



AS-0041181

(Part I)
SL

Imperial Secretariat Library,
Government of India, New Delhi

A GLOSSARY

OF THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.

Based on the Census Report for the Punjab, 1883, by the late
Sir DENZIL IBBETSON, K.C.S.I.,

and the Census Report for the
Punjab, 1892, by

Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,

and compiled by

H. A. ROSE,

of the Indian Civil Service.

VOL. I

P.C.R.

Lahore :

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING, PUNJAB,
1919.

Price : Rs. 6. or 9s.



CSL

Revised List of Agents for the Sale of Punjab Government Publications.

IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

- CONSTABLE & Co., 10, Orange Street,
Leicester Square, London, W. C.
- KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.,
Limited, 68-74, Carter Lane, E.C.,
and 25, Museum Street, London,
W. C.
- BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, Grafton Street,
New Bond Street, London, W.
- T. FISHER UNWIN, Limited, No. 1,
Adelphi Terrace, London, W. C.
- P. S. KING & SON, 2 & 4, Great
Smith Street, Westminster, London,
S. W.
- H. S. KING & Co., 65, Cornhill, and 9,
Pall Mall, London.
- GRINDLAY & Co., 54, Parliament Street,
London, S. W.
- W. THACKER & Co., 2, Creed Lane,
London, E. C.
- LUZAC & Co., 46, Great Russell Street,
London, W. C.
- B. H. BLACKWELL, 50 and 51, Broad
Street, Oxford.
- DEIGHTON BELL & Co., Limited, Cam-
bridge.
- OLIVER & BOYD, Tweeddale Court,
Edinburgh.
- E. PONSONBY, Limited, 116, Grafton
Street, Dublin.
- WILLIAM WESLEY & SON, 28, Essex
Street, Strand, London.

ON THE CONTINENT.

- ERNEST LAROUX, 28, Rue Bonaparte,
Paris, France.
- MARTINUS NIJHOFF, The Hague, Hol-
land.

IN INDIA.

- THE MANAGER, Imperial Book Depôt,
Delhi.
- GULAB SINGH & SONS, Mufid-i-'Am
Press, Lahore.
- MANAGER, Punjab Law Book Depôt,
Anarkali Bazar, Lahore.
- RAMA KRISHNA & SONS, Book-sellers
and News Agents, Anarkali Street,
Lahore.
- HONORARY SECRETARY, Punjab Reli-
gious Book Society, Anarkali,
Lahore.
- N. B. MATHUR, Superintendent and
Proprietor, Nazir Kanun Hind Press,
Allahabad.
- D. B. TARAPOREVALA, SON & Co.,
Bombay.
- THACKER SPINK & Co., Calcutta and
Simla.
- NEWMAN & Co., Calcutta.
- R. CAMBRAY & Co., Calcutta.
- THACKER & Co., Bombay.
- HIGGINBOTHAMS, Limited, Madras.
- T. FISHER UNWIN, Calcutta.
- V. KALYANARAM IYER & Co., 189,
Esplanade Row, Madras.
- G. A. NATESAN & Co., Madras.
- SUPERINTENDENT, AMERICAN BAPTIST
MISSION PRESS, Rangoon.

572.954724
R869 V.1
12013



PREFACE.

THE compilation of this the 1st volume of the Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province has occupied my leisure since the year 1903 when the Ethnographic Survey of India was inaugurated by the late Sir Herbert Risley. Fourteen years may appear a long time to have spent on this compilation, but the leisure of an official in India is necessarily limited and I feel that another four or five years might with advantage have been devoted to arranging my material better and completing various lines of enquiry. I may for instance cite the section on Hinduism, especially on Hinduism in the Himalayas, which seems to me to be painfully incomplete and is probably inaccurate. The enquiries made by Mr. H. W. Emerson, I.C.S., in the Bashahr State show that many primitive customs which have been more or less worked into the various forms of Hinduism survive in that part of the Himalayas and I have no doubt whatever that similar survivals could be discovered by keen-witted officers in Kulu, Chamba and elsewhere. Officers who are gifted with *flair* often discover matters of historical and ethnographical importance which their less-talented predecessors have overlooked, despite all their efforts to add to our knowledge. Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I.C.S., has, for example, unearthed some valuable historical facts regarding the ancient kingdom of Makarāsa in Kulu and the old Tibetan trade-routes in that valley. He has shown that these trade-routes have left their influence on the ethnical constituents of that part of the Himalayas and I have no doubt that facts of equal interest await sagacious investigators in other parts of these Provinces. But too often during the fourteen years that I have been occupied in my enquiries I have felt that as an official my leisure was entirely inadequate to do justice to them, and I have also felt that other officers also had little or no leisure to supplement my materials. I feel that one of the greatest perils which awaits an investigator in India is the temptation to overlook points which come within his personal observation and to shirk personal inquiry, because it involves personal responsibility. One always likes to have 'authority' to cite for a fact or its explanation. But I have also felt the truth that there is in India 'neither collaborator nor substitute in official life,' as Mr. J. C. Jack, I.C.S., and temporarily of the Royal Field Artillery, expresses the isolation which an investigator must always feel in India. Hence I trust that the present

Preface.

volume will be acceptable not as a work on the religious and social observance of the Punjab people so much as a compilation of raw material on which fuller and more systematic investigations may be based. This volume has been pieced together as material came to hand and as new books and writings came to my notice. For example in writing on Jainism I laboured under the great disadvantage of not having Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's work *The Heart of Jainism* to refer to before that section had been printed. That valuable work only appeared in 1915. The section on Islam is to my great regret very incomplete, because when I began to compile it I had no conception of the wealth of material which existed to throw light on the continuity of Islamic thought and tradition from mediæval times down to the present day. An Indian friend has proposed to translate this section into Urdu and publish it separately with a view to the collection of additional material and the correction of the numerous errors into which I must have fallen. I hope that this proposal will materialise and that some day an Indian scholar with a competent knowledge of Arabic and Islamic religious literature will write a work which will altogether supersede the fragment which I have been able to compile. Hinduism is so vast a subject that I do not think any one inquirer could do justice to it. It appears to me for example that a thoroughly scientific study of the worship of Devi would be of immense interest and importance not only as a contribution to the history of Hinduism but also as a chapter in the evolution of human thought. The excellent series of booklets on the religious life of India inaugurated by the Right Revd. Dr. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, in *The Village Gods of South India*, will provide an investigator with materials for such studies, but in the history of such cults as those of Devi a vast deal remains to be done and the same remark will doubtless apply to the forthcoming studies on Vaishnavism, the Shaiva Siddhanta and kindred topics. It is understood that Dr. J. P. Vogel is taking up the study of Nága-worship which fully merits scientific examination and analysis. I for one do not regard Nága-deities as the idols of a primitive or degraded superstition. Just as Islam has its unseen world, so pre-Buddhist India had evolved a belief in an under-world of spiritual or immaterial beings who manifested themselves in two main things that came from the earth, the serpent and the stream. Both are associated with fertility, as the earth

Preface.

iii

is the mother of vegetation and the sun its father.¹ But on this simple basis of metaphorically explained fact metaphysical thought has built up endless theories which find expression in an infinite range of popular beliefs as well as in philosophic literature. The only way in which the mazes of Hindu thought can ever be made intelligible to the Western mind will be by a scientific systematization of each phase of that thought.

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

¹ To cite one of the scores of parallels which might be cited Athena born by the waters of Triton was at first a water-goddess and then a goddess of irrigation. Associated with the Erichthonios snake, she finds her prototype in the snake-goddess of the shrine-depository of the Minoan palace of Knossos in Crete, so that the principle on which her cult is founded is of great antiquity: Kaines Smith, *Greek Art and National Life*, 1914, p. 190.



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

¹ The late Sir James Lyall says the negotiations have always fallen through 'because the bribe offered was not sufficient.' We may conjecture that in earlier times military necessity might have even compelled the Katoch Rájá to adopt as liberal a policy as was imposed on Kahlúr.

Preface.

similar process law degenerates into legalism, which preaches the values of individual rights and ignores the countervailing duties of the citizen to the State.

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

The result has been that the Brahman, when unable to make a living by begging alms, enters domestic service, especially as a cook.¹ Yet we do not hear that the abandonment of learning by the Brahmans as a caste ever brought upon them any ruler's displeasure or involved them in forfeiture of the privileges bestowed on them. No doubt we find very many instances of Brahmans whose status is mediocre or even debased. But the degradation is always due to economic necessity or the acceptance of contaminating functions. The cultivating Brahmans of Kāngra and the Jumna valley have been driven to the plough by the pressure of want and the Mahā Brahman has been compelled by hunger to accept offerings which are at once unclean and uncanny. But the higher groups of the caste still retain all their sanctity, inviolability and other privileges which as individuals few of them would have earned by their attainments.

The latest writer² on the origin of caste contends that the system must have been found in existence when the Aryan immigrants made their irruption into India and proceeded with their conquests. He also surmises that at the outset the system had for its object the due adjustment of sexual relations, that the measures adopted with this view were found to promote economy, benevolence, and morality and have accordingly been adopted by the Hindu religious authorities and been strengthened by religious ceremonial. It is not improbable that the pre-Aryan races of India had evolved the rudiments of a caste system,³ but such

¹ Punjab Census Report, 1902, p. 371. But the progressive Mūhiā Brahmans, who have eschewed all priestly functions, are not hampered by any prejudices against similar employment and thrive in the professions and in Government service.

² Mr. A. H. Benton, I.C.S. (Retired), in *India: Moral Instruction and Caste Problems*, 1917, pp. 20 and 17.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 18, 20 and 21. It can hardly be denied that the Dravidians had class distinctions even if they had not 'castes' in the Hindu sense. Indeed, the difficulty is to find any society which has not such distinctions and does not enforce restrictions on marriage on their basis.



Dravidian or Kolarian tribes as exhibit such rudiments seem to have failed signally in legislating against immorality in sexual matters. In the most highly developed and organised castes it may be that the rules regulating marriage within the caste but prescribing all kinds of exogamous, isogamous, and hypogamous restrictions in unions between the various sections and groups into which the caste has divided itself were intended to adjust sexual or connubial relations. But if that was their intention they have proved remarkably unsuccessful in practice, and they seem to afford a remarkable proof of the theorem suggested that rules which human society devises for its protection and conservation soon become fetters which hamper its development and ensure its degeneration. If Hindu social reformers framed regulations designed to promote sexual relations which would be socially wholesome and eugenically effective they must have been disappointed to find that they only created the institution of Kulinism, not only in Bengal but in the Punjab and not only among Brahmans but among Khatrís, Sial Rájpúts, and other castes, over-producing brides in one group and not leaving enough to meet the demand in another. But to write :—"The basis and starting point of the whole system are obviously the fact that the community consists of sections, the members of which are under agreement to exchange brides with each other on certain customary conditions. These sections have not been formed by priests or rulers but solely by the members among themselves, either subsisting from of old or varied from time to time of fresh consent. Priests and rulers, if they were ever so anxious, could not produce such associations. The need for brides was one that had to be met somehow, if the existence of the community was to be continued. If we scan the benefits, which are derived from the caste system, as above set forth, we shall not find a single one, which would compel people to bestir themselves and take action to secure it, save this one. They were, however, obliged by necessity to undertake the solution of the problem—How to find brides when wanted?"¹—seems to postulate the division of the community into groups before any social problems affecting inter-marriage arose. The simplest solution of the matrimonial difficulties which exist under the caste system and mostly in consequence of its complexities would be its abolition. As a matter of fact exchanges of brides are far from universal and their purchase

¹ Mr. A. H. Benton, I.C.S. (Retired), in *Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems*, 1917, pp. 17-18.

Preface.

vii

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

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

¹ The system extended as far east as Kulu for a proverb says : 'All the 18 castes are in Nagar.' Diack, *Kutūhi Dialect*, p. 33.

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

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

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23, citing McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 33.

² Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, 1914, p. 236.



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

Inquiries into religious beliefs, social usages and custom too often ignore what is already known and start with the supposition that the field of investigation is still virgin soil. It is of the highest importance to an investigator to find out first what work has been done and to build on that, instead of starting afresh. For example, several very full and apparently exhaustive accounts of customs in Kulu have reached me, but a reference to Sir Alexander Diack's *Kulāhi Dialect of Hindi* shows that many usages and institutions must have existed and may still survive in that subdivision which my correspondents do not mention. The glossary in that work tells us that cross-betrothal¹ exists under the name of *dori desi* (p. 60) and that a cash payment called *badophri* (p. 48) is by the parents of the older fiancée to compensate for the excess of her age over that of the younger. The system of working for a bride exists, as to earn a wife by labouring for her father is *ghālnā* (p. 62). Old maids are not unknown, as land set aside for an unmarried female of a family is called *pharogal* (p. 84). No term for a best man is traceable, but a bridesmaid is *balhari* (p. 49). It is common for a bride to stipulate that her husband shall not marry a rival wife (*saukan*) (p. 89) except under certain circumstances, such as her proving barren, and when a husband takes a second wife he has to pay her compensation called *bhor pit* (p. 52).² Married women hold private property called *chheti* (p. 56). Adultery was mulcted in a fine, *rand* (p. 86), payable to the injured husband. Abduction of a married woman was of two kinds or possibly degrees, for the seducer who eloped with his neighbour's wife and settled the matter with him was not obliged to cross the border and was called *nāu karu* (p. 80), while he who absconded with her across the border was *dhuāl karu* (p. 59). Legitimacy was a question of degree.

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

² Such an agreement would probably be void under section 28 of the Indian Contract Act which is taken from the draft Civil Code of New York. Literally construed it has been taken to void all agreements in restraint of polygamy: see Pollock and Mulla's *Et*, 1913, p. 166. The history of the section and the construction placed upon it are pregnant with warning.



FINAL LIST OF ADDENDA, CORRIGENDA AND
CROSS-REFERENCES.

Vol. II, Page 1—

Add under ABDĀL:

See also Vol. I, p. 524 *supra*.

Page 3, insert:—

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

AGHORI: the word is variously derived (1) from Sanskr. *ghor*, hideous and is really *ghori*: or (2) from *āghor*, 'without fear,' an epithet of Shiva.¹ These cannibal *faqīrs* are also called Aghor-panthi, and appear to be sometimes confused with the Oghar. See under Jogi, at p. 404, Vol. II, also.

Page 9—

Add under AKĀLĪ:—

For the Bibeki Akālīs see Vol. I, p. 729 *supra*.

Page 12—

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

Page 12—

ARDASĪA, a Sikh title:

ARGHŪN: see Tarkhān (2) in Vol. III. Argun, the offspring of a Chāh-zang by a Lohār woman. Should a Chāh-zang take a woman of that caste into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Chāh-zangs will eat from his hand. An Argun will marry with a Lohār: *Kulu Gazetteer*, 1883-84, p. 120.

Page 24—

ATĪR, a sect of Jogīs who considered themselves released from worldly restraints: Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, I, p. 162.

ATRI, see under SOTWL.

Page 31—

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

¹P. N. Q., I., §§ 375, 365 and 41. In P. N. Q., III., § 205, an account of their origin is given, but it does not appear to be known in the Panjab.

Addenda.

Page 33—

Insert after BAGHUR :—

Bagiál (Janjúa)—see Bugiál.

Insert after BĀGRI :—

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

Page 35—

BAI, see under Hathikhel.

Page 36—

Under BAIRĀGI add :—

Thedi Singh, Rájá of Kulu, c. 1753, granted lands to militant Bairāgis : Lyall, *Kángra S. R.*, § 82.

Page 39—

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

BAKKAR, see under Háthikhel.

Page 40—

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

Page 56—

Add under BALOCH :—

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

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



Addenda.

Page 56—

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

Page 57—

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

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

Page 62—

Under BANJÁRA insert :—

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

The feminine is Banjáran or Banjárá, *i. q.* Vanjáran, Vanjárá.

BANOTÁ, BANAUTÁ, a commission agent.

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

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

BÁNWAYYÁ, s. m. a manufacturer.

Page 64—

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

Page 65—

BARARAKKI.

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

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

BARETA, baretha, *fem.* barethan : a washerman or fuller : *Platts' Hindustáni Dicty.*, p. 151.

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

Addenda.

Page 66—

Insert after BARLÁS :—

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

Page 69—

Add to :—

BASHGALI (not -áli). Their seats are the valleys of the Bashgal river and its tributaries but their settlements extend to Birkot on the Chitrál stream : J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 1.

Page 70—

Insert : —

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

Page 79—

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

Add under BEDA :—

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

Page 80—

BELEMA, a half mythical race of gigantic men, whose mighty bones and great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the sand-hills in the Thal of Miánwáli. They are apparently the Bahlím Rájputs.

BEOPÁRI, see QASSÁB.

Insert before BETU :—

Bethú, baiṭhú, a Dági attendant on a Kanet family : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 51. Members of a *bethú* family have the sole right of performing ceremonial functions.

Cf. paikhu.

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

Page 83—

BHAINSWÁL, a Ját tribe or *got* (from *bhains*, buffalo) which is found in the Dádri tahsil of Jínd.

Page 84—

Add to BHANWÁLA : This *got* claims to be descended from Bhaun, its eponym. It is found in Jínd tahsil where it has been settled for 24 generations.

Addenda.

Page 101—

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

Page 83—

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

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

Page 84—

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

Page 101—

Add to note* : For a Bhattia Rája (ally of Jaipál) see Briggs' *Ferishta*, p. 9.

Page 100—

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

BHAUN, a tribe of Játs, found in Kapurthala, whither it migrated from Delhi : *Cf.* Bhanwálá, *supra*.

Page 90—

Insert after BHAROI :—

Bharotu, in Kulu, *bhártu* in Outer Saráj, a porter, fr. *bhár*, a load : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 29 : *Cf.* p. 52 (-tú).

Page 106—

BHÁTU, a Brahman in charge of the materials of worship : Mandi *Gazetteer*, App. VII.

Add under BHEDA : a Jáť tribe of this name, said to be derived from *bheda*, a wolf or sheep, is also found in tahsils Sangrur and Dadri of Jínd.

Page 114—

Insert after BISHNOI :—

Bisht = *wazír*, Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 53. *Cf.* Basíth under Megh. In Kanaur the form is *bishtang*.

Page 115—

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

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

Addenda.

Add under BOHRA :—

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

Page 116—

BOTI, a cook : Mandi *Gazetteer*, App. VII.

BOZA, one of the main divisions of the Umarzai.

BANGERA, see Wangrígár.

Page 121—

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

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

Page 142—

Insert after BUDH :—

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

Page 146—

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

CHÁKHA, a taster : Mandi, App. VII.

Page 151—

Insert after CHAMANG :—

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

Page 159—

Add as a footnote :—

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

Page 160—

CHÁKSI :—see under Káng-chumpo.

Page 152—

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

Page 170—

The CHILÁSIS claim descent from Rájá Chandaras, a son of Rájá Risálu : Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, p. 132. Cf. pp. 166-7.



Addenda.

7
CSL

Page 181—

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

Page 220—

Add to DAHIMA : These Brahmans appear to be much on a level with the Khandelwál. They are fed on the 13th day after death and take neither black offerings nor *grahn ka dán*. *Hissar Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 78. (2) There is also a Dahima clan of Rájputs, as to which see TAHIM, and note* on p. 238 in this volume.

Page 221—

DAHRIA, a Persian term, denoting atheist.

DAHRU, a head orderly : *Mandi Gazetteer*, App. VII.

Page 222—

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

Page 235—

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

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

Page 238—

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

Page 240—

In Dhúnd for Khalára read Khalúra.

Page 242—

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

Page 247—

The Dos⁴LI is also found in Mandi : *Gazetteer*, App. VII.

Page 247—

DOTAL, see under Ránki-dotal.

Page 249—

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

Page 272—

GADBI, one of the principal Ját *gots* in Gurdaspur : found in Batála tahsil.

¹ *Kulu Gazetteer*, 1888-9, p. 132.



Page 274—

GAHLAUR, see Katkhar.

Page 278—

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

Page 279—

GANI, a prostitute.

Under GĀR : After Rāja in line 4 insert Pāl.

Page 280—

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

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

Page 282—

Under GELUKPA add : see Kádamb'a in List of Addenda, Vol. I.

Page 282—

Add to GHANGHAS : In Karnál the Ghanghas claim descent from Badkál, whom they still worship. He has a shrine at Púthar. They hold the *thápa* of Mandi and say they came from Dhanana near Bhiwáni in Hissar.

Page 284—

GHARIBDĀSÍ, 'a modern sect of the KABÍRPANTHÍS' : I. N. Q., IV § 245. But see under SĀDHŪ. According to the *Punjab Census Rep.*, 1912, § 189, they are a declining branch of the Dádu-panthis.

Page 285—

The GHAZIANI are described as a Baloch tribe in *Muzaffargarh Gazetteer*, 1908, p. 65.

Page 297—

GHOTAKHOR, diver : see Toba.

Page 301—

GILGAR, -KAR or -SAZ, a worker in clay ; see under Kumhár.

Page 302—

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

Addenda.

Page 303—

GORKUN,-KAND, a grave-digger : said to be generally a Kumbhár.

GULBLI, fem. -AN, a wandering tribe, generally known as Bázígar or Naṭ.-The name may be derived from *gubel*, a sling. In the Baháwalpur *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 340, it appears as Gilail.

Page 420—

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

Page 435—

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

Page 438—

KALADHARI, followers of the Bairági *mahants* of that designation in Hoshiárpur. Pb. C. R., 1912, § 196.

Page 476—

KARGYUT-PA, a Lamaistic sect, see under Sakyapa.

Vol. III., page 25—

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

Page 39—

Insert after LUNGHERE :—

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

Page 57—

Add under MALANG :—

For the Malangs in Kurram, see Vol. I, p. 586.

Page 66—

Insert after MANGAL KHEL :—

Mangala-mukhi, a title of musicians, Turi, in the Simla Hills. P. Tika Ram Joshi, *Dicty. of Pahári* in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 203.

Page 72—

Add under MASAND :—

G. C. Narang derives the terms from *masnad-i-ali* = 'Excellency.' They were appointed to the 22 provinces or sees and apparently still survive among the Banda-panthis, but by them are called Bhais : *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 35 and 23.

Page 73—

Insert after MATU :—

For the Mulasanti see Shahpur *Gazetteer*, p. 84.

Addenda.

Page 75—

Add under *Mávi* :—

Mávi was the old name of Akbar's *khidmatias* : *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 252, cited in Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, IV, p. 338.

Page 77—

Add under *MEGH* :—

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

Page 86—

Add under *MEORA* (not -RA) :—

The definition should be 'a Guru's messenger' not 'priest.'
 The *meorás* were natives of Mewát, famous as runners, and excellent spies : they could perform the most intricate duties : *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 252. For the *ddk-meorás* of Kháfi Khán, *cf.* I, p. 243.

Page 128—

Add under *MON* :—

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

Page 139—

Nagálu, a basket-maker, in Simla Hills (*Gazetteer*, *Bashahr*, p. 17) : *Nagáli* according to P. Tika Rám Joshi, *Dicty. of Pahári* in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 209.

Page 155—

The *Nánaksháhi* are described as descendants of Sri Chand, founder of the *Udásís*, by S. Muhammad Latif, *Hist. of Lahore*, p. 150.

Page 176—

Add after *OMARA* :—

Or, fem.-*ni*, a carpenter = *Bádhí*, in *Bashahr* : *Dicty. of Pahári*, in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 214.

Page 193—

Insert after *PAHULIA* :—

Paikhu, a low caste attendant, a *Dági*, employed at death ceremonies : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect of Hindi*, p. 81.

Page 193—

Insert after *PAINDA KHEL* :—

Pajori, an assistant to a *NEGI* or *pálsrá* : Diack, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

Page 194—

Insert after *PALLEDAR* :—

Pálsrá, = *negi* : Diack, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Page 194—

Add to PÁNDĀ :—‘ a Brahman who receives donations at an eclipse ’ :
Dicty. of Pahári in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 217.

Page 203—

Insert after PĀRNAMI :—

Paroha, a supplier of water at the wayside : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 32.

Page 205—

Add to footnote—

Sir Richard Burton says Pathán is supposed to be a corruption of Ar. Fat’hán, ‘conquerors,’ or to be derived from Hindi *pañhūd*, ‘to penetrate’ (hostile ranks). The synonym Sulaimáni recalls the phrase ‘Sulaimáni Zarámī, the Sulaimánis are ruffians in Arabic : *Pilgrimage to Al-Madina*, I, p. 45.

Page 206 --

For Wdyána read Udyána, and in footnote.‡

Page 216—

For Khitali read Khilchi under Ghilzai.

Page 234—

After PHĀNHERE insert :—

Phandári (? Bh-), a priest : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 83.

Page 237—

After PRAHU, insert :—

Prámú from *pram*, ‘masonry’ ; a mason, assistant to the *thávi* or carpenter : Diack, *Kulúhi Dialect*, p. 85.

After PRĪT-PĀLA insert :—

Puhál, Palhál, a shepherd, Diack, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Page 264—

For ‘him’ in 3rd para. read ‘them.’

Page 266—

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

Page 273—Under A add :—

1. Jammál from Jammu.
1. Samiál „ Sám̐ba.
2. Cháarak „ Chakri.
3. Kátīl „ Katli.
2. Salária „ (Chak) Salár¹ : Lunda Satár in Shakargarh.
2. Manhás „ Mähú, eponym.
- Bára Manga „ 12 villages in Shakargarh.
3. Lahotra „ Lalhi in Jammu.
2. Jaggi „ Jagiain in „.

¹ In Zafarwál,

Addenda.

3. {	Kadiál	from	}	Intermarry with Kátíl now on equal terms.
	Punni	"		
	Kadía	"		

2 are Thakkars.

Page 275—

Add a footnote :—

Mr. D. J. Boyd, C. S., writes.—‘ Three or four years ago the *xaildár* of Charwa, Moti Singh, a Cháarak Rájput, called a meeting of Cháraks, Salehrias and others of about the same grade and persuaded them to agree to *dohta* marriages and to refuse brides to the more lofty *gots*. The Manhás people would not touch the proposal and have great difficulty in getting brides in consequence. The Cháraks and Salehrias have scored. I am told that the Mahárája of Jammu held an opposition meeting later to try to break the compact but it remains in force with, of course, many qualifications.’

Page 322—

Add under RANGHAR :—

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

Page 334—

After RONGAR add :—

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

Page 351—

Insert after SAN :—

Sanauri, an enameller : M. Latifi, *Industrial Punjab*, p. 276.

Vol. III, page 398—

Prefix to art. SHAHID:—Among Muhammadans the term Shahíd, from the same root as *sháhíd*, 'witness,' is applied to a martyr who dies for the faith and extended to anyone who is killed or executed, provided he does not speak after receiving his death-stroke.¹ In popular hagiolatry the term is frequently confused with Sayyid.² Many shrines in northern India are undoubtedly tombs of Moslem warriors who were killed in the Muhammadan invasions and wars, and occasionally such shrines are styled Mashhad or 'place of martyrdom.' Thus an Imám Nasir-ud-dín is said to have met his death at a spot in the Mashhad quarter of Sonepat town, near Delhi.³ But more commonly the term Ganj Shahídán or 'enclosure of the martyrs' is applied to traditional cemeteries containing such graves, but these are not regarded as shrines or worshipped. A Ganj Shahídán at Súnám in Patiála probably commemorates those who fell when that fortress was taken by Tímur in 1398 A. D.⁴ The Shahíds do not appear to have belonged to any of the Muhammadan orders nor do their shrines seem to be affected by any particular order or sect. They are often minor shrines, representing the militant side of Islám, not its mystical or Sufistic tendencies. Such are the shrines of Makki and Kháki Shah, Shahíds at Pinjaur in Patiála, at which food and sweets are offered on Thursdays.⁵ Shádna Shahíd at Multán has a *naugaza* or tomb 9 yards in length, but as a rule *naugazas* are not tenanted by Shahíds. Shádna Shahíd had a mother who tempted the saint Baháwal Haqq and then accused him falsely, as Potiphar's wife did Joseph, but the child, then only 10 months old, gave miraculous evidence against her and when done to death by her was restored to life by that saint. He is now invoked by anyone who wants a thing done in a great hurry.⁶

But other Shahíds have a less exalted origin. Thus in Baháwalpur State the roofless shrine of Khaudu Shahíd commemorates a Rájput who was killed by the kinsmen of a Ját woman who had fallen in love with him. Another Jamál or Jamáldi Shahíd is presented with offerings after marriage both by Hindus and Muhammadans.⁷ Other shrines of the same clan commemorate chieftains who fell in a tribal feud, and vows are made at them, especially by their clansmen.

¹ P. N. Q., I., § 517.

² Ibbetson, § 226. For an account of how one of these 'Sayyids' met his death see Ibbetson, Karnal Sett. Rep., § 376. A Hindu Rájá used to exact the *droit de seigneur* from virgin brides, and the father of a Brahman girl thus outraged appealed to a Sayyid, Mírán Sáhíb, for redress. He raised a Moslem host and the Sayyid shrines in the neighbourhood towards Delhi are the graves of those who fell in the campaign against the tyrant. Lamps are lit at them on Thursdays, but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfilment of a vow. They take the form of a fowl or goat, and especially, a goat's head, and are the perquisite of Muhammadan *fagirs*. Sayyids are very fond of blue flags and a favourite prescription in illness is to build a shrine to one with an imaginary name or even no name at all. A *kos minár* or imperial mile-stone near Karnal town has been converted into a Sayyid's shrine. Mírán Sáhíb himself went on fighting without his head, but before he died he exclaimed *haqq! haqq! ib.*, § 381: and so apparently he is not himself a Shahíd.

³ Delhi Gazetteer, p. 218.

⁴ Phulkíán States Gazetteer, p. 82: for another Ganj Shahídán, at Kalána in Jind, see p. 262. The Ganj Shahíd at Lahore is the burial-place of Sikhs who were executed by a Hindu governor under the later Mughals; Muhammad Latif, *History of Lahore*, p. 161.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 81.

⁶ Sir E. D. Maelagan, Multán Gazetteer, pp. 347 and 348.

⁷ Baháwalpur Gazetteer, p. 173.

Apparently, it will be observed, most of these shrines are old, but that of Músa Pák Shahíd, a well-known shrine at Multán, is almost modern. Shaikh Abulhassan Músa Pák was a descendant of Abdal Qádir Giláni, born at Uch in 1545. *Post* 1600 he was killed in a skirmish and in 1616 his body was brought to Multán. It is said that it was not at all decomposed and that it was carried in sitting on a horse. The shrine is largely affected by Pathans and has a small *mela* on Thursday evenings.¹

All over the eastern Punjab small shrines exist to what are popularly called Sayyids. These shrines are Muhammadan in form, and the offerings, which are made on Thursdays, are taken by Muhammadan *fajirs*. Very often however the name of the Sayyid is unknown, and diviners will even invent a Sayyid hitherto not heard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent and often cause illness and even death. Boils are especially due to them and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid, Bhúra, of Bari in the Kaithal tahsíl of Karnál District, shares with Mansa Deví of Mani Májira in Ambála the honour of being the patron saint of thieves in the eastern Punjab.² Thus the Sayyid has annexed many of the functions of Deví, both as a godling of disease and as the prototype of the martyr who immolates himself for the tribal weal. This theory would also account for the curious tradition that the saint Nizám-ud-dín Aulia was a patron of thieves alluded to above on p. 493. It is no doubt possible that *thags* elected to regard him as their protector, just as thieves in Europe chose to affect St. Nicholas,³ the patron saint of Eton College. But a change of creed does not necessarily involve a change in moral principles, and just as Muhammadan thieves transferred their allegiance from Mansa Deví to Sayyid Bhúra so the Muhammadan *thags* seem to have transferred them from Bhawáni Deví to Nizám-ud-dín. The parallel is complete.

Among Hindus the term Shahíd has a similar meaning. Thus Rám-Mal, a Ját chieftain, is known as Buddha Shahíd, because he was murdered by some Játs of the Chima tribe into which he had married with the connivance of eldest son. When wounded he begged for wine but he died before it could be given him and so his kinsmen sprinkled some over his shrine, and to this day same wine is sprinkled over it at the rite of *bhog l'harna*⁴ and the rest given to the tribal bards *mirásis* to drink.

¹ Multán *Gazetteer*, p. 346.

² Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, § 226.

³ St. Nicholas was a great patron of mariners, and also of thieves who long rejoiced in the appellation of his clerks: cf. Shakespear, I, Henry IV, Act II, i, 67. Cervantes' story of Sancho's detecting a sum of money in a swindler's matting is merely the Spanish version of a 'Lay of St. Nicholas': *Ingoldsby Legends*, Ed. 1903, p. 193. St. Nicholas took over one of the functions of Hermes, who was known at Pellene as *dolios* and became the patron god of thieves, liars and defrauders. For a discussion of the origins of such attributes see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, pp. 23-5.

⁴ This rite is observed at the close of the period after child birth during which the mother avoids the use of collyrium for her eyes, henna for her hands, the cent of flowers, and contact with dyed thread. All these things are then offered at Buddha Shahíd's shrine and the restriction on their use is thus removed. It must be observed on a Monday in the bright half of any month.

Erratta.

- Page 14, line 36, *for* "Elliott" *read* "Elliot."
- " 22, footnote⁶, line 2, *for* "Partar" *read* "Tartar."
- " 23, line 8, *delete* "the."
- " 33, lines 17, 21, 29, *for* "Appolonius" *read* "Apollonius."
- " 43, line 6, *for* "views" *read* "wives."
- " 45, line 2, *for* "called" *read* "culled."
- " 46, line 11, *for* "Kanishke" *read* "Kanishka"; *for* "Avistic" *read* "Avestic."
- " 54, line 4, *for* "Mahábhárta" *read* "Mahábhārata."
- " 56, line 45, *for* "cuaiously" *read* "curiously."
- " 57, line 16, *for* "Zu'l-akar" *read* "Zu'l-fiqar."
- " 58, footnote, *for* "Barrett" *read* "Barnett."
- " 66, line 4, *for* "Macauliff" *read* "Mucanliffe."
- " 68, line 22, *for* "Budha" *read* "Buddha."
- " 69, line 26, *for* "abbotts" *read* "abbots."
- " 71, line 29, *for* "pratégé" *read* "protégé."
- " 76, line 12, *for* "abbott" *read* "abbot."
- " 84, line 6, *for* "abbott" *read* "abbot."
- " 126, line 34, *for* "Chalya" *read* "Ahalya."
- " 135, note³, *add* in blank 138 : *after* "Mahadeo" 267.
- " 137, line 19, *insert* 212 *after* "page —"
- " 174, note¹, line 7, *read* "slave."
- " 182, line 29, *for* "Langs" *read* "Lang."
- " 183, line 19, *for* "shráda" *read* "shráddha."
- " 200, note⁵, line 3, *for* "Duryodhara" *read* "Duryodhana."
- " 218, note¹, line 9, *for* "Elliott" *read* "Elliot."
- " 317, note², line 2, *for* "Goraknáth" *read* "Gorakhnáth."
- " 338, line 47, *for* "operation" *read* "apparition."
- " 369, line 42, *for* "Budha" *read* "Buddha."
- " 420, line 16, *for* "Bhát" *read* "Bhút."
- " 422, line 40, *read* "is a Bhardawáj Brahman."
- " 511, line 28, *for* "Orajisi" *read* "Oraisi."
- " 547, line 20, *for* "Neh" *read* "Uch."
- " 645, line 10, *for* "phathic" *read* "phallic."
- " 646 line 18, *for* "repitition" *read* "repetition."

- Page 689, line 24, for "expulsion" read "expulsion."
- " 690, line 6, for "states" read "States."
- " 692, line 6, for "states" read "States."
- " 693, lines 5, 22, for "states" read "States."
- " 702, line 23, for "proclamied" read "proclaimed."
- " 703, line 25, for "Fatih" read "Fateh."
- " 704, note¹, for "Cunninghan" read "Cunningham."
- " 705, note¹, for "pule" read "pulé."
- " 712, line 1, for "kacha" read "kac̣ḥha."
- " 712, lines 33, 39, for "gur wára" read "gurudwára."
- " 719, line 26, for "sacha" read "sacḥḥa."
- " 731, in heading for "Rights" read "Rites."
- " 739, line 2, for "un-ginat" read "anginnat."
- " 739, line 15, for "planels" read "planets."
- " 748, line 4 from bottom, for "Gayathri" read "Gayatri."
- " 750, line 11, for "kasumbha" read "kusumbha."
- " 751, note², for "struck" read "stuck."
- " 757, line 13, for "Uarna" read "Varna."
- " 769, line 10, for "maleda" read "maḷida."
- " 771, line 16, for "chhila" read "cḥḥila."
- " 778, line 53, for "tribunal" read "tribal."
- " 784, line 12, for "Phalgani" read "Phálguni."
- " 795, line 7, insert "bargain" after "pecuniary."
- " 801, line 4, for "conscientiousness" read "consciousness."
- " 803, line 34, for "máshhāta" read "masḥḥāta."
- " 805, line 2 from bottom, for "Syyid" read "Sayyid."
- " 808, line 32, for "Id-ul-fiter" read "Idu'l-Fitr."
- " 832, line 39, for "ridegroom" read "bridegroom."
- " 840, line 2, for "Garúr" read "Garur."
- " 840, line 18, for "tilanjáli" read "tilanjali."
- " 855, line 27, for "chhorná" read "cḥḥorná."
- " 857, line 18, for "Garúr" read "Garur."
- " 866, line 30, for "nose" read "noose."
- " 878, line 10, for "chain" read "chin."
- " 888, line 9, for "qul-khwáni" read "qul-ḳḥwáni."
- " 888, line 13, for "fatíha" read "fáṭịha" and so on next page.
- " 890, lines 18, 28, 31, 34, for "kul-or kul-khwáni" read "qul-ḳḥwáni."
- " 903, note⁴, for "Ambergine" read "Aubergine."
- " 907, note⁵, for "Taskira-i-Gulistán" read "Tazkira."
 and for "Muhk" read "Mulk."
- " 909, the article on Caste and Sectarial Marks is continued from p. 909 on pp. 921-23.



CHAPTER I.

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

1. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PROVINCES.— Ibbetson, § 1.
The Punjab with its feudatory States and the North-West Frontier Province with its Agencies and Tribal Areas cover an area of 175, 248 square miles and include a population of 28,006,777 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh of the total population of the Indian Empire. They number among their inhabitants one-fourth of the Muhammadan, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the King. Occupying the angle where the Himálayas, which shut in the peninsula to the north, meet the Sulaimáns which bound it on the west, and lying between Hindustán and the passes by which alone access from the great Asian continent is possible, the old Punjab Province was, in a very special sense, the Frontier Province of India and guarded the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won. This description now applies with even greater accuracy to the North-West Frontier Province which was carved out of the Punjab in 1901, its area being increased by the addition of the protected territories which form the Political Agency of Dir, Swát and Chitrál. This new Province is thus bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush mountains, which shut it off from the Pámirs, and on the east by the territories of the Mahárajá of Kashmír and by the Punjab; in the south it is bounded by the Dera Gházi Khán District of the Punjab, and on the west by the kingdom of Afghánistán. Ethnologically indeed it includes the eastern part of the Afghánistán or 'land of the Afgháns,' and it is essentially a Pathán or Afghán country. It falls into three main divisions—(i) the cis-Indus District of Hazára, and the trans-Indus territories of Dir, Swát and Chitrál*: (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Afghán hills which forms the districts of Pesháwar, Kohát, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khán: and (iii) the rugged mountainous regions on the west between those districts and the border of Afghánistán which form the Political Agencies of Waziristán, Southern and Northern, the Kurram and the Khyber. The North-West Frontier Province is ethnologically of great interest and importance to the student of the races of the Punjab, but the materials for its history are scanty and uncertain as compared with those which, imperfect as they are, exist in the case of the Punjab.

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

* See the article Chitráli in Volume II. An article on the Káfirs of Káfiristán will also be found in that volume as the Káfirs appear to represent the aboriginal population of the Indus Kohistán and the mountainous territories of Dir, Swát and Chitrál. The Káfirs offer many points of resemblance and more of contrast to the Muhammadanised races which have supplanted or converted them.



India, the conquering armies of Alexander, the peaceful Chinese pilgrims in search of the sacred scriptures of their faith, the Muhammadan invaders who came, driven by lust of territory and pride of creed, to found one of the greatest Muhammadan empires the world has ever seen, the devastating hordes led successively by Qutlugh, Timúr, Nádir Sháh, and Ahmad Sháh, the armies of Bábur and of Humáyún,—all alike entered India across the wide plains of the five rivers from which the Province of the Punjab takes its name. The great central watershed which constitutes the eastern portion of the Punjab has ever been the battlefield of India. Its eastern valley west of the Jumna was in pre-historic times the scene of that conflict which, described in the Mahábhárata, forms the main incident of one of the oldest epics in existence; while in later days it witnessed the struggles which first gave India to the Muhammadans, which in turn transferred the empire of Hindustán from the Lodi Afghán to the Mughal dynasty and from the Mughals to the Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Pánipat, which finally crushed it at Dehli and made the British masters of Northern India, and which saved the Indian Empire in the terrible outbreak of 1857. Within the limits of the Punjab the Hindu religion had its birth and the most ancient sacred literature in the world was written; and of the two great quietist movements which had their rise in the intolerable nature of the burden laid by the Brahmans upon men's shoulders, Sikhism was born, developed into a military and political organisation, and after a period of decline now flourishes again within that Province; while, if the followers of Buddha are now represented in the Punjab only by a few thousands of ignorant hill-men, it was from the Punjab that sprang the founder of the Gupta dynasty, under whose grandson Asoka the Buddhist religion attained, there as elsewhere, a supremacy such as it never enjoyed either before or since in India.

Tibetsan, § 2.

2. INTEREST OF THE PROVINCES TO THE ETHNOLOGIST.—And if the Punjab is historically one of the most important parts of that great eastern empire which has fallen in so strange a manner into the hands of a western race, it yields to no other Province in present interest and variety. Consisting for the most part of the great plains of the five rivers and including some of the most and some of the least fertile tracts of our Indian territories, it stretches up to and beyond the peaks of the Central Himálayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spiti; and while on the east it included the Mughal capital of Delhi and the western borders of Hindustán and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rájputána, on the west it embraces, in its trans-Jhelum territory, a tract which except in respect of geographical position can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the aboriginal tribes of India, at least in their primitive barbarism; and its people, in common with those of neighbouring Provinces, include the peaceful descendants of the old Rájput rulers of the country, the sturdy Ját peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of North-Western India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilised tribes of its great central grazing grounds, the Baloches of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races,



the Khattris, Aorās, Sūds, Bhābras and Parāchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kanets, the Thākurs and Ghirths of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakkhars, the Awāns, the Kharrals, Kāthias, Khaṭṭars and many other tribes of the Rāwalpindi and Multān Divisions present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethnologist. Within the confines of the Province three distinct varieties of the great Hindi family of languages are to be found, two of them peculiar to the Punjab; while Balochi, Kashmīri, Pashtu, and many of those curious hill dialects which are often not separate languages only because each is confined to the valleys of a single stream, have their homes within its borders, and Tibetan is spoken in the far mountains of Spiti.

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

Ibbetson, § 3.

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



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

Ibbetson, § 4.

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

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

Ibbetson, § 5.

5. The Punjab includes two classes of territory; that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudatory chiefs of the Province, almost all of whom pay tribute in some form or other, and all of whom are subject to a more or less stringent control exercised by the Punjab Government. The area of British territory is 99,779 square miles and its population 19,974,956; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States are 36,551 and 4,212,794. British territory is divided into 29 districts which are grouped under 5 divisions, and each of which, except the sanitarium of Simla, comprises as large an area and population as can conveniently be controlled from its head-quarters. The dominions of the thirty-six native chiefs vary in size from the principalities of Patiala and Baháwalpur, with areas of 6,000 and 15,000 square miles and populations of 1,407,659 and 780,641 respectively, and ruled over by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny State of Dádhi, with an area of 25 square miles and a total population of 244 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

Ibbetson, § 6.

6. THE HIMALAYAN TRACT.—Along the eastern portion of our northern border, and within the great net-work of mountain ranges which fringe the central system of the Himálayas, are situated the States of Chamba, Mandi and Suket, with Bashahr and the twenty smaller states which are under the charge of the Superintendent of Hill States at Simla and Sirmúr, while among them lie the hill station of Simla and the great Kángra District, the latter including the Kulu Valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himálayas, and the cantons of Lábul and Spiti which, situated beyond the mid-Himálayas, belong geographically to Ladákh and Tibet rather than to India. This mountainous tract includes an area of some 19,840 square miles, much of which

The races of the Himálayas and Siwálíks.

5

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

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

7. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN HILLS.—In many respects the most interesting part of the Punjab is that which forms its north-eastern corner. In this, the eastern hills, are included the Himálayan area and the Siwálik range which separates it from the plains between the Beas and the Jhelum. Throughout this tract of low hills with wide dales and lofty mountains with deep and remote valleys the ascendancy of a type of Rájput society is well marked, and this part of the Province might almost be called ethnographically the Rájputána of the Punjab, as it has called its Switzerland from its physical characteristics. The hill Rájputs with their subordinate grades, the Ránás, Miáns, Ráthis and Thákurs, are probably those among all the peoples of the Punjab who have retained their independence longest; and probably a still older element in its population is represented by the Kanets and Kolis, the Gaddis, Ghirths and Cháhngs or Bahtis who form the mass of its agricultural classes. The Brahman is found disseminated all through this wide tract, and in many parts of the Himálayan area, for instance, in Kángra, Kulu, Chamba and the Simla Hills he forms a well defined cultivating caste, distinct both from his namesakes who exercise sacerdotal or professional functions on the one hand and from the secular castes on the other. He is not however by any means rigidly endogamous, and the Hindu population of this tract is singularly homogeneous, owing to the fact that hypergamy is the normal rule among and between all the castés which can be regarded as within the pale of Hinduism. The ethnical character of the tract is due to its inaccessibility and remoteness from the lines which foreign inroads into India have always taken. Often invaded, often defeated, the Rájás of the Kángra Hills succumbed for a short period to the Mughals in the reign of Sháh Jahán, but they soon threw off the imperial yoke, and it was reserved to



Ranjit Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India, and to penetrate into the remoter valley of Kulu. Thus the Kángra Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most wholly Hindu, not merely by the proportion which the number of real or nominal Hindus bears to the total population, but still more because there has never been any long-sustained Musalmán domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islám in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rájput rulers, more wholly into the hands of their priests. It is here then that we might expect to find caste existing most nearly in the same state as that in which the first Muhammadan invaders found it when they entered the Punjab, but it is difficult to say with certainty, as Ibbetson wrote, that here the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned them by Manu. One is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organisation than anything described by Manu. The Khatri is indeed found among the Gaddis of Kángra, but he is, if tradition is to be credited, a refugee from the plains, whence he fled to escape Muhammadan persecution. The type of society found in the eastern hills no doubt bears many resemblances to that feudal Rájput system which was evolved, as far as can be seen at present, after the downfall of the Kshatriya domination in the plains of India, but it differs from it in several respects. In this tract we do not find a distinct Rájput caste which disdains all marriage with the cultivating classes, but a Rájput class itself divided into two or three quite distinct grades, the lowest of which accepts brides from the Kanet or Ghirth. The constitution of Rájput society in the Kángra Hills will be found fully described in the article on Rájputs.

The Himálayan canton of Spiti is purely Tibetan by race and Buddhist by religion, while the cantons of British Láhul, Chamba-Láhul, and Kanur in Bashahr are half Indian and half Tibetan, Buddhist in creed with an ever-thickening varnish of Hinduism.

Ibbetson, § 7.

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

Ibbetson, § 8.

9. THE SUBMONTANE TRACT.—Skirting the base of the hills, and including the low outlying range of the Siwálíks, runs a narrow submontane zone which includes the four northern tahsils of Ambála with the Kalsia State, the whole of the Hoshiárpur District, the three northern tahsils of Gurdáspur, tahsils Zafarwál and Siálkot of the Siálkot District, and the northern portion of Gujráť. This submontane tract, secure in an ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6680 square miles of the most fertile and



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

10. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN SUBMONTANE.—All along the foot of the Siwálíks from Ambála to Gurdáspur the dominant population is Rájput and Ját, interspersed with numerous foreign elements, such as Patháns, a few Mughals, Shaikhs, Awáns, Khokhars, and many others. Of these elements all are modern, except the Rájputs and possibly some Ját tribes. But in the eastern part of the Ambála submontane the Ját is certainly a recent invader; and he owes his position in this tract to the Sikh inroads, which once carried the arms of the Khálsa across the Jumna, but only succeeded in permanently establishing a single Ját state of any importance, *viz.* that of Kalsia in the Ambála District which owes its name to one of the Sikh *misl*s or companies. In this tract the Ját to some extent displaced the Rájput whose most ancient tribes, the Chauhán and Taoni, were dominant in it down to the Mughal period. How old their settlements in this tract may be it is impossible to say, but the Chauhán at least were probably firmly established in the Ambála submontane before the Muhammadan invasions.

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

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

*This includes the Cantonment population.

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

11. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE WESTERN SUBMONTANE.—Along the western part of the northern border of Gurdāspur, and all along the Jammu border in Siālkot, Gujranwāla and Gujrat, the conditions closely resemble those found in the eastern submontane, but the line of demarcation between Jāt and Rājput is fainter. The true Jāts, such as the Chima, Varaich and Tārar, are mainly confined to Siālkot and Gujranwāla. The typical Rājput tribes are found close under the Jammu Hills and include such interesting communities as the Bajja Rājputs and the Chibhs, with many minor clans towards Gurdāspur. The Jāt looks to the south for his affinities in religion and marriage, but the Rājput regards the Jammu Hills with their ancient principalities of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Jammu as his ancient home. And from Jammu and Kashmir the lower castes are also reinforced. Of the Jāts of the western submontane Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote:—

Ibbetson,
 § 431.

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

Ibbetson, § 9.

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

* A work of great value, despite its countless typographical errors.

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

13. PHYSICAL DIVISIONS OF THE EASTERN PLAINS.—A broad strip parallel to the submontane zone partakes in a lower degree of its ample rainfall. It is traversed by the upper Sutlej, the Beas, the Rāvi, the Bāri Doāb Canal, and many smaller streams which bring down with them and deposit fertilising loam from the lower hills, irrigation from wells is everywhere easy, and the tract is even superior in fertility, security of produce, and populousness to the submontane zone itself. It includes tahsil Ambāla and the Thānesar tahsil now in the Karnāl district, the northern portions of Patialā and Nābha, the whole of the Ludhiāna, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts and of the Kapūrthala State, and so much of the Gurdāspur and Siālkot Districts as is not included in the submontane zone. Its area is some 8600 square miles and the population about 4,004,207 souls. Ibbetson, § 10.

14. The next fertile strip is that running along the eastern border of the Province parallel to the river Jumna. It enjoys a fair average rainfall, it includes the low riverain tract along the Jumna itself where well irrigation is easy, the Saraswati and its tributaries inundate a considerable area, and much of it is watered by the Agra and Western Jumna Canals, so that it is for the most part well protected against famine. It comprises the whole of the Delhi Division with the exception of the Kaithal and Rewāri tahsils of Karnāl and Gurgāon, together with the small state of Pataudi and the Gohāna and Sāmpla tahsils of the Rohtak District; its area is about 4870 square miles, and its population some 1,727,431 souls. Ibbetson, § 11.

15. Along the southern border of the tract runs the Hissār District with the small states of Dujāna and Lohāru, the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozepur, the Rohtak and Jhajar tahsils of the Rohtak District, the Rewāri tahsil of Gurgāon, and some outlying portions of Patialā, Jīnd and Nābha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Rājputāna desert, the soil is often inferior, the rainfall always scanty and precarious, while, except in the south-eastern corner, where alone wells can be profitably worked, irrigation is almost unknown save where the Western Jumna Canal Ibbetson, § 12.

enters Hissar and the Sutlej borders the Ferozepur District¹. The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 1,889,000. This and the central portion next to be described are the parts of the Punjab where famine is most to be dreaded².

Ibbetson, § 18.

16. The remaining or great central portion of the tract includes the greater part of the states of Patiala, Nabha and Jind, the Kaithal tahsil of Karnal, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur, the two eastern tahsils of Lahore, and the states of Faridkot and Maler Kotla. Its area is some 9980 square miles and its population about 2,735,630. It occupies an intermediate position in respect of fertility between the two preceding tracts, the rainfall generally being highest and the soil best to the east, west and north in the direction of the Jumna, the Sutlej and the hills, and lowest and worst in the centre and south, while to the north-east the Ghaggar system of hill streams inundates a certain area, and well irrigation is practised along the Sutlej and the northern border.

Ibbetson, § 14.

17. ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN PLAINS.—The plains east of Lahore have thus been split up into zones of varying fertility by lines running for the most part parallel to the hills. But the boundaries which separate religion, race and language are somewhat different from these. A meridian through the town of Sirhind or Sirhind, nearly due north of Patiala and once the capital of a Mughal *Suba*, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1763 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some 60 years before, roughly divides the Punjab Proper from Hindustan and the Panjabi from the Hindi language, and forms the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion. So much of the Punjab plains as lies east of that line, namely, the Delhi, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala and Rohtak Districts, and the States of Kalsia, Jind and Pataudi, differs little if at all in the character of its population from the western districts of the United Provinces. Except in the Rohtak District, Jats form a smaller and Rajputs a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west; while Kambohs, Rors and Gujars are numerous in Ambala and Karnal, Tagas in Karnal and Delhi, Ahirs in Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgaon, and Meos and Khanzadas in Gurgaon.

Ibbetson, § 15

The Hissar District to the south of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in that, lying as it does on the confines of Bikaner, the dialect and people are more akin to those of Rajputana than to those of Hindustan, Rajputs being very numerous, and there being a considerable Ahir population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Bishnoi. The Sirsa tract which forms the western portion of the southern border of the tract was all but uninhabited till it came under English rule; and it has drawn its settlers pretty equally from Hindu and Hindi-

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

² But the Sirhind Canal opened in 1832 protects a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.



speaking Hissár and Rájputána and from the Sikh and Panjábi-speaking Ját state of Patíála, while its western portion is occupied by Muhammadan immigrants from the lower Sutlej.

In all the remainder of the tract Panjábi is the language of the people. Immediately below the hills Sikhism has obtained but little hold, and the Hindu element, strong in Hoshiárpur, gradually gives way to the Musalmán as we pass westwards through Gurdáspur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Siálkot. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phúlkián States of Patíála, Jínd and Nábha, the States of Farídkot and Máler Kotla, and the Districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Lahore and Amritsar, and in a less degree of Jullundur and Kapúrthala, form the very centre and stronghold of the Punjab Sikhs. Even here however a very large proportion of the population is Musalmán, a proportion constantly increasing from east to west; and it is the Hindu element alone which is displaced by the Sikh. In the matter of race the population of this portion of the tract is very uniform, Rájputs, Játs, Gújars, and their allied tribes forming the staple of the agricultural population, largely supplemented by their attendant menials. Among the Siwálíks and immediately under the hills Játs are few and Rájputs and Ghirths numerous, while somewhat further south the proportion of Játs increases and Gújars, Sainis and Aráins, and in Kapúrthala Kambohs, Mahtons (Mahtams), and Dogras, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Farídkot, and the Phúlkián States the mass of the population is Ját; though in Lahore, Ferozepur and Farídkot Kambohs and Mahtams, and in Ferozepur Dogras, hold large areas, while in Patíála, Jínd and Nábha there is a considerable admixture of Ahírs. The Changars and Sánis of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Báwarias of the upper Sutlej, the Ráwals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the Aheris of the Delhi Division are curious outcast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindustán and Rájputána into the Province, the Bania of the Delhi territory gives place to the Khatri of the central, the Súd of the northern, and the Arora of the western Punjab.

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

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



Ibbetson,
§ 431.

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

Ibbetson,
§ 434.



as is reached in any portion of the Province. Special attention may be called to the curious traditions of the Bhular, Mán, and Her tribes, which claim to be the original nucleus of the Ját caste.

19. THE JÁTS OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN PLAINS.—The group of Ját tribes, which occupies the Jumna Districts with Jind, Rohtak and Hissár, call themselves Ját not Jat,* and are the same people in every respect as the Játs of the Jumna-Ganges Doab and the lower Jumna valley, differing however in little save religion from the great Sikh Jat tribes of the Málwa; though perhaps the latter, inhabiting as they do the wide unirrigated plains of the central states, are of slightly finer physique than their neighbours of the damper riverain. The eastern Játs are almost without exception Hindu, the few among them who are Musalmán being known as Múla or “unfortunate,” and dating their conversion almost without exception from an ancestor who was taken as a hostage to Delhi and there forcibly circumcised. Indeed these men were not unfrequently received back into caste on their return from captivity, and their descendants are in this case Hindus, though still known as Múla. Their traditions show them to have come up either from Bikáner and Rájputána, or northwards along the Jumna valley, and very few of them appear to have come from the Punjab to the Jumna. The Ját of Gurgáon indeed still look upon the Rájá of Bhartpur as their natural leader, and the fall of Bhartpur made such an impression on their minds that old men still refer to it as the era from which they date events.

Ibbetson,
§ 489.

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

*Or, more accurately, Jatt, the double *t* compensating for the loss of the long *a*. The difference is purely dialectical and to speak of Játs and Jatts as racially distinct, as is done in E. H. I. IV, p. 242, is absurd and misleading. The Muhammadan peasantry of the Punjab are not necessarily Jatts or Jats though many Játs and Jatts are Muhammadans.

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

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

"The Dehias are called after a Jāt tribe of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhatgānw in Sunpat, having originally come from the Bawāna near Delhi. The Haulānia faction is headed by the Ghatwāl or Malak Jāts, whose head-quarters are Dher-ka-Ahulāna in Gohāna, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rājputs, the accepted heads of the Jāts in these parts. Some one of the emperors called them in to assist him in coercing the Mandahār Rājputs, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehia Jāts, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwāls and joined the Mandahārs against them. Thus the country-side was divided into two factions; the Gújars and Tagars of the tract, the Jāglān Jāts of *thapa* Naultha, and the Lātmār Jāts of Rohtak joining the Dehias, and the Hudā Jāts of Rohtak and most of the Jāts of the tract except the Jāglāns joining the Haulānias. In the Mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Mandahārs of the Nardak ravaged the Haulānias in the south of the tract. And in framing my *sails* I had to alter my proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village which I had included with Haulānias, and which objected in consequence. The Dehia is also called the Jāt, and occasionally the Mandahār faction. Even Sir H. Elliott seems to have been unaware of the existence of these factions. The Jāts and Rājputs seem independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies; and I have often been assured by Jāts, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Rājput village at night."

Mr. Maconachie quoted a Delhi tradition which makes two brothers from Rājputāna called Mom and Som the respective ancestors of the Haulānia Rājputs of the Doāb and the Haulānia Jāts of Rohtak.

Here again, in the south-eastern districts the distinction between Jāt and Rājput is definite and well-marked, the Jāt nearly always practising and the Rājput almost always abstaining from *karewa*; though Ibbetson did not think that here a family could raise itself from the former to the latter caste by discontinuing the custom, as would appear to be possible elsewhere.

20. THE RAJPUT OF THE EASTERN DISTRICTS. — The Rājput tribes of this tract are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined to the Delhi territory, at least as Rājputs proper, and are roughly arranged in order from north to south down the Jumna valley, and then westwards through Rohtak and Hissar. The last four tribes carry on the series through Patiala, Ferozepur and Gujranwála, and connect the Rājputs of the eastern with those of the western plains. The first group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rājputs who, occupying the Delhi territory, have not as a rule superseded their old tribal designation by a local name, as has been so often the case in the west of the Punjab. The great majority of them are descendants of the Túnwar and Chauhán dynasties of Delhi. Their local distribution is fairly well marked, the Túnwar lying to the north-west of the first group, and shutting off the Ját tribes of the central plains from the Rājputs of the Delhi territory, their line being broken only by the Chauhán colony on the Ghaggar of the Hissár border. Next to them come the Chauhán, Mandahár and Pundír of the Kurukshetr, and the Ráwat, Gaurwa, Bargújar and Jádu of Delhi and Gurgáon followed by the Játu, themselves Túnwar, and the Bágrí of Hissár. The Punwár colony of Rohtak is an off-shoot of the Punwárs of the western plains. The Játs of this tract are very largely if not wholly true Játs, who preserve strong traditions as to the Rājput tribes from which they claim to be descended. The Rājput of these parts is a true Rājput. Living in the shadow of Delhi, the capital of his ancestral dynasties, he clings to the traditions of his caste. He cultivates largely, for little other occupation is left him; but he cultivates badly, for his women are more or less strictly secluded and never work in the fields, while he considers it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ hired ploughmen if he can possibly afford it. He is a great cattle-grazier and as great a cattle-thief. His tribal feeling is strong, and the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence. He is proud, lazy, sometimes turbulent, but generally with something more of the gentleman about him than we find in the more rustic Ját.

Ibbetson,
§ 444.

21. THE WESTERN PLAINS. — The great plains lying to the west of the Lahore meridian present a striking contrast to those to the east of that line. They form the common terminus of the two Indian monsoons, which have exhausted themselves of their vapour before they reach their goal; and the rainfall, heaviest in the north and east and decreasing towards the west and south, is everywhere so scanty that cultivation without irrigation is absolutely impossible. But in this very circumstance they find their security against famine or distress from drought; for their cultivation is almost independent of rain, a failure of which means little worse than a scarcity of grass, in itself a sufficiently serious calamity¹. In many parts, indeed, more danger is to be anticipated from excessive floods than from deficient rainfall. The tract is traversed throughout its length by five great rivers, the Sutlej, Rávi, Chenáb, Jhelum and

Ibbetson, § 18.

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

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

Ibbetson, § 19

The Gújránwála and Wazírábád tahsils of the Gújránwála District¹ secure a fair amount of rain by their vicinity to the hills. Numerous streams, for the most part of intermittent flow, which run down from the Sulaimán mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Sutlej, the Lower Chenáb, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Indus across the zone of well-irrigation into the edges of the central steppes render cultivation possible along their courses; while wells sunk in the long hollows of the Thal or sandy desert and the drainage of the Bár or stiff loam uplands collected in local depressions perform a similar office. But though some of the finest wheat in the world is grown on the wells of the western Thal, the proportion of the area thus brought under the plough is wholly insignificant. The remainder of the tract is covered by low stunted bush and salsolaceous plants and with short grass in good seasons. Over this range great herds of camels which thrive on the saline herbage, and of cattle, sheep and goats. They are tended by a nomad population which moves with its flocks from place to place as the grass is consumed and the scanty supply of water afforded by the local hollows exhausted, or in search of that change of diet which camels love and the varying local floras afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multán Division and the State of Baháwalpur, the Districts of Sháhpur and Gujránwála, the greater part of Gujrát, and the two western tahsils of Lahore¹. Its area is some 60,870 square miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole Province, while its population, numbering about 4,885,000 souls, includes little more than one-fifth of the people of the Punjab, and it comprises not one-quarter of the total cultivated area.

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



on its way to the commercial centres of Hindustán. Pastoral pursuits occupy a more important position than in the rest of the Punjab, agricultural produce being largely supplemented by clarified butter, wool, hides and barilla.

bbetson, § 22.

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

PART II.—HISTORICAL NOTES.

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

PRE-HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

¹This is also Canon Greenwall's conclusion : see Vincent Smith, *The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1907, p. 53.

The Iranian dominion.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT.

Is there any Dravidian element in Northern India? The problem is a difficult one. A Dravidian speech survives among the Bráhmí of Balochistán, but none is traceable in the Punjab. The question not only remains insoluble but raises further and larger questions. Sten Konow has detected some resemblance between Dravidian and the remains of the Etruscan language,¹ but Prof. Jules Marthas, the latest writer on this subject, says nothing of this theory and regards Etruscan as a branch of the Finno-Ugrian group of languages.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDIC CULTURE.

Scholars are divided in opinion as to the probable date of the rise or introduction of the Vedic culture into India, and the Aryan invasions may date back to a period as remote as 3000 B. C. or even earlier, but it is certain that the 15th century B. C. saw chiefs in northern Mesopotamia bearing Aryan names or worshipping Vedic deities, and this fact lends some support to Kennedy's view that the Aryan conquest of the Punjab can scarcely have taken place before 1700 B. C. and may well have been a century or two later.² Sten Konow accepts this view and points out that it is consistent with the linguistic evidence.

THE IRANIAN DOMINION.

As we shall see presently the great Persian empire which was overthrown by Alexander the Great had established its power on the confines of the Western Punjab and deputed a Greek to explore or survey the Indus. These facts point to a strong Iranian influence over India centuries after the pre-historic Aryan invasions, and Farishta's *History of the Muhammadans in India* preserves many traditional details of the Iranian dominion over the North-West Frontier of India and the Punjab and the present writer wishes to invite special attention to his *Chapter on the Hindoos*. What Farishta tells us has not received the attention it deserves. He is a careful historian and his statements appear to be founded on authorities, lost to us, but trustworthy, and to be handled by him in a critical spirit. For instance he is quite sound in his account of the origin of the Rájputs.³ As he says the Brahman and Kshatriya existed from time immemorial, but the Rájputs are only known since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. They attained power after Vikramajít's demise, something more than 1600 years ago (when he wrote) and he derives their origin from the children of *rájás* by female slaves, the sons of Rájá Súraj being the first to bear the title of Rájput.

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

¹ J. R. A. S., 1904, p. 2, and *La Langue Etrusque*, reviewed in *Athenæum*; Jany, 1914.

² J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 1119 and 1108.

³ Pp. lxiii—iv of Briggs' Translation.

⁴ Farishta is careful to point out that this is not the Krishna of Mathra.

⁵ Apparently the Talamars, called the Dev-band or Magician-binder, of Malcolm's *History of Persia*, I, p. 14. He ruled Persia for 30 years and was succeeded by the famous Jamahíd, who fell before Zuhák.

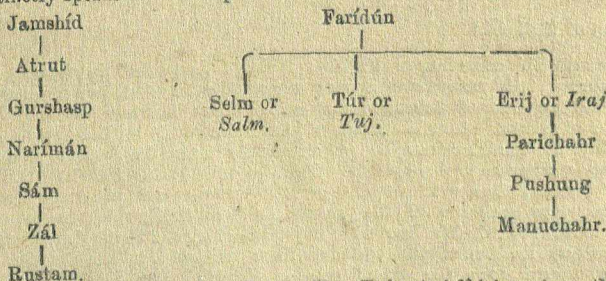


succeeded him and divided the people of India into tribes (? castes). He named the [Rájput] tribes Rahtor, Chauhán, Punwár, Bais etc. after the chiefs of each. He kept up a friendly intercourse with Persia, but his nephew Dongur Sain sought refuge with Farídún of Persia and the latter king despatched a force under his son Kúrshasp¹ to invade the Punjab, and Mahrája was compelled to cede a part of his kingdom—doubtless a part or the whole of the Punjab—to Dongur Sain. Passing by the interesting statement that the islands of Acheen, Malacca, Pegu and the Malabar coast broke away from his empire, Farishta tells us that it was simultaneously threatened by an attack on its north-west frontier and that Mahrája was compelled to send his lieutenant Mál Chand of Málwa² to defend the Punjab but was obliged to cede it to Persia. Some writers, adds Farishta, say that Farídún even possessed the Punjab and that the descendants of his son Kúrshasp held it together with Kábul, Tibet, Sind and Nímroz down to the time of Rústúm, i. e. for four generations.

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

Mahrája, after a reign of 700 years, was succeeded by Kesu Rái who invoked the aid of Manúchahr against the Rájás of southern India. Sám³, son of Narímán, was sent to his assistance and they joined forces at Jálándhar in the Punjab. The allies compelled the recalcitrant rulers to pay homage to Kesú Rái. Manír Rái, son of Kesu Rái, succeeded him in Oudh, but he forgot his debt to Persia and when the

¹ Farishta distinctly speaks of Gurshasp as the son of Farídún. But—



are the pedigrees given in Malcolm, pp. 24 and 21. The *Tabagát-i-Násiri* gives the sons of Farídún as italicised and says that Iraj held Iráq with Hind and Sind, while the *Rauzat-ut-Táhirin* says he held Khorásán with only a portion of Hind and Sind: *T. N.*, I, p. 308.

² Farishta expressly says that it derives its name from Mál Chand. It appears to be the Málwa of Central India, not the tract in the Punjab.

³ Hereditary prince of Seistán, according to Malcolm, p. 24.

Turk, Afrasiáb, king of Turán, invaded that kingdom, he wrested the Punjab from Zál,¹ the son of Sám, and made Jálandhar his capital. He acknowledged fealty to Afrasiáb and it remained in his possession till Kaikobád deputed Rústúm, son of Zál, to reconquer it. Rústúm expelled Manír Rái and placed Súraj, a Hindu chief, on the throne. He gave his sister's daughter to Rústúm, and died after a reign of 250 years! Of his 35 sons Bhai Rájá, the eldest, succeeded, and some say that he invested his brothers with the title of Rájput. But he abandoned the regulations established by Mahrája and incurred the enmity of Kidár, a Brahman of the Siwálik mountains. Here Farishta or his translator must be alluding to the Siwálik kingdom—Sapáda-laksha. Kidár defeated him and took his kingdom, but had to pay tribute to his contemporaries Kai-Kaús² and Kai-Khúsáu.

Farishta's account now becomes confused. Afrasiáb re-appears on the scene. He confers the government of India on Rohat, son of Sankal Rájá³ of Lakhnauti or Gaur in Bengál, but Rohat dying without issue Mahrája II, a Kachwáhá Rájput of Márwár, places himself on the throne and his nephew Kidár wrests the Punjab from Rústúm's descendants. He lived for some time in Behera (? Bhera), but built the fortress of Jammu where he left Durga, the Búlhas⁴, one of his kinsmen, in charge, but Durga allied himself with the Khokars⁵ and Chaubea⁶, 'the ancient Zamindárs of the Punjab,' and with the hill people between Kábul and Kandhár and expelled Kidár Rája from the Punjab.

¹ Zál-i-zar—Zál of the golden hair—held the city of Zábúl, which gave its name to Zábulistán. It was also called the city of Zuhák, and Vigne—(*Gházni, Kábul and Afghánistán*, p. 109)—described its position thus :—'On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the Sar-i-Koh [which Raverty—*Notes on Afghánistán*, p. 507—says is the crest of the great range of Mihtar Sulaimán, bounding the Gházni state on the east] are to be seen, as I was informed, the ruins of a large city, called Zohaka, after the king who reigned there before the time of the Mussalmen.' The ruins of Zábúl appear to lie in the Máidán-i-Rustam according to Raverty (*op. cit.*, p. 456). For a note on Zábulistán see the Appendix to this Part.

² Son of Kaikobád.

³ Sankal Rájá, according to Farishta, founded Lakhnauti in Bengal, after usurping Kidár's throne. He maintained a vast army and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiáb, and Píran-Wisa, the *vazír* of Afrasiáb, was sent against him with 50,000 Turki horse, but compelled to retreat. Afrasiáb however joined him with 100,000 horse and carried off Sankal Rájá to Turán, where he was eventually killed in action by Rústúm. Malcolm is completely silent as to this episode. Possibly this is the Shaukal 'King of Sind' who supplied Bahrám Gor with 12,000 or 1000 sweet-voiced minstrels from his kingdom. They became the ancestors of the present Lúri or Lúli, the musician gypsy tribe, of modern Persia : A. C. Woolner in Punjab Historical Society's *Journal*, II, p. 120. Local tradition in Saharanpur preserves the name of a 'Muhammadan tyrant,' named Afrásá, who burnt down the sacred grave in Kankhal near Hardwár : *Calcutta Review*, 1874, p. 194.

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

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

⁶ The name Chaubea is extremely puzzling. Conjecturally it is misreading of Joiya but this is very uncertain. We find Chaubín as a Partar name (Malcolm I, p. 51, note). But Bahrám who took possession of the Persian throne in 59) A. D.—at a much later period—was also called Chaubín, or the 'stick-like,' probably from his appearance : (*ibid*) p. 152, note 2).

These tribes, hitherto separate, now formed a single powerful state and Farishta imagined them to be those now called Afgháns, though he quotes no authority for his theory. After Kidár's death Jai Chand usurped the throne. He was contemporaneous with Báhmaṇ and Dáráb. Dahla his brother¹ usurped the throne and founded Dehli. He was however attacked by P'húr, a Rája of Kumaun,² and taken prisoner. P'húr refused to pay the Persian tribute and opposed the inroad of Alexander, according to the 'the Brahminical and other historians.' After P'húr's death Sansár Chand (Chandra Gupta) made himself master of India, but sent tribute to Gúdarz,³ king of Persia, until Júna, nephew of P'húr, regained the throne. He was a contemporary of Ardashir Bábegán⁴ who invaded India but was induced by Júna's presents of gold and elephants to stay his advance on the frontier. Júna reigned at Kanauj and was succeeded by his son Kalián Chand.

Farishta now turns to the history of Málwa. He makes Vikramajít Punwár also a contemporary of Ardashir Bábegán⁵, but notes that others make him contemporary with Shapúr.⁶ He lost his life in a battle with Shálivahana, a Rája of the Deccan, and from his death the Hindus date one of their eras.

Málwa then fell to Rája Bhoj, also a Punwár, while one Vásdeo (Vásudeva) seized the 'province' of Kanauj. During his reign Bairámgor,⁷ king of Persia, visited Kanauj in disguise,⁸ but was recognised by the Indian ambassador who had carried tribute to Persia, and so Vásudeva seated Bairámgor on his throne, gave him his daughter in marriage and escorted him back to Persia. Vásudeva left 32 sons, but his throne was usurped by Rámdeo Rahtor, who expelled the Kachwáhis from Márwár and established the Rahtors in that province. He also extorted tribute from the *rájas* of Siwalik, after subduing the Rája of Kumaun, and plundered Nagarkot. Thence he marched on Jammu, and though its Rája opposed him in the woods he was eventually defeated. The fort of Jammu fell and Rámdeo secured a daughter of the Rája⁹ for one of his sons.

Rámdeo, says Farishta, was contemporary with the Sassanian Firoz,¹⁰ and to him and his son Kaikobád¹¹ tribute was paid by India. After

¹ Uncle of his infant son and so doubtless Jai Chand's brother.

² Farishta did not get this statement from a Persian source: cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

³ Gudurz is the only one of the Ashkanian kings mentioned by Farishta, p. 87, and he must have reigned long after Chandra Gupta's time. There were possibly two kings of this name, Bahram Gudurz the third of the Arsacides, who reigned after Christ, and Gudurz, son of Pellas: Malcolm *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.

⁴ Artaxerxes, the Sassanian, 226-240 A. D., p. 93.

⁵ Ardeshir II (acc. 381 A. D.) has clearly been confused here with Ardeshir Bábegán.

⁶ Shapur III, acc. 385 A. D., Malcolm, p. 112.

⁷ Bahram V, acc. 421 A. D.

⁸ This tale is also noticed by Malcolm, *op. cit.* I, p. 118.

⁹ Rámdeo then reached Shivkot Pindi, situated at a small distance on the top of the neighbouring hill at Nagarkot. There he summoned the Rája to meet him at the temple of Durga, which goddess he venerated. The Rája bestowed a daughter on one of Rámdeo's sons—in acknowledgment no doubt of his suzerainty.

¹⁰ Acc. 458 A. D.

¹¹ Acc. 488 A. D.

Rámdeo's death civil war again ensued, and his general, Partáb Chand, a Sisodia, seized the throne. He refused the Persian tribute and Naushírwán's ambassador returned empty-handed,¹ so Persian troops invaded Multán and the Punjab. Partáb Chand submitted and paid the annual tribute thenceforth without demur. After his death each of his generals seized a province. Of these Anand Deo, a Bais Rájput, was the most powerful, but his power did not extend apparently over the Punjab.² He lived in the era of Khusrau Parvís³ and died after a reign of 16 years. At this time, says Farishta, a Hindu, named Máldeo, collected a force in the Doáb and seized Delhi and Kanauj, but he left no son fit to succeed him and civil war ensued everywhere on his death. After him no single *rāja* ruled over India, and Mahmúd of Ghazni found it divided thus:—

Kanauj, held by Kúwar Rai.

Mírath, held by Hardat Rai.

Mahávan,⁴ held by Gúlchandr Rai.

Lahore, held by Jaipál, son of Hatpál.

In 1079 Ibrahim bin Masá'ud I Ghaznavi having extended his conquests to Ajudhan (now Pák Pattan) returned to Rudpál—a fort on the summit of a steep hill. Thence he marched to Dera, whose inhabitants had originally come from Khorassán, having been banished thence for frequent rebellions. They had formed themselves into a small independent state, and cut off by nearly impassable mountains from intercourse with their neighbours, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. Dera was well fortified and remarkable for a fine fort about a parasang and a half in circumference. The Muhammadans took it and carried off 100,000 persons into captivity.⁵

This closes Farishta's account, but in this connection Mr. Vincent Smith may be quoted. After the decay of the Kushán power, as he points out, coins of Vásudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Sháhpur I), the Sassanian monarch who ruled Persia from 238 to 269 A. D. Bahrám (Varahrán) II is also known to have conducted a campaign in Sístán between 277 and 294; and 'two great paramount dynasties, the Kushán in Northern India and the Andhra in the Deccan tableland, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events were in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushán coinage of Northern India should be

¹Acc. 531 A. D.

²Malcolm says that the emperors of India and China courted Naushírwán's friendship, and he describes the magnificent presents sent by the former (*op. cit.*, p. 144). The tribute was, however, refused to his unworthy successor (p. 151). Naushírwán's power, it is implied, only extended to the Indus (p. 150).

³A. D. 591-628.

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

⁴Mahávan, says Briggs, is supposed to be a village on the left bank of the Jumna about 10 miles below Mathra. Gúlchandr must be the 'Kool Chand,' Rája of Mahávan, attacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni in or about 1017 A. D.: Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁵Briggs, I, pp. 139-40.

explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion.¹ But Farishta appears to preserve the records of the revival of Persian influence during the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the Kushán power and the Muhammadan inroads.

The theory of the predominance of the Iranian element in North-western India is confirmed by the thesis advanced by Sten Konow that in Bashgali, which may be taken as the type of the language of the Siáhposh Káfirs of Northern Káfiristán, we have a dialect derived from an ancient Iranian dialect which had retained the Aryan *s* and not changed it to *h*. We also know of the existence of such a language, spoken by tribes who in the 14th century B. C., worshipped gods such as Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Násatyas.²

The latest view is that the Kambojas were an Iranian tribe. Both Brahmanic and Buddhist literature refers to their fine breed of horses. The Nepalese tradition may be due to the fact that the early Tibetan mode (or one of the Tibetan modes) of disposing of the dead was similar to the Iranian, but exposure of the dead to be devoured by birds is a fairly widespread practice and does not prove identity of race in those who practise it. The Kambojas seem to have esteemed it a sacred duty to destroy noxious or Ahramanic creatures, as did the Iranians, but such a belief would not be proof of racial identity. The Iranian affinities of the Kamboja are however accepted by Kuhn, G. K. Nariman and Zimmer.³

But however strong may have been the Iranian element in the population of the Hindu Kush and on the north-western frontier many indications show that it was not advanced in civilisation. The tribes which occupied the modern Káfiristán, Gilgit and Chitrál were called Pisácha or 'eaters of raw flesh,' and traditions of ritual cannibalism still survive among the Shíns of Gilgit, the Wai and Bashgal Káfirs and in Dardistán.⁴ Indeed the Dards of Gilgit had a reputation among the Kashmiris for cannibalism as late as 1866. It must, however, be pointed out that very similar legends of ritual cannibalism are very common all the world over and that cannibalism was supposed to exist in Muzaffargarh as late as 1850. The Romasa or shaggy and the Sringi-nara or horned men are mentioned in the *Mahábhárata* as if they occupied the same seats as the Madrakas and Pahlavas,⁵ and if so they must have been settled in the plains or at least in the sub-montane.

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

¹ *Early History of India*, pp. 254-5. For the countries which appear on Váśudeva's coins, see the Appendix to this Part.

² J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 1 and 46.

³ See J. R. A. S., 1912, pp. 255-7, and references there given.

⁴ *Id.* 1905, pp. 285-8. Grierson says that a connexion between Pisácha and the Pashai Káfirs is phonetically possible, but Pashai is not the name of a sept. It is the name of a valley.

⁵ J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 140.

SUMMARY.

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

Of the sixteen States of Northern India enumerated in the most ancient literary traditions¹ at least four and possibly five lay, in whole or in part, within the modern Punjab or on its frontiers. These were—

- (i) Gandhāra,² which included the modern Districts of Peshāwar, Attock and Rāwālpindi. It appears to have derived its name from the Gandhāra tribe which is mentioned as holding with the Yavanas the Kābul valley and the regions still further west. The Persian satrapy of Gandaria was distinct from those of India, Arachosia (Kandāhar) and Aría (Herāt). It comprised the North-Western Punjab. Its capital was at one time Takshasila, but at others Pushkalāvati.
- (ii) Kamboja, which adjoined Gandhāra, and lay in the extreme north-west, with Dwāraka as its capital³ Mr. Vincent Smith however points out that Kambojadesa is the name applied in Nepalese tradition to Tibet.⁴ Dwāraka may be the Dārva of Dārvābhisāra, i.e. Dārva and Abhisāra, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, including the modern Rajauri. But this would make Kamboja too far to the east to be in agreement with Rhys Davids' view.
- (iii) Kurū, held by the Kurūs, with its capital at Indraprastha, close to Delhi.
- (iv) South of the Kurūs and west of the Jumna lay the Matsya or Macchas, possibly represented by the modern Meos of the Mewāt.
- (v) The Sūrasenās, whose capital Madhura (doubtless Mathra) was in the Jumna valley and who thus lay immediately north-west⁵ of the Macchas and west of the Jumna.

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

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

¹ E. g. the *Anguttara*, and *Vinaya Texts*.—See *Buddhist India*, p. 233.

² Not Kandahār (as Professor Rhys Davids thinks): *op. cit.*, p. 28.—See Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 34, 35, 25 and 27: also pp. 297 and 300. The kingdom of Gandhāra was overwhelmed by the Huns in 500 A. D. and regained by Mihiragula, the Hun, from its ruler, perhaps himself a Hun, about 530.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 28:—See also the map at the end of that work. Cf. also Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁵ Clearly not south-west as in *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

the Kurús, Matsyas and Súrásenás did not apparently form kingdoms, but were doubtless rather tribal confederacies, loosely organised and with ever-changing boundaries, like the Mewát or Bhattiána of more recent times. At the time of Alexander's invasion these conditions had undergone little change, though the tendency to form kingdoms had become more marked. The Macedonian invaders found the Indus the boundary between India and the Persian empire.

Somewhat later Persian influence began to make itself felt in the north-west frontiers of India, and in 516 B. C. Skylax, a Carian Greek, explored the Indus under Darius' orders. Sailing from Kaspapyros¹, a city of the Gandháríans, in the *Paktuíké gé* (the land of the Paktyes) he made his way down that river to the ocean, and his surveys enabled Darius to annex the Indus valley. The Persians formed the conquered territory into an Indian satrapy, which extended from Kálábágh to the sea, and perhaps included territories on the east bank of the Indus. It certainly excluded Gandaria and Arachosia (Kandahár).

Elsewhere, in the territories not included in the Indian satrapy, the conditions described above had undergone little change, though the tendency to crystallise into organised monarchies had become decidedly more marked in the northern or submontane tracts of the Punjab. Peukalaotis (Pushkalávati, the capital of Gandhára), the capital of a tract (also so called after it), which corresponds to the present Yúsufzai country, was overrun by Alexander's generals, who were accompanied by Omphis 'Taxiles,' the king or feudatory chief of 'Taxila'.² Alexander himself advanced from near Jalálábád into Bájaur by the Kúnar valley. In Bájaur he encountered the powerful Aspasiáns, and took Nysa, a town and hill-state which probably lay on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor. Thence he crossed the Gouraios (Panjkora) and attacked Massaga, perhaps Manglaur, the old capital of Swát, in Assakenian territory. This was followed by the capture of Aornos.³

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

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

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

²Just as Ámbi (Omphis) assumed the title of Taxiles on his accession to the throne of Taxila, so Arsakes, the ruler of Urasha, would appear to have taken his name from his realm and the Pathán chiefs of the present day in Dir and Swát have a precisely similar system. In much the same way tribes like the Katoch and Dogra derive their names from the territories which they occupy or in which they are dominant.

³Not Mahában—See Stein, Report of Archaeological Survey work in the North-West Frontier Province for 1904-05.

Abisáres indeed sent convoys to Alexander, but he was in secret league with Poros, the Paurava,¹ who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenáb. After defeating his forces in a great battle probably on the Karri plain, just above Jhelum, Alexander crossed the Chenab to attack another Poros, nephew of the former and ruler of Gandaris, which may have corresponded to the modern Gondal Bár. Poros was not however absolute ruler of this tract for it was partly held by independent tribes, and adjacent to it lay the Glausai or Glaukanikoi.

Similarly on the east bank of the Rávi lay the Kathaioi,² and still further east, on the Beás, the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas), while to their south-west, along the lower course of the Rávi below Lahore were the warlike Malloi. These tribes formed a loosely knit confederacy, but the Kathaioi were attacked before the Malloi could reinforce them, and while only supported by the minor clans in their immediate neighbourhood. Thus Alexander was able, after crossing the Rávi and receiving the surrender of Pimprama from the Adraistai, to invest Sangala into which the Kathaioi had thrown themselves. After its fall Alexander advanced to the Beás which he probably reached just below its southward bend below Patháukot. Indeed if speculation be admissible we may conjecture that Pimprama was Paithin and that the Kathaioi are represented by the Katoch. However this may be, Alexander appointed Poros king of all the conquered territories between the Beás and the Rávi, then occupied by the Glausai, Kathaioi and 5 other nations, and comprising no less than 2000 townships. Taxiles was confirmed in his sovereignty, formerly somewhat shadowy, over all the territory between the Jhelum and the Indus. Lastly, he made Abisáres satrap of Bhimbhar and Rajauri, together with the overlordship of Urasa.

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

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

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

² The Kathaioi have been identified with the modern Káthiás who settled in the Montgomery district about 11 generations ago from Káthiáwár. The Káthiás never had any settlements east of the Rávi according to their own traditions.—See Montgomery *Gazetteer*, 1899, pp. 82-3.

But in this emergency the two tribes formed an alliance, cemented by a wholesale exchange of brides, and endeavoured to combine against the invaders. But Alexander acted too promptly to allow their forces, which united would have formed an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 horse, with 700 or 900 chariots, to collect. Crossing the Bár, even at that period a waterless steppe, between the Chenáb and Rávi, he surprised the Malloi in their fields. Those who escaped were shut up in the fortified towns, one of which, with a citadel situated on a commanding height, was stormed and 2000 of its garrison slain. Pushing on Alexander caught up the flying Malloi at a ford across the Rávi, and inflicted further severe loss upon them; and, crossing the river into the Montgomery district, he took a Brahman stronghold, perhaps Shorkot, the ancient Shor.¹

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

Thus the political conditions in the Punjab were, as we shall always find them, strongly marked and deeply contrasted. In the Punjab Proper ruled dominant tribal democracies,³ the tribes or tribal confederacies of the Malloi, Oxydrakai, Kathaioi, the precursors of the Sikh commonwealth; while the hills which encircled them were held by petty chiefs, Saubhúti, Ambhi of Taxila, Abisares, Arsakes and the two chieftains or kinglets designated Poros. Sind then, as often later, formed a kingdom or group of principalities.

Of the states in the north-west Punjab few were of any great extent. The dominions of the elder Poros between the Jhelum and Chenáb only comprised 300 townships,⁴ whereas the country from the former

¹Shor was identified by Cunningham with Alexandria Sorianna, but Dr. Vogel has shown that its ancient name was Shibipura. Shibi was a tribal name, often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Chinese Buddhist tradition places a Shibi-rája in the Upper Swát valley.—*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, I, p. 174.

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

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

⁴*Ancient India*, p. 35, § 39 (Strabo).

river to the Beás was held by no less than nine nations with 5000¹ townships, though the latter number may be exaggerated.

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

Under the Mauryan dynasty² the Punjab became a mere province of the empire, and with Kashmir, Sind and the territories west of the Indus formed a viceroyalty governed from Taxila. Yet few traces of the Buddhist code imposed on its people remain. Again from the time of Demetrios (190 B. C.) to the overthrow of Hermaios (c. 56 A. D.)—a period of two centuries and a half—the Punjab was dominated by Greek or Græco-Bactrian influences which have left still fewer traces, although it was signalised by the reign of Menander (Milinda in Prākṛit), the king whose brilliant capital was at Ságala (Siálkot) and who was converted to Buddhism. Ságala lay in Maddarattha, the country of the Maddas, the Madras or Madrakas of Sanskrit literature. With the Madras and the people of Ságala, the Kshudrakas and Málavas were all included in the general term Báhika³, and the inhabitants of Ságala itself formed a class of the Báhika called Jártika. The Græco-Buddhist civilisation was destroyed by the Parthians, and they in turn fell before the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose greatest ruler, Kanishka, also became a convert to Buddhism. But the Buddhism of his time was that of the Maháyana or Great Vehicle,⁴ 'largely of foreign origin and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements,' chiefly made possible by the unification of the Roman world under the earlier emperors.⁵ The centre of the Indo-Scythian power lay in Gandhára and Kashmir, and Kanishka's capital was Purashapura (Pesháwar), but his great Buddhist council sat at the Kuvana monastery at Jálándhar, and in Kashmir.⁶ Sir John Marshall is now in possession of proof that Kozoulo-Kadphisés (I) was reigning in 79 A. D. so that Kanishka was reigning in the 2nd century of our era. This should settle the controversy regarding Kanishka's dates.

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

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

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

³ References to the Báhika, Báhlika or Váhlika are frequent in Sanskrit literature, but it is difficult to locate them with precision. Cunningham (*A. S. R.*, I, p. 148) placed the Báhika country, which was named after Báhi and Hika, two demons of the Beas river, in the Jálándhar Doab, while Lassen, on the authority of the *Trikanda Sesha*, says the Báhika are the same as the people of Trigartta. Cunningham apparently followed the authority of the *Ma'dbhārata*, but that poem also describes the Madra as also called Báhika and Jártika, *ib. V.*, p. 195. They must not be confused with the Pahlava or Pallava as has been done by a writer in *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 256. It is tempting to suggest that they are represented by the modern Bhaos of Siálkot.

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

⁵ Vincent Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

Early History of India, p. 234: it probably sat at Jálándhar in the cold weather and in Kashmir in the hot season (*cf.* p. 229 for the treatment of the Chinese hostages).

The Kushán power in the rest of India undoubtedly decayed under Vásudeva, whose name shows how thoroughly Indianised the invaders had become; but in the Punjab and Kábul they held their own until they were overthrown in the 5th century by the Ephthalites or White Huns. But about the middle of the 3rd century the Kushán coinage became Persianised, and possibly this is to be ascribed to the unrecorded Persian invasion, discussed above, pp. 24-5.

During the Gupta ascendancy the Punjab, with Eastern Rájputána and Málwa, was for the most part in the possession of tribal democracies, or confederacies, which had subsisted through all the dynastic changes and invasions of the preceding centuries. The Madrakas still held the Central Punjab, but a new tribe, the Yaudheyas (Joiyas), now appear as occupying both banks of the Sutlej, while the Abhíras with the Málavas held part of Eastern Rájputána. The Kusháns, eventually confined to Gandhára and Kábul, maintained diplomatic relations with Samudragupta, but neither their territories, nor the Punjab as a whole, was much influenced by the Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period¹.

The White Huns assailed the kingdom of Kábul and thence poured into India in 455-484 A. D. Ten years later they overwhelmed Gandhára under the leadership of Toramána, whose son Mihirakula made Ságala (Siálkot) his capital. His reign was chiefly remarkable, as far as the Punjab is concerned, for his persecution of the Buddhists, and a great massacre of the people of Gandhára on the banks of the Indus, the king being a bigoted worshipper of Shiva, his patron deity. But he died soon after, in 540, and his kingdom did not long survive him, for in 563-7 the Turks and Persians overthrew the White Huns in the Oxus Valley, and thus destroyed the root of their power in India. For nearly 500 years India now enjoyed almost absolute immunity from invasion of her North-Western Frontier, but during this long opportunity she failed to create any organised State powerful enough to protect her when the tide of invasion once more flowed in upon her. Nothing is known of Punjab history in the latter half of the 6th century, but by 604 A. D. we find a powerful kingdom established at Thánesar (Sthánvīsvara) in the holy circuit of the Kurukshetra. Here, towards the end of the 6th century, Prabhákara-var dhana had raised himself to eminence by successful wars against the Hun settlements of the North-West Punjab and the clans of Gurjara (Gujrát). His son Harsha, who reigned from 606 to 648, established a great kingdom over Northern India from the Himalaya to the Narmada, but its administration compares unfavourably with that of the Guptas. Violent crime was rare, but the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang was more than once robbed by brigands.

Imprisonment of the cruel Tibetan type was now the ordinary penalty, the prisoners being left to live or die, but mutilation was often inflicted for serious offences—such as filial impiety—though it was sometimes commuted into banishment. Ordeals were much in vogue. Nevertheless the civil administration was founded on benign principles. The rent of the crown lands, fixed in theory at $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the produce, was the

¹ Kartripura, a place which gave its name to a kingdom embracing Kumaon, Almora, Garhwál and Kángra, is identified by Fleet with Kartárpur, but that town appears to owe its origin to the Sikhs. Hutchison mentions Brahmapura as a more ancient kingdom comprising British Garhwál and Kumaon : *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 69.

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

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

The connection of India with China at this period was indeed close. Harsha sent a Brahman envoy to the imperial court of China, and in return a mission was sent which only reached India after Harsha's death. To go back to the first half of the 6th century China had then lost Kashgár, but in the 7th and 8th centuries she made great efforts to recover her lost ground, and in 661-65 she enjoyed unparalleled prestige. Kapisa, the country to the north of the Kábul river, was a province of the empire, and at its court were ambassadors from Udyāna (Swát) and all the countries from Persia to Korea. After some vicissitudes her activity revived in 713 against the Arabs, who had blocked the roads over the Hindu Kush, and the Tibetans. In 719 the Arabs sought alliances amid the petty states on the Indian borderland, but the Chinese raised the chiefs of Udyāna, Khottal (most of Badakhshán), Chitrál, Yasin, Zábulistán (Ghazni)¹, Kapisa and Kashmír to the rank of kings, in her attempts to form a bulwark of states against Arabs and Tibetans alike. In 651 however the Arabs, aided by the Karluk tribes, overthrew the Chinese and direct contact between the politics of India and China ceased for more than twelve centuries.

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

¹ See the appendix to this part.

term can be justly applied to the heterogeneous mass which is called Græco-Bactrian.

THE PARTHIAN INFLUENCE.

Closely connected with the migrations of the Sakas and allied nomad tribes was the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakidan kings. Mithradates I (174 to 136 B. C.), king of Bactria, had extended his power as far as the Indus and possibly to the east of that river, and the Saka chiefs of Taxila and Mathura took the title of satrap, presumably because they had become feudatories of the Parthian monarchy. About 120 B. C. Maues¹ or Mauas attained power in the Kábul valley and the Punjab. The most famous of his successors was Gondophares, and the coins of his nephew Abdagases are found in the Punjab only, but those of his successor Orthagnes are more widely spread. The Indo-Parthian princes were however expelled from the Punjab by the Yueh-chi by the end of the first century A. D. Towards the close of that century Appollonius of Tyana visited Taxila and found it the capital of a sovereign who ruled over what was of old the kingdom of Porus. He bore the name of Phraotes,² apparently a Parthian name, but was an Indian king, who had been educated by Brahmans and married the daughter of a king beyond the Beás. Appollonius was the bearer of a letter from the Parthian king Bardanes at Babylon, and this he presented to the satrap of the Indus at its crossing, and he, although no officer of the Parthian king, supplied them with boats and a guide to the Rávi out of regard for him. It thus appears that the Parthian power did not then extend even to the Indus at Attock. Appollonius' object was to study the rites and doctrines of the Sramans and Brahmans, and he found many monuments of Alexander's invasion and considerable traces of Greek influence.³

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

THE CENTRAL ASIAN INROADS.

While the earlier invaders of India appear to have been Aryan, Iranian, or Greek, the first or second century B. C. brought down upon India a torrent of Central Asian⁴ peoples which only

¹ It might be tempting to suggest some connection between Maues and the Máwis of the Simla hills if the former name did not appear as Moga.

² Cf. Phraates, a Parthian name.

³ *India and Rome*, by Priault, pp. 11-12 etc.

⁴ The term Indo-Scythian, which appears to the present writer wholly unjustifiable and misleading, appears to be due to the fact that, as Herodotus records, the Persians termed all Scythian nomads Sakai. But the Saka originally held territory to the west of the Wu-sun horde, apparently situated between the Chu and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers to the north or south of the Alexander mountains. From those seats they were expelled by the Yueh-chi. Moreover, as Dr. D. B. Spooner has now pointed out, even Herodotus used the term Sakai in more than one application and for long periods Sháka denoted Iranians, not Scythians at all. As Dr. Fleet has contended there were no Scythians in the north of India in early times and Shákyamuni should be translated 'Iranian sage.'

ended with the Mughal invasions. The earliest of these invaders were the Sakas¹ who overran the valley of the Helmund and gave their name to that country, so that it became known as Sakasténé or Sístán after them, some time after 130 B. C. Other branches of the horde, penetrating the Indian passes, established satrapies at Taxila and Mathura, which were closely connected. Very little is known about the Saka civilization. They adopted, it would appear, the religion of the Persians, presumably Zoroastrianism, for according to Táránáth,² Harsha of Thánesar in the 7th century A. D. built the great monastery of timber near Multán, but eventually set fire to it and burnt all its heretical denizens as already described.³ But as a ruling race the Sakas probably disappeared from the Punjab before the great Yueh-chi invasion under Kadphises I, who was chief of the Kushán section of that tribe. He probably conquered Kábul about 60 A. D. and his successor, Kadphises II, finally extinguished the Indo-Parthian power in the Punjab and Indus valley.

Thus these nomads, who may have been a Mongolian or Turk stock or a mixed race known as the Yueh-chi, had established themselves in Kipin, probably north-eastern Afghánistán if not Kashmír, and in the Kábul territory by 60 A. D., and the kingdom of Kadphises I doubtless included all modern Afghánistán and extended to the Indus. Between 90 and 100 A. D. the Yueh-chi dominion was extended all over north-western India, and the Kushán dynasty lasted till 225, a period of nearly two centuries. But the Turki Shahiyas of Kábul were, or at least claimed to be, descended from Kanishka, the Kushán, so that the Turki element apparently held its own at Kábul from A. D. 60 to c. 900.

As a race the Yueh-chi were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pink complexions and large noses, resembling in manners and customs the Hiung-nu, a tribe of Turki nomads of the same stock.⁴ They came originally from the province of Kan-suh in north-western China and must have comprised, at the time of their defeat by the Hiung-nu, about 500,000 or 1,000,000 souls with 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. What were the numbers which accompanied Kadphises I and Kadphises II into the Punjab we have no means of knowing. All that is known is that their great successor, Kanishka, wielded a military power so vast that he was able to wrest Kashgár, Yarkand and Khotan from China. He embraced the Buddhist faith and founded at Pesháwar, his capital, the Kanik-chaitya which Alberúni alluded to as late as 1030 A. D. But though Kanishka was a Buddhist the coins of the Kusháns continued to bear images of Zoroastrian deities, such as Mithra, the Sun-, Váta, the Wind-, and the War-gods. But other coins bore the names and figures of non-Iranian gods, and those of

¹Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of this as an Indo-Parthian dynasty and some of them bear Iranic names, e.g. Onones. But Maues and Azes are believed to be Scythic names and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar would regard them as Sakas, some of whom assumed Iranic names just as Greeks took Buddhist and even Hindu names: *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 13, n. 15.

²The Tibetan historian of Buddhism.

³P. 32 *supra*. See *Early Hist. of India*, p. 293. The text gives a very imperfect idea of the probable extent of Zoroastrian influences during this period. Reference can only be made to Dr. D. B. Spooner's valuable paper on *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, page 405 f.

⁴*Early Hist. of India*, p. 217. The Hiung-nu were not Huns or Ephthalites.

Vásudeva are restricted in their types to the more or less barbarous representations of a few non-Zoroastrian deities. Almost all the coins of this Kushán, like those of Kadphises II, exhibit the figure of Shiva with the bull Nandi.

CHINESE AND TIBETAN INFLUENCES.

As has already been shown China exercised at least for a time an important influence in the extreme north-west of India in the 7th and 8th centuries. When her power decayed that of the Tibetans increased and in 747 A. D. they (and *not* the Chinese, according to Waddell¹) invaded north-eastern India, but apparently did not extend their inroads to any part of the modern Punjab. The population of Western Tibet, says the Revd. A. H. Francke, is the result of a long process of blending of at least three stocks, two Aryan, *viz.* the Mons of North India and the Dards of Gilgit, and the third, and most numerous, Mongolian which is the Tibetan nation.

Of the Mons little is known as they were overlaid by the Dard migrations, except in Zangskar, even before the Central Tibetans overwhelmed them. In Zangskar all Indians, Kashmiris or Dogras are called Mon and Mr. Francke thinks that the ancient Mons were an Indian tribe, but it is not necessary to assume this. The *kiang*, the wild sheep and the wild yak had their feeding grounds much further to the west² than they are now-a-days and though Tibetan nomads may have extended as far as Gilgit as far back as the time of Herodotus, it appears more probable that the Mons came not from India or the south but from the west and represent a stream of direct Aryan migration rather than one which had filtered through Kashmir from India. However this may be the Mons had some connection with pre-Lamaist Buddhism, as imposing remains of ancient Buddhist art are found among the ruins of their settlements in Zangskar and Ladakh. Of the Dards a good deal more is known, but though their influence in Western Tibet must have been enormous they cannot have affected the population of the Punjab or more than very slightly that of the Indus Kohistán.

About 800 A. D. however Chamba was subdued by a race of foreigners called Kira who were probably Tibetans, while Kulu seems to have often been liable to Tibetan inroads and for centuries it remained tributary to Ladakh. Kashmir and Kishtwár had also a later period of Tibetan rule³.

THE HUN AND TURKISH ELEMENTS.

If historical material for the third century A. D. is lacking very little is available for the history of the second half of the sixth century, but after the golden age of the Guptas, which had lasted from 370 to 455 A. D., the Huns must have poured into India in ever-increasing numbers. These White Huns or Ephthalites held a comparatively short lived supremacy over Northern India, for the Turkish tribes

¹J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 203, and A. Q. R., Jan'y. 1911. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet was probably the result of the invasion of 747.

²The existence of the wild sheep in Lahul, where it has been extinct for centuries, is proved from rock-carvings in that canton: *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 13, 18, 19, 20, 65, 188.

³*Ibid*, p. 65.

in alliance with the Persian king destroyed them between 563 and 567 in the Oxus valley and the Turks were soon able to extend their power as far southwards as Kapisa and annex all the countries once included in the Hun empire.¹ But soon after the Huns came the Gurjaras who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gurjaras are never heard of until near the end of the 6th century, as the records frequently bracket them with the Hunas. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihāra (Parihār) clan of the Rājputs was really only a section of the Gújars and this fact raises a strong presumption that the other 'fire-born' Rājput clans, the Solanki (Chalukya), Punwār (Paramāra) and Chauhān (Chahāmāna) must also be of Gurjara origin.² The Tūnwaras (Tomaras) must be assigned a similar origin.³ The Gurjara empire was of great extent. At the beginning of the 9th century it included or dominated the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Gandhāra, and Kira kingdoms, practically the whole Punjab. It certainly comprised the modern district of Karnāl and extended to a point below Jullundur.⁴ The Gurjaras gave dynasties to Kanauj, Ajmer, and other states and from their ruling clans are descended the mass of the modern Rājput clans.

The nomadic Gújars, on the other hand, colonised a line running from Mewāt (the 'Gujarāt' of Alberūni) up both sides of the Jumna valley, and thence following the foot of the Punjab Himalaya, right up to the Indus.⁵ Now it is undoubtedly true that the Gújar is one of the few great 'castes' or races of northern India which has retained its own dialect. Even in the extreme north-west, amongst Pisācha-speaking peoples in Swāt and Kashmir the nomadic Gújar graziers and shepherds speak a language which closely resembles the Rājasthāni of Mewāt and Jaipur. In Kashmir this dialect is called Primu. In the north-western hills and indeed in the Punjab generally the Gújar has not amalgamated largely with the other tribes indigenous or immigrant and in Attock it is 'remarkable how much they are disliked and despised by other tribes. Though good cultivators and often well off, they seem to be looked upon as little better than menials, and the appointment of a Gújar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbance. They are good landlords and among the best cultivators in the district, and in physique of the same type as the Jāt whom in many ways they much resemble.' Prone to thieving, when circumstances permit, 'quarrelling and intriguing are blots on their character, but not much more evil can be said of them. They differ entirely in character from the idle, thievish and cowardly Gújars of the southern Punjab'—and it is a great grievance that the army is closed to them, but a good many find their way into it by assuming another tribal name.⁶ That some of the great Rājput tribes then may have been formed from Gurjara elements is by no means inconceivable, but if the Rājputs as a body are Gujars by origin it is difficult to account for the above account of the esteem in which they are held. Moreover to be perfectly frank, the present writer is not quite as convinced as he was

¹ Vincent Smith, *op. cit.* p. 278.

² J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 53.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 258, 260.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 264, 267, 268.

⁵ Grierson in J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 1084.

⁶ Attock *Gazetteer*, 1907, p. 91.

of 'the Gujar origin of the Rájputs.¹ Assuming that *pratihāra* means 'durward' that surname may have been adopted by a Gurjara family which attained to Rájput or gentle rank, but it would not follow that all Pratihāras were Gurjaras and still less need it be assumed that all the Rájput clans were Gurjaras.

Further the theory leads almost of necessity, to other theories still more difficult of acceptance. It follows that if the Rájputs were Gurjaras all tribes of Rájput origin must be Gurjara too. For example the Kanets would be Gujars by blood, but Sir George Grierson² would restrict that origin to the Ráo (Rahu) Kanets and assign to the Khash or Khasia a Khasha descent. The Khashas are frequently mentioned as a northern tribe addicted to cannibalism like the Pisáchas, in the *Mahābhārata* and many later works. They appear to have been once settled in Western Tibet, but in historical times they were restricted to a comparatively limited region, the valleys lying immediately south of the Pir Panjál range between the middle Jhelum and Kishtwár, all now in Kashmir territory. That they spread further eastward over the hills of Chamba and Kángra into the Kulu valley can only be conjectured from the similarity of their name to that of the Khash Kanets. The different groups among the Kanets have no traditions of different descent, indeed their divisions appear to be sectarian by origin. This is at least true of the Kuran Kanets of the Simla hills. The Khakhas of the Jhelum valley are almost certainly the modern representatives of the Khashas, but if the Khash Kanets are to be identified with them it would appear equally probable that the Khashai or Khakhai Pathans, progenitors of the Yúsafzai, Tarklani and other Pathan tribes, are Khash also.

In the eastern hills the Gurjara strain may have amalgamated much more readily with the indigenous tribes. Grierson indeed suggests that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himálaya tract, known as the Sapádalaksha, were the Khashas who spoke a language akin to the Pisácha languages of the Hindú Kush. These are now represented by the Khas clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khashas were conquered by the Gurjaras, who are now represented by the Rájputs, and also by the Ráo (Rahu) clan of the Kanets which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits but remained cultivators—whence their claim to be of impure Rájput descent. Over the whole of Sapádalaksha Gurjaras and Khashas amalgamated gradually and they now speak a language mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the original Khasha population.³

As will be seen later many of these Gurjaras of Sapádalaksha invaded Rájputána and there developed the Rájasthání tongue. Subsequently there was constant communication between Rájputána and Sapádalaksha and under the pressure of the Mughal domination⁴ there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rájputána into Sapádalaksha. This great swirl of population appears

¹ Accepted in Vol. III, p. 300 *infra*.

² *The Pahari Language*, in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.

³ J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 1083-4.

⁴ So Grierson, but it is suggested that the tide set in much earlier, in the time of the earliest Moslem invasions.

to the present writer to have extended right round the Punjab, Grierson suggests that during the period in which Rájput rule became extended over the Punjab the Rájput (Gurjara) fighting men were accompanied by their humbler pastoral brethren.

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

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

Where the Gujars settled in the plains they lost their own language, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujarí. All this is pre-eminently true, but to the present

writer it appears that the Rájput-Gujars and the Gujar settlements of the modern Punjab may owe their origin to administrative or military colonisation of the Punjab and its eastern hills by the great Gujar empire, whose rulers found the Punjab difficult to hold and had constantly to enfeef Rájput or Gujar condottieri with allodial fiefs held on condition of military service.

The Huns.—The first recorded invasion of India by the Huns is ascribed to the reign of Skandagupta, and must have occurred between 455 and 457 A. D. It was repulsed by their decisive defeat, but this first incursion must have been made by a comparatively weak body since about 500 A. D. the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed Gandhára. From this new base they penetrated into the Gangetic provinces and overthrew the Gupta empire. Indeed Toramána, their leader, was actually established as ruler of Málwá in Central India prior to 500 A. D. and on his death in 510 A. D. his empire passed to his son Mihiragula whose capital was at Ságala in the Punjab. Song-Yun, the Chinese envoy, also found a Hun king ruling over Gandhára in 520, though whether this king was Mihiragula or not is uncertain and unimportant.

Again in 547 A. D. Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Gollas, a White Hun king, as lord of India. Mihiragula probably died in 540, but even after his death it is certain that all the states of the Gangetic plain suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns during the second half of the 6th century and it was in that period that the Rája of Thánesar gained renown by his successful wars against the Hun settlements in the north-west Punjab. In 604 his eldest son had advanced into the hills against them, but he was recalled by his father's death and we have no record of any final destruction of these Hun settlements. Harsha's conquests lay in other directions. The Hun invasion thus began in 455 and we still find the tribe established on the north-west frontier in 604—150 years later.

In later Sanskrit literature the term Húna is employed in a very indeterminate sense to denote a foreigner from the north-west, just as Yávana had been employed in ancient times, and one of the thirty-six so-called royal Rájput clans was actually given the name of Húna.¹ This designation may however quite possibly have been its real name and denote its real descent from the Huns, a tribe or dynasty of that race having, we may assume, established itself in India and, as a conquering or dominant race, acquired Rájput status.

¹ Vincent Smith. *op. cit.*, pp. 273-8.

A NOTE ON ZABULISTÁN.

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

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

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

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

It would be out of place here to discuss the extent or history of Zábulistán, but one or two points may be noted. It did not correspond to Seistán, but it included the Sigiz or Sigizi range whence Rustam derived his name of 'the Sigizi' and which may have given its name to Seistán,⁴ and the towns of Baihaq or Mukir, Táq and apparently Uk of Sijistán,⁵ which was afterwards called Rám Shahrístán.⁶ Zábulistán lay north-west and south-west of Ghazni, but did not include that city⁷. Le Strange says the high-lands of the Kandahár country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zábulistán.⁸

¹*Rajatarangini* I, p. 205, note 150. Grierson suggests that Tákri is the script of the Takkas: *J. R. A. S.* 1911, p. 802.

²*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 3.

³*Ib.* 1909, p. 268.

⁴*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, I, p. 184.

⁵*Ib.*, pp. 67, 355-6, and II, p. 1120.

⁶*Ib.*, II, p. 1122.

⁷*Ib.*, I, p. 71, and II, p. 1020.

⁸*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 334; cf. p. 349. For Táq in Seistán see p. 343: for Táq in Daylam, p. 374 and for Táq-i-Bustán, p. 187.

PART III.—THE ELEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB PEOPLE.

THE MUTABILITY OF CASTE.

Before attempting to give any history of the modern Punjab tribes it will be well to attempt a sketch of the foreign elements in the Hindu population of India generally as determined by recent scholarship. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar¹ has pointed out that the orthodox theory of Hindu society as once split up into four distinct castes is untenable. The Vedic castes were not absolutely distinct from one another. A Kshatriya, a Vaisya, even a man of the lowliest origin, could aspire to Brahman-hood. Vishvámitra, a Kshatriya, founded a Brahman family. The sage Vasishtha was born of a harlot, but became a Brahman by religious austerities. 'Training of the mind,' says the verse of the *Mahábhārata*, 'is the cause of it.' The reputed compiler of that epic, Vyása, was born of a fisherman and Paráhara, the sage, of a Chāṇḍála woman. 'Many others, who were originally not twice-born, became Bráhmaṇas.' So in the Punjab of the present day we find that it is function which determines caste, and not birth. Two of the old royal and essentially Rájput families in the Kangra hills, those of Kotlehr and Bangáhal, are said to be Brahmans by original stock.² So too is the ruling family of Jubbal. Its founder was Bhir Bhát and his son by his wife, who was of his own caste, became the *parohit* or spiritual guide of his two half-brothers, sons of his father by the widowed Ráni of Sirmúr, and also of his uterine brother, her son by its Rájá.³

Not only was it possible for men of humble origin to attain to Brahman-hood, but marriage between the castes was frequent. Kshatriyas married with Brahmans on equal terms.⁴ But the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman was a Nisháḍi and numerous instances might be given of new 'castes' formed by similar mixed marriages. But such unions did not by any means always produce new castes. On the contrary by a process very analogous to what goes on in the Punjab at the present day among the Asht-bans Brahmans,⁵ the female issue of a mixed marriage could by degrees

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

² The ruling family of Koti, a feudatory of Keonthal State, in the Simla Hills, is a branch of the Kotlehr Rájás. Its *got* is said to be Kaundinia, and the children of its founder Rám Pál, being of a Rájput wife, became Rájputs. *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, Koti, p. 5.

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

⁴ See Vol. II, post., p. 501.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 127.

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

¹ This rule comes from the *Mitákshara*.

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

³ *Srújat* is equivalent to the Panjabi *surat*, Pashtu *suratat*. Such women are in Láhul termed *chunmá* or workers.

⁴ *Kángra Gazetteer*, Parts II to IV, 1899, p. 26 of Part III, Láhul. It is not stated that any such condition is in force, but judging by analogies it is highly probable that it exists.

In ancient times, however, the effect of an union between two different castes was ordinarily the formation of a new 'caste'. No doubt the intermarriage of two castes of more or less equal status had not such a result¹ or at least it only resulted in forming a new group of much the same status. For instance the Brāhmana Harichandra, surnamed Rohilladhi,² had two views, a Brahman and a Kshatriya. His children by both were called Pratihāra,³ but the sons of the former were Brāhmana Pratihāras and those of the latter Kshatriya Pratihāras. And the Pratihāras, in spite of their Gujar origin, became a Rājput clan, one of the four Agnikulas. But when the disparity between the contracting parties was great, or when by what was termed a *pratiloma* marriage a man espoused a woman of *higher* caste than his own, a new caste was generally formed. Numerous instances of such new castes could be cited from Colebrooke's *Essays*. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson excerpted the following note from Colebrooke's work :—

"It would seem that the offspring of marriage and of illicit intercourse between different castes were called by the same name; but this is open to some question (p. 272). Those begotten by a higher or a lower are distinguished from those begotten by a lower or a higher class (p. 279). The third is sprung from inter-marriages of the first and second set; the fourth from different classes of the second; the fifth from the second and third, and the sixth from the second and fourth. Manu adds to these tribes four sons of outcastes. The *Tantrā* named many other castes (the above are apparently got from the *Purānas*): (p. 274). Except the mixed classes named by Manu, the rest are terms for profession rather than tribes; and they should be considered as denoting companies of artisans rather than distinct races. The mention of mixed classes and professions of artisans in the *Amara Sinha* supports this conjecture (p. 274). The *Sātimālā* mentions 262 mixed castes of the second set (above). They, like other mixed classes, are included in Sūdrā; but they are considered most abject; and most of them now experience the same contemptuous treatment as the abject mixed classes mentioned by Manu (p. 275). The *Tantra* says, 'avoid the touch of the Chandāla and other abject classes; and of them who eat cow flesh, often utter forbidden words, and omit the prescribed ceremonies.' They are called Mlechhā, and going to the region of 'Yavana have become Yāvanas.' Again: 'These seven, the *Rajaka* (? mason), *Karmakāra* (smith), *Naṭa* (dancer, actor!), *Barada* (? *tārūtsāz*!), *Kaivarta* (fisherman), *Medabhilla*⁴ are the last tribes' and pollute by contact, mediate or immediate. A man should make oblations for, but should not dally with, women of Naṭa, Kapāla, Rajakā,

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

² This surname surely points to a northern origin.

³ 'Chamberlain,' *lit.* door-keeper. This is, however, doubted by Professor Bhandarkar. The Pratihāras are represented in the modern Punjab by the Parihār Jāts in Dera Ghāzi Khān. Pratihāra is the Sanskritized form of Paḍihār. For the office of *pratihāra*, see Vogel's *Antiquities of Cham*, p. 185 and 234.

⁴ Or rather 'Meds and Bhils.' Colebrooke does not explain all these names. *Rajaka* is not traceable. Platts gives *bīraṇait* as a bard or bowman, but it can hardly = powder-maker.

Nápita (barber) castes, and prostitutes. Besides their special occupation, each mixed class may follow the special occupation of his *mother's* class; at any rate if he belongs to the first set (above). They may also follow any of the Shúdrá occupations, menial service, handicraft, commerce, agriculture."

Indeed so firmly established was this principle that a marked *mésalliance* or a *pratiloma* marriage founded a new caste, that it apparently became customary to define the status of a caste of lowly origin, aboriginal descent or degraded functions in the terms of an assumed or fictitious mixed marriage. Thus in order to express adequately the utter degradation of the Chandála he must be described as the issue of a Shúdra man, begotten of a Brahman woman,¹ just as the uncleanness of the Dakaut Brahmans can only be brought out by saying that they are descended from the *rishí* Daka by a Shúdra woman.²

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

Professor Bhandarkar arrives at the conclusion that even in the highest castes purity of blood is not universal, and he goes on to show how foreign elements were absorbed into the Hindu population. This appears to have been effected by a two-fold process. The descendants of invaders or immigrants were admitted into the pale of Hinduism according to their degree. The priestly Magian became a Brahman and the warrior a Kshatriya, precisely as in modern Lálul the Thákurs or gentry and *quondam* rulers have begun to assert a Rájput origin, though more or less pure Mongolians by blood, just as the Kanets, at any rate in the valleys of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botias³ or Mongolians. The second process was intermarriage.

¹ See Vol. II, p. 151, s. v. Chanál.

² Vol. II, p. 136. Cf. the foot-note* on p. 139 as to the origin of the Sáwani Brahmans.

³ The real Kanets of Patan who are Hindus look down upon the Kanets of Gára and Rangloi and call them Botzát and regard them as of inferior caste. But this may be due to the fact that they are Buddhists; see Kángya, *Gazetteer*, 1897, Parts II to IV, Part III, p. 25, compared with the top of p. 21. Crooke, *op. cit.*, p. 271, accepts the present writer's view that Sir T. H. Holland's conclusions, referred to at p. 456, Vol. II *infra*, regarding the Kanets are vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mixed and unmixed groups of the Kanets in Lálul.

Professor Bhandarkar illustrates the first-named process by some very interesting historical facts, called from all parts of India. He cites the recently discovered inscription at Besnagar in Gwálor¹ for an instance of a Greek ambassador, a Yavana-duta, with the Greek name of Heliodorus, erecting a *garuda* column to Vasudeva, god of gods, not as a mere compliment but because he was a *Bhagavata* of the god and therefore fairly to be described as a Vaishnava and a Hindu. The Yavana men however were oftener Buddhists than Hindus. They were succeeded by the Sakas, also a foreign tribe, whose dynasty ruled Afghánistán and the Punjab. Some of their *kshatrapas* or satraps were Buddhists, but others affected the Brahmanic religion, as did also many private individuals among the Sakas. At about the same period came the Abhíras, the modern Ahírs, described as bandits and foreigners, but undoubtedly Hindus. One of their sub-castes is closely associated with the cult of Krishna and claims descent from his foster-father Nanda.² Abhíra Brahmans are found in Rájputána and elsewhere, but not apparently in the Punjab. After the Sakas came the Kushanas, whose kings had Turki names and Mongolian features. After the Buddhist Kanishka the Kushán kings did homage to Shiva and other deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

Of more special interest, however, are the Maga or Shákadvípi Brahmans who must be assigned to about this period. They were undoubtedly Magi, and were brought into Jambudvípa by the son of Krishna Sámbar, who was suffering from white leprosy and was advised by Nárada to build a temple to Surya on the Chenab. This temple was erected at Multán or Sambapura, one of its earlier names. The Magas were also called Bhojakas and wore an *avyanga* or girdle which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vāsuki, and Professor Bhandarkar points out that the name of their originator, Jarashasta, bears a close resemblance to that of Zoroaster,⁴ and he is informed that the *pujáris* of the temples of Jagadísha and Jawálámukhi⁵ (in Kángra)

¹ J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 1089.

² See Vol. II, p. 5. Are we to take it that the Nand-bansi Ahírs are descended from Abhíras who adopted the cult of Krishna, while the Jádubansi are descended from those who took Yádava wives, i.e. intermarried with the indigenous races? The legend goes that Arjuna, after cremating Krishna and Balaráma, was marching through the Punjab to Mathura with the Yádava widows, when he was waylaid by the Abhíras and robbed of his treasures and beautiful women.

³ This agrees with Abu Rihán-al-Beruni, who says that the names of Multán were Kasht-, Hans-, Bag and finally Sáb-pur. Múlisthán was the name of the idol and from it is derived the modern name of the town. The temple of the Sun was styled Aditya. Below it was a vault for storing gold. See Raverty in J. A. S. B., 1892, Part I, pp. 191 *et seqq.* Elliot's translations in his *History of India*, I, pp. 14, 15, 35, were incorrect.

* The sage Ríjhva, of the Mihira *gotra*.

Súrya, the Sun x Nakshubhá.

Jarashasta or Jarashabda — equated to Jaratusta or Zoroaster.

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

⁵ If Professor Bhandarkar's information is correct the derivation of Bhojki suggested on p. 107 of Vol. II is untenable and the Bhojkís of Kángra are the Magas or Bhojakas.

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

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

¹ E. H. I., III, p. 494, cf. p. 431.

² Mihirakula is the Sanskritised form of Mihrgul, 'Rose of the Sun.'

³ Professor Bhandarkar says that Húna is now-a-days found as a family name in the Punjab, but the present writer has not come across it. He is, however, in entire agreement with Professor Bhandarkar's view that the Rājput Húnas are Húns by origin, see *Man*, 1908, p. 100.

remarkable beauty and stature. Their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad.”¹

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

The Cháhamánas, the third Agnikulá tribe, are now the Chauháns. Professor Bhandarkar would attribute to them a Sassanian origin and read Cháhamána for Vahmana on the coins of Vásudeva, who reigned at Multán over Takka, Zábulistán and Sapádalaksha or the Siwálík kingdom. Vásudeva's nationality is disputed. Cunningham thought him a later Húna, Professor Rapson would regard him as a Sassanian and Professor Bhandarkar as probably a Khazar and so a Gurjara. However this may be, the Cháhamánas were undoubtedly of foreign origin, and they were known as the Sapádalakshía-Cháhamánas or Chauháns of the country of the 125,000 hills, which included not only the Siwálík range, but a territory in the plains which included Nágaour on the west as well as the Punjab Siwálíks and the submontane tracts as far as Chamba² and Takka or Ták, the province between the Indus and the Beas.

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

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

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

² To the references given by Professor Bhandarkar may be added Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Nástri*, pp. 110, 200, etc. 'Nágaour of Siwálík' was spoken of in early Muhammadan times. The tract from the Sutlej to the Ganges extending as far south as Hánsi was called the Siwálík, and some native writers include the whole of the Alpine Punjab below the higher ranges from the Ganges to Kashmir under the name of Koh-i-Siwálík, *ibid.*, p. 468. As to the Ahichhatra, which Jaina works also mention as the capital of Jáagala, placed in the *Mahábhārata* near Mádreya, it appears to be the modern Arura in Ludhiána, identified with Ahichatta by the late Sir Atar Singh of Bhadaur. But Hatur was also called Aichata Nagri, as well as Arhatpur. Cunningham identified Bhadaur with Arhatpur: Ludhiána *Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 14 and 227.

porated, and among others the Vaisya name-suffix Datta is found as a *sharman* of the Nāgra Brahman, just as it is among the Muhiāl Brahman.¹ On the other hand, the Nāgra Jāts probably derive their name from Nagar, a place described as not far from Ahichchhatra, which was either the Ahichhatra now represented by Arura (or possibly by Hatūr) or a place in the Siwālik hills.²

THE ABORIGINES OF THE PUNJAB.

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

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

Raverty also notes that the Budli or Budni, who consisted of several tribes and held a large tract of country extending from Nangrahār to the Indus, were displaced by the Afghāns when they first entered Bangash, the modern Kurram.⁴ He deprecates any hasty conjecture that they were Buddhists, as the Akhund Darveza says they were Kāfirs, that is, non-Mussalmāns, but he does not say they were Buddhists. Raverty adds that the Budlis were expelled from Nangrahār by Sultān Bahrām, ruler of Pīch and Lamghān.

¹ Vol. II, p. 121.

² Professor Bhandarkar postulates at least three Ahichchhatras, one in the United Provinces, about 22 miles north of Badāun, a second now located and a third in the Himālayas in the Jāngala country near Mādreyā, which was situated between the Chenab and Sutlej. If the Mādreyā is to be identified with the Madra Des the Jāngala would certainly appear to be the modern Jangal tract of the Mālwa country, south of the present Sutlej valley, and Arura lies in this tract. Probably there were two Ahichchhatras in the Punjab, to wit, Arūra, and one in the Himālaya, possibly in Kāngra, in which District Chhatt is still the name of a village. But a Chhatt is also found near Banūr in Patialā territory. And the place-name may be connected with the institution of *chhat* and *makan* among the Rājputs.

³ *Bannu or our Afghan Frontier*, p. 14. Pothi suggests a connection with Pothohār or wār,—a region lying between the Jhelum river and the Indus. 'But strictly speaking, the limits of Pothwār are confined to the four ancient *parganas* of the *Ain-i-Akhbari*, viz., Fatehpur Bāori, now Rāwalpindi, Akbarābād Tarkhpārī, Dāngali and Pharwāla or Pharhāla.'—*J. G. Delmerick in P. N. Q. I.*, § 617.

Notes on Afghānistān, pp. 380-81.

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

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

In the Central Punjab Murray¹ describes the Káthis as "a pastoral tribe, and as Jún, their other name denotes, they live an erratic life." But Sir Alexander Cunningham correctly describes the Jún as distinct from the Káthis, though he says that both tribes are tall, comely and long-lived races, who feed vast herds of camels and black cattle which provide them with their loved libations of milk. Cunningham however appears to be speaking of the Jan, 'a wild and lawless tribe' of the southern Bári Doáb, which has apparently disappeared as completely as the Jún, though Capt. J. D. Cunningham, writing in 1849, speaks of the Jans as being, like the Bhattis, Siáls, Karrals, Kathis and other Tribes, both pastoral and predatory: see his *History of the Sikhs*, p. 7.

In the northern Punjab tradition assigns the whole of the modern Siálkot district to the YAHARS or Yeers, who lived in *juns* (*jans*,) or rude mud huts. The Yeers also held the Jech and Sindh-Ságar Doábs, and were known as JHUNS and Puchedas in the Reehna Doáb, and in the Bári Doáb as Bhular, Mán and Her, the three original tribes of the great Ját 'caste'. The SHOON DUL were also recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab in the time of Bikramajit.² It is impossible to say whence these traditions were obtained or what substratum of truth there may be in them. The Jhúns, Jún or Jans thus appear to have left a widespread tradition, yet they are unknown to history, unless we may conjecture that they preserve the name of Yona or Yavanas, the territory of the Græco-Bactrian King Milinda whose capital was Ságala.³

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

TRIBAL AREAS AND TRIBAL NAMES.

The Punjab is studded with tracts of very varying size, which derive their names from the tribes which now, or at some recent period, held sway therein. Along its northern border lie the Khattár,⁴ Kahutáni and Bála Gheb tracts in Ráwalpindi. The Bála Gheb or

¹ *History of the Punjab*, p. 38.

² Prinsep's *Siálkot Settlement Report*, 1865, p. 38-9.

³ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 186.

⁴ From the Khattar tribe, according to the *Ráwalpindi Gazetteer*, 1893-84, but the name appears to be obsolete as applied to the tract held by this tribe.

Gahep, literally Upper Gheb, derives its name from the Ghebas. It is held by Ghebas calling themselves Rewals of Mughal descent.¹ The Ghebas also gave their name to Pindi Gheb, a township now held by the Jodhras. According to Raverty, Chakkawál, now Chakwál, was one of the principal places in "the Dhani Gahep"—Dhani being the name of the tract, and Gahep a great Ját tribe. But the Gahep cannot be other than the GHEBA and they do not now hold the Dhani, 'west Chakwál' tahsil. The name Dhani appears to give their name to the DHANIAL Rájputs and to be so called from *dhan*, 'wealth,' owing to its fertility.² The Kahúts have given their name to the Kahútáni tract in Chakwál tahsil and the Kahúta hills and town preserve memories of their former seats. The Bugiál tract, described by Cunningham as lying on the bank of the Jhelum under Bálnáth, is also called Báisgrám or the 22 villages. Cunningham says it derives its name from the Bugiál branch of the Janjúas, but as there is also a Gakkhar sept of that name he suggests that the Bugiál septs in both those tribes derive their name from the locality—a not improbable conjecture.³ The Awáns hold the Awánkári in the Salt Range and a smaller tract in the Jullundur District bears the same name.

In the District of Gujráť, a name which itself denotes the territory of the Gujars,⁴ lie the Herát and Jatátar. The latter clearly means the Ját realm, but the derivation of Herát is obscure. It is popularly derived from Herát in Afghánistán, but this derivation is hardly tenable. Cunningham⁵ derived Hairát, which he says is the original name of the city of Gujráť, as Hairát-des was of the district, from the Aratťa. But tempting as the derivation is, it is difficult to accept it. The Aratťa appear to be identical with the Sanskrit Arásbtraka, 'the king-less,'⁶ which name is well preserved in Justin's Arestæ, Arrian's Adraistæ, and the Andrestæ of Diodorus. But Aratťa was also equivalent to Madra, Járttikka, and the 'thieving Báhika' of the *Mahábhárata*, as the Kathæi of Sangala (? Siálkot) are stigmatized in that poem⁷. The term king-less might well have been applied to the democratic Punjab tribes of that period, but it is doubtful if the Her Ját tribe derives its name from Aratťa. The

¹ Ráwalpindi *Gazetteer*, 1893-94, p. 57. Rewal is apparently a mistake. Ráwal can hardly be meant.

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

³ A. S. R. II, p. 27. For the Bugiál *mandis*, see p. 267 of Vol. II, *infra*.

⁴ Gujráť denotes the Gujar tract; Gujránwála the Gujars' village: a distinction overlooked in Baden Powell's *Indian Village Community*.

⁵ *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 179.

⁶ According to Grierson this is a doubtful explanation: *The Pahari Language*, p. 4, note 27, in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.

⁷ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 215.



modern Jatátar does not quite correspond to the ancient country of the Jártikas whose capital Sákala lay on the Apagá (now the Aik) to the west of the Rávi, if we are to understand that the Jártikas did not extend to the west of the Chenab. But the Madra country or Madrades is said by some to extend as far west as the Jhelum, though others say it only extends to the Chenab, so that the modern Jatátar may well represent a Jártika tract of the Madr-des, if we may assume that the term Jártika was strictly only applicable to the western tribes of the Madr-des¹: Cunningham also records that in the Chaj or Chínhat Doáb we find a Ránja Des, so called from the Ránjha tribe, and a Tárar *tappa*, while in the Rachna Doab we have a Chíma Des, to the south and west of Siálkot. The two latter names are derived from the Ját tribes which predominate in those tracts, but all three appear to be obsolescent if not obsolete.²

Further east, in Siálkot, lies the Bajwát³ or territory of the Báju Rájputs, whom it is tempting to identify with the Báhikas of Sákala or Ságala. In Gurdáspur the Riár Játis give their name to the Riárki tract.

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

In Hoshiárpur the Khokhars hold the Khokharain, a tract on the Kapúrthala border. And the Jaswán Dún⁴ is named from, or more probably gives its name to, the Jaswál Rájputs.

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

It is very doubtful if the name Kulu can be derived from the Koli tribe, but in the Simla Hills the Thákurs gave their name to the Thákurain⁵.

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

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

² A. S. R. II, p. 56. He also mentions Miáni Gondal but that is only a village.

³ Prinsep (*Siálkot Settlement Report*, 1865, p. 39) gives the form Bajwant. This would appear to be the older form of the word: e.g. cf. Pathánti and Nádaunti. The former appears to be the country round Patháankot, the latter the tract round the town of Nádaun. Cunningham, however, calls the country round Patháankot Patháwat, a name now apparently obsolete: *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁴ It is possible that the ancient form of the name was Jaswant: cf. Bajwant and Nádaunti.

⁵ In Kulu the *thákurain* was the period of the Thákurs' rule.

In the extreme south-east of the Province lies part of the Mewát, so called after the Meos, but in its turn it gives its name to the Mewátis, or people of the Mewát. The Mewát further comprises the Dhangalwati, Naiwára and Pahatwára, three tracts named after the *páls* of the Meos which hold them. The Ját country round Palwal¹ is also called the Jatiyát, and the Ahír country round Rewári, the Ahírwati. But the latter term is apparently only used by the Ahírs themselves, as the Meos call the country west of Rewári the Ráth or Bighauta. The Ráth is also said to be distinct from Bighauta and to be one of the four tracts held by the Alanot Chauháns. It was the largest of those tracts, lying for the most part in Alwar, but including the town of Nárnául, which was also named Narráshtra.² Narráshtra must, however, be the name of a tract, not a city, and it is suggested that Ráth is derived from Narráshtra. The Ráth is said to have lain to the south of Bighauta, which tract followed the course of the Kasáoti river stretching southwards along the west of the modern tahsil of Rewári in Gurgaon. The Dhandoti tract lay between Bighauta and Hariána. It was a sandy stretch of country running from east to west across the centre of the Jhajjar tahsil.—P. N. Q. I., §§ 183, 370, 618.

The Bhattís give their name to at least two tracts, the Bhattiána which comprised the valley of the Ghaggar from Fatehábad in Hissár to Bhatner in the Bikanér State, together with part of the dry country stretching north-west of the Ghaggar towards the old bank of the Sutlej; and also to the Bhattiúra, a considerable tract in Jhang lying between the Sháh Jiwana villages in the west and the Láli country in the east. The Bhattiúra is thus in the Chiniót tahsil, north of the Chenab. Numerous place-names, such as Bhatner, which Cunningham appears to identify with Bhatistala,³ Pindi Bhattián and Bhattiôt, are called after this tribe. According to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the Bhattiyát in Chamba is probably also named from the Bhatti caste, but it does not appear that any such caste was ever settled in Chamba. Bhattiyát appears to be a modern form, and Dr. Vogel thinks its termination is a Persian plural. It has lately been introduced into official documents, and it is often indicated by the name Bára Bhattián, which points to its having once consisted of 12 *parganas*. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kángra valley, and it is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army.⁴ It is suggested that its name is derived from *bhata*, a soldier, and that it means 'the 12 fiefs held on a military tenure' or simply 'the 12 military *parganas*.'

¹It is suggested that Palwal may be the Upaplarya of the *Mahábhárata*. It was the capital of the king of Matsya who brought mountain chiefs in his train. Pargiter suggests that the Matsyas must have come from the northern part of the Aravalli hills, but it is suggested that they are the modern Meos. Palwal is now-a-days said to mean 'countersign.'

²Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 197. For the folk-etymologies of Nárnául see G. Yazdani's paper in J. A. S. B., 1907, p. 581.

³The derivation of Bhatinda from the tribal name Bhatti, put forward in Vol. II, p. 101, must be abandoned. Its ancient name was Tabarhindh or possibly Batrind. But the latter name can hardly be derived from Bhatti. See Phulkian States *Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 189.

The Antiquities of Chamba State, I, pp. 4 and 13.

The disappearance of ancient tribes.

53

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

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

The whole question of these tribal areas is one of considerable interest and corresponding difficulty. The system under which a tract is named after the tribe which holds it or is dominant in it must be one of great antiquity, as indeed we know it to have been in other parts of India. Yet in the Punjab the only tribal tract-name of any antiquity seems to be Gujrāt. In Kashmīr the Khashas gave their name to the valley of Khasālaya, now Khaishāl, which leads from the Marbal Pass down to Kishtwār. But with hardly an exception the ancient tribal names of the Punjab have disappeared. Thus Varāhamihira writes: 'In North-East, Mount Meru, the kingdom of those who have lost caste, the nomads (Pashupālas, possibly worshippers of Pashupati, or more probably cattle-owners), the Kīras, Kāshmiras, Abhisāras, Daradas (Dards), Tanganas, Kulūtas (people of Kulu), Sairindhra (who may possibly be 'people of Sihhind'), Forest men, Brahmapuras (of the ancient kingdom whose name survives in Bharmaur in Chamba), Dāmaras (a Kashmīr tribe, but DAMARAS are also found on the Indus), Foresters, Kirātas, Chīnas (doubtless the Shīns of Gilgit, but we still find CHHINA and Chīna Jāts in the Punjab plains), Kaupindas, Bhallas (still the name of a Khatri section), Paṭolas (unidentified), Jatāsuras (? Jātts, or Jāt heroes or warriors), Kunaṭas, Khashas, Ghoshas and Kuchikas'. Here we have not only tribal names but also occupational terms and Ghosha and Kuchika recall the *goshfandwāl* or sheep-folk and *kuchis* or nomads of Dera Ismāil Khān. There are difficulties in nearly every identification suggested, as for instance in deriving Kanet from Kunaṭa or Kunīnda (Kaupīnda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kulū people are already mentioned once as Kulūtas and we should have to identify the Kunindas with the Kanets of the hills excluding Kulu². But it is

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

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

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

To the above several names may be added from various works. Thus the *Mahābhārata* classes the Madras, Gandhāras, Vasātis, Sindhús and Sauvīras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus) with the despicable Bāhikas. We have still a Jāt tribe called SINDHÚ and its name can only be derived from Sindh or the Indus, but no trace exists of the Madras, Vasātis and Sauvīras. To this list remain to be added the Prasthalas whose name suggests some connection with *pratisthāna* and who may have been the people settled round Pathānkot or akin to the Pathān. Then we have the Kankas, Pāradas (apparently associated with the Daradas), Tukhāras, all from the north-west¹ and Ambashthanas,² who were close to the Madras, besides tribes like the Aratthas already mentioned.

Why should these tribes have nearly all disappeared, leaving no certain trace even in place-names? The answer appears to be that they were non-Brahmanical in creed and foreigners by race. 'When shall I next sing the songs of the Bāhikas in this Sāgala town', says the poet of the *Mahābhārata*, 'after having feasted on cow's flesh and drunk strong wine? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments in the company of fair-complexioned, large-sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels?' The Bāhikas can only be the Bāhlika tribe which came from Balkh (Bāhlika) and in close connexion with them we find the Māgadhas, the warrior class of Shākadwipa or Persia, spoken of contemptuously. The Bāhikas had no *Veda* and were without knowledge. They ate any kind of food from filthy vessels, drank the milk of sheep, camels and asses and had many bastards. The Aratthas in whose region they lived occupied the country where the six rivers emerge from the low hills, i.e. the sub-montane from Rūpar to Attock, yet they are described as the offspring of two Pishāchas who dwell on the Beas. But the value of such a pedigree is well described by Mr. J. Kennedy⁴. As he says, 'primitive men

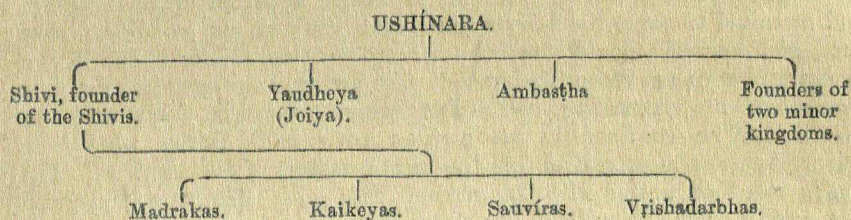
¹ Grierson says the Khāshas and Tukhāras were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshān, the Tokhāristan of Muhammadan writers: see his valuable introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey dealing with the Pahari languages published in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.

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

³ If the Jārtikas, a clan of the Bāhikas, be the modern Jāts, the latter term may be after all Iranian and the nucleus of the Jāt 'caste' Iranian by blood, a far less difficult hypothesis than the Indo-Scythian theory. Grierson says Bāhika = 'outsider' (*op. cit.*, p. 4) but is this anywhere stated? It would be quite natural for Brahmanical writers to style Bāhlikas punningly Bāhikas.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 511-2.

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



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

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

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

I have not been able to trace any other legend of local origin. It is true that the people delight in legendary lore, but the stories most recounted are almost invariably the common property of the Afghans generally. Doubtless the 'Dúms' are largely responsible for the



wide range of these tales of the people. I give the following of those most frequently heard :—

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

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

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

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

At this spot, Hamza, son of Mír Hamza, nephew of the Imám Ali, is said to have given battle to the armies of Langahúr and Soghar, Káfirs, in the time gone by. They were defeated and Hamza is said to have erected this stone to commemorate his victory. It is a time worn block of granite, with a thin vein of quartz running through it, which is looked upon as the mark of Hamza's sword. It is stated that colossal bones are found occasionally in the vicinity, and cautiously enough, not many yards from the spot is a line of three enormous



graves, each six paces in length; the head and heel stones are blocks of granite, deeply sunk in the earth, and the intermediate spaces filled in with earth and smaller stones. They have an ancient look, and are confidently pointed out as the graves of Káfirs. Close by is another block of granite, with a perfect bowl hollowed in it, apparently by water action. This is said to be Hamza's *kachkol* or *faqír's* dish. On the edge of the cliff some way up the torrent, which dashes down from the Pára Chakmanni hills, are the ruins of a village, which is still known as Langahúr, and which are put down as having been a Káfir's habitation. Coins have been found there, of which however none are forthcoming, but from the description of the figure with Persian cap and flowing skirts, would be probably those of Kadphises, king of Kábul in about 100 A. D.'

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

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

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

¹ This seems a different place to the one mentioned in Colonel Leigh's note.

² Vol. II, p. 151.

³ Capt. J. D. Cunningham, *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 5. n.



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

After these Aryas had passed on into the Punjab, the same thing happened on the north-western marches as has taken place in Turkestan. The rivers and streams slowly dried up, and the desert laid a dead hand upon the once fertile lands. The road was now closed for ever closed to slow migrations of families; it could be traversed only by swiftly moving troops. Henceforth the successive waves of foreign invasion, though for a time they might overwhelm Hindustan, could not leave any deep and lasting change in the racial characteristics of the Indian peoples; for the desert forbade the invaders to bring with them enough women to make a colony of their own race.¹

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

Taken almost *verbatim* from Dr. Lionel Barrett's *Antiquities of India*, p. 8.



element is slight, the Mughal or Turki still slighter, while the Arab element is practically negligible. Behind the Arab and the later Muhammadan invasions which began under Mahmūd of Ghazni we have dim traditions of Persian overlordship, but we cannot assign an Iranian origin to any one tribe with certainty. A gap of centuries separates the Getæ and Yuechi from the earliest allusion to the Játs by the Muhammadan historians of India.

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

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

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

Shín = rána

Yashkun ?

Kamfn.

Dám.

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

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

¹ A. S. R. II, p. 3.

² Kotannai.

Bíchwai.

Baitaramai.

Shaitingai.



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

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

PART IV.—RELIGIONS.

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

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

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

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

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Kesar and his mother Gog-bzang lha-mo.³ But at least as primitive were the *pho-lha* and *mo-lha* or deities of 'the male and female principle.'⁴ Sun-worship must have been important as the cult was also called gYung-drung-bon⁵ or the *swástrika-bon*.⁶

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

¹ A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21.

² Pronounced Pon according to Sarat Chandra Das (*Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society of India*, 1893, Appendix, cited by Milloué, *Bod-Youl ou Tibet*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, 1906, p. 155), or Penn with the French *eu*.

³ Francke, *op. cit.* pp. 2 and 65.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 21.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 93. For some further details see Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 52-7.

spontaneous creation issuing from the eternal void. When the functions of a creator are attributed to him he is assigned a spouse or *yām*, literally 'mother,' representing his active energy with which he engenders gods, men and all beings. Beneath him come Kyúng, the chief spirit of chaos, under the form of a blue eagle, 18 great gods and goddesses, 70,000 secondary gods, innumerable genii and a score of principal saints all-eager to fight for mankind against the demons.¹

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

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

¹ Millon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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

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

The Bon-pos or some of them at least accept the Indian dogma of the metempsychosis, but appear to restrict it to those who blinded by ignorance (*avidyā*) have failed to grasp the eternal verity of the Bon-Kú (emptiness, unreality, vanity, mutability of mundane things composed of different elements and therefore perishable), and remain subject to the law of *karma* or consequences of one's own deeds, whereas the wise freed from earthly bonds and enlightened by the splendour of the *bon-kú* (which has some analogies with the *bodhi* or knowledge) go to be absorbed into the pure essence of the *san* or spiritual immutability, composed of pure light and absolute knowledge which constitutes the subtle body of Kúntú-Bzang-po. Two parallel and inseparable ways lead to this state of abstraction or of the absolute, which is the supreme aim of the Bon-pos—*viz.* *darshana* (active, will and perhaps action) and *gom*¹ or meditation. This latter, probably an imitation of the Buddhist *dhyāna*, has three stages, the *thün-gom*, *nang-gom* and *lang-gom*,² not four as in Buddhism, and is the one really efficacious, though it should be accompanied or preceded by *darshana* apparently. In the *thün-gom*, which is practised by a devotee initiated by a spiritual guide, *i.e.* a *lama*, by counting the beads of a rosary and chanting the merits of *bon-kú*, the mind should not be absorbed in the particular object of meditation. But in the second degree absorption and meditation are equal, the mind is filled with light and then, entering into profound meditation (*yoga*), it is completely abstracted and finally is void even of meditation itself. The moment of *lang-gom* commences when all kinds of *vidya* (consciousness) have been acquired and the real object has been seen, when meditation has ended and the mind has ceased to think of acquiring the essence of *sunyata*. At this moment all sins, evil thoughts, &c., are changed into perfect wisdom (*jñāna*), all matter visible and invisible enters into the pure region of *sunyata* or *bon-kú* and then transmigratory existences and those emancipated, good and evil, attachment and separation, etc., all become one

¹ Apparently *gyāna*.

² Or *long-gom*.

and the same. To attain to the perfect meditation of the *lang-gom* the Bon-po has nine roads, vehicles (*gyāna*) or methods called *bon-drang* open to him of which the first four, the *p'va-sen*, *nang-sen*, *thül-sen* and *sriā-sen* are called the 'causative vehicles'; the next four, the *gen-yen*, *ākar*, *tāh-srāng* and *ye'-sen* 'the resulting vehicles'; and the ninth contains the essence of the other eight. The *p'va-sen* comprises 360 questions and 84,000 proofs or tests. The *nang-sen* contains four *gyer-gom* and 42 *tah-rag* or divisions of meditative science. The *thül-sen* teaches miracle-working. The *srid-sen* deals with the 360 forms of death and with funeral rites, of the four kinds of disposing of the dead and of 81 methods of destroying evil spirits. The *gen-yen* sets forth aphorisms relating to bodies, animal life, their development and maturity. The *ākar* gives numerous mystical demonstrations. In the *ye'-sen* are described mental demonstrations, and in the *kyad-par*, the ninth, the five classes of *upadesa* or instruction. The *tang-srāng* describes the different kinds of *bām* or monuments destined to the preservation of relics. The *kyad-par* alone can achieve that which the other eight methods can only effect collectively. Moreover the four *gyer-bon* secure the enjoyment of four *bhūmis* (degrees of perfection) of honourable action during several ages. The *gen-yen* and *tang-srāng*, after having protected the *sattvam* (animal nature) for three *kalpas* lead it on to emancipation. The *ākar* and the *ye'-sen* can procure for the *sattvam* freedom of the existence after its first birth and the *kyad-par* can ensure it even in this life. Bon temples (*bon-k'ang*) exist besides the monasteries and though the Bon has long been in conflict with *lāma*-ism it has survived in strength in eastern Tibet and tends more and more to become fused with the doctrines of the adepts of the Nyigma-pa sect or red *lāmas*.¹

M. deMilloué, whose account of the Bon faith is based on that of Sarat Chandra Das,² speaks of it as '*assez obscur*', but it is strange that no one has hitherto compared or contrasted its teachings with those of Jainism. A. H. Francke's notices of the Bon-chos, fragmentary as they are, show that he was dealing with its earlier phases as the following notes show:—

Human sacrifice was probably a leading feature of this primitive creed. Oaths at important treaties were made binding by human as well as animal sacrifices, new houses were consecrated by immuring human beings in their walls, and a person was killed when one was first inhabited.³ Dr. Francke mentions a *lāma* in the Suttlej valley who had recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to render his new house habitable.⁴ The old were apparently put to death, a custom toned down in modern times to a rule which

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

² In J. A. S. B., 1881, p. 203 f.

³ Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 22.



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

The ibex was worshipped for fertility and figures of it often carved on rocks. Now a-days 'four ibex' are offered by neighbours to the parents of a new-born child¹. Kesar'a Bruguma and other pre-Buddhistic divinities are still invoked to grant children,² but it does not follow that this was their real or principal function in the Bon-chos. The *swastika* was already a symbol of the sun and the *yonis* of the female principle.³ The dead were buried, burnt, exposed to the air or cast into the waters as might seem appropriate. Thus people who had died of dropsy were cast into a stream.⁴ Even so in recent times the people of Kanaur⁵ used to practise immersion of the dead in water (*dubant*), eating (*bhakhant*) and cremation as well as burial. Corpses were also cut into pieces and packed into clay pots.⁶

Spirits also played a great rôle for good or ill. That of the Miru monastery was carried off even in Buddhist times to Hemis in a bundle of twigs.⁷ When the country suffered from violent gales the spirits of the wind were caught in a pot, and stored up in a *stûpa* which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.⁸

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 96 and 105.

² *Ib.*, p. 105.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 105 and 107.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 23.

⁵ Pandit Tika Ram Joshi, *Ethnography of the Bashahr State*, J. A. S. Bengal, 1911, p. 536.

⁶ Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 72 and 74.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 65.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 81.

SECTION 2—BUDDHISM.

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

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

Ibbetson,
§ 249.

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



doubtful question¹. The story of how it gradually spread over Northern India, apparently obscuring for a time the Brahminism against which it was a protest, how it attained perhaps its highest pitch under Asoka, how it gradually spread into Tibet, China, Burma, and Ceylon, how it was followed in its victorious advance beyond the confines of Indian peninsula by the resurgent Brahminism, which finally succeeded in expelling it from the country of its birth, or perhaps more really in so absorbing it that it can no longer be traced save in its effect on some of the esoteric doctrines of the Hindu faith, and how it now flourishes as a separate religion only in the foreign realms which it has conquered, is matter of history in its broad outlines and of the uncertainty of ignorance as to its minor details. Buddha preached about 600-540 B.C.², Asoka lived about three centuries after him, and Buddhism first became the state religion³ of China in the 4th century of our era, while it disappeared from India some 4 to 5 centuries later. The first Buddhist king of Tibet is said to have reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, but Ladakh, the part of Tibet which borders on the Punjab, would seem to have been converted by missionaries sent by Asoka.

Buddhism as it is in the Punjab.—The Buddhist doctrines were early divided into two great schools, the northern which prevails in Tibet, China, and Japan, and the southern to which belong Ceylon, Burma and Siam.⁴ The latter retains the teachings of its founder almost unchanged; but the former soon substituted the final beatitude of the Hindus for the ultimate absorption of Buddha, and developed an elaborate and extravagant system of incarnate saints and demi-gods of different degrees which has obscured and almost superseded the original Gautamic legend. The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pangi in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjab whose inhabitants return themselves as Buddhists, is the Lamaism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We shall see how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hinduism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have

Ibbetson,
§ 250.

¹ The attitude assumed towards caste by Gautama is elaborately discussed by Dr. Wilson at pp. 278 *et seq.* of the first volume of his work on Indian Caste. His teaching would seem to be not very widely removed from that of Baba Nanak, to be described presently. He recognised existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Brahmans, taught that *all* castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums the early Buddhist practice on the subject: "Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmans, that they opposed caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged by them wherever they found that they had been preceded by Aryan rule." (See also Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 125f)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ibbetson,
 § 251.

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

¹ The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body. D. I.

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

³ The praying-wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned in the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village which is turned by water and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ—"These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Lâma and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the village *mani* and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard."

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

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars; and the remarks of Mr. A. Anderson quoted below seem to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, as I shall show in my chapter on Caste; and I suspect that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kângra and Lâhul as there is between Lahul and Spiti. Mr. A. Anderson wrote thus:—"In Spiti there are three classes: Châhjang, Lohâr or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Châhjang will eat from a Lohâr's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Châhjang will marry a Châhjang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *haddi*). This is the rule also with Lohârs and Hensis. Should a Châhjang take a Lohâr woman into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Châhjangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohâr. It is said that it is not common for a Châhjang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is

not thereby defiled.¹ It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindus also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

As we have already seen Buddhism found established in Tibet a strongly organised religion in the Bon-chos, which as we now know it has been systematised and purified by contact with Buddhism itself. It must have been a crude animism in its primitive form. The Tibetans assign a very ancient date to the importation of Buddhism into Tibet, but the Chinese annals place it under the reign of the emperor Tai-tsung, 627-650 A. D., though possibly a Buddhist monastery had been erected on the sacred Kailâsa mountain in 137 B. C. If any such monastery was founded however it must have been shortlived. Lamaistic tradition indeed declares that about the middle of the 5th century B. C., when Tibet was plunged in profound barbarism, an Indian prince named Nyahthi-Tsanpo,² a descendant of Sâkyamûni himself according to some but according to others an exiled son of Prasenajit king of Kosala, made himself recognised as king of Tibet, introduced Buddhism and civilisation and founded the royal Tibetan family. But his efforts failed and as soon as he was dead Buddhism disappeared completely. Nevertheless the Tibetans date the Ngadar or period of primitive Buddhism from his reign.

Under his 37th descendant or successor Lha Thothori Nyantsan³ in 331 A. D. four objects of unknown use fell on the roof of the royal palace and the king was warned to preserve them piously as pledges of the future prosperity of Tibet whose meaning would be revealed in due course to one of his successors. This and the tradition of a monastery in Kailasa doubtless mean that Buddhism gained a footing in Tibet long before it became the state religion.

However this may be, in the reign of Srongtsan-Gampo—617 to 698—the first authentic ruler of Tibet, Buddhism met with a royal patron. The king had married two princesses, one Chinese, the other a daughter of Ansûvarman of Nepal. The latter at any rate was a devout Buddhist and the king was induced to send his chief minister Thûmi or Thonmi Sambhota to search for Buddhist books and preachers in India. He returned in 650 A. D. with a certain number of books and an alphabet adapted to the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. About 644 the king had built at Lhasa the famous temple of Rasa called later Lhasai-tso-khang or Jovo-khang to receive the sacred images of Akeho-bhya and Sâkyamûni brought from Nepal and China by his queens who

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

² Ngah-K'ri-bTsan-po. The name may preserve the suffix-sthamba.
Lha-Tho-thori gNyan-ôtsan.

are also said to have built the monasteries of Labrang and Ramoche. But the earliest monastery in Tibet would appear to have been that of Samyé built a full century later.

It is clear that if Buddhism was not officially introduced or recognised in Tibet until the middle of the 7th century A. D. the form then adopted as the state religion can hardly have been the pure uncontaminated creed preached by Buddha and his immediate successors. This supposition is borne out by what followed. Srongtsan Gampo was a warlike ruler, yet he was deified as an incarnation of the Dhiáni Bodhisattva Chanresil¹ or Avalokitesvara, a personification of charity and the love of one's neighbour and the patron deity of Tibet, while his queens also received divine honours as incarnations of the goddess Dolma or Tára, the Nepalese lady under the name of the Green Tára² and the Chinese as the White Tára.³ Proof of their divine nature was discerned in their barrenness.

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

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

¹ Spyan-ras-gzigs. 'The Lord that looks down from on high': fr. *avalokita* (looking on) and *ivara* (lord)

² Doljang (Sgrol-ljang).

Dolkar (Sgrol-dkar).

⁴ Milloné says Dardistán, but it also included Swát.

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

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

LAMAISM.

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

The Kādampa order owes its origin to Atisa who was born in Bengal in 980 A. D. Educated as a Brahman he was converted to Buddhism and initiated into the Mahāyāna doctrine at Krishnagiri. At the age of 19 he took the vows at Udantapuri under the famous Sīla Rak-shita with the religious name of Dīpankara-Sri-Jnāna and was ordained at 31. Nominated superior of the Vikrama-Sīla monastery by the king of Magadha and recognised as hierarch by the Mahāyānists of that kingdom, he was invited by Lha-lama in 1038 to undertake reforms in Tibet, but only yielded to the instances of Lha-tsūn-pa when he had reached the age of 60. Arriving in Tibet in 1040 he was given as residence the monastery of Tho-ling and devoted his energies to purifying Tibetan Buddhism of the gross and immoral practices imported into it by the Bon-po shamanism allied with mysticism of Tāntric teaching. Before he died in 1053 at Ngethang he had gathered round

him a number of disciples who formed a sect called Kadampa¹ under Marpa and Domton or Bromton² in the monastery at Raseng or Radeng. This sect or order has counted 3000 eminent *lāmas* in its ranks since its foundation and some writers regard it as a restoration of the ancient teaching of Thūmi Sambhota. It affected especially the *Vināya* with its views of chastity, imposed respect for and worship of the Buddhas and of Sākyamūni in particular, charity and love for all creatures, and practised fervent meditation. It professed the exoteric doctrine of the Void (*śūnyāta*) and without entirely rejecting mysticism and the *Tāntra* adheres strictly to the teachings of the *Kān jūr* in regard to them. This sect has lost much of its importance since the reforms of Tsongkhapa and has to a great extent merged in the Geluk-pa order or sect.

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

The Nyigmapa neglect as a rule all the restraints of Buddhist discipline, especially in regard to celibacy, abstinence from flesh and liquor. Many are married and almost all given to drunkenness. Their supreme divinity is the mystic Buddha, Kūntu Zangpo, the Sanskrit Samantabhadra but in preference to the Buddhas generally adored by other sects they affect tutelary demons called Si-Yidam-kyi-lhá, 'benevolent protectors' and P'ro-Yidam-kyi-lhá, 'terrible protectors,' represented in the *Tāntric* way as each holding their *yūm*³ or *sakti* in a close embrace. The former belong to the class of Buddhas, the latter to that of the Shiva-istic deities. The Si-Yidam of the sect is called Vajra-p'úrba and the P'ro-Yidam Dúppa-Kágye.' They have also a guardian demon called Gúrgon, a monster with two heads, and they worship Padma Sambhava under various forms, human, divine and demoniac. The cult, which is essentially one of propitiation, which they offer to these divinities, consists in magic rites of all kinds, and in these flesh, fermented liquors and blood offered in human skulls form the principal ingredients. Their numerous sub-sects, separated by insignificant shades of choice between a special *Tāntra* or *Terma* and another or of a special tutelary deity are scattered all over Tibet as are their monasteries, some of which are renowned. Among them are those at Samyé, the metropolis of the order, Morú, Ramoché and

¹ Bkañ-g dams-pa.

² H broms-ton.

³ Lit. 'mother', a term applied to a goddess or any lady of quality.

Karmakhya, the last three having colleges for the study of astrology, exorcism, magic and divination.

All the Nyigmapas however did not approve of the licentious and dangerous doctrines of the Tertons as the discoverers or inventors of hidden treatises were called and a certain number of them protesting against their pretended revelations constituted under the name of the Sarma school an independent group which, while preserving the mystic and Tántric tradition which had become imbedded in religious morals, imposed on itself a strict physical and moral discipline, the rigorous observance of monastic rules as to celibacy, abstinence, obedience and the renunciation of the world, the practice of universal charity and the exercise of meditation. To this group belong the Karmapa, Bhrikhúnga¹ and Dúgpa² sub-orders. It possesses the important monasteries of Mindoling,³ Dorjedak,⁴ Karthok,⁵ Khamtathag and Sich'en-tsoch'en, each the seat of an independent sub-sect.

The Kargyút-pa and Sakya-pa sects or orders.—If the revolt of conscience which resulted in the formation of the Sarma school was, as is believed, anterior to the reforms of Atisa and Bromton and in consequence independent of them, their preachings and efforts did not fail to exercise a certain influence on the Nyigmapas and contributed to form new or half-reformed groups which have played an important part in the religious history of Tibet. Of these the most important are the Kargyút-pa⁶ and Sakya-pa.⁷

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

¹ Or Dikúnga.

² Brug-pa: this sub-order is scattered all over the south of Tibet, especially in Bhutan and Sikkim.

³ Smin-grol-gling.

⁴ Rdo-rje-brag.

⁵ Garthok.

⁶ Bkah-brgyud-pa

⁷ Sa-skya-pa.

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

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

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

The Gelukpa order.—At the very moment when the Sakyapa sect was about to attain the zenith of its power in 1355 a miraculous child, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjūsri, or perhaps even of the Dhīāni-Buddha Amitābha, was born in eastern Tibet. His intelligence and religious vocation were so precociously developed that the lāma Rolpa'idorje of the Kāmapa sect initiated him at the age of 3, and at the age of 8 he was first ordained by a lāma named Tondūo-Rinchen and assumed as his new name the style of Lozang-tagpa or Sumatikirti. Tradition avers that he received instruction from a western monk, possibly a Christian and if so probably a Nestorian. However this may be, Tsongkha-pa—as he is generally called from the place of his birth—soon acquired such a name for piety and learning that he attracted numerous disciples in spite of the severity of his discipline, especially in what concerned the vows of chastity. He recalled his disciples to the inflexible rules of the 253 canons of the *Vindya*, to the liturgy and ritual traditions of the primitive Mahāyāna. He imposed upon them the yellow garb of the Hindu mendicant to recall by its shape the clothing of the Indian *bhikṣhus* and distinguish them from the red-clad lāmas and gave them the name of Gelukpa² or 'observers of virtue.' In 1409 he founded the monastery of Galdan,³ the centre of the sect, and after some years those of Sera and Depūng. At Galdan he died in 1417 or 1419, leaving the pontificate of the sect to his nephew and chief disciple, Gedūn-Grūb. His soul ascended to the heaven Tūshita, residence of the Bodhisattvas, where he reigns with Nāgārjūna at the side of the future Buddha Maitreya, an ascension commemorated by the feast of lamps from October 20th to 25th. He is also the object of a cult as Jāmpāl Nying-po and his relics are worshipped at Galdan. To him is attributed the authorship of numerous treatises, the canons of the Gelūg-pa order, the four principal being the *Bodhimūr*, the *Tarnimmūr*, the *Allānārke* and the *Lāmram*. In spite of his great renown he never held in his lifetime any higher official title than that of abbot of Galdan which

¹ Ramsay gives the following as 'Red-cap' sects:—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Rnikmāpa. | 5. Skarmāpa. |
| 2. Urgiūpa. | 6. Drigong-pa. |
| 3. Saskiāpa. | 7. Stagbunpa. |
| 4. Kārgicootpa. | 8. Hlondrukpa. |

Ramsay : Western Tibetan Dicty., p. 18, cf. pp. 79-85.

² Dge-lags-pa. The sect is also called Galdan-pa,

³ Dgah-lādan.

The doctrine of reincarnation.

his successor also bore until his elevation in 1439 to the rank of Grand Lāma. The latter's pontificate was remarkable for the foundation of the monastery of Tashilhūm po in 1445 and the enunciation of the dogma of the incarnation of the Grand Lāmas of the Gelūg-pa order by which his successor Gedūn-Grūb-Gyetso was the first beneficiary. It appears however that the only incarnation believed in at that epoch was that of the spirit of the first Grand Lāma, not that of a god, and that the only purpose of this tenet, from which the sect has drawn such advantages, was to create for these eminent personages a kind of spiritual heirship in imitation of (or improvement on) the rule of natural heredity observed by the rival sect of the Sakyapa. Nevertheless the office of abbot at Galdan is elective. Apart from the adoption of the title of Gyetso,¹ which means 'Ocean of Majesty' and is equivalent to the Mongolian Talé, Europeanised as Dalai, and the transfer of the head see to Depūng, the sect had no history except one of rapid and continued progress during the pontificates of Gedūn-Grūb Gyetso (born in 1475, died in 1543), Sodnam-Gyetso (1543-1589) and Yontan-Gyetso (1589-1617). Je-Ngavang-Lozang-Thūbtan-Jigsméd-Gyetso (1617-1682) however was able to raise the Kochot Mongols against the king of Tibet and make the victors do homage to himself. He thus united the spiritual and temporal authority under the protection of China in the hands of the Dalai Lāmas who succeeded him. He is also said to have devised the doctrine of the perpetual re-incarnation of the Dhiāni-Bodhisattva Chanresī (the Sanskrit Avalokiteswara) in the Dalai Lāmas which was extended retrospectively to his four predecessors. He also created the dignity of Panchen-Rinpote, an incarnation of the Buddha Odpagmed (Sanskrit Amitābha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteswara) for his old preceptor the abbot of Galdan whom he also appointed to be the independent pontiff of Tāshilhūmpo. The Gelūgpa. have preserved a well-merited reputation for learning. They admit the validity of the magic and sorcery inculcated in the *Gyūt*, the 7th section of the *Kan-jūr*, but in all other respects follow scrupulously the canon of the primitive Mahāyāna as the Kādampa sect had received it from Atisa. But contrary to its doctrine they admit the existence of the soul though it is not conceived of by them in the same way as it is in Europe. They regard it as immortal or rather as endowed with an indefinite existence and perhaps even as eternal in its essence. In its inception this soul is a light imprisoned in a material body endowed with an individuality which subsists, though to a limited extent, in its transmigrations and permits it to undergo the good or evil effects of its *karma*. Eventually the corporal envelope wears thin and finally disappears when the man becomes Buddha and enters Nirvāna. Nirvāna is neither annihilation nor its opposite. It can be attained by three roads, that of the inferior, intermediate and superior beings. For the first named Nirvāna is a repose of nothingness. For the superior it is to reach the perfect state of Buddha. In it the individuality of a being melts into a kind of confluence: like Sākyamūni himself it is confounded with the other Buddhas. Nevertheless its personality is not totally destroyed, for if it cannot re-appear in the world

under a form perceptible by the senses it can manifest itself spiritually, to those who have faith. It is in themselves then that they see it.

The Gelúgpas worship all the deities of the Tibetan pantheons, but they especially affect the supreme Buddha Dorjechang, the future Buddha Maitreya who inspires their teaching, the Yidams Dorjejirje,¹ Demchog² and Sangdus³ and the *gon-po* or demoniac genie Tamdin.⁴ The ceremonies consecrated to the three latter have a magical character and are accompanied by Tántric rites.

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

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

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

¹ Sanskrit Vajrabhairava.

² Sanskrit Samvara.

³ Sanskrit Guhya Kála: ? Grihya Kála.

⁴ Sanskrit Hayagríva.

creators nor do they interfere in material phenomena or in the affairs of the world. They preside over the protection and expansion of the Buddhist faith and each by an emanation of his essence procreates a spiritual son, a Dhiáni-Boddhisattva, who is charged with the active supervision of the universe, while at the same time they inspire and sustain the saints who aspire to attain Buddha-hood. Hence we have five Triads each composed of a Dhiáni-Buddha, of a Dhiáni-Boddhisattva and of a Mánúshi-Buddha or human Buddha. These five Dhiánis are named Vairochana,¹ Akchobhya,² Ratna-Sámabhava,³ Amitábha⁴ and Amoghasiddhi.⁵ By a phenomenon as interesting as it is unusual they assume three different forms, natural, mystic and tantric according to the parts which they are made to play. In their natural form they resemble all other Buddhas and can only be recognised by their gestures⁶ and by the attributes sometimes assigned to them. Thus Vairochana is in the attitude of 'turning the wheel of the Law',⁷ Akchobhya in that of 'taking to witness',⁸ Ratna-Sámabhava in that of charity,⁹ Amitábha in that of meditation¹⁰ and Amoghasiddhi of intrepidity.¹¹ In their mystic forms they are assigned a crown with 5 gems, and adorned with necklaces, girdles and precious bracelets, which makes them resemble Boddhisattvas of the usual type. Under these aspects Akchobhya changes his name to Chakdor,¹² and Amitábha to Amitáyus.¹³ And the latter becomes 'infinite life' instead of 'infinite light.' Finally in their tantric forms they are each united to a goddess and often given a number of arms, each charged with a weapon or magic attribute.

(iv). The 'Seven Buddhas of the Past,' also called Tathágatas, comprise Sákyamúni and the six human Buddhas who preceded him on earth. They also are to be distinguished by their attitudes. They are Vipásyin,¹⁴ who combines the attitudes of testimony and imperturbability, Sikhin¹⁵ (charity and imperturbability), Visvábhū¹⁶ (meditation), Krákuchanda¹⁷ (protection and imperturbability), Kánákámuni¹⁸ (preaching and imperturbability), Kásyapa (charity and resolution) and Sákyamúni (preaching and imperturbability). Like the Dhiánis the seven Buddhas can on occasion assume mystic and above all tantric forms when they fulfil the functions of a tutelary god of a monastery, tribe or family.

¹ Rnam-par-suñang-mzad.

² Mi-bskyod-dpah.

³ Rin-hbyung.

⁴ Od-dpag-med.

⁵ Don-hgrub.

⁶ Or attitudes, *pyag-rgya*, Sankr. *mudra*.

⁷ The right index-finger touching the fingers of the left hand.

⁸ The right hand hanging and resting on the right knee.

⁹ The right arm extended and the open hand directed towards the earth as if to attract beings to it.

¹⁰ Both hands resting one on the other, palms upwards.

¹¹ The arm raised, the hand presented open, the fingers pointed upwards.

¹² P'yag-na-rdor.

¹³ Tse-dpag-med.

¹⁴ Rnam-gzigs.

¹⁵ Gtsug-gtor-can.

¹⁶ Ta'm-c'ad-skyob.

¹⁷ Ko'r-va-hjigs.

¹⁸ Gser-t'ubpa.



(iii). The 35 Buddhas of Confession are divine personages addressed to obtain the remission of sins or at least mitigation of punishments. They include the 5 Dhīānis, the 7 Buddhas of the Past, the 5 physicians and 19 other Buddhas who appear to personify abstractions. They are frequently invoked and fervently worshipped on account of their functions as redeemers.

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

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

II.—In the Yidams we find the most fantastic conceptions of the Buddhist theology, resulting from the introduction into it of Hindu Tantrism. Absolute perfection to the Indian mind consists in the absence of all passion, of all desire and movement, in a word in absolute inaction. Hence a god acting as creator or preserver is no longer a god since such acts presuppose passion, or the desire to act, and the movement to accomplish the object of that desire. To reconcile this conception of divine perfection with the deeds ascribed to the gods by myth and legend, mystic Brahmanism hit on the idea of a doubling of the god, considered primitively as androgynous, in an inert, purely meditative personality, which is the god properly so called, and an acting personality which is his active energy. To the former they gave the masculine, to the latter the feminine form. The latter is the goddess or Shakti, a companion of every god. De Milloué says that these conceptions were introduced into Buddhism towards the 5th century of our era, and applied not only to the gods, active servitors of the Buddhas, but also to the Buddhas themselves so that they came to be regarded not indeed as creators but as the efficient causes of creation. The Buddha, source and essence of all, is thus a generator and as such regarded as bound to interest himself in the creatures begotten by him and above all to protect them against the demons, the great and abiding terror of the Tibetans. In all representations the Yidam is characterised by the Yúm which he holds in his embrace, and this characteristic leads to the most incongruous unions. The Yidams of the highest rank are the tantric manifestations of the Dhīānis, of some other Buddhas and Boddhisattvas. But apart from the addition of the Yúm they all preserve their traditional figures, a few Yidam-Boddhisattvas excepted who assume for the nonce terrifying expressions—calculated, we may presume, to complete the rout of the demons which they have to combat. Only the most active Boddhisattvas are depicted standing. The Boddhisattva Yidam Chakdor, a tantric manifestation of Vajrapani, may be considered the most characteristic type of this series. He is represented as making frightful grimaces,

the eyes flashing anger, with a wide mouth armed with fangs, flames instead of hair and a human skull in his left hand, while the right brandishes a thunderbolt, and trampling under foot the corpses of his conquered enemies. He is the implacable destroyer of demons. Although he is a form of Indra or Vishnu the legend which explains why he shows such special hatred for the demons is in part borrowed from the myth of Shiva. When the gods had drunk the *amrit* produced by the churning of the ocean they entrusted to Vajrapāni's care the vase containing the rest of the precious liquid of immortality, but profiting by a moment of carelessness the demon Rahu drank it all and replaced it by an unnameable fluid whose exhalations would certainly have poisoned the world. To avert this danger and punish Vajrapāni for his negligence the gods condemned him to drink the frightful liquid and by the effect of the poison his golden tint turned to black, a misfortune which he never forgave the demons.

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

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

First come the Dhiani-Boddhisattvas, emanations of the 5 Dhīāni-Buddhas personifying their active energies and named Samantabhadra,² Vajrapāni,³ Ratnapāni,⁴ Avalokiteswara or Padmapāni⁵ and Vis-

¹ Byang-C'ub-Sems-dpal.

³ P'yag-rdor.

² Kun-tu-bzang-po.

⁴ P'yag-riu-chen.

⁵ Spyau-ras-gzigs: pron. Chanresi.

wapáni.¹ Three of these are merely nominal divinities, although much prayed to. Only the second and fourth fulfil very important rôles both in religious legend and in popular tradition. Vajrapáni enjoys more propitiation than genuine adoration, if we understand by that a feeling of gratitude and love, probably because of his demon-like appearance in his Tantric form. On the other hand Padmapáni, 'the lotus-handed' or 'he who holds the lotus in his hands,' is above all the beloved being, venerated, adored, besought in all circumstances in preference to the greatest Buddhas themselves, including even his spiritual father Amitābha.

Many reasons explain the special devotion which Avalokiteswara enjoys. He presided at the formation of the actual universe, and is charged to protect it against the enterprises of the demons and to develop in it the beneficent action of the Good Law. Then he personifies charity, compassion, love of one's neighbour: more than any other he is helpful, and in his infinite kindness has manifested and still manifests himself in the world in incarnations whenever there is a danger to avert, a misdeed of the demons to repair, or a wretch to save. Lastly he presides, seated at Amitābha's right hand, over the paradise of Sukhāvati whose portals he opens to all who invoke him with devotion, love and faith. He might almost be called the redeemer, if the idea of redemption were not irreconcilable with the Buddhist dogma of personal responsibility and the fatal consequences of one's own acts. As protector and saviour as well as in remembrance of his repeated incarnations Avalokiteswara assumes, according to the part attributed to him, very different forms corresponding to his 33 principal incarnations. Generally he is represented seated (or standing to signify action) as a handsome youth, crowned and richly attired. Very rarely he is given a feminine aspect. At other times he has several heads and arms. His most celebrated image has 11 heads, arranged in a pyramid, and 22 arms. In this form he is the recognised patron of Tibet. In his mystic and Tantric cult he has as Shakti the goddess Dolma,² a benevolent form of the Shivaistic Kālī, styled in India Tārā the helper. Besides this special office Tārā forms one of the celestial Bodhisattvas in twenty-one transformations, each the object of a fervent cult, for the Mahāyāna assigns a great place in its pantheon to the feminine element—in opposition to the Hinayāna.

Below the Dhīāni Bodhisattvas functions the numerous class of beings also called Bodhisttvas or would-be Buddhas, some purely imaginary, personifications of virtues or even books, others who lived or pass for having lived, canonized saints, some of whom may be regarded as having had a historical existence, such as the king Srong-tsan Gampo and his two wives who are regarded as incarnations of Tārā under the names of the White and Green Tārā.³ At the head of this class stands Manjūsri,⁴ occupying a place

¹ F'yag-na-t'sog.

² Sgrol-ma.

³ Sgrol-ma dkar-po and ljangs ku.

⁴ Hjam-pai-dbyangs-pa : pron. Jam-jang. His sword of great understanding cut the darkness of ignorance.

so high that he is often ranked as a Dhiáni-Boddhisattva, who personifies the transcendent knowledge or wisdom of Buddhism. He is recognised by his flaming sword, held in his right hand, while a book supported by a lotus stalk figures on his left. He is always seated on a lotus or on a lion who rests on a lotus. Among the principal Boddhisattvas also stands Maitreya¹ the future Buddha, who is seated like a European. Then come the 21 Tárás, saviours and compassionate, Shaktis of Avalokiteswara; and finally the female Boddhisattva Od-zer-chan-ma more usually called rDorje-p'ag-mo, who is perpetually incarnated in the abbess of Palti and who may be recognised by her three heads, one that of a sow. Speaking generally the Boddhisattvas are intermediaries and intercessors between men and the Buddhas.

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

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

¹ Byama-pa: pron. Chan-pa or Jampa.

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

VI.—The Chöi-chong¹ or Drag-gseds include almost all the gods of Hinduism, represented as Yidams and Dákkinis under a demoniacal aspect, although they are the recognised defenders of the Law and the universe against the demons. The most venerated are Yáma,² judge of the dead, and Kuvera,³ god of wealth.

VII.—The Yul-lha or terrestrial gods.—This group includes the various deities appointed to guard the world. It comprises a good many Hindu gods, such as Brahma, Indra, Chandr, Garúda etc., reduced to the status of inferior divinities, servitors and henchmen of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as a number of gods, probably Tibetan by origin, such as Pihar or Behar, the patron of monasteries in general, Dala,⁴ god of war, a kind of Hercules usually accompanied by a black dog who above all makes war on demons, and Me-lha, god of fire and also of the domestic hearth.

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

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

¹ Ch'os-skyong.

² Sin-dje.

³ Dzam-bha-la.

⁴ Dgra-lha.

THE LAMAISTIC CLERGY.

The term *lāma* is applied indiscriminately to the clergy of Tibet, but strictly speaking it should only be applied to high dignitaries who only acquire it after having given proofs of profound knowledge. In reality the clergy is composed of 5 distinct classes, the *genyen*¹ or listener, the *getsul*² or novice, the *gelong*³ or ordained priest, the *lāma* or superior priest and the *khanpo*⁴ or overseer (abbott or bishop). Above this hierarchy in which promotion is earned by merit and holiness are two higher ranks conferred by birth, those of *khābilgan*, the incarnation of a Tibetan saint, and of *khūtiktā*, that of a Hindu saint. Finally the edifice is crowned by the two sublime dignitaries, the Panchen Rinpoche and the Dalai Lāma.

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

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

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

¹ Dge-bngen, corr. to Sanskr. *upāsaka*.

² Dge-tsul, corr. to S. *sramanera*.

³ Dge-slong, corr. to S. *sramana*.

⁴ Mkan-po, corr. to S. *sthavira*.

⁵ Called *btoun-gral*.

⁶ Certain monasteries only admit candidates of high rank in which case the investigation is very searching.

lāma in the villages. If he passes he is invested with all rights and powers of the finished cleric.

Once invested with the character of holiness the *gelong* is qualified to act in all the rites of the cult and may even become, by election, head of a minor monastery. So the majority go no further, but the more ambitious or those devoted to learning go to continue their studies in the great university-monasteries such as Depūng, Sera, Galdan, Garmakhya and Morú. The two last teach especially astrology, magic and other occult sciences as well as theology and mathematics. After difficult and costly examinations the successful candidate can obtain the degree of *geses*¹ or licentiate, with which most are contented, of *rahjampa*² or *lharamba*, 'doctor in theology.' Adepts in occult science take the special title of *choi-chong*.³ The holder of any of these degrees is entitled to be styled *lāma*. Another honorific title *choi-ja*⁴ is awarded by the Dalai Lāma or the Panchen Rinpoche to clerics distinguished by sanctity, but it confers no right to exercise the superior functions which the *geses* and *lharambas* can perform. Among the former are chosen the superiors of the monasteries of middling importance, some being elected by the chapters, others being nominated by the Dalai Lāma or Panchen Rinpoche. The latter supply the *khanpos* who are promoted by those two hierarchs to form his entourage with the title of Councillor or *Tsanit*. They thus correspond to the cardinals of the Roman church fulfilling various functions, such as abbotts of the great monasteries, with an ecclesiastical jurisdiction like that of bishop, coadjutor of the incarnate Lāmas, governors of provinces and occasionally generals of the army.

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

Another high dignitary in the Lamaic church is the grand Lāma of the sect and monastery of Sakya who, though not an incarnation, is the hereditary successor⁵ of Matidvaja, nephew of the celebrated Sakya Pandita P'agspa who converted Mongolia and on whom the emperor Khúbilái Khán conferred in 1270 spiritual authority over all Tibet. In spite of the predominance of the orthodox Gelúgpa order, the State church, his authority is still very great and is acknowledged, at least nominally, by all the sects of 'red' *lāmas* who are opposed to that of the Dalai Lāma. Tibetan politics centre round the position of the Dalai Lāma whose authority is more nominal than real. Even his

¹ Dge-ses.

² Rabs hbyams-pa.

³ C'os-skyong

⁴ C'os-rje, *lit.* 'noble of the Law.'

⁵ The 'red' *lāmas* of the Sakya order are permitted to marry.

spiritual and doctrinal authority is frequently disputed by dissenting sects, which nevertheless regard him as chief of the religion and revere him as a true incarnation of Chanresi and his representative on earth.

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

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



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

The modifications which Buddhism has undergone have changed the daily life of the monks profoundly. While the *bhikshu* of its early phase had no occupations save to take his turn at begging, to listen to the Master's teaching, meditate on the truths of the Law and endeavour to spread them, the institution of a cult which has become more and more complex created for the priest-monk new and absorbing duties, in Tibet more than elsewhere, looking to the eminently sacerdotal character which it assumed there. Without describing the studies, serious and difficult enough, which candidates must undergo, the daily life in the cloisters of the lamaist monk is in reality very minutely occupied. A little before dawn the tinkling of the bell or the resonant call of the conch summons the denizens of the monastery who as soon as they awake mutter a prayer, make hasty ablutions and recite on their rosaries the prayers specially consecrated to their tutelary deities of whom each chooses one as his patron saint. At a fresh signal from bell or trumpet monks and novices, dressed in choral mantle and hat, go in procession to the temple and in profound silence take their seats according to their rank. There, after some prayers, tea is served and then they perform the ritual in honour of the *Bodhisattva* *Chanresi*, of the holy disciples of Buddha and of the *Yidams* and for the welfare of dead commended to their prayers. Then they take a repast of tea and gruel and after an invocation to the Sun withdraw to their cells for private devotions. Towards 9 A.M. the community re-assembles in the temple for a service in honour of the divinities who guard against the demons. At midday a new convention is followed by the chief meal of the day. Then they are free till 5 P.M. when they re-assemble to make offerings at the temple, to teach novices, to debate questions of dogma, discipline and philosophy. Finally at 7 P.M. they gather together for the last time to do the service of acts of grace, followed by the daily examination of the tasks of the novices and candidates. During each sitting tea is served thrice.

But these do not exhaust a *lama's* functions. In Tibet he is not merely a priest. He is teacher, scholar, physician, writer, and artist, wizard, and he should devote himself in the moments of freedom, which the sacred offices leave him, to the branch of occupation which he has chosen. In the monasteries all or nearly all the monks are charged with the education of boys destined to the priesthood, and in the villages, where there are no schools, it is the resident *lama*, generally one of the failures of the nearest monastery, who fulfils the functions of schoolmaster and teaches children to read, write and cypher well enough to use the ready-reckoner. It is noteworthy that even in the tents of the nomad shepherds men and women possess the rudiments of education. As writers and calligraphists many *lamas* devote themselves to re-copying the sacred writings or reprinting them by means of wooden blocks. While lay artists are not unknown, especially at *Lhasa*, the works of monkish artists are preferred on account of the sanctity which attaches to their works. These include illuminated manuscripts, paintings on silk, cloth and paper, frescoes, charms, amulets and metal-work, usually of a religious character.

The practice of medicine is entirely in the hands of the *lāmas* who, if indifferent surgeons, are skilled in the use of simples and learned in the secular lore of plants. They are also the only persons qualified to expel demons to whose maleficence all ills are ascribed. Exorcism is thus their chief source of income. As a science it is practised by all, even by those of the orthodox sect. Even in a temple it finds a place as the demons of evil must be expelled from it before the office is begun. Another important function of the *lāmas* is the prediction of the future by astrology. But those of the orthodox sect to their credit refuse as far as possible to lend themselves to these practices, which Tsong-khapa and the teachers of the sect condemned, though they are often obliged to perform them in order to satisfy the wishes of their faithful laymen.

Besides the monks there are communities of nuns, instituted on the model of the Indian Bhikshūnis. To such foundations Buddha only assented with reluctance. The nuns in Tibet are subject to the same obligations as the monks, wear the same garb, though the robe is slightly longer, and have to sacrifice their hair. But their discipline is stricter. They must obey 258 rules of conduct instead of 250 as the monks do. They owe respect and obedience to the monks whatever their rank, and all their convents, even if there be an abbess, are subject to the spiritual and disciplinary direction of an aged monk from the nearest monastery who presides even at the general confession of the Pratimoksha. At one time nuns were numerous in Tibet, but now-a-days their numbers have diminished. Their principal order has its seat in the monastery at Samding and its abbess is a perpetual incarnation of the goddess or feminine Boddhisattva, Dorje P'agmo,¹ who is represented with three heads, one a sow's.

Om mani padme hūm.—This formula we are now able to explain. It has hitherto been explained as meaning: 'Oh, thou jewel in the lotus!' But it is clear that Manipadme is the vocative of Manipadma, the deity of the jewel lotus, the *śakti* of Manipadma who must be identical with Padmapāni or Avalokiteswara. The formula goes back to the times of Sron-btsan-sgam-po.²

Ibbatson,
 § 253.

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

¹ Sanskr. Vajravāhāri, 'sow of diamond.'

² A. H. Francke in J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 4C2-3.

retreated.¹ In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hinduism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hinduism more or less ; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kulu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hinduism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hinduism is advancing. The people declare that they are Hindu Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindu ; and the Moravian missionaries at Kailang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The Lámas of Láhul² will not eat with a European, while the Lámas of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hinduism is ascribed in part to the influence of the Thákurs or Barons of Láhul ; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debateable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindu. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Brahmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindu Kulu as Hindus."

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

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

² Mr. Anderson says elsewhere : "In Láhul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lámas who ought certainly to have been shown as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Láhul." These Lámas must have returned themselves as Hindus unless there was some error in the compilation of our figures. The papers were in an unknown character and tongue, and had to be translated orally ; but there could hardly have been any confusion about such a plain entry as that of religion ; and if there had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Láhul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Láhul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lámas in Láhul in 1872, though there were also 110 cultivating land-holders who had taken Lamaic vows but "had very little of the monk about them."—D. I.

Ibbetson
 § 254.

Even the transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible. Mr. Anderson writes in another place :—" A Kanet (a Hindu caste) cuts his scalp-lock and becomes the disciple of some Láma, and this may even be after marriage. The Lámas of Láhul may marry, the sons belonging to their father's original caste. Lámas sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their scalp-locks to grow, and are again received as Kanets. These facts show how intimately Hinduism and Buddhism are connected in Láhul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lámas to be present at weddings and funerals."

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

LAHUL AND ITS PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIONS.

The three dialects of Láhul are Bunan, Manchát and Tinan. Their



relationship to the Mundari languages is exactly the same as that of Kanauri though they possess a Tibetan vocabulary which preserves a phonetic stage of that language much more archaic than any known dialect of Tibetan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE BUDDHISM OF KANAUR.

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

The Tibetan deities and their mantras with explanations.

(1) *Nám-ckhrá* (God) or *Náráyan* : is said to be of white complexion with two hands (holding an umbrella in the right, and with the left a mungoose vomiting diamonds), and riding on a lion called Singé. The mantra is :—*Om behi-shurmané swáhá*. 'May God bless us.'

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

(3) *Táremá* or *Chheringmá* : the goddess of wealth or long life, equivalent to Lakshmi or Maháalakshmi. She is represented as of golden colour, with two hands, holding in the right a spear, and in the left a diamond cup full of jewels, riding on horse-back. The mantra is :—*Om biránákhe choozam dukhé kám hirá háng táre dukhé bishámáte bimayé swáhá*. 'O thou mother of the world, be pleased to grant us prosperity and long life.'

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

² *Id.*, pp. 181-191.

³ Furnished by P. Tika Ram Joshi.

(4) *Dukar*, the Indian Trinity, equivalent to Dattātreyā-muni, is represented as of white complexion, with three heads, yellow, white and blue in colour, and eight hands, holding respectively an image of the deity *Hopāmed*, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a boon in the four right hands; in the four left hands, *abhaya*, a noose, a bow and a nectar-cup respectively, and seated in the Padmāsana attitude. The *mantra* is :—*Om śrī paṇḍā laṭitā bājā todā hulu hulu hūm phat swāhā*. 'O thou reverend sage, promote our welfare, and destroy our enemies.'

(5) *Pāḍan-lāmō*, the supreme goddess, equivalent to Mahā-kālī, is represented as of dark blue colour with three eyes (one in her forehead) and four hands (holding in the right a naked sword and a human skull full of blood, and in the left a lotus and a long trident), wearing a garland of human heads and a snake of green colour as her sacred thread, riding on a mule, with a green snake for a bridle and a saddle of human skin, and with a crown of five human head-bones with a streak of moon in the centre. Her fierce teeth are exposed as is her tongue, and her eyes are full of indignation. The *mantra* is :—*Om hūm śhrīyā debā kālī kālī mahā-kālī hūm zō*. 'O supreme goddess, keep us from all evil.'

(6) *Doḷmā*, a goddess or *devī*, is described as of white complexion, with two hands, offering a boon in the right, and the left in the Abhaya position. She is dressed in a splendid robe wearing many ornaments and much jewellery; seated on a lotus. The *mantra* is :—*Om tūrē tu tūrē tūrē swāhā*. 'O goddess, thou, who art the remover of worldly troubles, bestowest upon us blessings.'

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

*O Ningmet-ckhebe darsen-chang-rāzi,
dingmet-khembe wāngbō-jāmbe-gang,
dudpung mālrā chomdan-sāngwe-dakk,
gāsāng-gābe chung-gyān-chung gāfā,
lobzang-dāk-pārā shyāblāsowānde.*

(8) (a) *Ganbō chhāg-du-gbā*, the goddess Tārā, or Tārā-Devī, is described as of blue colour like the forget-me-not, with six hands, a fat short body, three eyes and wearing a lionskin. The *mantra* is :—*Om sīhā hūm phat*. 'Turn away enemies.'

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

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

(d) *Gónkar-chhág-dugbá*, Tárá-Deví, is said to be of white complexion, but in other respects is like *Ganbó-chhág-dugbá*. The *mantra* is :—*Om shun maní chum maní hóm phat swáhá*.

(e) *Ganbo-pening chhog-jíhá zil-zibá*, Tárá-Deví, is of white complexion, having four heads and four arms and wearing a garland of human heads, but resembling in other respects *Ginbo chhag-dugbá*. The *mantra* is :—*Grihána payah grihána payah, hóm phat swáhá, hánáhó bhagawáná bájrá bindéránzá hóm phat swáhá*, 'O goddess, be pleased to accept this milk, and shower down upon us thy blessings.'

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

*Om bájrá sáto sámáyá manú pálá tinúpá, tita titó mewáwá,
 supkháyó mewaváwá rájá mewáryá, sarbá síddhí mewaryáng,
 súdang míchío dang, hyáryá hóm hóm phot swáhá.*

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

- (1) *Om yámá rájá sádhó méyá,
 yámé darzé náyó dáýá,
 yadáýó nirá yakkháyá,
 chhaní ráma hóm hóm phat phat swáhá.*
- (2) *Om tán-gya riká hóm phat.*
- (3) *Om dekhýá ráti hóm phat.*
- (4) *Om danzá riká hóm phat.*
- (5) *Om bájrá ráti hóm phat.*
- (6) *Om muwá rati hóm phat.*

Divination.

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

For example :—

1. *Fák-pá-jam-pal* : the deity Dharmaráj or Dharamarájá means :—'You will succeed by worshipping your deity.'

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

3. *Sán-gyá-mallá*, Ashwini-kúmára : the celestial physician :—'You are to attain long life and always succeed, but keep your mind firmly fixed on God.'

4. *Dug-dul* Nāga Sheshanāga : the cobra :—‘ This forebodes no good but loss of money, corn and animals, and but danger of illness ; by worship of your deity, a little relief may be obtained.’

5. *Sergá-sási* : the golden hill, Sumeru-parvata :—‘ You will achieve success ; and if there is fear of illness, it can be removed by worship of your deity.’

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

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

8. *Sán-gyá-tán-bá* : the deity Buddha Shákya Singha :—‘ The king is greatly pleased with you ; your desire will be achieved ; but if you fear illness, then worship your deity steadfastly.’

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

10. *Nám-gyál-bum-bá* : the nectar-pot, *Amrita-kalasha* :—‘ The auspices are excellent ; if you are suffering from any illness, worship of your deity will soon restore you to health.’

11. *Ráb-di* : a *dodhára-kháḍga* :—‘ All your desires will be fulfilled ; you will be blessed with an heir ; you are to receive wealth from the king ; if there is any trouble, it is on account of your kinsmen, and can be only removed by agreeing with them.’

12. *Dímo-dá-fák* : a female evil spirit, *dákini* or *dáyan* :—‘ You are to lose wealth and suffer great trouble ; your relatives are against you ; there is no remedy but to worship your deity steadfastly, and that will indeed give a little relief.’

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

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

15. *Ni-má* : the sun, Surya :—‘ You earn much, but it is all spent ; your friends and relatives are ungrateful ; at first you will suffer great trouble, but at last you will succeed ; if there is anyone indisposed, then it is owing to the lack of worship of your deity, whose adoration will certainly remove the sickness.’

16. *Dug* : thunder of the cloud, *Megha garjanā* :—‘ You are welcome to everybody ; you are to be blessed with prosperity ; if there is anyone ill in the family, it is due to his defiling a water-spring, which should be well cleaned, then he will recover.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. *Nyān-bā-ḍu-thok* : a mariner or sailor :—‘ You will fail in your business and have no hope of success at all ; there is risk to health, but if you worship your deity you will get a little relief.’

27. *Shyá-bá-khyi* : a hunting-dog :—‘The king is against you ; your friends act like enemies ; should there be someone ill, he will have to suffer much, and for this there is no remedy but to worship your deity, by which you will get a little relief.’

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

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

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

31. *Dung* : conch-shell : *shañkha* :—

32. *Chá-rok* : a crow, *káka*, *kawá* :—

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

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

35. *Má-páng-gum-chhó* : a sacred lake, *Mána-talái* :—a good omen.

36. *Chhok-ten-nák-pó* : a black temple ; *Kálá-mandira* :—a bad omen.

37. *Chá-khyung* : the vehicle of Vishnu, *garura*, *Vishnu-ratka* :—
a good omen.

38. *Tetá* : a monkey, *bandar*, *vánara* :—

39. *Fung-rung* : a wheel, *chakra* :—

40. *Chhokten-kár-bó* : the temple of the man-lion, *Nrisiñha-mandir* :—
all three good omens.

41. *Chyáng-kú-ro-janmá* : a lion, *siñha* :—

42. *Nád-pá* : disease, *rogá-vádha* :—
both bad omens.

43. *Síngha* : a lion :—a good one.

44. *Bong-bú* : a camel, *ustrak*, *úñt* :—a very bad one.

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

46. *Chhumit* : a cascade, *jaladhára* :—a fairly good one.

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

48. *Meri-nák-pó* : the smoke, *dhúmah*, *dhúwán* :—a bad one.

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

50. *Rubbó* : a ram, *mésa*, *kháru* :—
both good omens.

Legends in Bashahr.

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

SECTION 3.—JAINISM.

The following paragraphs are reproduced from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Census Report of 1883 because they illustrate the position of Jainism at that time. Like Sikhism it was rapidly falling into the position of a mere sect of Hinduism. Like the Sikh, the orthodox Jain intermarries with Hindus, especially with the Vaishnavas,¹ and apparently he does so on equal terms, there being no tendency to form a hypergamous Jain group taking brides from Vaishnavas or other Hindus but not giving their daughters in return, on the model of the Kesdhāri Sikhs described in Vol. II. p. 353 *infra* :—

Ibbetson,
 § 255.

The affinities of the Jain Religion.—The position which the Jain religion occupies with reference to Hinduism and Buddhism has much exercised the minds and pens of scholars, some looking upon it as a relic of Buddhism, while other and I believe far weightier authorities class it as a Hindu sect. In favour of this latter view we have, among others, the deliberate opinions of Horace Wilson and H. T. Colebrooke, who fully discuss the question and the arguments on either side. The latter concludes that the Jains 'constitute a sect of Hindus, differing indeed from the rest in some very important tenets, but following in other respects a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances.'² The question of the origin of the religion and of its affinities with the esoteric doctrines of the two rival creeds may be left to scholars. We have seen how much of Hindu belief and practice has been intermingled with the teachings of Buddha as represented by the northern school of his followers; and it is probable that, had Buddhism survived as a distinct religion in India side by side with Brahminism, the admixture would have been infinitely greater. On the other hand, modern Hinduism has probably borrowed much of its esoteric doctrines from Buddhism. It is certain that Jainism, while Hindu in its main outlines, includes many doctrines which lean towards those of Buddha; and it may be that it represents a compromise which sprang into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as Rhys Davids says 'the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Muhammadan conquest of Kashmir in the 12th century preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to caste and ceremonial observations of the ascendant Hindu creeds.'

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

¹ Speaking roughly the mixed group may be said to be the Bhābras or the main body of that caste in Hoshiarpur. The present writer is now inclined to think that the account of the Bhābras alluded to on page 81 of Vol. II gives a clue to the history of the caste. The Bhābras were originally Jains, recruited from Oswāl and Khandilwāl Bānias. They were reinforced by Sikhs or Saragis from the Aggarwāls. As a title of some dignity and antiquity Bhābra came to be applied to and assumed by the Oswāl, Khandilwāl, Aggarwāl and any other Bānia group whether orthodox Jains or unorthodox, or not Jains at all but Vaishnavas.

² Dr. Buchanan, in his account of the Jains of Canara, one of their present headquarters, taken from the mouth of their high priest, says: "The Jains are frequently confounded by the Brahmans who follow the Vedas with the worshippers of Buddha, but this arises from the pride of ignorance. So far are the Jains from acknowledging Buddha as their teacher, that they do not think that he is now even a *devata*, but allege that he is undergoing various low metamorphoses as a punishment for his errors."

there can be no manner of doubt. I believe that Jainism is now as near akin to Hinduism as is the creed of the Sikhs, and that both can scarcely be said to be more than varieties of the parent Hindu faith; probably wider departures from the original type than are Vaishnavism and Saivism, but not so wide as many other sects which, being small and unimportant, are not generally regarded as separate religions. As a fact the Punjab Jains strenuously insist upon their being good Hindus. I have testimony to this effect from the Bhábras of two districts in which every single Bhábra is returned as a Jain; and an Agarwál Bania, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a leading member of the Jain Community in Dehli, the Punjab head-quarters of the religion, writes: 'Jains (Saráogis) are a branch of Hindus, and only differ in some religious observances. They are not Buddhists.' Indeed the very word Buddhist is unknown to the great part even of the educated natives of the Province, who are seldom aware of the existence of such a religion.

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

¹ It is true that in Rájpútána considerable animosity prevails between the Hindus and the Jains. There is a saying that "it is better to jump into a well than to pass a Jain ascetic on the road;" and another: "A Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant, than take refuge in a Jain temple; and he may not run through the shadow of it, even to escape a tiger." So too, many of the later Vaishnava scriptures are very bitter against the errors of the Jains. But hatred of the fiercest kind between the rival sects of the same faith is not unknown to history; and at one time Jainism was the dominant belief over a considerable part of India. In Gújarát (Bombay), on the other hand, "the partition between Hindu and Jain is of the very narrowest description, and cases are not uncommon in which intermarriage between the two sections takes place. The bride, when with her Jain husband, performs the household ceremonies according to the ritual of that form of religion, and on the frequent occasions when she has to make a temporary sojourn at the paternal abode, she reverts to the rites of her ancestors, as performed before her marriage."—*Bombay Census Report.*

The tenets of the Jains.—The chief objects of Jain reverence are twenty-four beatified saints called Arhats or Tirthankárs, who correspond with the Buddhas of the northern Buddhists and of Vedantic Hinduism, but are based upon the final beatitude of the Hindus rather than upon the final absorption preached by Buddha, and are wholly unconnected with the Gautamic legend, of even the broad outlines of which the Punjab Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first, Rishabnáth, the twenty-third, Párasnáth, and the twenty-fourth, Mahávír, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Párasnáth is chiefly venerated. Rishabnáth is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is worshipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewár by Hindus and Jains in common.¹ But besides these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognise the whole Hindu pantheon, including the Puranic heroes, as divine and fit objects of worship, though in subordination to the great saints already mentioned, and place their images in their temples side by side with those of their Arhats. They have indeed added to the absurdities of the Hindu Olympus, and recognise 64 Indras and 22 Devís. They revere serpents and the *lingam* or Priapus, and in many parts ordinarily worship in Hindu temples as well as in their own.² Like the Buddhists they deny the divine origin of the Hindu Vedas; but unlike them they recognise the authority of those writings, rejecting only such portions of them as prescribe sacrifice and the sacred fire, both of which institutions they condemn as being inimical to animal life. Like the Buddhists they deny the Hindu doctrine of purification from sin by alms and ceremonies, and reject the Hindu worship of the Sun and of fire except at weddings, initiations, and similar ceremonies, where they subordinate their objections to the necessity of employing Brahmans as ministrants. The monastic system and celibate priesthood of the Buddhists are wholly unknown to them, and they have, like the Hindus, a regular order of ascetic devotees who perform no priestly functions; while their *parohíts* or family priests, and the ministrants who officiate in their temples and conduct the ceremonial of their weddings, funerals, and the like, must necessarily be Brahmans, and, since Jain Brahmans are practically unknown, are always Hindus.³ The idols of the Jain saints are not daily bathed, dressed, and fed, as are the Hindu idols; and if fruits are presented to them it is not as food, but as an offering and mark of

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

² "In Upper India the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulæ from the Tantras, and belonging more properly to the Saiva and Sáktá worship. Images of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis, the fierce attendants on Siva and Káli, take their place in Jain temples; and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sarasvatí and Deví." At Mount Abu several of the ancient Jain inscriptions begin with invocations to Siva. (Wilson's *Hindu Sects*)

³ Horace Wilson observes that this fact "is the natural consequence of the doctrine and example of the Arhats, who performed no rites, either vicariously or for themselves, and gave no instructions as to their observance. It shows also the true character of this form of faith, that it was a departure from established practices, the observance of which was held by the Jain teachers to be matter of indifference, and which none of any credit would consent to regulate; the laity were therefore left to their former priesthood as far as outward ceremonies were concerned."

respect. The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe in theory the twelve Sanskâras or ceremonies of purification prescribed by the Hindu creed from the birth to the death of a male, though in both religions many of them are commonly omitted; but they reject the Hindu Srâddhas or rites for the repose of the spirit. Their ceremonial at weddings and their disposal of the dead are identical with those of the Hindus and differ from those of the Buddhists; and, unlike the latter, they follow the Hindu law of inheritance, calling in learned Brahmans as its exponents in case of disputes.¹ The Jains observe with the greatest strictness all the rules and distinctions of caste which are so repugnant to Buddhism, and many if not all wear the Brahminical thread; in the Punjab the religion is practically confined to the mercantile or Vaisya castes, and considerable difficulty is made about admitting members of other castes as proselytes. Their rules about intermarriage and the remarriage of widows are no less strict than those of their Hindu brethren, with whom they marry freely. The extravagant reverence for relics which is so marked a feature of Buddhism is wholly unknown to the Jains, who agree with the Hindus in their veneration for the cow. They carry the reverence for animal life, which is taught by the Hindu and practised by the Buddhist, to an absurd extent; their devotees carry a brush with which they sweep their path, are forbidden to move about or eat when the sun is down or to drink water without straining, and many of them wear a cloth over their mouths, lest they should tread upon, swallow, or inhale an insect or other living thing.² Indeed some of them extend the objection to taking life to plants and flowers. 'To abstain from slaughter is the highest perfection; to kill any living thing is sin.' The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe all the Hindu fasts and attend the Hindu places of pilgrimage; though they also have holy places of their own, the most important being the mountain of Samet near Pachete in the hills between Bengal and Behar, which was the scene of Pârasnâth's liberation from earthly life, the village of Pâpaurî, also in Behar, where the Arhat Vardhamâna departed from this world, and the great Jain temples on Mount Abu in Râjpûtâna and Mount Girinâr in Kâthiawâr. In no case do they make pilgrimages to the holy places of Buddhism.

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

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

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