví temples are all erected on much the same plan and are usually situated in a clump of cedar trees near a village. Such

<sup>1</sup>The Sun and the Serpent.



trees around a temple may not be cut down, and are regarded as the property of the deity in their midst. Sometimes a temple is erected within the interior of a forest or in some mountain ravine, standing quite alone. The usual pattern is a square resting on a raised platform of stone. The building itself may be entirely of wood, or of the wood and stone style of architecture so common in the hills. It generally consists of a central *cella* with an open verandah around it and a small door in front. The whole is covered in with a pent-roof of wood which either slopes on two sides from a central ridge, or on four sides from a surmounting cap or ball. This roof is supported on cross beams resting on wooden, or wood and stone, pillars one at each corner of the platform, with intermediate supports if necessary. Sometimes the verandah is entirely closed in, with only a doorway opposite the door of the *cella*. The *cella* remains the same from age to age, and is not renewed unless it becomes ruinous, but the roof is frequently renewed as a mark of respect to the deity within. This, however, is not now done as often as was the custom in former times, and in many cases repairs are carried out only when absolutely necessary. The wood-work of the verandah is covered in parts with carvings of a grotesque character, while hanging around are the horns of animals which have been offered in sacrifice, with bells suspended over the doorway, and sometimes a pole in front, called *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 Nāg and Devī temples. Bloody sacrifice holds the foremost place. On ordinary occasions incense is burned, and circumambulation of the *cella* within the verandah is performed by the priest. There is also the ringing of bells, and the sounding of the conch shell, accompanied by the beating of drums. A *mela* is usually held once a year at each temple, when a great concourse of people takes place on the green near the shrine, and all are seated in prescribed order according to ancient custom—a special place being reserved for the officials of the *pargana* in which the temple is situated. Music and dancing, and often drinking, play an important part at these *melas*. Each temple has a *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 *tīrsūl* which he holds in his hand, sometimes with such severity as to draw blood. The harsh and discordant music gets louder and wilder, and others join in the dance, forming a circle with the *chela* in their



midst. A goat is then brought forward and presented to the god, and water is thrown upon it and put into its ear to make it tremble, this being the sign that the victim has been accepted. Forthwith the head is struck off and presented to the god, and in some cases the *chela* drinks the warm blood as it flows from the quivering carcass. The dancing proceeds more wildly than ever till at last the *chela* calls out that the god has come. All are then silent and questions are asked by the people and answered by the *chela*, as the mouthpiece of the god. Having done this part, the *chela* sinks on the ground exhausted, and is brought round by fanning and sprinkling of water on his face and chest. The people then disperse to their homes.

The temples may be visited in times of drought and famine, or pestilence in 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 *játra*, 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 Nágs have the reputation of being able to give rain, and in time of drought those shrines are much frequented, the same procedure being adopted as that already described. Sheep and goats are freely offered at such times. If rain falls too abundantly the Nág shrine is again resorted to with offerings, to constrain the god to stay his hand.

There are many traditions current in the hills which point to human sacrifices having been frequent at Nág and Deví temples in former times. In Pángi and other parts of the Chandra-Bhága Valley a singular custom obtains in connection with Nág worship. For a fixed time every year in the month of Sávan, and sometimes for the whole of that month all the milk of the village is devoted to the local Nág and is then said to be *suchcha* (pure).

The villagers do not use it themselves, that is, they do not drink it, and they are very unwilling to supply milk to travellers during the period. The milk is churned as usual, and *ghi* is made from it, the butter-milk being stored and used up at feasts held on certain days during the month. Every few days any offering of milk and sweet bread is made to the Nág, some of the milk being sprinkled over it. It is also smeared with *ghi*. A final feast is held at the end of the month. In Pángi only 15 days are observed, and this only in the lower part of the valley.

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

Further the *pujáras* and *chelas* are most commonly Ráthis by caste, but, in a good many cases, only the *pujára* is a Ráthi, the *chela* being a Háli, as in the temples of Kálú Nág and Manovar Nág at Bháráram, Mahál Nág at Báthula, Nandýásar Nág at Puddbra, Tarewan Nág at Luukh, Him Nág at Bharawin, Mahál Nág at Baira and Bairo, Muthal Nág at Gulera, Nandalu Nág at Sirha, Suána Nág at Bharoga, Khul

<sup>1</sup>A famous Ráná of the olden time who lived in Barnota *pargana*, date unknown.



Nág at Nabi-Bhuta, Parha Nág at Singaki Bani and Charas Nág at Tikri.

Priests and  
chelas.

In some cases the *pujára* is a Háli, *e. g.* at the temples of Bhudhu Nág at Lambota, Parbhut Nág at Andwás, Sri Nág Stulji at Sudlaj, Thainang Nág at Gung Rás, Kalan Nág at Khalandar. At Sri Potir Nág's temple at Bhinan the *pujára* and *chela* are both Kolis; at Kalan Nág's temple at Chilli they are both Bhachhra Gaddis; at Handol Nág's temple at Chandrola both are 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 Háli *chelas*), Thainang Nág's at Dirog and Mahr Nág's at Manglana (of the Kalián *gót*, also *chelas*), Mahal Nág's at Jamohar (of the Kalián with Háli *chelas*), at Thainang Nág's temple at Kharont (of the Ratan Pál *gót* with Ráthi *chelas*), at Thainang Nág's temple at Bahnota (of the Kalián *gót* also *chelas*), at Ham Nág's at Talhána (of the Káshab *gót*, also *chelas*): at Nág Belodar's and Mahal Nág's at Jangal Bani (of the Kálian *gót*, also *chelas*): at Sindhu Nág's at Sundhár (Gaur Brahman, also *chelas*), at Bajog Nág's at Sirba (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 Sudhun Nág's in Suri a Kalián, also with a Ráthi *chela*, at Sar Nág's in Sarsara he is a Káshab, at Jamun Nág's at Bari Jamuhár he is a Kalián with a Ráthi *chela*, and at Ráh Nág's temple in Rah he is a Káshab with a Háli *chela*.

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

The following is a list of the principal Nágs worshipped in Churáh and the northern portion of the Sadr *wizárat*, with the name of the village in which each has a shrine:—

Name.	Village.	Pargana.	Name.	Village.	Pargana.
Balodar ...	Nabi Bani ...	Tisa.	Thainang ...	Dirog ...	Lohtikri.
Malun ...	Alwas ...		Kalang ...	Manglana ...	
Sutohi ...	Bakund ...		Mahal ...	Sáru ...	
Dakhla ...	Chhampa ...		Sarwál ...	Mundúl ...	
Kálu ...	Sarnagri ...		Tarewan ...	Lunkh ...	
Kálu, Kaluth ...	Dhár ...		Him ...	Mohwa ...	
Greater ...	Gupha ...		Him-Nág ...	Bhararwin ...	
Mahal ...	Jangal ...	Barnota.	Kalu ...	Baráhara ...	Himgarin.
Bhujgar ...	Bhunjeru ...		Bhandári ...	Batrundi ...	
Kalang ...	Jangal Kal-kundi ...		Sri Budhu ...	Lamhota ...	
Mahal ...	...		Bwátir ...	Bhiwan ...	
Jaman ...	...		Balodar ...	Gámhir ...	
Jamori ...	Bani ...		Larhasan ...	Shalai ...	
Chhalasar ...	...		Chhalasar ...	Sahu ...	
unsar ...	...	Barnota.	Kálan ...	Chilli ...	Himgarin.
Khandwál ...	...		Mandol ...	Chandrola ...	
			Stul Nág ...	Khángu ...	



Name.	Village.	Pargana.	Name.	Village.	Pargana.
Parbhut ...	Andwás ...	Hingari	Thamang	Ghari ...	Sai.
Sthulji ...	Sudla ...		Do.	Gurwán ...	
Deotán ...	Deotán ...		Sungal ...	Gulela ...	
Mahr ...	Mangiana ...	Lohtkri	Mahal ...	Khandi ...	Diur.
Kálu ...	Bharará ...		Kalan ...	Bani Kálandal ...	
Manovar ...	Bahnota ...		Sagta ...	Sagwári ...	
Mahal ...	Paddhra ...	Sai	Sar ...	Sarsara ...	Juhnd.
Nandayásur ...	Junth ...		Do.	Bani Saroi ...	
Bujir ...	Satun ...		Sur Mer ...	Jassu ...	
Thing ...	Gungyás ...	Baira	Mahal ...	Bhavadan ...	Bhándal.
Thainang ...	Bhorás ...		Karwár ...	Choted ...	
Mahal ...	Bairu ...		Marar ...	Charetar ...	
Do.	Degarán ...	Jasaur	Suana ...	Bharoga ...	Kihár.
Thainang ...	Gulera ...		Mahal ...	Chakhutar ...	
Muthal ...	Barálu ...		Khul ...	Bani Bhuthan ...	
Kálú ...	Kharonth ...	Kohál	Parhu ...	Sangaki Bani ...	Manjír.
Thainang ...	Kundiára ...		Charas ...	Tikri ...	
Pardhan ...	Bahnota ...		Do.	Siru ...	
Thainang ...	Talhiná ...	Tariod	Guldhan ...	Manjír ...	Bhándal.
Him ...	Sirha ...		Do.	Bahi Salon ...	
Mandolu ...	Bajonth ...		Thainang	Chakbra ...	
Peju ...	Do.	Rajnagar.	Tundi ...	Uthluga ...	Baghai.
Mahal ...	Jangal Bani ...		Jammu ...	Jamuhár ...	
Balodar ...	Do.		Do.	Bari do. ...	
Mahal ...	Sundhar ...	Kharont.	Malundu	Malund ...	Panjla.
Sindhu ...	Pukhri ...		Khallar ...	Khallru ...	
Tono ...	Sirha ...		Dittu ...	Khaddar ...	
Bajog ...	Baldruni ...	Dhund.	Surju ...	Gudda ...	Sahu.
Balodar ...	Taláí ...		Rah ...	Rah ...	
Mahal ...	Barrúni ...		Jammu ...	Bhala ...	
Barar ...	Sinár ...	Gudiál.	Darobi ...	Chalai ...	Bhándal.
Karangar ...	Sái ...		Durbdu ...	Bhidhar ...	
Sudhun ...	Ghat ...		Budhu ...	Langera ...	
Bhedu ...	Gand ...	Bhalei.			
Do.	Jamehár ...				
Mahal ...		Band-Bagor.			

The following are some of the legends associated with special Nágs and Devis in different parts of the States—

Básak Nág was brought from Bhadrawáh 100 years ago, because disease was prevalent among the cattle of the State. Básan Nág and Nágni were also brought from Bhadrawáh on a similar occasion, and Digghu Nág from Pángi.

Indru Nág derives his name from Indra.<sup>1</sup> Tradition says that a Ráná from Suket came to Kanyára in Kángra, thence to Korási, and thence to Sámrá, the Nág and his *pújára* accompanying the Ráná. The Nág's disciple, Dhanda, 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.

Kalihár Nág, his original name, now better known as Kelang, came from British Láhul 15 or 16 generations ago when cattle disease was prevalent at Kugti, and the people of that village had vowed to hold a fair if it abated. Tradition says that Kelang, in the form of a serpent, rode on the horns of a ram from Láhul, and stopped at Dúghi two miles

<sup>1</sup> Indru Nág has a temple in Kángra also—see *infra* p. 154.



from the present temple. Remaining there for three generations, he went to Darūn 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 *bhānā*<sup>1</sup> 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 Padmāsana attitude.<sup>2</sup> Rājā Sri Singh presented a second image of eight metals (*ashtidhāt*) which stands upright, holding a *lāṭhī* or pole in its right hand. Its head is covered with figures of serpents, and it wears a necklace of *chakras* with a *ganee* and *taragi* or waistbelt or *pazab* (loin cloth), all of serpents. This temple is closed from Māgh 1st to Baisakh 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 *wizārat* with the dates of the fairs and vigils held at each, the castes to which the *pujāras* and *chelas* belong, and the Rājās in whose reigns the worship is said to have been introduced :—

Name.	Village.	Pargana.	Date of Fair.	Pujāras and chelas	Founded in the reign of
Badyāla Nāg	Aurāh ...	Brahmaur	Siwan 5th	Kurete Gaddis	Lachhmi, Varma.
Bāsak Nāg	Dhār or Bās-kaher.	Sāmra ...	Baisākh 4th and 5th	Sulāhi Sarsuts	Rāj Singh.
Bāsaki Nāg	Ser ...	Lil ...	Baisākh 4th, 5th.	Shipnete Brah-mans, Hālis.	Mūsh Varma.
Bāsan Nāg	Dhār or Bīs-kaher.	Sāmra ...	Baisākh 4th, 5th (Jāgrā on 1st of Baisākh).	Sārsuts, Hālis	Mūsh Varma.
Bijku Nāg	Mahlā ...	Mahlā ...	Dalajāra ...	...	Mūsh Varma.
Bujāru Nāg	Trehtā ...	Trehta ...	...	Swahī Brah-mans.	Sāhil Varma.
Dighaupāl Nāg	Benghlā ...	Mahlā ...	Jāgrā on 10th of Sāwan.	Fraugete Gad-dis.	Mūsh Varma.
Dhanohobū Nāg	Ghrehar ...	Brahmaur	...	Ranetu Gaddis	Sāhil Varma.
Digghu Nāg	Bargrān ...	Brahmaur	Nāg Pan-chmi in Hār or Sā-wan.	Parāhan Gad-dis.	Umed Singh.
Goldhri Nāg	Pālai ...	Brahmaur	...	Kāletu Gaddis	Sāhil Varma.
Indru Nāg	Sāmra ...	Kothi Rānhū	Bhādon 1st	Bhogelu Brah-mans, Rāthīs.	Mūsh Varma.
Indru Nāg	Urai ...	Kothi Rānhū	...	Tilāru Brah-mans.	Mūsh Varma.
Indru Nāg	Sunāo ...	Chanotā ...	Bhādon 1st Asāuj.	Bhat Brah-mans.	Mūsh Varma.
Indru Nāg	Lāmu ...	Chanotā ...	Bhādon 1st	Lunfelu Brah-mans.	Mūsh Varma.
Indru Nāg	Kuwārsi ...	Chanotā ...	Bhādon 1st & Asāuj 1st.	Prānghālu Gaddis, Hālis.	...
Indru Nāg	Thonklā ...	Kothi Rānhū	Do.	Jesu Brah-mans.	...

<sup>1</sup> A musical instrument like a plate of metal, which is struck with a stick.

<sup>2</sup> Sitting cross-legged in the attitude of devotion, like representations of Buddha.



Name	Village.	Pargana.	Date of Fair.	Pujáras and chelas.	Founded in the reign of
Indru Nág	Sulákhhar ...	Brahmaur	...	Kharanhtu Brahmans.	Yugákar Varma.
Kalihár or Kelang Nág.	Kugti ...	Brahmaur	...	Sassi (Daattatreya gotra) Brahmans.	New.
Kutherhu Nág.	Chobhiá ...	Brahmaur	...	Sanghrantu Brahmans.	Sáhil Varma.
Kelang Nág	Kugti ...	Brahmaur	Asauj 2nd	Sassi Brahmans.	Sáhil Varma
Kelang Nág	Kaláh ...	Trehtá ...	...	Kaláhi Gaddis	...
Kutherhu Nág.	Pálni ...	Brahmaur	Jágrá on Maghar 1st	Pálnel Gaddis	Sáhil Varma.
Latu Nág ...	Panjsai ...	Brahmaur	Bhádon 1st	Auren Gaddis	Sáhil Varma.
Mehal Nág	Ráchná ...	Lil ...	Nág Panchmī of Háṛ or Sáwan.	Bhresán Gaddis.	...
Mehal Nág	Bhániáh ...	Mahlá ...	Baisákh 1st	...	Músh Varma.
Mehal Nág	Kulwára ...	Bakán ...	Hár 10th-13th	Ráthis ...	Músh Varma.
Prohal Nág	Bhámal ...	Lil ...	...	Jhalánu Brahmans.	Músh Varma.
Punu or Indru Nág	Sutkar ...	Trehtá ...	Asauj 2nd	Padlu Brahmans.	Músh Varma.
Sandholá Nág	Gawari ...	Brahmaur	...	Barán Gaddis	Yugákar Varma.
Hamási Nág	Bagrá ...	Mahla ...	Jágrá on Bhádon 15th	Khátelu ...	Músh Varma.
Sehrá Nág	Siner ...	Sámri ...	Asáṛh 3rd	Ránás ...	Músh Varma.
Satuhar Nág	Tur ...	Basu ...	Baisákh 15th-16th.	Chhinghwána Gaddis.	Músh Varma.
Khugchar Nág.	Kundi ...	Basu ...	Baisákh 9th	Mukwán Brahmans.	Músh Varma.
Sátúhar Nág	Shikroná ...	Lil ...	Bhádon 1st	Chate Gaddis	Músh Varma.
Sátúhar Nág	Bandlá ...	Lil ...	...	Ghukán Gaddis.	Músh Varma.
Uman Nág	Kalandredibani.	Kalandrá	Daljátá in Bhádon or Asauj.	Phágas Brahman, Ráthis.	Músh Varma.

The following is a list of the Nágs in Pángi:—

Name.	Village.	Pargana.	Name.	Village.	Pargana.
Danti Nág	} Darwas ...	} Darwás.	Chanir Nág	Parnaur ...	} Sáčh.
Kasir Nág			Bamba Nág	} Shor ...	
Besir Nág ...			Kidaru Nág		
Binek Deo	Surál ...	} Kilár.	Mindhal Deví	Mindhal ...	}
Det Nág ...	Kilár ...		Mirkula Deví		
Jagesar Nág	} Sach ...		Kálka Deví	} Tindí ...	
Pror Nág ...		Sítla Deví			
Mal Nág ...	Helor ...	Mihl Nág	} Lálul.		
Jeryun Nág	Kutal ...	Arw's Nág			
Digal Pani-	Gisal ...	Niletu Nág			
hár Nág.	} Sáčh ...	Mahl Nág	Bajun ...		
Kutásan Nág		Bhani Nág	} Silgráon ...		
Biru Nág ...		Bharsi Nág			
Jatruu Nág	} Sálhi ...	Rásher Nág	Margráon ...		
Dosar Nág		Machim ...	Tunde ...		
Kurn Nág		Helu ...			
Kantu Nág	Re ...	Nisar Nág			



The legend of Det Nág at Kilár is that he was originally located in Lábul, 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 Sandhola Nág is with barley. The offerings to a Nág are an iron mace (*khandá*), a crooked iron stick (*kundá*), 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.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE NÁG CULTS IN KÁNGRA.

In Kángra where snake-worship is not uncommon Nág temples are rare, but the following is one :—

Name.	Date of fair.	Ritual.
Indrú Nág founded by a Rána of Ganiára. The idol is that of his family god.	Jeth 1st	The image of a snake is engraved on a slab. A <i>yag</i> or a <i>jagra</i> is celebrated at each harvest and the poor are fed. A <i>nagdehú</i> is also observed at each harvest, and 16 goats are sacrificed at the Rabi and 13 at Kharif, <i>sádhús</i> and <i>jaqirs</i> being entertained. The ritual of sacrifice is conducted according to the behests of the <i>chelas</i> who go into trances and manifest the gods concerned. The <i>Durga páth</i> is recited during the <i>Naurátra</i> festivals. The popular belief is that the prosperity of the harvests depends on this god whose displeasure is said to cause hail and drought.

In *thána Ránítál* is a shrine to Nág Jamwálan or 'Nág of the Jamwál tribe' (or possibly 'the people of Jammu'). At this snake-bite is cured and goats etc. are sacrificed.<sup>2</sup> Besides Shesh Nág, who supports the world on his head, there are 7 Nágs, *viz.* Takshak, Bāsuki, Bajr Danshan, Karkotak, Hemmalli, Sankhu and Kali Nág. The Nág Takolak plays an important part in the *Mahábhārata* and Vāsuki is also well known in Hindu mythology. Kali and Sankhu Nágs are found in Kulu. Vajra-damchána may be the Sanskrit form of Bajr

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II, p. 271 *infra*, for offerings to Nágs. Kailung Nág is also noticed on p. 215 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

At the *mandir* of Naga Bari in Chatroli no fair is held. The temple was founded by Rána Kalás of Núrpur some 150 years ago, but was afterwards built by Rájá Jagat Tani. He enshrined in it a stone image of a snake. It is managed by a Brahman *pujári* whose *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 *deota* Nágs<sup>2</sup> in *pargana* Kandarú.—Nág is one of the most powerful *deotas* in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three *deotas* held the part of the country which is now the Nág's dominion. These were Dadru in *pargana* Kandarú, Bathindlu in *pargana* Chadára in Keunthal, Malánshar in Madhán State (at Kiári), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhán, Keunthal and Kumbhársain had already established themselves when Nág appeared and there was a State called Koti or Rajána, apparently in Kandarú *pargana*, whose rulers belonged to the family of Sirmúr. Some people say that the Bain Thákur family of Madhán having died out, a prince of Kahlúr (Biláspur), ancestor of the present chief, was brought in to rule over Madhán soon after Nág appeared. Nág's history is that five Brahman brothers named Kálú, Gájan, Moel, Chánd and Chánan once lived at Bharána, a village now in Madhán. Kálú, the eldest, was a hermit. Once a *sádhú* came to Bharána and put his *ásan* under a *kelo* tree, cooked some food and asked Kálú to eat it with him. He gave Kálú four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the *sádhú's* invitation Kálú stayed the night with him, and at midnight saw carpets spread before the *sádhú's* *ásan*, torches lighted and *parís*, Rájá Indra's dancing girls, come and dance before the *sádhú*. Kálú watched this with amaze, but before day-break the *sádhú* and all had disappeared. Kálú returned home, but was intent on finding the *sádhú* again, as he believed him to be Rájá Bhartari himself. He climbed to the top of Tikkar hill where his brothers grazed their sheep, but they could tell him nothing and bade him return home and fetch food. When he reached home Kálú found his daughter-in-law at work, and on his asking her to give him some flour she said that she was in a hurry to milk the cows and so he returned to Tikkar empty-handed. In his disappointment and from love for the *sádhú* 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 *sádhú* Kálú flung away his clothes and everything he had on him one by one

<sup>1</sup> Kángra Gazetteer, 1904, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Deota* Nág. 'This combination,' writes Dr. Hutchison, 'must be wrong. The first name may be Diuta or some such word, but it cannot be *deota*. The Devtas and Devís are quite distinct from the Nágs. A Nág therefore cannot be called a *deota* or *devta*.'



at different places, and at last died. It is believed by the people that when he gave his brothers the stones, they and the sheep also turned into stones and that Kálú when he died became a *sareli* (a big snake).<sup>1</sup>

This *sareli* devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadára, Madhán and Kandaru—the then Koti State,<sup>2</sup> until the people begged the *deotas* 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 countryside had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath. Hartú 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 Silu brothers, Kaláls, of Kelti village, volunteered to kill the *sareli* and collected people for the enterprize. They found it sleeping in a Nálá, with its head at Kelti and its tail at Khingshá, a distance of over 5 miles. It was arranged that one of the Kaláls 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 at the serpent on every other side until it was cut to pieces. Led by the Kaláls the people acted as arranged and the monster was killed, the escort<sup>3</sup> from Hartú emerging alive from its stomach. In the monster's huge head were found two images of Múl Nág, as the *deota* had said. This image is jet black with a *singhásan* 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 Brahmans who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nág spirit spoke through them saying that he claimed the dominion of the three *deotas* and should be carried first to Kiári.<sup>4</sup> Besides others Pargi of Kelti, Moel Brahman of Bhrana, Faqir Pujára of Jadun and Sadi Rám Pujára of Dhar (Kandaru) accompanied the Nág to Kiári and asked Dhonklu Chand, Thákur of Madhán, and his brother Kela to accept this new *deota*. 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 Kharál gave him *dhúpdíp* and *ghi* and thus encouraged Nág soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed Malánshar *deota's* temple. The Thákur's Ráni was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their bed and

<sup>1</sup> *Sareli*. In Chamba the word is *sardl* with the same meaning.

<sup>2</sup> This Koti State should not be confounded with the present Koti State near Simla.

<sup>3</sup> Some say that the Hartu men were not *Bárá Bish*, i.e.  $12 + 20 = 32$ , but *Bárá Bishí*, i.e.  $12 \times 20 = 240$  men. Hartu is more commonly called Haratu or Hattu.

<sup>4</sup> Kiári was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhán State, Dharampur 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 Thākūr of Madhān was compelled to acknowledge him as his family god instead of Malānshar who fled to Pujarli where a temple was subsequently built for him. Nāg became *chaurikādeo*, i.e. god of the *gaddi* and *chaur*. Some people say that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhān was succeeded 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 ornaments, 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 *sādhu* 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 Kandarū. Dodru *deota's* temple which stood below Kamali village was destroyed by lightning. Dodru fled to Madhān and Dobra is named after him. A Thākūr of the Sirmūr family ruled Kōṭi in Kandarū, and his family god was Narotū, a *deota* which had come with him from Sirmūr. Mul, commonly called Padoi, had also accompanied this prince from Chunjar Malāna *revar* (?cave) near Mathiāna. This Thākūr 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)<sup>1</sup> 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 mysterious spirit carried him to Malag every night and at last when sitting on a plank at Tikkar he found it sticking to his back. Dismayed at the power of Nāg *deota* the Rājā's camp left Tikkar and returned to Sultānpur in Kulu, the plank still sticking to his *negi's* back. Distressed at this sight the Rājā begged Nāg to pardon his *negi*, promising 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 elings to a man the proverb goes *Kalwa Nāg re jae takhi*, "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 Thākūr of Kōṭi affected Nāg more than ever and gave him a *jāgīr* in several villages. The name of this Thākūr was Deva Singh, but whether he was the Dothainya<sup>2</sup> who came from Sirmūr or a descendant of the Sirmūr Dothainya is not known.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this word should be *deorhi*, 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.

<sup>2</sup> For Dothainya (= heir-apparent) see Vol. III, p. 11. It is the Sanskr. *Dwis-anīya* (cadet).



Deota Nág has the following *bhārs* (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 *khin* at Loli he is given a *khadu* or sheep.

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

(3) Shakta.—This *bhār* appeared from Shiwa or Shabbhog the place where the *sareli* had his tail. Some indeed say that its tail became a spirit called Shakta. He is offered a loaf by the people for protecting goats and shepherds.

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

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

(6) Than is also a *bhār*: he originated at Kíari and came with Nág when he was acknowledged by the Madhán *gaddi*. He also drives away *bhāt*, *paret* etc.

These are the six *bhārs*, 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 Ranji<sup>2</sup> of Bashahr came to Jadun and Dhār and plundered Deota Nág's treasury, some of whose images he took to Bashahr. Deota Nág punished him by his power and he found his ribs sticking out of his sides and the milk that he drank coming out through the holes. One of the Lámia 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. Bhíma Káli of Saráhan in Bashahr also gave Nág a pair of *chamba* wood *dhols* and a *karnál* together with a *káli*<sup>3</sup> shut up in one of

<sup>1</sup>No such word as *hargi* is traceable in Tika Rám's *Dicty. of Pahari Dialects*, J. A. S. B., 1911. He gives *schernu*: to purify. *Sharijherná* = *ritar karnál*.

<sup>2</sup>Ranjit *wazir* commonly called Ranji and great-grandfather of Rám Bahádur, *wazir* of Bashahr, who conquered Dodra Kowar.

<sup>3</sup>*Karnál* = 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 bidden to dwell at Rechi, the hill above Sandhu, on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, where a *chauntra* (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to 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 *lagabhaga* (?)—the kind of spirit that causes trouble.

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

(6) Deví Bajhshi 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 *parganas* 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 *dáda* or elder brother. Dhár Nág calls Jadun Nág his *bháí* or younger brother, and Bharána Nág is called by him *bahadru* or brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nág is the central spirit of the other Nágs, because it was here that Kálu became the *sareli* and his shepherd brothers with the sheep and the two loaves all turned into stones. There are two temples on the top of Tikkar.<sup>1</sup> On the following *teohárs* which are celebrated on Tikkar people collect at *melas*: (i) the Salokri in Baisákh: (ii) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nágs 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 *máils* are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to Dhár at night. The *pujáras* feast the people and next day two images (*kanarti*) go to Kamáli village to receive their dues and two

<sup>1</sup> This is the ridge which is seen from Simla to the north and from which the Sháli peak rises. The ridge stretches north-east from the Sháli and between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Madhán and Keonthal and the northern between Bhajji and Kunhirsain. The boundaries of four States meet here.



images go to Neori village for the same purpose. These two images are the Deo ká Mohrá and that of Mán Singh of Kulu: (iv) at the Nág Panchmi in Bhádon the observances resemble those at the Salokri; (v) at the Mágh or Makkar Shankránt when three goats are sacrificed, one given by Kumhársain State, one by the *zamindárs* and a third by the villagers of Loli. Deota also gives alms. One of the temples at Tikkar belongs to the Kandarú people and the other to those of Jadun and Madhán.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nág Deota at Kandi *kothi*, 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 *ukhat* and warned by this miracle they gave it some rice. At this time a *bhút* 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 *bhút*. 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.<sup>1</sup> At Neori village Dhái Nág slew a *bhút* who used to kill cattle. It lived in a stone close behind the village and a Neori woman secretly worshipped it, but Kalwa 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 eagle'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 Kunhiár State halted at Kunhiár 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 Kunhiár. The Rána asked them about their *deota* and his powers and they said that their Nág Deota could work miracles. So the old Rána 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 Kunhiár. The Rána was blessed with an

<sup>1</sup> Deo, i.e. Deota and *sthán* a place, i.e. the Deota's place,



heir, but he forgot his vow and the boy fell sick. When all hope of his life was lost, the Brahmans said that some *deota* has caused his illness as a punishment for some ingratitude. The Ráná was thus reminded of his vow and invited the Nág to Kunhiár and it is said that one man from every house in his dominions accompanied the Nág to Kunhiár; and the Ráná afraid to entertain so large an assemblage soon permitted the *deota* to return home saying that he would not invite him again as he was only a petty chief, but presented him with 11 idols to be distributed among his temples. These images are called the *kanartu mohras*.

Padoi Deota is the Nág's adoptive brother and Shari Devi of Mathiána is his adoptive sister. The *deota* Manan is also his adoptive brother, but this tie has only lately been created.

The Jadun *deota* sometimes goes to bathe at Maláwan, a stream close to Jadun village, and he considers the Shungra cave, where the Nág goes and stays at night, his *tírath* (place of pilgrimage).

Deota Nág of Dhár holds from Kumhársain a *jágir* in Kandaru *pargana* worth Rs. 76-6-3.

Dúm Deota has a small temple at Kamáli in Kandaru. A man from Gathri brought him to Kamáli. The Kamáli villagers alone accept Dúm Deota as their family god, though they respect the Nág seeing that they live in his dominions.

#### DEOTA NÁG OF DHALI IN PARGANA CHEBISHI.

Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the *zamindárs* of Dhali had broken up some land for cultivation. A *deota* there harassed them and the Brahmans said that he was a Nág, so they began to worship him and he was pleased: they then brought his image to Shailla village and built him a temple. When Padoi Deota passed through this village a leper was cured by him and the people of Shailla began to worship him, so the Nág left the village and Padoi took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhali took the Nág to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padoi is now the family god of the Shailla people and the Dhali men regard Nág as their family god. The Nág's image is jet black and a Bhagwati lives with him. A *dhol* and a *nakára* 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 Nág Panchmi day. He is only given *dhúpdíp* once a month on the Shankránt day. The Brahmans of Barog, which lies in another *pargana*, worship him, as they once lived at Khecheru near Tilku. This Nág has no *bhor* and holds no *jágir* from the State. He has no connection with Kalwa Nág, the Nág of Kandaru.

#### DEOTA NÁG OF DHANAL IN CHEBISHI.

Another Nág Deota is he at Dhanal in Chebishi *pargana*. Nearly 500 years ago he appeared in a field at Nago-thána, a place near Pati Jubar on the Shangri State border, where there was an old temple. A man of Dhanal village was ploughing his field near Nago-thána when



## Nágs in the Simla Hills.

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 *ghol* and *karndi* but no *jagunth*. No *khin* is given him. The Dhanal people regard Malendi as their family god yet they worship Nág too in their village, thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no *bhor* and holds no *jágir* from the State. The people of Kandarū think that these Nágs in Dhanal and Dhali are the same as Kalwa Nág. The spirits came here also, but the Chebishi men do not admit the fact. This Nág has really no connection with Kalwa Nág of Kandarū.

### 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 *rāj* of Sirmūr. When their ancestor came from Sirmūr they brought with them an image (probably of their family god at that time) and made a temple for him at Ghunda. Nág, another *deota* at Ghunda, also resides with this *deota* of Sirmūr. This *deota* is called Shirgul. The history of Deota Nág is as follows :—

Many generations ago there lived in village Charoli (Kot Khái) a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Naga Nali forest in Kumhársain and loved to play in a *maidán* near Kothi (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 *faqir* in Kothi village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the *maidán* at noon tide, and cut the serpent into three pieces, but was burnt alive whilst killing it. Some days later a woman who was digging clay found images into which the three pieces of the serpent had turned. One of these images was brought by Brahmans to Ghunda village, another was taken to Bági (a village in Chajoli, in Kumhársain) and the third was taken by the Brahmans of Bhamrara, a village in Ubdesh *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 *battipaja mela* is held, but no annual fair is held. The people of Ghunda, Charhayayna, Kotla, Kothi and Katali, especially the Kolis, worship him. Nág Deota has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-6 a year from Kumhársain.

### SHARVAN AND CHATHLA NÁGS.

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

A woman named Bhuri of Machroti, a village in the Kot Khái *ilāqa*, 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 Máhon in Kumbharsain and was killed. She is worshipped there to this day. The snake afterwards settled in a ravine in Kothi, a village in Kumbharsain, and lived on the milk of the cows which came there to drink. When the *samindárs* of Kothi saw how their milk went, they cut the snake in three pieces with a sword. One piece fell in Chathla village, where it was at once changed into an image, another fell in Ghunda, in Kumbharsain, 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 Sutlej, as a hint that they were no longer satisfied with his rule. Some days later however one of his images was washed up on the river's bank and there a villager from Farog found it on his return from a trip to Kulu. Thinking he had only found an ornament, he passed through a hamlet where a *jag* 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, pre occupied 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 Ránás of Kot Khái by a similar feat. One of them was attacked by the ruler of Kulu who besieged him in his fort. In this desperate strait he sent for the priests of all the neighbouring gods and pledged himself to serve him whose priest could eat two loaves, each containing half a maund of barley flour. Goli Nág's Brahman at once passed the test and him the Ráná sent to plead his cause with the Nág. In answer to his prayers a great thunder cloud fell on the Kulu Rájá's camp and a flash of lightning blew up his magazine. As his men fled the Nág pursued them with thunderbolts and drowned many by rain spouts or the swollen torrents which overwhelmed them. So Kot Khái fort still stands on its isolated rock, a monument to Goli Nág's power. But the late adherence of these two states to his cult gives his first worshippers precedence over them and so when he 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 palinquin 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.<sup>1</sup>

#### 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *lámás* say when a snake is killed the world of serpents is plunged in mourning for the next 8 days, and none will taste of food. As a punishment the spring disappeared, but to this day grass grows in the corner of the cattle-shed. The three other snakes escaped unhurt. One crossed the pass to Pekían where it became warder of the god Chasrálu. The second made its way to a neighbouring village of which it became the god, but the third elected to remain at Brua. The girl picked up the remnants of the fourth and cast them down a precipice where they reunited. This Nág, now of fabulous dimensions, climbed up the slopes behind the village until it reached a plateau where it made for itself a lake in which it now dwells. To this lake the local deities are sometimes carried and then the Nág reveals his god-head by entering into one of the god's diviners who becomes as if possessed. The Nág of Pekían is a mere lieutenant of Mahásu, and not long ago the people of a hamlet close to Brua took their god to pay him a ceremonial visit. Having exchanged greetings the visitor returned across the pass in the great central chain of the Himalayas which separates Kanaur from the territory in which Mahásu's cult predominates. After his return this god's diviner manifested all the symptoms of divine afflatus, and declared himself to be possessed by Mahásu who had returned with the party and demanded a welcome and a shrine. This incident is paralleled in the hills by the popular belief that a powerful deity can accompany his female votaries to their married homes, and the adhesion of a god to a brother deity appears to be a mere variation of this belief. Indeed so frequently does it occur that a god attaches himself as it were to the party which carries a brother deity back from a place of pilgrimage that this habit has led to certain pilgrimages being discontinued. In the midst of the lofty peaks which border on Garhwál and Tibet is a sacred sheet of water that has given birth to many gods, and during the summer months it used to be a place of pilgrimage for them. The votaries of any snake gods that had emanated from the lake used to visit it and bathe their deity therein. But on several occasions it happened that when the pilgrims returned to their own villages they found that the strange divinity had become incarnate in the person of the temple oracle who invariably insisted that an alien spirit from the lake had attached himself to his companion. As the intrusion of a new divinity in a village involves the erection of a new shrine to house him and heavy expense upon the villagers, there is considerable reluctance now to take gods to this lake for bathing as of yore. To this rule however the men of Sangla, a large village in the Baspa valley, are an exception, for they still take their deity every 3rd or 4th year to his native lake and the visit invariably results in the supernatural seizure of his diviner. Indeed the people are now so used to this visitation that they halt half-way on their return and there after the diviner has ascertained the nature and needs of their self-invited guest they propitiate him with sacrifices and then beg him courteously but firmly to return whence he came. This lack of hospitality is justified, for the temple is already endowed with



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 Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place and so the people of Kanaur, in a vain attempt to check the progress of that god, are only too likely to ostracize the only community which acknowledges him within their borders. This ostracism may take the form of refusing to take wives from the villages in which the new god has been installed. But the difficulties of limiting the jurisdiction of an enterprising deity are increased by yet another method. Since an article once dedicated to a god's service remains his property for ever, it follows that if a sacred vessel be removed by theft or ignorance to another village the god goes with it and once having gained a footing in it he soon discovers a means of making it his permanent abode. (Condensed from the *Pioneer* of June 12th, 1913).

#### THE NÁGS IN KULU.

In the Saráj or highlands of Kulu we find Chamaun Nág worshipped at Bhunga. Once, it is said, a Brahman went to bathe in a hill-stream. As he bathed a huge snake came towards him, raised its head and declared itself to be Ses Nág, promising happiness and prosperity to any who might worship it. Its temple was built in the *dwápar yuga* and contains an idol of stone  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in breadth. Its manager is a Kanet of the Káshel gót, but its *pujári* is a Gautama Sársut Brahman. This Nág seems distinct from Chamaun.

Badi Nágan has a *mandir* with a Sársut Brahman *pujári*. It was built in the *treta yuga*. Once a shepherd went forth to graze his sheep and found a large tank whose existence he had never before heard of. It was revealed to him in a vision that the Nágan had come from *Patál* and that the folk should worship her.

At Balugohar is a temple to Balú Nág and the following is the legend of its foundation:—Once a Brahman of Chatarká went to Mandi to buy salt and on his road he found a child but four months old, who bade him follow it. The Brahman took it up and travelling all night reached Balú forest. There the child bade him dig and he did so, finding a black stone image in the sand or *bálu*. Then the child disappeared, but in the morning a Kumhár came to graze his sheep in the forest and to him the Brahman told his tale. In a trance the Kumhár declared that he was himself the Nág, but the Brahman declared that he could not believe him unless the Nág bestowed a son upon him. The temple, founded in the *dwápar yuga* contains the black *pindi* or idol dug up by the Brahman and is ministered to by a Sársut Brahman of the Gautama gót. The appearance of the Kumhár (Shiva) points to a Shiva origin of the cult or an attempt to affiliate it to Shiva teaching.



Kirtná Nág has a *mandir* at Shiuli. He is called after the name of the village of Kirthá which had a tank to which thirsty kine used to resort, but in it lived a snake which used to suck the cows dry. When the owner went to kill it, it declared it was a Nág and should be worshipped in order to earn blessings for the people. The people pay more respect to its *chela* or *gur* than they do its Brahman *pujári*.

Járu, the deaf Nág of Pháti 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 Nágs, and bringing them home kept them in a basket. One day when she was sent out with food for the labourers in the fields, she warned her mother not to touch the basket, but when she had gone her mother's curiosity overcame her and she opened it, only to find the nine Nágs which in her fright she caste into the fire. All escaped unhurt, save one whose ear was burnt so that it became deaf. The injured Nág fled first to Tárápúr and thence to Khargha where a Ráná'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 trances he gives oracles. Two fairs are held annually on the *púranmáshi* and *navrátras* in Chet. The former is held at Khirgá and the latter at Deohri Dhár. At these 14 he-goats are sacrificed and visitors are fed free. Another fair, held on the 10th and 11th of Jeth, is frequented mostly by people from the surrounding States.

Sharshái, 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 *trita yuga*. The idol is 2½ feet high and masks of gold and silver adorn its chariot. The temple walls are painted with pictures. Its *pujári* is a Bhárdwáj Brahman and only a Brahman is allowed to worship the god, whose *gur* answers all questions put to the Nágs and is more respected than the *pujári* himself.

Danwi Nág of Danw, a village in Manjhadesh *pháti*, Kothi Naráingarh, is a brother of Sarshái 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 Ráníkot, was told in a vision that she would be blessed with a son if she built a temple to the Nág at the corner of a tank called 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 Pándava race. So the Thákur



built a temple in which the Nág appeared of his own accord in the form of a *pindi* of stone which still stands in it. This occurred in the *dwápur yuga*. The *pujári* is a Sársut Brahman.<sup>1</sup>

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

Chamaun Nág has a temple at Kaliwán Deora. The story goes that once a *thákur*, named Dablá, was a votary of Hansnú. He went to bathe at that place of pilgrimage, and while bathing he saw an image emerge from the water. It directed him that it should be installed at the place inhabited only by Brahmans and blessed by the presence of *kelo* trees. Accordingly it was brought to Kaliwán where a temple was built. Religious importance also attaches to the water from which the image emerged. The date of foundation is not known. The temple contains the stone *pindi* of the god. Its affairs are managed by a *kárdár*, by caste a Kanet. The *pujári* is a Gaur

<sup>1</sup> The following are the dates of the fairs of the Nág *deotas* in Saráj not given in the text :—

Chamaun Nág	...	Annual fairs are held in Chet, during the <i>navrátras</i> in Baisákh on the <i>báispája</i> in Hár, on the <i>nág panchmi</i> in Bhádon, and in Mágh and Phágan. The practice is to choose auspicious days for the fairs.
Badi Nágan	...	A fair is held annually on 7th Baisákh and 15th Jeth.
Baltú Nág	...	The fairs are held on 20th Baisákh and on the <i>púranmáshi</i> in Bhádon every year.
Kirtha Nág	...	One fair lasts from 15th Poh to 2nd Mágh, another is held on 1st Phágan and the third on 20th Sáwan. These fairs are held annually.
Sharshái Nág	..	The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 3rd Asauj and at the Dewáli.
Paneo Nág	...	The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 12th Asauj and on 10th Maghar.
Kui Kandha Nág	...	The fairs are held annually on the <i>sanbránts</i> of Jeth and Bhádon at the Diwáli.
Shaukhú Nág	...	The two fairs are held, one on 1st Bhádon and the other on 1st Phágan.
Takrasi Nág	...	The annual fairs are held on 1st Jeth, 10th and 12th Sáwan and on 1st Poh.

<sup>2</sup> Temples of Kui Kandha Nág are at :—

Tandi (in Plehi *pháti*), Natanda in Phati Lot, Himri, and Rama below Katehi, and Plehi Dhár in Plehi *pháti* : as well as at Shiogi in Plehi *pháti*, at Shagogi, Kotadhar, Srigarh, Madherh, in Siungul *pháti*; and at Kui Kandha in Himri—Common to two *kofhis*.

<sup>3</sup> Sriwálsar is in Jalauri *kofhi* and there is no temple there : Kui Kandha Nág used to go there, but does not now do so.



Brahman of the Bhardawáj *gôt*. They are not celibate. A *bhog* of milk, rice &c. is offered every morning. A Brahm<sup>b</sup>hog or free distribution of food is also held in Baisákh. No other shrine is connected with this one. The annual fairs are held on 8th Baisákh, 1st Hār and on an auspicious day in Sawan.

Shankhú Nág or the Nág of the conch has temples at Keoli Ban, Rahwáli and Rapá. Once a *sádhú*, 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 *sádhú* that he should be worshipped as a Nág. 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 *pindi* only one foot high.

The Nág Takrasi of Takrasi cursed a Thákur, so that he died. The Thákur'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 Thákur 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.

Chatrī Nág was originally worshipped by the Thákur Sadhu of Shudá who heard a strange cry coming from a forest and going into it found a stone image which he brought home to worship. Its *pujári* is a Kanet.

#### SNAKE-WORSHIP IN KULU.

In Batáhar village, Kothí Nagar, there is a snake deity called Bású Nág (*basná*=to dwell). The story is that the *deota* Bású Nág had a wife Nágani, who, when near her delivery, took refuge in an unbaked earthen vessel. A Kumbhár came and lighted a fire underneath it, whereupon seven young ones were born, who ran all over the country. Nágani then became a woman with the tail of a snake. The seven sons were (1) Shirgan Nág or Sargun, who came out first (? head foremost, from *sir*, head), and went to Jagatsukh, as did (2) Phál Nág, who lives now near the Phál Nálá; (3) Gosháli Nág, lives at Goshál, he is also called *andhá* or blind because he lost an eye in the fire, his other name is Gautam-Rikhi; (4) Káli Nág, who got blackened, went to Raison Kothí; and (5) Piúli (Píli) Nág, the 'yellow' snake,<sup>1</sup> was the smallest of all, and went to a village near Batáhar; (6) Sogu Nág went to the Sagu Khol, a precipice near Ralha; and (7) Dhunbal Nág (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 Gosháli Nág is also called *andhá*, the latter name seems little used now. The proverb in Kulu runs: *Athára Nág, athára Nárain*, so that there are in theory ten other snake temples in Kulu. Bású Nág's temple is at Narain-di-dera, which looks as if Nág were only another name for Narain. On the other hand Sir James Lyall described Káli Nág as leaving a standing feud with Nárain, with whose sister the Nág ran away in olden days. So whenever a fair is held in honour of Káli Nág the enemies fight on the mountain top and the ridge on the right bank of the Beás and the *deodar* grove at Aramag in the Sarwari valley are found strewn with their iron arrows.

<sup>1</sup> Pingala, the yellow one, was another name for Nakula, the mongoose, the favourite son of Kubera by Hárítí. A. Q. R., 1912, p. 147.



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

Bāsiki Nāg had a brother, Turu Nāg, who has a cave upon a high hill. Like his brother this Nāg gives rain and prevents lightning. He also gives oracles as to rain, and when rain is about to fail water flows from his cave.

Other<sup>1</sup> Nāgs in Kulū are Kāli Nāg Shirar, Bhalogu, Phahal, Ramnūn, and Shukli. Another Nāg is Bhalogu Nāg at Dera Bhalogi Bhal. In Jalse Jalsū Nāg is worshipped with Jamlū on the 2nd and 3rd of Sāwan.

In Suket Māha Nāg, the 'bee' Nāg, got his name by resuming Rājā Sham Singh in the form of a bee: *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 11. Other Nāgs in Mandi are Kumaru whose stone idol at Nāchan goes back to Paṇḍva times. It is said to avert epidemics. Barnāg is important in Saner: *Mandi Gao*, p. 40.

The Nāg generally appears to be conceived of as a harmless snake, as distinguished from the *sāmp* or poisonous one, in the Punjab hills, where every householder is said to have a Nāg's image which he worships in his house. It is given charge of his homestead and held responsible that no poisonous snake enter it. No image of any such snake is ever made for worship.<sup>2</sup>

#### NĀGS IN GILGIT.

Traces of Nāg-worship exist in Gilgit in the Nagis. One of these goddesses was Nagi Suchemi who had at Nangan in Astor a stone altar at the fort of Nāgishi hill. A person accused of theft could take an oath of compurgation here. The ritual had some curious features. For instance, the men who attended it returned home by night and were not allowed to appear 'in daylight' before others of the village under penalty of making good the loss. The case awaited the Nagi's decision 'for some days' and if during that period the suspect incurred a loss of

<sup>1</sup> The following are the dates of the fairs held at the temples of some of these Nāgs:—

Bāsū Nāg	...	Nine days on the <i>ikādshi</i> of Phāgan, one day on the 1st Chet, four days on the new year's Baisākh, one day in Asauj.
Phahal Nāg at Bharka Dera	...	10th of the lunar month of Baisākh.
Kāli Nāg at Dera Kal Nāg	...	1st to 14th Asauj and Maghar, and on the 3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Sāwan and Bhādon.
Kāli Nāg at Matiora in K. Har Khāndi...	4th Baisākh, besides a <i>yag</i> on 5th Bhādon	
Kāli Nāg Shirar at Kat Kali Nāg	...	(1) 1st of <i>naurāta</i> in the light half of Chet, (2) light half of Jeth, (3) a <i>yag</i> (Narmedh) is performed every third year in the light half of Sāwan, (4) 1st of Māgh, (5) 1st of Phāgan, (6) 1st of Chet.
Piūli Nāg at Batāhar Dera in K. Nagar...	1st of Phāgan, 1st day of Phāgan and 1st of Chet, four days in the light half of Chet at the beginning of the new year.	
Sargun Nāg	...	31st Bhādon to 2nd Asauj.
Ramnūn Nāg at Kehli Aga	...	1st to 3rd Chet, 31st Sāwan to 3rd Bhādon and 1st to 3rd Asauj.
Shukli Nāg at Nandla Dera	...	1st to 3rd Asauj and for two days from full moon day of Maghar.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 477.



any kind he was adjudged guilty.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> Legend connected it with a saint Sákya who married the dragon or Nág's daughter and founded an ex-royal house of Udyána.<sup>4</sup>

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

#### 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 Ibbetson<sup>6</sup> wrote as Gúga Pír, also called Záhir Pír the 'Saint Apparent,' or Bágariwála, he of the Bágari, from the fact that his grave is near Dadrewa in Bíkáner, and that he is said to have ruled over the northern part of the Bágari or great prairies of Northern Rájputána. He flourished about the middle of the 12th century. He is really a Hindu, and his proper name is Gúga Bír or Gúga the Hero (*cf. vir* Latin). But Musalmáns also flock to his shrine, and his name has been altered to Gúga Pír or Saint Gúga, while he himself has become a Muhammadan in the opinion of the people. He is to the Hindus of the Eastern Punjab the greatest of the snake kings, having been found in the cradle sucking a live cobra's head; and his *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 Hissár he appears to be also worshipped, at Karangánwáli and Kagdána, 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 Bágari, has now been adopted by the Játis, and Brahmans and the *pujáris* at these two temples belong to those castes respectively

<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Muhammad, *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*, Asiatic Society of Bengal's Monographs, I, p. 103. The account is a little vague, Sochemi or Sochemi may derive her name from *such*, 'true', or 'truth disclosing.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Harold Deane, *Notes on Udyána*, I. L. A. S., 1886, p. 661; the Saidgai is probably meant.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Auriel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 13.

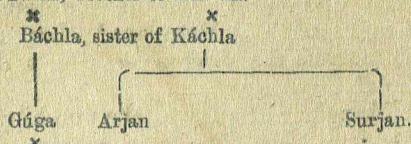
<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, § 226.



## 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.



Suril or Seral, daughter of Singha, Rájá of Káranrúp (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 Sárád or Saraswatí this play opens with a dialogue between Jewar and his queen Báchhal, who lament that they have no children. Their family priest, Pandit 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, Hira Deí, hears that it is due to the arrival of Gorakhnáth from the door-keeper, and takes Báchhal to visit the saint.

The plot here is obscure. Báchhal begs the saint to vouchsafe her a son, but he makes no promise, and the scene changes abruptly. Káchhal, who is undoubtedly Báchhal's sister, enters and conspires with her slave-girl to visit the saint too. But when she goes to Gorakhnáth, he detects her evil heart, and refuses her request for a son.

According to the published text Káchhal, however, persists in her prayer, to which the saint assents, but I take it that Báchhal is meant—on page 136 of the text. However this may be, Báchhal again comes to the saint (see page 137) and he appears to tell her that she is not destined to have a son. But all this part (up to page 138) is very obscure, and only intelligible in the light of other versions. To resume—

Káchhal appears on the scene, and is promised two sons, which she will bear if she eat two seeds, according to the ordinary version, but in this text (page 139) the saint merely gives her two flowers.

Again the scene changes so abruptly as to suggest that the text is very incomplete, and Báchhal appears and receives a promise that she



too shall have a son, but the saint curses Káchhal for her deceit, and declares that she shall die at the birth of her twins, and that they shall only live 12 years. Káchhal now appears on the scene no more, and it may be convenient to pause here and note what other versions say about her.

Sir Richard Temple's text assumes that Káchhal is Báchhal's co-wife, and this appears to be by far the commonest version. But in another account I find Káchhal represented as the wife of Newar, brother of Jewar. This idea I believe to be a late addition to the story, but that is a point for further discussion.

Káchhal's conduct is much more lucidly set forth in other versions. According to them she learns that the saint has given Báchhal an appointment for the evening, at midnight one at least says, and she manages to borrow her sister's clothes, on some pretext not explained, and personates her before the saint, receiving his gift of the twins. Various other details are added, as that Báchhal serves the saint for six months before she can induce him to promise her a son, and so on.

To return now to our published text. We find (page 143) that Jewar's sister, Sabír Deí, by name, makes mischief. She poisons Jewar's mind against his wife, and eventually he sends her away to her father's house at Ghazní.<sup>1</sup> On the road the cart, in which Báchhal is riding, is halted for the midday rest, and the oxen are taken out, whereupon a snake bites them both and they die. This introduces snakes into the drama.

Gúga now makes himself heard, and his power over snakes felt, though he has yet to be born. Báchhal weeping at the loss of the oxen falls asleep, and in a dream Gúga directs her to cut a branch from a *ním* tree, and calling on Gorakhnáth to heal the oxen. On awaking Báchhal does so, prays to Gorakhnáth, repeats the charms for the 8 kinds of snakes and sings the praises of the charmer. The oxen are forthwith cured and come to life again.

In our present text Báchhal goes on to Gajní Fort, as Ghazní is called on page 155, and falls into her mother's arms. She tells her all her story, and adds the curious detail that though 12 months have elapsed, Gúga is not yet born. Gúga again speaks, and protests that he will be for ever disgraced if he is born in his maternal grandfather's house, an idea which is quite new to me. In the Punjab it is the rule, at least in certain parts, for a wife to go to her parents' home for her first confinement.<sup>2</sup> He implores them to show his father some great miracle in order that he may take back his mother.

<sup>1</sup> Gájni or Gájnipur, the ancient name of Ráwalpindi, may be indicated; not Ghazni—which was then Muhannadan.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hutchison notes:—"The explanation probably is that from ancient times till quite recently no Rájpút maiden 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 Mahārāja of Kashmir. Even at the wedding in November 1915 the Mahārāja 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 *wazír* advises him to depute him to fetch her back. The *wazír* sets out to Gajní, where he is met by the king Chandarbhan, 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 Daréra later on in the poem, Gúga is at last born at midnight on the 8th-9th of Bhádon. Pandit Rangachár 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 Bágár rejoiced. Rájá Jewar bids his *wazír* 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.<sup>1</sup> Weeping, she curses Gúga, and his children, but Báchhal endeavours to atone for the insult. Why the insult was such an inexpressible 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 Siriál as she is more usually called. This priest, Gunman 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 Tátig Nág to see who it is.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Rasálá, who first breaks the pitchers of the women of the city with stones. They complain to Sáliváhan 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 unumitted by his owner pouring over his head a pot of water, with grain and flowers, and the custom of pouring out water was observed in all ceremonies accompanying the transfer of property; for instance it took place when land was sold, and when a father handed over his daughter to her husband. Witnesses too were examined before a fire and a jar of water. See Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, pp. 128 and 126. We find the custom again in the Dúm legend—see *infra*—current in the Simla Hills.





Gúga informs Tátig Nág that he is the grandson of Rájá Amar, and that his village is Gard Daréra: he adds his name of Gúga was given him by Gorakhnáth, but says nothing about its popular form *gúgal*, bdellium, a plant commonly used for incense. He tells, however, of the broken betrothal, and Básak places Tátig Nág's services at his disposal.

Gúga accordingly sends Tátig Nág to Dhúpnagar, a place across 7 rivers, where Siriál, as she is now called, lives in the country of Kárú, 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 asks the *panhári* (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 Islám. Now Háji Rattan was a Muhammadan of Bhatinda, but the Earth is made to direct Gúga to Ajmer. Thither Gúga goes, meets the Háji and Khwája Khizr, 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 so newhat



*The Bijnor version.*

mixed. It plunges *in medias res*, commencing with a fuller and very interesting account of the quarrel between Gúga and his twin cousins.

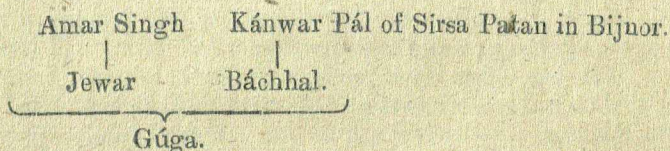
In the first place, we notice that Báchhal has adopted Arjan and Surjan, who ask :—‘Are we to call thee Mother or Aunt? Thou art our *dharm kī mán*, i. e. adoptive mother.’<sup>1</sup> Do the cousins base their claim to a moiety of the property on this adoptive relationship? I think the answer must be ‘yes.’ Báchhal urges Gúga to make them his land-brothers,<sup>2</sup> but describes them as her sister’s sons. Gúga retorts that they are not the sons of his father’s brother, a statement which is quite irreconcilable with the idea that they are the sons of Newar, Jewar’s brother, alluded to above. It seems clear that for some reason or other the twins are of doubtful or extraneous paternity.

The twins, however, are bent on enforcing their claim, and they set out for Delhi. In response to their appeal, the emperor Firoz Sháh takes a large force to reduce his contumacious feudatory to obedience. Gúga, taunted by Siríál, goes forth to fight, with all the ceremony of a Rájput warrior. But, interesting as this passage is, we need not dwell upon it, as it does not affect the development of the plot. After a Homeric combat, Gúga slays the sons of his mother’s sister, defeats Firoz Sháh, and returns to his palace. There Báchhal meets him and demands news of the twins. Gúga says he has no news, but eventually shows her their heads tied to his horse’s saddle, whereupon she bids him show his face no more.

A third version is current in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces, and was published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

THE BIJNOR VERSION.

Under Prithví Rájá, Chauhán, of Delhi, there ruled in Márú-désa, now called the Bágar, a king named Nár Singh or Már Singh (called Amar Singh further on), whose family stood thus :



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

<sup>1</sup> Yet, we are assured, the phrase *dharm báp* is never used for adoptive father.

<sup>2</sup> For the *bhúm bhái* or earth brother in Karnál see *infra*, under fictitious kinship. A stranger might be adopted as a *bhúm bhái*, but by so doing he lost all rights in his natural family—Karnál *Gazetteer*, 1890, p. 138. The story points to a conflict between the agnatic and cognatic principles.



Gorakh has her beaten, but Kání Pawá protests, and induces Gorakh to go to Bhagwán, who says that Báchhal is not destined to bear a son. Gorakh replies that he is well aware of that, and that is just why he has come. So Bhagwán rubs some of the dirt out of his head, and Báchhal divides it into four parts, giving one to a Brahmaní, one to a sweeper's wife, a third to a gray mare, and keeping the fourth for herself. All four females, hitherto barren, now become fruitful.<sup>1</sup>

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 Jewar's capital, Gúga makes Rájá Vásúki acknowledge his power by performing *kandúrí*, a form of worship to Fátima.<sup>2</sup> Finally in due course, Gúga is born as Záhir Pír, simultaneously with Nara Sínga Pánre to the Brahmaní, Patiýá Chamár to the sweepress, 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 Bhádon *badi*. 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 Jewar is dead, and so Gúga falls back on Gorakh, who calls him 'Kání Pawá's brother, Záhir Pír,' 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 Pirthví Rájá, and he sends an army to help them, but Gúga kills Surjan with an arrow, *whereupon 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 Sáwan, 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.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This scene vividly recalls the piece of Græco-Buddhist sculpture in the Lahore Museum which formed the subject of Dr. Vogel's paper in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, I, pp. 135-40. 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*.

<sup>2</sup> In which males have no part.

<sup>3</sup> If the steed was Bachrá, he was in a sense Gúga's (half) brother, so by 'thy brother' Gúga means himself.



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 Záhír Díwán bethinks him of Gorakh, and descends below the earth, at *Záhír Díwán ke nánú ká ujará khérá*, "the deserted mound of the maternal grandfather of Záhír Díwán," which lies 9 *kós* from Núr and 27 from Hissár.

THE RÁJPÚTÁNA VERSION.

According to Tòd<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Bágár in Bíkánér.

↓  
 Jhewar × Báchhal.

↓  
 Ugdí-Gúga, who was born at Dadréra, in Bíkánér, 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 Bíkánér. 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 Dadrera fairs are held on Bhádon 8th-9th. Gúga was faithful to his wife for 12 years, and visited her nightly, until his mother caught him and upbraided him for lack of filial affection!

A VARIANT FROM THE NÁBHA STATE.

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

<sup>1</sup> Rájasthan, II, 413. For further data from Tod see p. 16 *post*.

<sup>2</sup> A day held sacred to the *manes* of Gúga throughout Rájputána, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gúga-ka-thal.



Chauhán 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 *bhabát* (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 Brahman 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 Muhi'ud-dín, Ratn Hájí and Míran Sáhíb, 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 *badi* 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 GURGAON.

At Darúherá in the Hissár District lived Jewar, a Chauhán Rájpút of the middle class.<sup>2</sup> He and Báchla his wife had to lament that they had no son, and for 12 long years Báchla served Sada Nand, a disciple of Gorakhnáth, without reward. Then Sada Nand left the village and Gorakhnáth himself came there, whereon Jewar's garden,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Longworth Dames suggests that the prevalence of burial among the Bishnois who are found in the very tract, the Bágár, referred to in the legends of Gúga, must be connected with the legend.

<sup>2</sup> Other accounts make Jewar a king who ruled at Dardhera. A few miles distant from his capital lay the Dhaulí Dhartí or 'grey land,' 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. Bāchla hearing of this miracle went to visit the Jogī who seeing a woman coming closed his eyes and remained silent. Sada Nand, however, was in his train and told her of his Gurū's power. At last Bāchla contrived to touch the bell which hung in his tent rope, whereupon the Jogī opened his eyes and asked why she had waited upon him. In reply to her petition he declared that she was not destined to have a son. Despite her disappointment Bāchla served him for 12 full years.

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

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

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

At midnight<sup>1</sup> 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, *thāp*, 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 *Ūr* and Kaila

<sup>1</sup> On Tuesday, the 9th of Bhādon, in Sambat 563, Vikramajit, in the reign of Rai Pithōra.



*bir*<sup>1</sup> assisted him. Another version is that the twins attempted to trick Rájá Sindha into giving Seral to them instead of to Gúga. One day on his return from hunting he saw Narú, the wife of his *parohit*, drawing water from a well, and, as he was thirsty, he bade her give him some to drink. Thinking he spoke in jest she was going away without doing so, when he shot an arrow at her pitcher, which was broken and all her clothes drenched with the water.

Eager to revenge this insult the *parohit* demanded a whole village as his fee for services at Gúga's wedding. This Gúga refused, as he had already given the Brahman 101 cows, and on his persisting in the demand Gúga struck him with his wooden shoes. Thereupon the Brahman went to Gúga's cousins and urged them to demand a partition of the joint estate. Gúga told them they could have full enjoyment of the whole property, but at a sign from the Brahman they persisted in their demand for its division. Gúga accordingly bade Nársingh *bir*, his familiar, seize the twins and re-cast them into prison, but at his mother's intercession they were released.<sup>2</sup> Instigated, however, by the Brahman they went to lay their suit before Pirthí Ráj, king of Delhi, and he deputed his officer, Ganga Rám, to effect the partition. But Gúga having had Ganga Rám beaten and his face blackened turned him out of the city.

This brought Pirthí Ráj on to the scene with an army, but when he bade the *parohit* summon Gúga that mischief-maker advised the king to seize Gúga's cows and detain them till nightfall. Seeing that his kine did not return at evening Gúga mounted his horse and attacked the king. His forces comprised the men of 22 neighbouring villages together with Gorakhnáth's invisible array. Presenting himself before the king Gúga offered to surrender all he had, if any one could pull his spear out of the ground. No champion, however, accepted this challenge, and so the battle began. Gúga smote off both his cousins' heads and tied them to his saddle. He then drove the defeated king's army into Hissár town, and though the gates were closed against him he forced a way in, whereupon the king submitted and sued for pardon.

On his return home Báchla asked which side had won, but Gúga, parched with thirst, only replied by casting his cousins' heads at her feet. At this sight Báchla bade him not show her his face again. In his distress Gúga stood beneath a *champa* tree and prayed the Earth to swallow him up, but it bade him learn *yog* of Ratn Náth,<sup>3</sup> Jogí at Bhatinda, or else accept the *kalima*. On the way thither he met Gorakhnáth who taught him *yog*, and in the Dhaulí Dhartí the earth then answered his prayer, engulfing him with his horse and arms, on the 14th *badi* of Asauj.

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

<sup>1</sup> Two of the 360 disciples who accompanied Gorakhnáth.

<sup>2</sup> According to one account Káchla, their own mother, is said to have died, whereupon Báchla adopted them both as her own sons.

<sup>3</sup> Bábi Ratn Hájí Sábib of Bhatinda, more correctly called Hájí Abul Razá Ratn Tabrindí or Tabarhindí.



spear. Next morning she told her old nurse, Sandal, of the dream and was advised by her to pass the rest of her life in devotion. As a reward her prayers were heard and the Almighty bade Gúga visit his wife every night at midnight. Gúga obeyed, but stipulated that his mother should not hear of his visits. Once, however, at the *ti* festival in Sáwan all the women, dressed in their finest clothes, went to Báchla to ask her to permit Gúga's wife join in the festivities, and Báchla sent a maid to call her. She came, putting off all her ornaments, &c.—which she was wearing in anticipation of Gúga's visit,—but the girl told Báchla what she had seen. Báchla, suspecting her daughter-in-law's fidelity to Gúga's memory, urged her to tell her all, and when she refused to reveal the truth, beat her. Under the lash she disclosed Gúga's visits; but still Báchla was incredulous and exacted a promise that she should herself see Gúga. Next night Gúga came as usual, and Báchla ran to seize his horse's bridle, but Gúga cast his mantle on the ground and bade her pick it up. As she stooped to do so, he put spurs to his horse, reminding her of her own command that he should show his face to her no more, and disappeared.

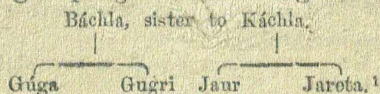
Thus ends the legend of Gúga. It is added that when Muhammad of Ghor reached Darúhera on his way to Delhi, the drums of his army ceased to sound. And hearing the tale of Gúga the invader vowed to raise a temple to him on the spot if he returned victorious. Accordingly the present *móri* at Darúhera was 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 Gúga that he shall see his mother's face no more must, I think, be based upon some much stronger feeling than mere etiquette.

#### GÚGA IN KULU.

Gúga was killed by the *dains*. He will re-appear in the fold of a cow-herd, who is warned that the cattle will be frightened at his re-appearance, and that he must not use his mace of 20 maunds. When he appears, however, the cattle are terrified and the cow-herd knocks him on the head with his mace. Hence Gúga only emerges half-way from the earth. His upper half is called Záhir Pír and his lower Lakhdáta. The former is worshipped by Muhammadans and the latter by Hindus.

Gúga's pedigree in Kulu is given thus :—



<sup>1</sup> Doubtless a diminutive of Jaur.



The two brothers looted a cow, called Gogo, which belonged to Brahma and this led to their fight with Gúga. In Gúga's temple (*makán*) at Sultánpur which belongs to Chamárs Gúga and his *wazír* Tribal are mounted on horses and Gogri on a mare while Nar Singh, Kaila Bír and Gorakhnáth are on foot.

#### THE CULT OF MUNDLÍKH.

The deified hero of the Mundlíkh cult in Chamba is doubtless the valiant Rájput champion, Gúga. Chauhán<sup>1</sup> who lived at Garh Dandera, near Bindrabán, in the time of Pirthví Ráj, the last Hindu King of Delhi, A. D. 1170—93. Gúga is said to have fought many battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last his head was severed from his body, hence the name *Mundlíkh* from *munda* head, and *líkh* 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. Mundlíkh's death is supposed to have taken place on the ninth day of the dark half of the moon in Bhádon, and from that date for eight days his *shráda*, called Guggnaih, is yearly observed at his shrines. He is represented by a stone figure of a man on horseback, accompanied by similar figures of his sister Guggari, a deified heroine, his *wazír*, Kailu, and others. The rites of worship are much the same as at Devi temples.

Mundlíkh has a *mandar* at Garh in *pargana* Tisa, another at Palewar in Sahu, and Gugga Mundlíkh-Siddha has one at Shálu in Hingari. The temples are of wood and stone.

The images are of stone, but vary in size and number, that at Garh being about a foot high, and that of Palewar containing four idols mounted on horseback, while at Shálu, Gugga Mundlíkh is represented by the statue of a body of twelve. There are no incumbents at Garh, but at Palewar the *chela* and *pújára* are weavers, in whose families the offices are hereditary. Gúga's *chela* and *pújára* are Chamárs, and their offices are also hereditary. The Mundlíkh of Garh goes on tour for eight days after the Janam Ashtami in Bhádon. He of Palewar goes on tour for three days after, and Gúga's chain and umbrella (*chhatar*) are paraded through the villages for the eight days after the Janam Ashtami.

Rána Mundlíkh, otherwise called Gúga Chauhán, was a Rájput Chief whose kingdom called Garh Dadner is said to have been near Bindrabán. 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

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. xiv, pp. 81-84, and xvii, p. 159. Jaya Chandra, the last Rájá of Kanauj, was also called Mundlíkh by the Chauhán bards. He fell in battle with the Muhammadans, A. D. 1194. *Vide* also Kangra Gazetteer, p. 102.



heart. If no one was born while she was young how could she expect now that age was stealing over her. The husband tried to comfort her, but she refused to be comforted, and insisted on leaving the palace and retiring into the jungles to practise *tapas* or self-mortification, in the hope of thereby having a son. Thus 12 years went past and Báchila was reduced to a shadow of herself by her austerities. One day a visitor came to her hut and announced himself as Jogí 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 Rájput chief she had all things—money, jewellery and position—but all these were held in light esteem for no son had come to bless their name. He replied that her *tapas* had earned its reward, and that she should return to her home and come to him in three days when the boon she craved would be granted. Báchila then went back to her palace and told her story which caused much rejoicing. Now Báchila had a sister name Káchila, the wife of the Rájá of Garh Málwá, and she too was childless. On hearing of her sister's return Káchila at once came to visit her and on learning of the promised boon from Gorakhnáth she determined to secure it for herself, by personating her sister. Having purloined Báchila's clothes and jewellery she on the following day—one day before the appointed time—presented herself before the saint and demanded the boon. He found fault with her for coming before the time, but she said she could not wait longer, and that he must give what he had to give now. Accordingly he handed to her two barley seeds and told her to go home and eat them and two sons would be born to her. This she did, and in due time her sons—Arjan and Surjan—were born.

On the day fixed by the Jogí, Báchila presented herself before him and craved the boon promised. Gorakhnáth, not knowing of the deceit practised on him, blamed her for coming again, after having already received what she asked. Being annoyed at his answer and thinking he was disinclined to fulfil his promise, she turned away and went back to the jungle where she resumed her *tapas* and continued it for 12 years more. At the end of that time Gorakhnáth again came to her and promised that she should have her reward. He then put some ashes into her hand and told her to keep them, but being annoyed at the form of the gift she threw them away and from them sprung Nurya Siddh and Gurya Siddh, who began to worship the Gurú. Gorakhnáth then said "Why did you throw away the boon? You have done wrong, but in consideration of your great *tapas* it will begin a second time." He then gave more ashes and told her to take them home and swallow them. She, however, ate the ashes on the spot and at once her belly swelled up, from which she knew that she had conceived. On returning home, Devi Chand, her husband, seeing her belly swollen, said "You have brought a bastard from the Jogís or Gosáíns." She remained silent, and vexed at her reception and ordering a bullock-cart started for her parents' home. Now her father was Rájá Kripál of Ajmer, and on the way to his palace the oxen stopped and refused to go on. Then a voice came from her womb saying—"Return to your home or I will remain unborn 12 years." On turning the cart the oxen at once started off towards Garh Dadner and Báchila resumed her place in



the palace. In due time her son was born, and when he was 7 years old his father abdicated and he became Ráná. A daughter named Gugerí was also born to Báchila. Mundlíkh's birth took place on the first Sunday in Mágh, and in the morning. Báchila had a brother whose name was Pithoria (Prithwi Rájá).

The next event of importance was Mundlíkh's betrothal, and this was arranged through a Brahman, with Surjila, the daughter of the Rájá of Bangála. Now Surjila had already been betrothed to Básak Nág, king of the Nágs. In due time Mundlíkh set out for Gaur Bangála with a large retinue to celebrate his nuptials. In his train were 52 *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 Aganduáriya he struck it once, and at one bound was transported across the river. Dismounting Kailu left his horse in concealment and assuming the disguise of a Brahman, with a book in his hand, he entered the encampment, and encountered the principal officer. On enquiry he was told that Básak Nág on hearing of Mundlíkh's betrothal had come with an immense army to contest his claim to Surjila, who had in the first instance been betrothed to himself. Kalihár said to Kailu 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 Bangála, and there they remained for 12 years.

While Mundlíkh and his army were thus held in bondage great distress befell Garh Dadner. His cousins, Arjan and Surjan, having been born through the efficacy of the boon granted to Báchila, regarded themselves as in a sense Báchila's sons, and therefore entitled to a share in the kingdom of Dadner. Just then too a wonderful calf<sup>1</sup> called Panch Kaliyáni was born in Garh Dadner. This they wanted to possess, and hearing of Mundlíkh's absence and captivity they thought it a good time to invade the country. They therefore sent to invite Mahmúd of Ghazni to help them in their invasion, and he came with a great army. All the military leaders and fighting men being absent with Mundlíkh the conquest was easily effected and the town was captured with much looting and great slaughter of the inhabitants. But the fort or palace, in which were Báchila and her daughter, Gugerí, still held out. Looking from the ramparts Gugerí saw the town in ruins, and frantic with anguish she roamed about the palace bewailing their lot and calling Mundlíkh. Just then a letter came from Mahmúd demanding the surrender of the fort and promising life and safety to all on condition that Gugerí became a Muhammadan and entered his harem, otherwise the place would be taken by assault and all would be massacred. In her despair Gugerí went from room to room and at last entered Mundlíkh'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 Gugerí bethought her of a friend and champion of her brother's named Ajia Pál, who lived on his estate not far away. To him she sent a message, imploring him to seek and bring back Mundlíkh. Ajia Pál had for some time been practising *tapas*, and in his dreams had seen Mundlíkh fighting without a head. On receiving Gugerí's message he started for Bangála, accompanied by 5 *Bírs* among whom were Nársingh Bír and Káli Bír and two other *Bírs*. On arriving in Gaur they went from door to door as mendicants, singing the songs of Garh Dadner, in the hope that Mundlíkh would hear them. He was still under the influence of the spell, and never left his wife or the palace. One day singing was heard in the palace which excited him. Surjila tried to soothe him into apathy, but he insisted on seeing the singers, and at once recognised Ajia Pál. The spell was now broken, and on hearing of the disasters at Garh Dadner Mundlíkh determined to return. The retinue of *Bírs* etc. were all brought out and set free, and accompanied by his Rání, Surjila, Mundlíkh returned to Dadner and resumed his place as Ráná.

Mundlíkh is said to have fought many battles, some say 13, with the Muhammadaus, and carried the Guggiána *duhádi* to Kábul. In the last of these battles his head was severed from his body by a *chakra* or

<sup>1</sup> More probably 'foal.' The term *panch kaliyáni* is applied to horses.



discus which came from above, but the head remained in position, only the line of the *chakra* being visible, hence the name Mundlíkh, from *munda* head and neck and *líkhā*, a line. Seated on his horse Níla-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 *gharís* Mundlíkh would survive, and 2 *gharís* had gone. Just then four kites appeared in mid-air saying "Behold what wonderful warfare is this! Mundlíkh is fighting without his head." Hearing these words Mundlíkh 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 Mundlíkh was alive and visited her every night. On one occasion Gugerí 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. Gugerí then quickly withdrew, and on reaching the court found the horse Níla standing waiting for his master. Claspíng him round the neck she remained in this position for some distance after Mundlíkh 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 Rájput kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Rái Pithor, or Prithwi Rájá, the last Hindu Rájá of Delhi, makes this probable. He reigned from A. D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlíkh was probably a title given to Rájput warriors who distinguished themselves in the wars of the time. There were five Rájputs who bore this title among the Chudásama princes of Gírnár in Káthiáwár, the first of whom joined Bhíma-deva of Gujrát in the pursuit of Mahmúd of Ghazni in A. D. 1023.

From the Chaubán bards, who were his enemies, we learn that Jáya Chandra Ráthor, 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.



Tod<sup>1</sup> says that Goga or Chuhán Goga was son of Vacha Rájá who acquired renown by his defence of his realm against Mahmúd's invasion. It lay on the Sutlej and its capital was Chibera. In the defence of it he perished with his 45 sons and 60 nephews. Briggs notes that Behera (? Bhera) was a town in (on) the Gára (Sutlej) often mentioned in early history : it belonged at the first Moslem invasion to Goga Chauhán.<sup>2</sup>

The shrines of Gúga are called *mári* and it seems very usual for them to have one small shrine on the right dedicated to Nár Singh and another on the left to Gorakhnáth, whose disciple Gúga was. Nár Singh was Gúga's minister or *díwán*. But in some cases the two subordinate shrines are ascribed to Káli Singh and Bhúri Singh, Nár Singh being a synonym of one or both of these. In a picture on a well parapet in a Ját village Gúga appears seated on a horse and starting for the Bágur, while his mother stands in front trying to stop his departure. In his hands he holds a long staff, *bhála*, as a mark of dignity and over 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 Bhádon by Hindu and Muhammadan Jogís who take the offerings made to him, though some small share in them is given to Chúbras.<sup>3</sup>

In Karnál and Ambála Jaur Singh is also worshipped along with Gúga, Nár Singh, and the two snake gods. He is explained to be Jewar, the Rájá who was Gúga's father, but the name may be derived from *jora*, twin, as Arjan and Surjan are also worshipped under the name of Jaur.<sup>4</sup> A man bitten by a snake is supposed to have neglected Gúga.

By listening at night to the story of Gúga during the Díwáli a Hindu prevents snakes from entering his house.<sup>5</sup>

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

Name.	Pujári.	Dates of fairs.	Ritual etc.
The <i>mandir</i> of Gúga in Saloh, Pálpur <i>thána</i> . Gúga manifested himself in 1899 S., and the temple was founded in 1900 S.	Girth ...	Besides small fairs held every Sunday, a fair on the <i>janam-ashmi</i> in Bhádon.	The temple contains images of Gúga, Gúgri, and Gurú Gorakhnáth, each 3 feet high and mounted on a horse. A <i>bhog</i> of water and earth is distributed among the votaries.

<sup>1</sup> Rájasthán II, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs' *Ferishta*, p. lxxii.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Q., I., § 3. Hanúmán and Bhairon's shrines are occasionally found together on one side, and Gorakhnáth's on the other: *ibid.*, § 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I., § 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 178.





In Rohtak Gúga's shrine is distinguished by its square shape with minarets and domed roof and is always known as a *mári* and not as a *thán*. Monday is his day, the 9th his date, and Bhádon 9th the special festival. It is generally the lower castes who worship the Gúga Pír. Rice cooked in milk and flour and *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 Gubhána, erected by a Lohár whose family takes the offerings. Inside the *mári* is a tomb and on the wall a fine *bas relief* of the Pír on horseback, lance in hand. Inside the courtyard is a little

<sup>2</sup> Kangra Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 102-3. Guruknāth on p. 102 should clearly be Gorakh-nāth.



*thán* for the worship of Nársingh, one of the Pír's followers, and outside the wall a socket for the reception of a bamboo with peacock's feathers on the top. At Babrah one Sheo Lál, Rájput, has lately fulfilled a vow for a son bestowed in his old age and built a shrine to Gúga Pír, facing of course the east, with a shrine to Gorakhnáth facing east, and one to Nársingh Dás (*sic*) west towards the Bágár.

In Gurgaon fairs to Gúga are held at many places, generally if not invariably on Bhádon *badi* 9th. His temple often consists of nothing but a *mandh* or platform which is said to cover a grave. The *pujári* may be a Brahman who lights a lamp daily at the temple or a Jogí who does the same. Offerings consist of grain or, at the fair, of *patáshas* and *púras*. 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*<sup>1</sup> to Gúga, a great fair is held on last day but one (*anant chaudas*) 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 Ratloána, 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 *pujárs* are Brahmans 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 Sudlakhan fair, is also held on the *anant chaudas* or 14th Bhádon *sudi*. 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<sup>2</sup> 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 Mírásis and Chuhrás take all edibles offered by Muhammadans and Hindus respectively.

A very interesting explanation<sup>3</sup> of Gúga's origin makes him the god of an ancient creed reduced to the position of a godling subordinate to Vishnu. A *gana* (Dwárapála) of Mahá Lakshmi was embodied as *gúgal*

<sup>1</sup> Said to be derived from Pers. *már*, snake.

<sup>2</sup> Called *chanki 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 converting himself into any shape. When his wife saw that his eyes did not move, she asked him his caste and then he disappeared. Some people fast in memory of different forms of Gúga and consider the *anant chaudas* and *nágpanchmi* holy." This may explain why the day after the *janamashanti* Hindus of Pind Dédan 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 *chúri*, grated bread mixed with sugar and butter, fill a dish with it and, putting some *gur* thereon, go to the Chenab. On an old *berí* (*juzube vulgaris*) bush on its bank they sprinkle water and place some *chúri* 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 as Shesh Nāg by the auspicious glances of Gorakhnāth, who is known to have the power of controlling Gūga. Gūga is believed to guard hidden treasures. People sometimes offer milk and *sharbat* 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 Khīr Samundar, approaches he quits the place. He is known by nine names:—Anant, Wāsuki, Shesh, Padm, Nabh, Kambal, Shankhal, Dharatrashtar, Takhi and Kali.

Some believe that he who recites these names morning and evening is immune from snake-bite and prospers wherever he goes.

The classical story of Shesh Nāg is well known, but it is strange to learn that Gūga in the Satyug, Lachhman in the Treta, Baldeva in the Dwāpur and Gorakhnāth in the Kalyug are all forms of the same god. This accords with Dr. Vogel's suggestion that Baladeva was developed from a Nāga. The Bhāgaratas, like the Buddhists before them, sought to adapt the popular worship of the Nāgas to their new religion.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Richard Temple regards Gugga as "a Rājput hero who stemmed the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni and died, like a true Rājput, 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 sooth our hearts with a little conversation,

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga.<sup>2</sup>"

#### THE JAIN VERSION OF GŪGA.

In the time of Nandibraham who reigned 2431 years ago Chandkosia, a huge venomous snake, lived in a forest near Kankhal. Whatsoever he looked at was burnt to ashes so that not even a straw was to be seen within 12 miles of his hole, and no passer-by escaped with his life. When the 24th 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 *ghī*, milk, oilseeds, rice and *lassi* (watered milk) when they

<sup>1</sup> A. S. R., 1908-09, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. R., VII, pp. 428-9.





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 Bhúmia, or the god of the homestead, whose shrine in the village consists either of a small building with a domed roof or of nothing more than a masonry platform. This deity is more especially adored at the return of a marriage procession to the village. A similar deity is the Khera Deota, or Chanwand, who is often confused with Bhúmia, but who is said to be the wife of Bhúmia and has sometimes a shrine in a village in addition to that of Bhúmia 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 Mahar, the ancestor of the Sindhu Jats, who has peculiar influence over cows, and to whom the first milk of every cow is offered. The place of the *jathera* is, however, often taken by the *theh* or mound which marks the site of the original village of the tribe.

Maclagan,  
§ 42.

The four deities *Suraj-Deota*,<sup>1</sup> *Jamna Jí*, *Dharti Mátá* and *Khwája Khizr* are the only ones to whom no temples are built. To the rest of the village godlings a small brick shrine from 1 to 2 feet cube, with a bulbous head and perhaps an iron spike as a finial, is erected, and in the interior lamps are burnt and offerings placed. It never contains idols, which are found only in the temples of the greater gods. The Hindu shrine must always face the east, while the 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 had become Muhammadans. The shrine of the common ancestor needed rebuilding, and there was much dispute as to its shape and aspect. They solved the difficulty by building a 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 Bhúmia or the god of the homestead, often called Khera (a village). The erection of his shrine is the first formal act by which the proposed site of a new village is consecrated; and where two villages have combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the people of the one which moved still worship at the Bhúmia of the deserted site. Bhúmia is worshipped after the harvests, at marriages, and on the birth of a male

Ibbetson,  
§ 213.

<sup>1</sup> 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. Farishta says the Hindus used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Suraj (*sic*) taught them idolatry: Briggs *Farishta*, I, p. lxxviii. But in later times images of Surya or Aditya were rare: *A. S. E.*, XIII, p. 63. For the absence of roofs to temples to the Sun, see *infra* under ISLAM, hypæthral 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 Bhúmia is hardly the god of the homestead. He is the godling of the village. And it is very doubtful whether the *jathera* is ever the 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 Játs' religion, though it is not suggested that it is confined to them. A full account of it will be found in Vol. II, p. 374, *post*. The following details are of more general application:—

In Gurgaon the Bhúmia<sup>1</sup> is generally one of the founders of the village, or in one instance at least the Brahman of the original settlers. The special day for offerings is the *chaudas* or 14th of the month. Some Bhúmias are said to grant their votaries' prayers, and to punish those who offend them. Some are easy and good-tempered, but they are neglected in comparison with those who are revengeful or malignant. To these offerings are often made. A somewhat similar local deity is Chanwand, or Khera *deota*. Sometimes described as the wife of Bhúmia, other villages seem to place her or him in his place, but Chanwand is worshipped on Sundays and his shrine is often found in addition to that of Bhúmia in the same village.<sup>2</sup>

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-storeyed 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 *gandar* grass and sweep the shrine,

<sup>1</sup> Bhúmia 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 Bhúmia. There is also a village god called Kheerpál or the field nourisher, and also known as Bhairon; but he is not often found. In some places however Khera *Devata* or godling of the village site is also called Chanwand and alleged to be the wife of Bhúmia (Channing's Gurgaon Settlement Report, p. 34; see also Alwar Gazetteer, p. 70). It is a curious fact that among the Gonds and Bhils the word Bhúmia means priest or medicine man, while among the Korkús, another Kolian tribe, Bhúmka stands for high priest. It is also said to mean a village bull somewhere. For Kala Mohar see p. 233 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Chanwand appears to be also found in Sirmár under the name of Chawind. The local legend current in that State runs thus:—A girl of Manon, a village in Sirmár, was married in Keonthal State. Returning with pregnant to her father's house on the occasion of some festivity, she was seized with the pains of labour while crossing the Giri and gave birth to two serpents, which fell into the stream. For some hours the serpents remained in each other's embrace and then separated, one going to Tarheeh, in Keonthal and the other to Dháila Deothi in Sirmár 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, fulfil the vow. At Lohārheri vows for success in law-suits are also made here. The Bhaiyon is the same as the Bhūmian or Bhonpāl of adjacent districts. Bhonpāl is said to have been a Jāt whom Ishar could not make into a Brahman, but to whom he promised that he should be worshipped of all men.

Each village has its Panchpīr 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 *jal* tree and away from the village, but at Asauda it is much more like a Bhaiyon in appearance. In Naiabās it is said that the *first* man to die in a village after its foundation becomes Panchpīr, 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 *bhūt* 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 Búndela is a godling who is only worshipped in times of sickness, especially cholera. In the last century cholera is said to have broken out in Lord Hastings' army shortly after some kine had been slaughtered in a grove where lie the ashes of Hardaul Lāla, a Bundelkhand chief.<sup>1</sup> 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 *pitr*, 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 Chandrabhāga valley, is the erection of a *dhaji* 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

<sup>1</sup>Sleeman places this event in Bundelkhand and says it occurred in 1817. He speaks of Hardaul Lāla as the new god, and says that his temples sprang up as far as Lahore: *Rambles*, I, p. 210-11. His worship is common in the United Provinces: for his songs see N. I. N. Q., V., § 458. He is also called Hardaur or Harda Lāla: I. N. Q., IV, § 793.



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 Ráná families whose ancestors held rule in Kulu before the Rájás obtained supreme power. Mr. G. C. L. Howell mentions one such family, that of Nawáni, which still observes this custom; and we may conclude that it was observed by this family when in independent possession of their lands. I have not seen the Kulu and Suket stones which are said to be near the respective capitals of those States. The Mandi monoliths are probably the most ornate of any in the hills. It is possible that such monoliths also exist in Biláspur and other Hill States of the Simla group.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Alexander Cunningham thus described the Mandi monoliths:—“The *sati* pillars of the Mandi Rájás and their families stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nála, a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are 6 and 7 feet high and all are carved with figures of the Rájás and of the women who became *sati* with them. Each Rájá is represented as seated above with a row of *ránis* or queens, also seated, immediately below: still lower are standing figures of *khwásis* or concubines and *rakhátis* 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 *satis* 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 Pángi, and are probably consecrated with similar rites. At Nagar in Kulu similar monoliths are found which are described as follows by Colonel Harcourt in *Kooloo, Lahoul 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 Dúngri 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-

<sup>1</sup> This and the following paragraph are by Dr. J. Hutchison.



ing the crumbling and worn surface of the stones. At the death of the late Rái Gyán Singh, the representative of a once powerful family, his servants executed a rude effigy of him, and this will take its place beside the other funeral relics of his ancestors. The Buddhist wheel appears in several of the stones, but the people about Nagar positively declare that none of these rough sculpturings are over 200 years of age. Here however I think they are mistaken and they know so very little about the history of their own country that anything they say that refers to dates must be received with great caution." There can be no doubt that Colonel Harcourt was right in believing that these stones date back to a remote past and are the *sati* pillars of the Kulu Rájás. It would be interesting to have an account of the Suket monoliths.

In the Himalayas is to be found a variety of shrines and heaps of stones erected by the road-side in fields and on the mountain passes. Their purposes are as varied as their structures. First of importance are those erected in honour of the dead, and the memorial tablets placed by the side of a stream or fountain have proved of considerable archaeological value owing to the inscriptions on them. In the Simla Hills inscriptions are rare and the memorials are usually in the form of small slabs of slate or stone on which the figure of the deceased is rigidly carved. The rites which attend their erection vary. Thus the soul of a man who has died away from home or been killed by accident without administration of the last rites will require elaborate ceremonies to lay it at rest and many, but not all, the memorial stones commemorate such a death. The ideas underlying them appear to be twofold. In the first place when the tablet is merely attached to a cistern or well the disembodied spirit seems to 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 Nág worship. But in the Simla Hills at any rate the Nágs 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. Brahmans have many means of searching out a mischief-making spirit of this kind and the following may be recommended for its simplicity. The peasant chooses a boy and girl both too young to be tutored by the Brahman who plays the chief part in the ceremony of exorcism. They are taken to the peasant's house and there squat on the floor, each being covered with a sheet. The Brahman brings with him a brazen vessel in which he puts a coin or two and on top of which he places a metal cover. On this improvised drum he beats continuously with a stick whilst he drones his incantations. Sometimes this goes on for hours before the boy or girl manifests any sign, but as a rule one or the other is soon seized with trembling, an indication that the desired spirit has appeared and assumed possession. If the boy trembles first the ghost is certainly a male, but if the girl is first affected it must be a female spirit. When questioned the medium reveals the identity of the possessor, which usually turns out to be the spirit of the suicide. A process of barter ensues in which the injured wife details the deeds of expiation necessary to appease the spirit whilst the husband bargains for terms less onerous to himself. The matter ends in a compromise. The husband vows to build a shrine to house the spirit and to make offerings there on certain days in every month. He may also promise to dedicate a field to her and hence these ghostly dwelling-places are often situated in barren strips of land because no plough may be used on a field so consecrated. When the shrine stands on uncultivated land a piece of quartz may glisten from its roof or one of its walls may be painted white. Such a building serves a double purpose. Not only is the unsubstantial spirit kept from inconvenient roaming, but the gleam of white also attracts the envious glances of passers-by and so saves the crops from being withered up. (Condensed from the *Pioneer* of 16th August 1913.)

Ancestor-worship also takes the form of building a bridge over a stream in the deceased's name, or making a new road, or improving an old one, or by cutting steps in the rock.<sup>1</sup> 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 *panihār* or cistern. In its simplest form this consisted of a slab with a rough figure of the deceased carved on it and a hole in the lower part, with a spout, through which the stream flowed. The board above des-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Antiquities of Chamba*, I, fig. 8 on p. 21 for an illustration of such steps.



cribed 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 inscriptions. The slab itself is invariably designated Varuna-deva, for the obvious reason that Varuna, patron of the waters, is usually carved on it. This name is no longer remembered. Such stones are called *naun* in Pāngi, *naur* in Lāhul and *panhiyār* or 'fountain' in the Rāvi valley.

Far otherwise is it in Sirmūr, where the cult of the dead is sometimes due to a fear of their ill-will. Thus in the Pachhād and Raīnkā tahsils of that State when an old man is not cared for and dies aggrieved at the hands of his descendants, his *pāpra* or curse<sup>2</sup> is usually supposed to cling to the family. Whenever subsequently there is illness in the family, or any other calamity visits it, the family Brahman is consulted and he declares the cause. If the cause is found to be the displeasure of the deceased, his image is put in the house and worshipped. If the curse affects a field, a portion of it is dedicated to the deceased. If this worship is discontinued, leprosy, violent death, an epidemic or other similar calamities overtake the family. Its cattle do not give milk or they die, or children are not born in the house. Indeed the *pāpra* appears to be actually personified as a ghost which causes barrenness or disease, and if any one is thus afflicted a Bhāt is consulted, and he makes an astrological calculation with dice thrown on a board (*sānchi*). There the sufferer summons all the members of the family, who sound a tray (*thālī*) at night, saying 'O *pāp kisi upar utar ā'*<sup>3</sup>—'O soul descend on some one,' and (though not before the third or fourth day) the *pāpra* or imp takes possession of a child, who begins to nod its head, and when questioned explains whose ghost the *pāpra* is, and shows that the patient's affliction is due to some injury done by him or his forefather to the ghost, and that its wrongs must be redressed or a certain house or place given up to a certain person or abandoned. The patient acts as thus directed. The costliness of ancestor-worship is illustrated by the cult of Pālu in Sirmūr. He was the ancestor of the Hāmbi Kanets of Hābon and other villages, and is worshipped at Pālu with great pomp. His image, which is of metal, is richly ornamented.

The spirits of young men who die childless are also supposed to haunt the village in Gurgaon, as are those of any man who dies discontented and unwilling to leave his home. Such spirits are termed *pīta*, 'father,' euphemistically, but they generally bear the character of being vindictive and require much attention. A little shrine, very much like a *chulha* 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

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-35.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'sin.'

<sup>3</sup> *Pāp* is of course 'sin.' *Pāprā* would appear to be a diminutive.



and reveals the *pita's* will. This is called *khelan* or playing, as in the Himalayas. Occasionally too a Brahman can interpret a *pita's* will.<sup>1</sup>

In Chamba a person<sup>2</sup> dying childless is believed to become a *bhūt* or *autar*<sup>3</sup> 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 *autar* necklet of silver, with a human figure cut on it, is also commonly worn. Another form is the *nād*, of silver or copper, and shaped like an hour-glass. An *autar* must also be propitiated by a goat-sacrifice, and the deceased's clothes are worn for a time by a member of the family: a soap-nut kernel is also worn hanging from a string round the neck.

The Bhábras have a custom which, to judge from many parallels, is a relic of ancestor-worship. Many of them will not marry a son until he has been taken to the tomb of Bábá Gajju, a progenitor of the Bar Bhábras, at Pípnákh in Gujránwála, and gone round the tomb by way of adoration.<sup>4</sup>

Ibbetson,  
§ 220.

THE WORSHIP OF THE SAINTED DEAD.—The worship of the dead is universal, and they again may be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead. First among the sainted dead are the *pitr* or 'ancestors.' Tiny shrines to these will be found all over the fields, while there will often be a larger one to the common ancestor of the clan. Villagers who have migrated will periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the original shrine of their ancestor; or, if the distance is too great, will bring away a brick from the original shrine, and use it as the foundation of a new local shrine which will answer all purposes. In the Punjab proper these larger shrines are called *jather*,<sup>5</sup> 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 *pitr*, and on that day the cattle do no work and Brahmans are fed. But besides this veneration of ancestors, saints of widespread renown occupy a very important place in the worship of the peasantry. No one of them is, I believe, malevolent, and in a way their good nature is rewarded by a certain loss of respect. *Gúga beta na dega, tan kuchh na ehín lega*—"If Gúga doesn't give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me." They are generally Muhammadan, but are worshipped by Hindus and Musalmáns alike with the most absolute impartiality. There are three saints who are pre-eminently great in the Punjab,

<sup>1</sup> Gurgaon Gazetteer, p. 67, cf. p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless a male is meant: Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 195. See also Vol. II, p. 270, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. *aputara*, soulless.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 89. No mention of the Bar Bhábras will be found in Vol. II, pp. 80-82. Pípnákh has a curious legend. Its Rájá is said to have been Pílpá, the Chamál (Rájput?), whose daughter Lúnán was sought in marriage by Sálbán of Sálkot. When Pílpá refused the match his city was destroyed, and it has been called Pípnákh ever since. Pílpá appears to be Pípa, the Bhagat.

<sup>5</sup> *Jathera* is clearly derived from *jeth*, an elder, especially a husband's elder brother and the phrase *dadera jathera* means 'ancestors on the father's side.' The classical type of the widow *sati* is Gandhári, wife of Dhritaráshtira and mother of Duryodhara. When her husband was consumed by the force of his *yoga* at Saptasrotra, near Hardwár, 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, § 454.



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 *satī*, and cases of such self-immolation are recorded in North Rājputāna. Generally ladies of rank were attended on the funeral pyre by attached female slaves, as occurred at the cremation of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh. But the highest grade of all was attained by the *mā-satī* or mother-*satī* who had immolated herself with her son.<sup>1</sup> These *mā-satīs* were of all classes from the potter-woman to the princess. At Pataudi the most conspicuous cenotaph is that of a Jaisalmīr Mahārāni who had come to her father's house accompanied by her young son. He was thrown from his horse and killed, and she insisted on ascending the pyre with him.<sup>2</sup> 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 Rājput origin or at least claim it, such is the Mahton. It is rare among Jāts. In Gurgāon the *sati* is often propitiated as a possibly malignant spirit. Thus in the village of Rojkar Gujjar there is the shrine of a Gujarnī *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 Brahmans have to be collected and fed at her shrine.

The child is also depicted in the case of a *mā-satī*. 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.<sup>3</sup> In Karnāl the monument appears not to be a slab, but a regular shrine larger indeed than any other kind, being 3 or 4 feet square. Lamps are lit and Brahmans fed at them on the 11th or 15th of Kātik. The shrines are also regarded as tutelary guardians of the village. Thus in one case some Tagās who had migrated from their old village used to go 40 miles to make annual offerings at their old *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.<sup>4</sup>

In the Chamba hills if a man falls over a precipice or is accidentally killed on a journey in such a way that his body cannot be recovered a pile of wood is gathered on or near the spot and each passer-by adds a stick to it as if it were funeral pyre. In the case of one of the Rājās who was killed along with his brother by his own officials, the spot on which the assassination took place has remained uncultivated since A. D. 1720. As both brothers died childless they were regarded as

<sup>1</sup> The form *mā-satī* appears to be used, but *mahāsati* is perhaps commoner.

<sup>2</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 153, and N. I. N. Q., II, § 726.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. R., XXI, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Sati* monuments are ordinarily slabs of stone stuck in the ground with the figure of the *satī* carved on them, either sitting or standing.



autars. And a temple was erected near the place. Chamba Gaz., p. 95.

In Kāngra the people bear the name of Kirpāl 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 *ser*s of rice, half a *ser* of *dāl*, 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 Kirpāl 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!<sup>1</sup>

Ibbetson,  
 § 226.

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 *gyāls* or sonless dead. When a man has died without male issue he becomes spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village small platforms may be seen with rows of small hemispherical depressions into which milk and Ganges water are poured, and by which lamps are lit and Brahmans fed to assuage the *gyāls*,<sup>2</sup> while the careful mother will always dedicate a rupee to them, and hang it round her child's neck till he grows up.

The jealousy of a deceased wife is peculiarly apt to affect her husband if he takes a new one. She is still called *saukan* or co-wife and at the wedding of her successor oil, milk, spices and sugar are poured on her grave. The *saukan mora* or rival wife's image is put on by the new wife at marriage and worn till death. It is a small plate of silver worn round the neck, and all presents given by the husband to his new wife are first laid upon it with the prayer that the deceased will accept the clothes &c. offered and permit her slave to wear her cast off garments, and so on. In the Himalayas if one of two wives dies and her *churel* or spirit makes the surviving wife ill an image (*mukra*) of the deceased is made of stone and worshipped. A silver plate, stamped with a human image, called *chauki*, is also placed round the haunted survivor's neck.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Selections from Punjab Public Corr.*, No. VIII, cited by Barnes, *Kangra Sett. Rep.*, § 166.

<sup>2</sup> I believe them to be identical in purpose, as they certainly are in shape, with the cup-marks which have lately exercised the antiquaries. They are called *bhorka* in the Delhi Territory.

<sup>3</sup> P. N.Q., III, § 200.—The *mora* appears to be a *murat*, 'image,' or possibly *mahurat*, 'omen.' According to Mrs. F. A. Steel Muhammadaus also propitiate the deceased *saukan*: *ib.* § 113.



propitiate the departed by a shrine, as in the case of the trooper already mentioned. The most curious result of this belief is the existence all over the Eastern Punjab of small shrines to what are popularly known as Sayyids. The real word is *shahid* or martyr, which, being unknown to the peasantry, has been corrupted into the more familiar Sayyid. One story showing how these Sayyids met their death will be found in § 376 of the *Karnal Settlement Report*. But the diviners will often invent a Sayyid hitherto unheard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The shrines are Muhammadan in form and the offerings are made on Thursday, and taken by Musalmán *faqirs*. Very often the name even of the Sayyid is unknown. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent, and often cause illness and death. Boils are especially due to them, and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid Bhrúa, of Bari in Kaithal, shares with Mansa Deví of Mani Májra in Ambála the honour of being the great patron of thieves in the Eastern Punjab. But Jain Sayyid in Ferozepur is a bestower of wealth and sons and an aid in difficulty. Offerings vowed to him are presented on a Sunday or on the first Sunday of the Muhammadan month. He also possesses women, and one so possessed is in much request by women to perform a *baithak* or *chauki* on their behalf. She first bathes in clear water, perfumes and oils her hair, dons red clothes and dyes her hands and feet with henna. Then, seated in a Mirásan's house who sings songs in Jain Sháh's honour and thereby pleases him, she begins to shake her head violently. While she is thus possessed the suppliants make their offerings and proclaim their needs. These the medium grants through the Mirásan, mentioning the probable time of fulfilment. She also foretells fortunes. The Mirásan takes the offerings. The efficacy of a Sayyid's curse is illustrated by the legend of 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 Sayyid ladies came from Uch to seek their lords who thereupon called down curses upon all around including themselves. The tomb of the women in the cemetery and that of the holy men in the sand-hill still exist. *Sirsa Settlement Report*, page 195.<sup>1</sup>

Many of those who have died violent deaths have acquired very widespread fame; indeed Gúga Pír 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 Harda Lála, brother of the Rájá of

<sup>1</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 763.



Urchar in Bundhelkhand. He and Teja are generally represented on horseback. So again Harshu Brahman, who died while sitting *dharna*,<sup>1</sup> is worshipped everywhere east of Lahore.

Ibbetson,  
§ 227.

But even though a man has not died sonless or by violence, you are not quite safe from him. His disembodied spirit travels about for 12 months as a *paret*, and even in that state is apt to be troublesome. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down to a respectable second life, he becomes a *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 *Chúhṛa* 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 'Nárain!' afterwards. Ghosts cannot set foot on the ground, and you will sometimes see two bricks or pegs stuck up in front of the shrine for the spirit to rest on. Hence when going on a pilgrimage or with ashes to the Ganges, you must sleep on the ground all the way there so as to avoid them; while the ashes must not rest on the ground, but must be hung up in a tree so that their late owner may be able to visit them. So in places haunted by spirits, and in the vicinity of shrines, you should sleep on the earth, and not on a bedstead. So again, a woman, when about to be delivered, is placed on the ground, as is every one when about to die. Closely allied to the ghosts are the *núris* 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 Musalmán, 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 *sháh-puri*, but resent being so called; and no woman would dare to mention the word.

<sup>1</sup> If a Brahman asks aught of you and you refuse it, he will sit at your door and abstain from food till he gain his request. If he dies meanwhile, his blood is on your head. This is called sitting *dharna*. Or he may cut himself with a knife and then you will be guilty of Brahmatia or Brahman-murder. A Brahman who commits suicide may become a Deo in the Simla Hills,—see p. 445 *infra*. *Per contra* when the use of a house has been forbidden in those hills by a *sádhu* or Brahman, the latter can remove his ban by sprinkling some of his own blood on the place; Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Bashahr, p. 34. Another instance is Tiru of Junga—p. 447 *infra*. But a Brahman does not always attain Deo-ship by such a suicide. Thus Kulu Brahman of Barog regarding himself as oppressed by a Rána of Baghat cut off his own head, and it cost the State a good deal to put matters right. The suicide need not be a Brahman—see for instance the account of Gambhir Deo at p. 467 *infra*. A great deal of information regarding suicide by Bháts and Chárans will be found in the late Mr. R. V. Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Aghoris, II, pp. 14-5, 164, 175, 256. It is known as *chandi* or *trága* which term is used in the Punjab in a different sense.



Malevolent deities are appeased by building them new shrines or by offerings at old ones. Very often the grain to be offered is placed the night before on the sufferer's head. This is called *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 *kachhi roti*, generally consisting of *churma* or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with *gur* and *ghí*, is offered. Brahmans will not take such offerings.<sup>1</sup>

Resuscitation from death is believed to occur, and people who have come to life say they went to Yamarāj, the kingdom of the dead, and found they had been mistaken for some one else, so they were allowed to return.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Illiterate Hindus believe that the soul is in appearance like a black bee. It can leave the body during sleep.<sup>4</sup>

Spirits are of many kinds and degrees. A *Bramh rákhas* is the ghost of a Brahman who has died *kumaut* and is a very powerful demon, malignant or the reverse.<sup>5</sup> *Hadal* is a spirit that gets into the bones and cannot be exorcised.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to define a *bhút*. It is sometimes equated with *pret* as the spirit of one who dies an ill death, *kumaut*, i.e. by violence or an accident.<sup>7</sup> But it is also said that every man dying on a bed becomes a *bhút* and every woman so dying a *churél*.<sup>8</sup> In Kángra a *bhút* is also called a *baital* or 'demon' and he may be charmed into servitude, for once a Brahman's *chela* by his magic made a *bhút* 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 Kaniára 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 *bhút sila* or 'ghost-stone' to this day.<sup>9</sup>

*Bhúts* 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.<sup>10</sup> *Bhúts*

<sup>1</sup> Karnal *Sett. Rep.*, §§ 362, 360, pp. 146-145. To the benevolent gods or ancestors only *pakki roti*, i.e. cakes or sweets, fried in *ghi*, may be offered.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, § 221.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., III, §§ 678-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 196.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 197.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 657.

<sup>8</sup> To die at your own time is *maut marná* : P. N. Q., III, § 190.

<sup>9</sup> P. N. Q., I., § 630.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 345.



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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

In Gurdāspur and the adjacent parts of Jammu *bhūts* and witches (*dain*) are believed to haunt the living and victimise the weak. Every imaginable disease is attributed to witches, and any woman can become one by learning a charm of 2½ letters. *Chelas* are exorcists of these witches, and they cure a patient by placing some ashes on his forehead and making him swallow the rest, or in serious cases water is used instead. Each *chela* has his *thān*, a raised spot in the corner of the house sacred to the *deota* by whose power he overcomes witches and *bhūts*.<sup>3</sup>

*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<sup>4</sup> of the birth. But the worst *churel* of all is the ghost of a pregnant woman dying during the Diwāli. *Churels* are always malignant, especially towards members of their own family, though they assume the form of a beautiful woman when they 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.<sup>5</sup>

In Kāngra 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.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. N. Q., IV, §§ 189-190.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 500.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 192.

<sup>4</sup> Or 10 days in Kāngra.

<sup>5</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 905.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, § 994. Mustard seed is said to be often scattered about a magistrate's court to conciliate his sympathies: III, § 104.



The *chupel* of a dead co-wife sometimes haunts her surviving rival and makes her ill, in which case an image of the deceased should be made of stone and worshipped, and a silver plate, stamped with a human image, called *chauki*, is also worn by the sick survivor round her neck.<sup>1</sup>

*Jinns* have a right to share in the fruits of the earth, and if they do not get it the crop will be worthless. Once a *jinn* employed a mortal as a teacher and in reward promised to exempt his grain from this tax—so that land now yields four times what it used to do.<sup>2</sup> *Jinns* have no bones in their arms and only four fingers and no thumb.<sup>3</sup>

Archæology 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 *bhût* 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 *loti* 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 *bhût* in charge would do them some evil.<sup>4</sup> This idea of the guardian-spirit may explain many folk-tales in which the artificer is rewarded by being sacrificed by his patron, ostensibly to prevent his skill being employed by a rival. The legends that Gugga, the workman who built the temples at Brahmaur in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right hand cut off by the Ráná 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 200.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 668.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 678.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 251. Similar beliefs are very common among the Slavonic peoples; cf. Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 126-8. The game called 'London Bridge' is based on the same idea. See also p. 263 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 298.

<sup>6</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 198.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 352.



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.<sup>1</sup>

In order to avoid becoming *bhūts* after death some Hindus are said to perform their own funeral rites during life.<sup>2</sup> In Chamba two modern cases of suicide were preceded by their performance. If you see the ghost of a dead kinsman give alms in his name, or he will do his best to make you join him.<sup>3</sup>

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 *pīpal*, 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 *pīpal* 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.<sup>4</sup>

*Witchcraft*.—Recitation of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  (*i. e.* 3) verses of the Qurān backward enables a witch to take out a child's liver and eat it, and in order to do this more effectively she must first catch a *tark*, a wild animal not larger than a dog, feed it with sugar and *ghi* 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.<sup>5</sup> It makes a witch powerless to extract her two upper front teeth.<sup>6</sup>

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*.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

Some witches are liver-eaters—*jigar-khor*. But when one has succeeded in extracting a liver she will not eat it for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days and even after that she can be compelled by an exorcisor to replace it by an animal's liver.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sirsa *Sett. Rep.*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 113.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., III, §§ 198, 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 30.

<sup>7</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 564.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 532.

N. I. N. Q., I, § 88.



*Sickness and death.*—In Chamba sacrifice is often made for the sick in the belief that a life being given, his life will be preserved. Nails are driven into the ground near a corpse and its hands and feet fastened to them with a cord, to prevent the body from stretching and becoming a *bhūt* or evil spirit. Sometimes too a thorn is put at the crematorium lest the spirit of the deceased return and trouble the living. The spirit returns to its abode on the 10th, or 13th, day after death, any unusual noise indicating its presence. If a child die the mother has water poured over her through a sieve above its grave, to secure offspring. The water used must be from a well or stream whose name is of the masculine gender.

If a woman's children die she must beg *ātā* or flour from seven houses, and when her next child is born this *ātā* is baked into a large cake, from which the centre is cut out, leaving only a circular rim. Through this hole the infant is passed seven times to ensure its living. Similarly a new-born child may be passed seven times through the *chulha*, or fire-place. With the same object is the nostril pierced immediately after birth and an iron nose-ring inserted. Or the infant is given to a poor person, and then taken back to break the continuity of the ill luck. Another curious recipe for this purpose is this:—Take the bark of 7 trees and water from 7 springs all with masculine names. Boil the bark in the water and after dark let it be poured over the woman at a cross-roads. She must then change her clothes and give away those she had on at the ceremony, and the evil influence will go with them.

Two places, in Tariod *pargana* and Hubár, have a curious reputation. When a woman, owing to an evil influence, called *parchāva*, has no children or they die, she visits one of these places, and after certain rites or ceremonies creeps thrice through a hole artificially made in a stone, and only just large enough to admit an adult, and then bathes, leaving one garment at the spot. This is believed to free her from the influence. Sunday morning is the proper time for this and Bhádon and Mágh are the best months. At Hubár the woman bathes besides a Muhammadan *nau-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 *nazar*, 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.<sup>1</sup> Thus low-caste persons may cast *nazar* 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 *nazar* 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

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q. I, § 554.



years, among the poorer classes.<sup>1</sup> To avert it the Gujars of Hazāra use amulets of *bathkar* wood (? *Celtis Australis*) and they are also tied round the necks of cattle.

On the same principle anything beautiful or charming, when looked upon by a person bent on mischief, prompts him to do harm, while anything ugly in itself is safe from the evil eye. Hence anything beautiful is daubed with black so that the eye may fall on the daub and not on the thing itself. Accordingly an iron vessel is hung up when a house is abuilding as a *nazar-wattu* or averter of *nazar*, or a blackened pitcher will serve equally well. Such pitchers are often hung permanently on a conspicuous part of a completed house also. The pattern on ornamental clothes is spoilt by introducing a marked irregularity somewhere for the same reason.<sup>2</sup> Iron is not in itself a protection against *nazar*, unless it is black, and the efficacy of arms as prophylactics against spirits appears to be based on the idea that an armed man or woman should have no fear of anything.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

Ibbetson,  
 § 229.

The evil eye is firmly believed in, and iron is the sovereign safeguard against it. While a house is being built, an iron pot (or an earthen vessel painted black is near enough to deceive the evil eye, and is less expensive) is always kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel a charm, used on other occasions also, the principal virtue of which lies in a small iron ring. Mr. Channing thus described the theory of the evil eye:—

“When a child is born an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother keeps one breast tied up for forty days while she feeds the child from the other, in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the endowment of the evil eye, and whenever a person so endowed looks at anything constantly, something evil will happen to it. Amulets worn for protection against the evil eye seem to be of two classes; the first, objects which apparently resist the influence by a superior innate strength, such as tigers’ claws; the second, of a worthless character, such as cowries, which may catch the eye of their beholder, and thus prevent the covetous look.”

A father was once asked, “Why don’t you wash that pretty child’s face?” and replied “A little black is good to keep off the evil eye.” If so, most Punjabi children should be safe enough. It is bad manners to admire a child, or comment upon its healthy appearance. The theory of the scapegoat obtains; and in times of great sickness goats will be marked after certain ceremonies, and let loose in the jungle or killed and buried in the centre of the village. Men commonly wear round their necks amulets, consisting of small silver lockets containing sentences, or something which looks like a sentence, written by a *faqir*. The leaves of the *siras* (*albizzia lebbek*) and of the mango (*mangifera Indica*) are also powerful for good; and a garland of them hung across the village gate with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle, and a plough beam buried

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II., § 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, I., § 597.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, I., § 599.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I., § 557. In slang a *nazar-wattu* is a worthless fellow—of no use except to keep off the evil eye.



in the gateway with the handle sticking out, show that cattle-plague has visited or was dreaded in the village, and that the cattle have been driven under the charm on some Sunday on which no fire was lighted on any hearth. An inscription made by a *faqir* 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 *chakabu* (*chakra bhya*) fort of Amin, where the 'arrayed army' of the Pándus 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.<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>2</sup>, 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 Sirmúr a person endowed with the evil eye is called *dág*<sup>3</sup> or *dágni*, 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 Mahánbir (Hanúmán) with a charm inscribed in a circle. Another method of averting the influence of a *dág* 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 *mantrás* 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 *támbá*, which, with the goat's head, is also waved round the patient's head. Lastly, the loaf, the lamp, and *támbá* with the blood and goat's head are all placed by night at a spot where four roads meet.

In Jubbal the *dákan* is a witch and in former days if so adjudged she was banished from the State. Only a Brahman can detect a *dákan* 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The sign is often drawn at the door of a house or shop to keep off the evil eye.

<sup>3</sup> The *dág* is also a spirit or witch. In the Simla Hills the evil eye is called *dág*: Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Kumbharsain, p. 12. But the term is also applied to ghosts connected with fields from which they are supposed to filch the crops: Simla District *Gazetteer*, p. 42. The *dain* makes Bhádon unhealthy because she thirsts for blood in that month and to avert its evil days Brahmans give their flock threads on the Rakhri or Salono day. On Asanuj 1st or Sier is the fête day which marks the close of the bad month: Mandi *Gazetteer*, p. 35: see also *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Simla Hill States *Gazetteer*, Jubbal, p. 14.



the evil eye. The idea seems to be that malign influences affect beauty more than ugliness; charms are also used to avert *bhūts* or evil spirits and the evil eye. These are made of leopards' and bears' claws, and the teeth of pigs, in the belief that as they belong to fierce animals they will frighten away anything harmful. A cowrie, a shell or the bone of a crab has the same virtue. For the same reason brass anklets, called *rehāru*, are put on children. A person dying sonless becomes a *bhūt* or *autar-aputra* (sonless), and troubles his surviving relatives, unless duly appeased: so adults wear a *jantra*, a small silver or copper case containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An *autar* or silver necklet with a human figure cut on it is also worn. Another form is the *nād*, of silver or copper and shaped like an hour-glass. An *autar* must also be propitiated with the sacrifice of a goat, and for a time his clothes are worn by one of the family—a soapnut kernel is also carried on a string round the neck. Iron about the person protects one from evil spirits. A woman outside her house should be careful not to bathe quite naked, as she is liable to come under the shadow of an evil spirit. A child whose *jattu* or first hair has not been cut, must not be taken to a *mela*, as the fairies who go to fairs may exert an evil influence. A piece of netted thread hung above the doorway will keep out evil spirits during labour or sickness.

Asā Harā is a godling in Gurdāspur to whom cairns are erected in large uninhabited jungles.

Bahro is a male spirit, ugly in form, who causes disease and must be appeased.<sup>1</sup>

Banāsat, 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.<sup>2</sup>

The Banbīrs are deified heroes or champions of the olden times. They are said to live in the pomegranate, lime, *tun*, fig, *kuīnth*, *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 Bīr is in human form he is sure to die unless a sacrifice is offered.<sup>3</sup>

The *banshira bhūt* of the Simla Hills is doubtless the *binsira* or headless demon, so common in folk-tales. He haunts the jungles whose king he is supposed to be.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 192

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumbhārsain, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 48-9.





Bir Batál is a water-sprite whose habitat is in every river and stream. His ancient name was Varuna, but he now bears also the name of Khwája Khizr. *Khicheri*, sodden Indian corn, 3 balls of moss, 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour-sheep are offered to him. The Minjarán ká mela is held in his honour. A bridge is likely to be unsafe unless a sacrifice be made in his honour, and the opening of a water-course requires one also.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

In the Simla Hills he brings things to him and also drinks the milk of cows, to whose owners too he brings milk, *ghí* etc.<sup>3</sup>

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 *chela* who was reputed to have the power of detecting witches. Accompanied by a musician and a drummer he went to the place. A pot of water (*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 *chela* had worked himself into a state of afflatus, he asked the people standing by if they wished the witch to be caught, warning them that she might be one of their own relatives. They would, however, assent. This went on for three days, and on the third the *chela* 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 *chela* 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

<sup>1</sup> Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 191, and *supra*, p. 135. Also *infra* p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 192, and Vol. II, p. 270 *infra* for the offerings made to him.

<sup>3</sup> I. A. S. B., 1911, p. 145.





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 *sariri*, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

Jakh.

In Chamba *jakh* is a godling under whose control are the products of the cow. Each cow has her own *jakh*, and when buying one it is necessary to ask its name so that its demands may be properly met.

In the Síba *jágir* of Kángra the *jakhs* 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 *jakhs*, but the bids seldom exceed Rs. 25 a year. He also leases out the right to dispense music at festivals, weddings and the like.<sup>3</sup>

Joginis, rock spirits, as they seem to be in Chamba, may be identical with the *banásats* or *rákshinis*.<sup>4</sup> But in Kulu the *jogini* is a fairy of the woods and seemingly ranks as high as any *deota*. Some *joginis* exercise wide powers. Thus at Phangni *jogini*’s command smoking, wearing leather and the use of bedsteads are forbidden in the Sarwari

<sup>1</sup> *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 192: for an account of his propitiation see Vol. II, p. 270, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 192, and P. N. Q., III, § 257. *Jakh* is the Sanskr. *Yaksha*’s ogre.

<sup>4</sup> For the offerings made to them, see Vol. II, p. 270, *infra*.



valley, and the order is obeyed.<sup>1</sup> 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 Nāgs in function, for she of the Chúl, 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.<sup>2</sup>

The Jaljogans inhabit wells, springs and streams. They cast spells over women and children, causing sickness and even death.<sup>3</sup>

Kailu or Kailu Bír is the *numen* of abortion. His elaborate worship during pregnancy will be found described at p. 270 of Vol. II *infra*.

To him are offered a red cap, an iron mace and a kid, the cap and part of the kid go to the priest, the rest to the worshipper. He is worshipped on Thursdays. He lives on the mountain slopes and when unappeased rolls landships down into the valleys.<sup>4</sup>

Kailung is a Nāg and father of all the Nāgs. He is worshipped only on Sundays, whereas other Nāgs are worshipped on Thursdays also. Like Shiv he is worshipped under the form of the *darāt* or sickle.

He is associated with wheat.

His offerings are a mace, a goat and a red cap.<sup>5</sup>

The god Koilo has in some villages a platform, and it is believed that snake-bite can be cured by lying down on it. Koilo.

*Masán* or *mashán* is a goblin who haunts burning-places, at any rate in the Simla Hills, and *chirkhu-masán* is a male spirit which swings—whence its name—and haunts cross-roads, frightening passers-by, in Chamba.<sup>6</sup>

*Rákshasas* appear to be quite distinct from the *rákshanis* mentioned above (p. 213). In Chamba they are also called *rákis* 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

<sup>1</sup> Lyall, *Kangra Sett Rep.*, § 94. Phugni in Mandi is a *devi*: *Gazetteer*, p. 40. The *joginis* will be discussed further *infra*, p. 243. As the *gains* render all Bhádon 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.

<sup>2</sup> *Kangra Gazetteer*, Pt. II, Kulu, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 155 and 191.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 151, 155.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 143. Like *shyána* and *rákshas*—also names for goblins—*masán* gives its name to a Kanet sept—see pp. 73, 305 and 417 of Vol. III *infra*. *Masáni*, a wasting disease of children in Sirmúr (*Gazetteer*, p. 25), may be derived from it. It is said to be a corruption of Sanskrit *shamshán* by Maya Singh, *Punjabi Dicty.*, p. 733. For *masán* or ashes as a disease and the cure for it see p. 104 *supra*.



control the winds and the storms. When the tempest rages on the mountain summit he believes the *rākas* are contending with one another, the falling rock and the avalanche or the weapons of their wrath. In ascending a snowy pass the coolies often refrain from all noise till they reach the top, lest they should inadvertently offend the spirit of the mountain, and bring destruction on themselves; and no Gaddi would think of crossing a pass without first propitiating the pass-deity to secure fair weather, and a safe passage for flocks. A cairn with flags hanging from twigs fixed on the top is found on the summit of almost every pass and represents the pass-deity.<sup>1</sup>

'Marmot' records a curious rite practised during an eclipse of the moon in Pángi. The Pángwáls stood in a circle on one leg, holding each a big stone poised on the right shoulder while with the other hand they pinched the left ear. This was done to propitiate the *rākshasas*, and the posture was maintained until the eclipse was over.<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere not only do *rākshasas* inhabit trees, as we have seen (p. 139 *supra*) but it is also wise to halt at sunset when on a journey lest they lead you astray during the night. Further, if you are eating by lamp-light and the light goes out you should cover your food with your hands to prevent them from carrying it off in the dark.<sup>3</sup> Like the *prets* or ghosts they dwell to the south. In the earlier mythology the *rākshasas* seem to have been giants and it was they who snatched the book of learning from Saraswati's hands when she came down from the hills to beyond Thānesar and made her in shame become a river which sank into the earth and go to join the Ganges.<sup>4</sup>

In Kulu the *jalpari* are of two kinds :—*jal jogni* and *batāl* 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.

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 *bhūts* or ghosts, *paris*, especially the *jal-paris* or water-sprites, also called *jal-mātris*, the *chhidras*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chamba Gazetteer, p. 191

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 738.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, pp. 215, § 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Chhiddar*, Sanskr. *chhidra*, means 'hole': J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 141. But *dāin*, a synonym of *dāg*, does not appear to be connected with *dāin*, *dāini*, a den or large hole in a rock : *ib.*, p. 147. In Kulu *chhidra* seems to mean an oath or obligation and to be a synonym of *chhwa*.





and *banshira*. The *bhút* is the ghost of the cremating ground. *Pret* is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the deceased: *rishet*<sup>1</sup> 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 *chhidra* is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard seed. The *banshira* haunts old buildings, valleys and peaks. It is propitiated by sacrifices of goats, or in some places by offerings of dust or gravel. In lieu of sacrifice a *púja*, called *kunjhain*, is offered to Káli and to *paris* or *mátris*. 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. *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*. The *dúdadhári* or *mánashári* spirit is one which 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. *Ghātialú* or *Gaṭerú* is a demon known in Dhámi. He is said to possess people and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a *khaḍhú* (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.<sup>2</sup> The fair of the *gásán* or fairies at Bamsan in Nádaun (Kángra) is held on the first Tuesday in Hár and on all Tuesdays in other months. Only women attend the fair to worship the *paris* who inflict boils on children. The fair has been in existence from time immemorial, but the special worship on Tuesdays dates from the birth of Rája Bhím Chand's son.

Baháwalpur is equally rich in spirits. There in addition to the *paret*, *bhút*, *dít* (? *daít*), *rákkhash*, *dáin*, *churel* and *pari*, we find the *pasháj*,<sup>3</sup> *dákan*, *shákan* and *deo*. To these are mostly ascribed diseases of the brain and womb in women, but they occasionally possess men too. Khetrpál's temple at Uch is a famous place for casting out spirits. Many of the disorders of children are ascribed to demons, such as the *umm-us-sabán* or 'mother of children,' who causes convulsions. Such diseases are believed to be connected in some way with low castes, and so Bhangís and Chúhrás are employed to exorcise them.<sup>4</sup> If anything goes bad it is believed to be bewitched (*bándhna*) 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 gossip he has heard in a highly coloured form.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *rishí*, a sage.

<sup>2</sup> In that State *gaṭeru* is said to mean ghost: J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 168. In Sirmár Ghātíálí is a goddess—see p. 300 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly the *pisácha* 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*.

<sup>4</sup> Baháwalpur *Gazetteer*, p. 187. Sometimes a *labána*, a kind of insect, is tied round the neck of a child suffering from convulsions. This may be done because the *Labána* is a low caste: but cf. p. 4, Vol. III, *infra*. The *labána* is also said to be used to cure warts.





In the hands of one who has by fasting etc. attained to *bidya* mustard seeds are very potent and can be used to kill a healthy enemy, cure a sick friend or recover stolen property. For the latter the recipe is: take a gourd and some mustard seeds, rub them between four fingers, repeat charms over them and throw them at the gourd. It will then float away in the air to the spot where the booty is concealed.

Ibbetson,  
§ 234.

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, *siras* sticks, butter-milk, fire, and sacred grass to the boundary, over which they are thrown, while a gun is fired three times to frighten away the disease. Last year a man was killed in an affray resulting from an attempt to transfer the plague in this manner. A villager in Gurgaon once captured the cattle-plague in its material shape, and wouldn't let it go till it promised never to remain where he or his descendants were present; and his progeny are still sent for when murrain has fastened on a village, to walk round it and call on the plague to fulfil its contract. The sugar-press must be started, and a well begun on a Sunday. On Saturday night little bowls of water are set out round the proposed site, and the one which dries up least marks the exact spot for the well. The circumference is then marked, and they begin to dig, leaving the central lump of earth intact. They cut out this clod, call it Khwāja Jī (appealing to Khwāja Khizr) and worship it and feed Brahmans. If it breaks it is a bad omen, and a new site will be chosen a week later. The year's ploughing or sowing is best begun on a Wednesday: it must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, or on the 1st or 11th of any month; and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. So weeding should be done once, twice, thrice or five times: it is unlucky to weed four times. Reaping must be begun on a Tuesday and finished on a Wednesday, the last bit of crop being left standing till then. When the grain is ready to be divided, the most extraordinary precautions are observed to prevent the evil eye from reducing the yield. Times and seasons are observed, perfect silence is enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain is avoided.<sup>1</sup> When sugarcane is first sown, sweet-

<sup>1</sup> You cannot measure grain without all kinds of precautions. It must not be measured at all on a new or full moon (*parva*) day, and Saturday is bad. Begin at dawn, midday, sunset, or midnight, when the spirits are busy. Let 4 men go inside an enclosing line with an earthen vessel—and no one else till they have finished. Let them face the north. Keep silence during the measuring and avoid counting the number aloud, tallies being kept by putting down small heaps of grain called *bohali*. 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 *Karnal Sett. Report*, and pages 194 ff and 236 ff of Vol. I. of Elliott's *Races of the North-Western Provinces*.



ened rice is brought to the field and with it women smear the outside of the vessel. It is then given to the labourers. Next morning or when it is planted out a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on to a spindle<sup>1</sup>; 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.'<sup>2</sup>

On the 9th of the light half of Kātik both men and women walk round a town early in the morning, re-entering it by the same gate that they left it by. During this circumambulation they sing hymns while the women scatter *satudāṣa* by the way, saying :—

'Friend husbandman, take thy share,  
 Our share we write down to God.'<sup>3</sup>

To protect gram 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.<sup>4</sup>

The threshing floor is naturally of considerable importance in folk-religion. From the time the grain is cut until it is formally weighed it is exposed to the rapacity of demons and *bhūts*. But they are only of mediocre intelligence and can easily be imposed upon. It is only necessary to draw a magic circle round the heap and place a sickle on top of it to keep them off.<sup>5</sup> Or in Montgomery and the other parts of the south-west the village *mulwāna* or holy man writes a charm which is stuck in a cleft stick in the heap. For this a fixed fee, called *rasūl-wāhi*, 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.<sup>6</sup>

The agricultural superstitions in Bahāwalpur are of special interest because in that state disease is personified and even trees become anthropomorphised.

<sup>1</sup> Karnāl S. R., p. 131. This custom is falling into disuse.

<sup>2</sup> P. N. Q., IV, § 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 481.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 477.

<sup>5</sup> N. I. N. Q., IV, § 593.

<sup>6</sup> Purser, Montgomery S. R., p. 100.



Charms for  
crops and  
cattle.

If a crop of wheat, gram or maize be attacked by insects (*kungi* or *tela*) 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, Mūla, Bakhra chāre bhain bhira,  
 Hukm Khuda de nāl dī hawā ate gū uḍā.*

"*Kungi, Kira, Mūla, 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.  
 Roṭī be nimāz dī gai wā uḍā.*

"*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 (*kara*), 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 *mujḍwar* of the shrine hears a voice from the tomb or the cattle get frightened at night and run away, in either of which cases it is expected that they will recover. In the Ubha the following *mantar* is used in cases of foot and mouth disease :—

*Suranjit de tre beṭe, Dar, Dathar, Buhāra,  
 Bīwi Bāi de pāp ḍubban je dhan wich kare pasāra.*

"Suranjit had three sons, Dar, Dathar and Buhāra. The sins of Bīwi Bāi 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 *muhāra* and to cure it the shrine of Jetha Bhutṭa is much resorted to. If grass does not agree



with the cattle the following *mantar* is recited 7 or 11 times and the *mullāh* blows into each animal's ear :—

*Kāla paṭhṭha pabbar wannān,  
 Zimīn wick hīk salu upannān,  
 Na kār paṭhṭha eḍa mānān ;  
 Mar bhī terī zāt picchhānā.  
 Ant nagri, ant gor,  
 Mare paṭhṭha te jiwe dhor.*

On the other hand Sawant appears to be a benevolent spirit who casts out diseases. 'Bantari gave birth to Sawant beyond the river, whereby ulcers, abscesses, tooth-aches, ophthalmia and swellings of the breast departed', runs the couplet. If the right breast be swollen the left is exorcised and *vice versa*. In a somewhat similar way scorpion-bite is cured by proxy. A man goes on the patient's behalf to the exorciser who blows a spell on the water which the proxy drinks, and then the sufferer recovers.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

MINOR SUPERSTITIONS.—Good and bad omens are innumerable. Black is unlucky, and if a man go to build a house and turn up charcoal at the first stroke of the spade, he will abandon the site. A mantis is the horse of Rām, is very auspicious, and always saluted when seen. Owls portend desolate homes; and the *koil* (*Eudynamys orientalis*) is also especially unlucky. Chief among good omens is the *dogar*, or two water-pots one on top of the other. This should be left to the right, as should the crow, the black buck, and the mantis; but the snake to the left. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after. So when a man sneezes his friends grow enthusiastic and congratulate him, saying 'live a hundred years'! On the other hand it is said that sneezing is *always* a bad omen among Hindus and a sneeze from any one near him will always prevent a Hindu's starting on a journey or any important business. He will sit down for a while before recommencing and if he should fail even then he will attribute it to the sneeze.<sup>3</sup> But after sneezing you may eat, drink or sleep, only you must not go on a visit.<sup>4</sup> Odd numbers are lucky :—'*Numero Deus impari gaudet*.' But three and thirteen are unlucky, because

Ibbetson,  
 § 230.

<sup>1</sup> Bahawalpur Gazetteer, pp. 188-89.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Zāt-ul-rikā'a* (place of shreds of cloth) by supposing it to be a term for a tree to which the Moslems hung their *ex-voto* rags. The *Tārīkh-i Tabarī* mentions it as a practice of the pagan Arabs and talks of evil spirits residing in the date-tree : Burton's *At Madīna*, (1906), I, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, I, § 776. The Buddhist idea is the same and a Tibetan proverb often said when a man sneezes runs—

*Chkhering nāmnet Funchung shokk,  
 Lorgyā thung-nang tongyā thukk,  
 Tondū dēbarā zorbā thukk.*

'May God prolong your life, and avert the evil omen'.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.*, I, § 949.



they are the bad days after death; and *terah tin* 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  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 5,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , whether rupees or *sers* 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 Siálkot *wáhde* (apparently fr. *wádhān*, to increase) is always used in counting for *tin*. Elsewhere in counting *bahut* is used for it and the *shisham* with its 3 leaves is a type of utter failure. 12, on the contrary, is peculiarly lucky, and complete success is called *pao 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 *baiya*, or group of 22 villages, is, like *bára* and *báwan* 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-panthís. The 8th child is unlucky.

Council of  
three un-  
lucky.

But for three persons to act together as a council or committee is unlucky, at any rate in Baháwalpur. *Trehon janán di majlis khoti*, i.e. a committee consisting of three members is unlucky (lit. counter-feit). On the other hand to be five in council is thrice blessed, for the proverb goes: *pánchón men pír, panj pardhán* or *panjo men parmeshar*, 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 *satā*, 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<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys-Davids, *American Lectures on Buddhism*, p. 156. But in the hills 2 is distinctly unlucky and a *džaila*, 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 *pāshi*, lit. 'hanging', J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 156, 219. In ancient India 13 was not ill-omened: J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 350 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Just as the 8th month of pregnancy is unlucky.





51, or 101 are fortunate as indeed are all odd numbers (except 3),<sup>1</sup> 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. xiii—iv: 2, 4, 8, 16, 3 and 7 are common, but 12 is the commonest of all: 6, 18, 24, 36, 48 and 9 also occur. 5 is also frequent, while there are instances of 13, 14, 19, 20, 21 and 22, while 60, 70 and the old Indian magic number 84 are also found. See also pref. to Vol. II, pp. xix and xx, for some further details. In religion we have the 33 crores of gods, the 84 Sidhs, the 9 Nāths, the 64 Jognīs, the 52 Vīras (Bīrs), the 6 Jātis—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<sup>2</sup>: 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.<sup>3</sup> Shaking one's leg while sitting on a chair or couch means loss of money.<sup>4</sup> Yawning is very unlucky and to avert evil Muhammadans say *lā haula wa lā quwata illā billāh*.<sup>5</sup> Biting one's tongue means that some one is telling tales against one.<sup>6</sup>

Twitching (*sank*) of the right eye is a lucky omen in Kāngra, and the general science of its omens is summed up in the lines:—

'If the lower left lip twitch, know there will be a blot on the happiness.  
If the upper lid twitch, say all will be delight 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.'<sup>7</sup>

*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.<sup>8</sup> 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 *Farasnāma-i-Rangin* or treatise by

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 127.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, § 849.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 633.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 781.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 111.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 453.



Unlucky horses.

Rangin (Sa'adat Yâr Khan) who regards the horse as one of a captive yet god-like race.<sup>1</sup> 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 *târa-peshôni*, 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 (*Siâh kâm 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 pâish sufed-o-yake dast-i-chap,*  
*Buwad lâiq-i-shâh-i-âli nasab.*  
 "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 (*mânki*) or which has an eye like that of a human being, is called *tâki* and is ill-starred.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Quaritch, 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 influences are momentous, predestined, and to a large extent sinister. It is a science akin, in its minuteness and intricacy, to palmistry; it is also exact as becomes a table of laws from which there is no appeal. If there be only one feather in the centre of the forehead it is not to be regarded as an ill-mark; but if there be two on the forehead avoid that horse and do not dream of buying it. If there be 3, 4 or 5 feathers on the forehead Persians will not even look at the horse; others call it a ram, saying 'it will butt you to misfortune.' The battle of the good and evil feathers continues from head to tail. A feather low down on the forearm, if it points downward, is called 'Driver-in-of the Peg' and is lucky, but if it points upward is called 'Up-rooter-of-the-Peg' and is baleful. A feather under the girth is lucky and is called 'width of the Ganges.' A feather under the saddle is unlucky: "Buy not a horse with such a feather. Do not even keep him in your village" (Strange that in Ireland also there are turns of the hair that are accounted fortunate, both in horses and in cattle). The colours are doomful and precise in their augury as the feathers themselves:—"If there are in the blaze hairs the colour of the rest of the body, shun the horse; experts call that horse a scorpion. A white spot on the forehead, sufficiently small to be concealed by the tip of the thumb, is called 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 *khaki* dun, the third a dun with a black mane and tail, called *samand*. This last would, with the addition of a black strip down the back, be identical with an Irish 'shan buie' and of an Irish 'shan buie' it has been said (in illustration of his adroitness and agility) that he 'would tend a slater.' 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.

<sup>2</sup> Bahawalpur Gazetteer, p. 134.



But the *panch-kalián* 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 Panchkaliáni or-a in folk-tales.

So too when buying a buffalo, cow or bullock it is a good sign if it defecate, but do not buy if it urinate. If a buffalo lows (*ringái*) it is a good omen, but the reverse if a by-stander sneezes<sup>1</sup>

If an owl hoot thrice on a man's house he must quit it for 3, 7 or 11 days, placing thorns at its door and feasting Brahmans, sacrificing a goat and offering a broken cocoanut before he re-enters it.<sup>2</sup>

A kite settling on the roof of a house is unlucky.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> When out shooting it is very lucky to meet a *garúr*, a name applied in the Punjab to a small king-fisher with bright blue plumage, which is let out of its cage at the Dasehra as a sacred bird.<sup>5</sup> A cat or a crow throwing water over itself denotes a coming guest.<sup>6</sup>

The perils of travel have led to the development of something like a science of augury in regard to it. Before starting on an important journey a Hindu will consult a Brahman as to what day will be propitious and if he cannot start on that day he will send on a *paitra*, a small bundle of necessities, to some place near the gate by which he intends going, and start himself within the next two days.<sup>7</sup>

When starting on a journey if a Brahman or Dúmna is met, or any one carrying an empty pot (*ghara*) or basket (*kiltá*), 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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> It is unlucky to meet a widow but a good omen to meet a woman with a male child.<sup>10</sup>

In Dera Gházi Khán it is lucky to meet a man at starting, but a

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 490.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 703.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 864.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 854.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 1016.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 41.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 610.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 855.



woman forebodes failure in your purpose. So too it is unlucky to encounter a shriek<sup>1</sup> on the left hand, and Baloch calls this *chhapi* 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.<sup>2</sup>

In Dera Ismā'il Khān the Muhammadan Jāts 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—

<i>Rāthi bulāe kukr</i>	"By night if the cock,
<i>Te dehen bulāe shighar</i> <sup>3</sup>	By day the jackal calls
<i>Ekki badli Sāhibi</i> <sup>4</sup>	A king changes
<i>Te ekki ponda kāl</i>	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:—

*Sitā Raghāpat Rām ke tamak bānakhlo hāth,*  
*Age age Har chālē, pichhē Har kā sāth*

'Join hands in praise of Sitā and Rām  
And God will precede you, and you will follow God.'<sup>5</sup>

To see a partridge on one's right is lucky provided that one is going to a field, to meet a friend or homewards: *Khet, mīt, ghar ahane*; but *bānwān baniḡ beopār*, 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 *Bhangan* or any woman of very low caste, or one with two *gharas* on her head.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

To meet a Chūhṛa is lucky, the more so if he has a basket or broom in hand.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In Jātī speech *malhāla*, in Balochi *gyānchh*: P. N. Q., I, § 1019.

<sup>2</sup>*Ib.*, § 1020.

<sup>3</sup>*Shighar* is the male jackal.

<sup>4</sup>*Sāhibi*—"ruler."

<sup>5</sup>P. N. Q., II, § 670.

<sup>6</sup>This omen may be connected with the superstition referred to in the account of Gāga.

<sup>7</sup>P. N. Q., II, § 150.

<sup>8</sup>*Ib.*, II, § 349.



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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

To hear a jackal barking is, in Dera Ghāzi Khān, most unlucky. It is known as *bhūnkāri*.<sup>3</sup> In Rohtak it is lucky to hear a jackal howling on the left, but not on the right,<sup>4</sup> and the jackal should not be spoken of by his proper name as *gīdar*, but as Jambu.<sup>5</sup>

Omens.

In Bahāwalpur 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 *malhāla*, 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 *lālī* be heard warbling on the roof, the women reply, *Atā pihā piā he, ja mīmhān kon liā*. "The flour is ready ground, go, fetch the guest," i.e. a guest is expected. The bird's note is supposed to be *pīho pīho*, the imperative of *pīhā* (*pīsna*), 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 *hāndī* or scare-crow is usually hung on the loftiest part of the roof.

In Kāngra it is also lucky to meet a married woman, a pot full of water, a corpse in a *doli*, flesh, fish, a cow with calf, a mongoose, ox, the sound of music, a wild parrot perching on your body, a blue jay, a peacock, a *kurla* (lizard) or a *chipkali* (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 *bairāgi* or a *faqir* smeared with ashes, an oil-crusher (? a Teli) with his pot, a crow, a jackal or a cat.

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., IV, § 270

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, § 608.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, § 1019.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, § 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, § 151.

<sup>6</sup> P. N. Q. III, §§ 109, 110. In Attock it is unlucky to meet any man with a bare head, any Brahman or a *mullāh*, any one weeping or smoking, or fire, a crow flying towards one, a widow, any one carrying a broken pot, a gardener with an empty basket, a cat, a goat, a cow, or any black animal, a snake or an empty vessel if carried. To hear the sound of weeping or a person sneeze while on a journey is most unfortunate, and the latter omen will almost always occasion a delay at any rate: *Gazetteer*, p. 107.



Eat curds, and go where you please, but do not eat pickle or anything sour when going to visit an official, or you will either fail to see him or not gain your purpose. Success on a journey to pay such a visit or for any important business may be assured by observing the simple rules :—

*To sur chāle, wohi pag dije,*

*Pothi 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 noseless man or a barren woman do not let them cross you or you will fail in your undertakings.<sup>1</sup>

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."

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 815. <sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

In Kāngra it is lucky to meet a Brahman telling his beads or saluting you with his *tilak* (sectarial mark) on.<sup>2</sup>

'If you meet one Sudra, and as many Bānias, three Brahmins, and four Chhatttris—nine women coming in front—don't go on: I give you this omen'<sup>3</sup>

If on the road you meet milk and fish, two Brahmins with books, 'tis a good omen and all wishes will be granted you.<sup>4</sup>

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,<sup>5</sup> or by clattering scissors.<sup>6</sup>

The loan of a comb or kerchief causes enmity.<sup>7</sup>

If while kneading flour a bit of the dough gets loose, a guest is coming.<sup>8</sup>

If unleavened bread rise while being baked on an iron plate it means that the person for whom it is being made is hungry.<sup>9</sup>

Finding gold is unlucky at any time, and metal found on a Saturday, when it is unlucky to find anything, is given to a Dakaut or Mahā-Brahman. No real Brahman takes alms on that day.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

It is lucky to have one's crop trodden down by a superior, as it will yield the more.<sup>12</sup>

If, when one is thinking of a person or wishes to see him, he turns up it forebodes long life to him.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Q., III, § 451.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 109: The omens in this district are very numerous, *cf. ib.* §§ 110, 111, 112, 113, 114.

<sup>3</sup> N. I. N. Q., I., § 238.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, § 239.

<sup>5</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 1089.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 798.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 682.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 779.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 493.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, IV, § 34.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, II, § 740.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.*, III, § 504.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.*, I, § 15.



*Tabus.*—Eating the leavings of another's food causes 100 generations to burn, and is nearly as bad as back-biting which condemns countless generations to the flames.<sup>1</sup>

Muhammadans object to beating a brass tray as the dead might be awakened, thinking the Last Day had arrived.<sup>2</sup>

Some Hindus will not wear a white turban as long as their father is alive.<sup>3</sup>

Red food is said to be avoided by Hindu Bānias 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.<sup>4</sup>

However, this may be some *tabus* are clearly based upon delicacy of feeling. Such is the prohibition which, regarding it as a great sin to accept any help from a daughter or to make any use of her property, *tabus* even a drink of water from her well or a rest under the shade of the tree among high-caste Hindus. Brahmans will often not even drink water in a son-in-law's village. And among high class Khatri families such as the Seth, Khanna, Kapūr and Mihrotra sections of Dhāighar status a mother will not even use her daughter's fan.<sup>5</sup> Among Brahmans and Khatri 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.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Rājputs in Karnāl 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.<sup>7</sup>

The *tabu* on new vessels of metal among Hindus may be removed by letting a horse eat out of them. Some orthodox Hindus will also, after this, rub them with ashes to purify them from the touch of their low-caste makers.<sup>8</sup> The horse is here probably symbolical of the Sun-god.

Among Brahmans and other high-caste Hindus no food that has been in the house during an eclipse of the sun or moon can be eaten and it must be given away. But to avoid this necessity *halwāis* keep some *kusa* or *dūb* grass, *cynodon dactylon*, in the baskets of sweet stuff during an eclipse.<sup>9</sup>

A widespread *tabu* is that placed upon buildings of burnt brick or stone.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, I, § 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, I, § 519.

<sup>4</sup> P. N. Q., I, § 670.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, I, § 1002.

<sup>6</sup> N. I. N. Q., I, § 25.

<sup>7</sup> Karnāl Sett. Rep., p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> P. N. Q., II, § 887.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, I, § 705.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, I, § 755.



In the plains milk should not be churned on a Thursday by either Hindus or Muhammadans as that day is held sacred to the Muhammadan saints. Part of that day's milk is used, and the rest given away to mendicants.<sup>1</sup>

The *Gazetteer* of the Simla Hill States thus describes the *tabu* on the use of milk which is found among the Kanets :—‘Amongst Kanets the belief is universal that if a man drinks the milk of his own cow or gives it to others to drink he will incur the displeasure of his *deota* in a practical form.’<sup>1</sup> But no evil consequences attach to the making and selling or eating of *ghi* from this milk. As a consequence of this idea those who arrange for supplies to visitors have to get milk from Kolis as it is said that although the milk of a Koli's cow may not be drunk by the owner himself, it may be safely given to other people. Sceptics say that Kanets have often been compelled to furnish milk for distinguished visitors when Kolis' milk was not available, and that no evil has resulted. They call the story of the god's wrath a convenient fiction designed to ensure owners of cattle the full benefit of the profitable industry of *ghi* making and to protect them from exaction.’

Following up this clue Mr. H. W. Emerson has elicited the following data regarding this interesting and important *tabu* :—

“Now the custom is so widespread and presents such interesting features that a fuller account of it may free the hill-folk from the aspersions cast upon their sense of hospitality. In the first place the belief is far from universal amongst Kanets. The restriction in fact depends upon the dispensations and dispositions of various gods. Some there are who insist on their full rights and forbid the use of milk in any other form than *ghi*. Others content themselves with a formal recognition of their prerogative, whilst not a few allow their worshippers both to drink themselves and give to others.

As an instance of the autocratic despot we may cite the case of Dúm, a god who exercises sway around Nárankaṇḍa. He will not permit his devotees to deal in any way with pure milk or curds and even the *ghi* must be properly clarified. Cases have occurred in which a new-born child whose mother has died in childbirth has had to wait hungry until a milch cow could be brought from Kulu or some other district where the local god imposed no veto. For it is an old feature of the superstition that prohibition or freedom to use the milk are dependent on the origin and lineage of the animal that gives it. A cow imported from the jurisdiction of an alien deity remains subject to the rules and regulations of its ancestral god. Neither she nor her offspring can acquire the liberties or incur the disabilities as the case may be, of naturalised subjects of the new divinity. The principle is indeed applied to objects other than the sacred cow, for if the offerings made to certain deities pass from their spheres of influence the gods go with them and thus often gain a footing in villages which have neither known them in the past nor want them in the future. “The god holds what the god has

<sup>1</sup> I. N. Q., IV, § 351. Very different ideas prevail elsewhere. Thus the Brahúi and Baloch nomads of Peshín will give milk in exchange for other commodities, but deem it a disgrace to make money by it, and among the Badami in Arabia *labhán* or ‘milk-seller’ is a term of disgrace; Burton's *Al-Madina*, I, p. 216.