

# RATHA YĀTRĀ OF BAṬUKA MAHĀDEVA AT CHHATRARI: SOME ART HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS ENQUIRIES

SEEMA BAWA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

This paper seeks to excavate the relationship between the tenth century *Mukhalinga* and the eighth century main icon of Śakti Devī, both kept in the sanctum sanctorum or the *garbhagrha* of the Śakti Devī (locally called The Śiva-Śakti temple) in Chhatrari, Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh. The former is known as Baṭuka Mahādeva and is taken out of the temple in a holy procession every year, on the last day of the Maṇimaheśa *charī* or *yātrā*. My research is based not only on epigraphic and art historical studies but also on field work conducted in Chhatrari and adjacent sites.

\* \* \*

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest ukazanie związku między XI-wieczną *Mukhalingą* a ikoną Śakti Devī z VIII wieku, które znajdują się w sancto sanctorum, czyli w *garbhaghaha* Śakti Devī (lokalnie zwanej świątynią Śiva-Śakti) w Chhatrari, dystrykt Chamba, stan Himaćal. Pradeś. Ten pierwszy znany jest jako Baṭuka Mahādeva i co roku jest usuwany ze świątyni w uroczystej procesji, w ostatnim dniu Māimaheśa *charī* zwanym *yātrā*. Moje badania opierają się nie tylko na epigraficznych i historycznych badaniach sztuki, ale także na pracach terenowych w Chhatrari i sąsiednich miejscach.

**Key words:** Chhatrari, Baṭuka Mahādeva, *ratha yātrās*, *mohrās*, *linga*, *mukhalinga*, Maṇimaheśa, Śakti Devī Temple, procession, ritual, performance, pilgrimage, *Purānas*

## INTRODUCTION

In the sanctum sanctorum or the *garbhagrha*<sup>1</sup> of the Śakti Devī (locally called the Śiva-Śakti temple) at Chhatrari, Chamba<sup>2</sup> District, Himachal Pradesh, there are sacred

<sup>1</sup> Methodologically, the use of terminology that is either original or as close to original object or context is desirable, especially in this case where religious contexts, both historical and contemporary, are being discussed. The use of western terminology would imply widely anachronistic and culturally distant meanings. For those readers who are unfamiliar with South Asian or Himalayan contexts I give translated meanings of rare terms in footnotes or in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Chamba is used to describe a geographical region; the Chamba Valley which covered upper regions of the Buddhal, Ravi, Bairasiul rivers and Sal rivers. Chamba also refers to the historical kingdom of Chamba largely contiguous with the valley. There is also the Chamba town, the main town and capital of the Chamba kingdom. In addition, Chamba is a modern administrative unit, originally a subdivision (*tehsil*) and now a district of the state of Himachal Pradesh.

Hindu icons that include a tenth century statue of *Mukhalinga* (*linga*<sup>3</sup> with a face) and an eighth century icon of Śakti Devī. The *Mukhalinga* is known as Baṭuka Mahādeva and is annually taken out of the temple in a *śobhā yātrā*<sup>4</sup> procession on the last day of the Maṇimaheśa *charī* or *yātrā*. The idea and practice of such a ceremonial procession of an icon is not witnessed elsewhere in the Chamba-Brahmour valley and provides a link with the Siraj Region<sup>5</sup> of the Western Himalayas<sup>6</sup> where such *yātrās* with *mohrās*<sup>7</sup> are the norm. The procession as **ritual and performance** provides certain interesting insights into the religious formations in the upper Ravi valley.

Stylistically, the brass icon of the *Mukhalinga* does not conform with those of Meru Varman–Guggā lineage<sup>8</sup> and needs to be assessed afresh in terms of its origins, function and influence on other art production in the valley.

#### THE OBJECT: RE/PLACEMENT AND RE/USE

Chhatrari is the site of the Śakti Devī temple complex that contains not only the eighth century Śakti Devī icon housed in an original cedar/deodar wood temple, but also variegated small and big icons with distinct Śaiva affiliations in the sanctum and smaller shrines; these icons include the Umāśahita Maheśvaramūrti along with a *Śivalinga* to the north of the temple. One of the icons is a bust of Śiva, located to the left of the main Śakti Devī icon (Photo 1) this bust is the only object at Chhatrari which is taken out of the temple in a *yātrā* on a *ratha*<sup>9</sup> in the tradition of the *mohrās* of the Siraj region of the Western Himalayas.

The main icon, in comparison, is *sthāpita*, immovable, or *achala*. This bust of Śiva is one type of *Śivalinga* that has been described in the *Śiva Purāna* as *cara* or mobile in its

<sup>3</sup> *Linga* – the concept comes from Sanskrit and refers to Shiva. One of the elements of the Śiva religiosity is the adoration of *linga*. *Linga* means: the birth (in the sense of the male organ), the attribute, the distinctive sign, the main object of worship in the form of a cylindrical column with a rounded top and an incremental round base (see: Davis 1995, 637–648; Dennis Hudson 1995, 305–320).

<sup>4</sup> *Yātrā* – a pilgrimage, a procession.

<sup>5</sup> Siraj is a traditional term used to refer to parts of Mandi and Rampur districts of Himachal Pradesh; it is divided into upper, middle and lower Siraj.

<sup>6</sup> The term ‘Western Himalayas’ implies a region and a geographical zone rather than altitude. For Chamba, Mandi and many other districts in the region the general term ‘Western Himalayas’ is used from the time of Imperial Gazetteers, in Government of India gazetteers, Survey of India, in all historical literature produced on the subject, and in scientific discourse.

<sup>7</sup> In the case of this article *mohras* mean various kinds of coverings (cloth, jewellery, and metal faces) mostly imposed on *lingas*, but also on other images of deities.

<sup>8</sup> Meru Varman was a legendary *raja*, the founder of the Mosuna dynasty, known also as the Meru-Mosuna dynasty, which was the only royal lineage ruled the Chamba state from its inception in the seventh century to April 15, 1948, when Chamba was merged with the Indian Union (Sharma 2009, 38).

<sup>9</sup> *Ratha yatra* – a festival or public procession with a chariot carrying deity’ images or idols sculptures.



Photo 1. Mukhalinga of Baṭuka Mahādeva set on a slate pedestal, within an assemblage of multi sectarian small brass images. Author: S. Bawa.

list of auspicious *līngas*. The syllable Om (a+u+m) is described as the *Dhvani Līnga*, the *svayambhūlīnga* as *Nāda Līnga*; the *Yantra* (diagrammatic contrivance) as *Bindulīnga*. The ‘M’ syllable is the installed (*pratiṣṭhitita*) *līnga*. The ‘U’ syllable is mobile (*cara*) *Līnga* and the ‘A’ syllable is the *Līnga* of huge form (*Guruvighraha*) (*Śiva Purāna*, Ch. 1. 113–114)<sup>10</sup>. A person who worships the *līnga* for eternity is believed to become a liberated soul.

The spatial placement of this bust is interesting insofar as the left side or *vama* is associated with the feminine, which would suggest that in terms of power and status

<sup>10</sup> The *Guruvighraha līnga* is of the kind that is worshipped as Maṇimaheśa in Brahmaur and also at Saho in the Sal valley.

the icon of Devī enjoys a higher and more exalted position than the male deity. Originally, it seems that the bust may have served as the *mūlapratimā*<sup>11</sup> in some other temple.

The Śiva visage has generally been dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, about two centuries later than that of the Devī (Postel, Neven, Mankodi 1985, 71). However, an earlier dating of around the middle of the eighth century may be posited on stylistic grounds, and this visage may have been the precursor of the similar Harsar image as well as Kashmir sculptures and may be related to other eighth century images from Brahmaur-Chhatrari as discussed below. Some authorities believe that it has affiliations with the Kashmir style (Postel, Neven, Mankodi 1985, 71) based on its masculine V shaped torso, narrowing waist with a fold in the stomach containing a cross in the navel and somewhat defined chest muscles.

The object under study here is an *ekamukhalinga* made of brass that stands about 48 cms high from the pedestal base to the tip of the crown. The *mohrā – mūrti*<sup>12</sup> represents Baṭuka Mahādeva, which, according to a priest, the *pujāri* of the temple, is supposed to be the *bhakta* (a devotee- of the Devī) form of Śiva. This identification is not given in the short description of the Chhatrari *Melā*<sup>13</sup> in a village survey of 1961 (*Census of India 1961* 1964, 50–1). There is however a photograph of the image, which has just been labelled ‘The Deity’; in addition, a similar image of the bust can be seen in the background of a photograph, however this image is now not available.

The bust is set against the *linga* on a *yoni pitha*<sup>14</sup> made of uneven slate stone (see photo 1). The figure is two-armed, with the arms emerging from the pedestal itself. It has the following attributes: In the right hand is an *akṣamālā*, a rosary necklace made of beads or seeds used for keeping track of prayer and mantras. Śaivite *akṣamālā* are generally made of *rudrākṣa*<sup>15</sup>. In this case there are approximately 27–28 beads in the rosary. Tantric practitioners, instead, use small skulls carved of ivory. Many *akṣamālās* have either 50 beads to correspond to the number of letters in the alphabet or 108 which is viewed as an auspicious number (Jones and Ryan 2006, 22)<sup>16</sup>. In the other hand the figure keeps a *matalunga* (a fruit rich in seeds or citron), *bīja*<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Mūla* literally means a root, and *pratimā* – a differentiated image.

<sup>12</sup> *Mūrti* – literally means any form, embodiment or solid object, and typically refers to an image, statue or idol of a deity or person in Indian culture (Monier-Williams 2011, 824; Acharya 1946, 426).

<sup>13</sup> *Melā* – feast, festival or fair.

<sup>14</sup> *Pitha* – “resting place, seat, pedestal, altar”. Hindu term for the name of the place where the power of the deity was rested (most often female deities) (see: Sacha-Piecko and Jakubczak 2003, 135).

<sup>15</sup> *Rudrākṣa* (Sanskrit: *rudrākṣa*) – Shiva’s teardrops; a seed traditionally used as prayer beads in Hinduism. The seed is produced by several species of large evergreen broad-leaved tree in the genus *Elaeocarpus* (Stutley 1985).

<sup>16</sup> In my text there are some inclusions (e.g. about *akṣamālā* or *matalunga*) which are significant in describing the historical and iconographic art through which I explain the religious thought and practice connected with the *mukhalinga*, the object embedded in the art.

<sup>17</sup> *Bīja* – literally seed, is used as a metaphor for the origin or cause of things and cognate with *bindu* (a dot).

or *vija puraka*. There is a snake as a *yajñopivata* and an *ekavalī* necklace around the neck falling to the waist.

Compared to similar figures of Śiva, there is one at Elephanta, where Śiva-Mahādeva is also depicted as holding a *matalunga* (citron) in his left hand (Kramrisch 1988, 447, pl. 4). In Kashmir Śaiva tradition, the citron is especially venerated and has been mentioned as one of the objects held in the hands of *dūtīs* (two women who are partners in Tantric rites). *Dūtīs* are attendants of Abhinavgupta, who is visualized by Madhuraja Yogin in *Dhyāna ślōka* as Dakṣiṇāmūrti – an incarnation of Śiva. Abhinavgupta is one of the greatest exponents of Kashmir Śaiva Siddhānta and is visualized here as holding a rosary in one hand (Muller-Ortega 2010, 46). The reference to Elephanta and Kashmir shows the wide prevalence of this iconography.

Elements of this description match prescriptions given in an important text containing significant *Śilpaśāstric*<sup>18</sup> portions, dated to the seventh century and considered to have been composed in Kashmir, The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna*, though a Vaiṣṇava *Upapurāna*, also contains information regarding forms of deities popular amongst the Śaivite of the northern region. It says that “the staff and the citron are in the hands allotted to the Bhairava<sup>19</sup>”. In the hand of Bhairava there is the gem of seed which is traditionally said to contain all of the atoms of the entire seed of the universe. (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna*<sup>20</sup> 1928 Part III, Ch. 48, Verses 1–20).

It further prescribes that one should make Vasuki (the serpent king), Śiva’s sacred thread. Mahādeva, the god of gods, should be represented with ten arms. This strong-armed (king), should bear in his right hands a rosary, a trident, an arrow, a staff and a lotus. In the left hands of the trident-bearer, the god of gods, should have a citron, a bow, a mirror, a water-pot and a piece of skin. The colour of the whole (image) should resemble the rays of the moon (*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna* 1928, Part III, Ch. 44, Verses 1–21). Though the Chhatrari image is two armed, it does bear a snake on its torso as well as a citron and rosary.

In addition, other Śaiva images within the precincts of the temple also conform to the descriptions of forms of the Śiva; one such image is the Umā Maheśvara, a 16 cm, made of brass, ninth century Śiva seated in a yoga asana on a circular stool on a lotus with Uma<sup>21</sup> on his lap and the head of Nandi<sup>22</sup> peeping from behind. Another important icon is the Pratihāra-style-Gaurī Śankara icon (Photo 2) enshrined in a small temple behind the main Śiva Śakti temple.

<sup>18</sup> *Śilpaśāstra* – a category of Sanskrit texts, or manuals, dealing with such arts/crafts (*śilpas*) as iconography, and the production of paintings (Johnson 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Bhairava is a fierce manifestation of Shiva associated with annihilation.

<sup>20</sup> The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purana* is a Hindu text, encyclopedic in nature. It is a supplement or appendix to the *Vishnu Purana* (see: Hazra 1962, 272–278).

<sup>21</sup> Uma, known as Satī, Dakṣayāni – in the Hindu tradition, one of the forms of Devi (Parvati), Śiva’s wife.

<sup>22</sup> Nandi – in Indian mythology bull, a palfrey (*wahana*) of Śiva.





Photo 2. *Pratihāra* style Gaurī Śankara icon enshrined in a small temple behind the main Śiva Śakti temple. Author: S. Bawa.

This large composite figure shows Nandi standing behind the divine couple, while the halo like frame or *prabhāvali*<sup>23</sup> has narrative and mythological scenes from Paurānic myths and stories carved around the main image, including the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and Bhikṣāṭanamūrti<sup>24</sup>. It is dictated in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna*, that the left half of his body should be Pārvatī, and Śiva should be with four hands. The rosary and the trident should be depicted in the right hand while in the left a mirror and lotus should be shown. Śambhu (Śiva) should have one face, two eyes and be adorned with ornaments, and in the left part of the body should be his consort. *Prakṛti* (unconscious nature) with *Puruṣa* (self, consciousness, universal principle) are marked by close union and celebrated as *Gaurīśvara* (half-female form of Śiva), which is worshipped by all men (see: *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna* 1928 Part III, Ch. 55, Verses 1–6).

In stylistic terms, the *ekamukhalinga* (one-faced *linga*) of Baṭuka Mahādeva, is closely related to the figure of Śiva on the entrance doorjamb (Photo 3) on its *deva śākha*<sup>25</sup> that has depictions of gods and goddesses.

Here a four armed Śiva is shown as standing, and Nandi in the form of a bull (*vāhana*) stands behind him. The torso is square with a cross shape around the navel while the face is also squarish with slightly open lips. Significantly, this Śiva figure holds a rosary and a citron in its front hands that bear stylistic similarities with the bust inside. The other hands hold a trident and ring like objects. Similarities between the enshrined image and the one on the doorjamb have also been noticed in the case of Lakṣaṇā Devī at Brahmaur and Mahiṣāsūramardini on the jamb of the Śakti Devī Temple (Bawa 2014, 212).

Comparison may also be made with the *mūlapratimā* or the main icon of Śakti Devī (Photo 4).

The indentation above the lip in both the Śiva and Devī icon are alike as are the three folds on the neck. It should also be mentioned that in terms of facial features, the Devī's face is elongated, nevertheless the sharp ridges of the nose and the fullness of the lips suggest that the same atelier, based in the Brahmaur Chhatrari region, was the workshop responsible for the creation of the wooden carving, the Śakti Devī and the bust inside the shrine. Moreover, the Devī image has an inscription dating from the early eighth century that provides us with the names of both the patron and sculptor; Meru Varmana and Guggā respectively. A translated text of the Śakti Devī image reads:

<sup>23</sup> The *Prabhāvali* represents something similar to *prabhamaṇḍala*; the former is, however, a ring of light that surrounds the whole person of a god, while the latter is a circular halo that is shown close to the head. The *Prabhāvali* is an ornamental circular or oval ring, with a number of *jvālās* (or “protruding tongues of flame”) (Gopinatha Rao 1993).

<sup>24</sup> *Bhikṣāṭanamūrti* refers to an image (*mūrti*) of an aspect of Śiva. *Bhikṣāṭana* literally means “wandering about for alms” (Wisdom Library).

<sup>25</sup> *Śākha* – literally means a branch. It is the name of a *gaṇa* (attendant of Śiva).



Photo 3: Śiva on the entrance doorjamb on its Deva Śākha of the wooden Śiva Śakti temple.  
Author: S. Bawa.





Photo 4. Detail of the *mūlapratimā* or the main icon of Śakti Devī, brass, early eighth century. Author: S. Bawa.

“There was an eminent chief from a pure race called the illustrious Deva-varman of celebrated fame. His son, charming by every virtue, [is] the illustrious Meru-varman, renowned on earth. First, for the sake of the spiritual merit of his parents, he, out of devotion, caused the image of Śakti to be made, after having conquered [his] foes in their invincible strongholds. His life was prolonged by glory, fame and religious merit. It was made by (*kṛita*) a workman called Guggā” (Vogel 1911, 145).

The same pair were also responsible for the creation of three other images at Brahmaur in the Chaurāsi complex, comprising the Ganeṣa, Nandi and the Lakṣaṇā Devī images, all belonging to the broad Śaiva Śakta sect.

There may have been a large Śaiva complex either at Chhatrari or the nearby village of Khani Maṭha that was mentioned in Yugākarvarman's Brahmaur inscription, where details of a Śaivite ascetic institution being dispossessed of the benefit of a Narasiṃha temple are mentioned. *Maṭhas* were popular institutions of Śaivite practice in Kashmir and Central India. *Maṭhas*, such as the one at Khani, were attached to Śakti temples, in which Śiva and Śakti became inseparable components of worship in Śaiva monastic establishments having Tantric overtones (Bawa 1998, 41–43).

The Harsar image, as it stands today, is a later copy of the original image that was stolen from Chhatrari *mukhalinga*. The copy was donated by the *pujārī* of the temple in March 1994. The original image, probably inspired from another one, hailed from the sixteenth century; was two-armed with one hand holding a rosary while the other – a citron; the image was decorated with a serpent as *yajñopavita* (a sacred cord). This was referred to as Mahādeva and was installed at Arsarin (Harsar) as mentioned in a dedicatory inscription by donors Gaṅgu and Kiṣanu, the sons of Bhagasyani Nathu (Vogel 1911, 251).

The presence of such a magnificent image, replete with the mythological complexities of sectarian worship associated with Paurānic Brahmanism, demonstrates a close association and the influence of Śivaism as practiced in early medieval north India, especially Kashmir and the central regions. The Śiva-Śakti temple too must have been an independent shrine perhaps with a stone *sikhara*, which is no longer extant, though remnants of a stone temple can be seen in the contiguous Lakṣaṇā Devī Temple at Brahmaur. A similar trend involving the disintegration of stone temples and the relegation of their stone images to the peripheries of newer Devī temples can be seen elsewhere in the Western Himalayas, such as at Kao and Mamel in the Karsog valley.

#### IDENTITY AND ITS REMNANTS

Local tradition<sup>26</sup> identifies this Śiva bust as Baṭuka Mahādeva, and the term itself is intriguing, because early Paurānic texts do not mention Śiva in this form. The *Śiva Purāna*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and other *Purānas* in which Śiva and other iconography find mention are specially significant to trace how resonances of an older tradition are still echoed in identities and practices in recent times. The one reference in the *Śiva Purāna* to Baṭuka is in association with the incarnation of Pināka bearing Lord Śiva as Kirāta who killed Mūka and with pleasure granted favours to Arjuna. In it, Lord Kṛiṣṇa says that he propitiated Lord Śiva for seven months in the mountain of Baṭuka and thus pleased Śiva. (*ŚivaPurāna*, 37.13–14). The location and identity of the mountain

<sup>26</sup> Place: Chhatrari, District Chamba, Date: 15th September 2002, Informants: Chuuni Lal-Pujari, Suresh Kumar-Pujari, Puran Chanda and Chatur Ram-Kothari and Riharu Ram-Chela (medium) of the Devī (also known as Mata da Grahānu).

is unspecified but Baṭuka has traditionally been associated with Bhairava and in fact, his child form or *bāl rūpa* is often seen in later Śaiva tradition.

Baṭuka Bhairava has always been considered an unorthodox deity associated with dogs and unclean demons, perhaps belonging to autochthonous cultural traditions that were incorporated into the Brahmanical religious matrix. This is part of an extended tradition where the Yajurveda describes Rudra as Śvapati (Lord of Dogs) and the Atharvaveda as being accompanied by howling dogs (Chakravarti 1986, 46).

The description of the Baṭuka Bhairava icon, given in the *Rupamandana*, with eight arms does not match the image at Chhatrari, for it is prescribed that in six of these arms *khatvāṅga*<sup>27</sup>, *pāsa*<sup>28</sup>, *suta*, *damaru*<sup>29</sup>, *kapāla*<sup>30</sup> and a snake should be held. Of the two hands adjacent to the body, one carries a piece of flesh and the other is in *abhaya* – *mudra* (gesture of fearlessness). The figure is flanked by a dog which is the same colour as Baṭuka Bhairava. Even the *Vatuka-bhairavkalpa*, a later text devoted to this particular form, describes that this aspect of Bhairava should be depicted with red *jatās* (matted hair), three eyes and a red body. He should carry in his hands the *śūla pāsa*, *damaru* and *kapāla* and ride a dog. In addition, he should be stark naked and surrounded by a host of demons (Rao 1998, 177–179). In the Tantric tradition there are 64 *bhairavas* or *kṣētrapālas*, each having a dog as its companion. For Baṭuka and Kāla Bhairava, the dog actually becomes the *vāhana* (vehicle) (Krishna 2014, 105).

It is in Kashmiri Saivism that Vaṭuka Bhairava has a major presence in textual as well as ritual practice and represents the *rājas guṇā*<sup>31</sup>. In one of the myths, it is narrated that at the early dawn of creation, Mahādeva meditates on his Paramśakti. His meditation leads to a revelatory vision of a beautiful Himalayan forest called Sundermal where Parmaśakti gives instructions to her Yoginīs to prepare meat dishes and other delicacies for human consumption. Mahādeva takes the form of the Svachanda Bhairava (5 faces, ten arms and 15 eyes) and approaches the supreme force, Mahāśakti, while her attendants are terrified and struck dumb by this form.

It is believed that on observing their dread, Paramśakti or Mahādevī cast an infuriated eye at a pitcher of water whereupon Baṭuka Bhairava emerged. Here too, he has been ascribed as ten-armed holding a spear, a pitcher, a *damaru*, a noose and two arms in *abhaya* (gesture of fearlessness) and with favour-giving postures. The narrative relates that Baṭuka Mahādeva and the Yoginīs are unable to ward off Mahādeva in his

<sup>27</sup> *Khatvāṅga* is a long, studded tube originally created as a weapon. It was adopted as a religious symbol in Indian religions.

<sup>28</sup> *Pāsa* – translated as “noose” or “lasso”, is a supernatural weapon depicted in Hindu iconography.

<sup>29</sup> *Damaru* is a small, two-headed drum.

<sup>30</sup> *Kapāla* – a skull or a skull-cup – a cup made from a human skull and used as a ritual implement (bowl).

<sup>31</sup> *Rajas* is sometimes translated as passion; it is one of the three *Guṇas* (tendencies, qualities, attributes), a philosophical and psychological concept developed by the Samkhya school of Hindu philosophy (Larson 2001; Lochtefeld 2002).

Svachanda Bhairava form. The Svachanda Mahādeva however leaves and Paramśakti blesses Baṭuka and Ramana Bhairavas created thus as embodiments of *rājas* and *sattva guṇas*<sup>32</sup> respectively. In another version of the story Bhrangesh Samhita Brahma and Viṣṇu are humbled by Śiva instead of Baṭuka and Ramana. As a reward for their efforts the Mahāśakti, grants these Bhairavas protection and on the 13th *Krishna pakṣa*<sup>33</sup> of *Phālguna*<sup>34</sup> (called *Herath*) *yōginīs* merge with the Mahāśakti, and she in turn with the *juvālālīṅga* (Toshakhani 2010, 157–159).

This is celebrated in Kashmir Saivism through a fortnight long ritual around the 13th of *Phālguna* where Bhairava emerges as a *juvālā-līṅga* or a *Līṅga* of blaze and overwhelms Vaṭuka Bhairava and Rāma (or Ramana Bhairava) the mind born sons of Mahāśakti.

In another part of the Himalayas, in Nepal, Baṭuka Bhairava has a temple contiguous with the Vatsala temple in Paśupati-nātha and an independent procession is held there and this Bhairava is taken outside (Michaels 2008, 13).

#### JATĀRS: CHARĪ YĀTRĀ, ŚOBHĀ AND RATHA YĀTRĀ

The entire area has numerous *jatārs* or fairs and festivals, either linked to or independent of each other. Three-day festivals, such as the one at Chhatrari, are also celebrated in other parts of the erstwhile *riyāsat* (“a state”, region) including Pangī, where the *Iwān* is celebrated every year in Dharwas and the *Unoni* at Lujh, Suraalm Karuni and Karias to venerate the Devī in her various forms (*Census of India 1961* 1964, 37).

Every year at Chhatrari, a *yātrā* known locally as *śōbhāyātrā* is taken out of the main Śakti Devī temple and taken around the village. This *yātrā* takes place annually on the occasion of the three-day *melā* (feast, festival or fair), which coincides with the last day of the better known Maṇimaheśa *charīyātrā*, when the *charī* (staff) starts its return journey to the Charpaṭi Nāth *samādhi* in Chamba town. The *yātrā* and the accompanying rituals are conducted in four stages, each with a separate yet interlinked significance.

On the first day of the *melā* at Chhatrari, the main idol of Śakti Devī is washed in the morning with water brought from the Maṇimaheśa Lake (*Census of India 1961* 1964, 50) and later the small *mukhālīṅga* is taken out in a palanquin in a procession

<sup>32</sup> *Sattva* is one of the three *Guṇas* or “modes of existence” (tendencies, qualities, attributes), a philosophical and psychological concept developed by the Samkhya school of Hindu philosophy (Larson 2001; Lochtefeld 2002).

<sup>33</sup> *Krishna pakṣa* refers to the dark lunar fortnight or waning moon in the Hindu calendar. *Krishna* in Sanskrit means “dark”. *Krishna pakṣa* is a period of 15 days, which begins on a day *Purnima* (Full Moon), culminating on a day *Amasvasya* (New Moon). *Krishna pakṣa* is considered inauspicious, as the moon loses light during this period (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paksha>, access: 10.11.2017).

<sup>34</sup> *Phālguna* is a month of the Hindu calendar. *Phālguna* is the eleventh month of the year, and corresponds with February/March in the Gregorian calendar (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phalguna>, access: 10.11.2017).

as described below. On being asked about the relationship between the Maṇimaheśa and Śakti Devī temples, the *pujārī* said it was an ‘old tradition’. The same explanation was offered for the *melā* and its importance.

Nevertheless, it is interesting that the Maṇimaheśa *yātrā* links the entire Chamba Brahmour valley, an area under the control of the Mosuna dynasty<sup>35</sup> from the time of Meru Varman (the legendary *raja*, a founder of the dynasty) onwards and within a pilgrimage and homage circuit. The Maṇimaheśa *charīyātrā*<sup>36</sup> is taken out by a sect of wandering mendicants known as *sādhus* from the Daśnāmi *akharā* in Chamba town after consecrating the twin staffs of Charpatnāth, symbolizing Śiva and Pārvatī. Then there is a *pujā*, the feeding in a gathered communal feast called *langar*. The Jaṅgams or the Viraśaiva sing the praises of Śiva and are paid a ritual fee *dakṣiṇā* by wandering mendicants known as *sādhū bābās* who are their patrons or *jajamāns*<sup>37</sup> during this period. The next stage of the ritual takes place at the neighboring temple of Dattātreyā<sup>38</sup>. The group of *sādhus* next go to the main Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temple complex where the *charī* is hosted by the temple committee and pay obeisance to the shrine of Charpatnāth and to the *tri-mukhalinga* within the Cañdragupta temple. It continues on its onward journey, halting at designated spots to reach Brahmaur where it stays within the precincts of the Chaurāsi complex. Here, the tall Maṇimaheśa temple is to be found with a large *līṅga* that is enshrined within. The *charīyātrā* which continues from Brahmaur (Photo 5) goes up to Brahmani Devī before it proceeds to the Dal Lake.

On the way to Maṇimaheśa Dal, all pilgrims are enjoined to bathe in the Brahmāṇī Kuṇḍa, at the temple of Brahmāṇī Devī, also known as Bharmāṇī (*Census of India 1961* 1964, 62). This ritual started because of a belief that Śiva granted a favour of precedence to the Devī to expiate his sin of having stayed in Devī’s Vatika (a pasture). In another version there was a struggle for supremacy in the area and the vanquished Devī asked for this favour (Bawa 1998, 59). There are other sites associated with Śiva and Gaurī and one of these is Barachundi, where it is believed that Śiva as a bridegroom plaited Pārvatī’s hair after she had bathed in the Gaurī Kuṇḍa (a site on way to the Lake).

The linkages between Śiva and the Devī continue through the mixing of Pauranic Brahmanical textual traditions with local beliefs. Here, instead of Kāmākhyā in Assam, it is the Dal that is believed to be the site where the *yoni* of Sati fell after she committed herself to the fire of Dakṣha’s sacrifice or *yajña* and was ritually dismembered by Viṣṇu’s *cakra* to calm Śiva who carried her body and wrought destruction on the universe. It is believed by the Brahmin community of Gaddis that Śiva who had witnessed the dropping of the last limb of Sati’s body into the nether world (*patāla*) now changed himself

<sup>35</sup> See: footnote 8.

<sup>36</sup> Field survey in August September 1993, 2003, 2012.

<sup>37</sup> A *jajamān* is a person who requests and pays for a performance.

<sup>38</sup> Manimahesh Lake and Mani Mahesh Kailash Peak are located in Himachal Pradesh, between Mahoun and Hadsar, in the Himalayan range Pir Panjal.





Photo 5: The Maṅgimaheśa yātrā with the *charīs* carried by *sadhū*s on way to the Maṅgimaheśa Lake.

Author: S. Bawa.

into a mountain, taking the form of *Parvata Liṅga* to uphold the *yonī*. This site came to be known as *Yoni-Tirtha* or *Pīṭha*. The importance of the *yonī* as *pīṭha*, or receptacle for the *liṅga*, is mentioned in various *Purāṇas* such as *Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (7.30–44–45) and *Kālika Purāṇa* (18.36–54) and is also elaborated on in the *Śiva Purāṇa* which says:

“The phallus is united with vagina and vagina is united with phallus. For the sake of perpetual enjoyment here and hereafter the devotee shall worship the phallic emblem which is Lord Śiva Himself. He is the sun giving birth and sustenance to the worlds. His symbol is justified in the coming into existence of things. Persons should worship Śiva, the cause of birth, in his phallic form. That which makes the *Puruṣa* known, is called *Liṅga*, (the symbol). The unification and fusion of the symbols of Śiva and Śakti is thus called *Liṅga*. The Lord delighted at the worship of His symbol wards off the function of the symbol. Hence the devotee shall worship the phallic emblem with the sixteen forms of service and homage to acquire benefit from *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* through, meaning inherent or extraneous” (*Śiva Purāṇa* I. 105–109 and I. 136).

So, a devotee is asked to worship both Śiva and Śakti. Rituals involved in the worship of Śiva and Śakti are prescribed regularly. It is believed that they can lead to the attainment of material and spiritual benefits through urging devotees to not be deceived in regards to money, body, mantra or conception. In such rituals Śiva, in the company of his wife, feeds his devotees (*Śiva Purāṇa* I.140–142). Thus, public feasting and festivals are encouraged in the Pauranic version of Śivasim.

As mentioned before, water from the Maṇimaheśa Dal or lake is taken to bathe the idols at Brahmaur and Chhatrari on Radha Ashtami or Durbashtmi. The next day of the ceremony it continues to Harsar and then proceeds via Dhhancho to the shore of the Maṇimaheśa Lake at the foot of Kailāśa Mountain<sup>39</sup>. In its original form, the act of ritually bathing and consecrating the image of Śakti Devī with sacred waters brought to Śiva not only links the two sites of the rituals, but also the deities. The Maṇimaheśa *yātrā* and the one at Chhatrari not only reinforce the sacredness of Brahmaur but also unite all the main temples of Chamba-Brahmaur in a relationship of priority and kinship (Bawa. 1998, 37, fn 5).

On the morning of Radha *aṣṭami*, a sacred dip is also performed at other sites, holy to Śiva, in the Brahmaur region such as at Tri-Lochan Mahādeva on the Chamba Brahmaur road, in the Sal river at Saho, in a pond at the site of a temple called Anala Mahādeva near Pukhri village and also at Kunjar Mahādeva in the Bhattiyat division. In Chamba town, people bathe in the Ravi River, where it is believed that the waters of Maṇimaheśa Dal reach by mid-morning, and then pay obeisance to the Śiva temple of Chandragupta in the Lakṣmi Nārāyana temple complex.

Once a relatively restricted pilgrimage, in which mainly the Gaddis, Chambyāls and Pangyāls<sup>40</sup> participated, it has now grown into a pan-regional pilgrimage with people from Punjab, Jammu, Kashmir and other parts of Himachal joining in. According to a local tradition in the Bhadarwah, across the Padri Pass, there is an account of sectarian conflict between the *nāgas*<sup>41</sup> and Vaiṣṇava cult represented by Garuda, and Śiva, in which is recounted that Śiva decided to relocate to Kailāśa after a request from Vasuki Nāga, who presented a *maṇi* (a jewel) to Śiva and thus Śiva is called Maṇimaheśa Mahādeva. Even the Jammu state of Chanheni claims a connection with Śiva and says that Gaddien Dhār or the ridge of the Gaddis from Mantalai to Maṇimaheśa was given to Gaurjāas as a dowry and thus the populace of Chanehni go with Gaurjā from Mantalai to Maṇimaheśa Kailāśa every year along with the *yātrā*, bringing the goddess to her natal home for her annual visit to her village. The legend resembles that of Nandā Devī as Gaurja and her marriage to Śiva in Garhwal region.

#### THE EVENT: RITUAL AND PERFORMANCE

In phase two, after bathing the idol, the actual procession of the Śiva bust from the sanctum of the temple and its short foray outside the *garbhagrha* (a small sanctum) takes place. The *ratha yātrā* is described as a *śōbhā yātrā* by temple functionaries. The

<sup>39</sup> Manimahesh Lake and Mani Mahesh Kailash Peak are located in Himachal Pradesh, between Mahoun and Hadsar, in the Himalayan range Pir Panjal.

<sup>40</sup> Tribes living in Himachal Pradesh.

<sup>41</sup> *Nāga* is the Sanskrit and Pali word for a deity or class of entity or being taking the form of a very great snake, specifically the king cobra, found in the Indian religions (Elgood 2000, 234).



Photo 6. The *śōbhā yātrā* of Baṭuka Mahādeva emerging from the Śiva Śakti temple. Author: S. Bawa.

*ratha* is a small wooden *pālki* or palanquin made of a woven *niwār* (a coarse kind of tape) around wooden posts made of *devadar* wood (Himalayan cedar). It is prepared to receive the *mūrti* by lining it first with a blanket, then covering this with a red brocade cloth (called *sāl* or *sālu*) and finally, placing round cushions as support on two sides of the palanquin *ratha*. The brass *mukhaliṅga* described above, which is kept on a platform (along with other small images) to the right of the main image, is taken out of the *garbhagrha* by temple functionaries and placed on the *ratha*. It is then decorated with two long necklaces of silver and gold. A *mukuṭa* (a crown decoration) is placed in front of the crown on the bust. Thereafter, a silver *chhatra* (an umbrella) is placed atop the image (I was permitted to observe these preparations up to this point but then was asked to leave).

The *ratha*, carried by the *kothāri* and other temple functionaries, is taken out by the main temple door (Photo 6).

It descends into the *Kuṇḍa* area (an enclosed courtyard with a fire altar or *vedī*), ascends steps on the left and does a circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) of the temple. It leaves the temple's premises from a south gate, goes into the *bazār* and finally, re-enters from the middle gate and is rushed directly into the temple. The *ratha* is accompanied by musicians playing the *dhōl* (drum), *narasiṅghā* (broad trumpet), *paun* (a percussion instrument) and *nagārā* (kettledrums).

On being asked whether such *ratha yātrās* take place elsewhere in the valley, the reply was always in the negative. The reason given for this singularity was that such a *mūrti* did not exist elsewhere. On being further questioned about the specifics of this particular *mūrti*, the *kothāri* said that only this *mūrti* can be taken outside. Other *mūrtis*, not even the small idols in the sanctum, can be transported around. This ritual appears to be significant given that a *līnga* cover (called *mohrā*), of this type, is rare in the Chamba valley. The Vajreśvari in Chamba town and maybe even the Harsar images are probably the only such examples. The Vajreśvari image installed in a temple of the same name, in Chamba town, is a *mohrā* – a brass mask that is used as a mobile icon to be carried out in the *rathas*, and is also often installed for regular and daily worship in the Mandi region, previously known as Siraj. However, in case of the Vajreśvari icon, it is considered to be the *pindi* – the primeval body of the Devī, and is never taken out of the sanctum for a procession.

#### THE MASK DANCE

Stage three involves a performance of Śiva-Śakti and the demons being played out in the public arena through a mask dance enacted on the premises of the temple. There are six masks in total, all made of wood and called *khapar* or *mukhauṭā*, and are daubed with layers of orange-red paste. While witnessing the *ratha yātrā*, I observed that the masks were placed against the outer entrance wall of the main shrine throughout the day. As soon as the *ratha yātrā* is over, six men enter the temple and don the masks after shutting the main door. After they are dressed, the men dash out of the temple and run around in the *pradakṣiṇā* rite<sup>42</sup> of the courtyard in front of the Umā-Maheśvara temple (Photo 7). Here they sway and dance around each other. During the entire performance, boys from the village beat them with *bicchū-būṭī* (nettles) and then masked men chase them off. The masked men then run back into the temple and the doors are shut again.

The dance is supposed to be a re-enactment of the fight between the Devī and a Rākṣasa called Buḍhā (identified with Mahiśāsura). It is believed that the Devī killed him at Chhatrari and the temple was constructed to commemorate the event. Of the six masks, one represents the Devī, three are those of the Buḍhā *rākṣasa* and two those of Chandrahauli<sup>43</sup> or dancing girls. The nettles are considered to be the guardians of the Devī.

<sup>42</sup> *Pradakṣiṇā* – the action of walking clockwise round a person or deity as a mark of respect (*English Oxford Dictionaries*).

<sup>43</sup> Perhaps this is a local version of the term *Chandramauli*, the crescent moon on Śiva's forehead which is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.



Photo 7: Mask wearing dancers circumambulating the Śiva Śakti temple Chhatrari, 15th September 2002. Author: S. Bawa.

The outer walls of the sanctum are painted with 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century murals depicting various Purānic and popular incidents from narratives of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and the struggle with and defeat of various demons by Kṛṣṇaas well as Durgā. The faces of these demons (Photo 8) be they Śunga and Niśunga, or Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa are painted in orange-red very much in the vein of the Mukhautā used in the masked performance.

The description and details of the mask dance are not given in the village survey but there are two photographs that show the dancers with masks and some rudimentary additional attire such as a scarf called a *dupaṭṭā* that identifies the wearer as feminine. Another photograph shows the villages surrounding the dancers (*Census of India 1961* 1964. Chitrari, unnumbered photographs). All the men who don masks belong to the Sipi and Lohār castes. Their names, when I was viewing the procession, were Hans Rai, Devī Chand, Mangu, Pritam Chand, Prito Dev and Hukama Ram. Jago Ram played the *dhōl*, Baladev and Hansa were on the *bans* (flute), Chunni Lal-Narasiṅha, Manoj Kumar and Naresh Kumar were on the *paun* while Gyan Chand on the *thāli* accompanied them.



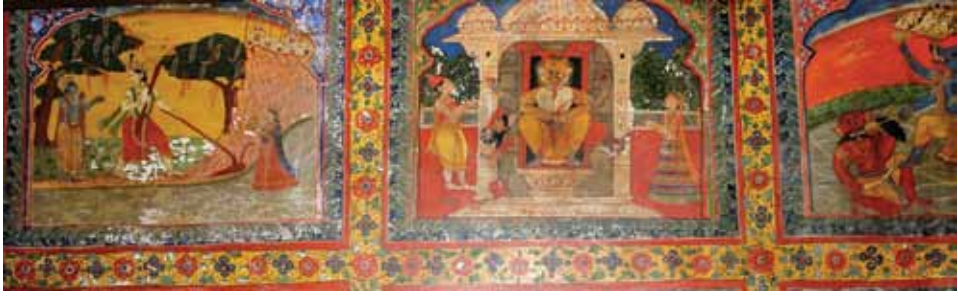


Photo 8: Painting on the wall of Śiva Śakti temple showing a red bodied demon being vanquished by Varaha, left panel. Author: S. Bawa.

#### RITES OF POSSESSION: THE CHELA

The performance continues with rites of possession, where the medium or *celā* (Rihāru Rām) is sprinkled with water in front of the Śakti Devī image, not unlike the lambs and goats that are sacrificed to the deity. During the ceremonies witnessed by me, throughout the day, devotees sacrifice sheep and even tiny little lambs to the Devī. The sacrificial offerings are tied to one of the wooden post-supports of the temple, water is sprinkled on them to make them shiver and then the actual decapitations take place. The sacrifices are independent proceedings where the *pujārī* is not required.

Apparently the Devī possesses the *celā* (this takes about twelve minutes). I could see him twitching and shivering through a crack in the wall. He then rushed out of the temple, ran around it in *pradakṣiṇā* up to the courtyard where he swayed and jumped up and down. Village elders asked him questions about the crops and rains which surrounded him. This did not last very long and he soon dashed back into the temple. This ended the ritual/performance part of the *melā*.

The next two days of the *melā* are mainly devoted to various kinds of community dances. The area around the temple used to organize village activities such as volleyball matches, rides and dances by the Gaddi tribesmen. Stalls selling wares from Chamba region and even Pathankot are just outside the temple, and villagers buy trinkets and items from them. This is also the time when devotees beseech the Devī for favours. If these are fulfilled, they then return the following year with offerings for the Devī.

Deities in mask or *mohrā* forms, are displayed in many parts of the Kullu-Mandi region or at pan-regional fairs or festivals such as Śivarātri at Mandi and Dussehrā at Kullu. However, there are also local processions and fairs that establish familial and hierarchical relationships between deities at an inter-village level. Cases in point being the two villages of Kao and Mamel in the Karsog valley; a *mohrā ratha* of Mamleśvara, a form of Śiva, is taken out to meet the *mohrā ratha* of Kāmākṣrā Devī from Kao

where they meet as husband and wife. Similar practices are observable elsewhere in the Tirthan valley.

The observations of the objects, rituals and performances highlight the peculiarities of the *jatārs* (festivals) of Gaddis. These bind the region together within a network of mythology, ritual performance and pilgrimage, translating classical Brahmanical ideological and metaphysical framework into local legends, beliefs and ritual practices. Many layers of religious experience have created this multivalent system of *jatārs* in the valley. The resonances of Kashmir Śivaism are easily explained, given the physical proximity and the system of exchange of religious elements in the region (Bawa 1998, 39, 42, 45, 50). The *vamsavali* or the genealogy of the kings of Chamba, records that the founding king reached Varmapura or Brahmaur via Kashmir. His descendant, Meru Varman, obtained the images in Brahmaur and Chhatrari established under the influence of his eminent guru who was an inhabitant of Kashmir (Vogel 1911, 90–1). The practices and cults peculiar to Kashmir such as Baṭuka Mahādeva thus find echoes in local cultic beliefs in the upper Ravi valley, as do stylistic affiliations in art.

The processions out of the temples, mark or delineate the territory of Devatā or the deity, while also allowing all those present to be sanctified through his *darśana*<sup>44</sup>, in a practice that may have travelled with the Gaddi herdsmen as they traversed the Western Himalayas. The mask-dance, rites of possession and sacrifices further enhance this experience by perpetuating the memory of a mythical event with all the characters, conflicts and contestations embedded in it. The Devī, Śiva and the demons all inhabit the physical and religious landscape of Chhatrari and Brahmaur and constantly adjust, shift and find visibility in the *ratha yātrā* of Baṭuka Mahādeva.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acharya P. K. 1946. *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. London–New York–Bombay–Calcutta. <https://archive.org/stream/encyclopaediaofho7achauoft#page/n9/mode/2up>, access: 10.11.2015.
- Bawa S. 1998. *Religion and Art of the Chamba Valley C. 700 to 1300*. Delhi.
- Bawa S. 2014. Aspects of the Goddess (Raudra and Saumya): A study of two icons from the Chamba Valley. In A. Sengupta (ed.), *Cult of the Goddess: Past and Present in Indian Art*. Delhi, 211–229.
- Census of India 1961*. 1964. Himachal Pradesh – A Village Survey: Kupha – Parmas – Thamoh – Malet (Pangi Sub-Tehsil, Chamba District). Volume XX – Part VI – No. 7; A Village Survey of

<sup>44</sup> Darśana (darshan) is described as an “auspicious seeing or beholding” of a holy person, which bestows merit on the person who is seen. It is most commonly used for theophany, “manifestation / visions of the divine”, in Hindu worship, e.g. of a deity (especially in image form), or a very holy person or artifact. One can receive darśana or a glimpse of the deity in the temple, or from a great saintly person (Flood 2011, 194; Encyclopaedia Britannica).

- Brahmaur, Chamba Tehsil, Chamba District, Volume 6; Volume 5–6; A Village Survey of Chitrari, Chamba Tehsil, Chamba District, Volume 6; Volume 10. Registrar General.
- Chakravarti M. 1986. *The Concept of Rudra-Śiva Through the Ages*. Delhi.
- Jones C. and Ryan J. D. 2007. *Encyclopedia of Hinduism (Encyclopedia of World Religions)*. New York.
- Davis R. H. 1995. The Origin of Linga Worship. In D.S. Lopez Jr. (ed.), *Religions of India in Practice*. Princeton, 637–648.
- Dennis Hudson D. 1995. How to Worship at Śiva's Temple. In D.S. Lopez Jr. (ed.), *Religions of India in Practice*. Princeton, 305–320.
- Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa. 1960. Benares.
- Elgood H. 2000. *Hinduism and the Religious Arts*. London.
- Flood G. D. 2011. Miracles in Hinduism. In G.H. Twelftree (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Miracles*. Cambridge, 184–198.
- Gopinatha Rao T. A. 1993. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. New Delhi. <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/prabhavali>, access: 10.11.2017.
- Hazra R. C. 1962 (reprint 2003). The Upapuranas. In S. Radhakrishnan (ed.), *The Cultural Heritage of India II*. Kolkata, 27–278.
- Hutchison R. 1998. Reprint *Gazetteer of the Chamba State*. Volume 22 of Punjab District Gazetteers. Punjab–Delhi.
- Johnson W. J. 2009. *A Dictionary of Hinduism*. Oxford. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095359111>; <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198610250.001.0001/acref-9780198610250-e-2279>, access: 10.11.2017.
- Kālika Purāṇa. 1972. Sri Biswanarayan Sastri (ed.). Chowkhamba Sanskrit Office. Varanasi.
- Kramrisch S. 1988. *The Presence of Śiva*. Delhi.
- Kramrisch S. 1928. *The Vishnudharmottara. (Part III) A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition. Calcutta.
- Krishna N. 2014. *Sacred Animals of India*. Penguin UK.
- Larson G. J. 2001. *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of Its History and Meaning*. New Delhi.
- Lochtefeld J. G. 2002. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism 2*. New York.
- Michaels A. 2008. *Siva in Trouble: Festivals and Rituals at the Pasupatinatha Temple of Deopatan*. OUP, USA.
- Monier-Williams M. 2011. *Sanskrit English Dictionary*. Oxford.
- Muller-Ortega P. E. 2010. *The Triadic Heart of Śiva: Kaula Tantricism of Abhinavagupta in the Non-dual Shaivism of Kashmir*. SUNY Series in the Shaiva Traditions of Kashmir. New York.
- Postel M., Neven A., Mankodi K. 1985. *Antiquities of Himachal*. Volume 1: Project for Indian Cultural Studies. Bombay.
- Rao Gopinath T. A. 1985. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Vol. 2 (Pt. 1), Vol. 1–2. Delhi.
- Sacha-Piekło M. and Jakubczak M. (eds.) 2003. *Między wiarą a gnozą: doświadczenie mistyczne w tradycjach Orientu*. Kraków.
- Sharma M. 2009. *Western Himalayan Temple Records: State, Pilgrimage, Ritual and Legality in Chamba*. Leiden–Boston.
- Stutley M. 1985. *The Illustrated Dictionary of Hindu Iconography*. New Delhi.
- Śiva Purāṇa. 1970. (Ed.) J.L. Shastri. *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series*. Delhi.
- Toshakhani S. S. 2010. *Rites and Rituals of Kashmiri Brahmins*. Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation. New Delhi.
- Vogel J. Ph. 1911 (reprint 1994). *Antiquities of the Chamba State. Part I*. Archaeological Survey of India. Delhi.

**Internet sources:**

Bhikshatanamurti – in Wisdom Library: <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/bhikshatanamurti>, access: 10.11.2017.

Darśana – in Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/darshan>, access: 10.11.2018.

Krishna Paksha: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paksha>, access: 10.11.2017.

Phālguna: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phalguna>, access: 10.11.2017.

Pradakṣiṇā – in English Oxford Dictionaries: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/pradakshina>, access: 10.11.2017.

*Development of footnotes and bibliography: A. Szymoszyn*

Author's address:

Professor Seema Bawa

Department of History

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Delhi

Delhi 11000, INDIA

e-mail: [bawaseema@gmail.com](mailto:bawaseema@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5129-6759>.