CHAPTER V.

HISTORY—(contd.).

CONTENTS.


In the tract stretching along the foot of the hills from the Sárdá to the Ganges and thence through the Dún to the Jumna we have traces of an ancient civilisation all record of which has vanished. In the Tarái in the depth of what appears to be primeval forest are found solidly-built temples containing stones richly carved and ornamented and surrounded by ancient plantations of mango and other fruit trees. The modern town of Rámnagar has been built from materials derived from the ruins at Dikuli, a little higher up on the right bank of the Kosi river and which once, it is said, under the name of Vairát-pátan or Virátanagar,1 was the capital of a Pánada kingdom subordinate to that of Indraprastha long before the name Katyúri was heard of. The numerous remains of tanks and scattered buildings are also attributed in popular tradition to the 'Pandub log.' Further west at Pánduwála near the Ládbháng chaunki are the remains of an ancient town and temples of which many of the finer carvings have been taken away to Gwalior and Jaipur. At Lúni Sot also we have some fine stone-work and eight miles to the west near the ruined village of Mandhal in the Chándí Pahár some six miles east of Hardwár are the remains of an old temple containing some

1 This must not be confounded with the Bairát in which the Pánadas resided during their exile, although the Kusonians have transferred the whole epic to their own hills, making the Lohaghát valley the site of Kurukshetra: for the true Bairát, see Arch. Sep., I., 266, and VI., 91.
good carvings in a high state of preservation. They represent both Buddhist and Brahmanical subjects: amongst the former the tree and deer found on the coins of Krananda that have been discovered at Bahat in the Saharanpur district and amongst the latter the bull of Siva and the image of Ganesha. There is also a representation of the Trimúrtti or triune combination of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva which seems to be common amongst these monuments and which doubtless belongs to the later development of Hinduism. Numerous mango groves and the remains of tanks are also found amid the forest along the foot of the inner range in the Dún, similar in all respects to those found in the Tarái. If to these material evidences of an early civilisation we add the testimony of local tradition and those scraps of general tradition floating amidst the stories recorded by the early historians, we may safely assert that at a very early period the country along the foot of the hills supported a considerable population living in towns, the remains of which show a fair advance in the arts of civilisation. Amongst the general traditions regarding these hills we have seen that the legend connecting the Saka king and founder of the Saka era with Kumaon has no support from established facts. The local collections of legends regarding the places of pilgrimage in Kumaon and Garhwal afford no aid for their political history. All the information before us would lead us to conclude that the name 'Kumaon' cannot have attained to any significance before the fifteenth century. Indeed it was not until the reign of Rudra Chand, in the time of Akbar, that much was known to the Musalmán historians concerning these hills, and it is in the writings of the Musalmán historians of that period that we find the name first applied to the hill country now known as Kumaon and Garhwal and that the stories regarding its early importance first find currency. Whatever historical truth these stories contain must be connected with western Kumaon and Garhwal, both of which can boast of a fairly ascertained history far exceeding in antiquity anything that can be assigned to the tract which apparently originally received the name Kumaon.

1 See General Cunningham's notes on the ruins of Moraduwa's fort six miles north-east of Najibabad, containing Buddhist remains, and on those called Chatarbhuj in the very heart of the Tarái midway between Rampur and Naušál Tál and about six miles to the east of the high road. The ruins lie to the east of the villages of Maholl and Dauspur and between the Jedür Nadi and the Kakrola Nadi and extend over several miles. The remains of a fort, tank and wells are visible. J.A.S. Ind., XXXVI, 1, 106.
Our first step, therefore, is to ascertain what is known concerning the early history of Garhwal and western Kumaon, and for this purpose, however dry the task may be, we must collate and compare the lists of the rulers of Garhwal, for beyond these bare lists we have no written records whatsoever relating to its history. One of the earliest of these lists is that obtained by Captain Hardwicke in 1796 through Pradhuman Sáh, then reigning at Srinagar and published by him in his ‘Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar,’ in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches:—

1.—Hardwicke’s list of Garhwal Rajs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bogh-Dhurt, the first Raja, between whose reign and Adey Paul 900 years passed, of which no records exist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>22. Sooret Singh</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>44. Aumund Narain</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adey Paul</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23. Mahah</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>45. Herry</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. His son Bejey Paul</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24. Anoop</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>50. Mahah</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Inder Sain</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33. Preeum</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59. Lalit</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Chander</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34. Saada Nand</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60. Jakert Sáh, and who died in 1781 left four sons, was succeeded by the eldest</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mungal</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35. Perma</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Choora Mun</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36. Maha</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Chinta</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37. Sooka</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pooren</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38. Sabu Chand</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Soorey</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41. Goolab</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Kerreg Singh</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42. Ram Narain</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43. Purdoor Maan Sab</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second list is taken from an official report of the year 1849 and is the same as that accepted by Mr. Beckett, the settlement officer.
in an old report on Garhwal. It gives several details which are not found in the other lists:

2. Beckett's list of Rajas of Garhwal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Age at death</th>
<th>Year of death</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Age at death</th>
<th>Year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kanak Pál</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lakhan Deo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Syám Pál</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ananta Pál II</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Padu Pál</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Purab Deo</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abigat Pál</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Abhayya Deo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sigal Pál</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Janám Deo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ratna Pál</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Assl Deo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sáti Pál</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Jagat Pál</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bichlí Pál</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Jit Pál</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Madan Pál I</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ananda Pál II</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bhagtí Pál</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ajai Pál</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jeshchand Pál</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1006</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ratán Sáh</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Prithí Pál</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sundar Pál</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Madan Pál II</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1052</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Hansdeo Pál</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Agastí Pál</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1072</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Bijí Pál</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Suratí Pál</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sahaj Pál</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jyast Singh Pál</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Balu-hadra Sáh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ananta Pál I</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mán Sáh</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ananda Pál I</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1141</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Syám Sáh</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Vibhog Pál</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Mahipat Sáh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Subhaján Pál</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Prithí Sáh</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Vikrama Pál</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Medini Sáh</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Vichitra Pál</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1198</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Fateh Sáh</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Hansa Pál</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Upendra Sáh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Son Pál</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Fradhír Sóh</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kádil Pál</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1221</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Lalípat Sóh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kándeo Pál</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Jaikarat Sáh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Salakhan deo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Fradhíman Sáh</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.—Williams' list of Garhwal Rajas.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Bhugdat Pāl.</td>
<td>27. Kandeo Pāl.</td>
<td>43. Sān Sāh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.—Almora list of Garhwal Rajas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Abhaya</td>
<td>35. Vijaya</td>
<td>49. Vījaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Suratha</td>
<td>40. Kuliahana</td>
<td>54. Dularām Sāh, 1580 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pārna</td>
<td>42. Akshmanadeva</td>
<td>56. Mahipati Sāh, 1825 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Aryantra</td>
<td>43. Ananta</td>
<td>57. Medini Sāh, 1840 and 1860.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sālivāhan</td>
<td>44. Abhodeva</td>
<td>58. Fateh or Fateh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Sangīta</td>
<td>45. Abhayadeva</td>
<td>59. Fateh or Fateh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Manga</td>
<td>46. Ajyā</td>
<td>60. Fateh or Fateh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ratna</td>
<td>47. Ajayadeva</td>
<td>61. Pat Sāh, 1664-1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Bhaḍradatta Pāl.</td>
<td>50. Ganadeva</td>
<td>64. Bhaḍwanī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Aunbūdha Pāl.</td>
<td>54. Dipānta</td>
<td>68. Bhaḍwanī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Vibhogātā</td>
<td>55. Priyaniharā</td>
<td>69. Bhaḍwanī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Subadhān Kot.</td>
<td>56. Sundara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\(^2\) Dhulīp reigned during a part of the year 1717.

\(^3\) Jayākriś Sāh reigned from 1708 to 1768.
official records. All accounts concur in stating that Ajaya Pál was the first who attempted to reduce the independent Khasiya rajas under his sway, and, as we shall show hereafter, he cannot be placed earlier than 1258-70 A D. The above are the very few dates that we have been able to establish by corroborative evidence, and though every possible source has been carefully examined no better result has been obtained. Taking the twenty-six reigns before Sona Pálá and allowing them the long average of fifteen years to each reign, we cannot place the Bhagwán Pálá of the fourth list earlier than the first quarter of the ninth century. But then it can be urged that these lists as they stand do not give the entire succession, but only such members of the dynasty as made themselves remarkable, a not unusual feature in Indian genealogical lists. Al-Birûni, writing in the eleventh century, remarks:—"Les Indiens attachent peu d'importance à l'ordre des faits; ils négligent de rédiger la chronique des règnes de leurs rois. Quand ils sont embarrassés, ils parlent au hasard." The earlier names, too, differ so considerably in these and other lists which have been consulted that no other theory is possible to account for such contradictions as the existence of Kanak Pálá at the head of one and Bhagwán Pálá at the head of another. By adopting this explanation there is no necessity for placing the reigno of Bhagwán Pálá in the ninth century. Setting aside Hardwicke's list, an examination of the remainder shows a remarkable agreement in certain noteworthy names. No. 2 has fifth in descent Sigal Pálá, who is the Shakti Pálá of No. 3 and apparently the Suratha Pálá of No. 4. The Sáli Pálá of No. 2 is the same as the Sáliváhan Pálá of No. 3 and No. 4. If we turn to the pedigrees of the Doti and Askot families given hereafter and which are of undoubted local origin, we find a remarkable coincidence amongst the earlier names. The first two of the Doti list are Sáliváhana-deva and Shaktiváhana-deva, and the first on the Askot list is Sáliváhana-deva followed by a Saka-deva as sixth and afterwards by a Vikramáditya and a Bhoja. All that we may suggest regarding the occurrence of the latter names in the lists is that the lists correctly give the sequence of these celebrated names, first a Saka Sáliváha, then a Vikramáditya and then a Bhoja. These names have apparently been interpolated by the later editors of the lists, the bards of the houses of Garhwál, Doti
and Askot to lend lustre to the ancestry of their patrons, and certainty need not be accepted as members of the family in the regular succession. Even granting that these names are interpolations, there is much deserving of notice in the minor names of the list. The word 'Sigal' in Sigal Pála recalls the name of Sigal, the chief city of the Saka-Skythian district of Sakastene. Sáliváhan is a synonym of the Saka prince who founded the Saka era, called also Sakáditya, Sáli Pála, Shaktiváhana in these lists. Kank, the eponymous founder in the second list, is none other than Kanishka and is also said to have come from Gujrát, where we have recorded evidence of an Indo-Skythian rule in the Kshatrapa and the so-called 'Sáh' dynasty, and where we have a Khosa race to the present day. In the Suratha Pála of the fourth list we have also a reference to Suráshta, the old name of the peninsula of Gujrát. Now we cannot imagine that all these coincidences are accidental and would point out that a true historical connection with the old Indo-Skythian dynasty underlies the occurrence of these names in the lists, and we believe that very many of the so-called Rájput houses have a similar origin, notably the hill dynasties and the Baisa in the plains.

Having fairly established a connection between the Indo-Skythians and the local dynasties and bearing in mind that Joshimath in Garhwál was the first acknowledged seat of the Katyúri dynasty of Kumaon, we shall apply this knowledge to the local traditions. Legendary tales in the south of India state that Sáliváhana came from Ayodhya; the Askot chronicles give the same origin, but Mrityunjaya assigns him to Pratishthana on the Godávari. The accord between the Askot and south Indian traditions betrays the influence of the Mysore preachers and teachers whose representatives to the present day hold all the chief officers at Kedárnáth and Badrináth, and it is doubtable to their influence is due the remodelling of the local lists. Locally Sáliváhana was the avenger of the defeat of his tribesman Sakadatta or Sakwanti, the first conqueror of Dehli, and, as he was the greatest name in the national lists, he has been introduced into all the local lists, being in fact suzerain as well. Neither then nor now could any powerful monarch have his seat of government in the Garhwál or Kumaon hills, though the lord paramount of those districts, like the British of to-day, may have
held considerable possessions in the plains. The successors of Sālivāhan, whether of his family or not we have no means for deciding, are reported to have occupied Indraprastha and the hill-country to its north for several generations, for the Rāja-tarangani states that Indraprastha after the conquest ceased to be the abode of royalty for nearly eight centuries. “Princes from the Siwalik or northern hills held it during this time and it long continued desolate until the Tuāra.” General Cunningham looks on the date 736 A.D. for the rebuilding of Dehli by Anang Pāl Tomār “as being established on grounds that are more than usually firm for Indian history.” He also accepts the statement that Indraprastha remained desolate for many centuries after the Saka invasion, and it seems better to retain the indigenous tradition here than to start theories for which we have no foundation in fact. But even for this ‘dark age’ there are a few statements which throw some light on its history. Firishta\(^2\) tells us that Jaichand left an infant son who succeeded him and who would have ruled in his stead had not his uncle Dihlu deposed him and with the aid of the nobles ascended the throne. “This prince as famous for his justice as for his valour devoted his time to the good of his subjects and built the city of Dehli. After having reigned only four years, Phūr (Porus), a Raja of Kumaon, collecting a considerable force, attacked Dihlu, took him prisoner and sent him in confinement to Rohtas, himself occupying the empire. Raja Phūr pushed on his conquest through Bang as far as the western ocean, and having collected a great army refused to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. The Brahmanical and other historians are agreed that Phūr marched his army to the frontier of India in order to oppose Alexander, on which occasion Phūr lost his life in battle after having reigned seventy-three years.” The Greeks found Porus between the Hydaspes and the Akesines and a nephew of Porus in the next \(\text{dubh}\). We may accept the suggestion that they were both Pauravas or descendants of Paru, for Plutarch makes Gegasius the progenitor of Phūr, and he may be identified with Yayāti.\(^3\) We have another Porus, however, in the king already referred to, who sent an embassy to Augustus in B.C. 22-20, and this date would agree better with the time given in the local legend of Raja Phūr. We have

\(^2\) Firishta, \(\text{Ganu Arch. Rep., II, 17.}\)

\(^3\) Bruce, ed., Ixxvii.
already suggested on other grounds that this Porus may have been an Indo-Skythian or Parthian, and here he is connected with Kumaon, of which he may have been suzerain. In another passage Firishta tells us that Ramdeo Rathi was opposed in his conquests by the Raja of "Kumaon, who inherited his country and his crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of 2,000 years. A sanguinary battle took place which lasted during the whole of one day, from sunrise to sunset, wherein many thousands were slain on both sides; till, at length, the Raja of Kumaon was defeated with the loss of all his elephants and treasure and fled to the hills." The Raja of Kumaon was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to the conqueror. There is nothing to add to this statement but that it corroborates the other tradition that princes from the Siwalik hills held some authority in the upper Dhab between the Saka conquest and the arrival of the Tomars. That Indraprastha was not entirely desolate during the period is shown by the inscription of Raja Dhava on the iron pillar at Delhi which Prinsep from the form of the letters would assign to the third or fourth century, A.D.

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

Madáwar in the Bijnor district. He then describes Mayúra or Máyá pura close to Hardwár and his journey to Po-lo-ki-mo-pou-lo or Brahmapura, which lay 300 li or 50 miles to the north of Madáwar. General Cunningham writes: — "The northern direction is certainly erroneous, as it would have carried the pilgrim across the Ganges and back again into Srughna. We must therefore read north-east, in which direction lie the districts of Garhwál and Kumaon that once formed the famous kingdom of the Katyāri dynasty. That this is the country intended by the pilgrim is proved by the fact that it produced copper, which must refer to the well-known copper mines of Dhanpur and Pokhri in Garhwál, which have been worked from an early date." The "Mémoires" describe the kingdom of Brahmapura as 4,000 li or 666 miles "in circuit, surrounded on all sides by mountains. The capital is small, but the inhabitants are numerous and prosperous. The soil is fertile and seed-time and harvest occur at regular seasons. Copper and rock-crystal are produced here. The climate is slightly cold and the people are rough in their manners; a few devote themselves to literature, but the greater number prefer the pursuit of commerce. The inhabitants are naturally uncultivated, and there are followers of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. There are five monasteries within which reside a few monks and there are some dozen temples of the gods. The followers of the different Brahmanical sects dwell together without distinction. To the north of this kingdom in the midst of the great snowy mountains is the kingdom of Sou-fa-la-na-kiu-ta-lo or Sūvarnagotra where gold of a superior quality is procured and hence its name. From east to west this kingdom has its greatest extension, but from north to south it is narrow. For many centuries the ruler has been a woman, and hence it is called the 'Kingdom of the queens.' The husband of the reigning sovereign has the title of king, but does not meddle in affairs of state. The men occupy themselves with war and husbandry. The soil is fertile and is favourable to the growth of a poor kind of barley, and the people rear large numbers of sheep and ponies. The climate is icy-cold and the inhabitants are abrupt and turbulent in their manners. This country touches on the east the country of the Tibetans, on the north is the country of Khoten and on the west is San-po-ho or Sampaha (?)."

1 Gas., V. 2 L. 291 ; Voy. des Pol., II., 291., Fic, p. 110.
General Cunningham writes—"The ancient capital of the Katyuri Rajas was at Lakanpur or Vairatpattan on the Ramganga river about 80 miles in a direct line from Madawar. If we might take the measurement from Kot-dwar, at the foot of the hills on the north-eastern frontier of Madawar, the distance would agree with the 50 miles recorded by Hwen Thsang. It occurs to me, however, as a much more probable explanation of the discrepancy in the recorded bearing and distance that they most probably refer to Govisana, the next place visited by Hwen Thsang, from which Bairat lies exactly 50 miles due north." General Cunningham also refers to the position of Lakanpur, in a valley only 3,389 feet above the level of the sea and to the fact that the country around is still fertile and allows of two crops being collected during the year as further corroborating his identification of Lakanpur with Brahmapura. M. Vivien de St. Martin assigns Brahmapura to Srinagar in Garhwal, which however was of no importance until the present town was built in the early part of the seventeenth century. Others have suggested that the extensive ruins near Barhepura, about twelve miles to the north-east of Najibabad in the Bijnor district, mark the site of Brahmapura; but this conjecture, apparently based on the similarity in sound of the two names, would conflict too much with the precise assignment of Hwen Thsang. The Chinese traveller has shown himself so accurate in the great majority of his statements that it would be contrary to all correct principles of interpretation to reject his distinct assertions before it is shown that they are incapable of any reasonable explanation. Such is very far from being the case in this instance, for in Barahat in the valley of the Bhagirathi in independent Garhwal we have an ancient and well-known site almost exactly fifty miles due north of Hardwar, and which in climate, products and position both with regard to Madawar and Suvarnagotra agrees with the description of Hwen Thsang. Barahat was the seat of an old dynasty and contains numerous remains of temples and other buildings. The inscription on the trikut of Aneka Malla written in the twelfth century and which still stands near the temple of Sukha shows that at that time it was a place of some importance.
The remains now existing are chiefly found to the north-west of the river at the foot of a high hill where there is a level piece of ground. Temples, places of pilgrimage, holy pools and sacred streams abound, for this place was on the direct route to Gangotri. In support of this identification we may remark that the distance to Govisana, the next place visited, is measured from Madawar, to which place Hwen Thsang must have returned in order to reach Govisana from Barahat, whilst if he proceeded from Lakhánpur his road would have lain across the watershed into the Kosi valley.

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

\[\text{Aasan va ḍa ṛśeṇ va ḍa āśaṇeṇ va ḍa \text{Bairát.}}\]

\[\text{Ve ḍa Bṛhma va ḍa Lakhánpur.}\]

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

1 Barahat suffered much by the great earthquake of 1905, in which all the buildings were materially injured and many were completely buried in the ground. It is said that two thousand people perished, and since then few of the houses or temples have been restored: As. Res., XI, 476.
an inscription recording the name Sāranga Deo, and the date 1420 A.D. which if referred to the first Sāranga Deo will place the Asanti Deva in 1290 A.D. by following an average of thirteen years to each reign, and if referred to the second Sāranga Gosain will place Asanti Deva in 1225 A.D. Taking the Doti list there are eighteen reigns between Asanti Deva and the contemporary of Ratan Chand, Rainka Arjuna Sāli, who lived in 1462 A.D. If we strike out some twenty years on account of the disturbance in the succession which must have shortened the length of the reigns as well as for the unexpired portion of Arjuna Sāli's reign, an application of the same calculation gives us 1228 A.D. for Asanti Deva. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that according to local tradition Lakhapur was founded as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

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

"Jibar or Jiwar is the old name of Juhár, and long before the present race of men came into the world there were two princes (principalities?) in Juhár called Haulwa and Pingalwa. The former extended from the snows to Māya and the latter from Māya to Laspa. The people of these countries are said to have been covered with hair even to their tongues. There was no pass open at
that time to Hündes. High up on the cliffs near the source of the Gori glacier lived a huge bird (pára), whose wings when extended were able to cover the valley at Mápa and who lived on human beings. The bird fed on the hapless inhabitants of Haiduwa and Pingaluwa until but a few families remained. Sékya Láma lived at this time in a great cave near Laphkhel. 1 Every morning the Láma used to leave his cave and come to Laphkhel, where he used to sit all day at his devotions, flying 2 back at night to his cave. There was at that time in the service of the Láma a man to whom the Láma wished to do service and he called the man to him and said:— 'Go across the snowy mountains to the south and you will find a place called Juhár, where the pára has eaten up Haiduwa and Pingaluwa, who lived there. I will give thee a bow and arrow with which thou shalt fight the pára and kill it; go, take possession of and colonise Juhár.' The man answered and said:—'Thy servant will obey the voice of his master, but he knoweth not the way and who shall guide him.' The Láma said: — 'Fear not, I will provide thee a guide, but take care that thou leave him not. Whatever shape he may assume, follow on and fear not; remember that he is thy guide.' The man and the guide set out together, and after a short time the guide took the form of a dog and the place was called after him Kingri. 3 The man followed the dog and it became a stag, hence the name Dol-dúnga; then the stag became a bear and the place was called Topi-dúnga; and again a camel, hence the name Uma-dhúra: then a tiger, hence the name Dáng-udlyàr, and finally a hare, which lost itself in Pingaluwa's country at Samguna.

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

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

When Sákya Láma flew away his servant returned to Juhár and there he found his fire still alight and accepting the omens resolved to remain in the valley. He collected a number of people called Sokas and established them near Milam and built a temple in honour of Sákya. In the time of Sounpat Soka, who lived at Malikot, the route to Hündes by the Maiduwa river which was used by the people of Atháal was opened and much gold was acquired by him. This route has since fallen into dis-use owing to the accumulation of snow and the débris of avalanches. These events occurred before the time of the Katyúrí Rájas and in consequence of time the Sokas also disappeared. They were followed by the ancestors of the present Milamwálás, who came from Tibet into the valley in this manner. They say that they are of Rajpút origin and that their fathers served one of the Garhwál Rájas who gave them Jola in Bathán in jépí and hence they were called Ráwats. One of these went through Malári of Níti into Hündes and entered the service of the Surajbaní Rája of Hündes. Here he remained for a time, and being fond of the chase wandered over the hills towards the south in pursuit of game. One day he followed a wild cow from early morn to evening and saw it disappear at the confines of the Gunka and the Gori, and accepting this as a good omen the Ráwat much fatigued with the chase called the place Mi-dúnga1 and built there the village of Milam, the inhabitants of which are known to the present day as Ráwats or Sokas.

Such is the only tradition that exists regarding the early settlements in Juhár. As to the Níti valley, the tradition is that the branch of the Katyúrí dynasty who subsequently occupied the Katyúrí valley was originally established in Jyotirdham2 or Joshimath on the Dhauli, the river of Níti. There are no indications or traditions of any Amazonian kingdom in the valley, and we must search for it across the passes in Tibet.

The Chinese name of the Amazonian kingdom was Kin'chi, and

The Amazonian kingdom of the same as Mo-lo-so or Malasa, which was some 2,000 li or 333 miles to the north of Lo-hou-lo, the modern Lahúl. Hwen Thasang describes the journey from Lahúl to Malasa as difficult and attended by an icy piercing wind so often described by

1 From mí, man and dúnga, encamping-ground or resting-place. 2 The place where the great Jyotir ling, emblem of Maládeo, was established.
travellers in the Himalayan and snow-storms. This clearly brings us across the snowy range to the trans-Himalayan valley of the Satlaj. In D'Anville's reproduction of the Jesuits' map of Tibet this tract is marked as Sanke Somtou and lies to the west of Tchoumouri or Chamurii, a district and town of the modern gNári. The country lying between the Ganges and the Matchou or Karráli is called Nacra Somtou in the same map. gNári is celebrated for its mines of gold and is bounded on the north by Khóten and on the east by Tibet proper. The Vishnu-Purána¹ in its prophetic chapters declares that the Kanakas or Kúnas will possess the Amazon country (Sri-rájya) and that called Múshika. The Váyu Purána reads Bhokshyaka or Bhokhyaka for Múshika and others read Búshika. Wilson writes: — "Sri-rájya is usually placed in Bhot. It may, perhaps, here designate Malabar, where polyandry equally prevails. Múshika or the country of thieves was the pirate coast of the Konkan." In the Rája Tarangani, Lalitáditya (730 A.D.) is said² to have erected a statute of Nrihari in the Sri Rájya, showing that it was near Kashmir; but in the Chinese annals³ we have a record which corroborates the statement of Hwen Thsang and proves that the Amazonian kingdom lay in Tibet and was a reality. From it we learn that there was a tribe in Eastern Tibet known as the Nu-wang from the fact of their being ruled by a woman. In the Tung history they are called Tung-Nu or Eastern-Nu, to distinguish them from a tribe possessing similar institutions to the west. They are first mentioned in the Northern history, and in the Sui history an account is given of an embassy from the Eastern-Nu in 586 A.D., in which it is stated that: —

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

¹ Wilson, IX. 322. ² As. Res. XV., 49. The highlands of Tibet have always been notorious for the wandering bands of thieves that infest them. In the Mahábharata the Kánakas and Kúnás are mentioned as bringing presents to the Pándavas of pāpślān gold which was so called because it was collected by ants, pāpślāka, in allusion to the burrows of the miners in the Tibetan gold-fields. ³ Dr. Bushe!, J. R. A. S., XLI., 531. It is possible that in Suvarnagotra we have the origin of the Suvarṇabhūmi and Hiranya-maya of the Puráñas. Most of the gold imported from Tibet comes by this route to the present day.
musk, yaks and two breeds of horses, in addition to salt in abundance, which they carry to India and gain much by the traffic. They have had frequent wars with Tang-hsiang and with India. When the queen dies they collect a large sum of gold money and select from her family two clever women, of which one is made the queen and the other the lesser sovereign. ** The title of the queen is Pin-chiu and of the female ministers of state is Ka-pai. ** The sons take the surname of the mother. The written characters are the same as those of India and the eleventh Chinese month is the beginning of their year. ** At the burial of their sovereign several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time. In the period Wu-te (618-626 A.D.) the queen named Tang pang first sent envoys with tribute. Since the year 742 A.D. they elected a man as ruler and a few years afterwards the state was absorbed by Lhasa.

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

The country to which the name Tibet is now applied appears in the Chinese annals of the Yang dynasty (from 618 A.D.) as Tufan, which should be read Tu-po; hence in an inscription at Lhasa dated in 822 A.D. we find the native Tibetan name for the country *Bod* rendered in Chinese by *Fan.* 1 In the records of the Tatar Liaos who reigned in northern China in the latter part of the eleventh century Tibet is called Tu-poté, in which the latter syllable represents Bod. During the Ming dynasty the name was changed to Wusuttsang from the two principal provinces dbus and gtsang, hence the modern name Weitsang. The word *hsi* or *western* is also applied to the country; hence hsi-tsang and hsi-fan, and the people are called Tupote and Tangkute. The European name is derived from the Arabic through the Mongol in the form Tibet which occurs in the travels of the merchant Sulaiman as early as 851 A.D. During the Han dynasty Tibet was occupied by a number of tribes called Khiang or Chiang, 2 and towards the close of the fourth century a number of these were united together under Huti-pusuyeh, 3 chief of the Fa-chiang, and

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1. Bushell, J. R. A. S., X., 445: he shows, as Remusat had remarked, that the character for *fan* is a phonetic which has the two sounds *fas* and *pe.
2. The name Chiang is composed of the characters for *man* and *sheep,* indicating their pastoral character.
3. His descendants were called Tu-fan, their surname being Pusuyeh.
formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Tibet. Under the Tang dynasty who ruled until the end of the ninth century the new kingdom was called Tu-fan, pronounced Tu-po and equivalent to Tu-bod. The first direct communication of the Tibetans with China was in 634 A.D., when Chitsuvsungtang, the Tsanpu of Lhásá, sent an embassy to China and in 641 A.D. received a daughter of the Emperor in marriage and introduced Chinese customs at his court. On the death of Siláditya king of Magadh one of his ministers usurped the throne and plundered the Chinese envoy Wang Yuanse, who was returning with presents for his master. Wang applied for assistance to the Tibetans, who led 1,200 chosen warriors and 7,000 Nepálese horsemen to India and captured the offender and brought him prisoner to the imperial capital in 648 A.D. Lungtan died in 650 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson, under whom the Tibetan kingdom was firmly established. The Chiang tribes who had hitherto stood aloof were glad to connect themselves with the rising power at Lhásá and the hostile Tukuhun
1 were driven out of the country (666 A.D.). The Tibetans now more than held their own against China and defeated successive armies sent against them. On the east their authority extended to Szechuen; on the west to Kashgár; on the north to the Tucheh or Turkish country, and on the south to Polomen or Magadha, apparently used as a generic name for India. All these successes were gained by a family of hereditary ministers or mayors of the palace, the last of whom was executed by the Tsanpu Chiuhsilung in 699 A.D. Chiuhsilung himself died during an expedition against Nepál and India
2 in 703 A.D.

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

1 An eastern Tatar race settled near Kokonor (I. e., p. 537.)
2 The same record gives an interesting account of the wars between China and Tibet up to 800 A.D., but we have nothing to do with this here.
Srond b Tsan Gampo, who ascended the throne in 629-30 A.D., is represented as a great conqueror, a religious reformer and a pioneer of civilisation in Tibet, and can be no other than the Chitsunglungstan of the Chinese records, who removed the seat of government from the Yarlung valley to Lhāsa and married a daughter of the Emperor of China. The following list of kings occur in the Chinese annals:—

Hutipusuyeh, chief of the Fa-chiang, to whose family belonged Fanni or Supuyeh who was a boy in 414 A.D., and succeeded in establishing the nucleus of a state in 425 A.D. After him reigned a sovereign named H-ihsitungmo. Tungmo begat Tutu begat Chiel.lishihjo; Chiehli begat Pumungjo; Pumung begat Chusuo; Chusu begat Lantsensu; Lantsan begat. Chitsunglungstan, also called Chisamung and styled Fuyishih. He was a minor when he ascended the throne in 630 and died 650 A.D. Chitaung was succeeded by his grandson Chilipu, a minor who deceased in 679 A.D., and was followed by his son only eight years of age, Chirmu Ilung, who died in 703 A.D. The next Tsanpu was Chilisulungliseshtsan Chilisotsan, aged seven, who died in 755 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Sohsilungliteshtsan, who took Ch'angan, the then capital of China, in 763 A.D. We find Chilsstan surnamed Hulutu reigning in 780 and succeeded by his eldest son Tschihchien in 797. He died in 798 and was succeeded by his unnamed brother who died in 804 and by another who died in 816, when Kolikotsu succeeded with the title Yitai. The last named died in 838 and was succeeded by his brother Tamo, who died in 842, when the infant Chilihu of the house of Lin and nephew of the consort of Tamo was set up by one party and civil war ensued. Shangkunje declared himself Tsanpu in 849 and perished in battle with the Uighurs in 866 A.D. These names may be compared with those given from Tibetan sources by M. Csoma, M. Klaproth and Sarat Chander Das.

The kingdom of Kiin-pi-choung-na, which M. Julien renders by Govisana, lay 40° li or 67 miles to the south-east of Madāwar. It was about 2,000

1 Lesen f. e. : a Lichchhavī prince ruled at this time in Nepal (Mem. I., 427); the early date given t. the first Lichchhavī prince be seen whom and strong-wa Gampo there were only thirty-one reigns (379-412 = 4) is very doubtful.
2 Tibet.: Grammar, p. 180: Thomas's Pimep, II., 289-90: Klaproth's ‘Tab-
li or 334 miles in circuit and the capital was about 15 li or 2½ miles in circuit. The city was built on an elevated site difficult of access and was surrounded by groves, tanks and fish-ponds. There was a numerous population of simple and rustic habits. The soil was fertile and resembled that of Madáwar. Many devoted themselves to literature and the practice of religious virtues, but many were still followers of the Brahmanical faith. There were two monasteries occupied by one hundred monks who studied the Hínayána-sutras and one temple of the gods. The larger of the two monasteries was close to the city and possessed a stupa about two hundred feet high built by Asoka to mark the place where for the space of a month Buddha expounded the law. Close by was a place where the four past Buddhas had been accustomed to take exercise, and near it were two stupas erected to cover the nails and hair of Buddha. Four hundred li or 67 miles to the south-east lay the kingdom of O-hi-tchi-ta-lo or Ahichhatra. General Cunningham identifies Govissana with the old fort near the village of Ujain one mile to the east of Káshipur in the Taráí district. The true bearing of Káshipur from Madáwar is east south-east, and by the road he travelled General Cunningham makes the distance 68 miles. He also states the position of Káshipur will agree with its bearing from Ahichhatra, the next place visited by Hwen Thsang and of which the site is well established. Káshipur itself was founded by Káshináth Adhikári as late as 1718 A.D., and the old fort is called after the name of the nearest village. The circuit of the fort and the ruins in its immediate neighbourhood is very nearly the same as that given by Hwen Thsang, and there are numerous groves, tanks and fish-ponds around the place. One of these known as the Drona-ságar is still a favourite place of resort for pilgrims going to visit the sacred shrines in the snowy range. We would, however, identify Govissana with the ruins near Dhikuli some 22 miles to the north of Káshipur on the river Rámganga, and which subsequently formed the site of the winter residence of both Katyáris and Chanda. The elevated position of this site and the presence of remains sufficient to account for the existence of a stupa and other buildings as well as its identification in popular tradition with the ancient city of Vairát-pátan lend great weight to this view, but until these ruins are more closely
examined this point cannot be decided, and in the meantime General Cunningham's identification may be allowed to stand. We have now to leave the pleasant pages of Hwen Thsang and for many centuries be content to grope our way amidst the traditions half fact and half fable that have survived.

Buddhism, as we have seen, was fairly established in Kumaon in the seventh century, but between the date of Hwen Thsang's visit towards the middle of the seventh century and the period in which Sankara Achárya flourished such changes occurred that after his time hardly a single Buddhist temple remained in the Kumaon Himálaya. The local tradition is distinct on this point, and it follows that if the institutions established by Sankara survive to the present day, the Buddhists must have succumbed either before his time or through his influence. In another chapter we shall give some account of his life and writings, and here we shall review the evidence as to the age in which he lived, which is so intimately connected with that strange upheaval of the old religion and the dispersion of its opponents. Wilson, in the preface to the first edition of his Sanskrit Dictionary, notices many of the statements made regarding the age of Sankara. From him\(^1\) we learn that the Kadáli Brahmins who follow the teaching of Sankara declare that he lived some two thousand years ago; others place him about the beginning of the Christian era, or in the third or fourth century after Christ, or as contemporary with Tiru Vikramadeva, sovereign of Skandapura in the Dakhin in 178 A.D. The people of the Sríngagírî or Sringeri math on the edge of the western gháts in the Mysore territory, of which Sankara himself was the second mahánt, assign him an antiquity of 1,600 years. Wilson gives a list of the mahánts of this institution showing twenty-seven descents from Sankara, and allowing a quarter of a century to each mahánt, a period of 675 years should elapse from the founder, but as Wilson could not determine the date when the list closed he did not attach any importance to the result. Dr. Burnell in writing of the time of Hwen Thsang (640 A.D.) incidentally states, 'as the Brahmanical system of Sankara sprung up in the next half century,'

\(^1\) For details and references, see Wilson's Works, I., 300; V., 138; XII., 5.
thus making the great reformer live in the end of the seventh century. Williams in his dictionary gives the dates 650-740 A.D. The Vaishnava Brahmans in Malabar place Sankara in the tenth century. Dr. Taylor in his translation of the Prabodha Chandrodaya thinks that if we place him about 900 A.D., we shall not be far from the truth, and both Colebrooke and Rammohun Roy refer him to 1000 A.D. The latter writer, who was a diligent student of Sankara's works, elsewhere infers that "from a calculation of the spiritual generations of the followers of Sankara Swami from his time up to this date, it seems to have lived between the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era." The Kerala Utpatti, devoted to the history of Malabar, makes Sankara contemporary with Cheruman Perumal, a prince who granted many privileges to Christians and founded Calicut. According to Scaliger, Calicut was founded in 907 or following another authority in 825 A.D. Wilson in one place assigns Sankara to the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century A.D., and in another place writes that subsequent inquiry has failed to add any reasons to those assigned by him for his proposed inference, but it has offered nothing to invalidate or weaken the conclusion arrived at. Weber places Sankara "in about the eighth century."

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

3 In the preface to the Dayabhaga. 4 As. Res. v., 5. 5 Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 51, which presumably gives the latest results on this subject. Weber writes: "Sankara's date has not, unfortunately, been more accurately determined as yet. He passes at the same time for a zealous adversary of the Buddhists, and is therefore called a Saiva or follower of Siva. In his works, however, he appears as a worshipper of Vasudeva, whom he puts forward as the real incarnation or representative of Brahma." 6 Wright's Nepal, 116.
"Some of them fled and some were put to death. Some who would not allow that they were defeated were also killed. Wherefore many confessed that they were vanquished, though in reality not convinced that they were in error. These he ordered to do kṣṇa (i.e., to sacrifice animals), which is in direct opposition to the tenets of the Buddhist religion. He likewise compelled the Bhikshunis or nuns to marry, and forced the Grihasthas to shave the knot of hair on the crown of their heads when performing the chātra-karma, or first shaving of the head. Thus he placed the Banaprasthas (ascetics) and Grihasthas on the same footing. He also put an end to many of their religious ceremonies and cut their Brahmanical threads. There were at that time 84,000 works on the Buddhist religion, which he searched for and destroyed. He then went to the Manichāra mountain, to destroy the Buddhists there. Six times the goddess Mani Jogini raised storms and prevented his ascending the mountains, but the seventh time he succeeded. He then decided that Mahākāśa, who was a Buddha and abhorred kṣṇa, should have animals sacrificed to him. Mani Jogini or Ugra-tārini was named by him Bajra Jogini. Having thus overcome the Buddhists, he introduced the Saiva religion in the place of that of Buddha. Sankara then destroyed the Buddhist religion and allowed none to follow it: but he was obliged to leave Baudhdamārgis in some places as priest of temples, when he found that no other persons would be able to propitiate the gods placed in them by great Baudhdamārgis."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The immediate result of the interview with Nar-Sinha was that the Raja set out for the valley of the Gomati² and near the present village of Baijnáth founded a city which he called after the warlike son of Mahádeo by the name Kàrttikeyapura. He found there the ruins of an old town named Karbirpur and used the materials for rebuilding the temple to Kàrttikeya and also for constructing wells, reservoirs and bazaars. The question whether the dynasty gave its name to the valley which ever afterwards was known as Katyúr or the valley gave its name to the family who ruled in it is of some importance in our researches. The name Katyúr may be derived from that of the capital city, the Páli form of which would be Kattikeyapura, easily shortened into Kattikeyura and Katyúra, but it appears equally probable that the resemblance between the name Katyúra and that of their capital city is purely accidental. The dynasty must have had a tribal name long before Kàrttikeyapura was occupied, and it would be contrary to all precedent that this should be exchanged for a corrupted form of the name of their new capital city. It is therefore much more likely that the dynasty gave their tribal name to the valley and that this name was Kator or Katyúr. Some have endeavoured to connect this name with the Surajbansi tribe of Katehiriya Rajpúts, who gave their name to the tract subsequently known as Rohilkhand, but this suggestion is opposed to all that we know regarding that clan of Rajpúts and is entirely unsupported.

² Jóins the Sarju at Bágeswar.
by any received tradition either in the hills or in the plains. Most probably as we have seen, we have to look in a very different direction for the origin of the name Katyūri and that it is derived from the royal race of Kāṭuṛe, and in this connection it may be remarked that Kārttikeya was a favourite deity of the Turushka princes of Kashmir and occurs in the form Skanda on their coins.

The only actual records of the Katyūris that have come down to us consist of six inscriptions, five of which are grants engraved on copper and one is a similar record inscribed on stone. The last belongs to the temple of Siva as Vyaghreswar (the tiger-lord) or Vákeswar (the lord of eloquence) situated at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju in Patti Katyūr of Kumaon. The slab on which the writing is inscribed is, unfortunately, much injured, especially in the right lower corner, where the date has been obliterated. It records the grant by Sri Bhūdeva Deva of a village and land to the temple of Vyaghreswar and gives the names of seven Raias, the ancestors of the donor,1 as follows:—


The following is a tentative translation2 of this inscription made from copies furnished by Mr. Truill:—

**Bágèsvar Inscription.**

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

Bow down at the foot of Paradeva placed at the gate called Nāranātī at Pavuphidhati in the village of Namya which destroys the nets of animals. There was a raja named Basantana Deva who was a king of kings most venerable and wealthy. In his wife, the queen named Sajyanaraśvā, who knew no one but her husband, was conceived a raja who was also a king of kings, the richest, the most respected of his time, worthy to be trusted and prosperous; who set apart successively provisions for the worship of Parameswara and caused several public roads to be constructed leading to Jayasinghahākti and who provided fragrant substances, flowers, incense, lamps and ointments for Raghreswara

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1 J. A. S. Ben. VII, 1,058. The names in the text differ from those given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, but as they were taken on the spot by Rudradatta Pant, a competent Sanskrit scholar, they are retained here in preference to those taken from the copy.

2 By Sarada Prasāda Chakravartī.
Deva in Amballpalika and who was the protector in battle; who, moreover, gave fragrant substances, flowers, &c., and the village named Baneswara Grama which his father had granted to the Vaishnavas for worship of the abovementioned god. Who erected buildings on the side of the public roads. As long as the sun and moon exist so long shall there his virtuous deeds exist.

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

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

His son Istovana Deva born from the chief of his queens, Dasa Devi, who loved him dearly, was a king of kings, rich, respectable and learned. His son Lalita Sura Deva was born of his wife Dhara Devi, who was much devoted to him, who was also a king of kings, wealthy, respected, intelligent and in all respects a hero. His son Bhādeva Deva was born of his wife Lāya Devi, who loved much her husband. He also was king of kings, a zealous worshipper of Brahma, an enemy of Rðha Grāvāna, a lover of truth, rich, beautiful, learned, continually engaged in religious observances and a person near whom Kāli could not approach; whose eyes were beautiful as blue lilies and quilk, the palm of whose hands resembled young twigs whose ears were frequently troubled by the sound of jewels of the crowns of Rājas who bowed before him and whose great weapon destroyed darkness, whose feet resembled the colour of gold, who granted pensions to his favourite attendants. He * * *
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Four of the copper-plate grants are preserved in the temple of Pandukeswar near Badrināth, and of these two contain the fifth, sixth and seventh names of the Bāgeswar inscription. The first of these two records the grant in the 21st year of the Vijaya-rājya, or ‘realm of victory,’ of certain villages in Gorunna Sāri to Nārāyana Bhattāraka by Lalitesvara Deva¹ at the instigation of his queen Sāma Devi. The civil minister was Vijaka and the minister of war was Aryanat and the writer Ganga Bhadra. The second of the two plates is dated in the 22nd year of the same era and records a similar grant to the same personage, Nārāyana Bhattāraka, ‘who is revered by the scholarly men of Garuda-asrama.’ The officials subscribing the grant are the same and the place intended is the village of Tapuban on the left bank of the Alakunanda above Joshimath, where there are still the remains of numerous temples and one of the places of pilgrimage connected with Badrināth. There are but three names mentioned in these two plates and these are:—

Nimbarata and his queen Nāthī Devi.

Ishtagana Deva and his queen Desa (Vega) Devi.

Lalitasāra Deva and his queen Sāma Devi.

Both these grants are dated from Kārttikeyapura.

Two other plates from Pandukeswar introduce us to a separate series of names intimately connected with the last which are further confirmed by a similar grant made by the same princes to the temple of Bāleswar in eastern Kumaon. The first of the plates of this new list is dated from Kārttikeyapura in the 5th year of the pravarndhamaṇa Vijaya-rājya, Samvat 5. It is addressed to the officials of the Esāla district by Desata Deva and records the grant to Vijayesvara of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives the names of Salonāditya and his queen Sinhavali¹ Devi followed by their son Ichchhata Deva and his queen Sindhu Devi, whose son was Desata Deva. The record was subscribed by the chief civil officer, Bhatta Hari Sarma; by th. chief military officer, Nandāditya, and by the scribe Bhadra, and is now deposited in the Bāleswar temple. The next plate is from Pandukeswar and is

¹ The reading may be Lalitasāra Deva.

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

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

1. Sálomádiya and his queen Sinhavali Devi.
2. Ichhhhata Deva and his queen Sinhá Devi.
3. Desata Deva and his queen Padmalla Devi.
4. Padmata Deva and his queen Isála Devi.
5. Subhiksharája Deva.

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

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

Transcript of an inscription from Pāndukėśvar near Badarinath.

(1) स्वस्ति श्रीमत्तः प्रचेयपुरात्मकलामर्दितित्वजम्मुज्जविभु- मलिमायभरभारानिमपदामितामासङ्गविकस्यमुक्तिकृतं यष्टिकोषादिनेश्वलं—

(2) नानात(काय)यद्रिपद्योद्दितिपानमदरकदनरकलामल—

(3) टस्य भगवते पूर्ववेदीत: प्रसादार्जुनमुलाळैपालिमप्रारत्नयनि-

(4) कार्यवित्तिगुणोगाणलांकुरकत्वः महापुरुसकविन्तनानयोजाव-

(5) नयस्त्वादानादोहते राजीमहापिदेयी श्रीनामाँदेवीतत्स्यामुत्त्वत:-

1 The translation has been kindly revised through Dr. Mitr, but I am alone responsible for the translation and collation of the names of the officials and the comparison with other inscriptions.
(६) \text{च्याय्यनुन्हाकपेलिनतारगायः परमभज्जीन्नरजाराजिवर-}
\text{चयपरेश्चर्केमिडिश्यावेवस्य गुष्ठश्चरामानुधायातो राजी-}
\text{महादेवीश्रीरामावेद्वीतस्यामुपमः परमम्} --

(७) \text{लेखरः परमश्रमस्यः बालकलेखकाँचक्षुमगः हरिभारचारि}
\text{तथारूणेऽवरराजविरः दशवमातिविविभविभिमूत्तिकृतः सिद्धशङ्करः प्रतः द्वादश} --

(८) \text{मृतमधुकुटिकुटिलकेशरिविषटामोतावलातीबलमुरः}
\text{भक्तां हृण्डः श्राध्यः कुकुटागामः हठाकृतः कृषकलोकः}
\text{रामगः राममातिनागः} --

(९) \text{कनवलवधेक्षुद्धसुन्दरीविघुटककारस्वालुरभुजाम्बः}
\text{क्षोत्सनास्मातः द्वितीयाधिनिधनमात् वहलबलायुगमवश} --

(१०) \text{वशीकुटनेपालनानिशचलीकृतघराधरेन्द्रः परमभज्जीन्नरजार-}
\text{राजिग्राजाणरमेश्वरामः श्रीतीर्थवेत्तिकुकलोकः} \text{तमिलश्री मो}
\text{प्रजातिवेश्युरविषये समु} --

(११) \text{प्रगतानु सम्भवनविग्यावसानाराजीजतकाराजप्रायस्तामात्स}-
\text{सामन्तमहायमनं भुजामहनुभुजाकेशकृतिकमहापाती}
\text{भारमहादृश्यकमहाराजमाताराय} --

(१२) \text{रमकुमारामात्यापरितुकसाध्यायानिविक्षमाध्यमिकोपाधिचौरो}-
\text{तुरविकोशिल्कंशिल्कं दायकविनियुत कप्ताकापारि-}
\text{काशिष्मकाचाकृतसारस्वेष्ट्र} --

(१३) \text{बलचाप्यप्रभुवामतिविककारङ्कराऱ्याङ्कमागमिताश्रितः}
\text{बालमित्रमाथकाराण्यानी माध्यमितने भागपतिनरपत्यमे-}
\text{ति वहरावप्रतिष्ठृति} --
(১২) কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায় কথায়।

(১৩) তথ্য বিষয় নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক নৈসর্গিক।

(১৪) পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন পরিবর্তন।

(১৫) বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য বাণিজ্য।

(১৬) পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প পুষ্প।
(२२) तदेवनास्राद्धारामुक्तामोक्तामानवखिलानात। यतस्मीं पारंपरिः परि-
मुख्यनास्राद्धारंपरिया देशीर्यन्तरेऽव्र्व। धरणविधायावरिपरिपरिवा-
जनात्स्मोऽपि नानं न कर्म।

(२३) यो नान्यथा। ... महान्नोहः स्याद्विद्विप्रवेदूतमानवविजयवाचारः
सम्बत्तरायकनिष्ठितसम्बन्धतः माघवदि इस्वत्वानाः
सप्तपरालिकक्तश्रीप्रसन्न।

(२४) खिलमिदं महावन्यिवहाराचापर नाधिकृतश्रीमठायटास्तबना-
कोलोक्तीः श्रीगुरुदेवः। वहुःभित्तेवुधा भूताना राजमिः
समरादिभमिः। यथा यथा यदा भूमित्रं।

(२५) यथा तस्मा तदा फलं। सम्बन्धेतानुभाविनः पार्थिवेन्दृष्टः
ङ्गस्या भूताना याच्चते पारिवर्भः। समानाचरयं धम्मेतुदुर्तुपांचारयां
कलिकाल पालनखालोमयौ।। स्वदतां परदतां च यो ह।

(२६) रत वसुन्धराः। श्रवणविध्वंसवाध्व्या शवविध्या जाते कुमिः।
भूमेदाता याति लेके मुलां हस्तेनुतं यानमाहुं दिय्यस्य-
लेह कुमेतेलिपृयृं सुलो।। भूमेद्वारीः

(२७) सा पचते कार्त्तुः। शराध्वयमस्तहवाध्व्या स्मार्थिन सन्दिशिति भूमिद्व
आच्छाद्याचारुनमा। च तान्योष नरके वचेत॥ गामेक्षसु सुगुणस्मृ
भूमेरोक्तस्मेलनं। हृत्वा नरकमायांति यावदांछुतिंकर्मणं। यानीमां
दसानिपुरा नरेन्द्रदेशानां धम्मार्थायस्तकाध्व्या। निम्माल्यात्यं
विनितार्थितामोऽनि तानि को नाम व.पं गुरु गुरूद्वारोत। ————

(२८) धम्ममिदं समुदाहाद्धतिन्येश दानमिदममुमोदनान्यं लक्ष्मणमिदमस्वश्च्यालिङ्गुदत्वादिया।। दानं फलं परयशः परिपालनभु॥ श्लीति कमलदल।

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

His son meditating on his feet, and begotten on his queen and great lady, the fortunate Vēga Devi, is the most venerable and great king of kings and sovereign lord, the prosperous Lēlita Sāra Deva, the auspicious, who is a devout worshipper of Maheśa, and devoted to the supreme Brahm (or exceedingly liberal to Brahm). He has not the part of the great boar encumbered with the weight of the earth by delivering it from drowning under the dread of the dirt of the sinful age of Kālī. He possessed an exuberance of natural genius and super-human prowess, whereby his blazing valour withstood the hosts of his encompassing enemies. Being ever ready in his preparations for war, by the vast resources of his wealth, he, by the terrific crowns of his brows, bore an intimidation to his enemies, as the curling mane of the lion affrights the cub of the elephant. He, by his restless sword and arrows in battle, has slain many a soul (in warfare), and violently seized on the goddess of prosperity in victory, as if he had dragged her from underneath the waters (of the deep). The damsel of heaven viewing this reverse of fortune with affection at his embrace to her, dropped down the bracelets from their trembling wrists, which, drawn like wreaths of flowers, formed his head-dress (as if it blossomed), to mature the seeds of his glory. Like Pṛithva his arms were
insured to the bending of the bow, by the force of which he subdued and protected
the world and established its monarchs.

All the people assembled in the fortunate city of Karttikeyapura,¹ all—

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¹ The titles of the officials to whom the grant is addressed follows here and
the order of the names in each group is given in the column to the left. I = the
Mungir plate; II = the Pandukeshwar plate of Lallitesvara forming a portion of
the text translated here; III = Lallitesvara’s second plate; IV = Padma Deva’s
plate; V = Subhiksharaj’s plate and VI = the Bhagalpur plate.
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<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Gamgamika : messengers.</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>Khālika : swordsmen.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Abhikṣuromañakā : swift messengers (manika, minor?).</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>Rājalokāniya : officers of the royal household.</td>
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<td>Vīshapapti : district officers.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bhogapati : provincial governors.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Khandapati : chiefs of wards in cities (muhallādās).</td>
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<td>Tarapati : chiefs of the ferries.</td>
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<td>Asvapati : commanders of cavalry.</td>
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<td>Khandaraśahasthānadhipati : chief of the frontier posts.</td>
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<td>Vurtmapālika : road guards.</td>
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<td>Kosapāla : treasurers or kottapāla (kottisel).</td>
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<td>Ghottapāla : guards of passes (Ghattis).</td>
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<td>Kohetrapāla : guards of fields.</td>
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<td>Ṭranaṭapāla : guards of boundaries.</td>
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<td>Thakurā : the (khasiya) kshatriya tribe.</td>
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<td>Mohanamahāya : men of importance (village-headmen; cf. bhūlamanu).</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kusorudavas go mahishyadhikrīta : keepers of colts, cows and buffaloes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bhattamahātlama : most learned men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Abhira : Cowherds (ahira).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bani : merchants (baniya).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sreshhipuryāda : chief of city, guilds (chaudhria).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sāśthānamaharaktiyadhikshānyāda : superintendents of the eighteen departments.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together with Khāsas, Dārvaras, Kātūgas, Gauras, Odhras, Andhras down to Chāndāla, all peoples and places, all soldiers, slaves, and servants and others, whether mentioned here or not, who depend upon our royal feet, know ye, mark ye this Brahmanottara.

Be it known to you that the village situated in Gorunna Sāri within the aforementioned estate, which is now in the possession of Khaishaka, as also that in the possession of Gugula, and situate in the Pañal of Bhumikā, these two villages are given by me by means of the grant of this alien, ordered to be made at Gorunna Sāri by the great queen Sama Dēvī herself to the reverend Nārāyana Bhattāraka, for adding to the merit and reputation of my prasāda and of myself, by observing the living world to be an unsteady as the leaf of the ficus religiosa, and the billows moved by the breeze and by seeing this life to be as vain and void of substance as the form of a bubble of water, as also by knowing the instability of fortune, likened to the unsteadiness of the tips of a young elephant's ears, for the sake of obtaining a position in the next world, and salvation in the ocean of this, on this meritorious day of the winter solstice, accompanied with diffusion of fragrant flowers, incense, lights and ointments, with offerings, sacrifices,
relations, dancing, singing and music for the performance of the feast, and purifica-
tion (correction) of all omissions and errors in the new act, as also for expedi-
ting the feet of our servants, and further conferring the right to debar the im-
gress of all government officers therein, also exemption from every duty and a per-
petual contemporaneous with the continuance of the sun, moon, and earth. They
are to remain as parcels detached from the estate as far as their visible bound-
daries, with all the trees, arbours, springs, and catacombs contained in them, and
free from all past and present usufructs, of gods and Brahmins therein. The
possessor thereof having full rights for ever and ever as defined herein, must not
at all be annoyed by seizure, resumption, robbery, or any other disturbance,
under a heavy penalty attendant upon any violation, of this commandment.
In the year of the rising kingdom of victory (*pracardhamasa vijayaditya*)
twenty-one Samvat 21, the third day of the waxing moon of Magha. The
deputies in this affair are the chief justice of lawsuits concerning gifts and grants,
named Sri Vijaka, the writer hereof, and the chief arbiter of cases relating to
peace and war, Sri Aryatta, by whose order this plate is inscribed by Ganga Bhadra.

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

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

3. The donor of lands ascends to the abode of the gods, mounting on a heaven-
ly car yoked with horses (swans). But the resumer of lands is booted in an iron
calculon filled with hot oil by the delegates of the regent of death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have not thought it necessary to reproduce here the Mungir
The Kumaon and Pála inscription of the Pála Raja, Deva Pála
 DeVa or the Bhágalpur inscription of the

1 This plate, of which a copy is given in A.S. Bev., I., 122, was translated by
Mr. Wilkins in 1781. It was discovered amid the ruins of Mungir by Colonel
Watson.

2 J. A. S. Ben., XLVII., 1., 284.
Pála Raja Náráyana. The Mungir inscription calls Deva Pála a sugata. His genealogy is traced from Go Pála, whose son was Dharmá Pála, of whom it is said:—"He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good and happily his salvation was effected at the same time: for his servants visited Kedára and drank milk according to the law." Deva Pála succeeded and 'peaceably inherited the kingdom of his father as Bodhisattwa succeeded Sugata.' He also is said 'to have conquered the earth from the sources of the Ganges as far as the well-known bridge which was constructed by the enemy of Dusásya,' i.e., from Garhwál to Cape Comorin. The characters in the five Kumaon plates are the same and belong to the earlier form of the kutila or 'bent' alphabet of which we have several examples from the eighth to the tenth century. A comparison with the form of the letters on the Mungir and Bhágalpur plates shows that they also belong to the same class. The tribal name of the writer is the same in all six records. In the plates of Lalitasúra Deva, the writer is Ganga Bhadra, in that of Desata Deva it is Bhadra; in those of Padma Deva and Subhiksharája Deva it is Nanda Bhadra and in the Pála plates we have Binda Bhadra on one and the Bhatta Gurava on another. In the Buddal Pála inscription the name is Binda Bhadra. The very remarkable list of officials common to all the plates has been analysed in the translation of the Kumaon plate. The coincidences in order and position in this respect cannot be accidental and clearly shows that all were derived from one common original in the family of the professional scribes whose tribal name was Bhadra. The form of dedication is the same in all and also the precatory verses attached to each grant. An examination of the names of the officials shows that it is improbable that all of them could not have existed in a small hill state, especially such as the keepers of camels and elephants and the commanders of cavalry. This portion of the form of the grant is clearly borrowed from that in use in a larger and more important state in the plains. Another point of resemblance is that both the hill grants and the Pála plates are dated from some unknown local era and in the hills clearly from the accession of the reigning monarch, a practice presumably also borrowed from the Bengal Rájas. The hill plates are still in possession of the representatives of the grantees, and there is not the slightest reason for
believing them to be other than genuine; in fact not one of their present possessors can decipher a single line much less attempt a meaningless forgery of this nature.

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

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

With regard to the localities mentioned, the two grants of
Lalitasūra Deva are addressed to the offici-
cials and others in the district of Kārtti-
keyapura. One is translated here and need not be further noticed.
The second conveys a similar grant to the same person of Thapyala
Sāri in the possession of Indra Vāka to provide for the necessities
of the religious anchorites residing at Tapuban, a place on the
right bank of the Dhauli above Joshimath, which will show that
this village was still in the Kārttikeyapura district. The grant
of Desata Deva is addressed to the officers in the Esala district
and bestows the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyana
Varmanas on Vījayesvara. The grant of Padmata Deva is
addressed to the officials of the district of Tanganapura and that
of Subhiksharāja Deva to the officials of the districts of Tangana-
pura and Antarāṅga. Tanganapura has already been identified
with the tract above the confluence of the Bhāgīrathi and Alak-
nanda and Antarāṅga with the country lying between those rivers.
The first of these two bestows certain lands on the temple of
Badarikāśrama. There were four villages in Drumati in the
possession of the Aditya family of Buddhāchal together with fifteen
shares (bhāga) in Pangara also in Drumati, also the vítti of Ogala
in Yoshi and another patch on the banks of the Gangāpadi, an
accrétion to Sankrīma, as well as the fields detached from Ulika.
Also the land near the great banyan-tree in Kākasthal village in
Drumati and two dvānas of land in the Randavaka village in Yoshi.

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

"Land in Vidimālāka belonging to Vachchhuratka; in Bhetha Sarīya; measuring eight nāla; in Bāriyāl, measuring four dōnas; in Vanaḷika; also an accretion from Kandayika to Sarana belonging to Subhattaka; a piece called Satika; also one called Yachchha Saddha, held by Gochittangaka Talī Sāta belonging to Vihāndaka; Kāhira belonging to Vena Vāka; Gangaraka belonging to Soshi Jivāka; Pettaka; Kathaḷa; Nyāsapatāka; Bandwala belonging to the Adityas; Ichhawala, Vihalaka and Māharjīyaḥ; Khorakhotanka belonging to bilādīya; in Harshapura, land formerly belonging to Parbhahāna Ungaka now in the estate of Durga Bhatta; also new land in Varoshika belonging to the Sittakas, Ussoka, Vījata, Duijana, Attanga, Vāchakata and Varāha; Jatipātaka in Ijjara; Samitīya; Gododha in Pāirl belonging to the sons of Satraka; Ghasmengaka in Yoshiśa; Śhāra; Balivardda and Sila; Ihanga; Bullatha; Tiringa; Kattanasla; Gondodārīka; Yuga; Karkatathāla; Dālimulaka belonging to Gharā Nāga; Dāraka belonging to Sīrāda; Karkarāta belonging to the Vijāyāna; Chidārīka belonging to the Kastushika; Randavaka; Lobasala belonging to Tungādīya; also land in Yoshiśa; Ratnapalli near Sadāyika with the following limits: west of the boundary of Sankata, east of Andāragānaka, north of the Ganga; and south of the village of Tamehaka belonging to the sons of Senāyika." The donees are Nārāyana and Brahmeswara, who appear to have been the officiating priests of the temple of Durga Devī. The tribal names Vāka, Jivaka, Aditya, Vījāyāna and Katusthī do not appear to occur now, but we have Manivāka as the name of one of the sons of the ruler of Saka-dwipa and in the Bharath sculptures.

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

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

In a grant of Náráyana Pála lately discovered at Bhágalpur and translated by Dr. Mitra\footnote{J. A. R. Soc., XLVII, 19, 1884.} we have a second record quite as full as that of the Mungir plate and some important rectifications of the genealogy. "The record opens with a stásma in praise of Go Pála, who was a devout Buddhist and a follower of Sugata. His son and immediate successor was Dharma Pála. The latter had a brother named Vák Pála, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva Pála, the eldest son of his brother, succeeded him. Vák Pála had a second son named Jaya Pála, who is said to have brought Orissa and Allahabad under his brother's government. On the death of Deva Pála, Vígraha Pála, the son of Jaya Pála, came to the throne. Vígraha Pála was succeeded by his son Náráyana Pála, the donor of the grant."
accordingly to revise the indications afforded by the Mungir plate thus:

I. Go Pāla.

II. Dharmā Pāla.  Vāk Pāla

III. Deva Pāla.  Jaya Pāla.

IV. Vīgraḥa Pāla I.

Nārāyana Pāla.

The donee's name was Sīva Bhattāraka, a name found also in the Ballabhi grants, and the record was composed by Bhatta Gurava, the minister who erected the Buddha pillar. The latter is a record of the family of this minister and contains the names of Panchal and Gaya and of the son of Garga called Darbhapāni, of whom it is recorded that by his policy "the great prince Deva Pāla made the earth tributary from the father of Reva, whose piles of rock are moist with juice from the heads of lascivious elephants, to the father of Gauri, whose white mountains are brightened with beams from the morn of Isvara and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and with the setting sun." Here Deva Pāla is credited with the conquest of the country from the Mahendra mountain which contains the source of the Reva to the Himavat who was father of Gauri. To Darbhapāni was born Someśwar and to him Kedāra Misra, trusting to whose wisdom, "the rāja of Gaur for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa) of the Hūnas of humbled pride, of the kings of Dravira and Gujara whose glory was reduced and the universal sea girt throne." * * "To him, emblem of Vṛihaspati and to his religious rites, the prince Sura Pāla, who was a second Indra and whose soldiers were fond of wounds, went repeatedly." Kedāra-Misra had a son Gurava Misra, who was greatly respected by the prince Nārāyana Pāla and who caused the record to be inscribed by Binda Bhadra. We may also note that the donee in Deva Pāla's inscription was a Misra. In the Aṭā-i-Abkāri, Abul Faṣl

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1 The Guravas in western India enjoy a monopoly of the service in Siva temples and have a right to the offerings made: Ind. Ant., III., 77.
2 An. I. 1, 183; this is translated by Mr. C. Wilkins, with notes by Mr. W. Jones. The inscription was found on a stone pillar near Buddha on the boundary of the Dinajpur and Boghra districts in Lower Bengal, about forty miles south-east of Dinajpur, in 1780.
gives the names of seven so-called Vaidya rajas of Bengal ending with Náráyana, whose successor Lakshmaniya was expelled by Muham-
mad Bakhtiyár Khilji in 1203 A.D. Before these Vaidyas occur
the names of ten Pála rajas, all of which except the first three, are
wanting in their proper places in the inscriptions. The length of
many of the reigns also is so absurdly prolonged as to render this
tradition utterly worthless.

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

Bhuvarakshita, son-in-law of Dharma Pála, reigned eight years.

Ványa Pála, son of Dharma Pála.

Mahi Pála, reigned fifty-two years, contemporary of Khri-ral.

Mahi Pála, son of Mahi Pála, reigned four years.

Sáma Pála, son-in-law of Mahi Pála, reigned twelve years.

Srechita, eldest son of Mahi Pála, reigned three years.

Chánaka, maternal uncle of Srechita, reigned twenty-nine years.

Bhaya Pála, nephew of Chánaka, reigned thirty-two years.

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

Bhuvarakshita, 85 ; Dhrupála, 55 ; Deçapála, 38 ; Bhupatipála, 70 ; Dhampatipála, 45;
Djakmapála, 75 ; Jayapála, 58 ; Rajapála, 90 ; Bhupála (brother of Rajapála), 57;
Jayapála (son of Bhupála), 74. Bhupála may be identified with Go Pála ; Dhir-
upála, or more correctly Dharupála with Dharmapála and Deçapála with Deçapála.
2 : Le Bouddhisme, Lahousse's translation of Vassiliev, p. 84 : Arch. Sec. III.,
189 : Ind. Ant. IV., 386. 3 Khrisnag, 788-788 A.D.
Neysa Pála, son of Bheya Pála, reigned thirty-five years.
Amar Pála, son of Neysa Pála, reigned thirteen years.
Regency for eight years.
Hasti Pála, son of Amra Pála, reigned fifteen years.
Kahánti Pála, maternal brother of Hasti Pála, reigned seventeen years.
Ráma Pála, son of Hasti Pála, reigned forty-six years.

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

In 1806, a grant inscribed on a copper-plate was found at Amgáchhi1 in parganah Sultánpur in the Dinápur district, a place about fourteen miles from Buddal. It contained the name of Vi-grastra Pála Deva and some others and was dated in samvat 12. In an inscription from Sárnáth, however, we have a dated record clearly belonging to the Pálas. It was discovered on a figure of Buddha near Benares by Mr. Jonathan Duncan in 1794 and bears the date samvat 1083, equivalent to 1026 A.D. The writing has been translated by Colonel Wilford and again by General Cunningham, whose version2 is as follows:—

*Adoration to Buddha. Having worshipped the lotus foot of Srí Dhama-ráśi, sprung from the lake of Vará-nási, and having for its moss the hair of prostrate kings, the fortunate Mahipála, king of Gauras, caused to be built in Káli hundreds of monuments, such as Isána and Chitráganta. The fortunate Sthíra-pála and his younger brother, the fortunate Basanta-pála, have renewed religion completely in all its parts and have raised a tower (stūpa) with an inner chamber (gámbha-basti) and eight large niches, samvat 1083, the 11th day of Pausa."

As now translated the date should be assigned to the buildings of Sthíra Pála and his brother Basanta Pála, who were contemporaries of Mahi Pála, who according to the Amgáchhi plate was himself a successor of Vi-grastra Pála II. General Cunningham's new reading and translation will set at rest the discussion regarding the names and dates raised on Wilford's imperfect transcript.3 In another inscription4 on the base of a statue of Buddha the ascetic found by General Cunningham in Buddha Gaya we have the name Mahipála and in the second line containing the date the following formula:—

"Parama bhattāraka, parama saugata, Sriman Mahipalā Deva pravarddhamana vijaya ráje (rājye?) * * dasame samvatsare,"

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

General Cunningham takes the names from the Amgāchhi plates and adds to them the name Deva Pāla from the Mungir plate and that of Sura Pāla from the Buddh pillar. He takes the date of the Sārnāth inscription as settled and allowing 25 years to each of the thirteen names in his list between Vigratha Pāla II. and Go Pāla, places the latter in 765 A.D. The rectification in the list due to the Bhāgalpur plate reduces the number of names and in addition the average of 25 years for each reign is excessive and even the 20 years given by Dr. Mitra is far too high. Allowing the 20 years to each reign assumed by Dr. Mitra and accepting the Sārnāth date we have the following result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Go Pāla</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>—— Pāla</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārma Pāla</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>Vigratha Pāla II.</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deva Pāla</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>Mahi Pāla</td>
<td>1015-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigratha Pāla I</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>Naya Pāla</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāryana Pāla</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>Vigratha Pāla III</td>
<td>1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Pāla</td>
<td>955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Arch. Rept. III. 182: the initial date of Go Pāla is given as 765 A.D. as p. 154 and as 850 A.D. at p. 160. J. A. S. Rept. XLVII, 1, 194.

1 Arch. Rept. III. 182: the initial date of Go Pāla is given as 765 A.D. as p. 154 and as 850 A.D. at p. 160. J. A. S. Rept. XLVII, 1, 194.

2 Idem, VII, 40: XXXIV, 1, 189; XLVII, 1, 402.
derived from a common original. The quaint list of officials to whom the grants are addressed has no parallel elsewhere. We find it, in a modified form, in the inscriptions of the Senas, the successors and in part the contemporaries of the later Pálas. In the Búkirganj

inscription of Kesva Sena (1136 A.D.) the following titles occur:—

‘Samupagatiseha rája rájanayaka rájinibálaka rájaputra
rájamaitya mahápurohitá mahádharmamádhyajná maháśandhiví-
grahiká maháśeendpati mahádauhásdhviká chárodvaraniká naubála
hastyasvagomahishájávikádi vydprita gaulmika dandapásika
dandanáyaka neyapatyddinanyánsa saikalardiyádhipajáv-
nodháya kesanodháya keshaparvaránsa oghítabhahattajátyán,
Bhúmanabrájshmanottaranscha.’

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

The short list of officials given in the grants of the Rá-

dhuní in the inscription of Rajas of Kanaúj has nothing in

common with these Pála lists and we have to look for their origin elsewhere. We think that this will be found in the influence of the Húnda revivalists from western India, for the beginnings and gérms of these lists are traceable from the Vallabhi grants of Gujrát onwards in western

inscriptions.3 The Gurava who was minister of the Pálas was a
Bhatta, a family who for generations were scribes of the rulers of
Gujrát and the Guravas are to this day in charge of the Saiva

temples in western India. The practice of dating in regnal years
was general in western India after the reign of Vikramáditya VI.

1075 A.D.), of whom Mr. Fleet observes that:—‘After his time it became the custom for his successors, as a rule, to date their inscrip-

1 Ibid., XLIII, 1.
2 Ibid., XLII, 227; dated in 1221 A.D.
3 Dhruvasena I has the title Dandasánayaka, Ind. Ant., IV, 107; see especially Guhasena’s inscription, ibid., p. 176, and the plate edited by Prof. Bhánákar in J. B. B. A. S., X, 72, and the Gujára grants of Dáda in Ind. Ant., VII,
31. In an inscription found at Soneí we find a grant of Pravara Sena, Raja of
Vákátaka, in which the form of the date of the grant is somewhat similar to that given in the Pándukewávar plates;—‘pravardhánáma rásíyasan iva te caktádáesam.
Prinsep translates this sentence, “in the eighteenth year of his reign,” but notes that it may mean ‘date of the growing (or current) reign’. Vákátaka lay be-
tween the Bay of Bengal and the Síri Bálá hills to the south of Haidarábád estes. The Jaina Merutunga mentions the ‘Víkhrama Rája rásíya-hála’ or
dynastic year of Víkrama which commenced 17 years earlier than the Víkhrama
tera or Rásíya-cámára: J. B. B. A. S., IX, 169; J. A. S. Ben., V, 726.
4 Ind.
Ant., VII, 129, 302; VIII, 102.
tions not in the Saka era but in the years of their reigns coupled with the name of the samvatsara of the particular year under reference.” This is not strictly in accordance with the Kumaon practice, but it is of a similar nature and is another link in the chain connecting Kumaon with western influences. The formula for the regnal year occurs in a Pāla inscription already noticed in exactly the same peculiar words as those used in the Pandukeshwar plates, but it is also the ‘standard formula’ in Chalukya grants¹ and occurs in one of Udyotaka Kesari Deva² of Kalinga. The form of dedication and the precatory verses at the end are common³ to all India. We have, however, the tribal name of the scribes the same in all the Pandukeshwar and many of the Pāla grants.

In addition there is the express statement that Dharma Pāla visited Kedār, a connection that was kept up by Deva Pāla, and it was in their time (the latter half of the ninth century) that these Pandukeshwar grants were inscribed. We are not without further evidence to show a connection between Bengal and Kumaon. The Senas,⁴ who followed the Pālas in Māgadhā, have left an inscription at the great temple of Jageswar beyond Almora, which though very imperfect allows the name Mādhava Sena to be read. The Rājas of Māgadhā are distinctly mentioned in the Nepāl annals as having made incursions into the hills. Go Pāla was probably the first to extend his dominion northwards and his conquest was confirmed and enlarged by Dharma Pāla, whose generous treatment of the vanquished in sending them back to their own country laden with presents was so unusual that the conquered when reflecting on the deed ‘longed to see him again.’ It is evident, therefore, that there was no permanent occupation of the country and instead a semi-friendly relation arose which was further cemented by the enlistment of followers of the Bengal Rāja in the service of the hill chief. It is to these circumstances that we owe the occurrence of the names of the hill-districts of Lāsātā and Bhot in the Pāla inscriptions. It may be suggested that all these records should be referred to an intrusive Bengāl colony settled in the Katyūr valley, but with existing materials this theory must be negatived.

There is little in the nature of records that can be relied upon to help us in ascertaining the time when the power of the Katyúris began to decline, but there are several traditions as to their dispersion which will aid us in estimating the causes of their downfall. One of these causes was the tyranny and incapacity of the later Katyúris. The curse pronounced on the family by Nar Sinha worked through them as the following story regarding Dham Deo and Bhir Deo will show:—"The revenue of the country was collected in kind and it was customary to give out a part of the grain brought into the Rája's treasury to be ground for the use of the household. Each village took its turn to prepare the flour, as a customary due to the State. The servants of the Rája, however, used to measure out the grain in the slightly indented bottom of the nditi\(^1\) turned upside down, but still called the grain given out a nditi. When the people brought back the grain ground, the Rája's officer spread at the foot of a great stone seven mats and then mounting on the stone, scattered the flour in the wind. The heavier particles fell on the mats near the stone and none but the very finest reached the seventh mat. Then coming down he collected the flour from the seventh mat and told the people to take away the rest as it was not fit for his master's use. Of this fine flour, moreover, they were obliged to give a quantity equal to the nominal weight of the grain that had been given out to them from the Rája's stores. The Rája used also to seize their sons and daughters as slaves and the taxation was on no system. In order to provide themselves with water from a favourite spring (Hatchina) some twelve miles from the palace, the Katyúris stationed slaves along the road, who remained there night and day and passed the water from hand to hand. Bhir Deo still further shocked the prejudices of the people by forcibly marrying his own aunt. He used to fasten iron rings on to the shoulders of the litter-bearers and pass through them the poles of the dandi,\(^2\) so that the bearers might not be able to throw him down a precipice; but wearied with his tyranny and profligacy two men were at last found patriotic enough to sacrifice themselves for the good of the people. They reflected that they themselves were ruined, their children were taken as slaves and life was not

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\(^1\) A measure in common use.  \(^2\) A litter in use in the hills.
worth living; so one day being pressed into service as litter-bearers, they flung themselves and the Rája over a cliff and so perished. After the Rája's death dissensions broke out amongst his family and each seized on a portion of the kingdom for himself, whilst the countries beyond Kumaon and Garhwal that had always paid tribute to the Katyúris threw off their allegiance." This account represents very fairly the state of the country at the time of the rising of the Chand family. We find then the Domkot Ráwat ruling in Káli Kumaon in subordination to a branch of the Katyúri family which had established itself in a fort on the Súí range. Another branch was settled in Doti, a third in Askot, a fourth in Bárahmandal, a fifth still occupied Katyúr and Dánpur, and a sixth had several settlements in Páli, chief of which were Dwára Hát and Lakhapanpur. The ruined temples and buildings in many parts of the country are attributed to these Katyúri Rájas. The low carved stone pillars in eastern Kumaon known as brih kumbh (vrihastambha) are also attributed to the same dynasty and are said to have been erected to mark the halts or encampments in the royal progresses. Batten writes that "some of these ruins, especially the chabútras and wells, are not without beauty, at least in their carving, and the great number of small temples even now standing, each as it were dedicated to a separate idol, and the quantity of idol images themselves which have been found in their precincts, show that the Katyúri Rájas were devout worshippers of the whole Hindu Pantheon. The shape of the buildings and the character of the sculptures are said to be similar to the architectural features observed in the south of India; in Bundelkhand and on the banks of the Nerbudda. From the account above given it will at once be seen that the dynasty of which we are speaking was of low-land origin, and that no signs of an aboriginal extraction are visible in its remains.)

As before the Muhammadan conquests of India, the rulers of a region so illustrious in the Shástras as the Himálaya mountains, being also by their position masters of the sacred sites at the various sources of the Ganges, may be supposed to have held rank equal with, if not superior to, the Rájas of Kátehír, or the country between the mountains and the Ganges now called Rohilkhand; and as, after the establishment of the Muhammadan
empire in Hindustán, the Kumaon Rājas were found in hereditary possession of the Tarāi by a tenure quite independent of any grant from low-land potentates, I see no reason for doubting that the Tarāi throughout its whole extent formed an integral part of the Katyūri Kumaon Rāj. That it also formed an important part may be assumed from the almost absolute necessity still existing, that a large portion of plain country should, if not attached to the hills, at least be available for the annual resort of the hill-men and their cattle (an occupancy which under native rulers could hardly be maintained without an actual right of property in the soil, and actual separate possession thereof by the hill powers); and from analogies drawn from the late and existing feeling in Nepāl in regard to the tract at its base. Beyond this all is conjecture regarding these ancient times, and the question whether Sambhāl and Bareli were then subject to Katyūr may be left for discussion when more accurate materials are available.

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

\textsuperscript{1}The Manurál and Kálakotí Rajpúts claim descent from the Katyúris.