CHAPTER III.

HISTORY.

CONTENTS.


In a previous chapter we have given a general sketch of the principal races of men inhabiting the Himálaya-Tibetan region. We have shown how their distribution, their character and their habits have all been affected by the physical circumstances of the country in which they live; how physical unfitness has retarded the diffusion of particular races, and how physical adaptation has encouraged it. The operation of these general laws is well exhibited in Kumaon and Garhwal. Here the entire tract between the snowy range and the plains of Hindustán is in its main physical characteristics Indian. The country which lies between the snowy range and the ghát-range or water-parting is on the other hand entirely Tibetan in its character. These statements are more especially true of the inhabited portions of the two regions. The mass of the population of the first-named tract is found in the valleys and the lower slopes of the mountains below an elevation of 6,000 feet. Here the climate is thoroughly Indian; a well-marked winter, almost entirely without snow, is followed by a summer of nearly tropical heat that is further succeeded by a season of periodical rain. The vegetation is semi-tropical in its character and the common agricultural productions are those of the plains of northern India. In the valleys beyond the snowy range, the Bhote of the inhabitants of the lower hills, we find

1 In this chapter it is intended to give only the general ethnography, reserving census and caste details and folk-lore for the notice of each district given hereafter. So far as possible matters affecting the Kumaon Himálaya will also be noticed, but much concerning other portions of the great range must be incidentally mentioned, for which the reader explanations may be obtained by following up the references given in the foot-notes.

2 Chapter 1, Vol. I.
ourselves under altogether different conditions. The heavy falls of
snow in the winter months give to the climate at that season an
even more than Tibetan rigour. The summer is always temperate
and the periodical rains fall only as moderate showers. The vege-
tation is scanty and sub-arctic in its character and the late spring
and early autumn restrict agricultural operations to one precarious
summer crop of a few of the hardier products of northern countries.
Precisely then as the climatal conditions of the Himálaya approach
those of India on the one hand or of Tibet on the other, so do we
find that the Hindu or the Tibetan element prevails among its
inhabitants.

In considering the origin and position of the races inhabiting
the Himálaya between the Tons and the
Sárda, it will be necessary to discuss the an-
cient geography, history and ethnography of the tract, for the ma-
terials for these really separate studies are one and the same and it
would lead to much useless repetition to separate them so as to make
each intelligible by itself. We shall therefore in the following pages
combine all that we have been able to gather regarding the early
history, geography and ethnography of the Kumaon Himálaya, and
although it may take us into what at first sight may appear to be
matters unconnected with our subject, a little reflection will show
that where the materials for positive deductions are wanting, we can
only arrive at some certainty by establishing negative propositions.
The Himálaya of these provinces is not an isolated tract separated
from the rest of the Himálaya to the west or from India on the
south by such physical or ethnographical boundaries as would give
it a peculiar character and would lead to a well-marked local history.
On the contrary though, as we shall see, it has a local medieval and
modern history; its earlier history must be looked for in the notices
that we possess regarding the western Himálaya as a whole, and it
is only after a careful and comprehensive view of those notices that
we can arrive even at the negative conclusions which are all that we
can expect to establish in the present state of our knowledge. It is
still, however, of some advantage to show that many of the existing
theories regarding the origin of the people of these hills are devoid
of foundations in fact and are otherwise impossible. We shall en-
deavour, therefore, to trace out every reference to this section of
the Himalaya and thus afford indications which in the absence of more precise information will enable us to form some conception of its position in history. We hope that it is hardly necessary formally to deprecate the criticism of those who have the inestimable advantage of access to great libraries and the society of the learned. The following pages simply profess to be suggestive notes on a comparatively virgin field in Indian archaeology and are the fruit of the leisure minutes, we may say, of an unusually laborious Indian official life. We shall leave to those most competent to decide the ultimate value of the results of our researches into Kumaon history; but, in any case, we believe that we have added something of permanent value to existing knowledge and leave to others the task of completing the work. The Hindu writers, though professing to give in many cases the geography and history of the countries known to them, have with an universal persistence disfigured their accounts with the most puerile and groundless stories and have so mingled truth and fiction that it is difficult in any case and impossible in most cases to distinguish facts from fables. With the exception of the Kashmir chronicles we are not aware of any writing that deserves to be called an historical composition, but none the less is it necessary to consult these records and endeavour to collect from them the historical indications that they still assuredly possess.

The great mass of the population in Kumaon and Garhwal profess a belief little differing from the orthodox Hinduism of the plains. The existing inhabitants belong to the Khasa or Khasiya race and speak a dialect of Hindi akin to the language of the Hindus of Râjputâna. All their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that although their social habits and religious belief are often repugnant to those who strictly observe the orthodox ceremonial usages of Hinduism, it is impossible for any one that knows them to consider the Khasas to be other than Hindus. There are several facts connected with their history that show, whatever their origin may have been, the Khasas have for centuries been under the influence of the Brahmanical priesthood. The shrines of Kedar and Badari are both within Garhwal and from time immemorial have been visited by crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India, whose enthusiasm for Hinduism must
with them as guides and purveyors. Again, many of these pilgrims took up their residence in the hills and leavened the manners and observances of the rough indigenous population. Many other immigrants arrived to take service amongst the petty princes of the hills or to receive their daughters in marriage, and thus we find a considerable sprinkling of families all through these hills who consider themselves one with the various castes in the plains whose tribal name they bear. To the north in the inter-alpine valleys of Bhot, we have a tribe of decided Tibetan origin and whose affinities are found in the trans-Himalayan tribes of Hundes. They are known as Bhotiyas by the people of the lower hills, who in turn are designated Khasiyas by the Bhotiyas, whilst the people of the adjoining portion of Tibet are known as Hunas or Huniyas. In addition to the tribes already enumerated there are the Rājis or Rāyas, the modern representatives of the Rājya-Kirātas and the Thārus and Bhukras of the Tarāi lowlands and traces of the Nāgas and Sakas, whilst others contend that we have here also old Bactrian (Yavana) colonies. For our present purpose it is only necessary to observe that there are, at the present day, three great divisions of the population, the immigrants from the plains, the Khasas and Bhotas. With regard to the first division we shall reserve the detailed examination of their individual claims to the local accounts of each district which will follow hereafter. Here we shall endeavour to ascertain who these Khasas, Bhotas, Hunas, Sakas, Yavanas, Nāgas, and Rājya-Kirātas were and what was their position with regard to the neighbouring tribes, a study that will necessarily lead us to consider the general history of ancient India wherever these names occur and much that might appear foreign to our purpose, but which bears materially on the conclusions to which we shall eventually arrive.

It is not often that the Hindu writers tell us much that we can depend upon regarding the peoples of ancient India, yet it may be gathered from them that at a very early period, the compilers of the sacred books possessed a considerable knowledge of the geography of these mountains. This knowledge, though veiled in the later works by a cloud of silly legends, is none the less real and, when stripped of the marvellous, can be verified, at the present day. In Vaidik times, when the
elements were worshipped, when the primal manifestations of nature absorbed the devotion of the Aryan immigrants, the noble range of the Himálaya fitly called 'the abode of snow,' was looked on as the home of the storm-god, the mother of rivers, the haunt of fierce wild beasts and more fierce wild men. It then received the homage justly due to it as the greatest and most formidable of all the mountain systems that the Aryans had met with and was finally declared to be the home of the gods. From the earliest ages, the great, the good, and the learned have sought its peaceful valleys to enjoy nearer communion with the deity. In the manuals of the later Pauránik records we find almost every hill and river reverently and lovingly described and dedicated to some one or other of the members of the great pantheon. Legends of the gods and saints and holy men adorn the story of each peak and pool and waterfall and give that realistic turn to the teaching of the earlier priesthood which appears to have been peculiarly adapted to the Hindu mind. "He who thinks' of Himáchal, though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Káshi. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind by the sight of Himáchal."

The sources of our information may be thus briefly indicated:—

Sources of Information.

First the Vaidik records. Max Müller assigns a date between 1200 and 1000 B.C. to the older hymns of the Rig-Veda;° Haug places their composition between 2400 and 2000 B.C.; and Duncker states that the immigration of the Aryas took place about 2000 B.C., and the origin of the oldest songs of the Veda cannot, therefore, be considered earlier than the sixteenth century before Christ. For the songs of the Mantra period containing the later hymns Max Müller gives 1000 and 800 B.C. as the date of their composition, whilst Haug and others place them between 2000 and 1400 B.C. The works of Müller's Bráhmana period include the Bráhmanas, Upanishads, Aranyakas, and similar writings chiefly expository of those of the preceding period which are included in the Sáhitás or collections of the four Vedas. To the Sátra period are assigned the six Vedántas

° From the śāstra-śāstra of the Skanda Puráña in Sir John Strachey's notes, to which also I am indebted for a paraphrase of a portion.

or branches of Vaidik exegesis and the Sūtras or redactions of
the ancient Śākhās containing aphorisms relating to sacrificial and
domestic duties and the like. These last belong to the Smriti or
traditional class. The epic poems or Itiḥāsas form the second
division and are represented by the Mahābhārata and the Rāmā-
yana. To the third division and latest in point of time belong the
Purāṇas and their continuations to the present day, including the
local collections of legends regarding the lives of the saints, the holy
places and the miracles performed there. From the earlier Vaidik
records we learn that the Aryas came from Central Asia and
established themselves on either bank of the Indus. The greater
number of the hymns of the Rig-Veda refer to this period of the
Aryan history and distinguish between the immigrants and the
aborigines. To the latter they give the generic name of Dasyu,
which subsequently included the non-Aryan tribes as well as those
of Aryan descent who separated from Aryan practices in matters of
religion and polity. The later Vaidik records indicate the gradual
advance of the Aryas to the south-east until we find them in the
Itiḥāsa or epic period occupying the whole of the upper Duāb.

The geographical indications in the Rig-Veda are of the most
meagre description and consist of the enum-
eration of certain rivers in the celebrated
‘hymn to the rivers’ and the names of a few tribes and countries.9
The rivers named show that the Aryas were then living in the tract
between the Indus and the Satljāj and were not well acquainted with
the region between the latter river and the Ganges. The rivers
Ganges and Drishādvati or Kaggr are named but once, the Saras-
vati and Jumna are only mentioned few times, but the Sindhu or
Indus is frequently referred to, and to it as ‘the most copious of
streams’ the river-hymn is addressed. In one verse, the other
rivers are asked to receive this hymn:—“Receive my hymn, O
Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutadri, along with the Parushni: listen,
O Marudvriha along with the Asikni and Vitasta; O Arjikyā along with the Sushoma." In the succeeding verse the Rasa, Sveti, Kubhá, Gomatí, and Krumu are mentioned as tributaries of the Indus. The Sutudri is the Satlaj; the Parushni is the Irávati or Ravi: the Marudvriha is the Chínáb after its confluence with the Jhelam; the Asikni is the Acesines or Chínáb, and the Vitasta is the Hydraespe or Jhelam. The names Arjikyā and Sushoma signify, according to Lassen, vessels used in the preparation of the Soma juice and are not the names of rivers. The Kubha is the Kophenes or Kábul river, the Krumu and Gomatí being the Kurum and Gomal rivers. The Sveti is the Swát river and the Rasa appears to be some other affluent of the Kábul river. The earliest seat of the Aryas in India is therefore the lower Kábul valley and the adjoining tract along the Indus, a place of which we shall have much to say hereafter. The knowledge of the Himálaya is confined to certain allusions to winter; thus in the Rig-Veda we have the prayer:—"May we rejoice living a hundred winters (satahímdāḥ) with vigorous offspring." In the Atharva-Veda the following passages occur:—"He whose greatness these snowy mountains (himavanto) and the sea with the aerial river declare." "May thy mountains be snowy (himavanto), O earth, and thy wilderness beautiful." Again in the same work the medicinal plant kushtha is said to be produced to the north of the Himavat and to be carried thence to the east. In the Aitareya-Bráhmaṇa the Uttara Kurus are referred to thus:—"Wherefore in this northern region all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat (called) the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras are consecrated to glorious rule." In a passage of the Kaushitaki-Bráhmaṇa it is written:—"Pathyā Svásti (a goddess) knew the northern region. Now Pathyā Svásti is Vách (the goddess of speech). Hence in the northern region speech is better known and better spoken and it is to the north that men go to learn speech: men listen to the instructions of any one who comes from that quarter, saying, 'he says (so and so),' for that is renowned as the region of speech.'" On this the commentator remarks:—"Language is better understood and spoken; for Sarasvati is spoken of (as having her abode) in Kashmir, and in the hermitage of Badariká (Badrináth in Garhval) the sound

1 Ibid, p. 332.  
2 Written by Sankhayana for members of the Kaushitaki Sáhā: see Müller, Aec. Sansk. Lit., 190, 846; Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 59.
of the Vedas is heard." So also Lassen:—"An account is to be found in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the sources of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This is, however, not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language." The medical treatise of Charaka makes the physician Bharadvaja a disciple of Indra and assigns to the neighbourhood of the Himalaya that gathering of sages out of which came the instruction of Bharadvaja by Indra. The treatise referred to has, according to Weber, \(^1\) "rather high pretensions to antiquity; its prose here and there reminds us of the style of the Srauta-sutras." From the later Vaidik records, therefore, we learn that as early as several centuries before the Christian era the shrine of Badari was celebrated as a seat of learning and as the abode of holy men.

We next turn to the names of the peoples known to the Vaidik writers. In a verse of the Rig-Veda Visvamitra asks:—"What are thy cows doing amongst the Kikatas? They yield no milk for oblations and they heat no fire," implying that they were a people who knew not Aryan rites. Again in the Atharva-Veda, in an invocation to Takman, the personification of itch, as Chachak Devi is now of small-pox, it is said that his abode was among the Muyavats and Mahávrishas. As soon as born he sojourned amongst the Bahlillas, and he is here desired to depart to the Gándhari, Muyavats, Angas, and Múgadlius. The Kikatas are elsewhere explained to be one with the Mágadhas or people of Behar. The Bahlillas are the people of Bálk; Gándhára is the tract around Peshawar, and the Muyavats are elsewhere explained\(^2\) to be a mountain tribe of the north-west frontier. In the Bráhmanas, the name 'Báhika' is applied to the tribes of the Panjáb generally, and it would appear that they as well as the Kámbojas, a frontier tribe to the north-west, spoke a dialect of Sanskrit, for Pánini, in his grammar, explains the dialectic differences between the speech of the Aryan and that of the Bahlillas and Yaska those between the Aryan speech and the language of the Kámbojas. There is also evidence\(^3\) to show that the people of Gándhára were in

\(^{1}\) *Ibid*, p. 258.  
\(^{2}\) *In the Mahábhárata*.  
\(^{3}\) *Muir*, II., 353.
the habit of holding intercourse and contracting alliances with the Aryas. From these indications Muir argues that:—“Although in individual passages of the Mahâbhârata hatred and contempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living along the Indus and its five great tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being regarded as of non-Indian origin.” * * * “The Indians distinguish not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Indus and the Hindu Kush into two classes: first those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandhâras, are in their estimation Indians; . . . . . but with the exception of the Kashmîras and some less known races these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the general freedom of their customs is regarded as a lawless condition.” And Weber1 similarly remarks:—“The north-western tribes attained their ancient customs which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influence of hierarchy and of caste which arose amongst the latter as a consequence of their residence amongst people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern Aryas obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions.” Thus we have three classes of inhabitants in Upper India, that branch of the Aryas to whom the composition of the Vedas is to be attributed; their brethren in race and language who did not follow them in the development of their religious system and the aboriginal tribes.3

The question remains as to who were Aryas and who were Dasyus. The primitive meaning of the word ‘Arya’ is still a subject of discussion. Some trace it throughout the Indo-European region in the ‘Airya’ of the ancient books of Persia; in the name ‘Ariana’ applied to the

1Quoted from ibid., 354. 2It may be well to notice here in what respect the tribes not belonging to the four classes, such as the Bâhikas and Khasas, offended the prejudices of the twice-born. One of the charges brought against them is the boldness and unchastity of their women, “who sing and danced in public, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands and perfumed with unguents.” Another charge is that they had no Vedas, no Vaidik ceremonies and no sacrifice. Again, a Brahman then becomes a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra, and eventually a barber. The aboriginal tribes would also seem to have been in the habit of burying their dead.1 Mr., II., 412, 413. 3Van der Gheyn, Les noms primitifs des Aryas. Procs. Historiques, 1880.
tract comprising Herát, Afghanistán, Khornsán, and Búfchistán; in the name 'Aryaka' (Irák); in the word 'Ariya' in the inscriptions of the Achaemenides; in the name 'Iran' in those of the Sassesides; in the 'Arioi' (Ossetes) of the Caucasus; in 'Argeia,' an old name of Greece; in the name 'Hermann' (Arminius) in Germany; and even in 'Erin,' the old name of Ireland. The meaning attached to the word in the earlier hymns of the Rig-Veda appears, however, to be 'light-coloured,' 'pale,' 'white,' as compared with the Dasyus or black Antioctones. Gradually as the Aryan forces advanced the word carries with it the meaning of free, noble, brave, masterful, wise, as opposed to the enslaved, debased, and ignorant Dasyus, and here we find the white-faced immigrants called collectively the Aryan 'varna,' or 'colour,' a word which is to-day translated by caste (baran). The Greeks also knew of this contrast between the dark and light coloured races of India, for Ktesias records that the Indians were white and black, and that he himself had seen several of the fairer race. The Dasyus are described as a black-skinned race who despised the rites and ceremonies of the Aryas, and again as goblins and demons inhabiting the forests and mountains of the frontier countries. In the Rig-Veda it is recorded that Indra, "armed with the lightning and trusting in his strength, moved about shattering the cities of the Dasyus," and the gods are prayed to "distinguish between the Aryas and those who are Dasyus:" "By these (succours) subdued to the Aryas all the hostile Dása people everywhere, O Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou enfeebles and destroy their power and vigour and put them to flight."—"Who delivered (us) from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful (god), didst avert the bolt of the Dása from the Aryan in (the land of) the seven streams."—"He who swept away the low Dása colour" (var-nam)—"scattered the servile hosts of black descent"—"conquered the black-skin." Again Manu writes that those tribes which are without the pale of the castes, whether they speak the language of the Mesoehhias or of the Aryan, are called Dasyus, and there is not

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4 Malz, Sana. Teste, II, 150: "katu dasya pra aryan varnan dact," slaying the Dasyus as protected the Aryan colour.
5 McCrindle's Kémas, p. 18.
6 Malz, I, c., 252.
7 The Dasyus had chiefs over each tribe, several of whom are named. They lived, indeed, were intelligent and knew the law, but did not adopt the Brahmanic ritual, especially the complicated system of sacrifices requiring the aid and presence of several priests. See Malz, II, passim.
wanting evidence to show that some of the opponents of the orthodox immigrants to whom we owe the Vedas were of their own colour or caste. In the hymns of the Rig-Veda we have addresses to Indra implying the existence of Aryan foes as well as Dasyus:—

"Do thou, heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes (our) Dása and our Aryan enemies"—"May we, associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dása and Aryan through thy effectual energy"

"Whatever ungodly person, Dása or Aryan, designs to fight against us, let these enemies be easily subdued by us." The Aryan tribes, we further learn, were divided into clans, each under its own Raja, and the newcomers pressed on the old settlers and fought with them. A formidable coalition of the Bharatas and others whose family priest was Visvámitra attacked the Tritsas on the Sarasvati, whose spiritual guides belonged to the family of Vasishtha, and we have the prayers of both priests invoking the aid of Indra in the coming battle. The Bharatas were defeated and the song of victory of Vasishtha shows us that the enemies against which his side fought were Aryas. In the Aitariya-Bráhmaṇa, the author, after quoting a saying of Visvámitra, adds—"Most of the Dasyus are descended from Visvámitra." Thus we see how certain Aryas who did not follow the orthodox guides became classed with the aborigines, and thus arises one source of the great confusion observed in the later ethnology. The system existing on earth was also transferred to the sphere of the gods, and here we find the Dasyu race represented by the Rákshasas, Dánava and Daitya, sometimes the rebellious subjects and sometimes the slaves of the deities. It is in the latter records that most details are given, but before proceeding further we will note the route by which the Aryas passed into Upper India. So late as 1840, Professor Denfey argued that most probably the Aryas dwelt for some time in little Tibet, near the sources of the Indus, before passing into India, and that the route adopted by them was through the passes along the Kumaon and Garhwal frontier to Indraprastha. In this view he was supported by Professor Weber as the only one consistent with the materials at their disposal. On reading through the Rig-Veda, however, both these eminent scholars abandoned this position and agreed in the result now generally accepted, that the Aryan tribes moved from Baktria into India by

1 Dasyu is connected with dāsa in the sense of 'slave'; Muir, ll. 287.
the Hindu Kush through the Kábul valley and across the Indus to the Sarasvati, the route that has been taken in every successive great invasion of India.

From the Sarasvati, the Aryas pressed on and occupied the upper Duáb, and it is here we find them in the Itihása period, when the Mahábhárata was written. The Uttara Kurus are now mentioned as living in Hari Varsha, as a people whom no one attempts to conquer and whose country is the home of primitive customs. In describing the condition of the southern Kurus it is said that “they vied in happiness with the northern Kurus.” In the Rámáyana, it is recorded that the Uttara Kurus are liberal, prosperous, perpetually happy and undecaying. In their country there is neither cold nor heat, nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun, a description which has been localised in Kumaon, but here agrees better with the tract to the north of the Kashmir valley. Lassen remarks that though the country of Harivarsha belongs to the region of mythical geography, the existence of the Uttara Kurus has a basis of geographical fact from (1) the way the country is mentioned

\[1\] *Ibid.,* 309, 337. Lassen writes:—“The diffusion of the Aryas towards the south, points to the conclusion that they came from the north-west from the country north of the Vindhyas, probably from the region bordering on the Jumna and the eastern part of the Panjáb. Their extension to the east between the Himálaya and the Vindhyas also indicates the same countries as their earlier seats. We find, moreover, evident traces of the Aryas in their advance from the north-west, having covered the earlier population of Hindustan and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another portion towards the southern hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Aryas themselves were the earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside: for the inhabitants of the Dakhin, like those of the Vindhyas range, appear always as the weaker or retiring party, who were driven back by the Aryas. We cannot ascribe to the non-Aryan tribes the power of having forced themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Aryan population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre of the country; but, on the contrary, everything speaks in favour of their having been originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period and of their having once occupied an extensive territory.” Again, he writes:—“There is only one route by which we can imagine the Aryan Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Panjáb and must have reached the Panjáb through western Kábulistán. The road leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kábulistán and the valley of the Panjhora or into the upper valley of the Indus, or from Gilgit over the lofty plateaux of Drésa down on Kashmir, road is now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist and do not appear to have been ever much or frequently used as lines of communication. We can only imagine the small tribes of the Dédas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindu Kush into their elevated valleys, but we cannot suppose the mass of the Aryas to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of ancient annals which are known to us have proceeded through the western nations of the Hindu Kush, and if we suppose the Aryan Indians to have come into India from Baktria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived.”
in the Vedas; (2) its existence in historical times as a real country, and (3) its being referred to as the home of primitive customs.

As regards the frontier tribes, the Mahābhārata mentions the conquest by the Pāndavas of “the Utsavasankatas, seven tribes of Dasyus, inhabiting the mountains.” Again, “Pākasásani conquered the Daradas with the Kámbojas and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region, as well as the inhabitants of the forest, with the Lohas, the farthest Kámbojas and the northern Rishikas.” Moreover, Saineya, the charioteer of Krishna, is said to have “made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kámbojas, Sakas, Savaras, Kirátas, Varvaras, destroying thy host. The earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus,” clearly intimating that the word ‘Dasyu’ is here a generic term denoting the whole of the tribes who are previously mentioned in this passage. The same record affirms their connection with the Aryas in the verses:—“These tribes of Kshattriiyas, viz., Sakas, Yavanas, Kámbojas, Dráviras, &c., have become Vrishnas from seeing no Brahmans.” This statement is repeated subsequently with the addition of the Mekalas, Látas, Konvasiras, Saundikas, Darvas, Chaubas, Savaras, Barbaras and Kirátas. Again the Yavanas are said to be descendants of Turvasu, the Vaibhojas to be sprung from Druhyu, and the Mlechchha tribes from Anu. The Mahābhārata thus not only uses the word ‘Dasyu’ as a generic term for the border tribes, but also makes these tribes to belong to the Kshattriya or warrior race. How it came to pass that these Kshattriyas lost their Aryan status is thus related:—“Satyavratas was degraded to the condition of a Chandála or outcast and called Trisanku on account of three sins (tri-sanku) of (1) killing a cow, (2) displeasing his father, and (3) eating flesh not properly consecrated. But on his repentance and feeding the family of Visvámitra during a twelve years’ drought, he was transported to heaven. His descendant Béhu was vanquished by the tribes of Haihayas and

1 Ptolemy describes Serica or China as surrounded by mountain ranges, the Amalbian, Aurasian, Astilman, Kassian, Thagarian, Emodus and another called Ottorokorres, and places the Ottorokorres southernmost of all near the Emodian and Serikan mountains. It was doubtless from the ancient legend quoted in the text that the Greeks derived their idea of the Hyperboreans, the people who lived a thousand years, a long and happy life, free from disease and care in a land all paradise: see McCrindle’s Ancient India, 24, 77.
Tálajhangas and died in exile. To him a posthumous son named Sagara was born, who nearly exterminated the Hāhayas and would have also destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas, had they not applied to their family-priest, Vasishtha, for protection. The priest desired Sagara to refrain from the slaughter of those who were as good as dead, for he had compelled the tribes to abandon the duties of their caste and all association with the twice-born, and Sagara thereon imposed on them peculiar distinguishing marks. He made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely, the Sakas to shave the upper half of their heads, the Pāradas to wear their hair long, and the Pahlavas to let their beards grow. He deprived them of all religious rites and thus abandoned by Brahmans, they became Mlechchhas.”

This instructive legend shows us that the writers of the Itihāsa and early Paurānik periods believed that these tribes had a common origin with themselves, though, as Muir shows, “they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from Brahmanical institutions: thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim.” In another passage of the Mahābhārata we have the statement that “in the region where these five rivers (Panchnad, Panjáb) flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bāhikas called Arattas.

The name of the country is Aratta; the water of it is called Bāhika, there dwell degraded Brahmans, contemporary with Prajāpati. They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by servile (dāsemītānām) Vrāṭyās. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Arattas, Khasas, Vasātis and Sindhusauvīras are nearly all very contemptible.” Here we have the Khasas associated with the tribes of the Panjáb, which would show a more westerly location than Kumaon.

The same record shows us that around Hastinápur, the seat of the Pandu rāj, were Dasyus variously known as Asuras, Daityas, Bhillas, Rákshasas and

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1 Assisted by the Sakas, Yavanas, Kābojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas, according to the Vāyu Purāna; Wilson, VIII, 290.
2 Wilson, VIII., 294, who notes that the Greeks commonly shaved a portion of the head; but it is doubtful whether they ever shaved the head completely. The Skythians shave the fore part of the head, gathering the hair at the back into a long tail, as do the Chinese. The mountainiers of the Himālaya shave the crown of the head, as do the people of Kāšmīr, with the exception of a single tuft. It is doubtful who the Pāradas are, except the assisants of the Brahmas may be assigned to them, and then the Pahlavas will be the Pāradas.  
In the Meerut district,
Nágas. The great Khândava forest in the valley of the Jumna near Indraprastha or old Dehli was occupied by the Nágas under their king Takshaka, who were expelled by fire and driven to take refuge in the hills. The Aryas continued their progress and preceded by Agni, the god of fire, occupied the whole country as far as the Sadá- níra or Gandak. We also read that Arjuna during his exile visited the holy places and at Hardwár met Ulúpi, the daughter of the Nága Rája Vásuki, whom he espoused. The same record gives a brilliant description of the city of the Nága Rája, that it “contained two thousand krores of serpent inhabitants; and the wives of all those serpents were of consummate beauty. And the city contained more jewels than any person in the world has ever seen, and there was a lake there which contained the water of life and in which all the serpents used to bathe.” Throughout the Mahábhárata the Himá- laya is considered holy ground, the well-loved home of the gods, where there were many places of pilgrimage (tirthas).

After the destruction of Dwáraka, when the Pándavas were told by Vyása that their power had departed and that they should now think of heaven alone, it was to the Himálaya that they retired. Placing Parikshit on the throne of Hastinápur and Yuyutsu in Indraprístha, “Yudhisthírás then took off his earrings and necklace and all the jewels from his fingers and arms and all his royal raiment; and he and his brethren, and their wife Draupadi, clothed themselves after the manner of devotees in vestments made of the bark of trees. And the five brethren threw the fire of their domestic sacrifices and cookery into the Ganges and went forth from the city following each other. First walked Yudhisthírás, then Bhíma, then Arjuna, then Náka, then Sahdeva, then Draupadi, and then a dog. And they went through the country of Banga toward the rising of the sun; and after passing through many lands they reached the Himálaya mountain, and there they died one after the other and were transported to the heaven of Indra.” From Kurmáchal in the extreme east near the Káli to Jamnotri and the Dún the wanderings of the Pán- davas are noted by some rock or stream commemorating some exploit or calling to mind some scene in the story of their travels. At Deo Dhútás, the grey granite boulders near the crest of the ridge are said to have been thrown there in sport by the Pándavas.
to the temple of Devi in the same place are two large boulders, the uppermost of which, called ‘Ran-sila,’ is cleft right through the centre by a deep fresh-looking fissure, at right angles to which there is a similar rift in the lower rock. A smaller boulder on the top is said to have been the weapon by which Bhima Sena produced these fissures and the print of his five fingers is still pointed out. Ran-sila itself is marked with the lines for carrying on the gambling game of pachisi which even in their wanderings the Pândavas could not abandon. They are also the reputed founders of the five temples to Siva as Kedáreswar and did penance at Pándukeswar close to Badarináth. All along the course of the sacred river are pools and streams, temples and rocks, sacred to the Pândavas and across the Ganges in Tihri, the course of the Jumna is in a lesser degree consecrated to their memory. At Bhimghora above Hardwár the priests show the imprint of the hoofs of Bhima’s horse, and they say that Drona, the preceptor of the Pândavas, resided in the eastern portion of the valley of Dehra Dún, the Drona-ka-asrama of the Kedára-khanda.

The law-book of the Mánavas is clearly in its present form the outcome of many hands at various times, but will be more conveniently referred to under the received title ‘Manu.’ It is still the great authority on the systematic ethnography and cosmogony of the Hindus, and affords us further evidence of the existence of the belief that the majority of the border tribes were regarded as of the same stock as the Aryas, but degraded members of it. It tells us that the references made in the Shástras to castes other than the four is merely “for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage.” Even the very lowest classes, such as the Nishádas and Chándálas, are derived from the miscegenation of the four castes. Like the authors of the Mahábhárata, Manu affirms that the Kshatriya tribes of Paundrakas, Odras, Draviras, Kámbojas, Yavanas, Sákas, Páradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kirátas, Daradas, and Khasas, became Vrshálas or outcasts from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no intercourse with Brahmans. Further, as already noticed, he declares that “all the tribes which by loss of sacred rites and the like have become outcasts from the pale of the four castes, whether they speak the language of the Mlecchhas or of the Aryas,
are called Dasyus." Here we have again the connecting link between the earlier and the later records and the natural explanation of the entire phenomena. As in Africa, at the present day, the tribes converted to Islam, leaving behind them their heathen practices, look with contempt and even hatred on their brethren in race who adhere to paganism, so the Aryas despised those of their race who remained content with the primitive belief which was once their common property and refused to accept the sacerdotal innovations, or who being of non-Aryan descent declined to accept the Brahmanical creed. The terms of abuse used towards these tribes by the priestly writers prove nothing more than the existence of the 'odium theologicum' which has burned fiercely in all climes and countries from the earliest dawn of history to the present day. The preceding extracts show that even in the most orthodox writings the Khasas are looked on more as heretical members of the great Aryan family than as outcast aborigines, and that from a very early period they have been recognised as an important tribe in Upper India.

According to the Mahabharata, Krishna visited the hermitage of Upamanyu in the Himalaya, where "the mongoose sports in a friendly fashion with snakes and tigers with deer." He also visited the Pandavas in their exile and is said to have himself, in company with Arjuna, lived a considerable time in Badari. Arjuna as Nara and Krishna as Narayana "mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance on the mountain Gandhamadana." There they were visited by the sage Narada, who "descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent Rishis," and there he remained with them for a thousand years. Again it is said that the Chakravarti Raja Dambholbhava, having an overweening conceit of his own prowess, visited Gandhamadana (Badari group of peaks) with his army and resolved to overthrow the Rishis. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambholbhava, however, resolved to attack them, when Nara took a handful of straws and scattering them to the winds so whitened the air and so filled the eyes, ears, and noses of the men of Dambholbhava's army that they fell at Nara's feet and sued for peace: referring doubtless to a snow-storm encountered by the
invaders. In another part of the same record Krishna is thus addressed:—“Formerly Krishna, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on Gandhamádana, where the Muni Sáyangriha was. * * Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari, a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garments thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen.” Badari is also called Siddháśrawa, ‘the hermitage of the perfect’, “where the illustrious Vishnu was perfected when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali.” Tradition states that Ráma performed austerities at Rikhikes, and his brother Lachhman at Tapuban, in order to wipe away the sin of slaying Rávana. The grammarian Vararuchi also visited the Himálaya and by propitiating Mahádeva obtained from him the materials for his Pániniya grammar.\(^1\) When near his death Vararuchi again retired to Badari, and “throwing off this mortal coil, resumed as Pushpadanta\(^3\) his seat among the brilliant spirits of heaven.” Gunádhya, brother of Pueh- padanta, followed his example and worshipped ‘the crescent-crested deity’ in his mountain home. It was here, too, that Sahasrániika, rája of Kausambhi, when wearied with the toils of state, spent his declining years in solitude and devotion.\(^3\)

We now come to the Pauránik period and find that the legends concerning the Himálaya have grown with the people, and that in the later development of Hindu mythology they occupy a much more important place. There is little doubt that the story of Mount Meru, the Olympus of the Indian gods, was suggested by the sight of the lofty summits of the Himálaya crowned with perpetual snow. In the geographical notices contained in the Puránas we have the traditional distribution of the countries and peoples then known to the compilers, and to their pages, amongst much that is puerile and absurd, we must look for the little further aid to our researches that can be derived from indigenous sources. Lassen\(^4\) writes:—“It is true that

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\(^1\) Wilson, III, 174.  
\(^2\) Ibid., 184: Badari is mentioned in the Pádma Purána as one of the celebrated Vaisnava tirthas where bathing is particularly enjoined. Pushpadanta was born as Devadatta, and from worshipping Mahádeva was thenceforward united with Jaya, daughter of Raja Sesaram, and retired in his old age to Badari. So also in the Vámana Purána the sacred character of the liaga at Kedár and Badarí is extolled: Ibid., VI, lxv.  
\(^3\) Ibid., III, 182.  
\(^4\) Mein, ii., 382.
we might be tempted to discover in the superior sacredness which they (the Aryas) ascribe to the north, a reference, unintelligible to themselves, to a closer connexion which they had formerly with the northern countries: for the abodes of most of the gods are placed to the north in and beyond the Himálaya and the holy and wonderful mountain of Meru is situated in the remotest regions in the same direction. A more exact examination will, however, lead to the conviction that the conception to which we have referred has been developed in India itself and is to be derived from the peculiar character of the northern mountain-range. The daily prospect of the snowy summit of the Himálaya glittering far and wide over the plains and in the strictest sense insurmountable, and the knowledge which they had of the entirely different character of the table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky and peculiar natural productions, would necessarily designate the north as the abode of the gods and the theatre of wonders; while its holiness is explicable from the irresistible impression produced upon the mind by surrounding nature. Uttara Kuru, the Elysium in the remotest north, may be most properly regarded as an ideal picture, created by the imagination of a life of tranquil felicity, and not as a recollection of any early residence of the Kuru's in the north. Such at least is true of the representation which we have of this country in the epic poems. It is, however, probable that originally, and as late as the Vaidik era, a recollection of this sort attached itself to that country, though in later times no trace of it has been preserved."

It is not difficult, therefore, to picture the Aryan immigrants arriving at the Ganges and sending some adventurous spirits to explore its sources. After traversing the difficult passes across the snowy range and the indolent table-land of Tibet, they discovered the group of mountains called Kailás¹ and the lakes from which flowed forth the great rivers to water and give life to the whole earth. The rugged grandeur of the scene, the awful solitude and the trials and dangers of the way itself naturally suggested to an imaginative and simple people that they had at length rediscovered the golden land,² the

¹ The name Kailás seems to be of Tibetan origin, which would apparently show that the Hindus discovered the country around Mánasthóvar after it had already been occupied by a Tibetan race.
² Hírana maya, Savarna-bhadra.
true homes of their gods whom they had worshipped when appearing under milder forms as storm and fire and rain in the plains below. In the course of time, Brahmical innovations caused the worship of Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya and the other Vādik gods to give place to a system where the intervention of a sacdotal caste between the worshipper and his creator was essential. The transfer to them new system of the localities already held sacred soon followed, and Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the triad of the new revelation, took possession of the Himālaya. In place of domestic worship offered by individuals for individual good and addressed to unreal presences, a highly ornate ritual was introduced administered by a consecrated class and addressed to visible types. It is in this later stage that we find Hinduism as described in the Purānas, so late indeed that the worship of Brahma had already almost become obsolete. In the Vedas,¹ “the one universal Being is of a higher order than a personification of attributes or elements and however imperfectly conceived, or unworthily described is God. In the Purānas, the only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Siva or Vishnu either in the way of illusion or in sport; and one or other of these divinities is therefore also the cause of all that is,—is, himself, all that exists.” The Purānas exhibit a sectarian fervour and exclusiveness not found in the Ramāyana and only to a qualified extent in the Mahābhārata. “They are no longer,” says Professor Wilson, “authorities for the Hindu belief as a whole; they are special guides for separate and, sometimes, conflicting branches of it; compiled for the evident purpose of promoting preferential or, in some cases, the sole worship of Vishnu or Siva.”

Before proceeding further with our subject, it will be convenient succinctly to describe here the Purānas which form the class of writings that give us the greatest details concerning the Himālaya. There are eighteen Purānas, compiled at various times by different hands.² The Vishnu Purāna which has been translated by Professor H. H. Wilson and edited by Dr. F. Hall is the principal and next to the Bhāgavata

¹ Wilson’s Works, VI., xiii : Gazetteer, II., 61.
is still regarded as the great authority on matters connected with their religion by large sections of the Hindu community. Both are compiled in the form of a dialogue in which some person relates the contents in reply to the inquiries of another. In the extracts hereafter given from the Skánda Purána, the narrator is Súta,¹ or properly 'a Súta' (i.e., a bard or panegyrist and pupil of Vyásá, the generic name for a compiler or editor). Each Purána is divided into khandas or books, which are again subdivided into chapters which often consist of máhátmyas or collections of local legends like the Mánasa-khanda and Kedára-khanda of the Skánda Purána noticed hereafter. Regarding this latter work, Professor Wilson writes:—"It is uniformly agreed that the Skánda Purána, in a collective form, has no existence and the fragments in the shape of samhitás, khandas and máhátmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the Purána, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number (81,100) of which it is said to consist." The more celebrated of these portions are the Káshi-khanda, giving a description of Benares, and the Utkala-khanda, giving an account of the holy places in Orissa. Besides these there are a Himavat-khanda devoted to Nepál, a Rewákhandha, a Brahmoottara-khanda and others. ¹ There are also several separate samhitás or collections. The máhátmyas are, however, the most numerous, and even Colonel Vans Kennedy thinks that they "have rather a questionable appearance." Many of the khandas, such as the Káshi-khanda, are quite as local as the máhátmyas, "being legendary stories relating to the erection of certain temples or groups of temples and to certain lingas; the interested origin of which renders them, very reasonably, objects of suspicion." Professor Wilson adds:—"In the present state of our acquaintance with the reputed portions of the Skánda Purána, my own views of their authenticity are so opposed to those entertained by Colonel Vans Kennedy, that instead of admitting all the samhitás and khandas to be genuine, I doubt if any one of them was ever a part of the Skánda Purána." ¹ ¹ "There are in all parts of India various compilations ascribed to the Puránas which ever formed any portion of their contents and which, although offering, sometimes, useful local information and valuable as preserving local

¹ Wilson's Works, VI, xviii.
popular traditions, are not, in justice, to be confounded with the Puránas so as to cause them to be charged with even more serious errors and anachronisms than those of which they are guilty.” The Skánda and Brahmánda Puránas are those to which the majority of the modern fabrications have been attributed by their authors who have “grafted personages and fictions of their own invention on a few hints from older authorities.” They retain the form of the genuine Puránas, the dialogue and many of the stories giving them the local colouring necessary for the particular object in view. “Still,” as I have elsewhere said, “imperfect as they are, and disfigured by absurd stories and interpolations of later times, the Puránas with the great epic poems, are the chief amongst the few historical records we possess of any antiquity to assist us in compiling an account of the heroic age.”

We shall now briefly refer to the geography of the Puránas. The fashioning of the earth commences with the chapter on cosmogony and is here closely connected with the geography of northern Kumaon and the adjoining part of Tibet. One account of the creation of the earth relates how Vishnu, in his boar incarnation, supported the earth on his tusks as it was about to sink into the waters and then fixed it on the thousand heads of the king Ananta; whilst another likens the earth to a lotus, the stalk of which springs from the navel of Vishnu as he lies asleep at the bottom of the ocean. The world was then in chaos and Brahma arose and formed the seven great island continents:—Jambu, Plaksha, Sabalma, Kusa, Krauncha, Suka, and Pushkara, separated from each other by the seas. Jambu-dwipa is again divided into nine varshas or regions and in the centre of all is the glorious mountain of Meru, of various colours: on the east it is white like a Brahman; on the south it is yellow like a Vaisya; on the north it is red like the dawning morn or a Kshatriya, and on the west it is dark.

1 Colonel Wilford in exposing the forgeries of his own pandit who had fabricated a mishoa for each of these Puránas calls the Skánda, Brahmánda and Pádma Puránas the “Puránas of thieves and impostors.” As. Res. VIII. 352.
2 Compare Ward, I. 3; Wilson, VI. 39. To the present day the local theory regarding earthquakes is that they are due to Vishnu changing his burthen from one task to another.
3 It is said that all the islands except Jambu have perished. Between Jambu and Plaksha is the salt sea; between the latter and Sabalma, a sea of sugarcane juice and then a sea of wine, of clarified butter, of ghee, of milk, and of fresh water.
4 Compare the existing Tibetan appellations:—Gya-mon, the great black or China; Gya-gyar, the great white or India; and Gya-ter, the great yellow or Russia.
like the dry leaves or a Sudra. Meru is circular in shape and forms the germ of the lotus. It stands on the most elevated portion of the central division of Jambu known as Ilavrita. South of Meru the Nishadha mountains separate Ilavrita from Harivarsha; south of the latter, the Hemakúta divides it from Kimpurusha, and further south the third or Himavat range forms the boundary between Kimpurusha and Bhárata. Similarly three ranges of mountains form the boundaries of countries on the north. First come the Nila range between Ilavrita and Rúmyaka on the north; then the Sweta mountains bordering the country of Híranmaya where there is much gold; and again the Sringin range separating Híranmaya from the country of the Uttara Kúrús. All these names would lead us to believe that the writers had the country to the north of the Kashmir valley in view, though the names subsequently mentioned are clearly connected with upper Garhwl and Kumon. To the east of Ilavrita lies the country of Bhadrásva and to the west the country of Kétumála. Four mountains form buttresses to Meru; on the east is Mandara; on the south Gandhamádapa or Merumandara; on the west Vipula or Kumuda, and on the north Su- párswa. On each of these stands severally a kadám-tree (Anthoce- phalus cadamba), a jambu-tree (Eugenia Jambolana), a pipul-tree (Ficus religiosa), and a nyagrodha-tree (Ficus indica). There are also four great forests and four great lakes, the waters of which are partaken of by the gods and which are called Arunoda, Mahábhādra, Ásitoda, and Mánasa. The last is the Mánasa-sarovara of the

1 In the shape like an inverted cone.
8 For a long description of each lake from the Váyu Puráña see Wilford in “Ann. Bea., VIII., 286. According to him the Puráñas place a great lake called Sindu-sarvendra to the north of Mánasa-sarovara, and but for its distance it might be identified with the Bawar Hrad or Bákhas Tíl, the Cho Lagan of the Tibetans which adjoins and is connected with Cho Máphán. On the Chinese map of India O-neou-tohl is given as the name of lake Mána and the Gangri range has the same name. In the Ceylonese books it is called Anootád. The Arunoda lake or ‘lake of the dawn,’ which is said to lie east of Mánas, may be the Cho Konkyn or Gungyut-cho, smaller but similar to the others, which lies near the source of the Brahmaputra. To the west of Mánas is the Sitoda lake, from which issues the Apara Gandaki or ‘western Gandak,’ identified by Wilford with the Chakhu or Orus: so that this lake must be the lake of the Pámir, but is more probably the Cho Moríri, the source of the western Sátíaj. The Mahábhādra lake in the north may be identified with one of the lakes of the table-land. There appears to be a mingling of facts true of the country to the north of Kashmir with facts true of the country north of Kumaon in these accounts. In some Meru clearly indicates the group of mountains to the north and west of Káshmir, and in others those in the neighbour-hood of lake Mána.
Hindus and Cho Mápán of the Tibetans, of which more hereafter.

Meru in its widest sense embraces the elevated table-land of western Tibet between Kailás on the east and the Mustágh range on the west and between the Himavat on the south and the Kuen-luen range on the north. "It lies between them like the pericarp of a lotus and the countries of Bhárata, Ketumála Bhadráswa, and Uttara Kuru lie beyond them like the leaves of a lotus." In the valleys of these mountains are the favourite resorts of the Siddhas and Cháranas and along their slopes are agreeable forests and pleasant cities peopled by celestial spirits, whilst the Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Daityas, and Dánavas pursue their pastimes in the vales. "There, in short, are the regions of Swarga (Paradise), the seats of the righteous and where the wicked do not arrive even after a hundred births, * there is no sorrow, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor apprehension; the inhabitants are exempt from all infirmity and pain and live in uninterrupted enjoyment for ten or twelve thousand years. Devi never sends rain upon them, for the earth abounds with water. In those places there is no distinction or any succession of ages." This account agrees well with Homer's description\(^1\) of Olympus in the Odyssey, vi., 42:—

"Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
Repose for ever in secure abodes:
No stormy blasts abhastre those summits sweep,
No showers or snows bedrew the sacred steep;
But cloudless skies serene above are spread
And golden radiance plays around its head."

The accompanying figure\(^2\) represents the worldly lotus floating upon the waters of the ocean which is surrounded by the Suvarna-Brúmi or land of gold and the mountains of the Lokalokas and is in

\(^1\) Quoted by Mair, II., 300. The same idea is familiar to us in the Scotch song, the "Land o' the Lèn":—

"There's nae sorrow there, Jean;
There's neither care nor care, Jean,
The day is ae fair 't the land o' the Lèn."

accordance with the theory expressed in the Bhāgavata and Brah-
mānda Purāṇas:—

On the summit of Meru is the city of Brahma and, like filaments
from the root of the lotus, numerous moun-
tains project from its base. Within Meru
is adorned "with the self-moving care of the gods, all beautiful; in
its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven; in its petals, I say,
they dwell with their consorts. There reside above Brahma, god
of gods, with four faces; the greatest of those who know the Vedas,
the greatest of the great gods also of the inferior ones. There is
the court of Brahma, consisting of the whole earth, of all those who
grant the object of our wishes: thousands of great gods are in this
beautiful court: there dwell the Brahmarishas." All repre-
cities of the Lokapālas or guardians of the eight regions.
east, Indra sitting upon a vimāna, resplendent like a thousand suns; in the second interval between east and south is Agni or Jivani, from whom sprang the Vedas. In succession comes Vaivasvata-Yāma called by mankind Su-Sanyāma, Virupaksha, Varuna also called Subhāvati, Vāyu called Gandhāvati, Mahodaya and Isāna. According to the Vishnu Purāṇa, the city of Brahma is enclosed by the Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies and after encircling the city divides into four mighty rivers flowing in opposite directions. These rivers are the Sita, which passes through the country of Bhadrāswa; the Alaknanda, which flows south to Bhārata; the Chakshu, which traverses Ketumāla, and the Bhadra, which washes the country of the Uttarā Kurus. Other Purāṇas describe the detention of the Ganges in the tresses of Śiva until set free by king Bhagirath and escaping thence formed seven streams:—the Nalini, Hlādini, and Pāvani going east; the Chakshu, Sita, and Sindhu going west; and the Bhagirathi going south. The Sita is supposed to flow from an elephant’s head, the Alaknanda from a cow’s head, the Chakshu from a horse’s head, and the Bhadra from a lion’s head, and they are so represented on the Chinese map compiled in the fifteenth century to illustrate the travels of Chinese pilgrims in India which will be found in the pocket to this volume. Wilson would identify the Bhadra with the Obi, the Sita with the Hoang-ho, the Alaknanda with the Ganges, and the Chakshu with the Oxus, and this may be what is intended, for according to Chinese accounts, the Sita or Yarkand river, which flows into Lob-nor, is supposed to have an underground connection with the swamps near Kokonor, which form the head-waters of the Hoang-ho. As a matter of fact the local traditions identify the Bhadra with the Indus or ‘lion-river,’ the Sing-chin-kamba (or kampa) of the Tibetans on the north; the

1 Here clearly in order the Hoang-ho, Alaknanda, Oxus, and Indus.

2 VII, 122, 173.


4 Herbert obtained the same Tibetan names in 1819, As. Res. XV. In the great Chinese map prepared by order of Khiam-jeong, the four corners or gates of the Mànla lake are called the lion, elephant, horse and ox gates: Sing-pochel on the east, Ghiès-e-po on the south, Arche on the west and Singpo-ko on the north. The Purnâkropât gives the names Sing-pi-kuan or Sing-pi-khamka or Sing-pi-kho to the Indus; Langka-khama to the Salt; Tsen-jam-khua to the Brahmaputra and Sing-pi-khan to the Karnâl. Kronek (V., 419), in 1821, calls the Indus at its end the Sing-khan, and again (V.4, 411) writes—“The great eastern branch of the Indus is formed in the country the Sing-the-shak, the river that issues from the mouth in reference to the Tibetan notion—borrowed perhaps from As, of the origin of four-gates rivers from the mouths of as many
Chakshu with the Brahmaputra or 'horse-river,' the Tamgyab-kamba of the Tibetans on the east; the Alknanda with the Satadru or Satlaj or 'bull-river,' the Lang-chin-kamba of the Tibetans on the west, whilst the fourth river is the Karnali or Mapchu-kamba or 'peacock-river' on the south. All these rivers take their rise in the Mána and Rákhás lakes or in the mountains near them known as Kailása by the Hindus.

A volume might be written on Meru alone, but we must return to our geographical investigations and first to the sub-divisions of the island-continent Jambu. It was Agnidhra who, according to the Vishnu Purána, divided Jambu into nine portions amongst his nine sons—Nábhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilávrita, Ramya, Harívat, Kuru, Bhadrásva, and Ketumála. Nábhi received the country called Híma south of the Himavat mountains and was blessed with a son named Rishabha, whose eldest son was Bharata, after whom the country was named Bhárata. This is the name therefore of the country to the north of the salt sea and south of the snow mountains which is described as again divided into nine subordinate portions, viz.,—Indra-dwípa, Kaserumat, Támravarna, Gabhastimát, Nága-dwípa, Saumya, Gándharva, and Váruna and the ninth unnamed.1 It has seven main chains of mountains:—Mahendra (in Orissa); Malaya (southern portion of western gháts); Sahya (northern portion of the western gháts); Súktimát; Rikha (in Gondwána); Vindhya and Páripátra (northern and western Vindhayas). Amongst the rivers mention is made of the Satadru (Satlaj) and Chandrabhága (Chináh) as flowing from the Himavat. The Váyu

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1 This unnamed portion is called the Rátká in the Frölkshäma and Rámká in the Puráns and the Sáṃskára text, but it is known as the Rátká in the Mahábhárata and the Puráns.
Purána adds a number of inferior mountains and gives the following as the rivers of Himavat:—Ganga, Sindhu, Sarasvati, Satadru (Satlaj), Chandrabhága (Chináb), Yamuna (Jumna), Sarayu (Sharju), Airavati (Ravi), Vitasta (Jhelam), Vipása (Biás), Devika (Ghágra), Kuhu, Gomati (Gumti), Dhutápápa, (old junction of Kaggar and Satlaj), Báhuda, Drishadvati (Kaggar), Kausíki (Kosi), Vritiya, Nirvira, Gandaki (Gandak), Ikshu (affluent of the Brahmaputra), and Lohita (ditto).

In the Brahmánda and Váyu Puránas we have favorable examples of a more local and detailed geographical description and are able to identify many of the places referred to. It will, however, be only necessary to give the text of a portion as an example. The first extract is from Wilford's translation of the Brahmánda Purána, in which the following account of the streams that flow from Meru is given:

"The water of the ocean coming from heaven upon Meru is like ānvita, and from it arises a river which through seven channels encircles Meru for a space of eighty-four yojanas and then divides into four streams springing over the four sacred hills towards the four cardinal points. One stream goes over Mandara in the east and encircles the beautiful grove of Chaitraráth and falls into the Arunoda lake and goes thence to the mountains of Sitaánta, Sumanta, Sumanjas, Madhyavanta to Vaikanka, Mani, Rishabhha, from hill to hill. It then falls to the ground and waters the country of Bhadrásy, a beautiful and extensive island, and then it joins the eastern ocean near the Purva-dwipa or eastern island. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádána from hill to hill and from stone to stone. It encircles the forest of Gandhamádána, or Deva-nandana, where it is called the Alakananda. It goes to the northern lake called Mánasa, thence to the king of mountains with three summits, thence to the mountains of Kalinda, Šuchaka, Nishadha, Tamrābhā, Śvetodara, Kumula, 'another king of hills' Vasudhára, Hemakásá, Devasingha, the great mountain Pachakháta, the five-peaked Panchakháta, thence to Kallása and the Himavat, and then this very propitious stream falls into the southern ocean. Mahádeva received it on his own head from which, spreading all over his body, its waters are become most efficacious. It falls then on Himáshal, from which it goes over the earth: hence its name Ganga. To the west (apra) is a large river enclosing the forests of Vaikinkála. It is most propitious and falls into the lake Sítoda. Thence it goes to the Śiwallaka mountains and to the Parunoda lake, to the mountains called Śikála, Śikávalókaya, Kapila-Gandhamádána, Pljara, Kumuda-madhunána, etc."

1 The range near the confluence of the Chand and the Bhíga.
2 The Bhíga group in upper Garwhal.
3 The range is called the Ganges valley.
4 The range is called the Bhúja group.
5 The range is called the Chandra and the Bhíga.
6 There is a stream and mountain with these names will be Trikáti. I take it that nearly all these situations refer to the Kumaon Himalaya and are local.
Anjana, Mukéta-kriṣṇa, Sweta filled with large snakes, to the thousand-peaked mountain, the Párjñáta mountain, through Ketumála, a large country, and then falls into the western ocean. North from Meru there falls a branch called Bhadra and Bhadré-soma upon Sūparava of gold, which it encircles and goes to the lake called Sitodaka in the forest of Bhadré-somas. Thence to the mountains of Sankha-kúta, Viśha-vatá, Nila, Kapinjal, Indranila, Mahánila, Hemarrisona, Sweetainga, Sumága, the mount with a hundred peaks, Puskaraka, Durja-rája, Varáha, Mayúra and Játudhi. After eroding a thousand lesser hills it goes to the three-peaked mountain called Viśbuddha and then into the northern country to the Gaṇhámádána. Along the banks of the Apara-Gandíka or western Gandak is the country of Ketumála, renowned for men mighty in deeds strong and powerful, and for women bright as the lotus, whom to see is to love. There is the great panasa tree¹ and there resides Iśvara.² The eastern Gandak is in Bhadráswa.³

In the Brāhma Puráṇa it is said that Viśnu resides in Bhadráswa with the countenance and the head of a horse: in Bráharta with the head of a tortoise (kúrma): in Ketu-mála with the head of a boar (varáha): and in Kuru with the head of a fish (matsya). The Váyu Puráṇa describes the country to the west of Meru as containing numerous valleys divided by ranges of hills.

About the mountains of Subaksha and Sikhisália is a level country about a hundred yojanas in extent and there the ground emits flames.⁴ There is Viśhávasa or Vassu simply who presides over the fire burning without fuel. Within the mountain is the Mátu-linga, ten yojanas broad, and there is the hermitage of Viśvanáta. Like these two mountains the Kumuda and Anjana (black) ranges also enclose a valley between them.⁵ Between the great mountains Kríṣṇa and Pándura is a level country enclosing a valley abounding with the lotus called Ananta-sada.⁶ Between Sankha-kúta and the Viśakabha mountains is the Parsháka country, the abode of Kinnaras, Uragas, Nágas, and holy men. Between Kapinjal and Nága-sálá is a tract adorned with many groves. It abounds with fruits and flowers. The Kinnaras and Uragas with tribes of pious and good men live there. There are beautiful groves of dráksa (vīca), nágaraŋga (orange) and badari (stone-fruit) trees. The portion lying between the Pushpaka and Mahánagha mountains is as flat as the palm of the hand, devoid of trees and with very little water which is whitish. The soil is hard and tenacious and even

¹ As. Res. VIII., 354. The jack-tree, which does not grow in the hills; but neither does the badari or jujube grow near Bada-rinátha, which is said in many descriptions to possess a tree of surpassing size and assigned to various species, pipal, bérpad, badari, and here the jack.² Viśnu as Iśvara.³ Can only refer to Jwála-mukhi in the Kangra valley, with its celebrated Salva shrine.⁴ Some connect the Kumuda mountains with the Comedi of Ptolemy; and if so with the Kaśihára valley. In the Brahmándá Puráṇa, the country of Keśa is said to contain the Kumuda mountains and is hence also known as the Kumuda-dwipa. It contained the Kumudávatí river, probably the Kuna river, and amongst its inhabitants were the Saka and Bárśikas and Súkanakaśi, etc., the Indo-Skythic rulers of Kipin, Persians and the Sádian.⁵ The valley of Kasmir is still locally assigned to a Nágá race.
without grass. There are few animals and the few inhabitants have no fixed habitation. The whole country is called Kāna or Kānana. There are several large lakes, likewise great trees and larger groves called Kānta. There are caves here in the mountains most dreary and dark, inaccessible to the rays of the sun, cold and difficult of access. In this country are Siddhas or prophets with the gift of miracles and learned and famous Brahmana. The next mountains are those of the Sitānta range, many yeojanas in extent, abounding with all sorts of metals and gems. It is skirted by a most delightful country, well-watered and enlivened with the harmonious noise of the black bee and frog. There are towns with gates and the refreshing moisture of this country proceeds from Urupe and resorting together forms a stream called the Vāha of the moon or Chandravāha.

There amongst immense caves is Kridāwana and the great forest of the Pārijāta tree of the kings of the gods. There live the Siddhas and Yakshas in caves. To the east is the Kumuda peak with the eight towns of the proud Dānavas. Again in the many-peaked mountains of Vajraka live strong and terrible Bākrshas who are also called Nilakas. In Mahanila are fifteen towns of the Hayānās or Asvanakaśas, the horse-faced. They were originally Kinnaras courageous like Kārttikeya. There are fifteen chiefs of the Kinnaras elated with pride, and in caves below the ground abide people like snakes who live upon the golden stamens of certain flowers. In the hills above are a thousand abodes of the Dātyas; the houses are elegant like high-embattled forts. In Venumata are three forts belonging to the Romakas, Unakas and Mahānetras, three principal tribes of the Vidyādharas whose mighty deeds equal those of Indra.

On Vakanka reside the offspring of Garuda, the destroyer of serpents; they abound with precious metals and precious stones. A strong wind swiftly passes over this mountain, in a human form, called Segrīva. The offspring of Garuda in the shape of birds fly about this mountain: they are strong, fly quickly and mighty are their achievements. On Karaja always resides the mighty lord of living beings, riding upon a bull: hence called Vrishabhānaka Sankara, the chief of Yogis. The inhabitants like Mahādeva always carry poison about them: they are Pramathas and difficult of access. Mahādeva resides there amongst them. On Vasadhara in Vasumati are the akas or places of the eight forms of Mahādeva. They are full of splendour and proper places of worship. There are seven places of Siddhas and the place of Brahma of the

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1 This can be no other than Blאר, including Kuma, the Kuma of the Tibetans and still celebrated for its vine, oranges and apricots. The inhabitants were called Kinnaras, Aśāś Kinnara. 2 The Chandra and the Bṛha, which unite to form the Chandrabhāga. 3 The noble forests of deodāra which form such a feature of this part of the country. 4 This may refer to the strikingly tower-like structures in the upper valleys towards Balti and Ladik. 5 From the Vishnu Purana (Hall’s Wilson’s V. P., II., 1885) we learn that Vasumati was son of Jayousana, king of Kuma, the Hind-Indus country which was bounded by the Sati-country. The name Vidyādharā or “magical-knowledge” is to be a name applied to many of the hill-tribes who were supposed to possess magical powers. It is especially noted as a character of the people of the Atu valley, and the Romakas may possibly be represented by the “Bomas” of the Kāndara. The Nilaka is probably Kumānir. 6 Elsewhere this land is called Deva-śāla peopled by men as well as birds and huns in the Dwiya Bhāsāni. One tribe of these Gandharvas was called Agnayeś, servants of Yuvana, whose principal employment was to carry the jewels of the earth in search of wealth. Can these be the Agna grief of India so well known in these hills?
Four faces, the mighty lord of created things, on a high peak to which all living creatures bow. The eleven Rudras reside there on the Gaja-saila. Sumegha, the mount of the beautiful cloud, is full of minerals, with caves in its bosom and groves along its skirts. Here dwell the twelve Adityas and the eight forms of Rudra, also Vishnu, the Asvins and the good and perfect who are continually worshipped by the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras with their king Kapinjasa. On the five-peaked Anala, reside Rakshasas with Dānavas haughty, foes of the gods, great, strong and of mighty deeds. On Sataasinga or the hundred-peaked range reside the beneficent Yakshas and on Tamrabha is a town inhabited by the children of the snake race; Kádruvyeas and Takshakas. In the beautiful Vísákcha are many caves and the famous abode of the god Kárttikeya. A town and settlement of the beneficent Sunábha, son of Garuda, occurs on Swetadara. On the Paisáchaka mountain is a settlement of the Kuveras with a great palace to which the Yakshas and Gandharvas resorted. Kinnaras reside on Kumuda; Mahánágas en Anjana; the towns and white houses of the Gandharvas are seen on Krishna and on Sweta or Pándura, the battlefronted town of Vidyádhara Daityas and Dānavas reside on the range with a thousand peaks. On Sukútá reside the chiefs of the Pannágas; on Pushpaka many tribes of sages; on Supaksha or Subaksha are the mansions of Vaivasvata, Soma, Váyu and Nágrája, and there the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Nágas and Vidyádhara worship their favourite deity.

From these statements we learn that the hill tribes to the west of Kumaon were Kinnaras, the ancestors of the Kunets of the present day and Yakshas or Khasas, that there were Nágas in Kashmir and Vidyádhara in the Swát valley, as well as Siddhas, Gandharvas, Dānavas and Daityas, names applied to various hill tribes, or perhaps more correctly to sections of those tribes following certain avocations. The name Vidyádhara is commonly applied to the people of the Kusa-dwipa, which is to be identified with the mountainous tract between the Indus and the Hindu-kush and which was bounded externally by Saka-dwipa, which may be assigned to Kipin or the Kábul valley occupied by Sakas in the first century before Christ. Through Sir John Strachey we are enabled to give a paraphrase of a portion of the section of the Skánda-Purána known as the Múnasa-khanda. It occurs in the usual form of a dialogue between Súta, a pupil of Vyása, and Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, the Pándava ruler of Hastinapur, and professes to relate what was formerly communicated by Vyása to Vásishtha. In form and often in verbiage it follows the model of the older Puránas and minutely describes the country from the lake Múnasarowar in Tibet to Nanda Devi and thence along the course of the Pindár river to Kamprayág.
From this point the narrative touches the Dhanpur range and thence to the Râmganga and Kosi as far as the plains. Then along the foot of the hills to the Kâli, which it follows northwards, winding up in the hills a little to the east of the Karnâli. Notes are given explaining all the allusions and identifying most of the places mentioned. The writers have transferred many of the names of rivers celebrated elsewhere to comparatively unimportant streams in the vicinity of celebrated tirthas, and these have in many cases been forgotten or have existed merely as literary fictions known only to the educated few; hence one of the main difficulties in identifying the names given here. The work itself is very popular and is deeply interesting as showing the form in which the actual living belief of the people is exhibited.

MÁNASA-KHANDA.

Introduction.

Janamejaya addresses the Sûta1 and says that he has received an account of all other matters, but desires to hear of the creation of the world and its state subsequent to that event and the mâyâyas of the great tirthas.2 Sûta, in reply, relates that when Brahma formed the desire that the universe should be created, he instantly assumed the visible form of Vishnu.3 The whole universe was covered with water on which Vishnu floated sleeping on a bed which rested on the serpent Sesa (or Ananta). From his navel sprang a lotus from which issued Brahma; from his ears sprang the two Daityas, Madhu and Kaitabha,4 who attacked Brahma. Then Brahma demanded help from Vishnu, and Vishnu fought with the Daityas for five thousand years. Then the great illusion (Mahâmâyâ), the supreme will or desire of Vishnu, made the Daityas submit, and they told

1 See page 281. 2 Places of pilgrimage. 3 For a more detailed account of the creation according to Hindu writers, see Muir's Works, IV., and Wilson, 3.4 In the Vishnu Bhârata we read that when Brahma sprang from the lotus produced from the navel of Vishnu, "two horrible Daimons, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahâdeva) wielding the trident and three-eyed." In the Purânas the Mahâmâyâ of the Varaha Purâna, Durga is identified with the Mahâmâyâ of the story in the text; Muir, IV., 290, 493. Madhu is said to have given his name to Madura (Mettir), formerly called Madhupurâ, and his son Kavana was conquered there by Sâtrag JANASA. The derivation of the name Madhura from 'mahu,' a current, is, however, also advanced.
Vishnu that they admired his power and would obey whatever orders he gave them. His order was that they should die by his hand, and he then killed them with the chakra called Sundarshana. From the marrow (meda) of these Daityas was formed the world. Then Vishnu, in the shape of a tortoise, placed himself to support the earth and raised it out of the water. Then Vishnu desired Brahma to create all that the world was to contain.

Brahma first created the three spheres of the earth, the sky, and the heaven; then he divided the earth into nine portions (khaivas) and created wind and sound and time, past, present, and future, and work (karma) and desire and anger; then he created seven Rishis, and from anger he created Rudra. Thus were formed the three great deities: the duty of Brahma being to create, of Vishnu to preserve, and of Rudra or Siva to destroy. These are the three gunas or qualities. Kasyapa was the son of Marichi, one of the Rishis, and from his thirteen wives were born the Adityas, Dánavas, Dáityas, Yakshas, Rákhasas, and Apsaras.

1 "Beautiful," the discus of Vishnu or Krishna.
2 In his Kurma or tortoise avatára.
3 The seven great Rishis in the constellation Ur-nya Major:—Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulástra, Pulásha, Kratu, and Vasishtha.
4 All daughters of Dáka. By (1) Aditi, Kasyapa had the twelve Adityas, a class of gods; (2) by Diti, the Dáityas or Dáityas; (3) by Dána, the Dánavas; (4) by Avíshta, the Gandharvas; (5) by Súrya, a thousand winged serpents or dragons; (6) by Kásha the Yakshas and Rákshasas; (7) by Surabhi, cows and buffaloes; (8) by Vinata, Garuda or Supernas, king of the birds and enemy of the serpent race and Aruna; (9) by Táma, six daughters; (10) by Kádru, mighty, many-headed serpents, such as Sesha, Váisu, Takshaka, Sankhá, Swáta, Nága, Károka, Dhanušá, Kapía, Náhusa, Muní, &c.; (11) by Krodhásena, all wild animals (dánakshas or sharp-toothed), Bhásas or goblins and Pácháras; (12) by Irá, the vegetable kingdom; and (13) by Muní, the Apsaras. All these names are connected with pre-Aryan tribes.
5 The Adityas were the assistants of the creator re-generated in the present Manvantara as the twelve Adityas named:—Vishnu, Sakra, Aymáman, Dáatri, Twasa tri, Pishan, Vivavat, Savítri, Mitra, Varuna, Anu, and Bhaga.
6 The Dánavas or descendants of Dána numbered amongst them Dwiniádhan, Hayaávira, Pulomán, Ekáchakra, Tára, Sunkará, Hayamukha, Káta, Kállanábha, Ilána, the Kálikanjas and Panómans, all names of note amongst the enemies of the gods.
7 The Dáityas were also enemies of the gods and descendants of Diti, whose two sons were Hiranányakasha and Hiranáyanáka. From the former came Anuáháda, Hláda, Práháda and Sanhiáda, and amongst their descendants were Tára, Vírochana and Bali.
8 A race like the Gúryakas, attendants on Kura, the god of mines. Elsewhere (V. P.) said to be produced by Brahma as beings emaciated with hunger, of hideous aspect and with long beards, and that crying out for food they were called Yakshas from jambh, to cry. By the Buddhists they are sometimes classed with goblins and again as a merry joyous race. They are called Castrli by Pitáy, and in them we recognize the Kinsáyas.
9 A demon race named from yékha, to injure. Sometimes said to be descendants of the sage Pulástra, who was father of Vishnava, father of Rávan. Their principal abode was Lanka or Ceylon under their chief Havan.
10 The Apsaras are female deities, the wives of the Gandharvas; they were produced at the churning of the ocean. For a long note about them see Goldstucker's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 222, reproduced in Wilson, VII. 84. The Páma Purána makes the Kashmiri Vícch mother of both the Apsaras and Gandharvas.
Gandharvas,1 Nágas,2 Siddhas,3 Vidyúdharas,4 birds, beasts and everything contained in the world.

Raja Vena.5

From the Rishi Atri came the Raja Anga, and from him Vena, who tyrannised over the world so that all mankind rebelled against him and killed him. Then they took his body and rubbed it, and from the right side sprang forth Prithu for their king. During the reign of Vena all plants had perished by reason of his tyranny, and when Prithu saw this, he was wrath and took his bow and arrows to destroy the earth, and she, in the form of a cow, fled from him through the three apheres, but no one dared to shelter her for fear of Vena. Then in despair she stopped and demanded the protection and pardon of the king. He consented on condition that the earth should deliver up the plants that she had hidden. To this she agreed and asked the king to remove the mountains which covered her and which prevented the spread of vegetation. Then Prithu with his bow uprooted the mountains and heaped them up one on the other, and made the earth level and called her after his own name 'Prithwl.' Then, that the earth might again produce food for man, Prithu created the calf Swáyambhuva Manu, and with his own hand milked from the earth all plants and vegetables. Then

1 A celestial race living in the sky and guarding the Soma and governed by Varuna as their wives, the Apears, are ruled by Soma. They are learned in medicinal herbs, regulate the course of the asterisms, follow after women and are desirous of intercourse with them. In the later legends they are the choristers of Indra's heaven and are held intermediate between men and gods. See further Wilson's Works, VII., 40-44. 2 The serpent race. 3 From 'sidh,' implying the idea of perfection; in legends, a semi-divine race of great purity and holiness who reside in the ether and are possessed of the eight great supernatural faculties, the power of becoming as small as a mote and the like. 4 Those who are 'the holders of knowledge' which is of four kinds: (1) Vajra-vidya, or knowledge of religious ritual; (2) Mahá-vidya, or great knowledge leading to the Tántrika worship of the female principle; (3) Guhya-vidya, or knowledge of spells and sorcery; and (4) Atma-vidya, or knowledge of the soul or true wisdom. 5 The story of Vena is narrated in the Vishnu Purána (Wilson, VII., 172). Sarmítha, daughter of Mrítyu (death), was mother of Vena, the celebrated hero of Hindu legends. (See Dichter-Aiceskell, V.) He was anegarated universal monarch by the Rishis, but immediately proclaimed that no worship should be performed, no oblations offered, and that no gifts should be bestowed on Brahmans, that all gods were present in the person of the king, who is made up of all that is divine. The cunred priests slew the king, and put an end to the anarchy which arose, they took his body and rubbed it, and from its left side sprang forth "a being of a complexion like a crimson slate, with flattened features and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" said he to the sage. "Sit down" (sit θέλα) said they, and hence the name No-bád is given to the aborigines of the plains. From the right arm of Vena sprang forth Prithu, to whom Mahádeva gave his bow 'Ajasva' and celestial arrows. Prithu prospered and gave his name to the earth and was the first ruler to whom the title of Raja was applied. There is little doubt that he was an Indo-Iranian prince.
the gods and demons all milked the earth of various virtues, so that the earth fled to Brahma and complained to him of the everlasting milking. He took her with him to Vishnu and Siva, and Vishnu asked her what she desired. She asked that as the only means of saving herself the three gods should come and live with her. Vishnu answered that in the form of the serpent Ananta and the tortoise he had already saved the earth, and would again come to help her when her pain became too great to bear, but that now he would not go to her, and further he said that "at some time the head of Brahma will fall upon thee" (the earth), and Siva will come to sit upon the mountain of Tanka, and the ling of Siva shall be established in many places. Then Vaivaswata Raja shall have a descendant called Bhagirath Raja, who shall bring down Ganga to thee. Then I will myself come in my dwarf incarnation to protect thee from the tyrants of the Raja Bali, and all the world will know that Vishnu has descended on thee. Then thy pains shall all be removed and the mountains shall cease to afflict thee with their load, for I shall be Himālaya, where Narada and the Munis glorify me. Siva will be Kailasa, where Ganesh and the other gods glorify him. Vindhya-chal will be Brahma, and thus shall the load of the mountains be removed." Then the earth said—"Why do you come in the form of mountains and not in your own form?" Vishnu answered—"The pleasure that exists in the mountains is greater than that of animate beings, for they feel no heat nor cold, nor pain, nor anger, nor fear, nor pleasure. We three gods as mountains will reside in the earth for the benefit of mankind." Then the three gods vanished and the earth returned to her former place.

**Establishment of the Siva Lingas.**

Daksha Prajapati had a daughter who was called Kali and who was married to Siva. Daksha summoned all the gods to worship them at Kankhal near Hardwar, but he omitted to invite Siva and his wife, for he admired neither the manner nor the appearance of Siva. The goddess Kali went to see the sight, though uninvited, but her father was displeased at her coming and did not do her

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1. At Bham-Kapal, the great rock in the river above Badrinath.
2. In the Vāmana avatār.
3. The story of Daksha’s sacrifice is very old and is repeated in nearly all the Puranas. For an account of his family see Wilson, V.I., i 100, and of the sacrifice, *ibid.*, 290, and Gazetteer, II., 280.
honor. Then in rage she jumped into the kund (or excavation in which the sacred fire was placed) and was burned up. Siva, who was seated on Kailás, rushed in wrath to the place and destroyed Daksha and all that he found there, and he took the ashes from the fire where his wife had perished and smeared them over his body and went to Tankara,^ the mountain of Jageswar, covered with all beautiful plants and deodar trees (Cedrus deodara), and began there to perform great austerities in order to propitiate the eternal Brahma. Vasishtha and many other Munis and their wives lived on this mountain. One day the women were walking through the jungles plucking kusha grass and sticks;^ and they saw him smeared with ashes, wearing a snake as a necklace round his neck, sitting with closed eyes and speechless, and his heart heaving with sorrow. The women wondering at his beauty collected round him. The Rishis when their wives did not return were greatly alarmed, and when their wives did not come back all night they went to search for them and found Mahádeo seated as before motionless and their wives senseless on the earth all round. The Rishis, believing that they had been brought there by Siva, began to abuse the god and said— "Let the thing with which you have done this injury (i.e., your ling) fall upon the earth." Then Siva said— "You have cursed me without cause; yet shall it not be said that you have beheld me without advantage, though by your curse, which I shall not oppose, my ling shall fall. You shall become the seven stars in the constellation Saptrikli, under the rule of Vaivasvata Manu, and shall shine in the heavens." Then Siva in obedience to the curse of the sage flung down his ling upon the earth; the whole earth was covered with the ling, and all the gods and the Gandharvas came to glorify Mahádeva, and they called the ling Yagisa or Yagiswar, and the Rishis became the stars of the Saptrikli.

1 The hill on which the old temple of Jageswar stands in Patti Dárás. 2 For their husbands’ use in performing sacred rites. 3 Ursa Major or the pole-star, dhruva; see Wilson, VI., 174. 4 Because the women were collecting grass and wood for the yagas or sacrifice. The legend of the anointing of Mahádeo with the wives of the Rishis belongs to the Agni form, and we find in the Maháthárasa that Agni is made the hero of the tale. Sváha taking the form of the wives of the Rishis satisfied Agni and from the deity a son was born, called Skanda, from the seed discharged (okshana) and collected in a golden reservoir by Sváha and called Kárttikéya, because he was brought up amongst the Kártikikas, who lived on Kailás and who are possibly one with the Kriyás of Kashmír, where this cult had its origin. He has six heads and other members and but one stomach, in allusion to his birth. Urandháti, the wife of Vasishtha, the seventh Rishi, took no part in the matter; see Muir, IV., 354, 364.
There is no place in the universe where Siva is not; therefore doubt not, O Rishi, that the ling of Siva could overshadow the world. Then Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, the sun and the moon, who were then at Jageswar worshipping Mahádeva, left each a portion of his own self (i.e., power and instructions) at Jageswar. Then the cow Prithivi came to Siva and said—"I am burdened with thy ling and cannot move it; lift me up and deliver me therefrom." The gods then set out to examine how far the ling extended: they reached the serpent Ananta and still there was the ling; then they returned, and Prithivi asked—"How far does the ling extend?" Brahma answered—"I have seen its end: it extends to the end of you (i.e. of the world.)" Then Prithivi said—"You, a great god, have lied: henceforth in the world none shall worship you." Brahma answered—"You too, when the last yug shall come, shall be filled with Mlechchhas." Then she asked the other gods if they had seen the end of Mahádeva's ling; they answered—"Brahma, Vishnu and Kapila do not know; what power have we to know?" She then asked Vishnu; he went to Pátála to search, but still did not find the end. Here the gods said to Vishnu—"We cannot find the end; yet the ling must be removed from the earth or the world will perish." Then Vishnu prayed Siva to grant him a request. Siva agreed, and Vishnu said—"The earth is weary of thy ling; lift it up from her;" and Siva answered—"Cut up the ling with thy chakra into pieces and set up everywhere the fragments for worship, and there too in each place leave a part of yourselves for worship." Then Vishnu cut up the ling into many pieces and throughout the world the fragments were left for worship. Thus was the earth rejoiced with the establishment everywhere of the ling of Mahádeva throughout the nine divisions (khandas) of the earth.

The Pandas of Jageswar have the same story, except that they make the seven wives of the Bishis enounced with Mahádeva. They met him in the forests whilst nude, performing the celebrated dance which he invented for the gratification of Párvatí and accompanied by the music of the tabor. In consequence of the curse of the Bishis, the ling fell on the earth, and Vishnu at length consented to become the receptacle or yoni, and cutting up the ling distributed it over the twelve great linga temples of India, whilst the smaller fragments are preserved as Jageswar. Numerous legends are told to inculcate the value of a pilgrimage to Jageswar, and even Vishnu is brought in and made to describe its extent, rivers, and forests from the marks on the palm of his hand. It is said to be 164 square miles in extent, being bounded on the east by Jateswar, on the north by Omamal; on the west by Trinara, and on the south by Baneswar. The ridge called towadhir is supposed to be the scene of the dalliance with the wives of the Bishis. 1 Spoken by Vyasa to the Bishis. 2 This would point to a post-Musulman period for this composition.
The nine Khandas.

Four of these khandas are situate in Himáchal. The first is the Himádri-khanda. Káli, who had been burned at Kankhala, was born again as Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal, and was again married to Mahádeva. The second is Mánasa-khanda named after Mánasa-sarovara, the first created of all tirthas made by Brahma. The third is Kailás-khanda, named from Kailás, where Siva himself with all his servants reside. The fourth is Kedára-khanda around Kedár, on seeing which the five Pándavas were cleared from the guilt of patricide. The fifth is Pátala-khanda, where the Nágas worship the ling. The sixth is Káshi-khanda, where is the great ling called Visveswara, where everything that perishes finds salvation (mukti). The seventh is Rewa-khanda, in which is the Rewa river, and whoever bastes in it finds deliverance and its stones are known as Narmadeswara. In this khanda is the ling called Rámeswara. The eighth is Brahmottara-khanda, where is the Gokarneswara linga. The ninth is the Nágar-khandas, from hearing of which souls are received into the paradise of Siva. In this khanda is Ujjayini.

Birth of Uma or Párvati.

Then Janamejaya addressed the Súta and said—'How did Káli after her cremation become Párvati?' The Súta replied—'Himáchal and his wife Mena performed great austerities and prayed for children. Brahma and the other gods asked—'Why do you mortify yourselves so?' Mena replied—'Give me such a child as will do honour to all of you.' The gods approved and disappeared, and in answer to Mena's prayer Párvati was born. Párvati worshipped Siva and is also known as Uma, Gauri, Durga, Kálika, and Bhadra. At this time the Dāityas expelled the gods from paradise. The gods then went to Brahma and represented their case and said—'The Dāitya called Tárákásura has conquered us: expel him again from Swarga.' Brahma answered—'In return

1 The Káma Purána relates how Goti, daughter of Daksha and wife of Siva, accidentally suffered cremation, and was afterwards born again as the daughter of Himáchal by Mena, and in that character as the only Káli or Uma, again married the wife of Siva as Bhava and is hence called Bhaváni. The name is also given in Sthirákratu's Kámá Sambhava; Múr, IV., 395, 450.

2 The Dáitya Táráká lived in the Shivaliká district of the Rawalpindi Presidency.

3 The Dáitya Táráká, Káma, Siva, and Durgá, the son of the Highway, and Bhava, daughter of Daksha, are known as Sivas, the goddess of whom, was worshiped by the gods, is depicted on the Deity's banner, hence the former are called Sivas and the latter Amraas.
for his devotions, I promised this Daitya that he should not die
even by the hand of Vishnú, but I will tell you how to act. Go to
Siva, who is seated with his mind intently fixed on one object, dis-
turb his contemplation; then he will marry Párvati, and from her a
son shall be born who shall destroy the demon Tára. Then Indra
placing Kámadeva before them went to Siva and began to glorify
him; then Mahádeo opening his eyes saw Kámadeva before him,
and with rage fire issued from his body and burned up Kámadeva.¹
Then the gods began to glorify Mahádeva, and he asked them what
they desired. They told him that they wished that he should beget
a son on Párvati to slay the demon Tára. Mahádeo agreed and
told Brahma to go to Himáchal and ask his daughter in marriage.
He went and told Himáchal that Párvati was Káli and asked for
her for Mahádeo. Himáchal consented and Brahma returned to tell
Siva to make his preparations for the marriage. Siva said—'Call
Viswakarma, the workman of the gods.' Viswakarma came and pre-
pared all that was wanted and made a golden image of Ganesha,
which he told Siva to adore, for it was from a neglect of Ganesha
that Káli had been destroyed. Then Brahma said—'If Kámadeva
shall perish, the world will end for want of children;' and Mahádeo
said—'Henceforth Kámadeva shall live in the minds of all men; he
need not again take a bodily shape.' Then Mahádevo smeared his
body with ashes and threw over his shoulders the skin of a deer and
adorned himself with snakes instead of jewels, and took the trisśla
in his hand and wearing a necklace of dead men's skulls and seated
on a bull, he went off to the marriage. Stopping on the south bank
of the Gomati,² he worshipped Ganesha, and thence went to the con-
fluence of the Gomati and Garuri,³ where he sat down and told
Brahma to announce the arrival of the marriage procession to Himá-
chal. Brahma did as he was ordered and delivered presents to
Himáchal, who came out to meet Mahádeva and took him to his
dwelling, where he gave to Mahádeva his daughter and all the gods
Gandharvas and Apsaras, and others glorified Mahádevo. Then

¹ See Muir, IV., 224.
² Said to have taken place at the confluence
of the Sarju and the Ganges. See Wheeler, II., 41, and Muir, IV., 224.
³ The Gomati rises in the Katýár valley and joins the Sarju at Bágawar.
⁴ Now called Garur-Ganga. This confluence is a little below Baital, and
the place where Siva sat down on the grass was called Baidyanáth from the
herbs on which he sat becoming good for medicines. Trîyogi-Marîyan is
also claimed as the site of the wedding of Siva and Párvati by the Garh-
walla.
Himáchal, after he had distributed gifts and done due honor to the companions of Siva, received as a gift that he should henceforth be honored like Siva himself throughout the universe. Then Brahma and the other gods went back to their respective dwellings, and Siva and Párvati and their attendants went to Kedára-mandal (or circle of Kedár).

**Legend of Himáchal.**

Janamejaya then addressed the Súta and said—'You have told me the history of Siva, now tell me the mihátya of Himáchal.' The Súta replied as follows in the words of Vyása:—'Himáchal is the giver of the four gifts, dharma, artha, káma, moksha. Mahádeva always resides in Himachal and on him attend the gods; and in him are many caves and much ice. The mihátyas of Himáchal were related by Dattátreya Rishi to Káshi rája. Once this Rishi went from Shesháchal to behold Himáchal. He saw upon him many lakes, and bhójpatra and other trees and mines of gold and other metals, and tigers and deer and every species of birds, and wild men, and medicinal plants. When Himáchal saw Dattátreya approach, he bowed in reverence before him and after doing him all due honor, he asked the sage why he had come to visit him. Dattátreya said—'Thou art the greatest of mountains and the Ganges and the other holy streams flow from thee and Siva resides in thee, and on thee fell the ling of Siva and his wife is your daughter; thou art like a god. Vindhya-chal and the other mountains join their hands before thee, therefore have I come to behold thee; now show to me thy tirthas and the ling of Mahádeva and thy caves and thy mines of precious metals.' Then Himáchal showed Dattátreya Máná-sarovara, and in the midst a golden ling and the rája-kálsa. Then Dattátreya went all round the sacred lake and bathed in its waters and in that of its streams; then he saw Siva seated in a cave with Párvati and before him was Brahma and the gods glorifying him and the Gandharvas singing and the Apsaras dancing. Then he saw Ganga which descends from the foot of Vishnu to Kailása, and thence to Máná-sarovara, in which he bathed. Then he saw the

1. Vishnu, wealth, desire, absorption or death. 2. One of the seven human incarnations of Vishnu. 3. Son of Káshi and descendent of Ayus, oldest son of Parasuráma. 4. Aboriginal. 5. Sála Rájpatra. 6. See legend of Agastya, poetae. 7. Roget goes with red legs and tail. Great grey goose called Mánassankar or dweller in Máná. Wilson, XI, 90.
Brahmakapál and the Saptrikhi who dwell there. Then he went to Kailás, where he again found Siva and Párvati, and the gods, and he worshipped Siva, who said—‘Ask what you desire.’ He asked that the power to go through the world when he pleased without obstruction might be given to him, and Siva granted the prayer. Then he asked of Siva—‘Which is the greatest of mountains and where do you live yourself, and in the earth which is the most sacred place?’ Then Siva answered—‘I dwell everywhere, but Himáchal is my peculiar seat, and on every one of its peaks I dwell for ever and on the mountain of Nanda¹ dwells Vishnu, and I and Brahma also. There is no other mountain like Himáchal; look upon him and receive whatever you desire.’ Then Dattátreyá glorifying Mahádeva departed to the north, where he saw a lake filled with the juice of the jídman² and other lakes and temples of Siva and Vishnu, where the Gandharvas were singing and the Apsaras dancing. Thence he turned back to Kédár,³ where he saw many holy Rishis in caves, performing austerities and the river Mandákini;⁴ then he came to the mountains of Nar-Naráyana⁵ and worshipped at Badbhrnáth, and he saw Lakshmi and Nárada and the other sages and the Alaknanda.⁶

Dattátreyá and the Rája of Káshi.

Dattátreyá again visited Himáchal and taking leave went to Káshi⁷ and proclaimed the glories of Himáchal to the Rája Dhanwantari.⁸ Then the Rája said—‘In the earth which is the greatest of tirthás and what tirthás have you beheld?’ Dattátreyá answered and said—‘You are the greatest of rajas and there is no tirtha like Káshi, where you live. He who even without going to Káshi desires to see it and dies with the name of Káshi in his mouth finds release, for there is Ganga and Visvesvarā. In the three spheres there is no tirtha like this.’ The Rája answered and said—‘This is true, but tell me also of the other tirthás which bring blessings on mankind. I have heard that formerly rajas went to Swarga with their bodies, by what road did they go?’ Then the sage said—‘He who thinks on Himáchal, though he should not behold him, is greater

¹ Nanda Deór. ² K. jimbolana. ³ Mountain on which the temple is situated. ⁴ A river in pargana Nágpur in Garhútul which rises in the Kédár glacier. ⁵ One of the Badbhrnáth peaks; see page ⁶ The eastern branch of the Ganges which rises in the Nítí valley. ⁷ Benaras. ⁸ Grandson of Ríbirá and produced from the churning of the oceans. Wilson.
than he who performs all worship in Káshi, and he who thinks of Himáchal shall have pardon for all sins and all things that die on Himáchal, and all beings that in dying think of his snows are freed from sin. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. This was the road the ríja took to heaven, where he went with his body. That Himáchal where Siva lived and where Ganga falls from the foot of Vishnu like the slender thread of a lotus flower and where the Rishis worship and where the Siva lingas are numerous. I behold Mána-sarovara and there in the form of the rágā-ñána dwells Siva. This lake was formed from the mind of Brahma, therefore was it called ‘Mánasa-sarovara.’ There dwell also Mahúdeva and the gods, thence flow the Sarju¹ and other (female) rivers and the Satadru² and other (male) rivers. When the earth of Mána-sarovara touches anyone’s body or when anyone bathes therein, he shall go to the paradise of Brahma, and he who drinks its waters shall go to the heaven of Siva and shall be released from the sins of a hundred births, and even the beast who bears the name of Mána-sarovara shall go to the paradise of Brahma. Its waters are like pearls. There is no mountain like Himáchal, for in it are Kailás³ and Mána-sarovara. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind dried up at the sight of Himáchal. At Mána-sarovara, the king,

¹ The Kumaon Sarju rises at the foot of Nanda Davi, but this may refer to the Karnáli, the longest branch of the Sarju of the plains and which rises close to Mána-sarovara.
² The Satlaj, which rises in the Ñákas lake, which is itself connected with the Mána lake.
³ The following description of Kailás as seen from the pilgrim route is interesting: ‘On the approach to the lake,’ writes an observant traveller, ‘the Gángiri range continued far to the eastward, rising out of a wide green plain. This extended between the base of the mountains, and the northern shore of both lakes (Ñákas and Mána) being visible from this as far as the low hills on the north-western corner of Mána-sarovar. The most remarkable object here was Kailás, now revealed in full proportion to its very base, rising opposite (northward) straight out of the plain only two or three miles distant. The south-west front of Kailás is in a line with the adjacent range, but separated on either side by a deep ravine; the base of the mass thus isolated is two or three miles in length perhaps; the general height of it is about 4,350 above the plain, but from the west end the peak rises some 1,500 feet higher, in a conic or dome rather of paraboloidal shape. The peak and upper ridge were well covered with snow. The stratification of the rock is strongly marked in successive ledges that catch the snow falling from above, forming irregular bands of alternate white and purple. One of these bands more marked than the rest encloses the base of the peak, and this, according to Hindu tradition, is the mark of the cable with which the Rákshasa attempted to drag the throne of Siva from its place.’

An picturesque beauty Kailás far surpasses the great Gur-ís or any other of the Indian Himalayas that I have seen; it is full of majesty, a king of mountains.’ Through the ravines on either side of the mountains is the passage by which the pilgrims make the circumambulation. The circuit is performed in two days by those who take it casually, but with more exertion it may be done in one day.
Bhagiratha, performed the austerities by which the holy Ganga was produced and Vasishtha obtained the Sarju. The country around this holy lake is called Mánasa-khanda.

The creation of Mánasa-sarovara.

The sons of Brahma, Marichi and Vasishtha and the rest proceeded to the north of Himáchal and performed austerities on Kailása. There they saw Siva and Párvati, and there they remained for twelve years absorbed in mortification and prayer. There was then very little rain and little water, and in their distress they went to Brahma and worshipped him. Then Brahma asked what their desire might be. The Rishis answered and said—'We are engaged in devotion on Kailása and must always go thence to bathe in the Mandákini; make a place for us to bathe in.' Then Brahma by a mental effort formed the holy lake of Mánasa. The Rishis returned and rejoicing at the success of their journey again engaged in mortification and prayer on Kailása and worshipped the golden ling which rose from the midst of the waters of the lake.

Story of Mándhátri.

The rája then said—'The journey to Himáchal is a very difficult undertaking for man; who was it prescribed the necessity of making a pilgrimage to him?' Then Dattátreya said—'From Vaivasvata was descended the Rája Mándhátri, and one night the earth, in the shape of a woman, came to the rája and said to him—'In the world I have not seen a man so beautiful as you, therefore I come to you.' Mándhátri said—'Art thou the daughter of a god or a Dánava, or an Apsara, that thou art so beautiful?' She said—'I am the earth who have come to thee seeing thy beauty. I have left all other rájas.' He said—'I have sworn to have only one woman to wife, therefore charm some other of the kings of the earth.' She said—'All the former rájas who were my masters have ascended in old age to Swarga, but I remain still a young maiden. I will have thee for my husband.' He said—'If I die, my wife must burn on my death as Sati; how shall the earth, who does not die or grow old, take me, who am a mortal, for her lord?' She said—'When I too become old, I will burn with you as Sati.' Then Mándhátri married the earth and

1 To prostitute Siva, so that Ganga might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Raghu. Mulk. IV., 365. 2 Wilson, VIII., 387: another of the human incarnations of Vishnu.
lived in happiness. When he became old he said—“Let me go into the forests and engage in prayer and mortification. Then dying together we will go to Swarga and live together.” Then the earth laughed and said—‘I am young, how shall I go with you? when I become old then I will die with you.’ Then Mándhatri was enraged and drew his sword to kill the earth, and she fled towards Himáchal and the raja followed her, and she reached Mána-sarovara. Then on the banks of this lake the raja cut off her head, but the earth could not perish and vanishing in the waters went down to Pátála, where she worshipped the gods who were seated on Kailása.

Route to Mána by Barndeo.

The raja next inquired ‘Which is the road to the holy lake?’ Dáttátreya answered and said—The pilgrim must go by the road of Kúrmáchnál; he must first bathe in the Gandákí and then in the Loha, and let him then worship Mahádeva and the other gods. Then let him worship on the top of Kúrmá-sila and bathe in the Hansa-tírtha, thence let him go to the Sarju, then to Dárún or Tankara, and worship Mahádeva, thence to Pátála Bhubanesvara, and then without eating for three days let him worship Siva. Then let him bathe in the Ránganga and worship at Baleswar. Thence to Pánní mountain and worship Siva, thence to Patáka and worship Siva, and he should then bathe at the confluence of the Káli and Gori. Thence to Chaturdaunshtra mount and worship Siva there. Thence to Vyásárama and worship Vyása and then to the source of the Káli, then to Koral mount and worship Debi; thence to Puloman mount, where there is a lake; thence to the mount of Táráka and let him bathe in the Táráni and Sárda (or Káli), where

1 The old name of Kumaon on the Káli, now applied to a hill near Champáwat in Patti Chárál, surmounted by a temple to Ghatku and fabled as the spot where Vishnu descended in his tortoise avatar to save the earth. 2 The Gódhav river in Káli Kumaon. 3 The Lohaghát river in Káli Kumaon. 4 Kánádeo, a hill in the eastern Gágar range near Chhirapání in Patí Chárál and surmounted by a temple sacred to Mahádeva. 5 A stream and waterfall on Kánádeo. 6 The hill on which the Jageswar temple is situated in Patti Dárún. 7 A temple and cave in Patti Barsan of pargana Gángoli north of Gangoát Dák Bumphal. 8 The mountain in Patti Málí and pargana Síra above the temple of the Thál Baleswar. 9 The Dhvaj peak in Patti Kharýan to the north of Pithorágarh. 10 Near Aškot. 11 Patti Chandás. 12 Patti Byáná is sacred to Byáná Ríkhi, the Víyas of the Puranas, who is supposed to reside on the Káli range peak near Chángra in Byáná. 13 Also in Byáná and called Chhechhíla. 14 A peak in the dividing range between Dárna and Byáná, at the foot of which is a small lake known as Mán taló or Byánákhíti between the Jhóling and the Kábrub Yaukít. 15 The Táráka-dhára or pass into Tibet.
they join. Then let him behold the caves and worship the gods and let him cut his beard and fast and perform the Sriddha ceremonies.\(^1\) Then to Gauri\(^2\) mount and then descending to Mana-sarovara; let him bathe there and give water to the manes of his ancestors and worship Mahadeva in the name of the rajahansa. Then let him make the parikrama (circumambulation) of the holy lake Mana and look on Kailasa and bathe in all the rivers around.

The return journey.

Then the Rajah asked—"By what way do you return from the lake Mana?" The sage replied—"Pilgrims must first go to Ravana-hrad\(^3\) and bathe and worship Siva; then let him worship at the source of the Sarju;\(^4\) then to Kechara-tirtha;\(^5\) thence to Brahmapal;\(^6\) thence to Chhaya-kshetra and worship Mahadeva; thence to Rama-sara and bathe there; thence to Rinmochana and Brahma-sarovara, thence to Sivakshetra and thence to the mount of Nanda; thence to Baidyanath, thence to Mallika,\(^7\) where let him worship Devi and bathe in the Briddhagang. Thence to Jwala-tirtha,\(^8\) where he should worship the sacred fire and bathe in the Padmavati. Thus is the pilgrimage completed.

Mana-sarovara.

On the south of the Mana lake is the mountain Sambhu,\(^9\) from which issues the river Shesti, which flows to the north into Mana, near which are mines of silver and lead: near this the sands are red and the waters white. To the north is the Nala mountain,\(^10\) whence issues the river Kapila, which flows into Mana-sarovara, while to the south is a cave and a gold mine. From the Nala mountain, a river,

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\(^1\) Rites in honor of ancestors to be performed on occasions of rejoicing: see further Wilson's Works, VIII., 146-148.
\(^2\) Probably may be identified with Dolma La a ridge behind Gur La or Mandhata-giri, the great peak to the south of Mana-sarovara on which is a small pool called by the pilgrims Gauri-kund.
\(^3\) The lake to the west of Mana-sarovara, also called Bhas Tali.
\(^4\) As already noted, this probably refers to the Karnail, a tributary of the Kail, Sarsa or Ghagra which rises beyond the snowy range in Kunala. The river known as the Sarju in Kunala rises to the south of the snowy range and its eastern branch or the Kail also rises in the southern slopes of the snowy range.
\(^5\) Kechara-tirtha is on the Karnail: it is now known as Kajar or Khojar-nath and is the site of a monastery.
\(^6\) The great rock in the river above Badrinath is called Brahmapal: this refers to a second one in Tibet as well as the succeeding term which I have not been able to identify. Rinmochana may be Garinebocha or Gangri, on a ledge in the base of the Kallia peak, about the middle of the south side. It is called by the pilgrims Darchin and is one of the places which they are bound to visit. Brahma-sarovara is a synonym for Mana-sarovara, which was formed from the mind of Brahman.
\(^7\) Near Mal village.
\(^8\) Jvalamukhi.
\(^9\) This must refer to Gur-La, from which several streams flow into Mana-sarovara.
\(^10\) This also must be a peak of the Kallia range, from which two streams flow into Mana-sarovara near Sarnath-Uttah.
Himalayan Districts

called Pushpabhadrā, flows to the east into Māna-sarovara and also the Devabhadrā. Here Rāma propitiates Mahādeva, and from this went to Swarga, leaving his horses and elephants, which still remain there. Near this flows the Chandrabhāga from the head of Siva on Kailāsa. From the mountain Gaurī flows the Sārda into the Māna lake. From Kailāsa flows the Mandākini or Bhadra to the south into the lake. West of this river are five lakes, Kālī-krad, Kan-krad, Padma-krad, Kāli-krad and Hari-krad. To the left of Kailāsa is the Kalāpa peak, where are many caves and mines of gold and silver; from it flows the river Sonanda, of which the water is the color of gold; this flows into the Māna lake. Near Kalāpa is mount Meru; this mountain is blue and from it falls the Saraswati and Suvarna-dhārn, which also flow into Māna-sarovara. Beyond these is the Mahendra mountain, from which flows the river Mahendri into Māna-sarovara; from it also flows the river Baruni with yellow waters into the lake and the Swati.

Mountains.

Now hear me, in reply to your inquiries, detail for your information the names of the mountains and rivers. The first of all is

The Mahābhārata records that it was on the Gandhamadana mountain that Rāma propitiates Siva and obtained from him his weapons and among them the axe (parasura), whence his name Parasurāma or "Rāma of the axe." The Gandhamadana peaks are on account of numerous laks of Parasurāma known, as the Askini in Valdik times; it rises however in Lahul and the term in the text properly applies to the Satadru or Satlaj.

This is correct if the Karnāl is intended.

Besides the two streams at Sarniab-Unlah already noticed, the Pandit makes the Som-chu flow into the lake from the Kailāsa range on the north.

East of Māna-sarovara is the Gunkytu-chu; to the north, the Gorgel-chu; to the west, the Cho Lagan or Rāwan Hrad, and further west near Gyānima the Tara-chu.

Four streams flow from Kailāsa into Cho Lagan: the Barks-chu, the Jeech-chu, the Sār-chu or golden stream (or Sonanda), and the Kalāpa-chu or Kalāpa river. The two latter join the lake near its outlet which forms the source of the Satlaj.

Lieutenant Henry Staceley, who visited the lake, writes:—"The permanent affluents of Māpa are three or four. First a stream rising in two branches from the Gāngri mountains and falling into the lake at the eastern quarter of its north side; the second, also from the Gāngri range, a few miles further east, entering the lake at the north-east corner; at the very same point is the mouth of the third stream which rises in Hortol. The fourth affluent is doubtful: a stream possibly comes from the Nepāl Himalayas into the south-east corner of the lake. In the summer season there are many temporary streams from rain and melted snow" (J. A. S. B. E.).

Here follows an account of numerous places of pilgrimage on the lake, chiefly Siva legends and legends connected with them and in honor of the sacred lake. The lake, about 45 miles in circumference and it takes four to six days to perform the journey and worship at the different shrines. There are eight principal stations known locally as (1) Tokar, on the middle of the south side: (2) Guatr, at the eastern quarter of the east end: (3) Jau, at the northern quarter of the east end: (4) Jukhā, at the western quarter of the north side: (5) Langduma, at the middle of the north side: (6) Bāndli, at the north-east corner: (7) Sārdiāna, at the middle of the east end: and (8) Mupkur, at the south-east corner.
Nanda, where dwells Nanda Devi. Then comes Drona (Dunagiri near Dwára) ; then Dárükavána (Jageswar) and then Kurmáchal (Kándeó in Káli Kumaun), beyond which the Mánasa-khanda ends. Then comes Nágpura; then Dárún (in Gangoli) ; then Páta (above Baleswar in Síra) ; then Panchísíra (Panch-chúli) ; then Kétumána (a ridge in Goriphát) ; then Mallik-Arjun (in Askot) ; then Gananátha (in Byáns), &c., &c.

**Legend of Nanda Devi.**

On the peak of Nanda is a lake and there is the abode of Vishnu and Vishnu himself. From Nanda flows the Pindaraka¹ from the hair of Mahádeva into the Vish nuganga.² In it meet the Káli³ and Saraswati⁴, Kámathi, Vaindhya, and Bodhini.⁵ The Brishchiki and Krikalési also flow from Nanda. The Pindaraka joins the Vishnuganga at Karnaprayága, where the king Kárna worshipped the sun and received from him whatever he desired, gold and jewels and wealth, and he founded the ling of Karneswara Mahádeva.⁶ South of Karnaprayága is the mount Vaindhya, five peaked, with beautiful trees and many mines. To the west of this the Dárakapeak,⁷ from which flows the river Chandra into the Pindar. Beyond this is the hill of Durhídhyána and the Páná. Then Benu,⁸ a great mountain with great caves and mines and stones of white crystal. On its peak is the Churessas-lings.

**The western Rámganga.**

The Rathabálíni⁹ possesses the seventh part of the virtues of Ganga ; its sands are golden and in it are many fish and tortoises.

¹ Pindar river. ² The Alaknanda, so called from the confluence at Vishnuprayág. ³ Kailiganga. ⁴ Sundarabhanga. ⁵ Flows from the Vaindhya hills, which from the subsequent description I would identify with the peaks in the watershed between the Pindar and western Rámganga above Lobha, where there are mines. There are several rivers flowing from this range into the Pindar, and I would assign the name Vaindhya to the Agár-gáir. ⁶ Kárna is one of the characters in the Mahábharata and the temple at Karnaprayág dates from Katyóra times. ⁷ The peak above Darkot now known as Santóth; the Chandpur river flows by its eastern base and joins the Pindar at Silhí. ⁸ The Durhídhyána and Pána peaks will be the Dhopri and Pangu-bri peaks on the Dhampur boundary and the Benu, the Ben peak above Achkérdi and near Beni Táli. ⁹ The western Rámganga : Wilford identifies the Pandukí Náma or Nármána, 'the beautiful river,' with the Rámganga. It is also called Sarivatí, 'full of reeds,' and Bánaganga because Krítikáya was born in a thicket of reeds on its banks at a place called Sarabha, 'reed-forest.' The Saccarárum Sava still grows on its banks (Ges., X., 807). In the Ama-r-áths, the Rámanganga is called the Sámsami (= Su-sámi) in the country of Udanára. The word is introduced on account of its referring to a town called Kantha known as Su-sámi Kantha ; but if this be Kanth-o-gódat, the old name for Shahjahánpur, then the term Sámsami will not apply to the Rámganga.
He who bathes in it shall be cleansed of the sins of a hundred births. In a hundred years the śīrtha cannot be told. The Sarawati is the first to join the Rayabahini and the Gotami and Sakati and Sara\(^1\) and the Belali\(^2\) which flow from Drona. On the left of the Rayabahini is the Nágárjun,\(^3\) where the serpent Arjun is worshipped. To the right of this is the mount Asura,\(^4\) where Káli is worshipped, and to the right of Nágárjun is the Siva-ling of Bibhandeswar,\(^5\) which is the right hand of Mahádeva. After Mahádeva had been married to Párvati, he demanded from Himáchul a place to sleep in; and he rested his head on the head of Himáchul and his back on Nilá and his right hand on Nágárjun and his left hand on Bhudasaswar (in Gangoli) and his two feet on Dárúkávana (i.e., the jungles of Dárún near Jageswar). This is the most glorious of śīrtha. The river of Bibhandeswar is called Surabhi,\(^6\) for Kámadhenu, the cow of the gods, by the order of Brahma, took the form of this river. The Nandini and Sarawati join the Surabhi and flow into the Rámgangá.\(^7\) At this sangam (confluence) is the Senasanavasi Siva-ling.

**Dunagiri.**

From the great hill of Drona flows the Druni\(^8\) into the Rámgangá. Above Drona is the mount of Brahma, whence flows the Gárgi,\(^9\) at the source of which the Rishi Garga made his devotions. To this mount came Duhsásana the Kaurava and conquered the rája of the mountains and bathed at the junction of the Satradhára and Sukávati, and there he established the Siva-ling of Duhsásanavara.\(^10\) Dronáchal has two heads and two feet: one head is called Lodrā, the other Brahma, and between them is the source of the Gárgi. Here at the source of the Gárgi is the Gangeswar Siva-ling. Into the Gárgi flow the Bilwávati and Betrávati and Bhadrávati and then the Sukávati; then join the Sailávati, and the

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1. Streams of the Lohba valley.
2. Drona is Dunagiri and the Belali may be either the Kham-gadh, which flows from near Dwára to the Rámgangá, or the stream issuing from Tarág Tal.
3. The Nágárjun, or as it is commonly called Nangárjun temple, is in Patti Dora Malla on the ridge between Dwára and Náthán on the source of the Balawa-gadh; a Siva temple according to the Kshemnivas.
4. The hill above Pali in Dora Talla, where there are temples to Káli and Náthün Devi.
5. The temple of the Bibhandeswar Mahádeo is situated near Bana in Dora Malla.
6. In Gangoli.
7. The Surabhi must be the Hikuri or Hikán, which flows past the temple, but it joins the Gágá near Shanas; the geography here gets confused and unintelligible. At Saliana in Néyán there is a temple to Siva. Brihadhráma is mentioned.
8. The river from Haistí beyond Dwára.
9. Gágá, which rises between the Sukhaldervi and Dehara peaks.
10. Now called Sukaswar near Bámval-mer in Patti Atháguli.