ANNUAL REPORT

1911-12

13565

EDITED BY

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Hon. A.R.I.B.A., Director General of Archaeology in India.

CALCUTTA

SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA

1915
Agents for the sale of Books published by the Superintendent
Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

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SHAH JAHAN'S FORT, DELHI.

Of all the Mughal monuments of Delhi which are now invested with so much interest owing to the city having become once more the Capital of the Indian Empire, the Fort of Shah Jahan will, to the majority, appeal the most. The home of the descendants of Timur from the date of its building down to the day when it was taken from the last titular Emperor of Delhi by the British in 1857, it has been the stage of some of the most stirring dramas in Indian history, and as such is invested with a veritable halo of romance. In this article an attempt is made to throw some additional light on its history—from evidence—unpublished, it is believed, hitherto—which has been culled from Indian historians by my Assistant Maulvi, Muhammad Shuaib, and to show, also, what has been done in the last decade by the Archeological Department to make the condition of the Fort worthy of its former glories. Since 1903 several articles1 have appeared in this Annual on the work that has been going on in the Fort, but, until it was finally worked out, a concise description of the complete scheme of conservation could not be given.3

1 Previous references in the Archeological Survey of India Annual to Archeological Work in Delhi Fort: 1904-05.—Recovery of mosaics from England and account of same, p. 24-27.
1906-07.—Progress of work in Delhi Fort, work on the Hayat Baksh garden, near the Swam and Bhadon pavilions, restoration of Shah Purj, pp. 3-5.
1908-09.—Progress of work in Delhi Fort, work on the Hayat Baksh garden, near the Swam and Bhadon pavilions, restoration of Shah Purj, pp. 3-5.

1 Besides the Editor of this Report, I am indebted also to Dr. Horovitz for examining the Persian quotations and their translations, and to Dr. Vogel, Mr. J. P. Thompson, Mr. Ward, and Prof. Arnold for information supplied.
It is said that Shāh Jahān wished to transfer the Capital to Delhi from Agra on account of "the broken ravines and numerous inequalities throughout the city, want of space in the Fort, narrowness of the streets and the inconvenience caused to the inhabitants by the large crowds of troops and elephants, the retinues of the Emperor and his Amirs."  

The order was accordingly issued for engineers to prepare designs for a palace similar to those of Agra and Lahore and the foundation stones were laid in A.H. 1048, (A.D. 1638), under the superintendence of Ghairat Khan, the Governor of Delhi.

Alāmah Vardī Khan, succeeded him as 'superintendent of works,' and he in turn was followed by Makrumat Khan, who completed the palace in 1647 A.D. Other names associated with the building of the Fort are Ahmad and Hāmid, able 'master-builders of the day, while the Emperor himself when inspecting the buildings gave orders for certain alterations.'

A site having been chosen in the suburb of the Capital, near Nārgah, building operations began, under the superintendence of Ghairat Khan, "when five hours had passed from the night of Friday, the 25th of Zu-l-Hijjah, corresponding with the 9th of Urdu Bahisht, in the 12th year of the divine reign, corresponding to A.H. 1048, at a happy time and auspicious moment."  

The "skilled architects" Ahmad and Hāmid marked out the ground according to the plan, and "the spade men began to dig." "On the 9th Muharram, A.H. 1049, corresponding with the 23rd Urdu Bahisht, when, from the night of Friday, five hours and twelve astronomical minutes had passed, the foundations of these new buildings were laid......" Skilled artisans, the historian goes on to say, were summoned for the work from all quarters of the Empire. The progress made under the various governors is also recorded. Under Ghairat Khan, in four months and
two days all excavations were made, materials collected and certain foundations laid. After the latter’s appointment as Governor at Thath, Allah Vardi Khan took over charge, and the walls of the Fort on the river side were raised to 12 qas, while in the 20th year of the reign the buildings were completed under Mukramat Khan.¹

The historians differ as to where Shah Jahan was when the news reached him of the completion of the palace buildings. Muhammad Salih writes that after consulting the astrologers the 24th Rabiu-l-awwal, corresponding with the 20th of Farvardin, A. H. 1058, was selected as the auspicious date for the visit of the King, and that he marched towards Shahjahanabad, as the new city was named, on the 12th Rabiu-l-awwal.² An historian of the reign of Aurangzeb has it that the Emperor, having given over command of the Fort at Akbarabad (Agra) to Baqi Khan, set out by way of the river for Shahjahanabad, which he named Darul-Khalifat (seat of government) on the 12th Rabiu-l-awwal, and arrived at the Fort on the 22nd of the same month.³ The same historian says elsewhere that the Fort was completed in the 20th year of the reign, when His Majesty was in Kabul, and that he arrived in the Fort on the 24th Rabiu-l-awwal, A. H. 1058. The accounts are rather conflicting for Shah Jahan could not have reached Delhi in twelve days from Kabul, and it is far more probable that he came from Agra by river. However, the historians seem agreed that he entered his new city on the 24th Rabiu-l-awwal A. H. 1058. Muhammad Salih says fifty lacs was the cost of building the Fort, and that about the same amount was spent on the buildings within it. “It has,” he goes on to say, “four gates, two wickets, and twenty-one bastions, seven of which are round and fourteen octagonal. The Fort is octagonal in shape, 1,000 qas long, 800 broad and 25 qas in height from ground level.”⁴

The area is 600,000 sq. qas, and the circumference 3,300 qas. The walls and towers, from pinnacles to foundation, have been built of pure red sandstone.⁵ Red sandstone and marble for the construction were provided by the governors and rajahs of the localities where these materials were obtainable and the former was also brought from Fatehpur Sikri,⁶ while a large basin made of one piece of marble was brought from Makrana in Rajputana.⁷

Bakhtawar Khan, writing in the reign of Aurangzeb, also gives the cost of the various buildings as follows:

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<td>Fort and buildings within it</td>
<td>60 lacs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Mansions</td>
<td>28 lacs</td>
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<td>Shah Mahal (Diwan-i-khas)</td>
<td>14 lacs</td>
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<td>Imtiyaz Mahal (Rang Mahal)</td>
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<td>Daulat Khana-khas-o-Amm</td>
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² Amal-i-Salih, Vol. 576; also see Matbath-i-Umarah, Vol. III, pp. 469-83.
³ Khwaja Khan, Musalsal-i-Lubab, B. I., pp. 888-91.
⁴ Actual Measurements are 810' 0" North and South by 810' 0" East and West.
⁷ Amal-i-Salih, Vol. 582.
The palaces of the Begum Sahib and other begams and royal ladies were laid out round the Fort which was surrounded by a masonry-lined moat 25 feet broad and 10 feet deep, always kept filled with water.

The two stone bridges, which cross the moat at the Lahore and Delhi gates, were built, their inscriptions tell us, in A. H. 1226 (A. D. 1811) in the reign of Akbar II, under the management of Dilâwar-ud-Daulah, Robert Machpherson Bahadur Diler Jang, to replace the former drawbridges of wood.

The barbicans in front of the Delhi and Lahore gates are the work of Aurangzeb. Shâh Jahân, imprisoned by his son at Agra, wrote to him, "Dear son, you have made the Fort a bride and have set a veil before her face." The glacis which surrounds the Fort to the south and west was constructed after the Mutiny.

The old plan of the Fort (Plate II) has not, it is believed, been published hitherto. It differs slightly from the plans given by Carr Stephen (Archaeology of Delhi, p. VI, introduction), by Panshawe (Delhi Past and Present, p. 23) and by Fergusson (Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 310). Its measurements are, unfortunately, not to be relied on and it must be regarded merely as a sketch of the buildings as they existed before the advent of the British. The quarters of the Hayat Bakhsh garden are also incorrectly shown, but the detail of the northern and southern portions of the Fort is carefully indicated and gives a good idea of the numerous subsidiary buildings that clustered round the royal apartments.

The Muhal lay-out can be seen at a glance. The Diwan-i-Am and its courtyard is the main central feature, and from the lesser courtyard in front of the Naqqar Khana branch out the two main arteries running North and South, from which, in their turn, led the lesser alleys leading to the humbler quarters of the palace.

The contemporary historian gives Saturday the 24th Rabî‘ul-awwal of the 21st year of the accession A. H. 1058, as having been fixed as the auspicious day for the inauguration of the new palace. The Emperor arrived at the Fort with a gorgeous retinue, Prince Darâ Shikoh scattering gold and silver over his father’s head till he reached the gates. The Palaces had been already decorated, courtyards and buildings covered with gorgeous carpets and hangings, while "deep red Kashmir shawls covered each seat." The buildings became the envy of the art galleries of

1 The title of Jahantia, the eldest daughter of Shâh Jahân.
2 Bakhsh Khan, Memom-i-Haus. Inscription on the arch of Hayat Bakhsh Khan of Tank, fol. 360.
3 Amul-i-Dulâr, fol. 585.
4 Herat’s Travel, travel, by L. Constable, 1801, p. 249, and Ahir-i-Sardârî, Covapore 1804, Chap. II, p. 29.
5 Belonged, in 1811, to the 17th N. I.; entered the R. I. Co.’s service as a cadet in 1794; became Lieutenant, 29th April 1797; Captain, 27th Feb. 1806; Majors, 22nd Jan. 1817; died at Delhi, Jan. 6, 1823. Son of Andrew Macpherson and born in 1774 in the Parish of Thunny, Invernesshire, N. B.
8 Jamul-i-Dulâr, Fols. 590-93.
9 A usual custom for Muhammadan Kings of India when entering the Capital. Jahangir refers to a somewhat similar occasion in his memoirs. Phulâ-î-Jahangiri, Rogers and Beveridge, p. 259.
China. The roof, walls, and colonnades (eiwāns) of the Diwān-i-’Amm, were hung with brocaded velvet from Turkey, silk from China and Khata, while a gorgeous canopy (Aṣpāk Dalbādāl) specially prepared for the occasion in the factory at Amadābād, measuring 70 gaz by 45 gaz, and costing a lac of rupees, was raised by ‘3,000 active furāshes’. The canopy was supported by silver columns and surrounded by a silver railing. The hall of the Diwān-i-’Amm was surrounded on this occasion with a golden railing, while the throne was provided with a special canopy, fringed with pearls, and supported by golden pillars, wreathed with bands of studded gems. Small subsidiary thrones, set with gems, were also placed before the royal throne. The Emperor, signalised the occasion, still further, by the distribution of lavish gifts, and the ‘honours list’ was a full one. The Begum Sāhibah received 6 lacs of rupees; Prince Dārā, a special robe of honour and jewelled weapons, a increase from the rank of ten to twenty thousand horse, a caparisoned elephant, and two lacs of rupees. The Princes Sulaimān Shikoh and Sipāhr Shikoh received, respectively, daily allowances of Rupees 500 and Rupees 300 in addition to their original pay. The Prime Minister, Sa’dullāh Khān, a robe of honour, a nādrī, and the rank of 7,000 horse, while Rājā Bīthin Dās was presented with a robe and the rank of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

Makramat Khān, under whose supervision the Fort and its buildings were completed, received the rank of Pauj Hazāri. The above is a brief abstract of Muhammad Sālih’s account of the inauguration ceremony, and the palace is said to have been somewhat similarly decorated on the occasion of Aurangzeb’s accession.

But the hey-day of the Fort’s prosperity had passed, and we must now refer to that series of calamities, the death threes of the Mughal Empire, in which the buildings of the Fort played but too prominent a part. Demolished as they are of their former splendour, they but too eloquently bear witness to the wounds received during the successive invasions which eventually brought about the complete downfall of the Empire. Mention must also be made of an earthquake which occurred in 1719, and which is said to have damaged the Fort walls as well as the buildings of the city.

After the reign of Aurangzeb the fortunes of the Mughals steadily declined, until, in 1739, Nādir Shāh entered Delhi and occupied the main apartments of the palace, the Emperor Muhammad Shāh retiring to the Shāh Burj. The enormous ransom demanded by the invader must have involved the removal, besides the famous Peacock Throne, of many of the treasures the palace contained. The Mughal Empire was, indeed, in dire straits. Internal disorder was rife; the Durrānī invaders, already hammering at the gates of the Capital, were with difficulty bought off by the cession of the provinces of Lahore and Multān, and in 1754 the Empire had been reduced to the few districts round Delhi. Taking advantage of the chaos, the Marāthās and Jats
took Delhi. The Fort was bombarded from the 'ruali' side by three guns, worked by Europeans, which rained shot on the 'Asad Burj, the Musamman Burj and other palaces. The Diwan-i-Khass, Rang Mahal and Moti Mahal and Shah Burj were severely damaged, but the Fort itself, on account of its great strength, remained undamaged. They then proceeded to denude the palace of what had been left by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Khan Abdal, removed the silver ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khass and robbed the marble walls of their precious stones, before they were overthrown at Panipat in 1761. Nearly thirty years afterwards Shah 'Alam was blinded and deposed by the Rohilla brigand, Ghulam Qadir Khan, who was enraged at the Emperor's denial of the existence of burial treasure, in the fruitless search for which much damage was probably done to the buildings. The Rohillas were again evicted by the Marathas, who allowed the re-enthroned Shah 'Alam a yearly income. Before leaving the Fort, Ghulam Qadir blew up a powder magazine, but the Marathas were able to extinguish the conflagration before much damage had been done.

The East India Company now appears on the scene, and after the battle of Delhi near Humayun's tomb, in 1803, the Marathas were driven off and Colonel, afterwards Sir David, Ochterlony, was appointed resident. Another Maratha force under Jaswant Rao Holkar returned a year later and Delhi underwent another siege, but was successfully defended by Ochterlony. During this bombardment the palace buildings suffered considerable damage. The 'Asad Burj was repaired later at the expense of Akbar II, whose jurisdiction was now confined to the precincts of the Fort.

Bishop Heber writing in 1826, gives a graphic description of the neglected condition of the Fort, and states how the inlay stones had been picked out from the marble with which the buildings were lined.

The Shah Burj, he says, was "dirty, lonely and wrecked, and full of lumber and gardener's sweepings," while the Moti Masjid was in the same state of neglect, "with peepul springing from its walls, the exterior guiding partially torn from its dome, and some of its doors coarsely blocked up with unplastered bricks and mortar." The Diwan-i-'Amm was full of lumber of all descriptions, broken palanquins and empty boxes, and the throne so covered with pigeon's dung that its ornaments were hardly discernible." The unhappy condition of the apartments of the royal ladies is but too vividly described in the 'Wanderings of a Pilgrim,' the writer of which visited Delhi in February, 1838. An extract from it is given hereafter in the description of the Rang Mahal. The writer states that the allowance of one of the princes was, at this time, but twelve rupees a month.

Things were no better in 1887. Old photographs taken at that date show the ruined dome of the Musamman Burj, untidy chinks hanging from its windows and...
SHAH JAHAN'S FORT, DELHI

Plate III

Fig. 1. An old photograph (mutiny period) showing the buildings on the east front of fort, stretching southwards from Musamman Burj.

Fig. 2. Hayat Baksh Garden. General view from south, showing excavated central tank.
those of the Rang Mahal, while to the south of the latter lay a cluster of ramshackle structures created in the debased style of architecture which became prevalent with the growth of European fashions in India (Plate III.) You Orlich, who visited Delhi in 1843, writing of the buildings to the North of the Diwan-i-Khas, says, "several parts are however so decayed that the baths and apartments cannot be used." "The garden, too, (the Hayat Bakhsh garden ?), in the centre of which is a basin and several fountains, has been deprived of all its original beauty by tasteless additions and alterations."

The Fort itself did not suffer much damage during the fighting that went on round Delhi during the Mutiny, but, on the occupation of the city by the British troops, the palace suffered still further spoliation of what little removable decoration was left. The sheets of copper from the kiosks of the Diwan-i-Khas were taken by a prize agent on the plea of being moveable property, while eleven black marble plaques were taken from the recess at the back of the throne in the Diwan-i-‘Amm, and set in a marble table top. The figure of Orpheus (Plate X1) was also removed and all twelve pieces sold to the British Government. With the exception of the more important buildings on the East front of the Fort, and the Diwan-i-‘Amm and the Naubat Khana, a clean sweep was made of the rest of the palace buildings, so as to give the accommodation and space necessary to a garrison.

This account of the long chain of calamities, through which the "Imperial Seat" of Shah Jahan has passed, will go far to dispel the idea, held by so many, that its spoliation was wholly the result of the English occupation after the Mutiny. Since the occupation, it is true, repairs have from time to time been carried out by the Military Works Services who were in charge of the buildings till 1901, but it was not until nine years ago that the systematic preservation of this group of historical buildings and their immediate surroundings was actively taken up. Many of the buildings were then sadly in need of repair, others were used as barracks or stores, while the area in which they stood was cut up by modern roads, and disfigured by unsightly military buildings. The old levels of the ground had been obliterated, and the bewildered visitor to the palace of the 'Great Mogul' wandered aimlessly from building to building. Seen in these conditions, the palace lost much of its interest, and it was impossible for the average intellect even to attempt to visualise its former condition. The associations of the Fort, its place in history and architecture, demanded that something should be done and the gardens as they now stand are, together with the completed conservation of the buildings, the outcome of the recommendations made to the Government of India in 1902 by Dr. Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology. These suggestions embodied the acquisition from the military authorities of as much of the old area formerly occupied by the palace, as was possible, and its enclosure with a barrier which would enable it to be kept in a state of orderliness, and the buildings it contained secure from further molestation or damage. This done, the thorough

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1 Von Orlich. Travels in India. Translated by Lloyd. London 1848.
2 Major H. H. Cole, R. E. Preservation of national monuments in India, Delhi, 1884. Major Cole adds that he learnt from General Cunningham that the medals before the Mutiny were in a neglected condition and that stones had been extracted, possibly by the native guards of the palace.
conservation of the buildings was to be taken in hand, the ground was to be reduced as far as was possible to its old level, and the modern buildings and roads removed, while the area was to be laid out in pleasing lawns and shrubberies so that the buildings might be seen under more happy conditions. (Figs. 4, 9, 11, 15, etc.) The lawns and shrubberies were to represent, respectively, the position of former courtyards and buildings which had been removed but whose position was clearly marked by the remains of their old masonry foundations and corroborated by old plans of the Fort. In the case of the northern portion of the area, the Hayat Baksh garden, where traces of the old water channels and causeways were abundant (Plate 4), but buried under three feet of earth and rubbish, the fact that the gardens would be eventually used for occasions such as the Royal Garden Party held during the recent Darbar necessitated more reconstructive work, so that the old channels and fountains could be made to fulfil their former functions. It must not be imagined that, small though the area may appear to many, this has been all accomplished with a sweep of the pen. The case of the Hayat Baksh garden alone involved the receipt and despatch of some 1,000 letters from the local office, the sitting of a special Military Committee, and numerous representations to the higher authorities. Besides the Director General, two other members of this Department, Mr. Nicholls and the late Mr. R. F. Tucker, have been closely connected with the work which is here described.

The evacuation of the ground by the Military authorities, the erection of new buildings to take the place of the modern ones demolished inside the area, the difficulties of irrigation owing to the danger of mosquitoes breeding in stagnant water, are but a few of the questions that had to be settled before the scheme could be successfully brought to a conclusion. There were times, indeed, when it seemed as if the difficulties were too great to be overcome. Year by year, however, the programme of rescue and repair went steadily forward, and in spite of set-backs due to want of funds and other causes was within measurable distance of completion, when, in 1911, the advent of the Coronation Darbar gave an unlooked = for opportunity of bringing the work to a speedy and successful finish.

In 1904-1905 excavations were made on a large scale in the Hayat Baksh garden, which lay bare the old central tank (see Plate V) and water channels, and the extent of the former, of which the Zafar Mahal is the central feature, was accurately determined. In 1905-1906 the work was continued and a start made on the reconstruction of the old channels. Fragments of the ornamental kerb and causeways were found between the tank and the Siwan pavilion, and from these, together with the old plans which showed the border, it was possible to carry out the work with perfect accuracy to the original. The large central tank built by Shāh Jahān appeared to have been deepened, probably at the same time as the Zafar Mahal was erected in its centre, and this had been done by building a parapet on the top of the ornamental border. Had this parapet been added by the British the course would have been obvious but it bore elaborate surroundings and was manifestly Mughal work. Accordingly, it was felt that the traces of the parapet's existence should not be destroyed and the missing portions of it were, therefore, restored, so that the tank could be filled up to the higher level. (Plate V.)
(Fig. 8) THE ZAFAR MAHAL AND CENTRAL TANK BEFORE EXCAVATION.
The parapet round the tank was completed in 1906-1907, while the work on the four main causeways with their channels, pavements, and ornamental beds was proceeded with. The latter were completed in 1907-1908, and in the course of further excavation work the existence of subsidiary channels was discovered, dividing each quarter of the garden into four equal squares. The clearance of the entire site was not attempted until 1908-1909, there being difficulties in finding a place to dump the spoil earth taken from the site. Further excavations then revealed a pathway on the east side of the garden connecting the North and South pathways, only part of which has been repaired up to date, while the remainder will be completed as soon as the Battery and Military Road to it on the East terrace have been removed. It was a pity the site could not have been lowered to its original level in the first instance as the sides of the channels were, after they were dug out, found to be in a kacha state and in need of considerable repair.

In the summer of 1908 a conference was held at Simla at which the Director General of Archaeology and representatives of the Military authorities were present, and among other important points it was decided that the tank and channels of the Hayat Bakhsh garden could be filled with water between the 1st December and 31st March, servants' quarters within the archaeological area demolished, and that the Naubat Khana, the Shah Burj and the Mumtaz Mahal could be included in the area. Unfortunately the first of these decisions has since been cancelled by the Military authorities.

In 1909-1910 substantial progress was made in the work on the gardens, and the iron railing round the area was practically complete. The main entrance to the garden was made at the Naubat Khana, thereby reviving the old Mughal custom; for it was at this point that all visitors to the court with the exception of princes of the blood royal, descended from their palanquins or elephants and approached the Royal presence on foot. Another subsidiary entrance was provided to the South of the Diwan-i-Áûm, and a special military entrance near the Shah Burj, so that access could be gained to the battery on the East terrace. In the Hayat Bakhsh garden, the work on the minor intersecting causeways with their water channels was completed, and the whole of the area of the garden lowered to its original level and dressed ready for grass. (Plate 7.) At the end of the year the work on the water supply which now irrigates the whole area was well in hand. The water is raised up from the old wells, into reinforced-concrete tanks behind the Bhadon pavilion, by means by electrically driven pumps.

In 1910-1911, the Hayat Bakhsh garden was grassed and planted. The position of the old buildings, which enclosed it on the North and South, is indicated by dense masses of flowering shrubs, while a screen of conifers, backed by Gravilla trees, masks the iron railing which surrounds the area, and will, at full growth, screen off the unsightly modern barracks from the gardens. With the exception of the east terrace the garden was now finished and it was easy to see that the whole area, completed on these lines, gave abundant promise of future charm.

The east terrace of the Hayat Bakhsh garden is raised some 5 feet above the level of the main portion. There were buildings on it formerly, and excavation
revealed traces of these and of a retaining wall which ran along its western face. The backing of this wall was found and has been preserved by Mughal brick masonry with recessed pointing. This wall ran from the north wall of the Hammam to the Shah Burj, but it has been impossible to continue its alignment beyond a point opposite the Hira Mahal owing to the presence of the gun battery and military road which gives access to it. Negotiations are, however, on foot for the removal of these, and it will then be possible to continue the wall along to its termination near the Shah Burj, in place of the grass bank which has been temporarily made here.

The removal of the battery may bring to light traces of the pavilion named the Moti Mahal (Pearl Palace) that formerly existed here. The whole terrace has now been grassed and the outlines of the water channel named the Nahr-i-Bahisht (Stream of Paradise), disclosed by excavation, have been defined by Mughal bricks on edge.

In front of the Hira Mahal, a marble pavilion built in A.D. 1842 by Bahadur Shah II, traces came to light of a shallow basin, with a channel leading westward, evidently to connect up with the minor channel of the Hayat Bakhsh garden which runs into the causeway near this point. The Nahr-i-Bahisht was provided with fountains at frequent intervals and the copper pipes of several of these were found. After running along the East terrace in the manner described the water entered the channel in the Hammam and so passed on along either range of buildings to the Rang Mahal. Near the Hira Mahal a vaulted subterranean passage was discovered which will be explored in the near future. It appeared to run North and South along the East wall.

From the following description of the garden by the contemporary historians we can picture for ourselves the condition of the gardens in the days of Shah Jahan.

"This Irem-like Hayat Bakhsh garden, which, by the display of its beautiful flower-beds, of the various green plants, and blessed flowers, and by the running water-channels facing the garden, in the name of Holy God is a garden, the wave of the fresh grass in which has surpassed the roses; the fruitful trees of various kinds are interlaced with each other in such a way that the sky is not anywhere visible beneath them. Particularly the tank in its centre, which is 60 gaz by 60 gaz, is shining as a sun-like mirror with its waving light, and is decorated with forty-nine silver jets, besides 112 more jets which play round it. In all its four avenues, each of which is made of red sandstone, and completed with the breadth of 20 gaz; there is a channel 6 gaz broad which flows with 80 playing fountains in its centre. At the left and right (sides) of this garden, two charming buildings, (Sawan and Bhadon), decorated with pictures and paintings like the enameled

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2 See footnote 4, p. 9.
3 See the old map of the Fort in the Deldi Museum of archaeology, also Atharwara-Samadit (Luscinow 1874), Chap. II, p. 17.
4 Saydul Ahmed writes: "the old zigzag channel in front of the Hira Mahal had twenty-four silver fountains, now not to be traced, but the channel still exists."
5 Irem is the name of a fabulous garden, famous in eastern poetry. It is said to have been made in Abulia Felix by a King named Shaddad, son of 'Ad, or Iram, son of Omar.
6 Sawan, a Hindu month corresponding to July-August, the first month of the rainy season.
7 Bhadon, a Hindu month corresponding to August-September, the second month of the rainy season.
throne of the Queen of Sheba, or like Solomon's throne studded with emeralds, have been built. Through the two waterways of the tanks which are made in the centre of these buildings, the water is always issuing gracefully, and from the edge of their platforms, which have the height of 1½ gos (from the ground) it is falling into the tank below, in the form of a cascade. In the niches, flower-vases of gold and silver, full of golden flowers are placed during the day time, and at night, white wax candles, which look like stars amid fleecy clouds, are lighted inside the veil of water.1

Bishop Hober describing the Hayat Bakhsh gardens says: "they are not large but in their way, must have been exceedingly beautiful. They are full of very old orange and other fruit trees, with terraces and parterres, on which many rose bushes were growing; and even now, a few jonquils in flower."

The Zafar Mahal was built by Bahadur Sháh II, the last Mughal Emperor, Zafar Mahal. 'Zafar' being his poetical name. Sayyid Ahmad in his account of the building says that 'on one side a bridge for ingress and egress has been built.' This has disappeared. To the west of the Hayat Bakhsh garden lay the Mahtáb Bagh, Mahtáb Bagh. (Garden of moonlight).2

Sayyid Ahmad writes, "In the middle of this garden, (the Mahtáb Bagh), a large canal flows very pleasantly. His Exalted Majesty Siraj-ud-din Muhammad Bahadur Sháh has now made a jhírnií of red stone near the canal towards the west like thatjí of the Quth Sahib, and the garden has been much improved by this. In this garden there is a Holy Footprint, (Qadam Sharif)."3

To the south west of the Hayat Bakhsh garden stood a small mosque, commonly known as the "Chobi Masjid," or Wooden Mosque. It existed up to the time of the Mutiny of 1857, as we find it mentioned as follows in Sayyid Ahmad's work, but no trace of it is now left. "This mosque was built by King Ahmad Shah in A. H. 1164, (A. D. 1750) and being supported by columns and arches of wood, was known by the name Chobi Masjid. It was entirely ruined, but was re-built in A. II, 1267 (A. D. 1850) at Government expense."4

On the entrance of the mosque was the following inscription 5:

یادتے یار تکر کی ایک وہ ہیرا کہ تھا
بھیروا تھا ہر نمٹ کہاں گھر
تھا رواں ہیں گھر کو وینا
چہرہ دھنی رواں کا رواں

1495

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1 Ahsan-I-Safí, vol. 360-83. Sayyid Ahmad gives the same description, and it is probable that the above work is his real source. (Athar-ut-Sa'īdî, Cawnpore 1894, Chap. II, pp. 43-48.)
4 It is unreasonable to suppose that excavation might reveal traces of this garden.
5 Jhirni, a kind of shower bath, or water-fall.
6 The notice in it perhaps referring to the Chait in the Jhirni garden near the Dargah of Quth Sahib, to which the Emperor added some buildings.
7 Op. cit. Lucknow 1874, Chap. II, p. 31. It should be remembered that "Qadam Sharif," literally a noble foot here means the footprint of the Prophet. Most probably it is the same which was kept in the Delhi Municipal Museum and was lately removed to the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, see Museum Catalogue C. 28 and 29.
8 See the old map of the Fort in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology Catalogue No. E. 2.
10 This inscription is taken from Miftah-I-Tawariikh. T. W. Deck. Cawnpore, 1887, p. 382, where it is compared with that recorded in Athar-ut-Sa'īdî, Lucknow 1874, Chap. II, p. 21.
The conservation work effected to this little mosque has already been referred to. Marble domes wholly disproportionate particularly in respect of their finials to the size of the mosque were erected after the mutiny in place of the original domes covered with gilted copper, which had shared the same fate as that which covered the dome of the Musamman Burj and the chattris of the Diwan-i-khāṣṣ. Carr Stephen gives 1070 A. H. (1659 A. D.) as the date of the building while the contemporary historian of Aurangzeb, from whose account the following is an abstract, gives 1073 A. H. as the date of the completion of the main structure, the decoration being finished a year later. Shah Jahan seems to have built no mosque in the Fort, the Jamā' Masjīd being his place of worship. Aurangzeb, however, "always," as the historian says, "inclined to attend devotions," . . . . . wished that "near the private bed chamber, a small mosque should be built, and a graceful place of worship erected, so that at various times of the day and night, after a short walk from the blessed bed-chamber to the sacred place of worship, he might partake of the service of holy God, and the worship of the Lord of Lords, at his ease, and without the trouble of a retinue or long journey. Therefore to the North of the blessed Qubā Khānah, between the buildings of this beautiful and glorious palace, and its paradise-like garden, (known by the name of Hayat Baklāsh), a piece of land was selected for this noble edifice, and, with the Divine assistance, an auspicious mosque of white marble was built." The foundations were laid by the Emperor's orders on the 3rd day of Rabī‘-th-thāni, "while he was shooting and hunting on the bank of the river Ganges." "The date of the completion of this holy building—the abode of angels—was discovered by `Abdul Khān, the ablest servant of the Court in the following verse 8 of the Qurān":


"Verily the places of worship are set apart unto God, wherefore invoke not any other therein together with God."

The above-mentioned chronogram was, the historian adds, approved by the King, and "according to the supreme order it was carved in a stone slab in that holy place." This inscription is unfortunately no longer traceable.

Early in January, 1911, Sir John Hewett with the Darbar Committee visited the gardens, and it was decided that a Royal garden party should be held there at the time of the Darbar. With the exception of the Hayat Baklāsh garden, the rest of the area was in the old untidy condition, and much still remained to be done. The Committee intended that the place should be put in order and the President was, moreover, anxious that whatever was done should be in perfect harmony with the palace buildings. It was fortunate, therefore, that this Department had ready a scheme which, besides securing the future of the gardens, entirely met with the

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1 A. S. F. Aroraal 1902-1904, p. 32.
2 Faivre: Seven Cities of Delhi, p. 14.
4 It is the 20th verse of the chapter "Gorji."
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1 A. S. I. Annual 1910-1911, p. 22.
2 Heinrich Reuss, Seven cities of Delhi, p. 14.
4 It is the 183d verse of the chapter "Qayit.
5 Sale's translation of the Qurân, London 1837, p. 488.

Work on gardens to be finished for Coronation Durbar.
approval of the Committee. Orders were given accordingly to complete the work on the remainder of the garden without delay. The most difficult part of it was the trenching for the shrubberies and lawns as the debris of buildings and roads had to be removed and suitable earth provided.

The large tank between the Rang Mahal and the Diwan-i-Ámm, which had been filled up and crossed by a military road and a drain, was excavated (Plate VIII). Traces were found in its centre of a little square building, with a central tank, probably on the lines of the Ziaar Mahal in the Hayat Bakhsh garden, and reached by a little causeway the bases of the piers of which were found. These, with what remained of the building, have been carefully preserved. It has not been possible hitherto to provide sufficient water for this tank and, accordingly, the bottom has been grassed. Part of its old coping was found in situ, and also an old stone ring, built in one corner of the tank, which points to the probability of its having been screened from the sun by a shami-aana (sawing).

The marble basin (Fig. 11) originally belonging to the Fort, but which had found its way into the Queen’s gardens in the city, has been brought back and placed in the centre of the little building in this large tank. Old pictures clearly show this basin in situ in front of the Rang Mahal, but how far from it, it is not easy to decide; it has consequently been set here as being as near its old position as could be approximately determined. The paths have been laid down following as far as possible their old lines.

The transformation in front of the Diwan-i-Khâss is indeed a striking one. Grass lawns representing the twin courtyards which existed in front of this building, have taken the place of the unhappy little garden that existed there till recently. The broad sweep of grass, running right up to the plinth of the building, forms an admirable setting. The modern ceiling, which has been substituted for the old silver one, was regilded during the year and this building was used during the garden party for the reception of the Royal guests.

In earlier times the Diwan-i-Khâss was known as Shâh Mahal or Daulat Khâna-i-Khâss and even, by a misnomer, as Ghulam Khâna*. Abdul Hamid Lahori, Shâh Jahan’s court chronicler, tells us the purpose of such a hall, and the names by which it was known:—

* The tank when completed must have been not unlike the one near the Turkish Sultan’s house at Tatta-pur-Sikri.

The Daulat Khâna-i-Khâss, by the wonderful art of expert artists, and astonishing craftsmen, has been built between the Zaminà apartment and the Diwan-i-Ámm, and the Lord, Possessor of the world, after leaving the Diwan-i-Ámm, honours that delightful apartment, and reposes on the royal throne. Here certain important affairs

1. The tank when completed must have been not unlike the one near the Turkish Sultan’s house at Tatta-pur-Sikri.
2. For an historical account of this garden and central tank refer to A. S. L. Araval 1907-1908, p. 29. See p. 31 regarding the former position of the marble basin.
3. Manual refers to the Diwan-i-Khâss as the Ghulam Khâna in the following passages—
4. "Four horses, ready saddled for emergency, are kept near the door of the Ghulam Khâna, the place where audience is given and justice dispensed." Op. cit. p. 801. (2) "This prince (Shah Alam) held me in such affection that he granted me permission to enter the Ghulam Khâna, which is a secret place where the second audience is given and the council sits. Into it only the principal lords and officers of the court enter." Op. cit. p. 400.
5. Referring to the Royal establishment, Manzilat-i-Shah (3) that "there is a officer, styled Daagh-e Koush Khâlan (Churchal of the Khâlan Chauri), that is officer of the stolen sentences; the reason is that the company to which this name is given are all picked men and of the nobbled families. Ordinarily they number 4,000 horsemen. This officer has charge of the Goumal Cama (Ghulam Khâna)." Op. cit., p. 422.
(Fig. 2) GARDEN IN FRONT OF SANG MAHAL, BEFORE CONSERTATION.
THE RANO MAHAL, WHEN USED FOR OFFICERS' QUARTERS.

THE SAME, AFTER DEMOLITION OF MODERN ADDITIONS AND CLEARANCE OF TREES IN FRONT.
state, which are not known except to confidants and court favourites, are settled by the problem-solving attention of the Emperor’s heaven-like court, and angel-like power. As this prosperous house adjoins the Hammâm, it is therefore known by the name of Ghul Khâna [which was given to such buildings] in the time of His Majesty Akbar. In the [present] auspicious reign it is called Daulat Khâna-i-khâss.1 The decoration of its ceiling is highly praised by native historians as well as by European travellers. Muhammad Salih says that 9 lacs were spent on it.2

Sayyid Ahmad’s account is as follows:—

"To the north of the Khwâbhâgh, a big square (chakh), is to be seen, and to the east of this, is a platform 1½ gas high. In its centre is built the Diwân-i-Khâss Palace. (Plate IX, fig. 12). Through its centre there flows the channel called Nahr-i-Bâhišt, which is 4 gas wide. In the middle of this edifice, another room, 16 gas in length and 10 gas in breadth, is formed by erecting square columns with a platform in the centre. Cornelians, corals, and other precious stones are inlaid in daisos in which flowers and foliage have also been carved. From dado to ceiling it is adorned with golden work. Its windows on the river side are closed by finely carved screens, the perforations of which are filled with glass. To the west of this there is a courtyard, 70 gas × 60 gas, round which rooms and arches of red sand-stone have been built, and to the west of this is an entrance which was connected with the Diwân-i-Âmm by a passage. In front of the entrance a red curtain is fixed up. At the time when the Darbâr is held, all the Amiris perform the ceremony of obeisance from this place. There is another gateway, to the north of this courtyard, leading to the Hayât Baghâsh Garden, and to the south is a gateway leading to the entrance of the Royal Harâm. In front of the central arch of this building, towards the courtyard, a marble balustrade is erected. It is known by the name of Chaukhandi-i-Diwân-i-Khâss. Its ceiling was of pure silver, but in the mists of the Marathas and Jats it was torn off."3

Ahmad Shah’s contemporary historian says that “it was from off the Diwân-i-Khâss that Bâdû,4 on account of his humbleness and the narrowness of his mind, took the silver of its ceiling, and turned it into money.”5

A word must be said as to the new shrubbery. They are composed first of an encircling inga hedge kept closely trimmed, so as sharply to define the area of the former buildings. This is backed by rows of acalyphor and duranta, while behind these again are taller shrubs such as Murgo, Haetia, Bougainvillea, (the compact variety), Hybiscus, Tocoma, etc. At full growth the effect should be very fine and their appearance already does Mr. Locke, the Government Gardener, credit. It should be added that in trenching for these shrubbery the foundations of the old buildings were found, as expected, in almost every case. Grass courts have similarly been formed in front of the Diwân-i-Âmm and Muntâz Mahâl.

In the case of the first building the old courtyard, which formerly existed in front

379-80.
2 Amâd-i-Sâlih, Ed., 280.
3 Akhlaq-i-Bâhist, Caumârî 1004, Chapter II, no. 41-42.
4 Bâdû, one of the Peshwas of the Marathas.
of it (Plate 15) and which witnessed the daily Darbar of the Emperor, was lined at either side by dalans or colonnades, as at Agra. All traces of these had vanished, and a military road ran between the Naubat Khāna and the Diwan-i-Āmm.

Muhammad Salli's account of the Diwan-i-Āmm is as follows:

"To the west of the Juṭiyāv Mahal (Rang Mahal) there is an "aiwan" ¹ over-looking the garden of that building. It is of red sand-stone, but rendered (?) white by the Patkanti ² stone. It has received an elegant polish, like the brightness of the morning, on shell-plaster applied by skilful workmen. Near the ceiling is the jharoka of the Khāss-o-Āmm, (Diwan-i-Āmm), which is the place of the people's prostration, as well as for the relief of their needs. It is built of pure marble like a pavilion (baqūlat), ¹⁄₄ gaz by 3 gaz, and is supported by four columns. Behind the jharoka there may be seen a niche, 7 by 2½ gaz, which is famed for its various coloured stones inlaid into the wall, and which, through the skill of excellent art workers, has been adorned with many rare pictures, and a railing of pure gold on three sides. This auspicious place is honoured by the Emperor, who takes his seat in it early every day. In front of this, there is a magnificent and lofty hall, supported by forty columns, and measuring 67 [gaz] by 24 [gaz]. The elegance and beauty of its walls and ceiling, painted with different colours and various pictures, have put out of countenance the work of Mir. ³ A silver railing of man's height is erected round three sides of the hall. Outside this, another spacious "aiwan," 104 [gaz] by 60 [gaz], has been cut off from the enclosed court of the Khāss-o-Āmm, and a railing, (katakra), of red sand-stone, with golden paintings, erected at the edge of its western side. Beyond that is an open courtyard, 204 gaz by 160 gaz, with beautiful colonnades round it to protect the people from the sun and rain. Of the three gates of this courtyard, the western gate ⁴ is built of red sandstone with splendid carvings." ⁵

The vastness of the courtyard, wherein a throng of courtiers daily assembled before the 'Great Moghul,' is now suggested by a pleasant stretch of lawn (Plate X, fig. 15) and the gorgeous colonnades, decked out in rivalry by the nobles of the realm, by screens of flowering shrubs. The shrubbery to the north of the central pathway occupies almost the same position as the old colonnade, but the shrubbery

1 This refers to the gallery at the back of the Diwan-i-Āmm, which faces the Rang Mahal, and from which there is an entrance to the jharoka chamber.
2 The text has Mullahi. This seems to mean Patkanti.
3 Vahīdatul Jahan seems to have been the first Emperor to have erected permanent halls in front of the jharoka. The Diwan-i-Āmm at Agra, and also that at Lahore, were built by him. Previous to these we have many references to similar halls, but they appear to have been temporary structures only, and in some cases were taken as tours with the Emperor's states. An account of the erection of the Diwan-i-Āmm hall at Agra, taken from Redghāt Nāmak (Vol. I, Part I, pp. 221-222), will be found in the A. S. I. Report for 1902-03, pp. 390-91.
4 It is interesting to note that, long before the Moghul period, it was customary among the Muhammadan Kings of India to have a big hall in which the Aulā was held and the same ceremonies performed as in the Diwan-i-Āmm in Mughal times. Ishōl-Passia, a traveller, who visited India in the reign of Shāhān, Muhammad Tughlāq, tells us in his travels that the Haat Sada (²) (an aya supported by one thousand wooden columns) was used as a Diwan-i-Āmm in Old Delhi. See Travelers of Mughal Times, by Muhammad Husein, Lahore 1898, p. 98. It does not seem improbable that the present Jāma Masjid Hall of Amurī Pervaiz is the prototype of the Hall of Audience so popular with the Moghuls.
5 Man, celebrated in Persia as a poet, he is no other than Haree, the founder of the sect of the Manicheans. He had a book of drawings, it is said, which he showed to his followers as being a work given to him by angels.
6 The Moḳṭe Mīrān o Nebat Khān.
7 Amurī-Salli, J., 338-84.
Fig. 18. AN OLD DRAWING OF THE DIWAN-I-KHAS.

Fig. 19. AN OLD DRAWING OF THE DIWAN-I-AMM, SHOWING THE RAILING IN FRONT AND THE TOP OF MIARA HABAN'S HOUSE BEHIND.
PLATE X.

1. THE NAQQAR KHANA, AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN WALLS AND ACCRETIONS.

2. THE DIWAN-I-AMM AND ITS COURTYARD, AS IT NOW APPEARS.
to the south is, unavoidably, nearer to the central pathway, owing to the impossibility of removing the military road which runs outside the new railing. Another shrubbery, running due north and south from the ends of the Diwan-i-‘Āmm, represents the buildings seen starting from the ends of the Diwan-i-‘Āmm in the old picture. (Plate IX, fig. 12.) These buildings screened off the private precincts of the palace from the public eye.

In the centre of this hall stood the famous Peacock Throne (Takht-i-Tārasingh), an excellent description of which is given in the Bādshāh Namah. Since from time immemorial and year in, year out, various jewels of great price, each of them worthy to be an ear-ring for Venus and a belt for the sun, were kept in the Imperial Treasury; early in the beneficent reign, it had occurred to the inspired mind [of the Emperor] that the collection of such rare presents and accumulation of so many precious things, was only meant for the adornment of the Empire, and to increase its ornamentation. Therefore they ought to be used in a place where spectators might enjoy the world-enlightening beauty of the produce of the ocean and the mine, and also they should be an added lustre to the Palace. Orders were issued that all kinds of rubies, diamonds, pearls and emeralds, the value of which was estimated at two hundred lacs of rupees, as well as those jewels in charge of the provincial treasury officers, should be brought for His Majesty's inspection, excepting only the private jewels, kept in the jewel office of the heavennlike palace.

Great and valuable jewels, the weight of which was fifty thousand mithqāls and the price of which was eighty-six lacs of rupees, were selected and entrusted to Bebadal Khān, the Superintendent of the gold-smiths' office, in order that the jewels might be studded in a slab made of one lac of tola of pure gold, which is equal to two hundred and fifty thousand mithqāls, and the price of which was fourteen lacs of rupees. This slab was 3½ gaz by 2½ imperial gaz with a height of 5 gaz.

It was desired that the inside of the ceiling of the throne should be mostly enamelled, and the rest set with jewels, and that the outside should be adorned with rubies and other precious stones. It was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured columns. Above the ceiling two images of peacocks set in bright gems were to be made, and between them was to be fixed a tree of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. To ascend the throne three steps studded with beautiful gems were to be prepared.

1 Bādshāh Namah. This is in conflict with the assertion that the Peacock Throne stood in the Diwan-i-Khānas. Carr-Stephen says that the throne stood on the marble khānas present in the Diwan-i-Khānas. Burnier describes the throne and in his description says, “at the foot of the throne were assembled all the Ommahs in splendid apparel upon an arcade surrounded by a silver railing.” Later, in his reference to the court outside the building in which the throne stood, "as to the wards galleries round the court every Ommah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best adorn himself to the Monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocades and the pavements with rich carpets.” The courtyard of the Diwan-i-‘Āmm seems to be have referred to. Von Otho places the Peacock Throne in the Diwan-i-Khānas (See Von Otho, Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 24, translated by Lloyd, London, 1845. It is not unlikely that the throne was moved about as required.


3 Mithqāl is a weight equal to 15 drams.

4 This statement of the other to whom the work was entrusted shows that the statement of Mr. Brenchford in his Guide to Delhi, that the Throne was planned and executed under the supervision of Auslin de Bourlama (see Carr-Stephen, Archaeology of Delhi, p. 231) is not substantiated by native historians. Ver Bebadal Khan, see Mathbāw-i-

**PLATE X.**

14. **THE NAQQAR KHANA, AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN WALLS AND ACCRETIONS.**

15. **THE RIYAN-I-AMM AND ITS COURTYARD, AS IT NOW APPEARS.**
to the south is, unavoidably, nearer to the central pathway, owing to the impossibility of removing the military road which runs outside the new railing. Another shrubbery, running due north and south from the ends of the Diwan-i-’Amam, represents the buildings seen starting from the ends of the Diwan-i-’Amam in the old picture. (Plate IX, fig. 12.) These buildings screened off the private precincts of the palace from the public eye.

In the centre of this hall stood the famous Peacock Throne (Tahkht-i-Tânâ), an excellent description of which is given in the Bâdshâh Nâmah.

"Since from time immemorial and year in, year out, various jewels of great price, each of them worthy to be an earring for Venus and a belt for the sun, were kept in the Imperial Treasury; early in the beneficent reign, it had occurred to the inspired mind of the Emperor that the collection of such rare presents and accumulation of so many precious things, was only meant for the adornment of the Empire, and to increase its ornamentation. Therefore they ought to be used in a place where spectators might enjoy the world-enlightening beauty of the produce of the ocean and the mine, and also they should be an added lustre to the Palace. Orders were issued that all kinds of rubies, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds, the value of which was estimated at two hundred lacs of rupees, as well as those jewels in charge of the provincial treasury officers, should be brought for His Majesty's inspection, excepting only the private jewels, kept in the jewel office of the heaven-like palace.

"Great and valuable jewels, the weight of which was fifty thousand mithqâls, and the price of which was eighty-six lacs of rupees, were selected and entrusted to Behadal Khân, the Superintendent of the gold-smiths' office, in order that the jewels might be studded in a slab made of one lacs of toli of pure gold, which is equal to two hundred and fifty thousand mithqâls, and the price of which was fourteen lacs of rupees. This slab was 3½ gaz by 2½ imperial gaz, with a height of 5 gaz.

"It was desired that the inside of the ceiling of the throne should be mostly enamelled, and the rest set with jewels, and that the outside should be adorned with rubies and other precious stones. It was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured columns. Above the ceiling two images of peacocks set in bright gems were to be made, and between them was to be fixed a tree of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. To ascend the throne three steps studded with beautiful gems were to be prepared.""

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1. "This is in conflict with the assertion that the Peacock Throne stood in the Diwan-i-kâmg. Carr Stephens says that the throne stood on the marble slab at present in the Diwan-i-kâmg. Hence the throne and its description says, "at the feet of the throne were assembled all the Quarnah in splendid apparel quite as extremely encased by a silver railing." Later, he adds with reference to the court outside the building in which the throne stood, "as to the arcade galleries round the court every Quarnah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense and there appeared a spirit of emulation which should best revolt himself to the Monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade and the pavements with rich carpets." The courtyard of the Diwan-i-’Amam seems to be here referred to. Von Orlich places the Peacock Throne in the Diwan-i-kâmg. (See Von Orlich, Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 34, translated by Lloyd, London, 1844.) It is not unlikely that the throne was moved about as required.


3. Mithqâl is a weight equal to 13 drams.
In the course of seven years this heaven-like throne was completed at the cost of one hundred lacs of rupees which is equal to three hundred and thirty-three thousand dinars of Iraq and to four crores of Khurāsān current in Transoxiana. (Māvarām-u-Nahar).

Of the eleven slabs covered with jewels and erected round the throne for leaning against, the central one on which the Emperor, a Solomon in rank, leaned, by placing on it his truth-seeking hand, was estimated at ten lacs of rupees. And of the jewels set in the throne, there was a ruby in the centre, valued at one lacs of rupees, which Shāh Abbās, king of Persia, had sent to his late Majesty as a present by the hand of Zanjil Beg. His late Majesty had sent it by Allāmā Afzal Khān to the world-conquering Emperor, His Majesty, the second Lord of the happy conjunction, as a reward for subduing the Deccan. At first, the sublime name of His Majesty, the Lord of happy conjunction, the pole star of the Faith and of Religion, and that of Mirzā Shāh Rukn, and Mirzā Ulah Beg, were written over it. After some time it fell into Shāh 'Abbās' hand, who also put his name on it, and when it was received by his late Majesty, he added his own name with that of his illustrious father. Now it has received fresh light and brightness, and inestimable adornment from the exalted name of the King of the Seven Climes, and the Emperor of throne and Crown.

The following poetry composed by Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Qudsi, the last line of which gives the date, was written by the order of the Emperor, on green enamelled work inside the throne:


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1. Thūmād: a sum of money equal to 10,000 Arabian silver dinars (which are about one-third less than those of the Greeks) and equivalent to fifteen dollars and a half.
3. Tanīn Maḥkānī, a term used for Jahangir after his death. It means literally "nothing in paradise."
4. He refers to Ţīmīr who is called Šāhī Qūrosh. Here the word Šīfātur is printed by mistake.
5. Qudsi is his poetical name. He was Malīk-u-ʾShārīṣ in Shāh-Jahan's time, and died in A. D. 1646. See Biographical Dictionary, T. W. Beal. London 1894.
Translation.

1. "How suspicious is the Imperial Throne.
   "Which has been made ready by Divine help.

2. "On the day when heaven was completing it,
   "It first melted the gold of the sun.

3. "By the order of the Supervisor the enamel of heaven
   "Was altogether exhausted in enamelling it.

4. "What is the use of gold or of jewels but to decorate this throne.
   "It was the reason for existence of ocean and mine.

5. "On account of its ruby which is beyond the limitation of value,
   "The heart of the red-lipped beloved one is uneasy.

6. "Crown with jewel on its head, and ring, with jewel in its eye;
   "Waited for long [in the hope that they] might be set in its leg.

7. "The world had become so short of gold on account of its use [in the throne],
   "That the purse of the earth was empty of treasure.

8. "If the sky should succeed in reaching its foot,
   "It would offer to it the sun and moon as a gift when first seeing its face.

9. "The august personage who rubbed his head with its base,
   "Had to add the heaven as a step to [approach] the throne.

10. "The tribute of ocean and mine is its robe.
    "The shadow of it, is [like] the shelter of the Divine Throne and Seat.

11. "It is decorated with various jewels,
    "Every particle of which is a lamp to the world.

12. "On its sides flowers of enamel,
    "Shed light like the lamp from Mount Sinai.

13. "As his hand could not reach its height,
    "Jeweled the precious stone [of his ring] round its leg.

14. "A dark night, by the lustre of its rubies and pearls,
    "Can lend stars to a hundred skies.

15. "As it kisses the foot of Shah Jahan,
    "So the foot of its rank rules the heaven.

16. "The bestower of the world, and the prosperous king,
    "Spends the tribute of the whole earth on one throne.

17. "God [only] who exalted the heavenly Throne and Seat,
    "Can make such a throne, through His Divine Power.

18. "As long as a trace remains of existence and space,
    "May Shah Jahan continue to sit on the throne.

19. "May such a throne be his seat every day,
    "[May] the tribute of seven claws be under his foot.

20. "When the tongue asked the heart for its date,
    "It replied: 'thron of the Just Emperor.' "

1 i.e., the socket for the jewel.

The Chronogram "Aurang-i-Shahanshah-i-adil" gives the date, A. H. 1044 (A.D. 1634).

Such was the Peacock Throne taken to Persia by Nadir Shah in A. H. 1152 (A.D. 1736), and of which no drawings showing it in its original condition have as yet been found. 3

Before quitting Shah Jahan's Hall of Audience it remains to say something of the mosaics that have been repaired in the back and side walls of the recess behind the baldachino,' (Plates XI, fig. 16). It has already been explained 4 that restoration of this kind would not have been undertaken, had not the Diwan-i-Amm, with its throne, been a building which would be used for the highest functions of state by the King or the Viceroy. In another article on the mosaics the Director General of Archaeology has also discussed at length what had been done in the way of their restoration by Major Cole in 1882, and how greyish black

2 Loca Curzon (Poeina, Rev. G. Curzon, M.P. Vol. I, pp. 347-352), gives an interesting account of the alleged Peacock Throne at Teheran, and shows, by comparing it with the throne described by Tavernier, as well as by the following evidence, that it was not the throne taken from Delhi by Nadir Shah.
3 In this dilemma but with the growing conviction that the modern Takhiti-Taams had a very shadowy existence, if any at all, with the plundered treasures of Delhi, I turned to contemporary records. I found in Malvain 4 that Nadir Shah was so fond of the real Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul that he has an exact duplicate of it made in other jewels. This left two Peacock Thrones 'to be demolished between his death and the end of the last century; a catastrophe which in the anarchy and violence of those times would have been in itself a unlikely occurrence; but it left the Takhiti-Taams unexplained, as under no circumstances could the latter be described as a duplicate of Tavernier's original. Now, however, I hope across a passage in Fraser's Khorens,' in which he mentions that an old Kurdi told him in 1882 that 'when Nadir Shah was murdered and his camp plundered, the Peacock Throne and Treas of Pearls fell into our hands, and were taken in pieces and divided on the spot.' Any Kurdi might certainly have been trusted to handle such an object as the Peacock Throne in the uncensored manner he has described, and, assuming the veracity of this particular Kurdi, I witnessed with some delight the disappearance of the real Peacock Throne or one of the two, from the scene.
4 A phrase in Morier's account had now set me thinking that the Takhiti-Taams at Teheran must be a modern structure after all.

In the same passage which I have quoted, in a footnote, he adds: 'It is said to have cost 100,000 tomans' (equivalent at the beginning of the century to about £100,000) therein clearly implying that an account or a tradition of its cost prevailed at Teheran, which was far more likely to be the case with a new gem with an old fabric and which was extremely unlikely to have been the case with an object carried off in plunder from a seme country seventy years before. At this stage, accordingly, I referred my doubts for solution to Teheran itself, and after an interval of some weeks was interested and may confess, rejoiced to hear, on the authority of the Grand Vizier and the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, 4 that, as I suspected, the Takhiti-Taams is not an Indian throne at all. It was constructed by Mohammad Husain Khan, Suber or High Priest of Isfahan for Fath Ali Shah, when the latter married an Isfahan young lady, whose popular sobriquet for some unexplained reason, was Tousa Khanum or the Peacock lady. The King is further said to have been so much delighted with the throne, that it was made a remarkably prominent feature in the ceremonies that commonly occur upon marriage. Here, therefore, at one fell swoop, I have done away with the whole of the brilliant hypothesis, which has sustained sources of writers, and provided material for all sorts of glowing rhetoric. From the same author I learn that the original Peacock throne of Nadir Shah (i.e., the survivor of the two familiars) was discovered in a broken down and piecemeal condition by Aga Mohammed Khan, who extracted it along with many other of the conqueror's jewels by brutal torture from his blind grandson Shah Rust at Meshed, and then had the recovered portions of it made up into the throne of modern shape and style which now stands at the end of the New Museum at the palace of Teheran and to which I have alluded in my description of that apartment. In this chair, therefore, are to be found the sole surviving remains of the Great Mogul's Peacock Throne, and the wedding present of Fath Ali Shah must descend from the position which it has usurped in the interest of every writer in this century, without exception, who has alluded to it.

1 A. S. I. Annual, 1904-07, p. 2.
2 A. S. I. Annual, 1905-08, p. 24-27.
marble was then used instead of the original black Italian marble;¹ also, how the twelve panels which had gone to England after the Mutiny were brought back to India and refixed in their former position. The question of their date and style has also been remarked on. For the repair of the remaining broken and missing panels the services of Signor Menegatti, an Italian ‘Mosaicista’ of Florence, were specially engaged and the work begun in 1906 being finished early in 1909. Many of the panels which had been destroyed had been filled with painted plaster; this has been removed and the mosaics restored as far as possible in conformity with the old designs shown on various drawings procured from South Kensington and elsewhere. Many of the inlay stones were specially brought from Florence for the purpose. A great debt of gratitude is due to Lord Curzon for the generous donation he made personally towards this work.

A full description of the Rang Mahal has been given in a previous report.² Considerable conservation was, however, carried out in the building during 1911-12. The unsightly beams of the modern roof have been hidden by a plain white ceiling composed of asbestos sheeting; much of the floor has been relaid to its old levels; repairs have been effected to roof and chajja, while sandstone jali screens have been fixed in the openings that give light to the underground rooms, filled till recently by unsightly hollow bricks. All the walls were carefully examined for traces of old colour decoration, and such as was found justifies the name the building bears, ‘the Palace of colour.’ It appears that gold was used profusely in the decoration of the main hall, while for the small rooms at the north and south end of the building glass ornamentation was freely introduced, but it is impossible to say what the colours surrounding it were. Many coats of white wash had to be carefully removed before the old decorated surface was reached.

The small tank with its cusped border which lies in the centre of the west front has been repaired. It should be added here that the marble basin brought from the Queen’s garden has not been placed in this tank, as was suggested by the late Mr. Tucker in his note on the building. It is true that the basin is indicated in the old pictures as being in front of the Rang Mahal, but whether in the tank or not is difficult to say. Sayyid Ahmad says that ‘in front of the central door towards the court there is a big tank of one piece of durable marble, into which a sheet of water, three gaz broad, falls from a height of one and a half gaz.’ This certainly looks as if it was in the centre of the cusped tank when he saw it, but was that its original position? It is not likely that it would be so placed in front of ‘the candle niches’ so as completely to hide them. As there was this doubt with regard to its original position, the basin has been made the centre piece of the large tank in the Rang Mahal garden, where at all events it cannot be far from the position given to it by Sayyid Ahmad and the old pictures.

A lady writer who signs herself شی تارکس (Fanny Parks), saw Delhi in 1888, and on her visit to "Hayat-sol Nissa Begam, aunt of the present and sister of the late

¹ I am informed by the Director General of the Geological Survey of India that true black marble is practically unknown in India, although a dark grey variety is found at Bhainsiana in Rajputana.
² A. S. I. Annual, 1907-08, p. 33-39.
King," she was shown the Zamin. Her description (from which the following is an extract) of the buildings occupied by the royal Harem, is interesting: "Having quitted the Palanquin they conducted me through such queer places, filled with women of all ages; the narrow passages were dirty and wet and an odd sort of entrance to the apartments of a princess! ..........Her young adopted son, the heir apparent, took my hand, and conducted me over the apartments of the women. The ladies ran out to see the stranger; my guide pointed them all out by name, and I had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with almost all the Begams. A plainer set I have never beheld; the verandahs in which they principally appeared to live, and the passages between the apartments, were mal propre. The young prince led the way through different apartments of the palace and I was taken into a superb Hall, formerly fountains played there; and the ceiling was painted and inlaid with gold. In this hall were three old women on charpiahs (native beds), looking like hags; and over the marble floor, and in the place where fountains once played, was collected a quantity of offensive black water, as if from the drains of cook rooms. From a verandah, the young prince pointed out a bastion in which the king was then asleep, and I quitted that part of the palace, fearing the talking of those who attended me, and the laughing of the children, might arouse His Majesty from his noonday slumber.s. In another passage the writer says "that any man wishing to ascend the minarets of the Jama Masjid is obliged to send round to the Captain of the Palace, that the ladies may be apprised, and no veiled one may be beheld even from that distance."

Although not one of the most important buildings in the area, the conservation of the Mumtaz Mahal presented many difficulties. It was formerly one of the apartments of the Royal Ladies, but after the military occupation was converted first into a prison and finally into a Sergeant's mess. The interior of the building was mutilated and disfigured by modern walls and such additions as sinks and cisterns; its original roof and charjja had gone and over its walls, originally decorated with painting and glass-work, had been smothered; numerous coats of the never failing whitewash. The building, in truth, presented a most forlorn appearance. It was suggested, however, by His Honour Sir Louis Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, that it should be adapted to house the local museum of Archaeology, which it had been decided to augment by a further loan collection of antiquities, the whole to be on view at the time of the Coronation Darbar.

The work that has been done on this building must on no account be regarded as restoration, but as the conversion of an old building, so marred by modern additions and alterations as to be almost unrecognizable, into a building suited to a special purpose and in harmony with the other buildings which surround it. The old drawings and photographs of the building show it to have been white, and, like the neighbouring Rang Mahal, provided with the usual charjja and four corner chattis. An entire new roof was necessary, and this, with the charjja, has been reconstructed.

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1 This was probably the Rang Mahal.
2 The Musammam War.
in its former position, details as to which came to light while dismantling the modern roof. Much of the floor has been picked up and relaid to its old level, while the large central marble screen on the East front has been repaired. The walls were carefully examined for old decoration, and what was found has been exposed to view and carefully preserved. In the east central room the decoration appears to have been of glass-work of somewhat similar character to that seen in the neighbouring Rang Mahal. The glazed teak screens in the arch openings were a necessity for the conversion of the building, the greater part of which was open to the air, into a museum, but they have been kept as far as possible in harmony with the rest of the building. As it now stands, the Mumtāz Mahal takes its place without shame amongst the other buildings in the area. It also went by the name of the 'Chóti Baitthak' and is said to have been built as the counterpart (jānūb) of the khwābhāgh which was known as the 'Bari Baitthak.' "Although this building was very fine, elegant, and beautiful," says Sayyid Ahmad, "yet it underwent alterations by the late Mirza Jahāngir Bahādur, which disfigured the style of Shāh Jahān’s structure." In the old photographs of the east wall of the Fort a good idea can be gained of the bastard architecture of the structures erected by the later Mughal Emperors side by side with the original buildings of the Fort.

The grass court in front of the Mumtāz Mahal has not yet been reduced to its original level, owing to there being lack of time before the Darbar for the extensive trenching required here. It will be noticed that the plinth of the building is still partially hidden, and, this, it is hoped, will be exposed ere long. Fragments of a marble tank were found buried in the centre of the west front through which, unfortunately, a modern water pipe had been laid. When this portion of the garden is dealt with, it may be possible to do something to expose the tank in question. Between the Rang Mahal and the Mumtāz Mahal trenching revealed an underground passage leading to a doorway in the outer wall of the Fort, which had apparently been bricked up by the Mughal builders themselves. This also remains to be explored.

The Naqqār (or Naubat) Khānā (Plate X, fig. 14) was vacated by the Military authorities in 1904. Wooden partitions, shutters and modern brickwork, have, since then, been removed from its arches, the northern face of the gateway repaired, and the stair-case at this side made accessible. Other modern excrescences, such as iron water-pipes, door and window-frames, have been taken down, and a large quantity of whitewash scraped off. The ground floor of the building served as the Delhi Museum of Archaeology from 1909 till the spring of 1911, when the collection was transferred to more commodious quarters in the Mumtāz Mahal. A colonnaded square or chaut or littu khānā formerly existed in front of the Naqqār Khānā, measuring 200 gaz by 140 gaz, while from it and running to the north and south gates of the Fort was a colonnaded street, occupied by stables and workshops.
and served with water by the same canal (Nahr-i-Baksh), which supplied the more important quarters of the palace with water.\footnote{Op. cit., fol. 533-34.} In the centre of this square was a tank near which after five days' captivity, forty-nine Europeans taken by the mutineers in Delhi were put to death.

The upper floor of the covered arcade leading from the Lahore Gate to opposite the Naukat khānā was, until 1911, occupied by the military menial staff, and its arches had been blocked up to form quarters for them. These have now been removed with good effect (Plate XI, fig. 17). The whole of the interior was formerly decorated, the walls of the central open portion being covered with painting in floral designs, but the arches themselves do not appear to have been so elaborately adorned, while the ceiling appears to have been white. The arcade is referred to by Muhammad Sālih as the bāzār-i-Mussaqqaf (covered Bazar), evidently so-called from the occupation of its bays by merchants. The central octagonal portion which is open to the sky was known as the ‘chhātar mandī’, (umbrella hall ?). The historian says that "a building like this vaulted market had never been seen before by the people of India, and that it was a new idea of the Emperor, who takes much interest in the construction of buildings."\footnote{Aulad-i-Saīdi, fol. 580-81.}

The new water installation, besides providing for the irrigation of the garden and shrubbery, enables the channels of the Hayat Baksh garden and the Zafar Mahal tank to be filled. It also provides for the working of the fountains in the Zafar Mahal tank and the main channels running from the Sāwan to the Bhādon pavilions, and for the cascades in these two last and in the Shah Burj. The marble channel from the Hammām to the south end of the Rang Mahal can also be provided with water, as formerly, while a fountain head has been fixed in the marble basin in front of the Rang Mahal. The amount of water required to operate the fountains and cascades and to fill the tanks and channels at the same time is very considerable, and continuous pumping for about two weeks was necessary at the time of the Darbar. The Military objected to the water standing in the garden for sanitary reasons, unless it was covered with kerosine to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes, and they also forbade the disposal of the water on the ground below the Fort. A scheme therefore has been prepared by which the water can be raised into the tanks again and so re-used. However, the removal of certain of the military barracks to the immediate west of the Hayat Baksh garden has recently been hinted at, so it is hoped that these difficulties may eventually be overcome and the fountains and tanks permanently provided with water during the cold season, and not for big ceremonial occasions only. The additional charm which the sheets of water give to the buildings and gardens cannot be overestimated. Here, as in the Fort at Agra, the old Mughal wells have been re-used, and pumps have been fixed in them; the channel, also, which empties the Zafar Mahal tank, is the old one. One pump is fixed in a large well, evidently of much older date than Shah Jahan's buildings, which lies to the west of the Hayat Baksh garden. The other two pumps are fixed in the wells in the Hayat Baksh garden. That to
THE THRONE OF SHAH JAHAN

VIEW OF BACK WALL SHOWING THE OLD PLAQUES REPLACED.

THE ARCADE BETWEEN THE LANCHE GATE AND THE NASMAT KHANA, AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN PARTITIONS IN UPPER STORY
the North-East of the Moti Masjid bears an inscription which gives the date of its construction as 1256 A. H. (1840 A. D.), and states that it is the work of Bahadur Shâh II.

The history of the canal by which Shâh Jahân brought water to the Fort from a point thirty kos higher up the river is of no little interest and is thus traced by the author of the Matbhir-i-Umârâ. To the canal he gave the name Nahr-i-Bahisht (canal of Paradise). It is said that it was originally the work of Firoz Shah Khilji in A. H. 991 (1291 A. D.) and that he brought the canal from the Jumna near Khizrābâd to Sufaidûn, his hunting ground, a distance of 30 kos from its starting point. After his death it became dry but was cleared by Shihabu-d-Din Ahmad Khân, Governor of Delhi in the time of Akbar. He brought the water to his own estate in A. H. 969 (1561 A. D.), and called it 'Nahr-i-Shihâb' after himself. It again became neglected, but in A. H. 1048 (1638 A. D.), Shâh Jahân issued orders for its clearance as far as Sufaidûn and that it should be brought thence to his new Fort. On the completion of the citadel it was made to run through the palaces and city as well. Sayyid Ahmad, in his description, also mentions that, "it had become dry again, but that in A. H. 1236 (1820 A. D.), it was repaired, and cleared by order of the Government, and from that time it continues to run for the common benefit."

2 See also ‘Amlâ-y-Sâîk, Fols. 579.
3 Sufaidûn is shown on the map about 65 miles N. E. by N. of Delhi, in Jind State.
4 This distance was marked along the Mughal highways by kos minârâ. These are massive towers averaging from 100' 0" to 500' 0" in height. The distance between them vary. In the case of consecutively minârâ near Agra the distance between the first and second was found to be 2 miles 3 furlongs and 330 feet, and between the second and third, 2 miles 4 furlongs and 300 feet. The kos may therefore be calculated as equal to approximately 21/2 miles.
5 Khizrâbâd is 3 miles due west of Tajawala; the present head of the canal being a mile N. E. of Tajawala.

1 Matbhir-i-Umârâ, Bibl. Ind., Vol. III p. 565-65. See also Aḍârâ-y-Samâdâr, Camporee 1804, Chap. II, pp. 53-54.
2 The chronology of the canal now known as the Western Jumna canal with its dependent branches serving Ambala, Karnal, Hisar, Rohilkhand, Delhi and parts of the native states of Patiala, Jullundur and Sikim is given as follows in History and Description of Government Canals in the Punjâb and North-West Frontier Provinces, by Mr. J. J. Hatten, Lahore, Punjab Government Press, pp. 1-2.

A. D. 1483. The Emperor Firoz Shah utilized the Chautang Naddi to conduct water to Hansi and Hisar.

A. D. 1538. The Emperor Akbar re-energized the work of Firoz and brought a supply from the river Jumna and the Sûnkh into the Chautang and on to Hansi and Hisar. A valuable stream by Akbar in this work exists.

A. D. 1526. Ali Mardan, the famous engineer of the Emperor Shâh Jahân, drew a canal to Delhi first by way of Gehara along a natural depression now occupied by a Main Drain, and when this failed by way of Panjpat and Sampat. The cost of this work is said to have been very great, and considerable engineering skill was shown.

A. D. 1707. Water ceased to reach Hariana (Hansi-Hissar).

1730. Flow ceased at Sâhêlou on Firoz Shah’s line.

1793-95. Delhi branch ceased to flow, owing to political disturbances, and the difficulties experienced in efficient maintenance especially at the head.

1810. First surveys made by the British Government for a restoration of the Delhi Branch.

1817. Captain Bain appointed to restore the Delhi Branch.

1830. Delhi Branch reopened.

1839. Water once more entered Delhi.

1853. Restoration of the Hansi Branch (Firoz’s) began.

1855. Hansi Branch reopened, etc. etc.

Of the earlier schemes little need be said. Firoz Shah’s Canal, by which the Hansi Branch, below Dafrat, was known, was little more than a monsoon supply channel which was fed down a drainage bed to the tanks at Hansi and Hisar, the royal residences.
An account of the elephant statues which stood in front of the Delhi gate, and their reconstruction under Lord Curzon's orders in 1903, has been given by Dr. J. H. Marshall in a previous report. Seen by Bernier in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, they were destroyed by that Emperor, as is related by his contemporary historian in the following passage:

"According to the tenets of the Muhammadan Law, and in pursuance of his determination to abolish heresy, the Emperor ordered the removal of the life-size statues of the two stone elephants, which were set up on either side of the gate of the fort, hence called Hathya Pol [Elephant gate] and which had been made by skilful artists."

As Dr. Marshall has pointed out, certain writers have attempted to locate these elephants elsewhere, and it is curious, that Sayyid Ahmad in his first edition refers to the statues as having been in front of the Delhi gate and in his second edition places them before the Naqqar Khan. Muhammad Salih's notice of these statues is particularly interesting as a contemporary reference; though in some points it is difficult to understand, as it apparently implies the existence of two sets of statues. The original text and its translation are as follows:

"Before each of the doors of the fort, [namely the one] adjacent to the said Bazar, [and] the gate towards Akbarabad [i.e., Agra] two shade-giving statues of elephants, of such a size that they may be the highest of their kind, have been built. So correct in form and perfect in every appearance have they been built, that

Akbar's Canal was undoubtedly a prominent channel. The two ancient bridges at Karnal and Sahib were built to this, and there is no reason to doubt the soundness of the Sunda by Akbar, which is stated by Sadiq A. H. 976, Firozpur, where Akbar was at the time. This Sunda clearly states that the water was, to be obtained "all the year round". The existence of a complete system of watercourses points to the same fact. No such watercourses existed in the channel brought down by Firoz.

All Maroob Khan's canal was raised a great engineering undertaking. The river supply coming down the right branch of the Jumna was brought up annually at Fatehgarh near Dehpyar, about 14 miles below Tajpura. The line followed was the drainage at the foot of the high land (tangarp) of the right bank. Several cuts through high land had to be made. Drainage and escapes were fairly provided for. The "Podshadar" aqueduct near Delhi, taking the canals over the Najafgarh Hill Drain and acting at the same time as a waste weir, was a great engineering feat at the time. The total length of the aqueduct is 50 feet, thickness of canal floor 3 feet; waterway 10 feet bed and 12 feet top. all carried on massive 8 feet thick piers, with out water and arches, 8 feet span over the drainage. This work was carried out by the British Government with slight modifications, when the branch was opened to Delhi in 1880. The water rate appears to have been regulated by the time that the cutlets remained open. It is stated that 1,000 armed pones and 500 horse were maintained on the establishment. The net revenue from the Canals was equal to the maintenance of 12,000 horse."
the like of these four rare effigies cannot be conceived in the form creating mind; then how much more wonderful is it that they actually exist." 1

There is another interesting reference to the statues in a satirical poem composed by N'imat Khán 'Āli, 2 comptroller of Aurangzeb's kitchen, in mockery of a certain Anni Rāj, who seems to have been a Pay-Master General (Bakhshi-i-Mulk). The text and its translation run as follows:

"Why has this man, like in appearance to the mahant of the elephants at the Hathya Pol, stopped our pay?" 3

In substantiation of Dr. Marshall's statement, "that it was the fashion at one time to set up elephant statues at one or other of the gates of every important fortress" 4 those in the Fort at Bikanir may be instanced. They are known as Jaimal and Patta.

Gordon Sanderson.

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1 *Amul-i-Safid*, Ed. 584.
3 Wajaguir-N'imat Khán 'Āli. Lucknow 1883, p. 44.
EXPENDITURE ON HISTORICAL BUILDINGS, DELHI FORT, SINCE 1888-1884.

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**Grand Total:** 2,78,000 0 0

The amounts prior to 1903-1904 include petty annual repairs. After 1903-1904 petty annual repairs are not included. There is an annual grant of Rs. 2,000 for Delhi buildings. Out of this amount staff (chowkidars, sweepers, etc.) is also paid for.
EXCAVATIONS AT BHĪṬĀ.

THE ancient remains at Bhīṭā, near Allahābād, were first made known by Gen. Cunningham, who visited the site in 1872, and gave, in his report for that year, a descriptive account of its location and general features. Bhīṭā was identified by Gen. Cunningham with the old Bīthāyā-pattana, a town mentioned in the Śra Charitra as having flourished in the days of Mahāvīra, and, to suit this identification, the name of the village was given in his reports as Bīthā. There can be no doubt, however, that the correct spelling, according to the local pronunciation, is Bhīṭā—a name which the village has very naturally derived from its situation on an ancient mound and which is common to many another village of Northern India in a similar situation; while, as to the original name of the place there is good reason to suppose, as we shall presently see, that it was Vīṭhi or Vīṭhigrāma. Besides some fragmentary sculptures belonging to a stūpa and railing of the Sunga period, Gen. Cunningham collected several short inscriptions, said to have been found at Bhīṭā or the neighbouring Deoriā, and from these records he concluded that Buddhism was the prevailing religion at Bhīṭā “during the period immediately following the Indo-Scythian rule in North-West India.” This conclusion was, no doubt, reasonable enough in the light of the limited evidence then available; it is not, however, borne out by the results of my recent excavations, which, so far as the period referred to is concerned, yielded cult objects mainly of a Brahmanical character.

Gen. Cunningham also made an effort to examine the defences of the old town, and for this purpose cut a section through the rampart on the south-east side of the chief mound, or the gārh, as it is now locally known, revealing there a small portion of the old city wall. To this discovery and to the conclusions to which it led Gen. Cunningham, I shall revert again when speaking of the fortifications at the end of the Bastion Street.

In the following description of my excavations, I shall start with the largest group of structures near the gate in the south-east wall of the town, and will proceed afterwards to deal with the smaller detached groups towards the north and north-west.

2 Loc. cit., p. 47.
Of the entrance itself and its flanking defences few traces now remain, and
it is impossible to reconstruct its plan with any degree of certainty. It seems
probable, however, that it was not unlike the approaches to later Indian fortresses,
where instead of a single gate, there were two or three, with guard-rooms attached
disposed at intervals along the roadway, which ran between high flanking walls. In
the Mauryan period the buildings III and IV, which face each other on opposite
sides of the road, probably did duty as guard-houses or were closely connected in
some other way with the defences; for their construction is much more massive
than that of the private houses of the period. The foundations of these buildings
start from a depth of 4 feet below the concrete surface in the roadway between them,
and are composed of bricks measuring 20" × 12" to 13¾" × 2½" to 3" with several
courses of unbaked brick below, the face of the foundations being protected by layers
of konkar alternating with pounded potsherds, and their corners further strengthen-
ened by massive stones laid against them on the outside. Where there was
relatively little superincumbent weight, i.e., below the doorways of the buildings, the
foundations were not carried down so deep. In the Gupta epoch a side street was
taken over the N. W. end of building III, which by then had been reduced to its
foundations, and about the same time the superstructure of the remainder must
have been rebuilt, the small bricks or brickbats used in the reconstruction being
characteristic of that period.

To the Gupta epoch also belong some ponderous and roughly cut blocks of stone
which were found in the roadway some 2' or 3' above the level of the Mauryan road.
In two of these blocks were massive iron rings which appear to have been used as
sockets for the doors of a gate to swing in. On another block was found the name
Karmamamstra carved in Gupta characters. It is noteworthy that in the main
thoroughfares both at this point and elsewhere the accumulation of débris was much
less rapid than in the houses adjoining, the thoroughfares themselves being kept
clear for traffic. Thus the average rate of accumulation in the roads was hardly 6'
in a century, whereas in the houses it was at least treble as much.

The remains of structures I and II, on either side of the road as one enters the
town, also belong to the Gupta period. They are of poor construction and now so
mutilated, that it is impossible to restore their plan. It seems manifest, however,
that they could not have formed part of the defences, and it may be surmised that
they were shops placed between the inner and outer gates.

Between these two buildings and in the middle of the road are the remains of a
low wall composed of bricks measuring 18" × 9" × 3" with a floor on its N. E. side, of
blackel brick spread over with concrete. This floor is about 4' below the floor of
the Mauryan buildings III, IV and V and is probably long antecedent to them. It
seems to be approximately contemporary with a concrete floor which was found to
the S. W. of building IV on about the same level. The concrete in both cases is
composed of konkar and very small potsherds, and has not the compactness or hard-
ness of the concrete in the trench between XII and XXII described below.

Of the group of buildings to the left of this road as one enters the town the
earliest complete structure is the House of the Guild, which I have ventured so

* Similar foundations were met with in building XL.
to name from a seal-die of terra-cotta found beneath the floor level of room O. The legend on this die appears to read *Sahijititig vigamasa*, in letters of the 3rd or, perhaps, 4th century B.C. Probably it was buried by chance when the foundations of the house were being laid, but, whether this was so or not, the house must on other grounds be assigned to the Mauryan epoch. The plan of the building is simple. It consists of an open rectangular courtyard in the centre, with twelve rooms disposed around it on the four sides, access to the courtyard being obtained through two entrances, J and M, facing each other on opposite sides of the building. In front of the chamber B is what appears to have been a verandah, while in front of the room P is a later addition, intended perhaps to screen-off the door. The resemblance of the plan of this house, and of others also which I shall presently describe, to that of the old Buddhist Monasteries is patent, and it may be taken for granted, I think, that the latter were copied from this type of domestic house. As regards construction, all the houses of the Mauryan and later periods have their superstructures built of kiln-burnt bricks, *kachchaha* bricks being reserved in a few of the earliest buildings only for the lower part of the foundations. In the House of the Guild the walls of the rooms on the S. E. side descend some two feet lower than those on the other three sides and their bricks are laid as headers instead of stretchers. This greater thickness and stability were, I presume, given to the walls on this side of the house in order that they might carry a second storey; for the same phenomenon is observable in other buildings on this site, and it is well known that upper stories were in vogue at that period.

The House of the Guild does not appear to have stood for any great length of time, or to have been rebuilt when once it had fallen to ruin. That its remains had vanished from sight by the end of the 3rd century A.D., is proved by the position and orientation of the well at the side of the courtyard built about that time; but it is probable that the house had been destroyed long before then, *viz.*, about the time when the neighbouring house of Nāgardēva was being erected. I conclude this from the fact that the antiquities found in the débris above the floor level, which may be assumed to have been left there when or soon after the house was deserted, belong to the first century B.C., and are contemporary with those discovered in the foundations of the house of Nāgardēva. Moreover, it will be seen from the plan on Plate II that at that time a circuit wall was put up around the area occupied by the House of the Guild, and it seems likely that the remains of the house were then levelled up and the site converted into an open courtyard or garden attached to the house of Nāgardēva.

The interior of the rooms and courtyard were excavated to a considerable depth below the floor level, but only a few objects of terracotta were found. These include the seal-die referred to above (8, 1), the torso of a female figurine (T. 11), a

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1 I have attached this name to the house for the sake of distinction, though the seal is probably somewhat older than the house. In the case of other houses there is reason to suppose that the names given to them were the names of their actual occupiers.

2 Quotation from C. P. Foucher.

3 The bricks of the chambers on the south-east side average 18½" x 9" x 2½", while in the rest of the house they average 21" x 10½ x 2½". The two sizes were no doubt used at one and the same time for purposes of economy.
primitive vessel modelled in human shape (T. 12) and the wheel of a toy cart (T. 8). The last-mentioned came from a depth of some 7 feet below the foundations of the house, and, to judge from the deposits above it, can hardly be assigned to a later date than the sixth century B.C., and may be considerably earlier. The other three objects are probably but little older than the house itself.

Of the antiquities found on the floor level of the house and belonging, as stated above, to the first century B.C., the most noteworthy were:— (a) Two wheels of a terracotta toy cart, minutely decorated on the outside with spokes, rosettes, and floral ornaments in the characteristic style of the time (T. 27-8). Many other remnants of similar carts and their riders were found in other buildings, and from them it is easy to restore these little toys, so interesting in connexion with the well-known play of the Mricchhakatika. Usually, they were fashioned like triycles the rider between the two front wheels being sometimes a man or woman, sometimes an animal, while in one case the four horses themselves of the chariot are represented in relief. (b) Three caskets of finally veined steatite, found on the floor level of the passage M. (St. 40, 41, 43.) One of them is spherical and the other two round, with a flat base and lid. All are turned on the lathe, and the spherical casket, unfortunately incomplete, is of singularly fine workmanship. These caskets no doubt, like the Greek pyxis, did duty in the ordinary way as jewel or toilet boxes, and were adapted by the Buddhists as convenient receptacles for the sacred relics deposited in their stūpas. (c) Half of a stone grinding-stool, decorated with two winged lions rampant.

From the débris above the floor came, among other objects, a small áyágapatta, slab of green slate, belonging to the Kushana period (St. 32), two clay sealings inscribed in characters of the same age, and a number of other sealings dating from the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. onwards. Among the latter two are of especial interest as furnishing new names of rulers, connected, apparently, with the Andhra line of kings, namely Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śivamēgha and Rāja Vasiṣṭhiputra Bhūmaśeṇa.

The row of shops fronting the road on the N. E. side of the House of the Guild call for no special comment. They were originally constructed in the Śunga period, but were rebuilt in Gupta times when the extension also over the remains of the Mauryan building IV was added.

Immediately to the north-west of the House of the Guild is the house and shop of Nāga-deva, which appears to have been built about the close of the first century B.C. It is very much the same in plan as the house already described, the most noticeable differences between them being that in the later structure there is more variety in the relative sizes of the rooms, and that the verandah is considerably larger. The shop consists of three rooms only, divided from the house by what was probably an open court, and in front of these rooms was a raised platform or verandah, such as is commonly seen in the Indian bazaars of to-day. Originally, this platform was divided into two by a passage leading into the central chamber, but in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., when the floor level had risen several feet, a
flight of steps was inserted and a new doorway constructed higher up. Lying against these steps was found a coping stone of a railing inscribed with a line of writing in Brāhmi characters of about the 2nd century B.C.¹

The bricks employed in the south-west row of chambers in this house measure $19\frac{3}{8}'' \times 12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, whereas in the rest of the house and shop they are $17\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$, which is the same size, approximately, as those used in all the other houses of this period. The later additions are built mainly of brickbats taken from the earlier structures. As to the foundations, they are very similar in character, both in this house and in others of the same epoch, to the earlier foundations of Mauryan times, the chief points of difference being as follows:

(1) In the earlier foundations, where kanakar is used, it is laid with broken pottery or brick in alternating courses, while, in the later, the kanakar is mixed indiscriminately with broken brick. (2) Broken pots were almost entirely absent in the later. (3) In the earlier, the walls are carried deeper under-ground than in the later, the brickwork of the foundations often extending to a depth of 4 feet in the Mauryan period, but not more than 2 feet in later times. (4) Heavy stones are used to protect the corners in both periods, but in the later they project above the ground level and are more in the nature of kerbstones, whereas in the earlier they are completely buried.

Considering that they are built of a single course of brick without mortar, the walls of this and of many other houses on this site are remarkably well preserved. In this particular building they were found standing in places to a height of over 11 feet above the original floor level. Of course, they had been repaired on many occasions, and, as the ground level rose, the lower courses had been effectively protected against damage; but, even so, it seems surprising that they could have held together so well through all the centuries that have elapsed since they were finally deserted.

The stratification in this house and shop of Nāgadāva is singularly well defined, and as instructive as in any building on the site. From the earliest stratum exposed comes the interesting little mould, of which an impression is figured in Plate XXII, 9.² It was found between 6 and 7 feet beneath the foundations of room $n$ and can hardly be later than the 3rd century B.C.; more probably, it is considerably earlier. The device is that of a woman under a palm tree with an uncertain object on her proper right, and, small and relatively rough as the work is, one cannot be mistaken as to the truly Indian character of it. To the next stratum belong the walls shown in blue, and the well which is partly concealed beneath the wall separating the chambers $P$, and $O$. This well starts 3 feet below the foundations of the party wall referred to, and was excavated to a depth of 20' from its top, a great deal of pottery being found within. It has a circular shaft, which for the first 7 feet is composed of wedge-shaped bricks measuring $17\frac{3}{4}''$ along the outer edge, $9\frac{1}{2}''$ across, and $10''$ along the inner edge; further down, the shaft is constructed of closely fitting terracotta rings laid one above the other.³

The third stratum is reached in the foundations themselves of the house and

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¹ Inscription No. 1.
² See T. 9.
³ Cf., for similar construction the wells in buildings 30, 42 and 45.
shop of Nāgadeva, mixed with which were found a number of terracotta figurines, pottery and other objects of the first century B.C. Among these may be particularly mentioned: (a) the figurine of a male figure in squatting posture, with a head-dress and floral fillet and plumes (T. 19); (b) plaque with four horses facing, in relief, and floral border above. The horses are plumed and harnessed, as in the Sāñchi and other contemporary sculptures (T. 20); (c) miniature figure of a camel (T. 30). (d) the base of a steatite casket (St. 42); (e) an iron hatchet and chisel (T. 2 and 4); (f) a gold serpentine finger ring with six coils very finely executed (G. 5); Nothing that can be ascribed to a later date than the first century B.C. was found in the foundations of this house, and we may assume, therefore, that the house was erected about that time.

The next, or fourth, stratum is found on the original floor of the house. Among the minor finds in this stratum, all of which belong to the Kushana period, were: (a) Seventeen copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka; (b) a terracotta male bust (T. 39); (c) a well-preserved water bottle of fine clay, painted red (P. 52); (d) circular clay sealing with device of bow and arrow, as on Andhra coins, and the legend Goyasa in Kushana characters (S. 73); (e) ditto, device of scastika and vase symbol, and legend Na(m)i in Kushana characters (S. 19); (f) ditto, with legend Na(a)diya, in Kushana script (S. 29). Among objects of later Kushana date which were found in the débris covering this floor and between it and the upper floor were; (a) a seal-die of ivory with legend, in late Kushana script, Nāgadevāya, apparently for Nāgadevāyasa, which I have assumed to be the name of the owner of the house and shop at that time (S. 5); (b) clay sealing, with scastika and two other symbols and legend Kosakasa (S. 110). That the house was hurriedly deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kushana period, and afterwards suffered to fall to ruin, seems manifest from the coins and other articles left lying on the floors, and by the subsequent accumulation of débris in the rooms and court, but how long the edifice had been standing when this happened, it is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy.

The fifth stratum, like the fourth, is also clearly defined by a pakka floor, constructed some 8 feet above the original one, when the deposits inside the house had gradually accumulated to that height. This seems to have happened towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. at which time the additions to the house shown in green on the plan were also made; but the minor objects found on this second floor belong, as we should naturally expect, to the time when the house was evacuated, not to the period of its restoration. This second evacuation, which took place in the early Gupta epoch, seems to have been as precipitate as the first and to have resulted from some hostile attack on the city; for many missiles, such as catapult and sling balls, were found in the houses and lanes, and most of the houses themselves were burnt, while in the house which I am describing even the sacred images of the gods were abandoned to their fate. These images, numbering seven, were found in room B; one of them (T. 40) is a terracotta figure of Śiva with his wife Pārvati, seated side by side on a throne with bull and lion couchant in front; another (T. 47) is a terracotta model of a shrine, consisting of a circular dish with a portal on one side, inside of which are seven female figures seated in a ring, with a pedestal in the
centre. The group of figures was damaged by a large sling stone, which had lodged between them, doubtless during the attack on the city. Other objects of interest found on and above this floor were a stone grinding table, decorated with leaf designs, quarter lotuses, waves and dots (St. 24); copper saucer, bowl, bangles, and pendant (C. 16, 17, and 22-24); iron arrow head and ladle (L. 8 and 14); and the sealings numbered 10, 35, 43 and 76 in the list below.

A singularly interesting problem is presented by the discovery in this house of Nāgadēva, as well as in several other buildings on the site, of a number of cells and other neolithic implements of slate, sandstone and diabase. They were found in the Kushana and Early and Late Gupta levels, and there can be no mistake as to the periods to which they belong. How, then, is their presence to be accounted for? I think that the most reasonable explanation is that, after being sacked and desolated by enemies, the town was on several occasions occupied by neighbouring jungle tribes, who were still in the neolithic state of culture, and who left these implements behind them. Another possible explanation is that stone implements were still being used for sacrificial or other religious purposes by people who had emerged centuries before from the neolithic state; but this is less likely in view of the variety of the implements, which, if due to artificial conservatism, would reasonably be expected to be of a more or less uniform type. Whatever may be the true explanation, we have here conclusive proof that neolithic implements were in use in India until medieval times.

The house of Jayavasuta is of the same age and of much the same character as Building 19. The house of Nāgadēva, though it boasts of a well in the courtyard, and of a store or treasure chamber beneath the floor of the corner room r. The latter feature is common to several other houses on the site, and recalls the somewhat similar chambers in the palace at Knossos, though there they are relatively shallow. In this case, the chamber is 13 feet deep, provision being made for descending to the bottom by the insertion of cross beams at intervals, in the walls; the beams, however, were widely spaced, and in such a confined area it must have been extremely inconvenient to climb up and down. The well referred to, in the courtyard was surmounted in the early Gupta period with a square well-head 4' 9" high. The circular section below this is contemporary with the house. It descends to a depth of 33' below the floor level and is constructed throughout of cuneiform bricks convex on the outer edge, concave on the inner, and measuring 8\(\frac{3}{8}\)" across x 7" along the inside and 10\(\frac{3}{4}\)" along the outside.

The stratification in this house corresponds precisely to that in the house of Nāgadēva, and there can be no doubt that it was built, destroyed and rebuilt at about the same times. From the foundations of room f came the beautiful terracotta medallion T. 17, figured in Plate XXIV. The scene, which is repeated on both sides of the medallion, recalls in every feature the reliefs of Sānchi, but the workmanship of the die from which this relief was stamped, is infinitely more minute and delicate than any workmanship in stone or marble could ever be. In this case I think it

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1 Examples of such conservatism are to be found among the ancient Egyptians and the Mayas. The Jews, too it will be remembered, continued to use stone knives for circumcision in a metal age (Ex. IV. 22 and Josh. V. 3), while the Romans used them for sacrifice; whence the proverb inter sacrum arma sacrum. But I do not know that the true neolithic types of implements were preserved in any of these cases.
probable that the die was of ivory—the material of several of the seal-dies found at Bhitá; but, whether this surmise be right or wrong, I have no doubt that this was just the sort of work that was being turned out at the time by the ivory carvers of Ujjain, who, as we know, were employed upon the sculptures at Sāñchi. As to the scene depicted on the medallion, Dr. Vogel has suggested a comparison with the scene in Kālidāsā's famous drama, the Śākuntalā, in which king Dushyanta with his charioteer is being entreated not to kill the antelope, which has fled for refuge to Kanva's hermitage.

On the Kushāna level, i.e., on the lower floor, were found a variety of potteries, a female figurine of rough make (T. 34), and several seals, among which were two belonging to guilds inscribed in Kushāna characters (S. 57 and 59) and another reading *Pusamittasa* in characters of somewhat earlier date (S. 64).

On the second floor, evidences of a conflagration were obvious in all the rooms, but most especially in the verandah and south-west side of the courtyard, where there were great quantities of charred rice and other grain. Here it was that a particularly fine collection of clay sealings, containing twenty-three different types, were found. From the fact that they were scattered about over a thick layer of charred rice and ashes, with other burnt débris above them, I think it likely that they had fallen from the upper storey, when it collapsed in the flames. The whole collection is an extremely interesting one and is fully described in the list of seals below. Particularly fine specimens are Nos. 25 and 32 of the list, the former of which contains the name of an unknown prince, apparently of the Andhav line, "Mahārāja Gauferiputra Vrishadhvaja." From the same floor, room p, came a seal-die of ivory with the legend, in northern Gupta characters; *Śrīśēti Jayavasuda* "the banker Jayavasuda", who, we may believe, was the owner of the house at that time.

Before proceeding to the houses on the opposite (N. E.) side of the road, I must pause for a moment at a deep pit which I caused to be sunk in the roadway between the buildings 12 and 22. In this pit the Gupta stratum ended between 8 and 9 feet from the surface; then came the Kushāna, Śūṅga and Mauryan and pre-Mauryan débris clearly marked by the numerous burnt bricks and brickbats mingled with it. This kind of débris extended down to a depth of some 15 feet from the surface and judging from the clear stratification in the neighbouring houses appears to carry us back to the 4th century B.C. Below this level the débris was mainly composed of mud or unbaked brick mixed with innumerable fragments of pottery and divided by thin lines of charcoal mingled with *kanak* and pottery which mark a successive series of habitations. At about 17 feet from the surface, however, on the north-east side of the trench several courses of massive bricks came to light, measuring some 17" × 16" × 4½". These are the earliest baked bricks found on the site. I estimate that they belong to the 4th or 5th century B.C. Still lower down, at a depth of 21 feet from the surface and on the S. W. side of the pit, was a floor, several inches in thickness, made up of broken potsherds and clay. The clay and potsherds appear to have been mixed together, pounded hard, and then burnt *in situ*; for the burning is much too regular and perfect to have been effected by accidental fire, even though the

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1 Nos. 22, 25, 31, 32, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 92, 95, 100, 108, 120.
houses were entirely of wood. Below this floor were other thin habitation lines of ashes and pottery, and then, 2 feet lower down, and at a depth of 23 feet from the surface, came a floor 5 to 6 inches thick, composed of *kankar*, and pounded potsherds. Beneath this floor the digging was continued for another two feet, but only small fragments of potsherds were found dispersed here and there in stiff clay, and it did not seem worth while to proceed further.

Allowing for a relatively rapid rate of accumulation and assuming that the occupation of the site was continuous, the lowest floor can hardly be assigned to a later date than about 800 B.C., and the terracotta floor above it to a century or thereabouts later. The minor antiquities found in the lower strata were rough in character and few, but their early date invests them with unusual interest. From the lowest floor and a little above it came the terracottas numbered 3 to 6 in the list, as well as fragments of fine black lustre ware with highly burnished surface. From the terracotta floor came a small cup (P. 8) and about 18" higher, from the 19-20 foot level, the potteries numbered 7 and 11.

The terracotta weight (P. 20) was found at a depth of 17 feet from the surface; the miniature elephant (T. 16) two feet higher in the Mauryan stratum and three lumps of pure hammered gold (G. 1) in the same level. To the Gupta period belongs the terracotta head (T. 57) found 8" below the surface, and a clay sealing (S. 97).

Of the buildings on the opposite (N. E.) side of the main approach Road the most important is the "House of Pushyavṛiddhi," as I have named it from an ivory seal found in chamber a (23). Portions of this house were built originally in the Mauryan period, *viz.*, rooms b, f, and k, as is evident from their foundations and the bricks used in them which measure 20½" × 13½" × 2½". The rooms f and k however were largely rebuilt in the first century B.C. and at the same time the rest of the house was constructed, the whole forming, as usual, a series of chambers around a central courtyard, but seemingly on a more irregular plan than the houses described above. Unfortunately, the remains of this structure are much damaged, and it is not possible, therefore, to determine the plan with the same precision as in other cases. The floor level was found at a depth of about 13 feet from the surface on the N. E. side of the house, and somewhat less on the other side, owing to the slope in the ground towards the High Street. In the case of the chamber b, the Mauryan floor did not appear to have been disturbed, but in the chambers f and k the floors had been remade at a later epoch, and antiquities of both periods were found below them. Like the houses of Nāgadēva and Jayavasuda, this one must also have been deserted hastily in Kushana times, as indicated by the minor objects found on the floors. Like them, too, it was reoccupied again in the 3rd or 4th century, when certain additions were made to it; but the floor laid at that period was not so distinctly preserved. Among the smaller antiquities which the excavation of this house brought to light, five objects belong to the Mauryan stratum, namely, the potteries numbered 23 and 24, a terracotta toy ram (T. 13), a copper bangle (C. 20), and a finely worked circular slab of steatite, decorated with a spiraliform design, which was used perhaps as a matrix for stamping gold leaf medallions (St. 35). Of later date are the terracotta figurine (T. 21), a small iron bell (T. 11), and part of a stone grinding stool (St. 23). All these were found below the floor level at varying
depths in the foundations of the house, while on or immediately above the floor were articles of Kushana fabric, viz., the terracotta figure of an elephant (T. 38), an āyāgapatta slab of local sandstone (St. 34), a copper tāmarakṣaṇa (C. 9) and an earthenware melting pot (P. 64). The seal No. 29, with a legend inscribed in characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. was found about 18" above the floor level in room d, seal No. 44 about 6' 6" above the same level, and sealing No. 77, about 4' higher.

The three ranges of shops fronting on to the High Street, and those in row No. 10 facing on to the side street which was constructed in Gupta times, present no features which call for special remark. For the most part they were explored to the Gupta level only or a few feet below, and all the small antiquities of interest found within them are of Gupta date. Among these I may notice a terracotta plaque (T. 69), an iron arrow-head (L. 20), part of an iron kauśika used by confectioners (L. 19) and the sealings 78 and 109, the second of which contains the name of Vichīgirāma, which, as already stated, I take to be the ancient name of Bhitā.¹

From the house of Pushyavṛiddhi a broad trench was carried in a north-easterly direction and revealed the two groups of remains 27 and 28, the former belonging to a house of the 1st century B.C. largely rebuilt and repaired in Gupta days, the latter to a row of shops fronting on to another street which runs, roughly, parallel with the High street. Towards the S.W. this street leads direct to one of the bastions of the town wall, and, accordingly, I have named it Bastion Street. Continuing the trench on its further side, I came upon the two houses of Gauridāsa and Dharadāsa, which I proceeded to excavate entirely, widening out the trench so as to clear the side streets around the tenements as well as part of the adjacent buildings. The House of Gauridāsa (No. 29) was built in the 1st century B.C., and, except for the addition, sometime in the 3rd or 4th century, of the verandah in the courtyard, does not appear to have been altered or repaired to any great extent in later times. What precisely was the purpose of the small chambers in the floor of room 29 is not apparent, but it seems likely that they, as well as the deeper chamber in room l, were intended for stores or for treasures. In the plan (Pl. XIII) the latter chamber is shown as contemporary with the building of the house; it is not improbable, however, that it was constructed at a subsequent date. The drain running along the passage at the side of the house like the similar drains of the neighbouring houses, was constructed, apparently at about the same time as the verandah, for carrying off the water from the interior court. Later on, in the Gupta period, when debris had accumulated inside the courtyard and another floor was laid at a higher level, the section of the drain inside the house had necessarily to be raised. The walls of this house of Gauridāsa were constructed of bricks averaging 17\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)", laid as stretchers, and were found in a singularly good state of preservation, their height, in places, being as much as ten feet.

The several strata in this house as well as in the house of Dharadāsa next door closely resemble those in the houses of Jayavasuda and Nāgadēva, the only difference being that in both these houses there was a well defined floor of the Gupta epoch about

¹ Cf. Seal No. 11.
5' 6" above the original floor and 1' 9" above the 2nd floor which was added in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Moreover, in the house of Dharadasa there was an additional floor, composed of bricks measuring about: \(17\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''\), which was laid from 8' to 12' above the original floor and which probably dated from the latter part of the 1st century A.D.

The original plan of this house of Dharadasa is difficult to determine owing to the reconstructions which took place in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and which are indicated in green on the plan. These reconstructions conceal from view the earlier foundations on the N. E. side of the house, but it is probable that the later walls were erected on the remains of, and consequently follow the same line as, the earlier, although it must be admitted that the two chambers on the N. E. side are larger in proportion to the size of the house than would naturally be expected in the earlier period. In room e of this house is a well which seems to have been sunk in late Kushana epoch. It is constructed of the usual earthenware rings, 5½'' deep and 2' 5'' in diameter (internally) and is capped with a square well head, 1' 8'' high above the circular section. This well was cleared to a depth of 6' only.

It will be seen from the plan and photograph on Plates XIII & XV, that there were long and narrow erections against the facades of these and the adjacent houses in Bastion Street, and at first sight it might be supposed that they served the same purpose as the plinths supporting the verandahs in front of the shops in the High Street. This supposition, however, is precluded both by the height of the walls and the fact that there are no entrances from the street to the chambers behind them. The brick work of the inner face of the walls of these projections was left rough, and the rubble filling within was of the same quality throughout, and manifestly not the result of gradual accumulation. It is obvious, therefore, that these additions, were in the nature of solid buttresses against the facades of the houses, but for what definite purpose they were erected is not apparent. From a constructional point of view they would be useful of course as supports to relatively thin and unsubstantial walls of the houses, and it may have been that they extended only as high as the top of the first story, thus forming high plinths for open verandahs on the level of the first floor. It is more probable, however, that they were built for purposes of defence either against external foes, who might have to be fought from street to street, or against thieves, who appear to have made an art of breaking through house walls. In this connexion, it is to be noticed that as a rule only one entrance, and that generally a very narrow one, was allowed to each house, and that the lanes around were carefully blocked up with cross walls at various points. This may have been for structural reasons, but it served also for protection as well. Party walls appear to have been rigidly avoided, possibly because they could be too easily pierced from the other side.

As to the minor finds made in these two houses, the ground was not penetrated to more than a few feet below the bottom floor, and that only in one or two rooms. Consequently the Mauryan stratum was untouched, and of the later period only

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1. Cf. Mrochka-Baltram Act. III, where the orthodox methods of removing the bricks from a wall are described. The extraction of stones was perhaps equally professional. The introduction of mortar must have put an efficient stop to this method of burglary in India.
two relics of any interest were found. These are two little figurines of terracotta (T. 22 and 23), which once belonged to toy tricycles. The former is illustrated in Plate XXIII. To the Kushana period belong the terracottas numbered 36 and 45; the potteries numbered 51, 53, 62, and 69; an iron hatchet (I. 6) and a seal with the legend *nigamasa* in Kushana characters (S. 58). The above came from the lowest floors in the two houses. Far more numerous were the finds of the Gupta period which were brought to light in the higher strata. Among these were a large collection of terracotta figurines and a variety of seals and clay sealings. Of the latter the most noteworthy are: Nos. 3, 7 and 9 giving the names of Dharadāsa, Guriḍāsa and Manotortha, who appear the have been the occupants of the houses at different periods; No. 15, which belonged to "the Lord of Kālaśīrja;" No. 21, a find of 45 sealings with the Buddhist creed, all from the same mould; No. 33 inscribed with the name of the "Āṣāpati, Jayamita;" No. 34 "of the office of ... Ṣantaka of H. H. the Mahārāja Saṅkarasimha;" and No. 42, "belonging to the office or court of the district of Sāmakarasa."

Before leaving this part of the site a few words must be said of the town wall at the S. E. end of the Bastion Street. The defences of this part were exposed for a length of 40 feet, and were found to consist of a wall, 11' 2" thick, raised on an earthen rampart with a quadrangular bastion attached, which projects 15' from the outer curtain of the wall and measures 31 feet along its face. The wall appears to have been constructed in the early Mauryan or pre-Mauryan period and was pierced originally by a gateway at this point. The entrance, however, was closed up in the Mauryan period and at the same time the wall was strengthened by the addition of a bastion, which was subsequently enlarged by the addition of a casing 4' in thickness. The bastion is standing to a height of 6' to 9' above its base which was 13' below the surface of the mould. The inner and earlier part is built of bricks measuring 20' to 20½' X 13½' to 14' X 3' to 3½', its core to a height of 5' from the base being composed of unburnt brick and, above that point, of solid burnt brick throughout. The bricks of the later casing are of approximately the same size.

Of the structures in trench 48 and of building 50 to the N. W. of it there is little to be said. The former are mainly of the 1st century B. C. or of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. and similar in character to those already described. Objects of the earlier date (P. 46 and St. 20) were found in the foundations of the house in the middle of the trench, but only the original floor of the house was intact, and, as regards the antiquities above this floor, nothing definite as to their date can be predicated from the stratum in which they were found. Thus, the Gupta sealing No. 87 came from chamber 6, at a depth of 10' from the surface, and No. 67 from the same depth in chamber a. On the other hand, the sealing 50 of about the 3rd century A. D. was found only 9' and the Kushana seal No. 10 only 12" lower down. The building 50 is a temple of late Gupta times, which was partially excavated by Dr. Führer some years ago. I completed the clearance of the foundations, but found nothing of special interest.

Far more interesting and instructive was the excavation in trench No. 49, near the north-eastern side of the town. Here I found five clear and distinct strata of

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1 The clay of these bricks was mixed with straw.
buildings, the most important of them being the Mauryan (blue), the floor level of which was reached at a depth of 16' below the surface. At their highest point, e.g., between the chambers c and d, the remains of this stratum were standing to a height of 5' 8", exclusive of the foundations which are about 3' deep. The walls are built of bricks averaging 20" × 14\frac{3}{8}" × 3\frac{1}{2}" laid lengthwise as headers in a single course. The floors inside the rooms c and d are composed of brick laid flat and covered by a thick layer of earth with a coating of concrete, of inferior composition, above.

The remains of the room a in the middle of the trench appear to belong to two periods, the lower part of the walls being of the same date as the rest of the house, while the upper part, which has a slightly different orientation, is somewhat later. In the upper section the bricks are laid as stretchers; in the lower, as headers; but in both sections they are approximately of the same size. Beneath the lower foundations of this chamber are the remnants of two other walls of pachka brick, which belong to a still earlier stratum. In these two walls the bricks measure 20\frac{1}{4}" × 14" × 3", and are laid as stretchers. To the same early age belong the foundations of the chamber a immediately to the north-west.

This Mauryan building must have fallen into almost complete ruin before the structures of the succeeding stratum above were erected; for the débris beneath the floor of the latter consisted largely of roof tiles, semi-petrified wooden beams, and bricks from the walls of the Mauryan dwelling. The roof tiles were roughly grooved on one side, plain on the other, and provided at the edges with flanges, which overlapped one another, so that there was no need of separate ridge tiles, such as were used at a later date, to protect the interstices between them.

Of the smaller antiquities found on the floor of this building or in the débris immediately above it, only three are deserving of mention, e.g., a metal armlet, resembling the modern anantula (C. 19); an earthenware goblet (P. 45); and a goldsmith's melting pot (P. 47). Whether they belong to the Mauryan or early Sunga period, cannot be determined with certainty.

The walls of the next stratum spring from a level about 2' 6" above the brick and concrete flooring of the Mauryan building; and are constructed partly of bricks taken from the earlier edifice, partly of new bricks averaging 17\frac{3}{8}" × 10\frac{3}{8}" × 2\frac{1}{2}". In room a is a store chamber the bottom of which is about 3' 6" below the floor of the Mauryan house, and in chamber c is a well, descending to a depth of 17'. The shaft of the well is square for the first seven feet from the top, and built of bricks; but circular below and composed of earthenware rings. On the floor of chamber c was found the very interesting fragment of a relief (St. 8) figured on Plate XXXI, the style of which suggests a date later than the sculptures of the Sāñchi Gateways, but earlier than the Kushana work of Mathura. I assign it to about the middle of the first century A.D.; and it is likely enough that the building in which it was found fell to ruin about this time. To about the same date belongs the vase numbered 42.

The foundations of the buildings in the next stratum (green in plan) start from a height of about 4' 6" above the Mauryan level. The bricks used in them are of the same size as those in the previous stratum (17\frac{3}{8}" × 10\frac{3}{8}" × 2\frac{1}{2}"), but none of the earlier Mauryan bricks are mixed with them. From the débris, 1' 6" below the floor level of this stratum, came the Kushana seal No. 71, and to about the same
period are to be assigned the small copper bowl (C. 2) and the pottaries numbered 55, 56, 58, 61, 65 and 67.

At the back (S.W.) of the chambers a and b and at a little distance from them I exposed in a deep pit another interesting wall, which probably antedates the earlier walls in room h; for the floor level is 20' below the surface; and the bricks employed here are of a smaller size (17" × 8" × 3½"). The foundations of this building are laid in pakka brick for a depth of 2' below the floor level, and are spayed with 6 footings on the outside. Below the pakka brick are several courses of unburnt brick. The whole was strengthened by a packing of kansar, alternating in layers with broken potsherds, materials which must also have afforded a first class bed for the street passing alongside the building. The only minor antiquity from this pit was a primitive terracotta figurine (T. 7).

The remains in the cuttings 41 and 51 call for no particular comment. The former, which are of Gupta date and built of brickhats, were covered by nine feet of hard soil, and I did not therefore feel justified in going to the expense of following them up further. The latter represent two periods of building, the Gupta and Kushana (?), but here again it would have involved too much labour to continue their excavation.

In the low-lying ground between these two trenches the surface soil had been carried away to a depth of some 10 or 11 feet by the rains washing from the higher ground through the gateway of the town, and accordingly I decided at an early stage in the excavations, to make a cutting here with a view to examine the earlier strata of the site. The trench which I opened up measured 80' long by 34' broad, and was eventually carried down to a depth of 34' from the surface. At its eastern end is a well, probably of the 1st century B.C., which is constructed of earthenware rings 1½' high and provided with a projecting flange at the top. This well is practically at the surface level. Beyond it, towards the N.E. are the remains of some chambers of earlier date, the foundations of which are 4' lower down. In one of these chambers (c) was found the terracotta figurine No. 18, a mutilated figure of an elephant (T. 29), two wheels of a toy-cart (T. 25-26), and, nearer the surface, the miniature cup (P. 31). Both at this point and over the whole area covered by the rest of the trench, the surface debris for a depth of two or three feet had been much disturbed by the scouring of the water or other causes and as a consequence Andhra, Kushana and Gupta objects were found side by side with one another in the same stratum.¹ Lower down, however, the strata were clearer, the Mauryan following the Sunga, and itself being followed by the pre-Mauryan and primitive strata in regular succession. The remains of burnt brick in this trench extended to a depth of about 11' from the surface, corresponding in date with the 5th century B.C. Below that point the debris presented the same general appearance as it did in the deep trench in the High Street, innumerable fragments of pottery being mixed with layers of ash and remnants of concrete, but, here, there were no pakka floors of concrete or terracotta, such as I found in the other trench, to help in defining more precisely the different strata. Potsherds were found in considerable though gradually lessening numbers to a depth of between 28 and

¹ See S. 58, 60; T. 58; I. 31; S. 41; P. 30.
29 feet, after which the artificial accumulation of the town gave place to natural kankar formation, in which for a few feet were mingled here and there small particles of terracotta, which had evidently found their way from above, with the percolation of water.

Of the minor finds from this trench the following are noteworthy. From the Sunga level—T. 14 and T. 14; from the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan—St. 37 and 39, T. 10 and 13, and F. 22; from the earlier strata—P. 12 and 19 (14), T. 10 (15'), 19 (16), 9 (17), St. 38 (20'), T. 1, and St. 36 (21'), G. 2 (22'), P. 15 (20') and G. 1 (20', 3'). The two last mentioned are the earliest objects recovered on the site. I estimate that they can hardly be later than the 10th century B.C. The presence of portions of two steatite boxes, turned on the lathe and well-finished, at 20' and 21' respectively, below the surface, is significant. They must belong to about the 8th century B.C. and show that at that date the people of Bhitā were far from being in a very primitive state.

A little to the north-west of the spot I have been describing is a mound of moderate dimensions—now the highest point in Bhitā—which I caused to be examined by a trench running from north to south, the cutting being afterwards turned in a south-easterly direction and linked on with trench 42. Near the foot of this mound are three wells, one constructed of brick, the other two of carthenware rings. The bricks used in the former are wedge-shaped, measuring 11 1/2" across, 15" along the outer edge, which is convex, and 9 1/2" along the inner, which is concave. The other two wells are similar in all respects to the well at the east end of trench 42, save that the rings are 5" deep instead of 4 1/2". The remains on the rising ground a little above these wells are referable to about the 5th century A.D. The only antiquity of value found in these was a broken casket of steatite and, near by, a number of beads of great variety and interest. Two of these beads are unique, being composed of glass laid on in thin layers, with gold leaf between.

Higher up on the top of the mound is a building of much more solid construction, which appears to have been erected about the 8th century A.D. or possibly later. Its walls vary in thickness from 2' 2" to 3' 11", and are faced with small brickhats of different sizes, with a core of rubble between them. The faces of some of the walls are chiselled, but the chiselling appears to have been done before and not, as is usually the case, after the bricks were set in position. Some finely carved bricks from some structure of early Gupta date are also built, here and there, into the walls.

**INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE.**

The only inscriptions besides the legends on the seals, discovered at Bhitā, are four in number, and are carved on stone. A few letters in the Gupta script were also found engraved on a massive brick, but nothing can be made of them.
1. One line of writing in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd century B.C. Inscribed on a coping stone (St. No. 1) found lying against the steps in front of house No. 12. Language Sanskrit: -

\[na (??) \text{Sālīyā-putrēṇā Gōmitrēṇa}(?) \text{kērtā bhagavatō Nāgas}\]

"By Gōmitrēṇa, a son of Sālīyā, was caused to be made - of the holy Nāga -"

2. Another fragmentary inscription on the same coping stone.

\[priyabhāc Bhagavā\]

"May His Holiness be pleased."

Another coping stone, which evidently belonged to the same monument, was found built up in a modern chhāṭā in the village of Bhitā. An inscription carved on it had been mutilated by the sharpening of tools. The extant portion reads: - Kōtā-putrēṇā "by a son of Kōtā."

3. Carved on a fragment of a circular stone column, which judging from its curvature represents about a fifth of the whole.

Transcript.

1. 1. ... sa uṭhāṇasa sa [udvatsa[4]]
1. 2. ... takaṣa sūrāḷi ni ...
1. 3. ... sanāṭinā gahape [tinē[5]]
1. 4. ... tasa asasapu ...
1. 5. ... kē (?) ukasa putēna sa ...
1. 6. ... Manibhadra chhatō kē [raptō[6]]

"In the eighteenth year of ... in the prosperous reign of ... taka by who was a house-holder, with his kinsman, (nātī) ... by a son of kānaka ... of Manibhadra ... an umbrella (was made)."

It is clear that the fragment on which the inscription is cut formed part of the staff of an umbrella (chhata).

4. Carved in large Gupta letters on a rough stone found a little to the south of House No. IV. The inscription seems to read: - Karmāṇavrātra.

SEALS AND SEALINGS.

Among the minor antiquities unearthed at Bhitā, the most interesting and instructive perhaps are the seals and sealings, which were found at varying depths in different parts of the site. They number 210 in all and comprise 120 varieties and 67 duplicate copies. The remaining 23 specimens are too worn to be distinguishable.

The purpose which such seals served in the life of ancient India, is fully discussed by Dr. Fleet in the last edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. Indian kings kept seals (vāma-mudrā) and so did princes, ministers and other officials.

1 It is noteworthy that both in this and in inscription No. 1 the donors are described by their matronymics.
This is evidenced by the Abhijñāna-sākuntalā, the Harsha-charita and the Mudrāvakhrāsa. The seal which Dushyanta presented to Śakuntalā was a finger-ring carved with his name (नन्दकुलकरणैति). Such also, presumably, was the golden seal of king Harshavarman. But they were primarily used for marking letters and documents. An interesting illustration of this practice is found in the Mudrāvakhrāsa, where, in the 5th Act, we read that the letter and parcel with which Siddhārtha was caught when attempting to escape from the camp of Malayakētā were stamped with the seal of the minister Rākhsa. Similarly, impressions from the seals of kings and other personages of rank were used as passports. Siddhārtha, the character referred to, was arrested because he had not obtained a seal (ग्रहितास्माद्रा) from Bhūgurāyana who had been entrusted by Malayakētā with the care of his camp. The Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata states that on the occasion of a siege the arrangements for the defence of the city of Dvārakā included a command that “nobody was to leave the city without a passport, nor was anybody to be admitted unless he was equipped with a passport.” A similar stanza in the Horicāmāśa directs that “all persons desirous of going should go with a seal of the king. The door-keeper should not admit any person who did not possess a seal.”

All these classes of seals are represented in the Bhīṣa collection. Of seal-moulds or matrices there are thirteen, i.e., one of bronze or copper, six of burnt clay, one of stone and five of ivory. Four of them (Nos. 1, 5, 6 and 8 of the list) are in the form of circular discs, seven are pyramidal and two (Nos. 4 and 7) are shaped like finger-rings with flat surfaces for the device. Some of them have both devices and legends carved on them while others have only legends or symbols. The legends and devices are reversed and countersunk in all except No. 1, where the letters are raised.

Among the sealings two general types prevail, namely, those that were attached to letters or parcels and those which were used as tokens or pass-ports, as described in a previous paragraph. The main difference between them is that the reverse of letter sealings exhibits clear marks of the string or tape to which they were attached, whereas the other type is quite plain on the back. Another point of difference is that the tokens seem to have been actually baked in fire, whilst the other sealings are either quite kochhā and soft or only slightly exposed to a fire from a distance. Four sealings (Nos. 42, 43, 90 and 98), which are plain on the reverse and pierced through, seem to have been attached to documents by means of strings and not put directly on them.

The process of sealing letters was described by the late Dr. Bloch but not altogether clearly. An examination of the back of the seals from Bhīṣa shows that

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2. ibid. 13, verso 18: Na bhāmudrā-lāśākhitā na bhāmudrā prasthātāt.


5. The Mātikāhara quoted in the Sādakalpadvrama enumerates four substrata of which seals were made: svaracārān eva dharmān eva sthānātān, saviśeṣa eva prakāśitaḥ traśeṣa mandribhām.

the broad groove at the back was probably caused by the rounded surface of the article, and not, as Dr. Bloch thinks, by the blade of a knife used to hold the string tight. So also the thin cross marks are not due to the blunt edge of the knife, but are the impressions of the string itself. The process employed seems to have been this; the string was first passed round the object, generally twice (for the back shows a double string mark), and then tied into a knot. A layer of moist clay was then laid on and sealed. In some instances, however, the string was first wrapped round the article and then over the clay, a second layer of clay being added to receive the impression. This is distinctly shown by the fact that some of the seals exhibit one or two holes running through them. These holes are open at both ends, for the string which went through them was either removed in the course of unpacking, or may have decayed.

In the list appended below, the sealings have been divided under several heads:—temples, rulers, officials and so on. Of the religious seals five (Nos. 14-17 and 23) refer to the cult of Śiva, under the names of Kāleśvara, Kālaijara-Bhaṭṭāraka, Bhadrāśvara and Mahēśvara (?). Only one bears the name of Vāsudeva (No. 21); one (No. 18) that of the goddess Sarasvati and two (Nos. 19-20) that of Nandī. The collection of 45 sealings (No. 24) bearing the Buddhist creed is the only certain relic of Buddhism which came to light, though the inscribed fragments of stone moulings may have been Buddhist or Jaina. The sealings of the second class supply the names of three rulers who must have flourished about the 2nd or 3rd Century A. D.1 and of queen Mahādevī Rudramati (No. 30), of about the 4th Century A. D. The official seals do not reveal any new titles. The sealings of guilds or assemblies bear the legend nīgama or nīgamas. Of geographical names there are only four (Nos. 106 to 109) namely, Chitragrāma, Rudikōta, Jatēyāgrāma and Vichhī, the last of which is the only one which can be identified with any degree of probability. Sāmāharsa or Sāmāhasa (No. 42) was the name of a district (vishaya).

The dates of the seals range between the 3rd or 4th Century B. C. and the 9th or 10th Century A. D. The majority belong to the Imperial Gupta period, and only two seals (Nos. 104-05) to the 9th or 10 Century A. D. The language of the inscriptions on the pre-Gupta seals is, as usual, Prākrit or mixed Sanskrit. In the legends on the remaining seals it is pure Sanskrit, though in some instances not altogether free from such errors as are commonly met with in copper-plate and other inscriptions. These are: (a) the omission of the visarga, as in Sāmādhiyāsvaragrāma (No. 3), Mahādevī Śrī (No. 30); (b) the doubling of dh, in Sāmādhiyāsa (No. 3); (c) the substitution of the palatal ā for the cerebral ś in Puṣyavṛiddhisya (No. 6); (d) wrong case-ending as su for eh in Puṣyavṛiddhisya; and (e) omission of sāndhi as in Sānāpāti-Ina. (No. 31). The names of the owners of the seals are generally expressed in the Genitive Case. A few are, however, in the nominative as Chandradattak (No. 80). In some cases the names are left without any case-ending. Such are Pedmanābha (No. 88), Arjuyarakhita (No. 93), śrēṣṭhī Jñayasudha (No. 2), and Amāya-Dharmadēva (No. 38).

1 Their names are Vrīhadēvī, Sivamālaka and Bhimākṣaṇa. They were Andhra chiefs, but their names do not figure in any of the Purānic lists published in Kapur’s Cat. of the Natives of the Andhra and W. Konarups. P. Cl.IV. et seq.
EXCAVATIONS AT BHIṬĀ.

47

Turning to the symbols, we find that they are all Brahmanical, either Śāiva or Vaishnava, the only exception being the fire altar of the Persians, which figures on seals Nos. 101-104 and appears also on a few Basāṛh seals of the Gupta period. Among the Śāiva symbols the most prominent are: the ṭhāna (Nos. 15-18), the trident (ṭriśūla) combined with the battle-axe (No. 14), the Nandipada (Nos. 37, 77, etc.), and the bull (No. 77). In some instances the bull has a sphere or disc between its horns, such as appears on certain Andhra coins. A curious, probably Śāiva, symbol which occurs on eight seals (Nos. 14-16, 25-28, and 86) is a pyramid of balls or dots. This symbol occurs on the coins of the Andhras and other dynasties and has frequently been called a chaitya by numismatists. The seals, however, point to a different explanation. In seal No. 15, which issued from a shrine of Śiva on the Kālaṇjara hill, the ṭhāna is placed on the top of this symbol, from which it may be inferred that it is probably a representation of the hill itself. In seal No. 16, which also came from Kālaṇjara, the two symbols stand apart, but it is obvious that here, too, the same hill is meant. Perhaps the same remarks apply also to the symbol on the four Andhra seals (Nos. 25-28).

Among the Vaishnava symbols may be noticed the well-known device of Lakṣmī and the elephants (Nos. 35, etc.), the conch (saukha) and the wheel (chakra). There is one emblem which so far has baffled identification. It occurs also on two Basāṛh seals and has been described as an ornamental triśūla. Among the Bhiṭā seals it occurs on several specimens. In No. 36 it has a conch on one side and a wheel on the other, which are both Vaishnava. In another seal (No. 44), however, it is combined with a bull and wheel. In other examples (Nos. 39, 85 and 86) it stands alone.

As regards palaeography no observations seem to be called for here beyond the fact that the legends on the Gupta seals exhibit, in some cases, the eastern type of that script. Cf. 1 in Kālīśvara (No. 14), Lalasaya (No. 46), Bhavādaśa (No. 84), and Bhodilasya (No. 94) and k in Sāmāhara (No. 42), Viṣuṣiḥ and Nityarāja (No. 92). All the seals are illustrated with the exception of eleven sealings which are too obliterated to show anything in a photograph. Of the seal moulds (Nos. 1-13) direct representations are published.

I.—SEALS.

1. Terracotta disc, circular; diam. 1 1/2". No emblem. Legend in raised reversed letters of about the 3rd Century B.C. Śabiyātiya nigama. The reading is doubtful. The second word appears to be the genitive of nūgama, the termination sa being occasionally changed to śa in ancient records. If this assumption is correct, the house in which the seal was discovered may mark the site of the office of a nāgama or corporation. The reverse is plain. 7. o; 2" below foundation of walls.

1. A.S.R. 1903-04, PI. XI, 2, and PI. XLII, 48. It has also been called Kārmañjaka. Cf. A.S.R. 1908-7, PI. XX, 1. Kepel, Coins of the Andhras, Cl.XXVII, regards it as a uṣpa symbol.—J. H. M.
2. Cf. tavasaka uṣpā sahā in Kālīśvara XII: Emp. Ind., Vol. II, p. 462. Also the form Nandikākopa; Franks, Palli and Sāṃskṛta, p. 98.
2. Seal die of ivory with conical top, pierced with hole for suspension. The inscribed surface is oval \((1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3'')\) and surrounded by a beaded line. Device of tortoise, crawling. Legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Āravinda[6] Jayavasāda[7]. "The bank of Jayavasāda." The device of a tortoise would seem to indicate that the owner of this seal was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, who in his second incarnation appeared in the form of a tortoise 19. p.; upper floor.

3. Similar. Inscribed surface conical, \(1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''\), without border-line. Symbols of conch (śankha) and wheel (chakra), both Viṣṇuvaṇa. Legend in small northern letters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. Ṣaṃśuddhiyaśa[8] Dharadāsa[9] putrasya. "Of Dharadāsa, the son of Saṃśuddhiyaśa." Saṃśuddhiyaśa (famous for peace) is a curious name. The doubling of dh after sam is irregular. 30. b.

4. Signet ring of bronze (\(\frac{1}{2}''\)). Inscribed area oval \(1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''\). Bull couchant. In lower part, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. Rudra[10] chā[11]rya. The owner was a Śaiva and the symbol of a bull may have been chosen in allusion to Rudra, a name of Śiva. 31. c; under-ground chamber.


7. Soapstone seal-die with a perforated handle. Ht. 1\(\frac{1}{2}''\). Inscribed surface oval, \(1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''\), with single border line. At top, ornamental wheel with pair of conches on pedestal. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. Gaṇḍāsa. The conch and the wheel are both emblems of Viṣṇu, of whom Gaṇḍāsa would appear to have been a votary. In Gaṇḍa we find, instead of the usual right-hand stroke of na, a hook attached to the foot of the vertical of that letter. This particularity is also exhibited by several legends occurring on the Basāḷṇ seals. The name Gaṇḍāsa also occurs on a Basāḷṇ seal of about the same date, where he is called a Kulika, 29; over 3rd floor.


9. Terracotta seal-die with perforated top. Inscribed surface nearly oblong, \(1'' \times 2''\). Star. Legend in reversed northern characters of circa 5th century A. D. Jīvadhā[16] Māṇḍrātha. The word Māṇḍrātha seems to be the name of an individual. Cf. Dharmo rakṣatī rakṣatī of one of the Basāḷṇ seals. 7 Area of 29; 3'' below surface of mound.

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1. This sign appears, in reality, to be the left portion of the genitive termination are, but the nominative case  
2. Āravinda, a Valabhi prince (Upandha, Ind. Obs., p. 27).  
5. Ibid., pl. XI, 28.  
6. This is a concessive term, meaning victory to some deity.  
7. A. S. E., 1902-04, pl. XII, 22.
10. Terracotta seal-die with perforated handle at top. Inscribed surface oblong, 1" × 3 1/2". Trident (trisulā) in middle. On r., legend in Kushāṇa letters rega. 48; 11 below surface.

11. Similar. Slightly oval, 1 1/2" × 1 1/2". Single border line. Above, uncertain symbol (seastika?). Below, in reversed northern characters of the Gupta period, Viśhī. Viśhī or Viśhūgarāma appears to have been the ancient name of the Bhiṭā site. 46. b; 3' above floor.

12. Similar. Oval, 1 1/2" × 1 1/2", with seolloped border line. No legend. Symbol resembling a trident. 30; 4' above floor.

13. Three terracotta moulds with projecting perforated handles. No legends. Designs of a lotus, etc. 27, 30 and 6, respectively.

II.—SEALINGS.

a. Religious.

14. Oval, 2" × 1 1/2", with single border line.

Trident-axe. To its r., a diagram of dots. To its l., a figure which cannot be identified. At foot of trisulā, a wavy line, below which is a horizontal line. In lower portion, legend in eastern Gupta characters:—Kalēṣvaraḥ priyatāḥ. "May Kalėśvara be pleased." The kva of Kalėśvara is reversed, as it would have been in the die.

According to the Skandaparvāṇa Kāleśvara is the name of a Śiva-līṅga, and this tablet would seem to have been presented as an offering at some shrine of Śiva at Bhiṭā. Some votive seals, which were found at Sunet near Ludhiana, bear on one side the name of the donor and on the other that of the deity. In this seal the reverse is plain and the name of the donor omitted. Alley, to the S. W. of 13; 5 1/4" below surface.

15. Oval 2" × 1 1/2". Śiva-līṅga, with umbrella on one side and trident on other. Below this, pile of round objects. Across the seal is a waved line, similar to that in No. 14. In lower portion, legend in northern characters of the Gupta period K[ās]*[a*]yā[na*]bhakt[ā*raka*]ya. "Of the lord of Kālāṇjara." The la of Kālāṇjara was not reversed in the mould. Kālāṇjara is, of course, the name of a hill in Bundalkhand, which has been the favourite resort of Śaiva tapasvinīs from very early times. The pile of round objects depicted below the līṅga is probably a representation of the hill itself. The seal issued from a Śaiva temple on the Kālāṇjara hill, though no remains of a temple exist on the hill now.

29. q; between 2nd and 3rd floors.

16. Oval, 1 1/2" × 1 1/2". Śiva-līṅga on pedestal with representation of hill on one side and trident-axe on the other. Below, legend, in north-eastern characters of the Gupta period:—K[ā*]a[a*]yā[r]a. This is another sealing which arrived in Bhiṭā with a document from Kālāṇjara. 13; upper floor.

1 Of similar device on No. 18.


3 C. S. R., XXI, p. 207.

4 This device occurs, also, on the coins of Śravakura and Viśvāyakura, where it is called a chaitya.
17. Oval, $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}$, with beaded line around. Male figure with two arms seated on pedestal. Uncertain objects in hands. Foliation (?) or flames over head and shoulders. Legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Bhadréśvara. This is the name of the Śiva-linga of Kalpurghāna, according to the Vāsudēvāvaraṇa, Adhyāya 46. The male figure may therefore be Śiva in the Bhadréśvara aspect. The reverse of this seal is plain like that of No. 14.

18. Circular; diam. $\frac{3}{4}''$. Vase $^*$ on pedestal. Below, legend in northern characters of the Gupta period Sarasvati (the goddess of speech). Reverse plain. 27; 5' below surface. Another copy from the same matrix was found in spoil earth.

19. Nearly circular; diam. $1\frac{1}{2}''$. Legend in Kusāna characters Na[m*]di, which is said to be an epithet of Śiva, Śiva's attendant, Vishnu, etc. Below, ścaśṭika and symbol resembling vase (ghata). On the margin, crescent and sun. Reverse plain. A similar sealing from a smaller mould was found in 7, on level of lower floor in 13. 13; lower floor.


21. Nearly oval, $1'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$; much worn. Symbol like wheel. Below, legend in northern Gupta characters.

L. 1. [Namō Bhagava] to Vā-
L. 2. sudd [nāya].

The reverse is blank. The sealing is interesting, for it shows that Bhīṣa possessed a temple of Vāsudēva in the Gupta period. We know from the Bēsānagār inscription that the worship of Vāsudēva was well known in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. 24, b.

22. Oval, $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1''$, pointed at top. Male figure standing facing. R. hand stretched out. Below it, symbol resembling trident. L. hand on hip. Near l. foot, conch. The figure and both symbols stand on pedestals. In exergue there was probably a legend which is altogether effaced. The figure seems to be that of Vishnu. 19; k; upper floor.

23. Oval, $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1\frac{3}{4}''$. Two-armed male figure, standing facing. R. hand stretched out as in No. 22 and l. hand on hip. Folios of drapery falling on both sides. Legend in northern characters of the Gupta period: Bhagavato ma[h]ē [ścraśraya*]. The second word of the legend is only slightly preserved and the reading Mahēścraśraya is a problematic one. Bhagavat occurs as an epithet of Śiva in one of the Basāyā called seals. 7; 5' below surface.

24. Forty-five impressions from the same mould. Slightly oval, $\frac{13}{16}'' \times \frac{13}{16}''$. Legend in five lines, Buddhist creed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets prevalent in the 6th or 7th century A.D. Area of house 30; k' below surface of mound.

b. Sealings of rulers,

25. Circular; diam. $\frac{13}{16}''$. In field, pile of balls or dots with a post on each side, a waved line below and sun and crescent above, these being the symbols which

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* This place cannot be identified.
* A. S. R., 1863-64, p. 111, No. 82.
characterise the coins of the Andhra and Kshatrapa dynasties. Around the margin, legend:—Śrī-Findhyavēdhanamahārājaṃya Mahāśecara-Mahāśeṣvārtisrīlyṣṭa-rājyasya Vrishadhvajasya Gauṭamiḍapatrasya. The letters are very small but neatly cut and finely preserved. In respect of execution the seal excels any object of this class which has yet been discovered in India. The characters closely resemble those of the Jaggayyaśeṭa inscription and belong, like them, to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit. I propose to translate the legend as follows:—

"Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gauṭamiḍapatra Vrishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya."

Vindhyavēdhaṇa or more correctly Vindhyavēdhaṇa is a curious appellation, and I am unable to find a parallel in Sanskrit literature.

Vrishadhvaja, to whom this seal belonged, is not known from any other source. The matronymic Gauṭamiḍapatra shows that he was connected with the other princes of that denomination, e.g., Gauṭamiḍapatra Śrī Śatakarni, G. Śrī Yajña Śatakarni and G. Vijayavakura. The appellation Mahāśecara Mahāśeṣa-āṇi-srīlyṣṭa-rājyasya is significant. It seems to indicate that in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their ishtadevata and considered themselves as mere agents. Mahāśeṣa, to whom Vrishadhvaja made over his rājya, is the well-known god Kārttikeya, a son of Śiva and Pārvati; and the name Vrishadhvaja would seem to be only a second name assumed by the king on the occasion of his coronation in respect to the god Śiva. 19. k; upper floor.

26. Oval, 1½"×1". Bull standing l; crescent under his neck; woman standing in front; her r. hand outstretched, and l. on hip. Behind the bull, a post or thunderbolt (rājya). In exergue, bow with arrow and pile of balls as in Andhra coins. Across the middle of the field, legend in northern characters of about the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.

Mahārāja-Gauṭamiḍapatrasya Śrī Śivam[e]ghasya.

"Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gauṭamiḍapatra Śivamēgha." It is clear that Gauṭamiḍapatra was the name of a line of rulers and Śivamēgha is a son of this line. The bull and crescent point to the king's leaning towards Śaivism. 7; 5 below surface.

27. Circular; diam. 1½". Scene and symbols same as on No. 26, but transposed. Legend in similar characters [Rājya Vāsasṛi Vāsishṭhitaprasya Śrī-Bhūmasēna [gta] "Of the illustrious Rāja Vāsishṭhitapra Bhūmasēna." Bhūmasēna is a new addition to the Vāsishṭhitapra line of Andhra rulers. 7; on level of lower floor in 13.

28. Much worn specimen. Circular; diam. 1½". Same legend and types as on No. 26, but not from the same die. 42; 2 below surface.

1 Burgess, Account of the Indian Public Inscriptions, p. 119, Pl. LXII.
2 Vindhyā and abhāna are both derived from the root yuṣṭa, to please, and it is possible that this compound may have been chosen for the sake of some sort of a pun.
3 A temple of Kārttikeya under the name of Śrīśeṣa Mahāśeṣa is mentioned in the Bilaspur pillar inscription. First, op. cit., p. 34.
4 I am unable to quote a reference to any such custom in the literature, but Mr. Natesan, Archaeological Officer, has drawn my attention to the fact that Mahārāja Mārṭanda Varman of Travancore actually performed a similar ceremony in the middle of the 9th Century A. D. (Natesan's History of Travancore, pp. 370-71). As this ceremony took place in a shrine of Padmapāla, it is possible that Mahārāja Mārṭanda changed his name to Padmapāla Mahārāja. This custom is still kept up in Travancore.
29. Lump of clay with two impressions:

(a) Irregular area, $\frac{3}{4}$" $\times$ $\frac{1}{4}$". Standard with streamers. This symbol also occurs on one of the Basâph seals. Uncertainties on each side of the flag. Legend in northern characters of the 2nd or 3rd century. A. D. [Bhâṭṭâ] raka-mahârâjâdhirâja. The name of the Mahârâja is missing.

(b) Couchant bull. Above, crescent and sun. No legend. 23. d; 11 below surface.

30. Oval area, $1\frac{1}{2}$" $\times$ $1\frac{3}{4}$" with a border line. Reverse plain. Bull couchant, facing 1. Below it, horizontal line. In exergue, two lines of writing in Central Indian characters of the 4th or 5th century. A. D. 2.

L. 2. Rudramatîyâh.

"Of Mahâdêva Rudramati." Rudramati is not known from any other source. The title Mahâdêva was applied in the Gupta period to the wives of paramount sovereigns and in some cases also to the wives of Mahârâjas. 42; 2' 5" below surface.

c. Sealings of officials.

31. Oval, 1" $\times$ $\frac{1}{2}$. In the upper part, lion sejant, facing 1, on a double horizontal line evidently meant for pedestal. In front of the lion, symbol like trident. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century. A. D. Sêna-(a) pâti. In.......

The second syllable of the name is not completely preserved. Sênâpatai has in literature the sense of "Lord of the Army." This rank is inferior to that of Mahâsênapatai, which is used in inscriptions in connection with the titles of mahâ cûmanta, mahârâja, etc. 9, k; upper floor.

32. Circular; diam. 1 3/8". Divided into two by a horizontal line with upturned ends. In the upper portion, Lakshmi, facing, with elephants standing on lotuses. R. hand of the goddess raised above elbow; l. hand rests on a bird (?), perhaps Garuda. Below, legend in eastern characters of the Gupta period:—

L. 1. Mahâsvâpati-mahâdantâ-nâyaka-Vishnura—
L. 2. kâbâ-pâdaśrîvikara-kumârâmaraka-êdkikaravaya.

"(Seal) of the office of the councillor of the heir-apparent, a recipient of the favour of Mahâsvâpati, Mahâdantânâyaka Vishnurâkshita." The real import of the expression pâdaśrîvikara (lit. favoured by the feet) is not known. Dr. Vogel thinks it possible that it indicates the relation of a son to a father, as does pâdaśrîvâtaka in title-deeds. This conjecture receives some colour from the fact that the name of the owner of the seal—the Kumârâmaraka—is not mentioned, it being considered sufficient to state the name of his father. This peculiarity is

1 A. S. R., 1903-04, Pl. XLII, 54.
"Fletâ, esp. cit., p. 8, n. 2.
3 Samen, esp. cit., p. CXXVI, No. 7.
4 Samen, esp. cit., p. 41.
5 In the Bûla and Basah sealings, Lakshmi does not stand on a lotus. This is unusual. cf. Padmanâtha pûdârâjânâtha oṣa goa-ñâhârâya-padarâjâ oṣa pûdârâjânâthâ cha Mahârâjâ Mahârâjâ da. Mahârâjâ, Mahârâjâ, p. 78.
noticeable in two Chambā title-deeds, where certain landholders are described as the sons of their fathers. It is curious to find the functions of mahāśva-pati (Chief Officer of Horse or Cavalry) and mahādāvā-yāgaka (Chief Judge or Chief Officer of Police) both combined in Vishnu-rakṣita. 19; 2' above upper floor.

Ten specimens obviously from the same matrix also came to light in houses 13 and 19 in the debris accumulated on the upper floor.

33. Oval, 1" × 3". In the upper part, wheel in front elevation and conch on side. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. [Aśva] pati-Jayantus[y]a. "Of the Aśvapati Jayanta." Aśvapati, though inferior in rank to mahāśva-pati, must still have been an officer of importance. 19, k; upper floor.

34. Oval, 2" × 1 1/4". Lakṣmi with elephants as on No. 32. Below, legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 5th century A. D.:—

L. 1. Mahārāja-Saṅkarasimha,—
L. 2. Pāṭya-ayukta .... ...
L. 3. .... [dhi]kara[y]a-[sa]

"Seal of the office...Ayukta of His Highness Mahārāja Saṅkarasimha. The seal is broken on the edges and portions of the second and 3rd lines are missing. The title Ayukta is the same as "Ayuktaka" of title-deeds. 30, courtyard; upper floor.

35. Oval, pointed at top, 3" × 2 1/4". Lakṣmi standing on lotus, with elephants. Her right hand holds a lotus (padma-hasta). On either side of her a dwarfish figure on lotus, with folded hands. Similar figures occur on Bāṣāph seals, Nos. 8 and 13, pouring out coin-like objects from pots. Legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. [Ku]mārāmity-adhikaraṇasya. "(Seal) of the office of the councillor of the Heir-Apparent." Between ya and sya of the legend there is an indistinct sign. 13; above the upper floor.

36. Oval, 1" × 3/4". Above, symbols of wheel and conch with uncertain symbol between. The other two symbols are Vaishnava, and the intervening symbol must also be a Vaishnava emblem. But I am unable to identify it. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—Aṃśya-Eka-rodha-çandraśya. "Of the minister Iśvara-candra." In front of 6.

37. Scaling with two impressions:

(a) Oval, 1" × 1/2". In upper part, fan-tailed peacock, as on coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, standing on two horizontal lines with upturned ends. In exergue, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. Aṃśya-Dha [r] vaḍaṇasya. "Seal of the minister Dharmadeva."

(b) Nearly circular, diam, 3/4". Nandipado. This symbol is found on the coins of Kadphises II in association with Śiva, his bull and his trident (tribul). Legend, Pārsaṇa. 48, i; 10 below surface.
38. Token; with rectangular space for legend. 4" x 3 1/2". Legend Amātya-Dharmādeva. This is an impression from another seal of the same minister who figures on the previous seal. Since the reverse does not exhibit marks of the tape, it is clear that this sealing was not attached to a letter, but used as a token. West of 4; 3 below the surface.

39. Oval, 4" x 3 1/2". Uncertain symbol, as on No. 36. Legend in Kushāṇa characters: - Amātya-Bājasa. "(Seal) of the minister Bāja." 19; upper floor. The seal-die must have been in use for a considerable time, as all the other sealings found in combination with this one were of Gupta date.

40. Oval, 4" x 3 1/2". Uncertain symbol, as on Nos. 36, 39, etc. Below, legend in northern characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Amātya-Nāgādā. "(Seal) of the minister Nāgādā." Combined with traces of another impression with sandipada and legend Vārasya, as on No. 37. It is interesting to find this legend on seals separated by one or two centuries. Found with one or more specimens from the same die in 45; 4 below surface.

41. Broken, oval, 4" x 3 1/2". Couch on side. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Amātya-Kausān(a)na[na]. Amātyaka is the same as Amātya. Hence "the minister Iśvarānana." The last syllable of the name is doubtful. This impression is combined with another which presents a sandipada symbol and a legend which is altogether destroyed. 45; 3; 2 below floor of room d.

42. Token. Reverse plain. Oval, 1 1/2" x 1 3/4". In the upper part, Lakṣumī standing facing, on full-blown lotus. Both hands raised above elbow. R. hand holds conch, and L. the bird garuda. On either side of the goddess, elephant pouring water over the conch and the bird. Below the elephants, vases with water or flowers falling from them. Below, separated by a double horizontal line, legend in eastern Gupta characters of about the 5th century A.D.

L. 1. Sāmāhā (2) vso (2) vihoy-adhi-

L. 2. karaṇaysya.

"(Seal) of the office (or court) of the district of Sāmāhara." The name of the district cannot be correctly read. Sāmāhara is the nearest approach, and it is not possible to discover its modern representative. The reverse exhibits, not the grooves of the cake, but marks of the fingers on which the clay was held in the process of stamping. This fact combined with a hole through the length of this sealing appears to show that the sealing was attached to a document by means of a loose string. 29; g; above 3rd (Gupta) floor.

43. Circular; diam. 1 1/2". Ornamental wheel on pedestal. Below, legend in western characters of the Gupta period:

L. 1. Mahādānayaka.

L. 2. ...āh...āh...

"The Chief Officer of Police ......... " His name is illegible. The reverse is shaped like that of No. 42. 13; upper floor.

44. Oval, 1 3/4" x 1". Bull standing, facing, with round object between horns. To his r., uncertain symbol; to L., wheel in side elevation. All three stand on altars.

1 The head of a district was called Yashayapati. Fids Viegas, Antiquities of Cambuho State, p. 111.
In exergue, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—
Dauḍanāyaka-Śrī-Śāṅkaradattasya'" (Seal) of the officer of police, the illustrious
Śāṅkaradatta." 23, 2: 6 3⁄4 above floor.

45. Oval, 1″ × 1 3⁄4″. Bull recumbent to l. Uncertain object before him. Below,
legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—Dauḍanāyaka-
Grāmabala.

"Of the officer of police, Grāmabala." 23, 2.

46. Oval, 1 1⁄2″ × 3 1⁄4″. Bull recumbent to l. Below, legend in eastern Gupta
characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—Dauḍanāyaka-Lājasya. "Of the
officer of police Lāja." The second syllable of the name is doubtful. 19, 3:
upper floor.

47. Lump of clay with two impressions: (a) Oval, 1″ × 3 1⁄4″. Humped bull
conchanted to l. Below, horizontal line. In lower part, legend in northern
characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—[Dauḍa]nāyaka-Kēśavadāsa[s]ya.
"Of Kēśavadāsa, the officer of police." (b) Oblong, 1 3⁄4″ × 3 1⁄4″. Nandipada
with legend Vārasya, as on No. 37. 28; 4: 8 below surface.

characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.: [Dauḍa]nāyaka-Yajñavrīc [rva*]. "The
officer of police, Yajñavrītya." The last syllable of the name is missing. There is
enough space for one syllable. 19, 3: upper floor.

49. Broken sealing. Oval, small axis 1 3⁄4″. Humped bull, recumbent to l.
Behind him, radiate circle, perhaps the sun. Below, separated by a horizontal line,
legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.:—[Dauḍa]nāyaka
Uṣa (? ) masya. "Of Uṣma, the officer of police." 7; 6 below the surface.

50. Nearly circular, diam. 2″. Uncertain device in middle of field. Below,
legend in Kushāṇa characters:

Sa(? ) nāpataśa dauḍaṇīya [kaṣa*]. "(Of) the officer of police akā ... son of
.Śīna." The rest of the legend is entirely worn away. 7, 3: in debris.

51. Oval, 1 1/8″ × 3 1/4″. Bull standing, facing, with round object between horns.
Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D. Dauḍaṇīya-
Vanṣa (? ) sva. "Of the police-officer Vanṣa." Found with another copy from the
same die in 19, 3: upper floor.

52. Oval, 1″ × 1 1/2″. Bull recumbent, to l. Below, legend in eastern Gupta
characters of the 4th or 5th century A. D.: Pratyāhāra-revīśakharudradāma ... .
There is a cut in the sealing between ra and revi, which has carried away one
syllable. Found with another copy in 19, 3: upper floor.

53. Oval, 1 3⁄4″ × 1 1/8″. Duck standing, facing front, with uplifted tail. To its l.
symbol like that on a Basāṛ seal. To r., uncertain object. Below, illegible legend
of Gupta date. The only legible syllables are Dhanu. 19, 3: upper floor.

1 Examples of names ending in bala (strength) are common enough in literature. Cf. Nāgarāja, Dīvala, Tūshaka, etc.
2 Of Rapson, Cours of the Aḥūrāns and W. Khotán, Pl. XII, 332.
3 The reading is doubtful. If Paṭa is correct, the legend may possibly mean "Of the race or assembly of dauḍaṇīya.
4 For this title see Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, Vol. 1, 122.
5 A. S. R., 1903-04, Pl. XXI, 36.
54. Right half of sealing. Oval; small axis \( \frac{3}{4} \). Bull recumbent to I. Legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: \textit{Gangadēvasya}. "Of Gaṅgadēva." His title is broken away. \textbf{19. k}; upper floor.

55. Lump with two impressions:

(a) Oval arcs, \( 1'' \times \frac{3}{4}'' \). \textit{Nandipada}. Legend in eastern Gupta characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.: \textit{Kulikanigama(sa)}. "Of the corporation of Kulikas." From the mention of Kulikas among State officials in Chamba title-deeds Dr. Vogel concludes that Kulika is the name of a tribe, not a generic name meaning a merchant, as supposed by Dr. Bloch, and that the people of this and other tribes were employed by the rulers of past days as Captains of mercenaries.\(^*\)

(b) Oval of about the same size. Part of lion (?). Legend quite obliterated. \textbf{19, k}; upper floor.

56. Oval, \( \frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{3}{4}'' \); heading around and divided in middle by a band of four horizontal lines. In upper half, conch, \textit{sestika} and \textit{chaitya} diagram. Below, legend in eastern characters of about the 3rd century A.D.: \textit{Kulikasa}. Found with three other copies from the same matrix in \textbf{48, n}; 10' 9" below surface.

d. Sealings of guilds.

57. Nearly circular; diam. \( \frac{3}{4}'' \). No device. Legend in Kushana characters \textit{no(t)gama}. "The guild." \textbf{19, n}; lower floor.

58. Similar. Diam. \( \frac{3}{4}'' \). Legend in corners of square: \textit{nigamasa}. "Of the guild." The script belongs to the Kushana period. \textbf{30}; lower floor.


60. Circular; diam. \( \frac{3}{4}'' \). Reverse plain. Legend in corners of square: \textit{nigammi} in Kushana script, \textbf{45, f}; 4' below surface.

61. Two impressions:

(a) Irregular surface \( 1'' \times \frac{3}{4}'' \). \textit{Nandipada}. Legend in northern Gupta characters: \textit{nigamasa}.

(b) Device worn away. Legend: \textit{dēvasya}. \textbf{45, e}; 2' below bottom of room d.

62. Two impressions:

(a) Same as No. 40(a).

(b) \textit{Nandipada} and \( [n]*gama\).

e. Sealings of private individuals.

63. Circular; diam. \( \frac{3}{4}'' \). Legend in characters of about the 1st century B.C. \textit{Pasasa} "of Pasu." Of. Legend in the next sealing. \textbf{45, d}.

64. Circular; diam. \( \frac{3}{4}'' \). Reverse blank. Legend of pre-Kushana date: \textit{Pasamitauna}. \textbf{19, j}; lower floor.


66. Circular; diam. \(\frac{3}{8}\)". Vase with foliage. Legend in Kushana characters illegible. 42; 3' below surface.

The following sealings, unless stated to the contrary, should be taken to be inscribed in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.

67. Irregular area, \(\frac{3}{32}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Legend Bhadraka. 48, c; 10' below surface.

68. Circular; diam. \(\frac{1}{4}\)". Legend in Kushana characters round margin: —


69. Similar. Same legend. 40, 8' below surface.

70. Similar; diam. \(\frac{1}{2}\)". Legend around a seastika in Kushana characters: —

Jayasūrāsena. 7; on level of early floor in 13.

71. Rectangular area, \(\frac{3}{32}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{2}\)"; with beaded border-line. Legend in Kushana characters: —Bhukāṣa. "Of Bhukāṣa." 40, western portion; 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" below level of early floor (green in plan).

72. Circular; diam. \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Seastika with tortoise (?) on either side. Below, separated by a band of horizontal lines, in Kushana Brāhmi: —Bhukhamu. "Of Bhukhamu." Found with two other copies in 23, e; 12\(\frac{1}{2}\)" below surface, near level of floor.

73. Nearly circular; diam. \(\frac{3}{8}\)", surrounded by dotted line. Bow and arrow as on Anhava coins. Legend in Kushana characters: —Gagasa. In exergue, uncertain symbol. 13, d; lower floor.

74. Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{8}\)". No device. Legend: —Virūḍhanagaṇā. "Of Virūḍhanaga." Found with another fragmentary copy in 19, k; upper floor.

75. Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Bull recumbent to l. In front, woman standing facing her; hand on hip and r. outstretched towards erect trident battle-axe. Below, legend in very small and fragmentary letters. 19, k; upper floor.

76. Two impressions:

(a) Oval \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{8}\)". Bull recumbent to l, with post (?) in front. Legend: —Budhāvīśa (?)

(b) Nandipada. Legend: —Fārasya. As on No. 37. 12, d; upper floor.

77. Two impressions:

(a) Irregular area, \(1\frac{1}{4}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{3}{8}\)". Bull recumbent to l. Below, legend: —nanda.

(b) Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Legend: —vārah. 23, e; 2' below surface.

78. Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{3}{8}\)". Bull (?) recumbent to r. Below, line with ends turned upwards. Legend: —Rudrasū(m)ha. 19, k; upper floor.

79. Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Bull recumbent to l. Below, three horizontal lines of diminishing lengths. Legend illegible. Reverse plain. 22, e; floor.

80. Oval, \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{3}{8}\)". Lion sejant, facing l. on horizontal line with upturned ends. Legend: —[T]uḍradattāḥ.

81. Similar \(1\frac{1}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{3}{8}\)". Similar device. Legend: —Fishyuchandra. Found with another copy in 19, k; upper floor.

82. Oblong, \(\frac{3}{8}\)"\(\times\)\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Device similar. Below lion’s neck, uncertain symbol. Legend obliterated. 19, k; upper floor.

\(^1\) For the device Cf. woman standing in front of deer on a Kuminda coin. Smith, op. cit., Pl. XX, 12.

83. Oval, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" \(\times\) \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Peacock standing to l. with uplifted tail. Below, legend: —śrī-śrīheta. 19, k; upper floor.

84. Oblong, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Fish on side. Legend: —bīkāsī. 45, a; 3' below surface.

85. Oval, \(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Uncertain symbol. Legend: —vīkāsī[ū]mā.1 Reverse-plain, 12, d; upper floor.

86. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Same symbol as in No. 79. Legend: —vāsūda(r)tva. West of gate; 5' below the surface.

87. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Wheel with one conch. Below, horizontal line with ends turned upwards. In lower portion, legend in thick, stumpy characters: —bhima-pā [laga] 6; 0" below surface.

88. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)"; with beaded border-line. Wheel. Below, two horizontal lines. Legend in lower part: —padmanābha. The device of wheel may have been selected in allusion to the fact that Padmanābha is also an epithet of Vishnu who wielded the wheel. Bastion Street; 4' below surface.

89. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Wheel with a conch on either side. Below, two horizontal lines, one small and the other large. In exergue, legend: —koulkädāvāsya. 6; 5' below surface.

90. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Wheel on thick horizontal line, perhaps meant for a pedestal. Legend: —bhavanavāsya(?) . Pierced with hole for bread tape. Bastion Street; 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" below surface.

91. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Conch on side. Legend: —chuchukāsya. Chuchuka is a curious name. The Māhābhārata mentions a people of the name of Chuchuka. Found with another copy in 19, k; upper floor.

92. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Conch on side. Below, legend: —nītyāsī. 19, k; upper floor.

93. Oval, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Trident. Below, horizontal line. Legend: —ārya-pravahita. The owner of this seal would seem to have been a Śaiva. Found, with another copy in 29; 4' 9" below surface.

94. Nearly circular; diam. \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Standard or flag. Legend: —bhādāsya. Found in 23, c.

95. Oval, 1" \(\times\) 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Symbol like that on a Basār̥ seal.2 Legend: —śīkṣya. 19, k; upper floor.

96. Oval, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" \(\times\) 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)"; with beaded border-line. Pair of human feet (pādaṅkas) on pedestal. Legend illegible. 13, a; 5' below surface.

97. Similar, \(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)". Padukas. Illegible legend. High Street; 2' higher than floor level in 12.

98. Oval, \(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) \(\frac{3}{4}\)". Fire-altar.3 Legend in exergue: —śadāsya. Reverse plain, but hole pierced through the seal. 30, 6' above floor.

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1. Vitika is a dialectic corruption of Viṣhka; cf. Viṣhka. J. R. S., 1907, p. 1038. In Bengal Viṣhka is pronounced as Bishka which is only one step removed from the form in this seal. The forms Vitika and Viḍā are used in Southern and Western India, J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 104.

2. Poran XLII, 297-42.


4. This emblem occurs on the seals of the Kachchhas, Gupta, and Iindā-Samudrās. Also on a Gupta seal from Succa, J. R., A. S., 1904, plate facing p. 92, fig. 18, and another seal of the same period from Basārk. A. S. R., 1902-03, Pl. XI, 9.
99. Square,  3\(\frac{1}{4}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{4}\). Fire-altar. Legend: — *Anantadattasya*. Spoil earth from
13.

100. Slightly oval,  3\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{4}\). Fire-altar (?). Legend much worn. Perhaps *Yakshanaqa* (or the). Spoil earth.

101. Oblong,  3\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{2}\). Fire-altar. Legend illegible. 7; 2' below surface.


103. Circular; diam. 1\(\frac{3}{4}\). No device. Legend in very cursive script of about 6th century: *Aryya* (?). Reverse blank. High Street; 2' below surface.

104. Conical-shaped sealing, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) high. Legend in characters of 8th or 9th century A.D.:— *Sri-Suvarna*. Spoil earth.

105. Oblong,  2\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{2}\). Legend in Nagari of the 9th or 10th century A.D.:— *Ou Sri* *Rajas [tsv*] *hab*. After the legend, figure resembling a ladle. Bastion Street; near the surface.

f. Sealings with place names.

106. Circular; diam. 1\(\frac{3}{4}\). *Nandipada*. Below, legend in northern characters of the Gupta period:— *Chitrartha(ā)ya*. The name cannot be identified. 19; upper floor.

107. Circular; diam. 2\(\frac{1}{4}\). Legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.:— *Budikāta*. The name cannot be identified.

108. Oval,  3\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{4}\). Uncertain symbol. Legend in similar characters:— *Jatya(ā)ryāya*. The name cannot be identified. 13; g; upper floor.

109. Two impressions:

(a) Oval,  1\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 1\(\frac{1}{2}\). Vase (*ghatā*) on pedestal. Below, legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D.:— *Vichitrārāma*. This was probably the name of Bhīta in ancient times. Cf. No. 11.

(b) Oval,  1\(\frac{3}{4}\)\(\times\) 1\(\frac{3}{4}\). Much worn. Above, human figure standing, facing R; hand holds a staff. L hand hangs down. Uncertain object to r. In exergue, obliterated legend. This figure would seem to be a representation of some sort of a grāmadevati of the village. 9; 2' below surface.

g. Sealings of doubtful character.

110. Irregular area. *Svaśīka* and two other symbols. Legend in Kushan characters:— *Kusākasa*. Reverse plain. 13; a; 6' below upper floor.

111. Oblong,  3\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{2}\). No device. Legend in eastern Gupta characters:— *Jatākavīna* (?). 7; 6' below surface.


113. Fragment of sealing. Legend in very fine Gupta characters:— *Śakuna*...

Spoil earth.

114. Slightly oval,  3\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\times\) 3\(\frac{1}{2}\). No device. Legend in northern characters of the Gupta period:— *Dhavalāga* (?). 7; 6' below surface.
h. Sealings with devices only.

115. Mould. Oblong, \( \frac{3}{4} " \times \frac{1}{4} " \). Pair of σοστίκες in reverse with a leaf pattern on either side. Mauryan, or earlier. Gate; 2' below concrete floor.

116. Oval, \( 1 \frac{1}{2} " \times \frac{3}{4} " \). Symbol resembling monogram on copper coins of Azes, which General Cunningham interpreted as meaning Kaspapura or Multan. Near top of symbol, crescent and star. 13; 5\( \frac{1}{2} " \) below surface. Another sealing with the same symbol was found in 19, k; upper floor.

117. Square, \( \frac{5}{8} " \times \frac{5}{8} " \). Uncertain symbol. West of 4; 2' below its top.

118. Slightly oval, \( \frac{2}{3} " \times \frac{4}{5} " \). Vase (ghaja) with foliage on a double horizontal line. This symbol occurs on the nearly contemporary coins of Chandragupta II. 19, k; upper floor.

119. Oval, \( 1 \frac{1}{2} " \times \frac{3}{4} " \). Spear standing erect. To its r., crescent; to l., star. 48, b; 5\( \frac{1}{2} " \) below surface.

120. Lump of clay presenting a rough zig-zag line drawn by the hand and not stamped with a matrix or mould. 19, k; upper floor.

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1 Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Part I, p. 16.
3 Smith, op. cit., XVIII, 4.
Index of seals arranged according to the find-spots.

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<td>XII</td>
<td>Nos. 5, 79, 76, 85.</td>
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<td>XIII</td>
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<td>Lower floor</td>
<td>19, 20, 110.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upper floor</td>
<td>14 (to s. w. of XIII), 16, 35, 43, 66, 99, 108, 112, 118.</td>
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<td>9, 22, 25, 31, 32, 29, 46, 48, 51, 53, 58, 54, 55, 57, 58, 64, 74, 75, 76, 81, 82, 83, 91, 92, 93, 100, 118, 120.</td>
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<td>XXXI</td>
<td>No. 4.</td>
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<td>XLIII</td>
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# COINS.

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<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>₠Ρ</td>
<td>Balancing 1. before a post. Legend below, in early Brahmi characters, Ayumitra.</td>
<td>Palm tree in centre; to 1, cock facing right, Below, traces of curved line.</td>
<td>Spoil earth</td>
<td>Ibid., Pl. XIX, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>₠Ρ</td>
<td>Ditto, but legend much defaced, possibly Ayumitra.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Purchased at Bhuba.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>₠Ω</td>
<td>Defaced</td>
<td>Defaced</td>
<td>Building No. 45; about 4' below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>₠Σ</td>
<td>Siva standing facing, holding trident in r. hand; b. hand on hip; legend lost.</td>
<td>Stag standing l.; tree in railing r. and six-arched chaitya; legend lost.</td>
<td>Alloy to the east of building No. 25; room 2, on floor level.</td>
<td>Cf. Bapson, Coins, Pl. III, 10; and Smith, op. cit., p. 170.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>₠Ρ</td>
<td>King diad., wearing tall cap and long coat, standing l., his r. hand over altar; traces of trident with battle-axe in l. field. Club in r. field. Legend defaced.</td>
<td>Siva, two-armed, standing facing, in front of bull standing r., trident in r. hand. Legend defaced.</td>
<td>Spoil earth</td>
<td>Smith op. cit., Pl. XI, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>₠Ρ</td>
<td>Ditto, but Battle legible in r. field. Also monogram.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Building No. 18; room 9, on lower floor.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>₠Ρ</td>
<td>Ditto, but legend defaced.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Material and size</td>
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<td>Final-place</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Clay 75</td>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Building No. 22</td>
<td>C.F. Smith, room 6, under the bottom of north wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coat of Prince of a gold coin King standing l. at altar, wearing long coat and holding spear in l. hand. Around margin, legend in Greek script in minute characters which cannot be read.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AE 105</td>
<td>King standing l. at altar; legend defaced.</td>
<td>Deity standing, grasping what appears to be a battle-axe.</td>
<td>Building No. 6; 6' below the surface.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>AE 105</td>
<td>Ditto; but legend effaced.</td>
<td>Deity standing l., r. hand advanced l. on sword; legend effaced; otherwise in fair condition.</td>
<td>Building No. 13; room Q lower floor.</td>
<td>C.F. Smith, op. cit., Pl. XI, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>AE 10</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Wind-god running to l. with loose hair and hands raised. Traces of legend in r. field.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ibid., Pl. XII, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>AE 94</td>
<td>King standing l. at altar; legend effaced.</td>
<td>Deity as on No. 11.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ibid., Pl. XI, 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>AE 94</td>
<td>Ditto, legend on r. Shao Ka...</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ibid., p. 73, No. 45.</td>
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**Haukikka.**

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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>AE 10</td>
<td>Moon-god standing l.; r. hand stretched out; l. hand on hip, holding sword. In l. field, monogram; to r. Greek legend map.</td>
<td>Ditto. Pl. XII, 5.</td>
<td>Building No. 26; in deep pt.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>AE 10</td>
<td>Ditto; but legend effaced.</td>
<td>Male deity standing r. with r. hand holding battle-axe and resting on sword at side and flames rising from shoulders. Legend effaced.</td>
<td>Building No. 6; 6' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>King facing, seated cross-legged on cushions or clouds, holding sceptre in l. hand; r. hand on hip; traces of Greek legend on r. margin.</td>
<td>Moon-god (?) standing l. with crescent behind shoulders; l. hand on hip. Traces of monogram in l. field; legend which occupied r. margin effaced.</td>
<td>Building No. 7, near the well on floor level.</td>
<td>Cf. Smith, op. cit., Pl. XIII, 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>Ditto; legend effaced.</td>
<td>Male deity standing l. with l. hand on hip. Monogram in l. field; legend effaced.</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room s, 12' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>King, diad. riding elephant; r. hand holding wreath. Traces of legend on r. margin.</td>
<td>Male deity standing r., holding wreath in r. hand. Monogram in l. field. Legend effaced.</td>
<td>Building No. 48, 2' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Ibid., Pl. XIII, 2 and 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>Ditto; on l., mona...</td>
<td>Male deity standing r. with l. hand advanced.</td>
<td>Building No. 13, room v, lower floor.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>Ditto; on r., mona...</td>
<td>Male deity standing r. with l. hand advanced.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>Ditto; but legend effaced.</td>
<td>Male deity standing r. with l. hand advanced and l. on hip.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>Ditto; on r., Sba...</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Α</td>
<td>King leaning back on throne with l. knee tucked up; legend effaced.</td>
<td>Male deity standing l. holding wreath (? in r. hand and sword in l. hand. To l. monogram. Legend effaced.</td>
<td>Spoil earth.</td>
<td>Ibid, Pl. XIII, 6.</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Α 1 0</td>
<td>King leaning back on throne with r. knee tucked up; legend effaced.</td>
<td>Moon-god standing 1, holding wreath or fillet in r. hand and sword in l. On r., Greek legend.</td>
<td>Building No. 13, room f; lower floor.</td>
<td>Cf. Smith Pl. XIII, 6.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Α 95</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Defaced</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Α 95</td>
<td>Defaced; but traces of king seated as in No. 28.</td>
<td>Traces of deity.</td>
<td>Spoil earth from the long trench north of the main approach.</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Α 95</td>
<td>Defaced</td>
<td>Defaced</td>
<td>Lane between houses Nos. 29, and 44, 6' below the level of the floor in room m of the former building.</td>
<td>Building No. 13, room 1; lower floor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Α 95</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Trench No. 42, near the surface.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Clay 7</td>
<td>Mould of the obverse of a Kushana coin. Goddess standing r.; in r. field, monogram. Legend obliterated.</td>
<td>Vānsūr.</td>
<td>...</td>
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V.—Kośām (Ancient Kaṇsāmā).

Bahlūki-(Bhilāspāt) mite.

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<td>36</td>
<td>Α 8</td>
<td>Tree in railing; traces of symbol to l.; below, legend in early Brahmi characters which seems to be svatīnātha.</td>
<td>Defaced; probably a chaitya to r.</td>
<td>Building No. 43, 2' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Cf. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. V, II.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Material and size</td>
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<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Ditto; but legend effaced.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Trench No. 48, room e; 13' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Ditto; rest effaced</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Trench No. 48, room i; 10' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Trench No. 48; 6' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto; but traces of chaitya to r.</td>
<td>Building No. 43, room a; 4' 6&quot; below surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to r., snake to l., traces of Ujjain symbol.</td>
<td>Humped bull moving to r.</td>
<td>Area between Buildings, Nos. 6 and 7; 7' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasithasriga (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; three arched chaitya to l.; below, legend in Brahmi characters of the Kushana period Prasithasriga (?)</td>
<td>Humped bull standing to r.</td>
<td>Building No. 29, room k; on floor.</td>
<td>This coin supplies the name of a new ruler of Kausambi, but his full name is doubtful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54-71</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Trench No. 48; 10' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Damaged and illegible.</td>
<td>Bull standing above, wheel.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Probably of the same type as Nos. 43 to 71.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Panota (?)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Æ 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; below, in Brahmi characters Panota (?)</td>
<td>Humped bull standing to r.</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room e; 12' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Cf. Smith, op. cit., Pl. XX, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Material and size</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Find-place</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Traces of chaitya; below, in Brahmi characters, रीय ; crossed border.</td>
<td>Humped bull standing r.</td>
<td>Spoil earth from building No. 40.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Building No. 31, room d; 8½ feet below surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Similar; but Brahmi यि. Illegible</td>
<td>Building No. 18, room e; 3 feet below the floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; below, in Brahmi characters, गाम्य; crossed border.</td>
<td>Bull standing r.; above, wheel; below, Ujjain symbol.</td>
<td>Building No. 46, room b; 2 feet above the floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to 1, three-arched chaitya; below, three Brahmi characters which cannot be read.</td>
<td>Bull standing r.; above, wheel.</td>
<td>Spoil earth from trench No. 42.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; rest effaced. Effaced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Ε 77</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Humped bull moving l.</td>
<td>Main approach; in deep pit, below bottom of north wall of building No. 12.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Ε 78</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to 1, lion rampant. Legend effaced.</td>
<td>Humped bull moving r.; rest effaced.</td>
<td>Trench No. 40, room west of c; about 4 feet above the early floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to 1, uncertain symbol. Illegible</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Ε 75</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Humped bull standing r.</td>
<td>Building no. 23; 1½ feet below the foundation.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Ε 77</td>
<td>Tree in railing</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room e; near floor level.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Material and size</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Find-place</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tree in railing; below, three-storied chaitya and Brahmi letter sa.</td>
<td>Bull standing r.; below, traces of crossed border.</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room s; on floor level.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to l., traces of Ujjain symbol.</td>
<td>Elephant (?) standing.</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ditto; but no Ujjain symbol.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Trench No. 48, room s, 10' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Effaced</td>
<td>Humped bull standing r.</td>
<td>Between buildings Nos. 26 and 27; 9' 4&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to r., snake; to l., traces of chaitya.</td>
<td>Bull standing r.</td>
<td>Building No. 29, room b; on floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tree in railing</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room s; 12' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Bull standing r.</td>
<td>Trench No. 48, room s; 12' below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94-95</td>
<td>5 &amp; 55</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room s; on early floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tree in railing between snake (?) and three-arched chaitya. Traces of legend around margin.</td>
<td>Humped bull standing r.</td>
<td>Spoil earth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tree in railing; round margin, traces of legend.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Tree in railing</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Building No. 13, room s; lower floor</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>As 6</td>
<td>Tree in railing.</td>
<td>Bull or elephant standing.</td>
<td>Spoil earth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>AE 1-05</td>
<td>In centre, conventional tree and railing; below, six-arched chaitya; to l., flying gandharva, wheel and illegible symbol; to r., Ujjain symbol and veṇṇitika.</td>
<td>Humped bull walking l., towards standard with peculiar head; uncertain symbol above the bull; cast in high relief.</td>
<td>Building No. 7, room 8; on floor level.</td>
<td>Smith, op. cit., Pl. XX, 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>AE 7</td>
<td>Two symbols or Brahmi letters; below, crossed border.</td>
<td>Humped bull standing r.</td>
<td>Main approach between buildings Nos. 12 and 22; at the level of concrete floor.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>AE 0-65</td>
<td>Two symbols</td>
<td>Elephant standing r.</td>
<td>Building No. 13 in one of the eastern rooms.</td>
<td>Doubtful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>AE 0-7</td>
<td>Three symbols with a crossed border below.</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Trench No. 42; 3' below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>AE 0-65</td>
<td>Same symbols as on 104 but in different order; below, crossed border.</td>
<td>Effaced</td>
<td>Building No. 9, room 8; on floor level.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI.—Andhra.

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<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Lead 0-05</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Building No. 45; about 11' below the surface.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Lead 7-5</td>
<td>Uncertain symbol</td>
<td>Illegible</td>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tbody>
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VII.—COINS OF ABOUT THE 2ND CENTURY A.D.

Anonymous, circular cast coins.

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Material and size</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Find-place</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>AE ^{6}</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to l., chaitya with crescent above and square cross.</td>
<td>Elephant standing l.; below, triangular-headed symbol.</td>
<td>Building No. 12, room 6; 3' 0&quot; below floor level.</td>
<td>Smith, op. cit., Pl. XXII, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>AE ^{8}</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Building No. 19, room 6; 1' 6&quot; below upper floor.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>AE ^{8}</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Building No. 23, room 6; 12' 0&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>AE ^{8}</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Building No. 7; 4' above the level of the floor in No. 13.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>AE ^{7}</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Spoil earth</td>
<td>Doubtful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>AE ^{6}</td>
<td>Tree in railing; to r., chaitya with crescent and below it, triangular-headed symbol with another symbol to l.</td>
<td>Elephant to l.; above it, square cross; to r., post and svasthā.</td>
<td>Purchased at Bhitā.</td>
<td>This coin has all the symbols that figure on Nos. 119 to 118 but in a different order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>AE ^{4}</td>
<td>Worn</td>
<td>Three-arched chaitya</td>
<td>Building No. 43; 2' 6&quot; below the surface.</td>
<td>Of Smith, op. cit., Pl. XXII, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>AE ^{25}</td>
<td>Brahmī legend Jana; below, crossed border.</td>
<td>Chipped</td>
<td>Building No. 13; room 4; lower floor.</td>
<td>Identification doubtful, but compare Rasom, Jaṭān Coins, Pl. III, 19.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TERRACOTTAS.

The terracottas from Bhitā fall naturally into five chronological divisions, *viz.*, (1) Primitive, (2) Maurya, (3) Śuṅga and Andréa, (4) Kushāna, (5) Gupta and later.

In the first group (Nos. 1-8) may be noticed in particular the elephant and rider toy (No. 1) belonging approximately to the 8th century B.C., and the horse's head (No. 3) of somewhat later date, which is covered with a black glazed slip picked out with cream coloured spots.

In the Mauryan group (Nos. 9-16) two objects (Nos. 9-10) are of special value, as being the earliest representations of the human figure in which a real effort towards artistic expression is manifested. Small and roughly fashioned as they are, they foreshadow the free and naturalistic treatment which characterises the later and more developed sculptures at Śāńchi and contemporary monuments.

To these sculptures the terracottas of the third class are closely akin, forming a clear and distinctive group, of which the character is unmistakable. Most striking among them is the medallion (No. 17) to which reference has already been

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1 The terracottas of the third class are, for the most part, analogous in style to the bas-reliefs on the gateways of the Maia Stupa at Śāńchi, which are now known to have been executed in the 1st century B.C., under the rule of the Andréas.
made on p. 26 above, the plaque No. 20, and the figurines 18, 19 and 22 and the beautiful little camel's head No. 31. All the objects of this period are distinguished by a refinement of detail, such as is never afterwards found in Indian art.

Contrasted with them, the terracottas of the Kushana period are singularly crude and uncouth. Of this group 67 examples were found in the course of my excavations, of which 13 (Nos. 33—45) are included in the list below. They fall into two main classes, namely (1) toy figurines of rough and ready make (Cf. figs. 34, 35 and 36), and (2) larger figures, in which there is an effort towards more realistic expression (Cf. figs. 40, 42, 43, 44).

These crude types of terracottas continued to be made long after the Kushana period (Cf. Nos. 58—61), but side by side with them were produced, in Gupta times, figurines of a far more finished style, which reflect in a minor measure the artistic spirit of the paintings and sculptures of that epoch. Between six and seven hundred of these figurines were recovered, some of men, some of women, and some of children. All are mechanical reproductions from moulds, a few of which were found, but duplicates in the collection are rare. Some of the figurines are without slip or paint; others are painted in a monochrome—red or yellow, for instance; and others are coated with a slip and adorned with a variety of colours—red and pink and yellow and white. But apart from their artistic interest, these figurines are valuable for the information they furnish as to the fashions in vogue during the Gupta age. The chief article of dress with both men and women seems to have been a long loose robe resembling the Buddhist saṅghāti and worn in much the same fashion. In the female figures, this robe extends to the ankles, and is frequently tied at the waist with a girdle. Whether a second garment was worn beneath, is not apparent. Men seem to have used the upper robe more in the manner of a scarf (dupatta). One male figure wears a scarf only across the loins, the rest of the body being bare. The use of shoes appears to have been unknown. On the other hand, the various modes of dressing the hair were as numerous then as they are among women to-day, and perhaps even more startling. The men, certainly, must have been foppish to a degree, with their long curls falling loose on one side only, or elaborated like a full Georgian wig, or coiffed with jewels in the Antoinette style, or disposed more severely in the regal manner of Persia.1

1. Primitive.

1. Child's rattle, 4" high, in the form of an elephant with rider. Buff clay, badly baked. No colour or slip. 42; 21' below surface.
2. Tablet, 3½" long, roughened with incisions, for rubbing or cleaning feet. 42; 17' below surface.
3. Head of animal (horse?), 3" high. The mane is indicated by notches, the eyes by raised dots. Black glazed slip with cream-colour spots painted on. Early concrete floor between houses 12 and 22; 23' below surface.
4. Fragment of elephant's head, 4" high. Lower portion of trunk and tusk broken off. May have been part of jar. Buff-coloured clay without slip or paint. Ibid.

5. Lid of casket with handle. Diam. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)". Vestiges of red colour. *Ibid.*, one foot higher.


7. Lower part of human figure seated in miniature chamber or shrine (5). Soles of feet touching. Two grooves below navel, which may represent a girdle. Ht. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)". Buff clay, badly baked; chocolate slip. Deep pit south of room 4 in 40; 23' below surface.

8. Wheel, 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diam. Slightly raised rim and hole in centre. Red colouring; no other decoration. 7; 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) lower than lowest floor in 13.

II.—Mauryan.

9. Mould, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long, representing a woman under a palm tree. Uncertain object to 1. 13; below lower floor.

10. Figure of woman in relief, 3" high, broken from thighs downwards. Head-dress similar to that in Bharhut sculptures. R. head rests on hip; L. raised from elbow. Necklace and girdle. 42; 10' below surface.

11. Middle portion of figure of woman, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" high. Buff clay, without slip. Cf. No. 34 below. 7; 3; 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) below bottom of wall.

12. Primitive vessel, 4" high, in imitation of human figure. Arms and legs indicated in relief with necklace round neck. Hole on shoulder, behind neck, and another at navel. Head broken. Clay, reddish buff with red paint. 7; 6 below bottom of wall.

13. Head of a pig, 4" long; clay, light buff, with slip and red paint sprinkled with mica. 42; 10' below surface.

14-15. Two rams used, like the human figures above, for tricycle toys. They measure 4\(\frac{1}{4}\)" x 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)" respectively. The legs are scarcely indicated and the holes for wheel axles are similar to those in human figures. Many other such rams were found, of approximately the same size and style, but varying in the decoration of the head. Buff clay with reddish slip. 42; 8' below surface, and 23; 16' below surface, respectively.

16. Miniature elephant, 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)" long. Mutilated, but apparently a handle of vase. Similar clay with thin wash. High Street; 2' below foot of front wall of 12.

III.—Sunga and Andhra.

17. Plaque, 3" in diam. Same scene on both faces. At top, two persons looking over railing with foliage to r. Below, to r., four-horse chariot with charioteer and one other person; groom at horses' heads. To l., shrine with chaitya doorway and rail around. In front and below shrine, tank with lotuses and figure drawing water. At bottom, two deer, and one peacock (7) to r. 19; 7' below lower floor.

18. Standing figure of woman in relief, 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)" high. Elaborate head-dress, heavy necklace, girdle, bangles, anklets and large ear-rings. There seems little doubt that this figure is draped to the anklets. The upper edge of the garment is heavily
indicated across the body leaving the left breast bare. R. hand holds drapery. On l. side, flowers. Buff clay with red slip. 42, c; 4" below surface.

19. Figure of man, 4" high, squatting with knees drawn up. The hands rest on knees. On l. hand is a parrot; the r. hand appears to hold some foliage. The head-dress consists of a fillet of flowers with two plumes above, the hair falling in short-straight strands on the forehead, but longer at the sides of the head, where it appears to pass through cylindrical ornaments. At first sight, the latter might appear to be ear-rings, but a close inspection shows that the ears are not indicated, being concealed beneath the locks at the side of the head. Round the neck is a necklace of three strands with terminals and a triangular pendant in the middle. The figure wears a sleeved coat, like the modern chogah, which is open but provided with loop and knot to fasten it across the chest. The under-garment is not indicated. Between the legs is a flower or leaves. Anklelet on l. leg; that on r. is concealed by parrot’s tail. The figure seems to have been made by hand and is solid. Clay, red with darker red slip. A hole in the top suggests that the figure was meant to be suspended. 13, f; immediately below bottom of wall.

20. Plaque with four horses facing. Broken at lower edge. Ht. 2 1/4". Plumes on heads of horses and ornamental harness. Above, a border of flowers and uncertain devices in the typical style of 1st century B.C. Reddish buff clay, without slip or paint. 13, f; immediately below bottom of wall.

21. Male figure, 3 1/2" high, with long train, and hands clasped in front. On train of garment are various floral devices in imitation of design on the cloth. The figure was originally mounted on wheels, as is evidenced by the transverse hole through the front portion of base. A third wheel was affixed to the back. 23, e; 1' below early floor.

22-23. Two male figures, height 4", belonging to similar tricycle toys as last; back portion in both split off. Wear necklaces and ear-rings. Small hole pierced between hands. Buff clay with red slip. 29; below early floor.

24. Similar figure, squatting in oriental fashion on ornamental base. Wears necklace and girdle; head missing. Small hole above hands. Ht. 3 1/2". Buff clay with reddish slip. 13, f; below early floor.

25-26. Four wheels for toy tricycle. The large wheels measure 3 1/2" in diameter; the others 3 1/8" and 2 1/4", respectively. The two largest and the smallest are stamped on one side only and were manifestly meant for side wheels; the other is stamped on both sides and served for the back wheel of a tricycle. The largest specimens are elaborately decorated with spokes and floral motives—all stamped from moulds. Many other wheels of a similar kind were found. They are all made of a reddish buff clay with slip of the same colour, with the exception of the hind wheel which is of a greyish clay, badly baked. The two largest wheels were found in 42, c; 4" below surface; the other two on the floor of 7, in rooms c, and a, respectively.

29. Mutilated elephant, 6" long. Pads on back stamped, like the head, with floral designs. Light buff clay with reddish slip. 42, c; 4" below surface.


31. Head of camel, 3" long, with the same leaf decoration on forehead as on
EXCAVATIONS AT BHITÁ

rams described above. The modelling is peculiarly good. Clay, light buff with slip and mica. High Street; 4' above concrete floor.

32. Fragment, 2½" long, stamped with decoration of bells, flowers, etc., in relief. Perhaps a portion of a śakula or a symbol of the so-called Kūrmachakran type. Clay, pink with red slip; 12, e; 2' below surface.

IV.—Kushana.

33. Crude head, 3½" high. Light buff clay without slip or colour. 42; near surface. This is probably of Kushana date, but may be later.

34. Figure of woman, 7" high. L. leg broken. Buff-coloured clay with slip. 19, a; lower floor.

35. Figure of woman, 5½" high. L. hand broken. Buff-coloured clay. 50; central chamber; 11½' below surface.

36. Crude human figure, 3½" high, probably a toy. Buff clay, with thin slip and red paint. 29, lower floor.

37. Quadruped, 3½" long. Pale clay, no slip or paint. Bastion Street; 13' below surface.

38. Crude figure of elephant (?). 6" long. Three legs and trunk broken. Light clay, slip and red paint. 23, e; floor.


40. Circular plaque, diam. 4½". On one side, female figure in high relief with arms and legs outstretched. In place of head is a lotus flower with petals falling over shoulders. Girdle of circles around waist and bangles on hands and feet. Possibly represents Pritilvī, the Earthgoddess. A similar figure was found at Kōsan and is now in the Indian Museum (Cat. II, p. 286, No. Km. 36). Coarse buff clay with slip and red paint. 31, b; under-ground chamber. Probably of Kushana date, but may be Gupta.

41. Middle portion of female figure, 5" high. Drapery over l. arm. Amulet like those seen in Mathurā and Gandhāra work above navel; girdle round loins. Pale red clay, badly baked. High Street; 3' above concrete floor between 4 and 5.

42. Head, 5" high. Mark on forehead, perhaps third eye. Fillet around hair. Beard represented by row of incisions under chin. Perhaps Śiva. Clay, buff, without slip or paint. East of 4; 3' above concrete floor. Probably Kushana but may be later.

43. Head, 6½" high. Plume or other ornament encircled with fillet on top of head. Around it, a circle of hair decorated with beads, etc. Reddish clay with dark red paint. 7; 2½' above level of lower floor in 13.

44. Head, 3½" high. Mark on forehead. Moustache and beard. Ear-lobes decked with leaves. Grey clay, burnt to red on surface. 7; 2' above level of lower floor in 13.

45. Part of coiffure (?), 5½" across; of grey black clay; hollow within. 29, a; 12' below surface.
V. — Gupta and other.

46. Head of figure, 2" high. Star on forehead; fillet on top. Buff clay with thin slip. 20; 6' below surface. Probably of Gupta date, but may be Kushana.

47. Dish, probably representing shrine. Diam. 13 1/2". Inside, are seated seven goddesses in a ring with slightly conave shallow pedestal or tablet in the middle. On this pedestal was found a stone catapult or sling ball. The enclosure is furnished with a portal, 4 1/2" high. The figures are very roughly shaped and are much mutilated. Reddish grey coarse clay without slip or paint. 13, 0; upper floor. A fragment of a similar dish was found in 7, m, on the same level.

48. Dish with square corners broken on one side. Length 12 1/4". No figures are inside, but there are four symbols on the bottom raised in high relief. Clay, coarse grey-black baked to red at edge, with a rough slip. 44; 3 3/4" below surface.

49. Image of Śiva and Pārvati seated side by side on a throne, facing front. The god's feet are crossed and knees raised above throne. The head was made in a separate piece and was found lying apart. He wears a long necklace, a dhōti and a mantle, the folds of which are indicated by incisions. His r. hand is partly concealed under the mantle on chest. The legs of the goddess hang down. She wears a necklace of big beads, a longer necklace like Śiva's, anklets and sāri. Her hair falls down back and is fastened just above waist. In front of throne, bull and lion couchant. Total height 1'. Black and red clay with slip and red paint. Found at the same spot as No. 47.

50. Headless figure of woman seated on cylindrical stool in western fashion. Sāri broken away from knees downwards. Wears a necklace and rosette over left shoulder. Hands broken. Total height 7 1/4". Red clay without slip or paint. Ibid.

51. Lower portion of statuette of man standing. Same style as above. Height 8". Grey black clay baked to red at edges, with red paint. Ibid.

52. Bust of Rākshasa, 7" high. Two tusks; short beard; hanging ear-ornaments; necklace passing over shoulders; hair falling down back. Under l. arm, uncertain object, perhaps thunderbolt. Ibid.


54. Head of man, 3 3/4" high. Mustaches indicated by incisions. Necklace and ear-pendants; fillet on head. The figure was hollow, with aperture in top of head. Clay, grey and red with thin red slip. 7; 5' below surface.

55. Legs of two birds (paragados?) standing side by side, 6" high. Grey and red clay with dark red paint. 30; 6' below surface.

56. Head with tenon, 5" high. Protruded ear-lobes. Clay, grey and red, with greyish red paint. 40; 4' below surface.

57. Head, 3 1/2" high. Thick lips and nostrils. Large ear-rings. Hair falling down back of head. Clay, grey and red. High Street, between 12 and 22; 8' below surface.

58. Head, 4" high. Fillet over head; hair falling down back. Grey-red clay with red slip and darker red paint, finely polished. 27; 8 1/2' below surface.
50. Head, 5 in. high. Fillet across forehead. Clay, grey and red, with dark polished paint. 7 ; 7 above surface.

60. Head with tenon, 6 in. high. Ornamental head dress. Clay, grey and red. 13 ; upper floor.

61. Head of man, 6 in. high. Moustache and beard. Elaborate ear-rings and head-dress with garland and floral device. Clay, grey and red, with red polished paint. 30 ; 5 below surface.

62. Man’s head, 5 in. high, with high head-dress and thick garland over forehead and necklace. Incised lines on cheeks may indicate tattoo marks. Buff clay with slip and fine red paint. High Street; 3; above floor.


64. Head, 3½ in. high. Forehead ornament and fillet, with string of beads passing down l. side. Clay, grey and red. 13 ; upper floor.

65. Head, 4½ in. high. Elaborate head-dress. Clay, grey and buff with red brown paint. High Street; 1 ; below surface.


67. Head, 6 in. high. Hair falling down back, dressed with ornamental fillet above and frontal ornament. Large ear-ring in l. ear. Clay, grey and buff, with slip and traces of red paint. Bastion Street; 5; below surface.

68. Head, 4 in. high. Short moustache. Hair dressed in twisted fillet. Clay, grey and red, with buff slip. 6 ; 4; below surface.

69. Fragmentary plaque. 4½ in. high, with standing figures of man and woman facing. The r. arm of the woman is around the neck of the man; her l. hand hangs down by her side. The r. hand of man on his hip; his l. arm around the woman’s neck. Drapery uncertain. Hair of both falling on shoulders with coil on top of head. Dark grey clay with admixture of mica badly baked. 9, b ; 2 ; below surface.

70. Standing figure, 3½ in. high. Wears short drōti round middle; necklace, bangles and ear-rings. Uncertain object in r. hand. Clay, buff-red, with traces of red paint. 30 ; 5; below surface. Another copy from same mould was also found.

71. Standing figure, 3½ in. high. Head and neck missing. R. hand holds uncertain object, Garment reaching to just above knees, with mantle at back. Grey clay, badly baked. 13 ; 3½; below surface.

72. Standing figure, 5 in. high. Feet broken. R. arm raised from elbow, holding uncertain object. Dress similar to No. 71, but traces of drōti between legs. Red clay sprinkled with mica. No slip or paint. 30, b ; 3; third floor.

73. Similar, height 5 in. R. hand at side; l. on hip. Dress same as in last, but no trace of drōti between legs. Clay, same as in last. 30 ; 4; below surface.

74. Similar, height 5½ in. Head missing. Dress similar to No. 71. Buff-coloured clay sprinkled with mica and thin slip. 48 ; 3 ; 3; below surface.

75. Head and bust, height 4 in. Greyish red clay. Buff slip with yellow ochre paint picked out with white. Alley north of 13 ; 2; below surface.
76. Similar, height $2\frac{7}{8}$". Wear ear-rings. Red clay; no paint traceable. 13; 6' below surface.

77. Similar, but no ear-rings visible. Height 3\frac{1}{4}". Greyish yellow clay sprinkled with mica. No slip or paint. Much worn. From spoil earth.

78. Similar, with ear-rings and necklace. Height 3\frac{1}{4}". Red clay with thin red-buff slip. 30; 3\frac{3}{8} below surface.

79. Similar, height 2\frac{4}{8}". Wears ear-rings and Persian cap. Grey clay, badly baked. 30; 3' below surface.

80. Similar, height 2\frac{3}{8}". Clay same. 30; 4' below surface.

81. Head, height 2\frac{5}{8}". Buff red clay, with thin buff slip and trace of pink and yellow paint. 29, 9; 5' 6" below surface.

82. Similar, with heavy ear-rings and fillet across forehead. Coil on top of head broken, height 2\frac{1}{8}". Greyish red clay with thin red slip. 30; 3rd floor.

83. Similar, with heavy ear-rings and hair dressed as heavy wig with coil on top. Height 3". 30; 6' above topmost floor.

84. Similar, height 2". Red-buff clay with thin slip. 30; 6' above topmost floor.

85. Standing type of cupid figure; height 3\frac{1}{4}". Grey clay, badly burnt. 40; 8' below surface.

86. Similar, height 3\frac{1}{8}". reddish clay with thin slip. Bastion Road; 5' below surface.

87. Similar, with feet broken. Red clay mixed with mica. 9; 2' below surface.

88. Standing female figure; height 5\frac{1}{4}". without head. Garment reaching to ankles and mantle behind. R. hand by side; l. on hip. Grey clay with slip and pink paint. 30; surface.

89. Similar, headless. Height 7\frac{1}{4}". Buff-red clay with thin slip. 29; 5' below surface.

90. Similar, complete. Height 4\frac{3}{4}". Holds uncertain object in l. hand. High head-dress and ear-rings. From spoil earth.

91. Standing miniature figure with hands in supplicating attitude. Height 24". Brown clay, very rough. 51; 12' below surface.

92. Bust, height 3\frac{3}{4}". Ring in l. ear. reddish clay with white slip and yellow paint. 13; 2\frac{1}{8} below surface.

93. Similar, but different treatment of head-dress. Ring in l. ear. R. ear-lobe protruded. Height 3\frac{1}{4}". Red clay with traces of white slip and pink paint. 30; level of top floor.

94. Similar. Wears long ear-rings or side ornaments and necklace with pendants between breasts. Hair falls down back. Height 2\frac{1}{4}". Reddish clay, with polished red paint. 18; 5' below surface.

95. Similar, both ear-lobes protruded. Height 2\frac{1}{2}". Brownish clay with traces of pink paint. From spoil earth.

96. Similar, Height 2\frac{4}{8}". Ear-ring in l. ear. Reddish clay with grey slip. 7; surface.

97. Similar, with halo behind head and necklace. Height 2". Greyish red clay with thin slip. 30; 4\frac{1}{8} below surface.
98. Similar, halo behind head and ring in r. ear. Height 3½". Red buff clay.
42; 2' below surface.
99. Head, with hair coiled on l. side. Ear-ring in l. ear. Height 2½". Red clay mixed with mica. West of 4; 3' below surface.
100. Head, with hair drawn back from forehead and top knot. Ear-ring in l. ear. Height 23". Clay, reddish brown. 51; 5' below surface.
101. Head, with hair waved from centre and bunched out on either side. Height 1¾". Reddish brown clay, with thin slip of same colour. 30; level of top floor.
102. Upper half of figures, broken from waist downwards. Height 3½". Wears hood and necklace. The child lies in arms across breast. Red clay; no slip or paint visible. 29; 6' below surface.
103. Similar, broken from thighs downwards, and head missing. Child at breast rests in l. arm, while r. hand holds child’s l. leg. Red clay with white slip and traces of yellow paint. Height 3". 22; 7' below surface.
104. Similar, with head preserved and halo behind. L. hand hangs at side. Grey clay without traces of slip and paint. Height 5". Spoil earth.
105. Head, probably female, hair drawn from centre and bunched on either side, with coil on top and jewelled ornament. Ear-ring in l. ear. Height 2½". Red clay with thin red slip. 30; 10' east of b; below uppermost floor.
106. Similar, with more wig-like treatment of hair. Ear-rings in both ears. Red clay with traces of dark red paint. Height 3". 48; 2' below surface.
107. Similar, probably female, with fillet round forehead and binding hair at either side. Long ear-lobes without rings. Height 2¼". Reddish clay mixed with mica. 29. w. edge; 6' below surface.
109. Similar, height 1¾". Red clay mixed with mica and traces of red paint. 38; surface.
110. Head, probably female, with hair falling on l. side of head only and fastened with bow above forehead. Ring in l. ear. Buff clay with thin slip of same colour. Height 2½". 48; 4' below surface.
111. Head of māya with snake head above, crudely fashioned. Height 2½". Buff clay with red matt. paint.
112. Mould for terracotta female figure, standing with elbows out. Wears necklace, garland, and ear-rings. Hair falling down on either side of head. Full flowing skirts and narrow waist. Height 3¼". Grey coarse clay. 6; 7' below surface.
113. Horse, 5' long, with reins. Buff clay without slip or paint. 13; 7, below surface.
114. Horse, standing. 3½" high. Reddish buff clay without slip or paint. 12; 4' below surface.
115. Lion in relief on a potsherd. 3" long. Red and grey clay with dark red paint. 7; 4' above level of lower floor in 13.
116. Ram, 3½" high, standing. Mane indicated by broad collar around neck. Buff clay, without slip or paint. 30, g; between 2nd and 3rd floors.
117. Monkey, seated, with legs erect and paws joined on knees. Height 2⅛. Greyish clay without slip or paint. 22; 3' below surface.

118. Similar. Height 2'. Holds uncertain object under chin. L. paw on chest. Buff clay with thin reddish wash. 13; 7' below surface.

119. Tortoise, 3½ long. Legs broken. Buff clay without slip or paint. West of 4; 2' below surface.

120. Bird, probably parrot; 3' high. Buff clay without slip or paint. 19; 5' below surface.

121. Similar, standing with outstretched wings. Height 3'. Buff clay with white slip. 13; 4' below surface.

122. Rattle in shape of human figure or monkey, squatting, with hands clasped under chin. It is well-baked and produces a sharp jingling sound. Greyish-buff clay, without slip or paint. 13, f; 5' below surface.

123. Similar, in shape of couchant bull with rider. Height 3½. Grey clay, burnt to red on the surface, with reddish wash. 41; 2½ below surface.

124. Two rattles in the shape of a hog and a bird, 3' high. The former is made of red-buff clay with reddish slip, the latter of coarse buff clay with dark red paint. Found respectively in 43, 3' below surface, and 29; 6' below surface.

125. Twenty-five terracotta tablets, 13 of which are either square or rectangular and vary in size from 1' square to 2' x 1¼. They are incised on the obverse with three parallel grooves, and are plain on the other sides, with the exception of two, which are divided on the reverse into four squares by lines crossing each other in the middle of the tablet. Each of the squares thus formed also contains shorter incisions. The remaining tablets are circular, varying from 1' to 2' in diameter. These tablets were obviously used for weights (Cf. No. 6 above) and the incisions on the square tablets must, no doubt, have reference to their respective value. They are all made of buff clay, with or without slip or paint and were found in all strata, but the majority of them came from the Gupta buildings.

126. Case, with 3 compartments, such as goldsmiths use for keeping small weights in. Length 3½'. Coarse grey clay without slip or paint. 7; 2' below surface.

127. Two balls of red clay used for the potter's slip. Alley east of 30, f; 10' below surface.

128. Spindle whorl, 1' in diameter. Grey clay without slip or paint. 29; 5' below surface.

POTTERIES.

The following are selected specimens. The number of complete vessels found was considerable, while the potsherds were innumerable.

Primitive (wheel-turned).

There are few whole vessels of this period. The bulk of the potsherds are of dark grey clay, many of them covered with a black incrustation paint or glaze, which gives them a metallic lustre almost like polished steel. This ware is commonest in the pre-Mauryan period, but is found in the Mauryan
and later period also. A variety of these has red blotches and streaks appearing on the black surface, which give them a mottled appearance, but these are probably accidental to the firing of the pottery. Specimens are shown in photos 1—6. They can hardly be later than the 8th Century B. C. Other potteries are of the common red and brown ware, which is indistinguishable from the ware of a later date.


8. Cup of buff-coloured clay, covered with thin slip of same colour. Diam. 4". The base shows marks of string with which it was cut from the wheel. High Street, between 12 and 22; 21 foot level.

9. Similar. Diam. 3½. 42; 17½ below surface.

10. Bowl of similar clay; convex bottom. Diam. 4½". 42; 15½ below surface.

11. Cup of pink clay with thin buff slip on outside. Diameter. 3½". High Street, between 12 and 22; 19-20 foot level.

12. Tall cup with rounded bottom. Fine grey clay, burnt to red at the edges. No slip or paint. Broken at top. Diam. at top 3½", 42; 14½ below surface.


14. Bottom of flask with neck missing. Fine buff clay with traces of vermillion paint. Diam. 2½".

15. Lid of vessel or casket, broken. Diam. 4½". Fine grey clay, covered with black paint inside and out. 42; 29½ below surface.

16. Weight; slightly broken. Diam. 2½"; thickness ¾". Fine reddish brown clay covered with dark red paint.

17. Spindle whorl (?) with hole in centre. Red clay, sprinkled with mica. Diam. 2½".

18. Scrubbing block of coarse clay mixed with small stones, with incisions to roughen surface. Length 2½". 42; 16 below surface.

19. Bowl; 5½" diam. at aperture, with raised rim. Four holes in the sides. Buff clay without slip or paint. 42; 14½ below surface.

20. Circular terracotta weight; diam. 1½". Buff clay, with red wash. High Street, between 12 and 22; 17 foot level.

21. Crocodile-shaped spout, 2½" long. Buff coloured clay with red paint or glaze. High Street; 2½ below Mauryan floor between 4 and 5.

Mauryan, Śunga and Andhra.

To this period belongs the best kind of metallic lustre ware, though there are few specimens of it. The grey ware becomes less common than in the previous period.

22. Jeweller's melting pot of coarse grey clay. Diam. 2½". 42; 10½ below surface.

23. Upper portion of finial. 13½ high. Buff clay with red slip. 25, b; below floor.

24. Miniature jar, 3½ high. Buff clay with red slip. 25, b; below floor.
25. Lid with cavity in middle. Diam. at top. \(5\frac{3}{4}"\). Same clay and wash. 48; 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) below surface.

26. Roof tile, \(10\frac{1}{4}\times 6\frac{1}{2}". Flange on one side and socket on the other. Two holes in the upper portion and grooves down the lower portion to carry off water. Coarse buff clay. 48; 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) below surface.

27. Bowl, \(8\frac{1}{2}" diam. at top, with base surrounded by 3 concentric rings in centre inside. Bottom partly broken. Grey clay, with traces of black paint. 13. Mauryan well; 15' below top of wall.

28. Small bowl with rim curved outwards. Diam. at top \(2\frac{7}{8}". Buff clay with thin red slip. 7; 7; floor.

29. Similar. Diam. at top. \(2". Similar clay and slip. 7; 7; floor.

30. Similar. Diam. at top \(2\frac{3}{4}". Grooved lines on outer side. Clay, reddish 7; 2' below north wall.

31. Cup of pink clay with thin wash. Diam. \(1\frac{3}{4}". On bottom, mark of string with which it was cut from the wheel. 42; 4' below surface.

32. Lid of vessel with flat rim turned outwards. Diam at top \(4\frac{1}{4}". Coarse buff clay with thin wash. 8; 1'; 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) below bottom of west wall.

33. Lid of \(6\frac{1}{2}" in diam. at top. Round top; cavity \(2\frac{1}{4}" in diam. in centre. Buff clay with red slip. 7; 2' below top of north wall.

34. Similar, with deeper cavity in the middle. Diam. at top \(5\frac{3}{4}". Buff clay with red slip. 8; 2' below top of north wall.

35. Miniature \(6\frac{1}{2}" in diam. Buff clay with red paint. 7; 7; floor.


37. Similar. Diam. at top \(1\frac{1}{4}". Partly broken at rim. Buff clay; no slip. 7; 7; floor.

38. Similar. \(2\frac{3}{4}" high. Moulded neck with row of slanting grooved lines below. One half broken. Buff clay, thin wash. 7; 3' below bottom of wall.

39. Similar; of coarse grey clay. Height \(3\frac{1}{2}". Convex sides. No wash or paint. 13. Mauryan well; 16' below top.

40. Similar, \(3\frac{1}{2}" high. Coarse buff clay sprinkled with mica. No wash or paint. 7; 7; floor.

41. Similar, \(3\frac{1}{4}" high. Tall narrow neck with flat rim and narrow aperture. Fine buff clay with red slip. 8; 3' below bottom of wall.

42. Jar, \(6\frac{1}{2}" high. Grooved lines around neck. Coarse buff clay with thin wash. 40; 12\(\frac{1}{2}" below surface.

43. Similar, \(6\frac{1}{2}" high with a shallow neck. Coarse buff clay mixed with sand. Jugs of this shape are hung upon the stems of palm-trees to catch their juice. 13. Mauryan well; 15' below top of wall.

44. Similar, with thick rim turned outwards, \(4\frac{1}{2}" in diam. at top. Shaped irregularly. Some rough grooved lines on the outside. Pink-coloured clay with thin wash. 42; 5' below surface.

45. Water bottle, \(8\frac{1}{2}" high. Neck and spout broken. Cf. No. 52 below, which is a complete example of this type. Very fine reddish clay with red paint. 40; 7; 15' below surface.
46. Spout of vessel, which seems to have been shaped like a tortoise. Greatest dimensions 5" and 5½". Very fine buff clay with red paint. 48; 5; 12' below surface.

47. Goldsmith's melting pot. Diam. 2½". Coarse grey clay. 40; 6; early floor.

48. Finial, 11½" high, conical at top, circular below. Decorated with projecting mouldings at intervals. Hollow inside. Broken at base. Buff clay without slip or paint. 13; 6; in earthen terrace below the walls.

49. Similar, 11½" high, in shape of hollow cylinder with mouldings on the outside. Buff clay with thin wash of same colour. 40; 6; floor.

50. Lamp, 1½" high, with handle and two tubes to hold wicks. Brownish clay without wash or colour. 48; 12' below surface.

**Kushana.**

The pottery of this period is for the most part made of common buff-coloured clay with or without slip. One or two specimens are covered with a glaze.

51. Choitty, 1' 2" high, with rounded bottom and broad mouth. Flat rim, curved outwards. No decoration except a double incised line round neck. Buff clay with thin red wash on the upper half. 30; 3; lower floor.

52. Water-bottle, 8" high — the life-breathing vessel of the Chinese pilgrims (?). High top with projecting rim, pierced with small hole. Short plain spout turned upwards. Round bottom. Fine buff clay with red paint. A similar jar is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. 12; 6; on lower floor.

53. Water-jar, 8½" high, with spout, short neck and flat bottom. Buff clay with admixture of mica. Red colour on top. 30; 3; lower floor.

54. Similar, 8½" high, ribbed in the middle. Flat base and spout. Grey clay with thin wash of same colour. Outer or southern mound; some 3' above level of fields.

55. Similar, 7½" high, nearly flat at base; projecting moulding around top. Buff-coloured clay with reddish slip. Roughly sketched symbol or character and crescent near neck. 40; outside room f; 11' below surface.

56. Similar, 6½" high, lower portion nearly hemispherical. Moulded rim. Fine buff clay, with reddish slip. 40; 6; 11' below surface.

57. Cooking pot, 5½" high, with rounded base. Buff clay with red colour on upper half. 19; 3; lower floor.

58. Crucible, 4½" high, furnished with lip at the rim. Coarse buff clay without wash or slip. 40; outside room f; 11' below surface.

59. Similar, 2½" high. Buff clay without wash or slip. 7; 7; below surface.

60. Bowl, 3½" high, with its wall depressed in the middle. Coarse buff clay without wash or slip. 40; 7; 10' below surface.

61. Similar. Diam. at top 6½". Same sort of clay and wash. 40; 6; 11' below surface.

62. Potsherd with figure of lion in high relief. Length 2'. Greyish clay with red paint. 30; red tile floor.

63. Potsherd with elephant in high relief. Trunk and feet broken. Length 2'.
Buff clay, incompletely burnt. Thin reddish wash. 7; on level of early floor in 13.

64. Melting pot in shape of bowl, 6½" in diam. at top, with lip in rim for pouring molten metal. Coarse grey clay without wash or slip. 23, 4; Kushana level.

65. Melting pot with rounded-bottom. Diam. at top, 4½". Coarse grey clay without wash or slip. 40, 8; 11' below surface.

66. Potter's dabber, 2½" high. Buff clay mixed with small banbar, covered with red colour. 13; lower floor.

67. Circular mould for printing cloth or pottery. Flower in centre, with design of leaves around and border of dotted lines on edge. Handle broken. Diam. 4". Grey clay with wash of same colour. 40; 11' below surface.

68. Two potsherds. Reddish clay with black glaze on inside and out. 19, p; lower floor.

69. Lower portion of finial, 15½" high. Same sort of clay and paint. 30, c; lower floor.

Gupta.

70. Chaffii, 14½" high. Short neck, curved outwards. Coarse buff clay without wash. 43; 5' below surface.

71. Chaffii, 12" high. Similar to No. 47.

72. Tall chaffii, for storage of corn, 2½" high, with conical base. Band of thumb-impressions a little below neck, the intervening surface being covered with red paint. Buff clay. 48; 8' below surface.

73. Jar, 8" high. Coarse buff clay with traces of wash. 48; 9' below surface.

74. Bowl. Diam. 5½" at top. Perhaps a lid of a chaffii. Buff clay, with thin reddish wash. 48; 10' below surface.

75. Fragment of pot with ornamental ribs. Buff clay with dark red slip. 23, 4; 10' below surface.

76. Hollow cylinder, 3½" high, in the form of lower portion of a cone. Perhaps a stand for jar. Coarse buff clay. No colour or wash. 13, 4; upper floor.

77. Jar, 7½" high with a lip at the rim. Greyish clay with vestiges of dark red colour. 29, 5; 5' below surface.

78. Similar, 9½" high with projecting bottom, and double spout. Embossed decoration in two bands. Reddish clay mixed with mica and red slip. 48; 6' below surface.

79. Cooking pot, 4½" high. Reddish clay with slip. 48; 7' below surface.


81. Lower portion of bowl, 3½" high. Petals of flower cut in relief around base. Grey clay with black wash. 30; 7' below surface.

82. Goblet, 4½" high. Coarse greyish clay with reddish wash. 29, 4; 5' below surface.

83. Bowl, 3½" high. Flat projecting rim. Brown clay. No wash or slip. 40, 4; underground chamber.

85. Bowl or lid, 8" in diam. Traces of handle in middle. Fine buff clay with red slip. Alley west of 19; upper floor.

86. Miniature kamandalu, 4¾" high, with curved handle on top. Spout broken. Coarse clay; no wash. Alley between 13 and 19; upper floor.


89. Damara, 3¾" high. Same sort of clay. 46, b; 3' above lower floor.

90. Potter's or cloth-dyer's mould, 2½" high. Handle on top. Cavity in middle of lower face for blank spaces. Greyish clay. No wash. 12; 5½' below surface.

91. Semi-elliptic tile (?), 4½" high, with hole in the upper portion. Coarse clay.

92. Finial, 10" high. Base broken. Similar clay. 25, a; 3' above lower floor.

92a. Roof-tile, 11" × 6". Similar to No. 26 in all respects.

Late Gupta.

93. Jar with spout, 8½" high. Buff clay, mixed with mica. 23; 4' below surface.

94. Jar, 5½" high. Very coarse clay. No wash. 29, i; 4' below surface.


96. Similar, diam. 5¼". Very coarse clay. 22, d; 4' below surface.

97. Miniature bowl, 1½" high. Inscription around neck. 30; 4' below surface.

Medieval.

98. Bowl, diam. 5½". Buff clay with thin wash. 40; 3' below surface.

99. Similar; diam. 3½". Rough floral design round lower portion. Pink clay with thin wash. 7; 1½' below surface.

100. Miniature vascus. Curved side. Buff clay with thin wash. 48; 2½' below surface.


STONE OBJECTS.


2. Bar of railing in same stone and probably belonging to same rail. Length 1' 6"; width 9"; thickness 2½". Of usual lozenge shape. F. 19; middle of upper floor.
3. Capital of column (?) of Mauryan or Śunga date. Of local sandstone with tenon below and socket hole above, broken on one side. 1'1½" x 9½" x 7½", including tenon. The three unbroken sides decorated with a railing in relief surmounted by an undulating floral design.

4. Fragment, perhaps of a railing, of Śunga style. At the corner is the lower part of a woman, nude, with girdle of three rows of beads. 5" high x 4½" wide x 2½" thick; local sandstone.

5. Fragmentary slab of Mathurā sandstone with portions of two panels remaining. In the proper r. panel, the l. arm of a human being holding what looks like a conventional garland. The other panel contains a peacock standing, facing l. Head and part of body are wanting. Below, on l., a vase with foliage (phata-pattive). Length 11¼". Kushāna (?). 15; 4' below ground level.

6. Fragmentary slab of local sandstone. Rosette in low relief, containing couchant lion with a wavy leaf ornament around. About the same date as last. Length 9½". 15; floor level.

7. Back of head of Mauryan (?) date. The face is split off. The hair is arranged in fine strands falling down the back and confined by a band knotted at the back. Local sandstone. Height 15½". High Street; between 12 and 22.

8. Relief of fine slate, 6½" wide. Woman lying on couch, with r. elbow raised and head resting on r. hand. Behind her, dish with gourds or fruit and leaf, and, to r. male figure standing with shield (?) in r. hand and l. hand resting on legs of woman. The figure of the woman calls to mind Mayā in the conception scene. Circa 1st Century A.D. 40; 9' below floor.

9. Relief of standing figure, holding lotus in r. hand, which is raised from elbow. L. hand on hip with garment passing through arm. Wears necklace or frontlet. Garment indicated as passing over l. shoulder. 11½" high x 7½" wide x 3½" thick. Local sandstone. Gupta date. 9; a.


12. Similar. Same subject, but superior design. Local sandstone. Height 7½". Late Gupta. 31; 4' below surface.

13. Relief of female figure. Hands hold uncertain objects. Local sandstone. Height 6½". Broken at bottom. Late Gupta. 20; 4' below surface.

14. Fragment of standing female figure. Dress reaching to ankles; left hand by side, holding edge of robe. Broken above waist and below ankles. Local sandstone. Height 3½". Late Gupta. 27; 7' below surface.

15. Fragments of halo, decorated with twisted garland interspersed with crocodiles, birds and animals, and enriched with bead and reel and lotus borders. Of grey slate. Larger fragment measures 5½" x 6½". Kushāna period (?). 23; k.

16. Similar, of Gupta period. Decorated with floral band, and twisted garlands bordered by beads, and scalloped at the edge in the Mathurā style. Local sandstone. 6½" x 3½". 21; 6' below surface.
19. Similar, of Mathurā stone, with figure in supplicating attitude to L, and flying gandharva above. Height 9\"; 7; 6\" below surface.

Grind Stools, Slabs, etc.

These belong to all periods represented on the site except the primitive, which has yielded relatively few objects. They are all of approximately the same shape, but are decorated with a variety of designs characteristic of the period to which they belong.

20. Leg of stool, decorated with conventionalised honeysuckle ornament. Height 7\"; width 5\"; thickness 3\"; Local sandstone. 1st Century B.C. 48; 13\" below surface.

21. Approximately of same date. The winged lion rampant is carved, as in the Karle capitals, in two planes forming a right angle to each other at the corner. Local sandstone. Height 9\"; width 8\"; thickness 3\".

22. Two legs of same period. Winged lions rampant. Local sandstone. Height 7\"; width 6\"; thickness 7\"; 7; level of floor in 13.

23. Half a stone of same period, decorated with lightly incised lines in chevrons, dots and rough floral designs. Length 10\"; height 9\"; thickness 6\"; Local sandstone. 23. j.

24. Complete stool of early Gupta period. Local sandstone. 1' 6" long \times 10\" high \times 8" wide. Decorated with leaf design, quarter lotus, waves, and dots. 13; upper floor.

25. Of late Gupta date. Local sandstone. Length 16\"; height 9\"; width 8\". Decoration of incised lines, very rough.

26. Grinding slab. Length 18"; width 10"; thickness 2\". Local sandstone. Gupta. Several such slabs were found in the Kushana and Gupta levels. The upper surfaces are roughened with lightly incised chevrons, dots or lines in the middle and decorated with a more elaborate design at one or both ends.

27-8. Accompanying the grind stools and slabs were numerous stone rollers complete or fragmentary, averaging 9 or 10 inches in length.

Stone Slabs.

These are probably Ayāgapaśṭa slabs, but no dedicatory inscriptions have been found on any of them.

29. Circular, of fine green slate, with lotus-decorated border. Diam. 3\"; Kushana (F).

30. Circular; broken. Diam. 4\"; With Kārmachakra at top. 19; top of south wall.

31. Of same material and date; probably oblong, but broken. Decorated in two corners with vase and svastika. Width 3\".

32. Similar to last, with circular concave depression in centre. Width 3\"; 7; 7 below surface.

33. Square, of dark red local sandstone, decorated with circular band of lotus leaves, and larger leaves in corners. 5\" square. 46, k.
34. Square, with rougher design. Local sandstone. 5½” across. Kushāṇa date (?). 23, a; 12” below surface.

35. Circular slab of steatite, of Mauryan date, perhaps for stamping gold leaf medallions. Similar slabs were found by Dr. Bloch at Bāsā, Dr. also the gold leaf from Piprahwa stūpa in Calcutta Museum. The decorated surface is convex and ornamented with a continuous spiral motif inside border of lines. Diam. 3½”. 23, k; 16” below surface.

**Catapult or Sling Balls.**

These range in size from 1½” to 8½” diam. and are of various stones or of clay. Those of the Mauryan period are admirably cut, being absolutely spherical and chiselled to a perfect finish.

**Steatite and Marble Boxes.**

These date from the earliest to the latest periods represented on the site, the best workmanship being of the Mauryan, Śuṅga and Āndhā periods. All are turned on the lathe.

33. Top of casket furnished with handle and decorated on outside with concentric mouldings. Diam. 3½”. Mauve and white steatite. Primitive. 42; 21” below surface.

37. Two fragments of a lid of box. Grey-white steatite. The lid was furnished with a rim and handle and decorated with two concentric lines at the edge on the outside and one inside the lid. Mauryan. 42; 11” below surface.

38. Bottom of flat box with rim and three concentric lines on outside. Diam. 2½”. Greenish grey steatite, with mauve. Primitive. 42; 20” below surface.


40. Complete box, of grey mauve colour. 2½” high. Of rather coarse workmanship, furnished with handle at top and decorated with simple designs lightly incised. 7, m; floor.

41. Fragment of lid and bottom, fitting together with perfect accuracy. Mauve and red steatite. 4½” across. Handle and bottom broken away. Adorned with five concentric lines only. 7, m; floor.

42. Spherical base of greyish mauve steatite with incised design. Diam. 1½”; 13, i; foundations.

43. Base of casket of white-mauve steatite, with rim and two incised lines on outer surface. Diam. 1½”; 7, m; floor.

44. Spherical lid of casket of red steatite, finely turned, with concentric lines of decoration on outside. Diam. when complete, 1¼”. 42; 3½” below surface.

45. Base of casket with rim and foot moulding. Grey white steatite, Pre-Kushāṇa period (red). Diam. 2½”; 7; 2’ above floor.


47. Ditto; of same date. Grey steatite, decorated with simple linear designs. Diam. 3½”.


48. Bottom of casket furnished with rim and decorated with cross hatchings on outer surface. Diam. 2 1/4". Deep mauve steatite. Late Gupta. 45; 4" below surface.

Neolithic Implements.
1. Wedge-shaped celt of basalt rock, ground and polished. Kushana. 13, i; lower floor.
2. Wood splitter (?) with curved edge; of local sandstone. The sides are rough and show marks of cutting. Kushana. 13, i; lower floor.
4. Wedge-shaped celt of diabase, 2 1/3" long × 1 1/4" broad. Kushana or Gupta, 50, central chamber; 12' below surface.
5. Similar in shape to No. 3, of slate. 3 3/4" × 1 1/4". Rough, unpolished surface Cutting edge very sharp but damaged. Gupta 13, b; upper floor.
6. Similar to No. 2, of sandstone. 6 3/4" × 4". The sharpened edge is curved. Circa 6th Century A. D. 30; 4 1/3' below surface.
7. Similar to No. 1, of diabase. 1 3/4" long × 1 3/4" broad, with rounded sides. 8th or 9th Century A. D. 29; 2’ below surface.
8. Similar and of same stone. 3 3/4" long × 3" broad. 8th or 9th Century A. D. 28; 2' below surface.

COPPER AND BRASS OBJECTS.

Some of the following articles are of brass, some of copper, but it has not yet been possible in every instance to determine the metal. The process of manufacture was, in most cases, casting; but a few of the objects have been hammered out. As the majority of these articles were used for sacrificial purposes or for personal decoration, it seems obvious that the use of copper or bronze for household utensils was not common—at any rate, in the Gupta period, to which most of these objects belong.

Sacrificial and other Objects.

1. Small bell (ghanti) of bronze or copper. Height 2 1/2". Ring at top. The tongue is missing. Bells of this type are used for ringing during worship or are hung from the neck of animals. Kushana. Alloy to the N. E. of 30; 1 1/3' above the floor.
2. Miniature bowl of copper. Diam. at aperture 2'. Kushana. 40, i; 4 1/3' below bottom of late Gupta walls.
3. Lid of box with hollow cylindrical handle and rim turned downwards. Incomplete. Cast and turned on lathe. Kushana. 31, i; floor.
4. Female statuette in the round, standing. Height 4 1/2". Of copper. The head is hollow, the rest being solid. Both hands stretched out, with fingers closed. No traces of drapery. Girdle indicated by three incisions round the waist. Large circular ear-rings, necklace, garland, armlets (bahafttas), bangles and anklets (Skt. mūparas). Pose stiff. Execution poor. Cast in mould. Gupta. 7; 4 1/3' below surface.
5. Tripod (tripada), 14" high, with curled legs and triangular top containing three oval-shaped hollows, one in each corner. This is a sacrificial vessel and the hollows in the top seem to have been intended for holding three offerings, viz.—rice (akshata), sandal-paste (chundana), and sesamum (tila). There is no decoration beyond a three-petalled projection at each angle of the top. Cast in mould. This form of tripada seems to have gone out of use at the present day. Gupta. 45, e; 2" below bottom of room d.

6. Similar, with cavities in top shaped like hotel leaves. One leg broken. Gupta. 19; 6" below surface.

7. Copper basin, 2½" in diam. supported on three curved legs. Height 1½". Similar vessels are now used for bathing the idol in and this is probably the purpose to which it was put in past days. No decoration. Gupta. A similar vessel was found at Kasia. 1

8. Tipasa or tripod, 3½" high, consisting of an open circular frame held on three legs curved up in the upper part and flat and hollow at the base. The open frame at the top is decorated with projecting hoods at equal distances from one another. The stand was meant to hold the tāmarakūṭa (see next entry) in which the idols are bathed. Late Gupta. High Street, near 19; 3" below the surface of the mound.

9. Circular tāmarakūṭa with high rim used for bathing the idol. Diam. 3½"; height ½". Cast in mould, the line decoration which occurs near the top and base being incised on lathe. Kusha (7). 23, f; floor level.

10. Shallow saucer of copper. Diam. at top 4½". May have been employed to hold flowers or some objects of worship. Early Gupta. 31, b; 14" below surface.

11. Bell, similar to No. 1. Height 1½". Gupta. 7; 7" below surface.

12. Cup of copper, much worn. Diam. 3½". Gupta. 31, a; underground chamber.

13. Circular lid of copper with flat rim and a disc-like handle on top. Diam. 2½". Skilful cast work. Gupta. 23; 6" below surface.

14. Cooking pot (hāṇḍi) of beaten copper. Diam. 6". Incised lines on shoulder neck and rim. Gupta. 31, a; underground chamber.

15. Spherical cymbal (mandira) of copper or bronze with flat rim. Diam. 2½". Hole in bottom for suspension string. Appears to have been cast and finished on lathe. Circa 7th Century A.D. Bastion Street, near circuit wall; 5½" below surface.

16. Saucer, similar to No. 10. Diam. 6". Much mutilated. Circa 7th Century A.D. 13; 3½" below surface.

17. Bowl of copper. Diam. 3" to 4½". 7th or 8th Century A.D. 12, d; 3" below surface.

18. Oval-shaped rattle (jhudaśhuna) with perforated sides and handle, 2½" long. Total length 4½". Five rows of holes, circular or triangular. The rattle sound is produced by a small piece of iron inside. Circa 7th Century A.D. Bastion Street; 3½" below surface.

Ornaments.

19. Copper or bronze armlet. Diam. 2½". Thick at one end and thin at the

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other, like the ananta (named after the Śeṣha on whom Viśnu repose) worn in modern times. A few lines scratched on the thick end would seem to represent the hood of the snake. Found on the early floor in 40.


21. Copper rod, 4½ long, thick at both ends and thin in the middle; intended for a bangle like No. 23. Mauryan or Śunga. 42; 7' below surface. Several similar specimens came to light in other parts of the site.


23. Bangle of copper, with thick ends. Diam. 2½". Gupta. 13; 7' below surface.

24. Pendant of copper (2½" × 1"), shaped like a pipal leaf and decorated on one side with an incised flower pattern. Such articles are still hung from the necks of buffaloes. 6th or 7th Century A.D. 13; 6' below surface.

25. Finger-ring of copper. Diam. 3½. The socket which held the gem is empty. Circa, 7th Century A.D. 46; c; 3' below surface.


**IRON OBJECTS.**

1. Bell (ghontikā) of iron, 2¼" high. Ring of the same substance at top. A similar ring inside held the tongue which is missing. 2nd or 1st Century B.C. 23, c; below early floor.

2. Hatchet, 6" long, 2½" broad. Foundations of 13, c.

3. Circular disc of iron. Diam. 3½". 42, c; 2' below surface.


A similar chisel was found in 42, c; 3' below surface.

5. T-shaped object, 3½" high, perhaps used for breaking molasses. Śunga or Andhra. 42; 5' below surface.


A similar hatchet was found in 23, j; early floor.

7. Padlock of old type (muṣṭi-kā-talā) such as is still used in some parts of India. It consists of a cylindrical barrel 3½" long, with a horizontal bar, 3½" long on top. In fastening the padlock a piece of iron is slid on the horizontal bar, while the lower end of the piece runs into the barrel. Gupta, 28, b; 6' below surface.

8. Arrow-head without flanges. Length 5½". Gupta. 13, i; 5' below surface.

9. Hatchet, 3½" long and 1½" broad at the edge. Gupta. 7, court; 6' below surface. Another hatchet of about the same date was found to the south-west of 19; 6' below surface.

11. Chisel (abhēṇa), 6" long × 1½" broad; similar to No. 4, Gupta. 28; 5' below surface.
12. Sickle, with curved blade, 6¾" long, and spiked end (5¾") to fit in wooden handle. Gupta. 19; débris above upper floor.

Two other sickles of the same type were found in 30; 6' below surface.
13. Plate of iron, 4" × 2½", pierced with several holes, and presumably used as a tie-plate on a door. Gupta. 7; 6' below surface.
14. Portion of spoon or ladle, 6½" long. Gupta. 13; 5' below surface. A portion of another iron spoon was also found in the same house.
15. Ring. Diameter 2½". May have been used as a door-handle. Gupta. 7; 6' below surface.
19. Blade of kauvāca, used by confectioners in the preparation of hālācā and other things. The handle is broken, but was originally three or four feet long. Circa 6th Century A.D. 22; e; floor.

A similar but smaller object was found in 7; 2' below surface.
22. Curved rod, 11" long, forming the handle of an elephant goad (aṅkūṣa).
Circa 7th Century A. D. 13; 3' 6" below surface.
23. Dagger or finial, 20" long. Late Medieval. 13; 2' below surface.

**GOLD OBJECTS.**

1. Minute fragment. ¼ grain. Primitive. 42; 20; 3" below surface.
2. Fragment of gold leaf. 3½ grains. Primitive. 42; 22; below surface.
3. Three pieces of pure hammered gold, weighing 807, 546 and 688 grains, respectively. Mauryan. Pit in High Street between 12 and 22; 15'-16' below surface.
5. Serpentine finger-ring of six coils. The coils are composed of a flat band, ribbed down the centre, which terminates in a vajra ornament. Diam. ⅜". 67 grains. Mauryan or Śuṅga. 13, n; 12' below surface.
6. Bead in shape of double cone, hollow, and fluted on one side; 1½" long. 6 grains. Kushāna or Gupta. 48, m; 10' below surface.
7. Hollow bead, broken. ½ grain. Gupta (?). 7; wall.
8. Ring, edged with beading on both sides. Diam. 2½". 137 grains. Gupta. 31, d.
9. Two miniature beads joined together. 7 grains. Gupta. 31, d.

IVORY OBJECTS.
1. Fragments, probably belonging to piece of furniture. Turned on lathe, and decorated with torus and other mouldings. Diam. 1½", 42; 11' below surface.
2. Seal-die (?) without legend or device. ⅛" × ⅛" × ⅛". Ditto.
3. Bottom of miniature casket. Diam. ⅛". Turned on lathe, with mouldings at base and rim.
4. Die. Numbers from one to four indicated by concentric circles on four sides. 1¾" × ⅛" × ⅛". 29, q; 2' above level of floor in adjoining room.
5. Ditto. Slightly broken. 2¾" × ⅛" × ¼". Ditto. 19; between the upper and lower floors.
7. Ditto. Ditto. 2½" × ⅛" × ⅛"; 7; near the surface.
10. Bobbin (?) pointed at ends, but unpierced. Length 3½". 7, C; floor.
11. Unguent bottle (?). Three incised rings at rim. Similar at base, with concentric circles and cross hatchings. Length 3½". 22, C; 5' below floor.

BONE OBJECTS.
1. Die. Numbers from one to four indicated by concentric circles on four sides. 2" × ⅛" × ⅛". 31, a; 15½' below surface.
2. Ditto. Charred. 1¾" × ⅛" × ⅛"; 29, m; floor near drain.
4. Ditto. Broken and charred. 1¾" × ⅛" × ⅛". Bastion Street, eastern end; 8' 6" below surface.
5. Ditto. Complete. 1¾" × ⅛" × ⅛"; 22, x.
7. Ditto. Ditto. 2" × ⅛" × ⅛"; 48; 4' below surface.
8. Ditto. Much worn. 2½" × ⅛" × ⅛"; 7; 7' below surface.
9. Fragment of furniture (?). Turned on lathe. Ornamental mouldings outside. Length 13½".
10. Uncertain object, hollow at end and provided with rim. Diam. at base ⅞"; 22, x.
11. Decorative fragment. Length $\frac{25}{10}$". 7' below surface.

12. 67 bobbins (?), pointed at both ends and unpierced. Length 3\(\frac{1}{6}\)" to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)". 42, eastern portion; 14' below surface.

13. Pin (?), pointed at one end. Length 4\(\frac{1}{3}\)". 7'; 3' higher than lower floor in 13.

14. Fragment of furniture (?) charred, turned on lathe, and ornamented with mouldings. Length 1\(\frac{1}{3}\)". 40, west cutting; 6' below surface.

**SHELL OBJECTS.**

1. 48 beads, pierced for stringing. Average Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$". 43.

2. 80 beads, spherical and flat. Average Diam. about $\frac{1}{2}$". 43.

3. Bead. Diam. $\frac{1}{4}$". Bastion Street; 8' below surface.

4. Bracelet. Undecorated. Diam. $\frac{21}{4}$".

5. Ditto. Fragment. Diam. 2\(\frac{3}{8}\); 29, q; floor level.

6. Ditto. 28 pieces. Some plain and others with ornamental grooves on the outside. 25; floor.

7. Portion of shell from which bracelets have been cut. Diam. $\frac{1}{4}$".

8. Ring. Diam. $\frac{1}{16}$". 42; 16' below surface.

**GLASS OBJECTS.**

1. 75 small black beads. Eastern gate of city; concrete floor.

2. 2 fragments of azure blue bead. Length $\frac{3}{8}$". 40, j; floor.

3. Blue bead. Length $\frac{1}{4}$". 47, f; 6' below surface.

4. 46 green, polygonal beads. Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$". 43.

5. Green, polygonal bead. Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$"; 13, room t; lower floor.

6. 2 beads covered with thin layer of gold leaf. Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$" and $\frac{1}{8}$" respectively.

7. 8 bluish beads. Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$". 43.

8. Deep blue bead. Fragmentary. Diam. $\frac{1}{16}$". 45; 8' 2" below surface.

**MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.**

1. 300 small flat coral beads. Diam. $\frac{3}{8}$". 52; west of h.

2. Spherical bead of cornelian. Diam. $\frac{1}{6}$". Ditto.

3. Oblong bead of topaz (?). Length $\frac{3}{8}$". Ditto.

4. 3 buttons of mother-of-pearl. Diam. $\frac{1}{8}$". 30, c; 31' above floor.

5. Fragment of amygdaloid bead of hard clay. Length $\frac{1}{2}$". 40; early floor.

6. Agate bead. Diam. $\frac{1}{8}$". 13, room t; lower floor.

7. 4 beads of rock crystal of various sizes and shapes. Diam. $\frac{7}{8}$". 43.

8. Bead of lapiz lazuli. Diam. $\frac{1}{8}$". 43.


43: Pl. XXXII, Jewellery, 9.

J. H. MARSHALL.
EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRI-BAHLÚL.

The present paper is intended to furnish a record, more detailed and more fully illustrated than that contained in my Annual Report for 1911-12, of the excavations which I effected this year at ruined mounds scattered around the village Sahri-Bahlúl, some eight miles to the west of Hóti-Mardán, in the Peshawar District. The excavations commenced on February 21st, 1912, and carried on without a day's interruption until the first week in April at a total expense of Rs. 4,204. resulted in the clearing of six mounds, the local condition permitting the constant employment of a relatively large number of labourers. All mounds proved to contain the remains of Buddhist places of worship which had remained in more or less continuous occupation from the Kushana period down to that of the Little Kushanas, in one instance even later. Apart from valuable information yielded on various points of general antiquarian import concerning the construction of these shrines, the chronology of the site, etc., the excavations brought to light a great quantity of sculptures in the Graeco-Buddhist style of Gandhára, representative of its successive phases and often of considerable iconographic interest. The abundance of these sculptural materials recovered is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the total number of pieces selected for reproduction in the inventory photographs, many of them, of course, mere fragments, but none the less often of distinct interest, amounts to over 1,200, and that the careful packing of the sculptures deserving removal to the Peshawar Museum kept my whole staff and myself busy for over two weeks after the completion of the excavations.

The close study of these new materials will cost much time and labour; nor will this become possible until after the sculptures will have been unpacked and arranged in the Peshawar Museum, a task for which time has not yet been available. Even then the elucidation of all interesting iconographic details will claim the help of experts specially conversant with that line of research. In view of these facts I must be content with making this paper a record of the essential archaeological observations gathered on the spot and with briefly noticing and illustrating specially interesting specimens among the art "finds".

The site of Sahri-Bahlúl had attracted attention by its abundance of sculptural remains ever since the collecting of 'Buta' for presentation or sale to European
officers started in the Peshawar Valley. Operations conducted for Dr. Belchow in the sixties, on lines scarcely more systematic, had yielded some remarkably fine statues and reliefs. But it was Dr. Spooner's merit to have first recognized the importance of the site and to have started its archaeological exploration by the excavation of two ruined Buddhist shrines in 1907 and 1909-10, respectively.

In view of the accounts furnished by Dr. Spooner in the Annual Reports for those years there is no need to give here a general description of the site. But it will be useful to discuss certain topographical observations which help to explain the relatively large number of ancient mounds traceable in this locality and the character of those so far excavated. Reference to the large scale map of the vicinity which Dr. Spooner caused to be prepared in 1910 by Mr. A. J. Wilson, late of the Survey of India, and which was reproduced in my Annual Report for 1911-12, will make it easier to follow these remarks.

The village of Sahri-Bahlol, with the ground surrounding it within a radius of upwards one mile, is situated in a depression which offers considerable natural advantages for cultivation. On the one hand, it is assured a good deal of subsoil moisture by a permanent water-course, the Murdara stream, which winds through it from the north-west and drains towards the Kalpani to the south-east. On the other, it is singularly clear of those deeply eroded torrent beds or 'Khwars', coming down from the foot of the Swat hills which cut up elsewhere so much of the fertile ground along the northern side of the Peshawar Valley and rendered artificial irrigation there practically impossible until the advent of modern engineering. A look at Sheet 38 8 of the new and much improved one mile to the inch map of the Survey of India will show to what extent this favoured position of the vicinity of Sahri-Bahlol is due to the protection offered by the little hill chain of Takht-i-Bahi rising boldly about two miles further south from the alluvial slope of the valley. But it is scarcely necessary to take account of this quasi-geological explanation in order to realize that the nature of the ground surrounding Sahri-Bahlol, which is kept moist and easily inundated by the Murdara stream, must have assured it special fertility in the old days when irrigation far away from the great rivers was otherwise difficult in Gandhara. To this favoured position, I believe, we must attribute the existence at this spot of the large ancient settlement of which the high and wholly artificial mound occupied by the present Sahri-Bahlol village and the series of mounds big and small surrounding it afford striking evidence.

That the central mound, nearly one-fourth of a mile long and about a furlong across, marks the position of a once fortified small town, is clearly proved by the foundations of massive walls cropping out at many points of the slopes, to which due attention has already been called by Dr. Spooner. That this nucleus sheltered but a portion of the population becomes evident on examining the series of extensive mounds which stretch in a kind of inner semi-circle round it, beginning with the mound nearest to the Swat Canal in the north-east marked in the map (with the elevation of 1,069 feet) and reaching to the conspicuously high mound marked 1106 in

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2 See *Annual Report, 1906-07*, p. 103.
the north-west. For all these reveal themselves by their size, relative height and abundant pottery débris as sites of quasi-suburban villages occupied for prolonged periods. Their more or less contemporary occupation is proved by the similarity of the surface débris and of the coin finds which generally range from the Kushana period down to that of the 'Hindu Shahis of Kabul.'

At first sight it might appear more difficult to account for the survival of the numerous small and low mounds, close on two dozens in all, which the map shows scattered all round that inner ring of big mounds, within a radius of about one mile and also immediately to the north of the central site. But closer examination of the ground furnishes for this, too, an adequate explanation. The moist and in places easily inundated condition of the soil necessarily induced later settlers to select for their dwellings spots which the ruins of more substantial buildings had raised, however slightly above the alluvial flat. The remains of outlying ancient hamlets, built, no doubt, like the great mass of modern cultivators' dwellings in the plain of the Peshawar Valley, of mere clay, have disappeared completely. But the low mounds which resulted from the decay of ancient shrines near them and which under other conditions would have easily disappeared under the ploughshare, were on such ground bound to invite successive occupation and thereby to receive some protection.

The process just indicated is fully illustrated by what has taken place around Sahri-Bahlol since the construction of the Lower Swat Canal, some thirty years ago, caused a great increase in cultivation and population in this tract, and by what is still going on as it were under our own eyes. A number of new hamlets, like Danámé or those called after their first settlers Sáuddín Korúna, Gulpúr Korúna, Sáliarai Korúna, Qāsím Korúna,1 have been built on low mounds which from fragments of sculptures found on unoccupied portions of the ground or built into dwellings, can safely be assumed to mark the position of Buddhist places of worship. For others of these low mounds which had as yet escaped being selected for homesteads and hamlets, the sculptured fragments easily picked up among the scrub covering the surface plainly indicated that Buddhist shrines lay buried beneath them. In their case it was often possible also to trace signs suggesting that at one later period or another dwelling places of the usual humble type had been erected above the ruins.

But the scanty débris layers left behind by such mud-built hovels would have been quite insufficient to protect the remains from the destructive effects of that 'unauthorized digging' for sculptures which went on all through the second half of the last century. These mounds so plainly disclosing their character would accordingly have been dug up long ago by the local villagers and others eager to supply 'Buts' to Europeans but for the fortunate circumstance that the whole of the area was the property of the powerful Khāns of Mardān and Hāt. These prevented the usual indiscriminate digging which has caused the destruction of so many important

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1 I do not think that the accuracy of these height marks of the detailed map can be relied upon. They do not appear to have been obtained by careful levelling and have at several points proved manifestly incorrect. But the height readings round a famous modern 'site' (Fort Arht) they may serve as convenient designations for otherwise nameless positions.

1 Korúna, plur. of kor, means 'house' in Pashto. Panámá, though not marked as a mound in the map, is locally known to have been built at a ruined site which had yielded sculptures at the time of Dr. Bellow's excavations.
ruins of Gandhāra, not, of course, from any sentimental regard for archaeological interest or the ‘law’ ill-defined as it was on the subject, but simply in order to keep in reserve quarries of sculptures for their own use. The shallow pits observed on several of the unoccupied low mounds were sufficient proof that these quarries had been duly used by the owners when occasion arose for presents of ‘idols’ to ‘Sahibs.’

It was among these low mounds, marking as it were the outer periphery of the site, that Dr. Spooner’s systematic excavations, at the mound now marked A, in 1906-07 and at B, in 1909-10 had been rewarded by such abundant and interesting results. There were scientific as well as practical reasons making it advisable to direct further operations at the site in the first place towards the remaining mounds of this class. On the one hand it was reasonable to hope that since a larger number of them could be cleared within the available limits of time and means, the observations and ‘finds’ gathered would yield more conclusive evidence as to the character, chronology, etc., of the site as a whole. On the other it seemed very doubtful whether if only one of the larger mounds of the ‘inner ring’ were attacked, the clearing possible within a single working season would suffice to lay bare structural remains of a truly instructive character, seeing that so many similar mounds in the plains of Gandhāra which are now being gradually exploited by villagers for the sake of manuring soil, prove to be composed only of layers of amorphous debris, the ‘culture strata’ left behind by a succession of private dwellings. An obvious practical difficulty was added by the presence of Muhammadan graves on several of the more promising mounds of this type.

In selecting the six mounds cleared this season I was guided largely by the fragments of sculpture in stone or stucco which a search among the scrub covering the surface generally revealed very soon. Nor was the reliance placed on these indications disappointed; for all the mounds proved to contain ruins of Buddhist places of worship. In addition to a great mass of interesting Gandhāra sculptures they have yielded up antiquarian and quasi-chronological data of importance for the history of the whole site. The documentary value of these data is greatly increased by the fact that the remains of these shrines with one exception disclose a striking number of common features. This uniformity of type deserves all the more attention because the ruins explored are not confined to a single portion of the site, but as the map shows, widely scattered over its whole area. Two of the newly excavated mounds marked C, D, are situated to the south and south-east, respectively, of Sahri-Bahlol village, while the others (E, F, G, H) lie at different points to the north and north-west.

In this connection it may be recorded that besides the mounds actually excavated sculptural remains could be traced at the following lesser mounds; Salārāi Korūm, on the left bank of Murdāra, marked 1031 in map, now occupied by a large dwelling and cattle-yard into the walls of which numerous fine sculptured pieces have been built; mounds marked 1089 and 1069, close to Salārāi Korūm and evidently dug up previously; Damāmē hamlet; Sāhuddin Korūm, near the Swat.

1 Comp. Dr. Spooner’s remarks in Arch. Annual, 1906-07, p. 104, on a recent instance of such digging ‘on order.’
River Canal, and the mound close to the west of it, also showing marks of previous quarrying. Considering that these as well as the mounds so far excavated are all scattered at distances up to a mile or so from the central village mound, the question naturally arises as to the relation which existed between the ancient town represented by the latter and the shrines marked by the outlying mounds.

No definite answer seems possible until the period of continued occupation of the town site has been determined by actual excavations, as it has for those ruined shrines. But as these have invariably proved to have been adjoined by monastic quarters the suggestion naturally presents itself that the separation at some distance from the town and its suburbs was intentional and directly due to the original character of these shrines as places of monastic retirement. The way in which the principal Buddhist sanctuaries visited by the Chinese pilgrims in Gandhāra and Udyāna are usually described as situated at some distance from the towns maintaining them, would support this assumption. But the possibility must also be kept in view that the suburbs of the ancient town marked by Sahri-Bahlol once extended considerably beyond the ‘inner ring’ of village mounds above referred to, and that the isolated position of those shrines was but the result of a gradual shrinkage of the urban area. Such an explanation would well agree with the fact that the mound (E) lying nearest to the centre of the site has proved to contain the remains of a shrine which continued in existence centuries longer than the rest.

The relatively early abandonment of almost all these shrines after a period of lingering decay which the excavations have demonstrated, is a matter deserving to be noticed here. Surprise has been expressed more than once at sites of such manifest importance as Sahri-Bahlol and the conspicuous ruins on Takht-i-Bahā Hill, less than three miles north of it, not having found mention with even that most accurate and painstaking of Chinese pilgrims to Gandhāra, Hsüan-tsang. But since the progress of systematic excavation at both sites proves that the greatest portion of their shrines must have been abandoned and in ruins long before his visit in the second quarter of the seventh century, there is less reason than ever to consider his silence strange. As M. Fouche has most truly observed, Hsüan-tsang was not an archaeologist, but a pilgrim. If the shrines of Sahri-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bahā are not among the fifteen specifically mentioned by him out of the round thousand at which he estimates the number of convents in Gandhāra, ‘mostly ruined and deserted’ we can only conclude that worship at them had ceased, and that the sacred legends which originally may have attached to these foundations were not likely to have ever enjoyed celebrity reaching far beyond local limits. None of Hsüan-tsang’s traceable routes in Gandhāra took the pilgrims past Sahri-Bahlol, and we know how in true Chinese fashion he clung to his ‘ka-lo’ or high road where no object of great religious merit was offering as the reward of a détourn, or of a short cut.  

Before proceeding to record the results of the excavations carried out at each mound it appears convenient to indicate here briefly the characteristic features common to all or most of the ruined structures brought to light. At all the places

1 Comp. Fouche, Géographie Ancienne du Gandhara, p. 27.
2 See Fouche 1868, p. 4.
of Buddhist worship successively excavated remains of monastic quarters were found closely adjoining the ruined shrines of Vihāras which practically alone contained any sculptures. In the case of the dwellings the plan of at least the principal quarters could always be traced with ease by the massive foundations or plinths in solid Gandhāra masonry which must have once carried walls constructed of stamped clay or sun-dried bricks. One or two large quadrangular rooms seem always to have formed part of the monastic building, and evidently served for the common use of the monks. The latter's cells must have been constructed ordinarily with walls of very perishable material, mere clay or timber and wattle; no clear indication of them was found except at one ruin, E, which also otherwise showed structural peculiarities.

In striking contrast to the clearly traceable groundplan of the monastic portion of the buildings the walls which once must have sheltered the shrines with their small Śātaśas and profusion of images have almost everywhere disappeared to their very foundations. Where masonry could be traced on the edge of the Vihāra area it proved to have served merely as a kind of retaining wall to carry friezes of stucco reliefs or as an extensive base for rows of sculptures in stone. Cumulative evidence points to such sanctuaries in the plains of Gandhāra having ordinarily been sheltered only by structures in timber, with wattle or thin brickwork added in the side walls. It is a system of construction which can still be studied with ease in many outwardly imposing looking native buildings of Peshawar City, and with which I have become familiar both in ancient ruins and modern structures of Chinese Turkestan.

It is to this nature of the superstructure, particularly liable to rapid decay, whether by natural causes or human agency, that I think we must explain on the one hand the scanty cover of earth or débris below which the sculptures were ordinarily found and on the other the utter confusion in which the latter turned up, whether intact or injured. Solid walls of clay or sun-dried bricks would when fallen have provided a far deeper layer of earth than usually covered the Vihāra areas. Sculptures lay here often quite close to the surface, whereas in the monastic portion the original floor level lay generally buried several feet deeper. Then again the quarrying of abandoned or destroyed shrines for their timber such as I could trace by conclusive evidence at Buddhist temple ruins situated on the edge of the Taklamakān Desert, seems to afford the best explanation for the strange way in which sculptures, evidently left unharmed by iconoclast hands, were yet found, displaced and thrown about, on levels well above the original flooring. Only in very rare instances were charred remains or other traces of the action of fire found within the Vihāra area.

Given these conditions of construction, the architectural remains brought to light were not likely by themselves to furnish definite clues as to the relative periods from which the shrines originally dated, or as regards the changes they subsequently experienced. Fortunately the sculptures in stone or stucco— which, particularly at three of the sanctuaries, have survived in abundance, together with coin finds and inscribed pottery, throw a good deal of light on these questions. They make it quite clear that even if the period of original foundation may not have differed
(Fig. 1) NORTHERN PORTION OF VIHARA AREA, MOUND C, SEEN FROM S.E.

(Fig. 2) GROUP OF IMAGES OF BUDDHA AND PRAKHYATA &NR. MOUND C, IV.
IN COURSE OF EXCAVATION.
greatly, the length of time during which the shrines continued in being as places of actual worship, varied considerably. Both at shrines C and D statues and relieves manifestly belonging to an epoch when the skill and tradition of the best period of Gandhāra art were still alive, were found mingling with sculptures of a distinctly decadent type.

In full agreement with this observation, the coin finds at mound C comprise by the side of a remarkably fresh looking piece of Azes, coins of the type associated with Vāsudeva, the last of the Kushāna monarchs and others issued by the 'Later Indo-Seyhian rulers' succeeding him. At the ruins, E-H, all to the north or north-west of Sahri-Bahlol village, the sculptures throughout exhibit a decadent type and the coins confirm the later occupation. At shrine E, in fact, we have definite evidence that Hindu worship, after replacing the Buddhist cult, continued here down to the 10th Century A. D. This is proved not only by coins of the so-called Hindu Shāhis of Kābul but also by sculptural fragments unmistakably Hindu.

The great diversity in date and artistic merit among sculptural remains recovered from the same ruin has been noticed before at various sites of Gandhāra. But nowhere, perhaps, has the process of long continued decay and lingering worship which explain it, left such striking proofs as here. At almost all these ruins there survived some at least of the platforms, usually square and decorated in stucco, which had served as bases for Stūpas or individual small Vihāras, and with which these places of worship must have been studded. Now both at ruins C and D clear evidence showed that several of these platforms had been utilized, at a date long subsequent to their construction, as places of deposit for miscellaneous statues and relievos. In some cases, these sculptures set up round the base were hiding a manifestly far older stucco frieze behind them, showing damage due to prolonged previous exposure.

It was equally significant that among the statues thus ranged and mostly of late appearance there were some which must have lost their pedestals or otherwise received injury long before being thus set up. Clearly those later worshippers who utilized these decayed Stūpa bases in a manner never intended by the original donors, must have collected here not merely such images as the artists of their own day could produce but also sculptural remains of earlier origin rescued from ruin at this or some neighbouring shrine. This explains why the imperfect statues thus discovered showed often a distinctly superior workmanship. Nor can the fragments of colossal images found repeatedly among these deposits be otherwise accounted for.

We are thus led to conclude that these shrines must have fallen into ruin probably more than once before they were finally abandoned. How much of the damage now observed in the majority of the sculptures is the result of quasi-natural causes or of wilful destruction it is impossible to determine. But it is clear that if the indications already mentioned can be relied upon, most of that damage had occurred long before the final Muhammadan conquest. We know of the vicissitudes which Gandhāra underwent in its history after the great Kushāna dynasty; serving as the gate and passage for successive invasions, and the process just indicated agrees well with what the Chinese pilgrims tell us of the condition of Buddhism in this region since the 5th Century A. D. Muhammadan iconoclasm is
certainly responsible for the final destruction of many a shrine where local worship was continued by Hindus; but this can be proved only of the ruin Z, lying nearest to the central village. Here, too, a certain amount of quarrying of building materials, for use in modern structures, appears to have taken place. But judging from surface conditions and the testimony of old villagers none of the mounds cleared this season is likely to have suffered from those diggings for 'Buts' which have caused so much irretrievable loss at other old sites of the district.

In the following description of the individual mounds and the remains they yielded I shall follow the order in which they were excavated and marked. Mound C situated about two-thirds of a mile to the south-south-west of Sahri-Bahild village presented itself as a low mound covered with scrub and measuring circa 260 feet from north to south and about 220 across where broadest. On its north-east edge the torso of a large Bodhisattva statue lay partially exposed, and smaller sculptured fragments could be picked up on the surface. Radiating trenches were started from the highest portion of the mound which rose about 8 feet above the level of the surrounding fields and proved to be situated a little to the south of the main monastic structure (see Pl. XXXIII). They showed very soon that the eastern portion of the mound contained the remains of the Vihāra while over the western one were scattered the wall foundations marking the position of the monastery.

The principal structure of the latter consisted of a hall (marked I) measuring inside 28 by 27 feet and enclosed by walls of which the foundations built in Gandhāran masonry showed a thickness of fully 5 feet. Those foundations, struck at a depth of circa 3 feet from the surface, reached down for about 2½ feet and showed by their carefully levelled top that they had once carried walls of clay or sun-dried bricks. The discovery of a circular pillar base in stone at the south-east corner and some receding remains of masonry near the centre of the east face where the entrance undoubtedly lay, suggested that these walls may have been of lesser thickness than the foundation or plinth. The fact of a similar pillar base being found almost on the surface, but some 20 feet to the east of that wall face, plainly showed that the materials of the monastic quarters must have been utilized on some later occupation of the mound. A layer of reddish earth, evidently calcined, with traces of charred wood, which was found on a level slightly above the top of the foundations, clearly represented the remains of the roofing which had been destroyed by fire. Near the north side of the hall and on a level about one foot above the foundations was found a much corroded bronze coin of the Later Kushana type.

That this structure was not the earliest to occupy this position was proved by the discovery of a wall foundation of very solid construction in stone running parallel to its west wall but on a level about 2 feet lower. This, however, broke off with a length of only 9 feet and had probably been dug up to furnish materials for some later structure. Other detached fragments of wall foundations, also in Gandhāran masonry, but of less solid construction, came to light, as the plan shows, both to the north and the south of the hall and on approximately the same level. But except for two small cellars traceable to the south the structural relation of these detached wall portions could not be made out. That they must have belonged to the living quarters of the small convent was made certain by the quantity of ancient potsherds,
(Fig. 3.) Base III. Mound C, after excavation, seen from S.W.
some of them inscribed in inked Kharoshthi characters, which were found in the area immediately to the east and south-east of them (marked α in plan).

The whole of that portion of the mound which lay to the east of these structural remains and extended also considerably to the north-east of them was proved to have comprised the Vihāra area. Taking the measurements from the extreme points where sculptures were found evidently in situ, this extended fully 160 feet from north to south and over 80 feet from east to west. The height of earth covering the original floor level varied here from two to about five feet. Nowhere was it possible to discover traces of the superstructures which once are likely to have sheltered at least part of the wealth of small shrines and sculptures crowded into this space. Some of the latter may have been disposed of in open courts. But that the principal shrine with its mass of images, once, no doubt, gilt or painted; its miniature Stūpas in stone and stucco; its ex votos in perishable material, such as painted flags and panels, etc., could have been left completely exposed to the inclemencies of a climate then certainly moister than now, appears to me very improbable. Galleries or halls constructed in timber would have best answered here the needs as regards space, economy of cost and adequate lighting, and on the assumption of this material the total absence of traces of superstructures would present nothing strange.

Fortunately in the case of the principal shrine situated opposite to hall I, but a little further south, the survival of a stone-lined passage all round, raised about 6 inches from the ground, indicated the original dimensions, an oblong of circ. 60 by 30 feet including the outer pavement. It is over this area and in its immediate vicinity that the greatest and best portion of the sculptures was brought to light. With the exception presently to be mentioned, they were found in such utter confusion as to suggest repeated quarrying apart from occasional destruction. Of the bases and platforms which must be supposed to have originally carried the majority of the statues and reliefs, no definite traces survived here, except at the north-western corner. There a small Stūpa base (marked III), about 6 feet square and decorated with a stucco frieze, was preserved to a height of a little over two feet by having been utilized at a later period for deposits of miscellaneous sculptures in the manner indicated above (see p. 101; Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII). A manifestly later pavement proved that this little sanctuary must still have been frequented at a period when the rest of the shrines lay already in ruins.

Four more detached platforms, mostly oblong, were discovered to the north. Even the best preserved among them (marked II) did not rise more than 2 feet 9 inches above the ground in its present condition, and the rest less than 2 feet. But the quantity of the sculptural fragments in stucco, mainly heads, often retaining traces of colouring, which were found near them, proved that they once carried higher friezes decorated with reliefs in stucco. The platform marked II, measuring circ. 12 by 5 feet, showed in its extant portion a frieze of simple pilasters originally stuccoed; another, V, with a more elaborate ground plan, still retained a projecting row of crouching lions above the lowest base. Whether these platforms had once carried small Stūpas or miniature Vihāras could not be decided. Two other small structures of this kind were traced to the south of the central area, but only in broken foundations.
A number of statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were found in different places between these various platforms and the central Vihâra in position of small groups which left little doubt as to their being still more or less in situ. Thus two sitting figures representing a Buddha, the other a Maitreya Bodhisattva were discovered still upright close together near the south-west angle of what had been evidently a small tank (marked IV). The north bank, 8 feet long, which alone remained intact, showed a depth of three feet and a carefully stuccoed surface extending also over part of the bottom. Some fragments of pottery inscribed with Kharoshthi characters turned up in the vicinity of this tank the character of which was subsequently made quite certain by the far better preserved tanks discovered at mounds D and H. Immediately to the north of the tank we found a rough trough over 4 feet long formed of large imperfectly hewn slabs and still showing a plastered interior. Another trough of this kind was laid bare not far from platform III. That water must have been kept handy, perhaps for ritual purposes, near such shrines was shown also by a number of badly broken big jars of which several were unearthed in the space between platform II and tank IV.

Here, too, at a distance of about 13 feet to the east of II, the head of a colossal figure in stucco was discovered on the original ground level. As the head measured 1 foot 8 inches in height from the chin to the top of the forehead the image must have been more than double lifesize. Of the rest of the statue no clearly recognizable remains could be traced in spite of close search, evidence that it had consisted of mere friable clay, supported probably by an inner framework of wood, such as I had found in all similar sculptures from Khotan to Tun-huang.

The wealth of sculptural remains recovered from the Vihâra area of this mound is best indicated by the fact that the inventory photographs taken on the spot which necessarily show them in larger or smaller groups, include close on 600 pieces. That a considerable proportion of them are mere fragments is an obvious result of the vicissitudes experienced by the site but does not detract from the interest of individual "finds" among them. To the pieces thus reproduced were to be added many repetitions of architectural ornaments or fragments too poorly preserved. Other tasks of an urgent nature have left me no time for the systematic arrangement and study of these sculptures either during the excavations or since, nor has it been even possible so far to unpack them at the Peshawar Museum. These facts will, I hope, sufficiently explain why the present paper cannot aim at any detailed analysis of these finds or even of their main classes but merely at brief notes and illustrations concerning sculptures of special interest.

My friend, M. Foucher, the leading authority on the art of Gandhâra, has been kind enough to look through the majority of the inventory photographs and to communicate to me succinct but illuminating notes about points which struck him at first sight as of iconographic interest. In all cases where M. Foucher's unequalled familiarity with Graeco-Buddhist art has either supplied me with the right interpretation of a sculpture or else confirmed the view I had myself formed of it, I have added his name to my note. For the very valuable help which he has thus given me and which has saved me much time over search and verification, I wish to record here my cordial thanks. The above explanation applies equally to the remarks I shall
That Bodhisattva figures are far more numerous than Buddhas cannot surprise, nor the considerable variety which their ornaments and headdresses present. That the latter in particular are intended to serve as an emblematic distinction for different divinities familiar to the Mahāyāna system is highly probable. But the clues so far obtained by iconographic research do not appear sufficiently certain to justify here any attempt at classification. After the appearance of M. Foucher's second volume the task of the non-specialist student will, no doubt, be greatly facilitated. For the present I must content myself with mentioning that the high headdress with a pyramidal ornament in front, which Dr. Spooner is inclined to attribute to Avalokiteśvara, is frequent; see in particular the excellently carved and perfectly preserved relieve in No. 288, Pl. XI, Fig. 12, and also Nos. 289, 291, Pl. XI, Fig. 11, 295, 302, 312. The less elaborate coiffure showing the hair bound by strings of pearls and gathered in a loop, which Dr. Spooner is inclined to attribute to Maitreyas, is well represented in Nos. 290, Pl. XI, Fig. 9, 293. Attention may also be called to the representation of a small seated Buddha figure, probably meant for a Dhyanibuddha, in front of the headdress of one of the two Bodhisattvas seen in No. 305. Among the Buddha figures the one of No. 292 may be singled out for mention on account of its superior modelling and excellent preservation, Pl. XLI, Fig. 15.

The number of detached statues and reliefs at this site is so large that some significance may be attached to the proportion of uninjured or practically intact images being far greater among the seated than among the standing ones. From natural causes of damage the former were, no doubt, far better protected than the latter, whereas wilful damage would not make such distinction. The frequency with which the donors are represented in the reliefs usually occupying the face of the image base, adds human interest to these sculptures. The most common device shows them in pairs worshipping before an incense-burning altar (e.g., in Nos. 295, 304, 310, 312); but we find them also in attitudes of worship on either side of a small Buddha image (Nos. 290, 293, 304, 305, 311) and occasionally forming regular family groups as in No. 293 where the sacred begging bowl is the object of worship. In the base panel of the fine Bodhisattva image No. 253 already mentioned the artist has endeavoured to introduce a more individual touch; for here we see on one side of the incense-burning altar besides the donor two smaller figures, probably meant for his sons, while on the other side a youth in working attire reduced to a loin cloth drives a plough with two oxen, Pl. XL, Fig. 12.

Special interest attaches to two statues which unmistakeably are intended to represent pious donors. The male one, (No. 302), nearly life-size and of excellent execution but badly injured, shows a realistically modelled portrait head and curious details of costume, including striped trousers tucked into top boots; the left hand

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\[9] Mr. Hniswoni directs attention to two uncommon features of this relief (Plate XI, Fig. 12), namely, the ploughing scene on the right of the pedastal and the foliage on the halo and suggests that the Bodhisattva is not Avalokiteśvara but Gantana himself, and would designate the relief, "The first mediation of the Bodhisattva." The striking corn, the exhausted labourer and the overshadowing yama tree indicate the scene, the position of the hands that state of unconscious ecstasy (āsāna), which resulted from the love and pity induced by his reflections. Cf. Siler's Odyssey, 10, in the Lahore Museum, and Cowell, The Buddha-statue of Arokhsha, Oxford, 1914, Book V., p. 49 ff. (Ed.)
Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol.

(Fig. 9.) Bodhisattva Statue, Mound C.

(Fig. 10.) Bodhisattva Statue, Mound H.

Replaced in original socket.
holds the base of what may have been a miniature Stūpa or shrine. The other figure (No. 298) representing a female, with some indistinct object in her hands, suggests by its poor execution a much later date. (Pl. XLI, Fig. 13). Here too the dress and hair present points of interest. Along with these may be mentioned a curious statue (No. 299) about two and a half feet high showing a figure with a striking elderly face unmistakably modelled from life and in distinctly realistic fashion (Fig. 14, Pl. XLI). The right arm is broken, while a fruit is held in the left hand. The dress and expression of the face would suggest a monk; but there is a moustache and the hair is short-cropped, not shaven.

But from the iconographic point of view, perhaps, the most interesting of all these images is that of a four-armed female divinity, carved in high relieve and about four feet high (No. 297, Fig. 16, Pl. XLI). Its preservation is perfect. Its right and left upper arms carry a bell and the trident, respectively, while in the lower pair are held the figure of a small child and a Lota-shaped bowl. From the corners of the mouth project small tuskers. Arms, neck and hair are decked with rich ornaments. Behind the scarf-like garment which descends from the head there appears a halo. At the feet are seen two worshipping small figures. There can be no doubt that M. Foucher is right in recognizing in this strangely discordant image a representation of Hārīti, the goddess of small-pox, in her original form as a Yaksini or ogress.1 Misled by the trident and what had looked like flames issuing from the mouth but in reality are meant to be tuskers, I had first taken the goddess for a form of Parvati. But this representation of Hārīti in a fashion strongly reminiscent of Hindu imagery is all the more curious because, however inferior the execution is to that of the average of the sculptures here found, its style is still distinctly that of Gandhāra work. We have here a fresh proof that the evolution of the many-armed monstrosities known to later Buddhist worship in India and the northern border lands had commenced already in the old home of the Mahāyāna system. Perhaps, the fact that the 'mother of demons' is likely to have received worship also among the non-Buddhist population of Gandhāra may help to explain the adoption for her of a form so consonant with Hindu iconographic notions. It is of interest to note that the image was found in the extreme north of the Vihāra area and some 6 yards to the west of base V. The position is one where we may well assume an entrance gate to have stood. And this would well agree with what I-tsing records of an image of Hārīti being always found at the porch or in a corner of Buddhist convents in India.

Reference has been made already above to the rich decoration in stucco reliefs which the small bases and platforms must have once carried. The remnants of the lowest frieze which have survived of this stucco decoration in the case of base III (see Nos. 277, 278) show that it comprised not merely detached figures but also regular scenes similar to those we find represented in the relieve panels of stone. (Pl. XXXVII). But elsewhere we can trace the richness of this decoration only by the abundance of fine heads in stucco generally of small size which have escaped destruction (Nos. 340-345, 350-356). The excellent modelling and great variety of type which most of these heads display, are both striking and may warn us against

1 Comp. for the character of Hārīti, the 'mother of demons', Foucher, Anc. géographie du Gandhāra, pp. 21 sq.
giving way to the notion which would necessarily relegate the abundant use of stucco to a later period. At the same time certain technical features, such as the often very elaborate and boldly modelled headdress, make it appear very improbable that these heads could have been mechanically reproduced from old moulds. The details, often distinctly classical, which these headdresses and wreaths display (see e.g., Nos. 311, 335, 350, 354), would deserve special study. Larger fragments, such as the trefoil-arched niches and ornamental bands reproduced in Nos. 346-348, Pl. XL VIII, Fig. 32, give some indication of the part which stucco had played in architectural decoration here too as at most Gandhāra shrines.

Among the sculptural remains the decorative elements familiar to Gandhāra art are so largely represented that I may content myself with mentioning only those which may claim some special interest. Of the decorative 'personnel' for which direct classical origin must be claimed, we have besides various Tritons or Ichthyocentaurse, to give them their more exact designation (Nos. 328, 329), also a Titan with a single snake's tail and a dragon-like monster. Far rarer, as M. Pouchee points out, is in Gandhāra the representation of the Centaur, with shield and javelin or mace, such as panel No. 329 displays. (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 6.) The motif of the garland-carrying amorini recurs twice (Nos. 337, 345); but more curious, perhaps, is the appearance of female busts within pendant simulacra formed of rich foliage (No. 335), a variant, it seems for the winged figures which so often are shown rising from the loops of such garlands. Among floral motifs some fine specimens of the Assyrian honey-suckle or palmette (Nos. 335, 337, 344) may receive passing notice as reproducing a decorative element which Gandhāra shares with classical art not as a loan but probably as a common inheritance from Western Asia.

Among the miscellaneous finds at this mound the half-a-dozen earthenware lamps, also one in stone, showed shapes closely resembling the modern chiragh. Some small terracotta figurines with grotesque representations of the human figure and the much-receded remains of some bronze ornaments, including a buckle with an S-shaped clasp, and a small bell-shaped object, were too poorly preserved to furnish antiquarian indications of value. A thick iron nail about 3 inches long, found within the central Vihāra area, had, no doubt, served like similar ones discovered still in situ at different points of the Takht-i-Bahi Cour T. XIV, it cleared this year for fixing some relief panel to its backing.

Of far greater interest are the coin finds, comprising five legible pieces which furnish valuable chronological evidence. Of these the best preserved one is a coin of Azes, of base metal intended for silver corresponding in type almost exactly to No. 18 of Prof. P. Gardner's Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, except for a slight variation of the mint mark on the Obverse. It shows very little wear and was found on the floor level within the central Vihāra area and near its southern edge. Of the remaining pieces one was found about one foot above the top of the north foundation wall of the hall I and the rest not much above the ground level to the west of the southernmost portion of the central Vihāra area. All these coins are of bronze and were so thickly covered with

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1 Comp. Pouchee, L'art du Gandhāra, I, p. 270, with Figs. 116-118.
2 See Pouchee, ibid., p. 222.
(Fig. 17) STUCCO HEADS AND CHIHAGHS IN POTTERY AND STONE, MOUND C.

(Fig. 18) CINERARY URNS IN POTTERY, MOUND D.

(Fig. 19) COLOSSAL BUDDHA HEAD IN STONE, MOUND C.

(Fig. 20) BUDDHA IMAGE IN STUCCO, PROBABLY FROM NICHE, MOUND D.
verdegris at the time of discovery as to be unrecognizable. By an unfortunate chance the small envelopes in which they were placed at the time and on which the exact find places were recorded, were lost on occasion of the successful robbery to which my whole camp was subjected by expert local thieves. It is thus impossible to indicate more accurately the position of each of these four pieces. Luckily the value of the numismatic evidence they afford, is not materially impaired by this doubt.

All these coins have suffered much by wear and corrosion, and on none can the legends be made out any longer. But the types are all the same recognizable. One coin shows unmistakably the type of the bronze coins of Vasudeva (Bazdeo), the last of the Great Kushana emperors, with the king standing before an altar on the Obv., and Siva, with the bull behind him on the Rev. The king of the same type appears on the Obv. of the second coin of which the Rev. is completely effaced. The same is the ease with the third coin where the Obv. distinctly recalls the characteristic royal figure of the Little Kushana coinage. Finally there is a thin and broken piece bearing what looks a barbarous imitation of the seated goddess (\textit{APA \textasciitilde DZ\textasciitilde PO}) so common on the Rev. of a large class of the Later Great Kushana coins.\textsuperscript{1}

Considering that the coins of Vasudeva and of the Later Great Kushana\textemdash continuing his type can safely be assumed to have constituted the currency of Gandhāra during the long and rather obscure period extending from about the 2nd century A.D. to the settlement of the Little Kushana\textemdash under Ki-to-lo or Kidara, cire. 425 A.D., it appears to me reasonable to conclude from the above coin finds that the time when the shrine was most frequented fell within that period. If I am right in attributing the third bronze piece to the Little Kushana\textemdash the shrine must have been still attracting worshippers down to the middle of the fifth century when the Epiphanes or White Huns after destructive inroads established their power on the North-West Frontier.

The total absence of White Hun coins from this and the other ruins suggests that during their rule which continued for about a century, the site was completely deserted. This would agree well with what the popular tradition preserved by Hsian-tsang, related of the destruction of Buddhist shrines throughout Gandhāra\textsuperscript{2} under Mihrakula, the White Hun ruler of these regions early in the sixth century. In this connection attention may also be called to the parallel evidence supplied for the Takht-i-Bahi ruins by three Later Great Kushana coins which I discovered last March, while clearing the cells T. XXIII. i, in a position clearly suggesting a votive offering. They plainly suggest that the abandonment of that neighbouring great site also took place about the same period, an assumption which again would account for the fact that both at Takht-i-Bahi and at Sahri-Bahlol the sculptural remains represent the same stages of style.

I have left it to the last to mention the epigraphic relics of mound C, because their evidence can at present be utilized only in regard to the chronological question. They consist of a considerable quantity of potshards bearing Khurshidī characters in ink, which turned up chiefly in the space extending from the south-west corner of the central Vihāra area to the west and south of the nearest remains of monastic

\textsuperscript{1} Comp. for general notes on these coin types and their chronology, Rapson, \textit{Indian Coins}, pp. 18 sqq.


quarters. Occasional finds of such potsherds were made also in the space north of that area, especially near the tank IV. Many of the fragments are quite small, and a careful endeavour to fit them together will have to precede any attempt at decipherment. As, however, there are individual pieces containing up to eighteen characters there is hope of a satisfactory reading of at least a portion of these short inscriptions after they have been studied by a competent expert. I myself have been able to spare time merely for an examination of the paleographic character of the writing which conforms very closely to the type represented by the Kushana inscriptions and the wooden documents of the 3rd century A.D. excavated by me at Niya and other ancient Turkestan sites. The use of Kharoshthi writing on Indian soil cannot be proved at present to have descended much below the 3rd century A.D. and as at C no trace of any other writing has been found it is clear that on epigraphical grounds, too, it would be difficult to admit a later occupation for the shrine and its convent than that indicated by the numismatic evidence already discussed.

Mound D which was the next to be excavated, was situated about eleven hundred and fifty yards to the south-east of Mound C and just one mile to the south-south-east of Sahri-Bahlol village. On its north side, at a distance of circa 200 yards, it is passed by the deeply cut bed of the Murdara stream. In its size and surface appearance it closely resembled Mound C, measuring circa 260 feet from north to south and rising to a maximum elevation of about 7 feet above the field level. Low scrub uniformly covered the surface; but small fragments of sculpture on the north and abundant pottery débris on the south at the outset suggested the relative position of the Vihara and monastic areas. The position of the former was indicated still more plainly by some shallow pits dug for sculptures on that side.

Radiating trenches were started from the highest point of the mound which proved to be almost in the centre of the ruins and in the line of the wall dividing the shrine from the monastic quarters (Pl. XXXIII). The latter could be traced in the shape of masonry foundations of varying thickness and height, which once had carried walls of sun-dried bricks or clay. The principal part of these buildings was a hall measuring inside 35 by 36 feet. To the north-west of this there were indications of smaller structures built merely of clay; but the remains of their walls could not be distinguished with sufficient clearness from the adjoining soil to permit of exact outlines being shown in the plan. The monastic area was divided from the shrine northward by a wall running due east-west of which the foundations in solid Gandhara masonry, 4½ feet thick and 2½ feet high, were traceable for a distance of close on 80 feet. To the north of this wall, over a space measuring approximately one hundred feet square there were found the remains of a Vihara comprising a number of raised platforms and bases as well as scattered sculptures in plenty (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 21). The general condition of these remains showed close resemblance to those observed at ruin C.

The finds of sculptures were most abundant on or near a central dais with a stone-lined edge, measuring circa 34 by 15 feet and about 6 inches high. On its northern edge there rose still two small platforms (I, III) built of rough masonry.

(Fig. 23.) NORTH FACE OF PLATFORM V, MOUND D.

(Fig. 24.) PORTION OF STUCCO FRIZZ ON NORTH FACE, PLATFORM V, MOUND D.
and stuccoed outside, which probably were meant originally as Stūpa bases but utilized at a later period as places of deposit for miscellaneous sculptures and fragments (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 27). Badly decayed remains of a third platform could be traced on the east side of the dais where this touched and partly overlaid a raised pavement circ. 6½ feet broad and formed of large flagstones. Along the southern edge of the dais was found a row of four Buddha images, nearly life size, prostrate but still in situ, and near the south-western corner a great heap of reliefs and statues, comprising also débris of at least two colossal images in stucco (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 28). To the north of the central dais and at a distance of only 11 feet rose another small platform (IV), circ. 7½ feet square, around which statues, more or less broken, had been collected in numbers (Pl. XLV, Fig. 26). Further off to the north-west two badly decayed platforms could be traced, one measuring circ. 20 by 4 feet, the other 9 by 4 feet. From reliefs and statues found near by it is safe to conclude that they had served originally as image bases; but no later collection of sculptures had formed around them.

A striking feature of this ruin is the large platform, built of solid Guṇḍāra masonry in its lower portion, which extended to a length of over 40 feet south of the central Vihāra area and parallel to the above mentioned dividing wall. Its north face, as seen in Pl. XII, Fig. 23, was decorated to a height of circ. 3 feet with a stucco frieze, still in fair preservation for the greater portion of its length, showing a row of seated figures with halos, separated by broad pilasters with Indo-Corinthian capitals. Above this row of relief figures there extended a modillioned cornice and below it a plinth with simple but well-proportioned mouldings. The figures represented alternately Buddhās and Bodhisattvas, the latter also seated in the pose of meditation (Dhyānamudrā) but distinguished by rich collars and varying head-dress (Pl. XII, Fig. 24). The red paint, apparently minium, still attaching to several of these reliefs suggested that they all had originally been girt. Of an upper frieze with much smaller Buddha reliefs only scanty traces survived. A considerable number of fine relief panels which were found close in front of this platform and usually leaning in a topsyturvy position against it, as if upturned from a higher level, made it quite clear that the whole platform must originally have served as a place of deposit for votive sculpture. Those among them which had remained on this platform must have lain more or less exposed on the surface, and their complete removal was thus likely to have taken place long ago. The back of the platform, facing south, showed only a plain stuccoed wall surface.

A much less substantially built platform, with projections, all stuccoed, was traced in its lowest portion along part of the west face of the Vihāra area. Placed against its northern end there was found a small cinerary urn, 7 inches high and about 3½ inches wide at its mouth. It contained small fragments of burned bones, evidently human, and a coin unfortunately completely corroded. Another urn of similar shape but slightly larger was unearthed at the back of the large southern platform. (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 18.) Two cinerary urns are recorded to have been found during the excavations made at Sabri-Bahlol by Dr. Bellow and General Cunningham; and a number of smaller ones were brought to light subsequently at

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1 See Arch. Survey of India, Reports, V, pp. 41, 42.
mound E. It is thus certain that the custom of such funerary deposits with which I first became familiar in Chinese Turkestan, by finds at the foot of several Buddhist shrines and Stūpas at the Shikshin site (Ming-oi) near Kara-shahr, was practised already in Gandhāra.

I have referred already above to the broad pavement which extends along the greater part of the east side of the Vihāra area and was manifestly intended to serve as an approach to it from the passage between the southern platform and the monastic quarters. Some eight yards to the east of this pavement the excavations laid bare a perfectly preserved small tank, measuring at its top 10 by 6 feet and 3 feet deep (Pl. XLII 1Fig. 21). Its sloping sides were lined with burnt bricks, 8½ inches square. Such tanks, evidently needed for ritual purposes, were found also at the nearby shrines C and H, but in less good condition. A trough, roughly constructed of large stone slabs, was discovered a little to the north of platform IV. Another observation connected with the cult was supplied by the discovery of a large broken jar, 1½ feet across at its broken top, near the south-west corner of the Vihāra area. It was closely packed with small earthenware 'Chirigha', all about 2½—4 wide and less than one inch in height. The uniformly blackened snouts suggested that they had been used on the same occasion for some religious illumination corresponding to the Brahmānic Ātriṣṭa. Here the find of a lump of coarse greenish glass, about 1½ inches long, in the north-west corner of the Vihāra area, may also receive passing mention. No fragments of glass were noticed elsewhere in the course of these excavations.

The sculptural remains of ruin D present a close similarity to those found at C, both in regard to character and to conditions of discovery. But it is noteworthy that the proportion of sculptures of manifestly decadent style is here much smaller, a fact which may safely be interpreted as a sign of this shrine having been abandoned somewhat earlier. On the other hand, as a result probably of more exposed condition, the total number of 'finds' was less, the inventory photographs comprising about 300 pieces, inclusive of fragments. To this number, however, must be added the numerous sculptures photographed in situ around the various platforms (see photographs Nos. 365, 371, 372, 379, 380, 382-387). Relief representations of sacred scenes or fragments of such form the largest and iconographically most interesting portion of the 'find'. Among them reproductions of the 'great miracle of Śrāvastī' (Foucher) are particularly numerous (Nos. 397, 398, 399 (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 30), 400, 401, 403, 404, 408, 410, 411, 412). Several of these panels, like Nos. 397, 399, 401, surpass both in size and state of preservation any so far deposited in the Peshawar Museum. In No. 399 (Pl. XLVII, Fig 30), a particularly well carved composition the typical lotus seat of Buddha appears supported by two elephants which, as M. Foucher points out, are substituted for the mythical serpents Nāga and Upanā’s by a kind of iconographic pun based on the double significance of the term Nāga. In another piece No. 410 the representation of the scene with various aquatic animals is very curious.

Incidents of Prince Siddhattha’s youth are represented by the visit of Atita and the casting of the horoscope (No. 403, Foucher) as well as by a fragmentary relief showing the killing of the elephant at a city gate by Devadatta (No. 406). But
(Fig. 27). PLATFORM I, MOUND D. SEEN FROM S.E., WITH SCULPTURES HI&KB.
AFTER EXCAVATION.

(Fig. 28). SCULPTURAL REMAINS EXCAVATED AT II, MOUND D. SEEN FROM NORTH.
particular iconographic interest, as M. Foucher points out, attaches to the fragment of a relief frieze (No. 413) where the Blessed One is shown as about to present the wicked Nāga enclosed in his begging bowl to the astonished old sage Kāśyapa whom two novices attend. The pose of the one crouching in terror under a column appears to M. Foucher particularly noteworthy as this characteristic detail makes it now possible to identify a scene published by Dr. Spooner from among his Takht-i-Bahi finds as well as other hitherto unexplained groups among the sculptures brought to light by Dr. Spooner's previous excavations at Sahri-Bahlol (Photographs Nos. 298, 299, 300).

But in point of novelty the first place belongs undoubtedly to one of the statues which was found near the western end of the large platform V, and at first puzzled me greatly by its wholly unusual look and pose. As seen in Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 34, it represents a male figure seated on the ground with the right leg bent flat in front while the left is raised to the height of the knee. The head is covered with a mass of shaggy hair, a bushy moustache and beard add to its unkempt look. An ample cloak covers the body. The right arm is stretched out straight towards the ground where the right hand (now lost) must have rested for support. The left arm is bent back behind the head as if to grasp some object. The whole attitude is that of a man struggling to raise himself from the ground with a heavy load resting on his shoulders. That this load was a person there can be no doubt; for though the body is lost there remain the two hands by which the person to be lifted up held on to his bearded human mount. The left hand appears just above the latter's left arm pit; the right which part of the forearm is stretched across the right side of its breast. The richly jewelled armlets which are shown above the right wrist make it certain that the person which the bearded figure is about to raise on his shoulders, as if for a ride, is a female. With this interpretation of the mutilated group once established it was easy for me to recognize that we have here a representation, and the only one so far known, of the frivolous legend, well-known in Buddhist tradition and also localized in Gandhāra, in which the Risi Ekaśṭhāga or 'Unicorn' figured as carrying to town the courtezan who beguiled him.

The story was one of the most popular Jātakas and has found its way also into medieval folklore. Hašān-tsang relates it in connection with a convent which he places about a hundred li to the north-west of Po-lu-sha or Shāh-bāzgarh and to the south of a great mountain. Following up a hint first supplied by Colonel Sir Harold Deane I was able to trace the remains of this ruined monastery and shrine at the site of 'Būtan' near the southern foot of the Shāh-kōt Pass and above the large village of Palai in Swat territory. M. Foucher with true iconographic intuition had already expressed himself confident that a legend so popular, once localized in Gandhāra, could not have remained there altogether without sculptural representation. It affords me hence special satisfaction that the interpretation

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1 See Arch. Rep. 1907-08, Pl. XLIII, a.
2 Camp, 5, p. 115, journ. 3, p. 115, where references to other records of the legend are given in a note.
4 See my Annual Report, Frontier Circles, 1901-02, p. 5 sq.
5 "Les ruines voisines de Palai nous donnent toujours la même scène du rite 'Uniorno' (Exhibition) que Haśān-tsang y a trouvé localisée; si profane que fût ce culte, première version de notre 'laid' Aristote' et des fables qui dérivent sur la lisse des Délitores du moyen âge, il n'était pas pour faire esch ér les sculpteurs à qui nous devons les scènes de l'histoire figurées plus haut voir Foucher, L'art de Gandhāra, 1, p. 275."
proposed for this singular sculpture has met with his full approval. Regrettable as its mutilated condition is, enough remains of the saint's figure, circ. 1 ½ feet in height, to show the remarkable realistic skill with which it has been modelled. Once again we have a proof how cleverly these Graeco-Buddhist sculptors of Gandhāra could fix their attention upon the most characteristic 'act' of a story and thus produce a significant representation of the legend with classical restraint in the setting. 1

Among other statues I may restrict myself to the mention of the Buddha figures seen in Nos. 408 and 413 which for excellent modelling and execution can well be compared with the best work found at the far greater shrines of Takht-i-Bahār and Jamal-garhi. The same may be observed of some of the Bodhisattvas and groups shown, as found in situ, by the photographs Nos. 380, 383, 384. That much of the stucco work was equally good in design can be seen from the perfect small Buddha in No. 420; the little figure kneeling in adoration (No. 422); and by a number of the small heads found detached and reproduced in Nos. 423-425.

Among decorative motifs it will suffice to call attention to the well-carved small Atlas figures in Nos. 403 and 406 and the corbel in No. 413 with the humorously treated lion which a child lets drink from a bowl (Fig. 8). Interesting ornamentation is seen also in the pedestals of a number of statues (see, e.g., Nos. 385 and 396). Thus one of the bases reproduced in No. 396 shows the lotus seat of the figure resting upon a plinth decorated with an elaborate diaper of looped cords, an ornament mainly aiming at the effect of light and shade and curiously recalling almost identical motifs in late Hellenistic and Byzantine art.

The third mound excavated this season and numbered E, was situated about 200 yards to the north of the centre of Sahri-Bahlol village. Though small, it had attracted attention from the first by its elevation (Pl. LXIX, Fig. 35). This was rendered particularly conspicuous by the marshy depression from which it rose. Over its whole length, more than 180 feet, it was covered with large stones and rubble; at its western end it rose to fully 16 feet above the meadow level. The whole mound showed a fairly uniform width of about 100 feet. A few sculptural fragments scattered on the surface suggested that it contained a ruined shrine, and excavation soon proved this to be true, but at the same time revealed constructive features not previously met with at this site.

The most striking portion of the ruin (Pl. XXXIV) was revealed at the western...
extremity where a solid walled platform, built at an elevation of circa 8 feet above the surrounding ground, raises its top to about 8 feet above the exposed base line. In its extant shape this platform (I) forms an oblong measuring 47 feet from east to west and a little over 29 feet across. That it had once borne some superstructure is quite certain; but of this owing to obvious quarrying by the villagers and possibly also some unrecorded 'excavations' nothing but a low plinth survived. This platform displays clearly marks of successive construction. The older portion, exposed along the whole of the west face and for about 27 feet of that part of the north face which adjoins, shows a plinth with bold mouldings and above this a wall-face with a well-carved row of pilasters. Of these four appear on the west face at intervals of 6 feet. Three others survive on the north face. This was surmounted by a boldly projecting dentilled cornice now mostly broken. The section shown in Pl. XXXIV and the photograph reproduced in Pl. XLIX, Fig. 36 will illustrate this architectural decoration. Whereas the plain wall-facing, like the plinth, shows the usual Gandhāra masonry, the pilasters and cornice are carved in a porous limestone resembling travertine. The mouldings above the plinth are carved in large slabs of sandstone. Of the stucco which originally must have covered the whole surface, traces remain in the recesses of the cornice. The pilasters, 2 feet 4 inches high, in shape and proportion recall those often seen in the architectural decoration of Greco-Buddhist remains and also in that of the platform V at ruin D. But the three clumsy leaves or shields which adorn their capitals, are but a sorry survival of the rich foliage shown by the Indo-Corinthian capitals usual in those reliefs. A similar arrangement of pointed leaves is found also on the capitals of the pilasters which decorate the temples at Kāśirākar on the Indus.¹

This original platform, which may well have been square, has been extended eastwards by an addition of which the perfectly plain wall is clearly seen both on the north and east faces. On the former the line of joining of older and later masonry (c in plan) is shown by the photograph in Pl. XLIX, Fig. 36. On the south the faces of both the original platform and its eastern extension are almost completely hidden by a still later addition (b, b) the coarse and much broken masonry of which projects some 15 feet beyond the original alignment. That this addition itself was built over some earlier structure was demonstrated by remains of a stuccoed wall (c, c) which came to light underneath it at a distance of 12 feet 9 inches from the south face of the main platform and approximately parallel to it. The base of this wall and of that forming the west face of the addition (d, d) reached down to a level 2 feet lower than the foot of the main platform near its south-west corner. A broad flight of stairs gave access from the east to the top of the additional platform (b, b) which still retained in parts the big slabs used for its flooring.

Apart from a low moulded plinth which the section on line C, D marks, no traces survive of the superstructure which the main platform, I, once bore. If its older western portion goes back to Buddhist times this may well have been originally a Stūpa. The fact of some relieve fragments of undoubtedly Buddhist character having been discovered immediately to the north, east and south-east of I, would

¹ See Arch. Survey Reports, XIV, p. 117; pl. xii.
support this assumption. At the same time it may be conjectured that the extension eastwards belongs to the period when a Brahminical shrine was established here; for some of the fragments of undoubtedly Hindu sculpture in white marble to which I shall presently refer, were found near it to the east and south-east.

The numerous alterations which this shrine had undergone, were strikingly reflected by the structural remains discovered in the court adjoining the main platform on the east. Two parallel flights of stairs leading up the top of the latter were still built in proper alignment. But the two low platforms of irregular oblong shape, I and III, which had been constructed across the court from the north-east and south-east corners of the main platform, are running distinctly askew. Between these two platforms and facing the flights of stairs there stood a base about 4 feet square with a circular stone drum obviously intended for a small Stūpa. A few feet to the east of it was found a stone drum, 2 feet across, bearing on its top an Amalaka-shaped stone which from the large circular hole in its centre may be assumed to have served as the base for a wooden pillar. In the central cavity of this stone two copper coins of the Hindu Shāhī dynasty were discovered, one bearing the name of Venkadeva, and the other less well preserved, apparently an issue of Spalapattideva, the two together definitely proving that worship continued here down to the 10th century A. D. 1

The court extended some 36 feet to the east and was bordered there by a low wall of Gandhāra masonry, IV, in part 6 feet broad, which probably had served at an earlier period as the base for an image platform such as found at D and F. Foundations of walls enclosing the whole sacred area were discovered along the whole of the north-east and south sides but at a level so much below the various platforms as to leave no doubt about their having served merely for an enclosure. At five points within this enclosure small square foundations were traced, evidently intended for Stūpa bases. The largest of these, to the north of I, measured about 7 feet square. Built against the outside of the eastern enclosure wall and on a level about 5 feet lower, were found remains of walls forming small square rooms which probably had served as quarters for monks or priests. In one of these, V, were found three much-decayed fragments of Buddhist reliefs placed side by side against the wall facing the narrow entrance. The small dark cell is not likely to have ever served for worship, and it is far more likely that the fragments had been brought here for safety by some late devotee. Remains of stairs leading up to the top of the foundation of the eastern enclosure wall indicated where the main entrance to the shrine lay.

The sculptural finds at this ruin were limited to about three dozen pieces, mostly fragments, a fact easily accounted for by the exposed condition of the mound which must always have been a handy quarrying place for the villagers. But there are quite sufficient to prove that a Buddhist Vihāra had been converted here into a Hindu temple. Of the Buddhist sculptures, prevailing in number and practically all small reliefs, only a narrow frieze with the well-known motif of garland carrying amarini need be specially mentioned as it manifestly formed part of a small Stūpa base. The

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1 The types correspond to Nos. 2 and 5 of Plate VII in Cunningham's Medieval Coins of India; but the reverse of the second coin is completely effaced. Both pieces show long wear.
Fig. 35. MOUND B, SEEN FROM SOUTH, BEFORE EXCAVATION.
relics of the Hindu shrine consist chiefly of some well-carved but distinctly late-looking fragments of small divine figures in white marble, one among them manifestly a Lakṣmi. This material is of interest as I had found it long ago among the scanty remains of Hindu shrines surviving at Umi, the ancient Udabhanâ, on the Indus which served as the Gandhâra capital under the "Hindu Shâhis of Kâbul."

It is characteristic that these relics of Hindu sculpture at E include also a panel with an erotic scene carved in low relief, nothing similar being found at any of the Buddhist ruins. The torso of a relatively large and well-modelled female figure, also probably of Hindu origin, may find mention on account of its unusual material, terracotta. Four small cinerary urns, only 3-4 inches high, were found deposited near the old part of the main platform I, at the foot of the north and west faces. There was no definite indication of the period to which they belong. For the chronological determination of the ruin it is important to note that the only coin finds made besides the one already mentioned consisted of two copper pieces of the Hindu Shâhi dynasty. One of these, found some 15 feet to the north of the main platform shows the type of Bhima deva, illustrated by Cunningham's unique coin No. 18; the other found near platform II is badly worn, but probably belongs to one of Venkadeva's common issues as represented by Nos. 2, 3 in Cunningham's Coins of Medieval India.

The excavations at the next two mounds cleared, F and G, can be dealt with more briefly as the remains of Buddhist shrines there found were too badly decayed to present much of novel interest. Mound F situated about 600 yards to the northwest of Sahri-Bahlol village and close to the south of mound B cleared by Dr. Spooner in 1909-10, showed up as a low ridge rising scarcely more than 5 feet above the neighbouring ground. It measured circ. 250 feet from north to south, with a width nowhere more than 120 feet. On the south it proved to hide the remains of the stone-built foundation walls of what manifestly were monastic quarters (Pl. XXXV) including a hall measuring inside 30 by 21 feet. Adjoining them on the north there came to light the outlines of a large stone-edged dais measuring 46 feet on its south side and on it traces of a low base, showing twenty-two facets and about 32 feet in diameter. The stuccoed sides of this base rose only a few inches above the level of the dais, and this together with the scanty amount of earth covering it seemed to suggest rather a platform for images than the base of a Stûpa. A much smaller oblong platform close by, surmounted by a square base, occupied the northern end of the dais. The shallow cover of earth covering all these remains contained very little of the usual débris, thus suggesting early exploitation and subsequent ploughing over of the site. The finds of Greco-Buddhist sculpture were confined to about two dozen fragments of reliefs, among them a representation of Buddha's first sermon near Benares. The style of most of the decorative pieces indicated a late date. With this it fully agrees that the three copper coins found here all attach themselves, as far as their very poor state of preservation permits me to judge, to the type current under the Later Great Kushanas and their successors, the "Little Kushanas" or Kidâra.

Mound G, another low scrub-covered mound, lay circ. 800 yards to the northwest of Sahri-Bahlol village. I measured close on 300 feet from east to west
and about 200 across where widest. Wall foundations in solid Gandhāra masonry came to light in the west, indicating the position of the monastic quarters. These comprised a hall measuring inside 56 by 40 feet (Pl. XXXV). But of the shrine which was attached to this establishment nothing could be traced except the low remains of a Stūpa base plastered in stucco which were unearthed to the east of the quarters (Pl. XXXV). Insignificant as it looks, this base yet shows a ground plan which is of distinct interest; for with but slight variations, though on a much smaller scale, it reproduces the very peculiar shape of the base of that imposing Stūpa, which I discovered in 1901 at the great Vihāra of 'Rawak' in the desert to the north of the Khotan oasis.  

Just as at Rawak the orthodox square of the Stūpa base has been transformed here by a series of bold projections into a symmetrically developed cross. Each of the four arms of the cross extended about 21 feet on the lowest level, as measured from the centre of the base. It seems certain that, as at Rawak Stūpa, the projections on each face were meant to support flights of steps. But as the total extent height of the base where best preserved, is only about 2 feet not more than two of these steps now survive. If we assume the proportional arrangement of the upper storeys to have been the same as at Rawak—a supposition for which, of course, it is impossible to advance definite proof—the diameter of the Stūpa dome measured here about 11 feet as against the 32 feet of the Turkestan ruin. Unfortunately neither structural nor decorative remains have survived of the Stūpa proper or of the Vihāra containing it, and in the absence of any other indications such as coins no definite opinion as to its date can be formed. But it is important to note that the extant ground plan of Kanishka's famous Stūpa as disclosed by the excavations at Shāhjī-ki-dhārā also resembles the Rawak model though not as closely as does the small Stūpa just described.

Mound H, the last to be excavated, was situated cire. 200 yards to the northwest of G and about the same distance to the south-east of the hamlet called Sāhukuln-Korūna which itself occupies the site of some ruined shrine, as proved by remains of sculptures. The mound measured some 250 feet from north to south and about 150 feet across. As it rose nowhere more than about 5 feet above the level of the immediately adjoining ground excavation proceeded rapidly and soon proved that the mound was hiding the remains of a Vihāra exactly conforming in type to those of C and D, together with adjoining monastic quarters (Pl. XXXV). The masonry foundations of the latter were brought to light on the north side and indicated the existence of a central hall about 36 by 40 feet of which the walls must have been partly lacking stone foundations. The remains of the Vihāra area to the south, though extensive, did not reveal any novel features. But the number of sculptural finds, mostly in stucco and broken, was considerable. The central area of the shrine was marked by a low and relatively large dais (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 22), measuring 52 by 43 feet and edged with a stone pavement. Two small stuccoed platforms occupied portions of its eastern face, and five more, as the plan shows, were discovered to the north and east of it. One among them measured 26 by 21 feet.

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*Comp. Ancient Khotan, I, pp. 485 sq., ii, Plate 11.*
*See Annual Report, British India, 1910-11.*
(Fig. 7) REMAINS OF CROSS-SHAPED STUPA BASE, MOUNT B, SEEN FROM NORTH, AFTER EXCAVATION. SAHRIBANLOL, VILLAGE IN BACKGROUND.

(Fig. 8) PORTION OF STUCCO FRIZZEE ON NORTH FACE OF PRINCIPAL PLATFORM.
Most of them showed a square shape and were manifestly intended to serve as Stūpa bases; but all had badly decayed and only one, IV, retained traces of its decorative frieze with pilasters. Of the statues which once probably clustered about the central dais only few had survived. But one of them representing a Maitreya Bodhisattva, nearly five feet high (Pl. XL, Fig. 10) was found in situ, prostrate but with the base still between the stones which had been fixed for its socket (see VI in plan). Near the end of a stone pavement projecting to the south from the central dais, remains of a stone drum were discovered which probably belonged to a small Stūpa, together with several of the stone umbrellas surmounting it.

The best preserved feature of the ruin is the stucco-decorated base of a long platform or wall which turns at a right angle round the north-west corner of the Viham area. On the portion, 30 feet long, which faces south towards the Viham court, much of the stucco ornamentation of the base has survived. It shows a row of seated Buddha figures between pilasters with Indo-Corinthian capitals, the whole being raised on a moulded plinth and surmounted by a modillion cornice. Above the latter a second row of smaller seated figures seems to have existed. In character and style this decoration so closely resembles the long stuccoed frieze described at D that no wide interval can be assumed to separate the periods when the shrines D and H were deserted. Yet from the absence at H of stone sculptures of superior workmanship and from the relative frequency of pieces of coarser modelling among the very numerous stucco heads, it seems reasonable to assume that the ruin H represents a somewhat later foundation.

However this may be, it is clear that subsequent spoliation must have been far more thorough here to account for the rarity of statues and reliefs in stone. Among the latter it will suffice to mention a representation of Buddha's departure from the royal palace (No. 480); the child's offering of the bowl of dust and a well-carved frieze with garland-carrying putti (No. 481). Among the stucco sculptures which abound in all sizes and evidently formed the chief decoration of the various platforms and bases, special mention may be made of a number of false niches, up to 2 feet in height, containing chiefly seated Buddha figures. The varying forms of their arches, trefoil, horseshoe or that with sloping sides, aptly illustrate the architectural devices which must have given diversity to the superstructures, now completely decayed, of all these Vihamas and chapels.

Aurel Stein.
EXPLORATIONS AT MATHURÄ.

a. Excavation at Mät.

The startling discovery of a statue of King Kánishka in the neighbourhood of Mathurä (vulgo Muttra) has already been announced to the learned world. It was due to Pundit Radha Krishnä, Rai Bahadur, under whose supervision the site where the image had been found by him has subsequently been wholly examined. In the present paper it is my object to give an account of the Pundit’s explorations.

The village of Mät is situated about 9 miles north of the city of Mathurä, on the left bank of the river Jamna. Some 6 furlongs to the north-east of the village on the north side of the road to Bāyā there is a flat mound covered with jungle and known locally as Tökri Tilā. On this mound which before excavation was highest towards the west and gradually sloped down towards the east, fragments of statues were noticed by Pundit Radha Krishnä who after considerable difficulty owing to the opposition of the villagers obtained permission to examine the site with the results that he acquired the statue of Kánishka as well as the other images of Kushān Kings to be described below.

The excavation covered an area of about 220 feet from east to west by about 130 feet from north to south. Evidently the mound had been exploited by the neighbouring villagers for the sake of bricks, as the remains of walls discovered were scanty and fragmentary. Nor did they rise anywhere to a considerable height. The work had consequently to be executed with the utmost care so as to lose no scrap of evidence which might help to explain the nature of the building which once stood on this site.

It will be seen from the plan published in Plate LI that the fragments of walls laid bare partly form rooms. This is especially noticeable in the south-western portion of the mound where we find a distinct row of such rooms.

It is evident both from the smallness of these chambers which measure less than 3' in both directions as well from the absence of doors that they cannot have been used for monks’ cells or for image shrines. It also deserves notice that no finds of

1 A. S. R. for 1911-12, part L, pp. ff, plate I. The present paper deals with excavations carried out on various sites near Mathurä during the seasons of 1910-11 and 1911-12.
any kind were made within their walls. The irregular position and very rough construction of the inner walls also plainly indicates that they were not meant to be exposed to view.

From the above facts it is manifest that the pieces of walling now exposed belong to a rectangular plinth measuring about 100 feet from east to west by 59 feet from north to south. On this plinth there once stood a building of which not a trace now remains. Its position may be conjectured from the nature of the walling in the middle of the western half of the mound where some scanty remains of a circular structure can be distinguished. This was evidently the point from which the builders started laying their foundations and it seems reasonable to assume that this marks the position of the building as apparently at this point the foundations were more solid than elsewhere. The adjoining walls still rise to a height of 6' 2". For the rest, the walls form cell foundations, irregular inside but built in a regular row along the edge of the plinth. This outer row of foundation cells is formed by two parallel walls 24" wide, i.e., the length 15" plus the width 9" of a brick. These two parallel walls have almost completely disappeared but their position is evident from that of the transversal walls. The almost complete disappearance of the two parallel walls forming the plinth is no matter of surprise, for the villagers digging for bricks would first of all strike those walls and follow them up, carefully removing brick after brick. This explains why only some small portions here and there have escaped destruction.

Along the northern side of the supposed plinth a retaining wall has been built, probably to strengthen the structure. The wall in question retains remnants of plaster, plainly indicating that the surface was intended to be exposed to view.

On the south-east end are the remains of a ramp, evidently belonging to a flight of steps leading up to the plinth. Here also the outer surface on the north side has remnants of plaster.

As to the building which once stood on the plinth, there can be little doubt that it was the temple (dëcakula) mentioned in two inscriptions found on the site. From what has been said above it may be concluded that the temple stood on the western half of the plinth and consequently faced the east (or to speak quite correctly, south-east), the steps leading up to it from that side.

At some distance from the supposed plinth there are remnants of masonry foundations which in all probability mark an enclosure, rectangular in shape, which may have contained rows of dwelling rooms.

The statue of King Kanishka together with the lower half of a divine image and an inscribed pedestal were found a little to the south of the supposed temple site. We may perhaps conjecture that they once occupied a subsidiary shrine or chapel built on the plinth at the side of the temple. A torso of another statue of a Kushán King was found at a little distance further to the south, and on the supposed temple site the lower half of a colossal statue of a Kushán King seated on his throne. At first sight it might appear that it was placed inside the temple as an object of worship. The circumstance, however, that sculptured fragments belonging to this statue were found further east within the plinth area militates against such an assumption. The following is perhaps a more acceptable explanation. The
upper half of the seated image was recovered by Pundit Radha Krishna at some distance to the west being worshipped as Baran, i.e., Varuna, the god of the waters. I presume that the person who found the image tried in the first place to remove it bodily to the tank, but after moving it some little distance towards the west found it too heavy and gave up the attempt. He then broke the image in two and removed only the upper half. This statue bears indeed evident traces that it was broken systematically and with a certain amount of care.

The tank where the Kushan King had to discharge his novel task of Varuna was also partly excavated. It is constructed of large bricks of exactly the same size as those used in the supposed temple plinth. (Pl. LII, Fig. 2.) There is, therefore, good reason to assume that this is no other than the tank (pavakarani) mentioned in the inscription of the seated statue as having been constructed at the same time as the temple. In the excavation of the tank some Naga images and other sculptures were discovered.

One of the Naga images (1' 6½" high) is four-armed and holds a plough in one of his left hands. This is particularly interesting as the plough is the typical attribute of Baladev or Balaram, the elder brother of Krishna whose close connection with Naga worship I have pointed out on a previous occasion.1

I now proceed to describe the images found at the Mat site.

b. IMAGES.

The image of King Kanishka is a life-size statue (height 5' 4" including base) of which the head and both arms are lost. (Pl. LIII.) It shows the king standing, his right hand resting on a mace and the left clasping the hilt of the sword. Kanishka is clad in a tunic reaching down to the knees and held round the loins by means of a girdle, of which only two square plaques are visible in front. It may be that these plaques are meant for a buckle, but more probably they indicate a belt consisting of a series of such plaques such as a belt as we find on the torso discovered on the Mat site. (Pl. LV, Figs. 7 and 8.) So much is certain that in reality these plaques must have been of metal, perhaps of gold. The remainder of the belt is concealed by a long upper garment which falls below the knees and is consequently somewhat longer than the undergarment. Both garments are plain, only the seam being shown. The folds of the robes are indicated by very shallow lines, a reminiscence of Hellenistic influence. Most conspicuous are the very heavy boots with straps round the ankles similar, as Dr. Stein points out to me, to those worn now-a-days in Turkestan.

The plain dress of the king contrasts strongly with the elaborate weapons. The sword has a long hilt decorated on the top with what appears to be a swan’s or parrot’s head. In the actual sword itself this head may have been of ivory or of jade. The sheath is decorated with three plaques which must represent metal and are similar to those of the belt. The point of the sheath is broken off. It is curious that the sheath is not attached to a belt, but is fastened by means of two straps to the upper garment. Both, which in reality may have been of leather, are wound

left hand is broken but it would seem that it rested on the scabbard laid across the knees. This object though much damaged, is still distinct together with the strap with which it was attached. Further details, however, are irrecognizable. Over the head of the lion to the proper right there is a confused mass of cords and on the left side there seems to have been something similar.

The throne has a straight back the upper portion being broken off with the head. On the proper left side behind the shoulder the bars are indicated and some vase-shaped ornament. On the back of the stone there are some deep-cut lines running down as if indicating a cloth hanging down over the back of the throne. Similar lines are shown on the left shoulder and left upper arm of the image (not on the right side). There is also an indication of a cloth hanging down the back of the image from both shoulders, etc., between the image proper and the back of the throne.

The enthroned monarch is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic with richly embroidered borders nearly 3" broad which are shown running down the breast in a double band and must have been continued over the knees, and the lion heads of the throne. The embroidered seam is again visible on both sides where the lower portion of the garment is spread out over the seat of the throne. The right sleeve shows similar ornamentation. The left hand, as noticed above, is destroyed. The tunic is dotted all over with little rosettes like sprigged muslin, and on the top of the right sleeve just beneath the shoulder we notice a slightly projecting circular disc, 3" diameter. The two sides of the tunic are not joined immediately below the throat but somewhat lower down like a modern coat except that there are neither lapels nor collar. Thus a triangular space is left where we notice a lower garment with narrow seam along the throat. The ornaments are few consisting only of a torque and a thin bracelet round the wrist. Very remarkable are the heavy top boots which are decorated with a band of vine pattern 3" wide running from the toes upwards. As in the case of the Kainashka image there is a strap round each boot beneath the ankles and a second strap under the heel. To each strap is attached what appears to be a spur. Both feet are placed on a low stool (28" × 13" × 3½") decorated in front and on both sides with a band of stars. The front is partially obliterated.

The colossal seated image bears an inscription on the top of the base between the feet. It consists of four lines, the first line being 8¾" and the fourth one 15½" long. The aksharas are from ¾" to 1½" in height. The character is Brahmi of the Kushan period. It reads:

1. Mahāraja rājātirājā dēvaputrant
2. Küštānaputra [Shahi Vamanaśaka] masya
3. Bakaṇapatiḥ Huma...[dēvakula] kārita
4. ārajana paškarini udapāna [ccha] sa-in [kothaka].

The inscription records the construction of a temple (dēvakula, a garden ārama), tank (paškarini) and a well (udapāna). We have already pointed out that the temple must have stood on the Māt site, but has wholly disappeared except for some remnants of the masonry plinth on which it was raised. The tank is still extant to the cost of the village of Māt and has been partly excavated. (Pl. LIII.) The name of the donor is unfortunately lost but seems to have commenced with a syllable Huma. The preceding word Bakaṇapatiḥ is possibly a title. The inscrip-
(Fig. 3.) IMAGE OF KING KANISHKA.
tion further mentions a Kushāṇ king whose name is indistinct, but appears to be Varnataksana or Vamataksana. This name is unknown to history; the first portion reminds one of the name Vema Kulpise or Oolmo Kulpises of the coins. In the inscription the king has not only the full royal titles found in records of the period but is distinctly described as Kushānaputra. Next I wish to note the torso of the standing male figure 4" in height to which reference has already been made. (Pl. LV, Fig. 7.) It is carved in the round. The dress consists of a tunic reaching down to the knees, which across the breast and along the lower border is decorated with a broad band imitative of an embroidered seam. Most remarkable is the beautiful belt consisting of a row of plaques some square and others round each decorated with a peculiar figure or ornament. Of those in front the round ones show the well-known fish-god so common in sculpture of the period and the square ones a horseman with high cap who carries a mace or lance over his shoulder. Round the neck we notice a thin torque.

The figure evidently carried a sword fastened by means of a strap, still extant, which is round the right hip, the sword hanging down on the left thigh. Of the sword itself only some traces remain, from which it may be conjectured that the figure clasped the hilt with his left hand. The position of the right hand it is impossible to determine, but evidently it was free from the body, as on this side there is no break. It may perhaps also be conjectured that the right hand was raised at the level of the shoulder, an attitude common in the statues of this period.

Below the garment a portion of the right leg remains, from which it appears that the figure wore top-boots as in the Kāniska statue and the seated image described above. On the lower portion of the robe is a fragmentary inscription in Brahmi of the Kushāṇ period. Only three complete akṣaras and part of a fourth akṣara remain. They read Mūstana......

A sculpture of a type very different from those described above is the lower half of a standing image almost life size (height 3' 8''). (Pl. LV, Figs. 9 and 10.) It is of the well-known Boddhisattva type of the Kushāṇ period as represented by the inscribed statues of Śāraṇāth and Sāriath-Maḷē. In the present instance the Boddhisattva is accompanied by a dwarf or Yaksha, standing on his right, whose head and right arm are lost. Without the head its height is 16'. It has a prominent abdomen and little legs and holds a round object in its left hand. The right is broken.

The image is carved in the round, as is not uncommon in statues of the Kushāṇ period but an exceptional feature is the figure of a lion carved on the stone its head being behind the little Yaksha.

It will be remembered that the Boddhisattva of Śāraṇāth has a lion figure between his feet. Possibly, there as in the present instance, the lion indicated that the statue represents Sākyasimha, the Lion among the Sākyas.

The sculpture last described was found together with the Kāniska statue. On the same spot was discovered a Sanskrit inscription consisting of six lines, but unfortunately seriously injured. It probably belongs to the reign of Huvishka whose name and titles are twice mentioned in it, and seems to record the restoration of a temple, perhaps the same, the foundation of which is recorded in the inscription on the seated image. The stone on which this inscription is incised must have been
the pedestal of a statue of which traces of the left foot still remain on the top. From the position and shape of this foot it would seem that the statue to which it belonged had large boots like the three images of Kushāṇ princes described above.

It is not impossible that the inscribed pedestal formed part of the same image as the torso with the belt discovered at a little distance. But from the sculptured fragments found in the course of excavation it is evident that there must have been at least one more image of the same type as the three described above. Some of these fragments appear to belong to the seated monarch, as they show the same decorative border indicating the embroidered seams of his robe. But there is one piece showing part of a neck with torque which must have formed part of a fourth image. (Pl. LVI.) There are also portions of a belt similar to that of the torso which cannot possibly belong to any of the three images described.

Apart from the great historical interest of the Māt images, they seem to me to adduce important evidence in two questions, one pertaining to art and the other to religion.

A study of the Mathurā school of sculpture has led me to the conclusion that the great flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must have preceded the reign of the great Kushāṇ rulers, Kānīshka and his successors. The relic casket of Peshawar discovered by Dr. Spooner points to the same conclusion and the newly discovered image of Kānīshka confirms my first theory.

The sculptor of the Kānīshka image has shown considerable skill in faithfully portraying the great King. The details of the sword and mace are shown with the greatest care. But the maker of this image whatever his nationality may have been, was certainly not inspired with the ideals of Grecian art. The indication of the drapery alone seems to retain a faint recollection of classical sculpture. The characteristic features of the statue are rigidity and strict symmetry. The pose is singularly ungraceful and the whole sculpture is flat. It is difficult to believe that this barbarian statue is contemporaneous with the graceful Bodhisattvas of Gandhāra which, with some propriety, used to be described as "royal figures."

In view of the discovery of the Kānīshka statue, Dr. Spooner's interpretation of the remarkable female image found by him at Sahrībahol as that of a queenly donor, gains in probability. But it seems far less probable that the pious lady would be the consort of King Hurishka and that in the head with the aquiline nose found along with it we are to see Hurishka himself. I should feel more inclined to seek a name for it among the Yona princes who preceded the great Yue-chi barbarians.

The religious question I wish to refer to is that relating to Sun worship in India more particularly from an iconographical point of view. It is puzzling that Śurya, the Sun-god, is represented with top-boots which would seem to be particularly inappropriate in the case of a deity invariably placed in a chariot. The chariot is, of course, a very old and undoubtedly original feature as it is in close agreement with literature. In the older sculptures the chariot of Śurya is drawn by four horses in later (medieval) sculpture by seven horses. I believe that the top-boots of Śurya must in some manner be connected with the statues of Kushāṇ princes in which the high-boots are such a striking and certainly an-Indian feature.
(Fig. 7) TORSO OF KUSHANA PRINCE, FRONT VIEW.

(Fig. 8) THE SAME, BACK VIEW.

(Fig. 9) STATUE WITH LION, FRONT VIEW.

(Fig. 10) THE SAME, BACK VIEW.
Whether the Kushans actually set up images of the Sun-god dressed after their own fashion cannot at present be decided, but it seems a very plausible assumption.

The favourite attitude of the Kushan Kings on their coins is that of pointing to a fire-altar. The Sun-god frequently occurs on their coins and on his relic casket Kārīshka is shown being crowned by the Sun and the Moon. Is it not likely that the worship of Mithra-Mihira was introduced and patronised by the Kushan Kings? It was about the same time when this cult spread over the Roman empire.

c. Mora.

The site of Mora is best known in connection with the so-called Mora well inscription in which a son of the Mahākṣatraka Rajavula is mentioned. The term well inscription would seem to imply that it is a record referring to the construction of a well. This, however, does not appear to be the case, though the slab, which measures no less than 11' 2" by 7' 11" was found by General Cunningham in the terrace of an ancient well. This position accounts for the destruction of part of the inscription. It has now been removed to the Mathura Museum, but since its discovery by General Cunningham thirty years ago several more of the aksharas have been lost. Apart from the mention of the son of Rajavula, the only certain point with regard to this inscription is that in the second line it refers to "images of the five heroes" (pancha Virānas pratimā). These words are distinct on Cunningham's facsimile, but I must add that at present the passage in question is totally destroyed.

When visiting the Mora site I noticed some fragments of stone images lying on the site of a round shrine, and as they were evidently of a very early date, it occurred to me that there might possibly be some connection between these fragmentary sculptures and the "images of the five heroes" mentioned in the inscription. It seems quite plausible that these "five heroes" were the five Pandava brothers, whose exploits are extolled in the Mahābhārata. The fragments themselves, however, do not afford any evidence in support of this conjecture. They consist of two torsos of male images, the lower half of a female statuette and the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet now remain. The photographs reproduced in Plate LVIII will render a detailed description superfluous. One point which deserves special notice is the circumstance that they are all carved in the round, a peculiarity only found in sculptures of the Śunga and Kushan periods. Moreover, the female statuette has an inscription which is unfortunately mutilated, but proves that the sculpture was made in the days of the great Kushan rulers (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 10.)

The finding of these sculptures though inconclusive in itself seemed to bear promise of further discoveries of importance, and I consequently arranged for excavations to be carried out on the Mora site under the supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. His explorations did not yield anything to elucidate the meaning of the so-called well inscription or its supposed connection with the fragmentary

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3 I have referred the inscription to the reign of Harishka but Professor Lüders' list, p. 195, No. 14-B (1907), assigns it to Kārīshka's reign.
images. Though in this respect these excavations were disappointing; they resulted in the discovery of a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks (10¾" by 8" by 2½") which may be assigned to the third or second century B.C. From the different fragments we obtain the following legend, in which only one missing akṣhara has been supplied: \textit{Jagannāyukāya Brahmāvatimā [dhī] te, Yuvamāyā Kārītama} “Made by order of Yasamata, the daughter \(^1\) of Brahmāvatimā, the king’s consort and the mother of living sons.” (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 16.)

We may perhaps identify the Brahmāvatimā of these inscriptions with Bahasaṭimā (\textit{Skr. Brihaspatimā}) whose coins have been found at Kosam (about thirty miles south-west of Allahabad and at Ramnagar (Ahichchhatra) in Rohilkhand).\(^2\) His daughter, Yasamata, was probably the wife of the ruler of Mathura, whose name is not mentioned. As already stated, I would assign these inscriptions to the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date adopted for Bahasaṭimā. It deserves notice that the term Jīvaputra\(^3\) “a mother of living sons” occurs also in the Śunga inscriptions of the railing of Bodh Gaya.

d. Gāneshā.

Another site examined by Pandit Radha Krishna was that of Gāneshā, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Govardhan. The site comprises three distinct mounds. Several ancient sculptures were known to have come from this neighbourhood, including a life-size Bodhisattva statue, obtained by Dr. Führer and placed by him in the Lucknow Museum.\(^4\) A seated image, also apparently a Bodhisattva, was found inside a well near the village of Gāneshā and acquired for the local Museum by Pandit Radha Krishna. Both these sculptures belong to the flourishing period of the Mathurā school and are of particular interest on account of their close relationship to the Bodhisattva type of Gandhara.

Another incomplete inscription in two lines on a rounded piece of red sandstone found in the second Gāneshā mound reads as follows:–(1)……………na Kṣaharāta Ghaṭakasa ..., (2)…………….ye thēpa pāti …Nowwithstanding its very fragmentary state this short record is of interest for two reasons. (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 17.) First of all there can be little doubt that it records the constitution of a stupa (Prakrit thēpa). The word following thēpa may be safely restored as patithāpota (Sanskrit \textit{pratishhāhapatih}). We may add that the monument in question was in all probability Buddhist. A stone parasol which was found lying at the foot of the mound, and which had previously been taken to the Museum, perhaps once surmounted the stupa referred to in the inscription.

The second point of interest is the word Kṣaharāta, which occurs in the first line. This term is well known from some of the Western Cave inscriptions which mention the Kṣaharāta king and Satrap Nahapāna. The Kṣaharāta cinn, according to Mr. V. A. Smith, probably a branch of the Śākas, held sway in Western

\(^1\) The ṣ of the syllable trauding to is still partly preserved.


\(^3\) Cf. A. S. H., loc. 1928-29, p. 147, footnote 3.

Fig. 11a) CARVED FRAGMENTS FROM MAT.
India in the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century of our era. It is of some interest to find a Kshahara mentioned here in an inscription from Mathurā. Unfortunately the epigraph is too fragmentary to allow our drawing any certain conclusions from it. It may, however, be assumed that the word immediately preceding Kshahara was kṣetrapaṇa, if we may judge from what remains of the missing letters.

The syllable yē preceding the word tūpā would seem to indicate that the stūpa was not founded by the Kshahara satrap Ghatākha himself, but by one of his female relatives. The name of Ghatākha does not seem to occur on coins or in any other epigraphical documents. The character of the inscription agrees closely with the Brāhmi used in the records of the reign of Kanishka; it may even be earlier.

The same mound produced twenty-four inscribed bricks and bricklets. (Pl. LVIII, Fig. 18.) Two of them are complete (13½ by 10½ by 3 inches), and contain the following legend: Rōhadevasa Kōhada [sa]. Portions of the same word, sometimes in reversed order, occur on several of the bricklets. On some of the broken bricks we find the name Gomita (Sanskrit Gomītra) or the compound Gomитаčaka (Sanskrit Gomātrāntya) usually in the instrumental case, the word kārttama following. In one case we have Gomitala amach [āna], and in other... chōna Kōhade [na] which I propose to complete as Gomitačaka Kōhada Kārttama. We may infer that Rōhadeśa Kōhada (Kohala?) was the minister (avatīm) of Gomita, and as it follows that the latter was in all probability a local ruler, it is very tempting to identify him with the Gomita or Gomitra whose coins have been found at Mathura. The date of the inscribed bricks must be the third or second century B.C.

### List of inscribed bricks from Gaṇeshā Mound No. 2.

a & b. Two complete bricks 13½” × 10½” × 3”. Inscription along one of the short sides, 9 letters.

Rōhadevasa Kōhada [sa].

- Akṣaras 1” high, character pa-Kushāy.
- e. Bricklet 8” × 14” × 3¼”.
  - [Kō] - ku-ṇa Kōhade [vasa].
- d. Almost complete brick 9½” (incl.) × 3½” × 3”. Inscription complete but indistinct.
  - kātārma Kōh [dana].
- e. Almost complete brick (overburnt) 9½” × 9” × 3½”. Inscription complete, but indistinct.
  - Kōhadasa Rōhadevasa.
- f. Bricklet 3½” × 14” × 3¼”.
  - sa Kōhadasa.
- g. Bricklet 6½” × 8” × 3¼”.
  - Kōhadasa Kōh [vasa].
- h. Bricklet 6” × 5” × 3¼”.
  - Kōhadasa (end of brick).
- i. Bricklet 5½” × 5” × 3½”.
  - Kōhadasa.
- j. Large bricklet 10” × 8” × 3½”.
  - Kōhā.

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k. Small brickbat 4¾" x 3½" x 2½".
   [Gōm [n]].
   1. Large brickbat 9½" x 7½" x 3¼" only two aśṭhara 1¾" high.
   [Gōm [n]].
   Empty space before aśṭhara.
   2. Large brickbat 9½" x 5¾" x 5½".
   [Gōm [n]] tana eva [eka].
   3. Small brickbat 7½" x 5¼" x 3¼".
   c. Brickbat 5½" x 4¾" x 3½".
   [Gōm].
   p. Brickbat 6½" x 4½" x 4½".
   [na] kārlaṅk.
   q. Brickbat 4½" x 5½" x 3½".
   machēna.
   r. Brickbat 5½" x 4½" x 3½".
   Gōm.
   s. Small brickbat 4½" x 3½" x 3½".
   [Gōm] = [ite].
   t. Large brickbat 6½" x 4½" x 4½".
   —rituk (space behind).
   u. Brickbat 6½" x 4½" x 3½".
   [chēna] Rōka.
   v. Brickbat 7½" x 6½" x 5½".
   [chēna] Kōhuti-[na].

Among the few sculptural fragments which came to light on the Gāṇēśhāra site I wish to mention a life-size head (ht. 15") with elaborately carved turban and a mortice hole at the top. The nose and chin are broken. It occurred to me that possibly this might be the missing head of the Bodhrāvanī statue acquired by Dr. Führer from Gāṇēśhāra and now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. At my request the head was sent to Lucknow, but unfortunately it did not fit on the sculpture in question. The same mound (No. 2) yielded numerous fragments of a sandstone railing decorated with the usual rosettes. This railing must have been of very small size, the cross bars measuring about 1½" in length.

c. Jaisinghpura.

Near the village of Jaisinghpura which is situated 3 miles from Mathurā in the direction of Brindāshā, there is a mound which also marks the site of a Buddhist sanctuary. Mr. Growse obtained here two railing pillars of the type usual at Mathurā. On one side they show a female figure with flowers in her left hand standing under a balcony, over which one or two heads are visible. The reverse is carved with a medallion containing a conventional lotus or a stūpa with streamers and parasol.1

Here also Pandit Radha Krishna carried out some trial excavations but the season of 1910-11 was then too far advanced to allow of a complete examination of the mound.

1 Cfr. Mathurā Catalogue, p. 13 ff. 4; Nos. 3, 10 and 11; Plate XXII.
The sculptural remains found in the course of excavation include fragments of Buddha images and of very elaborate haloes, the former apparently belonging to the Kushāna and the latter to the Gupta period, some lions, two garudas, and fragments of a stone railing.

A find of some interest is a clay tablet or sealing (ht. o.m.075) of a type commonly found on Buddhist sites but of which hitherto no specimens had come to light at Mathura. The centre is occupied by a miniature Buddha figure seated in the earth-touching attitude (bhūmisparsa-mudrā) indicating the supreme moment of the Bodhi or Enlightenment. Originally this Buddha must have been placed between two standing Bodhisattvas, presumably Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, but only the figure to the proper right is still preserved. The lower portion of the seal area shows three figures of diminutive size such as are usually found on representations of Buddha’s enlightenment. In one of them we may perhaps recognise the earth goddess, who, according to the Buddhist scriptures, was called upon by Buddha to bear testimony to his meritorious acts in his previous existences.

Between these figures and the Buddha with attendants there runs a line of inscription, but the aksaras which appear to be Brahmi of the Gupta period are of so small a size that it seems hopeless to attempt to decipher the legend.

**f. The Katra.**

Finally I must briefly note some excavations carried out by Pandit Rulha Krishna during the cold season of 1911-12 on the site of the Katra which forms part of the modern city of Mathurā (Fulgo Mathra). This site is one of unusual interest.

At present the Katra mound is crowned by a large mosque, of red sandstone, usually indicated by the name of Ilgāh. It was built by the Emperor Auranzeb on the ruins of the great temple of Kesab Dev (Skt. Kēśa Deva-Viṣṇu) which had fallen a victim to his iconoclastic zeal. This temple was seen and described by the travellers Tavernier, Bernier, and Manucci in the beginning of Auranzeb’s reign.1

Tavernier says, “At Cheki-sara there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and for those which come from the neighbouring country, where the Banians provide them with food. This pagoda is called Mathurā; formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present. That was because the Jumna then flowed at the foot of the pagoda and because the Banians, both those of the place and those who come from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to wash themselves in the river before entering the pagoda, and on coming out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without being washed; besides they believe that by washing themselves in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken its course to the north, and flows at a good cosmos distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.”

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Bernier speaks of "Mathurās où on voit encore un ancien et magnifique Temple d’Idole", and Manucci mentions an ancient Hindu town called Mātrora (Mathurā) distant eighteen leagues from Agra where there is an imposing temple.

The Kesab-Dēv temple, of which the foundations can still clearly be traced, stood again on earlier remains of Buddhist origin. This became at once apparent from General Cunningham’s explorations on this site in the years 1853 and 1862, which opened the era of archaeological research at Mathurā. Among his finds was a standing Buddha image (height 4' 3''), now in the Lucknow Museum, bearing an inscription which is dated in the Gupta year 230 (A.D. 549-50), and records that the image was dedicated by the Buddhist nun Jayabhaṭā at the Yāsā-vaḥāra.

Several Buddhist sculptures, mostly of the Kusāna period, have since been discovered in the Kāra mround. So that there can be little doubt, that it marks the site of an important monastic establishment. It was particularly one “find” which seemed to call for further investigation. Dr. Führer 1 while describing his last explorations of the year 1890 on the Kāra, says the following, “About 50 paces to the north-west of this plinth [of the Kesab-Dēv Temple] I dug a trial trench, 80 feet long, 20 feet broad and 25 feet deep, in the hope of exposing the foundations and some of the sculptures of this ancient Kesāva temple. However, none of the hoped for Brahmanical sculptures and inscriptions were discovered, but only fragments belonging to an ancient Buddhist stūpa. At a depth of 20 feet I came across a portion of the circular procession-path leading round this stūpa. On the pavement, composed of large red sandstone slabs, a short dedicatory inscription was discovered, according to which this stūpa was repaired in samvat 76 by the Kusana King Vāsukha; unfortunately, I was unable to continue the work and lay bare the whole procession-path, as the walls of the brick sub-structure, adjoining the Masjid are built right across the middle of this stūpa.”

Unfortunately the inscription referred to by Dr. Führer was never published, nor were castamages of it known to exist. Since the discovery of the inscribed sacrificial post (yaṣa) of Iśāpur had established the fact that between Kanishka and Huvishka there reigned a ruler of the name of Vāsilisha, it became specially important to verify the particulars given by Dr. Führer in the above quoted note.

The endeavours made by Pandit Radha Krishna to recover Dr. Führer’s inscriptions were not crowned with success. It is true, however, that on the spot indicated the remains of a brick stūpa honeycombed by the depredations of contractors came to light. This monument, however, cannot be assigned a date earlier than about the sixth century of our era. Of the circular procession path of red stone slabs mentioned in Dr. Führer’s report, no trace was found, but at a much higher level there was a straight causeway of stone referable to about the 12th or 13th century A.D. Evidently it has nothing whatsoever to do with the stūpa. The causeway in question, which is 45’ long, 4’ 6” wide, runs straight from north to south and is constructed of large sandstone slabs roughly dressed and apparently obtained from different quarries. The size of these stones shows considerable variation, one measuring 6’ 6” by 1’ 6” by 9” and another 4’ 7” by 1’ 7” by 9”.

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1 Anual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Circle North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June 1906, pp. 1 ff.
causeway consists of a double layer of these slabs laid three by three, the whole being very irregular. The slabs were bound together with iron clamps, some of which still remain. Five of the stones are marked with a trident (trisul).

At a very low level a heavy brick wall which rises to a height of 22' was laid bare and traced over a distance of 54'. It is constructed of very irregular masonry, some of the bricks measuring 11' by 8½" by 2½''.

In the course of excavation numerous sculptural fragments came to light, mostly of a late date and apparently decorative remains of the Kesab Dev temple destroyed by Aurangzeb. Among earlier finds I wish only to mention a broken fourfold Jaina image (pratimā sarvato bhadrīkā) with a fragmentary inscription in Brahmi of the Kushān period. I read it ... Khāṭā Vācha [kasya] suryapuru sadāvaśya nirvarttanā ā ... vāsya bhavidiṃasyā.

J. Ph. Vogel.
EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.¹

The ancient Buddhist site at Kasia in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces was again attacked this year. Exploratory operations were resumed on the first of December 1911 and carried on up to the end of March 1912. Out of the sum of Rs. 3,000, provided from Imperial funds for the Archaeological exploration of this site, Rs. 2,580-6-9 were spent on labour and the rest on compensation for land acquired for excavation, transport of finds and other contingencies. As in the previous year the work was done under my supervision and I was assisted by Babu Bhura Mall and Munshi Ghulam Muhammad. The clerk had to go on sick leave and the work of keeping accounts and registering finds also devolved upon me. The photographer was deputed to the Frontier Circle of the Survey and his functions were ably performed by Babu Bhura Mall. The head draftsman M. Ghulam Muhammad who joined me late in the month of March assisted me in keeping the rolls as well. In all, seven drawings and twenty photographs connected with the excavations of this year were prepared by the said draftsman, some of which will be used to illustrate this note.

The explorations of this year have enabled me to unearth several buildings and other antiquities of great interest. Though no such document was brought to light which could finally settle the identity of Kasia, yet the results obtained this year are by no means unsatisfactory.

Excavation round the plinth of the so-called Nirvana temple (Pl. LIX) has revealed the remains of some buildings of the Mauryan period and it is not unreasonable to assume that the plinth is built on the residue of very ancient monuments and that its examination will be fruitful. Digging on the north and west sides of it brought to light highly interesting terra-cotta figures as well as clay sealings bearing the name of Mahapari nirvana. They will be noticed in the sequel. Besides these and several stūpas opened this year, I succeeded in laying bare the remains of three complete monastic buildings on the main site and some mysterious structures near the Râmahâr stûpa. The Mathâ-Ksar monastery was fully traced out and the Anrudhiva mound thoroughly explored. A few more structures have also been partially exposed.

¹ On previous explorations at Kasia, see A. S. R. for 1904-5 pp. 43 ff., for 1905-6 pp. 6 ff., for 1906-7 pp. 44 ff., and for 1908-9 pp. 53 ff.
EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.

That numerous monuments still lie hidden under débris or fields and would repay excavation cannot be denied. The site has been explored several times at considerable expense but the topographical problem still requires an indisputable solution for which further exploration seems desirable. The results arrived at would undoubtedly justify the expenditure that has been already incurred. The evidence of the copper plate I discovered last year as well as of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* clay seals strongly favour the proposed identification of Kasā with Kuśānagar which is further supported by the richness of the site in ancient remains. It can reasonably be assumed that further digging will throw additional light on the question. But apart from this consideration it seems necessary that at least the main site, to wit, the plot round the Nirvāṇa stūpa and temple as well as to the south and east sides of the large stūpa of Rāmahār should be thoroughly explored and the earliest remains extant exposed and examined. That will further elucidate the history of the remains of Kasā. The site is not only extensive but has undergone various changes during different periods of habitation and its complete examination would require excavation on a larger scale.

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to notice in detail the remains that have been exposed during this exploration.

**Group of monuments round the main buildings A and B.**

**Buildings Q-Q'.** Last year I had struck a monastic building lying towards the west of the Nirvāṇa temple and was able to open it only partially. This season it was fully exposed and I found that there were two buildings or monasteries almost identical in shape erected side by side. Apparently they are coeval. Reference to the plan will show that the foundation wall at the west is one for both the structures and the room to the south-west corner which contains a square well is a later addition. The wall found beneath the small stūpa at the north-west corner of the structure A has proved to be distinct from these buildings (Pl. LX). As remarked in my last year's report they cannot be ascribed to a period later than the advent of the Gupta dynasty. The finds of this year consisting of the clay seals with legends written in Gupta script furnish further evidence in support of this surmise. That they were consumed by fire is indicated by burnt wood and charcoal found in quantities both in Q and Q'.

The building Q has four rooms on the west side, the one standing to the south-west corner being separated by a passage. It had two cells and a verandah on the north and three cells with a verandah on the south. Evidently it was orientated east. In Q a northern verandah and one cell in the west are wanting. Besides this the structures in front of the rooms on the west are dissimilar. In dimensions there is some slight disparity: Q is about 48' 7" long and 39' wide whereas Q' is 46' long and 41' 9" wide. A clay seal, 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter, resembling those of the last year with the coffin of the Buddha and the *parinirvāṇa* legend, was unearthed in Q, while in Q' two sealings bearing probably the effigy of Hariti and her children and deposited in a pot containing ashes were found in the space between the western row of cells and the well noticed above. (Pl. LXIV.) The latter would show the existence of a shrine dedicated to the said goddess. These sealings are elliptical in shape (1\(\frac{1}{6}\)" × 1\(\frac{1}{8}\")
and bear the marks of string at the back. The name of Mahāparinirvāna is written partly above and below the effigies. To find such seals here is significant for after the testimony of the seals of the Mulagandhakuti at Sarnath it can reasonably be assumed that the Mahāparinirvāna seals also belonged to the place where they were excavated. Both the wells, the one just alluded to and the other lying close by towards the west were examined, the latter only partially. Beyond some glazed pottery the former yielded nothing. It is fed by a spring rising from the east, the water being remarkably pure and refreshing. The latter recompensed my labour by some sealings of different types of about the Gupta period. They are mostly fragmentary. The best preserved ones have a circular area (½" in diameter) inscribed with the legend—Śrīmahāparinirvāna bhikhusaṅgha written in late Gupta script beneath the symbol of dharmachakra or the wheel of law flanked by two crouching deer.

Excavation was continued southward of these buildings and a platform found which starts from a distance of about 3 feet from Q' and extends up to 42 feet where it abruptly breaks off. Evidently it is earlier than the Nirvāna temple for it goes below that structure. From the top of the plinth of the latter it is nearly 4 feet lower and extends 22 feet westward.

The stūpa engaged in the plinth of the Nirvāna temple near the south-west corner, as will be seen from the general plan published above, was examined by driving a shaft at its centre and digging was discontinued when an earthen pitcher full of clean and cool water containing some ashes, apparently corporeal remains, together with some metal pieces was found at a depth of about 4 feet from the top.

Buildings V and W.

With a view to trace out the wall found beneath the small stūpa which stood to the north-west corner of the Nirvāna temple I drove a trench along it towards the north and another towards the west at a distance of 20 feet from Q. Both these diggings led me to the remains of several buildings of considerable antiquity. (Pl. LXI.) Those which lie to the north-east of Q are, on account of their higher level, comparatively late in origin and may be relegated to about the tenth century A.D. The real character of the wall in question could not be ascertained for it is not only detached but is broken at the south side. Presumably it continued southwards and was connected with buildings hidden under A. At the spot where it ends abruptly digging was carried downwards. This led to the exposure of the remaining part of the ornamental plinth round the main building at the north-west side but had to be stopped when water began to find its way into the excavations. A number of square bricks of the Mauryan period found here apparently indicate the existence of some very early structures that have now disappeared. Attached to this wall I opened three distinct rooms one of which measures 25'0" long and 16'6" wide and the other two 9'6"x9'10" and 10'4"x10', externally. The former contains a platform (5'3"x6') with a rectangular pit (2'7"x1'5"), apparently meant for

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1. This will remind one of Hiian Tsang's statement about a well at Kusumapura that "although it has overflowed for years and months, the water is still pure and sweet." Real, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 82.
receiving an image, and must have been a shrine. The wall lying above it is much later and is connected with other wallings which must have formed a sort of enclosure. The nature of the remaining two is not known.

Removal of debris deposited in this part of the site brought to light many terracotta figures. (Pl. LXIV, Fig. 1.) Of these one large image which perhaps represents some female deity deserves special notice. (Pl. LXIV, Fig. 2.) It was lying, evidently not in situ, near the north-western corner of A opposite the two small cells which stood by the wall noticed above. The upper portion of it is unfortunately gone. It is a seated figure with left leg extended downwards as in tālātāsma, and having an anklet on one foot. In front of the pedestal two worshippers are shown. One of them with a curious and gloomy air clings to the left knee of the principal figure, his right arm passing under the left leg of the deity to take some object probably sweets or fruit held in a wide-mouthed vessel by the attendant on the opposite side—a feature which can hardly be expected in religious subjects. Both of these figures are very life-like. That to the left, excepting one arm, is entire and its drapery is somewhat similar to that found in Kusān sculpture. The head of the other image is missing. The whole figure is one block of hollow terracotta and measures about 2'-1" high and 2'-8" long.

Building W.—Due north of the Nirvāṇa temple a small square stupa of late-Hindu origin was opened when debris was removed from above the pucca concrete flooring which went along the north-west side of the plinth of A. The circular shaft sunk at the centre of it led me to the basement of a monastic building which, on the evidence of its large bricks (10" × 12" × 4"), must have been erected about the Mauryan period. It is some 9½ below the present ground level. Externally it measures 35' long and 17'-3" wide. It has three rooms in all on the north side, two of these measuring 8' by 6' internally and the third 13' by 6'. In front of these, though the south-west side is not entirely cleared, there appears to have been a long verandah running from one end to the other. In plan, as will be seen from the drawing published above, this structure is different from the monastic buildings which have been hitherto exposed on the site of Kusāṇ. To the east of this building seven small stupas measuring between 11' and 3½ square have been excavated and the basement of two temples, partly opened in previous years, fully exposed. Continuing my excavation southward I hit upon an extensive platform (Pl. LX above) which goes underneath the structures A and B and appears to be connected with the platform opened in front of the Nirvāṇa temple that has been noticed above. From the said plinth it extends between 18' and 7' northward and at the spot where it enters the plinth it takes the form of steps of vertical bricks. (Pl. LXV, Fig. 6.) Another flight of steps seen towards the north is built on to it and is apparently later. While clearing this part of the site I exhumed a number of terracotta figures, mostly fragmentary, as well as pottery, the description of which is rendered unnecessary by the illustrations accompanying this note. (Pl. LXIV and LXVI.)

Excavation here yielded one fragmentary inscription which is cut on a stone. It consists of six letters and forms the genitive singular of a proper name which ends in pāle, showing that the article, probably an image was a pious gift of the person
named in the record. The characters of this inscription are of the Gupta script of
about the 5th century A.D.

To the east of the structure B some stūpas had been exposed during previous
excavations. These are attached to the plinth and were not explored before. I
attacked two of these which stand at the north-east corner and found that they
concealed beneath them the remains of a very old monastic building (U) which
extends towards the structures A and C. A shaft was sunk at the centre and
carried to a depth of 8' from the top. This led me to a wall going east and west.
A trench was then driven parallel to it which opened two distinct cells, apparently
monastic. (Pl. LXI.) Their bricks resemble those of the building marked W
in the said drawing and speak of the high age of the structure.

Wall K.—During previous excavations two walls were opened, one going east of
the monastery D and the other north of A, i.e., the Nirvāṇa stūpa. Though not fully
traced out yet these were surmised to have formed an enclosure.1 This year I ex-
posed completely what was left of them. Reference to the general plan, published
above, will show that the wall starting from the plinth of the said stūpa though
broken at different places yet goes northwards at least up to a length of 145' where
it appears to have broken down. A wall coming from the side of D meets it no
doubt but not being in the same line appears to be distinct from the one which
starts from the north-east corner of D. The difference in width of these walls
though small is also significant. The wall coming from the corner of D breaks
down at a distance of about 70'. The one which starts from the Nirvāṇa stūpa goes
beyond the point where it meets the wall coming from the side of D and would
thus show that it did not form any enclosure with the latter.

Māṭhā Kāśar Monastery.

(Pl. LXIII.) Excavation of the monastery discovered last year to the
south-west of the main site was continued and completed. At the outset it proved
impracticable as, owing to the lateness of the rains, water began to percolate rapi-

dly even at a depth of about 2'. But with the advent of the spring that began to
dry and I carried on my operations with comparative facility. The whole of the
remaining basement of the monastery was exposed and examined thoroughly.
Some ten new cells ranging between 5' and 10' square were cleared together with
the main and side entrances as well as two outer cells and platforms. The build-
ing, except the projections of the chapel and the outer cells, is square, measuring
11½ externally and has the usual plan of late monasteries as has been shown in my
last report. To the north-east side of the court-yard I found a circular layer of
bricks which is about 17' wide. The ground within it had black mud such as is
found in wells. This circumstance and the adjoining drain would indicate the
existence of a well though the bricks do not go beyond some two layers.

Excavation of this monastery resulted in the finding of some iron dowels, the
handle of a sword, some votive clay sealings with the Buddhist creed formula
written in the script of the late medieval period, and a copper seal bearing the legend

1 A. S. R. for 1901–2, p. 46.
EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA
MATHAKUAR
PLAN

SCALE

FEET 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

PLATE LXIII
Vaiśākha and a monogram incised on it. The latter was discovered from the floor of the second southern cell. It is nearly elliptical in shape (1" by 2½"). On palaeographical grounds it can be ascribed to about the sixth century A.D. and cannot have originally belonged to this monastery which, as remarked in my last report, came into existence long afterwards.

The Anrudhvā Mound.

Outside the village of Anrudhvā to the south-east of the main site of Kasiā there stood an unexplored mound which under instructions from Dr. Vogel I explored this year by driving long trial trenches more than 50' long and 8' deep. In several places water level was reached but beyond a broken pavement of bricks of late origin nothing was found. The whole mound proves to be a mass of rotten earth apparently void of any relics of yore.

To the south of this mound a plot, adjacent to the house of the village chowkidar, was attacked by Dr. Vogel in 1905-6. This year I examined it thoroughly and fully exposed all the four memorial stūpas. With a view to examine these structures shafts were sunk at their centres and carried down to the virgin soil at a depth of about 6½'. Only two of these compensated my labour by yielding four excellent brick panels. (Pl. LXVI, Fig. 9.) One of these is nearly entire and represents the nativity of the Buddha. Another shows the Buddha in his teaching attitude, while the third bears a head with serpentine hoods behind. Apparently these tiles were used as a facing. The top portion of these memorials has disappeared; the extant buildings are about 4' high from the ground level which is some 8' lower than the present surface.

Rāmābhār.

As in the previous year the south-east side of the stūpa of Rāmābhār (Pl. LXV, Fig. 7) was again investigated. (Pl. LXII.) Apart from the various structural remains fourteen old stūpas, more or less well preserved, have been excavated this year. Of these four are almost entire (Pl. LXV, Fig. 7), three have a circular basement which is a sure sign of high age, and the rest have square bases. No. 1 has an ornamental facing and is about 6'-4" high. Excepting one (No. 5) which has a diameter of 11', all are of small dimensions. No. 6 has a rectangular enclosure round it which measures 14'-3" square and is surrounded by another which is 25'-10" long and 25' wide, and protected with a chunnam coping. The latter has an entrance at the south side which is 1'-6" wide. The space between these enclosures is about 8'-10" wide and covered with chunnam and concrete plaster some 6" thick. This was examined by cutting through a part of the floor near the said entrance and to the west of the inner enclosure. Digging here brought to light many votive clay seals with three stūpas and the Buddhist creed formula written in later script. (Pl. LXVII, Figs. 12 and 13.) It may be assumed that similar deposits will be forthcoming if the remaining sides are excavated. This stūpa together with one, No. 5, was examined by sinking pits which were carried down to the virgin soil but no relics could be found. The circular terrace of the large stūpa

1 A. N. R. for 1905-6, p. 79, Pl. XXVII.
along the southern side was fully traced and exposed. Removal of debris lying here brought to light several fine ornamental bricks like those found last year. (Pl. LXVII, Fig. 14.) Besides these an inscribed stone, apparently the pedestal of a statue was discovered. The inscribed surface is about 5' by 3' and has some five lines of writing which is much worn.

Assuming that the mysterious structure, exposed last year towards the south of the large stūpa, was erected on the remains of some earlier building, I cut open the strong thick plaster and hit upon a wall going east and west under it. This was followed up and still more mysterious structures were traced out. An idea of their appearance may be formed from the photograph and drawing here published. The latter, I believe, will replace a detailed description. The nature of these buildings is far from clear and even to hazard a conjecture is impossible. Excavation here has been tantalising as the plot could not be thoroughly explored. Still it can reasonably be assumed that further exploration will reveal the true character of these structures and may throw light not only on the proposed identification of the locality with Mukuta-bandhana but on the history of the place as well.

Hirānanda Śāstrī.

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EXCAVATIONS AT KASIA.

(Fig. 1). MAIN SITE: TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM NORTH OF A & B.

(Fig. 2). MAIN SITE: IMAGE OF FEMALE DEITY (FRONT) FROM NORTH OF A & B.

(Fig. 3, 4, & 6). MAIN SITE: CLAY SEALINGS FROM B AND C.

PLATE XIV.
(Fig. 6) MAIN SITE: STEPS OF VERTICAL BRICKS FROM NORTH OF A & B.

(Fig. 7) RAMAHER: GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS, FROM S.E.
(Fig. 9). MAIN SITE: FRAGMENTARY TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM NORTH OF A & B.

(Fig. 9). BRICK PANELS FROM ANRUDHYA MOUND.

(Fig. 10). MAIN SITE: POTTERY FROM NORTH OF A & B.
(Fig. 11.) RAMABHAR: OLD STUPAS, SIDE VIEW.

(Figs. 12 & 13.) VOTIVE CLAY SEALINGS WITH THREE STUPAS AND THE BUDDHIST CREED FORMULA.

(Fig. 14.) RAMABHAR: ORNAMENTAL BRICKS.
EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA, PROME.

THE previous Reports of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, and especially what he has written in the Annual Report, Part II, of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1910-11, make clear the objects he had in view in excavating at Hmawza in the Prome District. The principal of these objects was naturally to try and find data for pushing back, if possible, the period of authenticated Burmese history beyond the 7th century A.D. Another important object was to secure additional evidence regarding the now extinct (and provisionally called) Pyu language; and it is principally with these two objects in view that the excavations were resumed during the cold season of 1911-12, in the course of which the finds forming the subject of this note were brought to light.

In the Annual Report, Part II, for 1911-12 reference is made to two fragments of an inscription which were discovered while clearing the terraces of the Bawbawgyi pagoda from the debris that encumbered them. This year, the most important find, both from the epigraphical and historical point of view, made at the same pagoda, is another inscribed fragment of soft stone which forms the central piece of the two referred to above. These three fragments (Fig. 1, Pl. 1) have been pieced together by M. L. Finot of Paris, who reports on them in the following terms:

"A few weeks ago, my friend Mr. Blagden sent me the estampage of an inscribed fragment found at Hmawza, desiring me, on your behalf, to try and decipher it. I did my best to comply with his request, rather hurriedly. But then he called my attention to two other fragments discovered before on the same spot, which he thought might, perhaps, help to the elucidation of the new one. This suggestion proved very happy. Put side by side, the three fragments turned out to tally perfectly well and give a running text. This text I tried to find out in the Pitsakas, but with no success. Nevertheless, Mrs. Bode has pointed out to me a passage of the Atthasalinii, which, though different from the Hmawza text, is clearly akin to it and has helped much to the right understanding of it. I send you my transcription which, I hope, proves beyond doubt the flourishing state of Pali literature in Lower Burma at such an early date as Vth and VIth century (for, as to date, I quite endorse your opinion)."
Transcription of the Pāli fragments found at Hmawza.

The three fragments found at Hmawza contain a Buddhist text in Pāli. Whether it is extracted from the Sutta-piṭaka or from the Abhidhamma-piṭaka or perhaps from an Āṭṭhakathā, is not clear. The writing may be safely ascribed to the 5th or 6th century of our era. Undoubtedly the order of the fragments was as follows:—

Text.

(1) nā samphus (i) tattam vēdanakkhandhā saṅkhākkhandhā saṅkhārakkhandhā.

(2) di (ṭṭhi) i viphanditam diṭṭhi nyam vuchehati salāyatana (?) pāchehayā phassō taitha katam (a) phassapāchehayā vēdanā īyam eheta (e) i (kā).

(3) Saṅkhājanam gā (hō) patiggahā abhinivēsō parānāsō kummaggō.

Translation.

(1) ... the being brought into contact, the state of having been brought into touch with. The Vedanakkhandhā, Samūkkhandhā, the Saṅkhārakkhandhā (2) contest of opinion: this is called diṭṭhi. From the six senses springs contact. What is the feeling which springs from contact? It is mental ... (3) ... thus fitter (of opinion), the grip and tenacity, the inclination towards it, the being infected by it, thus by-path ...

The discovery of this fragmentary inscription in Pāli belonging to the 5th-6th century A.D. would appear to indicate the co-existence in lower Burma at an early period, of both Sanskrit and Pāli, and therefore also that the two forms of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna, were known in Old Prome and probably flourished there side by side, or in alternate periods of supremacy, the former view, however, being the more probable one. It is certain that, from the 11th century onward, the Hinayana made vast strides and finally superseded the other form; the latter, however, did not disappear so rapidly and completely as may have been thought; for it has, even up to the present day, left deep traces behind it.¹

From the same site were obtained some small bronze images of the Buddha, the most important of which are given in Pl. LXVIII, Figs. 4-6. Figure 2 (Appendix A 3) is the Budda Dipañkara; the robe is indicated merely by a line from the left shoulder passing under the right arm, thus leaving uncovered the right breast and arm, and by another running horizontally just above the ankles. The right arm, which is free from the body, is in the Abhayamudrā, the left hand, as is usual in these figures, holding the folds of the uttarasanga. This traditional pose is different from that of the figure delineated on the terracotta votive tablet found at the Western Pettiek Pagoda, Pagan, in which both hands are raised to the shoulders with the palms outwards. It has some similarity with Fig. a, Pl. XXIX of the

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part II, 1906-07, but where the attitude is much more natural and graceful; the attitude in our statuette is very stiff. The feet are placed close to one another and the flabby protruberance of the head, instead of ending in one knob, has two, the top one being pointed in the shape of a cone, or rasiśīkula as it is called in Ceylon; there is no trace of a halo; the cast of countenance is frankly Indian. It is somewhat difficult to determine the age of this figure, for there is nothing distinct to base an opinion upon, except perhaps the sharp Indian features; but the style of the figurine as well as its being found at the Bawhawgyi not very far from the Avalokiteśvara described below, point to at least the 10th-11th century. Figure (5) is a Buddha seated on the padmāsana; the figure is seated cross-legged with the sole of the right foot upwards; the left hand rests on the lap in the dhyāna-mudrā, and the right is hanging, palm inwards, in the bhūmisparśa-mudrā. The upper robe, folded on the left shoulder, leaves the right shoulder and arm bare; the cokulaka assumes the conical pointed shape. The back of the pedestal, on which is the lotus throne, is elaborately decorated. There is, on each side and facing sideways, a leogryph standing on its hind legs on the back of a diminutive elephant and supporting the head of a makara. From the jaws of each leogryph there flows a string of pearls which it holds between its fore paws and which falls nearly to its feet. From behind the head of each makara there issues the usual florid tail which, gracefully curling up, enters on both sides, the jaws of a kirtimukhi with large goggle eyes and stylized horns, a head somewhat similar to which may be seen in Fig. 14, Pl. LXV, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, Part II for 1903-04. The whole is surmounted by a small hti. Just in front of the lotus cushion, on the top of the throne, there is a small thunderbolt, or vajra. The elaborate design of the back of the throne, and the Mongolian appearance of the face with its rather flat nose and slightly almond eyes seem to indicate that this figure is not of a very early date.

By far the most interesting and important find is a bronze statuette of a standing Avalokiteśvara with four arms. (Fig. 6, Pl. LXVIII.) This is the first of its kind found at Himawa, and is an irrefutable proof of the existence at an early period, before the 11th century, of Mahāyānism at Prome. The two feet are broken off, and unfortunately also the left arm above the elbow, so that the attributes held in the two left hands have been lost; but the elaborate and high headress in the form of a mitre, and within it, the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha, leave little doubt as to its being Lokesvarā. The position of the right arm of Amitābha, however, is not quite clear, and it is doubtful whether it is in the dhyāna-mudrā. From the disproportionate thickness of the right arm above the elbow, it appears to be raised in the abhaya-mudrā. The second right hand, at the back of the first, of Avalokiteśvara, holds what appears to be the book, that is, a small bundle of palm leaves tied round with a string. An interesting feature is the position of the other hand, which, instead of being, as is generally the case, in the varada-mudrā, is here

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2. It is similar in form to that held by Padmasambhava, Fig. 30, Grünwedel's Mythologie des Buddhisme in Tibet und der Mongolei; cf. also Sylvain Lévi, Le Népal, II, p. 17.
brought up before the shoulder in the vīvara-mudrā. The right knee is slightly bent, causing the left hip to protrude slightly and gracefully, as is so often seen in the Gandhara statues of the Buddha. The forehead is marked with the āruḍā. The dress is that usually worn by Bodhisattvas, with necklace, armlets, girdle and below the latter, running across the loins, a sash, tied in a graceful knot on the left hip and falling all along the left leg. The whole figure is exquisitely worked. It is probably not later than 6th-8th century. For the last few years indisputable proofs of Indian culture and direct intercourse with Burma in early times and extending over a long period have been slowly accumulating, and the new material bids fair, if similar finds continue to be made and more ancient inscriptions than are now at our disposal be found, to enable us, within a few years, to carry back the history of Burma, both political and religious, to the early centuries of the Christian era and probably earlier still.

Among the terracotta tablets discovered at the Bawbawgyi pagoda, there is a fragment bearing a Sanskrit legend (Fig. 2, Pl. LXVIII) which was submitted for examination to Mr. Venkayya, the late learned Epigraphist, who wrote as follows: "I have again spent some time over the votive tablet. The result is, however, not very encouraging as I am still not quite sure of the reading. But it now seems to me that the most probable reading is: Mahekkhakadānapati-Vigahā-rājā-śri. There is one more symbol at the end of the line, which is partially damaged. It is also possible there are more letters or symbols lost. If the former is true, it may be assumed that "Mahekkhakadāna" was the name of some locality, town, province, or kingdom. Its ruler would, in that case, be Vigahā-rājā, though one would, under ordinary condition, expect the syllable śri before the name and not after it." Neither the locality "Mahekkhakadāna" nor its king "Vigahā-rājā" has yet been identified. Both names appear to be foreign to Burma.

APPENDIX A.

List of Finds from the Bawbawgyi Pagoda.

1. Inscriptions.

1. Inscibed fragment of soft stone, consisting of three lines, the longest being four inches in length (see above, pp. 142-143).

II. Coins.


III. Bronze Figures.

3. Figure (ht. 7' 7") of Buddha standing (see above, pp. 143-144).
4-7. Figures (ht. 4' 0", 4' 2", 4' 4", 4' 6" and 3' 7") respectively of Buddha seated, cross-legged in the Bhumisparśa-mudrā.

8-9. Figure (ht. 2' 7" and 2' 3") of Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, with its left hand placed on its lap. The right hand rests with its back on the knee, holding a fruit. Opinions in Burmese differ as to the meaning of this posture and the event in the Buddha's life which it is intended to represent; but I think it may be explained by a passage in the Mahavagga found in the story of the conversion of Uruvela Kassapa and his thousand jatilas. It runs: 'Attha Kho Uruvelakassapa:jatilā kasi rotipā anuvagamā yānu Bhagavā ten' uparāhami, uparāhakumā Bhagavatā kudākā āvekkhi: kāli, mahānāma, vissattikā bhatthan iti. Gahākaṁ tvame Kassapa, ājussa abhā ti Uruvelakassapam jatilāna uggicāna yāya jambhikayā Jambukapī paṭīyati, tattā phalavat paṭṭiṇī paṭhamatvarāna uggacā yojitaṁ nissantī . . . etc.1

Then Uruvelakassapa, the Jatilas, at the end of that night went where the Bhagavā was; having approached him, he announced to him that it was time, saying "It is time, great samana, the meal is ready." "Stay, Kassapa, I will follow you." Having thus dismissed Uruvelakassapa, the Jatilas, he went to the Jambu tree which has given its name to this continent (India) and plucked a fruit thereof; then, arriving before Kassapa he sat down in the moon in which Kassapa's sacred fire was kept.2 From this it may be inferred that the fruit held in the right hand is the Jambuphalam.

10. Figure of Buddha (ht. 2' 8") seated on a throne with back (ht. 8' 3") (see above, p. 144).

11. Figure (ht. 3' 7") of Buddha seated cross-legged in the Bhāmisparśa attitude on a throne. It is gilt and has a halo which has broken and has been detached from the main figure, and of which about one-half only, in two pieces, has been found. In the centre of the larger piece, in an oval frame by small dots, are three lines of inscription very much defaced and indistinct, but from one or two letters a little less damaged than the others, the alphabet seems to be in the Nagari script.

12. Figure (ht. 8") of a standing Avalokiteśvara with four arms, the left arm broken off above the elbow; the two feet are missing. (See pp. 144-145 above.)

IV. Terracotta tablets.

13-51. Tablets in the shape of a circular seal (diam. 1' 8") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the Bhāmisparśa attitude on a lotus throne. On each side are three little dots; but the image is much defaced, and it is impossible to distinguish what the dots were intended to represent. The whole figure except the throne is enclosed within three layers of oval shaped rings.

52-54. Oval shaped tablet pointed at one end (length 2' 5", breadth 1' 6") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the Bhāmisparśa-avatāra on a lotus throne. From the body issue a flame, and the image is much defaced. This no doubt represents the second of the miracles performed by the Buddha for the conversion of Uruvelakassapa (Vinaya Pitaka, Vol. I, p. 25). In the room where Kassapa kept his sacred fire there was a very powerful and venomous serpent (nāga) which, Kassapa was fearful, might harm the Buddha; but the latter entered the room, sat down and made flames issue from his body (Bhagavāpi tejodhikte samājñicī śaṃskāraṇī pañjalī).3

55-70. Figure (ht. 3") of Buddha seated on a lotus throne cross-legged with the left foot sole upwards, on the right one; in the right hand he is holding an alms-bowl, and the left hand rests on the knee; the left arm and shoulder are uncovered; at the back, a shrine.

71-151. Oval-shaped tablet (8" × 4' 8") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the Dharmachakra-avatāra on a lotus throne with the back. Two prancing leopards, one each side of the Buddha and facing sideways, support the spandril of the back of the throne. Below the figure there are three lines of inscriptions, but they are much defaced and are quite unintelligible.

152-236. Oval-shaped tablet (3' 5" × 2' 7") bearing the figure of Buddha seated cross-legged in the Dharmachakra-avatāra on a lotus throne with back. The back of the throne is decorated with makara heads which are supported by leopards standing on couchant elephants, each holding a lotus flower by its stalk in its trunk. The leopards are facing outwards.

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1 See the Vinaya Pitaka, ed. by H. Oldenberg, Vol. I, 29 in loc.
were discovered six stone basins or troughs (Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. II). They are fashioned out of some igneous rock which is not found in the neighbourhood or country itself. It is a dark blue in colour, is hard in texture, and is very close grained. Each basin is made up of two parts: the upper, which is circular, and is shaped like the inside of a Buddhist alms-bowl, and the lower, which is octagonal in form, and measures one foot and eight inches across. Each side of the octagon is two feet in length. There is a neck supporting the basin, which is six inches in height and two feet in diameter. There are no stands or plinths attached to the basins: they rest immediately on the bare ground. The problem for solution is the probable use to which these basins were put. They could scarcely have been used as receptacles of offerings made to the image of the Buddha, because they are not placed on an elevation, and because there are no remains of pagodas or temples in the vicinity. Nor could they have been used for the storage of water for drinking or bathing purposes either for men or beasts, because their capacity is extremely limited. The remarkable fact is that these basins are found in pairs, and are placed side by side. If they are not used in the Buddhist worship, could they have been connected with Hinduism? Could they have been dedicated to the use of the Hindu deities Siva and his consort Kali, or Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi? Mr. Tay Sein Ko is inclined to think that these huge stone basins formed, at one time, part and parcel of a Hindu temple, which being built of wood, has disappeared. The Hindu gods are supposed, at stated times, to retire to sleep, to get up from sleep, and to perform ablutions. Could these basins have been used for the ablutionary ceremonies of the Hindu gods?  

APPENDIX C.

List of Finds at the other sites of excavation at Hmawza.

VI. Finds from the Payagyi Pagoda.
428-429. Funeral urns made of stone discovered at the South side of the Payagyi Pagoda (see above p. 145).

VII. Finds from Pyndakhet.
430-437. Bricks with marks on them.
438. Jaw bones of a cow or a bullock.

VIII. Finds from the Myankzegu Pagoda.
439-440 Bricks.

IX. Finds from the Kyunhnaung near the Banteaygyi Pagoda.
441-442. Fragments of earthenware funeral urns containing charred bones found mixed with earth.

X. Finds from the Tahan near the Bawmyagyi Pagoda.
443. Lid of earthenware funeral urn.

CHAS. DURCISELLE.
THE HLEDAUK PAGODA AND ITS RELICS.

(Fig. 1.) FUNERAL URN IN STONE FROM THE RAWBAYOWhatsAppFactorOf2.png PAGODA, HMAWZA.

(Fig. 2.) SMALL STUPA PLATED WITH SILVER.

(Fig. 3.) THE SAME, WITH SIKHARA REMOVED.

(Fig. 4.) A GROUP OF FIGURES REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL SCENES IN THE LIFE OF BUDDHA.

(Fig. 5.) THE HLEDAUK PAGODA, NYAUNG-OON VILLAGE.
THE HLĒDAUK PAGODA AND ITS RELICS.

The Hlédauk Pagoda, which is situated at Nynang-gôn village, Madaya Township, Mandalay District, was built in 1111 A.D. by King Awaung-aung, who reigned at Pagan for 73 years, from 1092–1167 A.D. It is a square temple, each side measuring 53' 2" at the base, and was probably surmounted by a conical-shaped stūpa, but the upper portion has crumbled down. (Pl. LXIX, 5.) During the earthquake that took place on the 23rd May, 1912, more bricks fell from the north-western and north-eastern corners of the Pagoda, and two relic chambers, one at each corner, thus became exposed. Many small figures in bronze representing the most important scenes in the life of Buddha were discovered in the relic chambers. They possess no interest from the aesthetic point of view, and are very rough in workmanship. At the most, they cannot be more than about 150 years old. They must have been later additions when the Pagoda underwent a subsequent repair. But among them there was found a small stūpa (Pl. LXIX, 2 and 3) plated with silver, the upper part of which, the sikhara, covers a glass vessel, hemispherical in shape and which is surmounted by two knobs, the whole being terminated by a long neck. When the sikhara is placed upon this vessel, the spherical part of the latter forms the bell-shaped portion of the pagoda. It is a slim pagoda with a square plinth and four subsidiary shrines of the same shape, but smaller in size, placed at each corner of the plinth. The height of the pagoda is 1' 9", and that of the glass vessel inside is 8'. The chief peculiarity in the make-up of this small stūpa is the glass vessel inside it. The latter is unique in style and has never before been found in Burma. It is certainly of foreign manufacture and its age cannot be very great, for no glass vessels of any kind have ever been found either at Pagan or Prome. The Burmans do not seem to have known the art of manufacturing glassware, excepting round and flat beads of a greenish colour, such as have been found at Myinkaba, Pagan, and which are supposed to be as old as the 11th or 12th century. In the reliquary of the Shwe Sandaw Pagoda at Pagan have also been found elongated glass tubes about one or two inches in length and a quarter of an inch in diameter, similar to those with which screens are made. The Shwe Sandaw goes back to the time of Anawrahta (11th century A.D.) and this art in Burma practically stopped at that. In this glass vessel were found many seed-like little things which pious Buddhists assert are relics of Buddha. The floral design round the plinth,
which is similar to that found on the walls of many old buildings at Pagan, is no
proof of the antiquity of this miniature pagoda, and was probably made in imitation
of the floral designs at Pagan. This reliquary is, therefore, a late addition to the relics
of the Hlahtaw pagoda offered by pious persons. The design round the plinth is
rather rough in workmanship, and is not symmetrical; this can be accounted for by
the fact that the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Mandalay, the seat
of the last kings of Burma, were situated on the borders when Pagan was flourishing,
and it was scarcely possible to find a neat and careful silversmith at such a place
as Madaya, which is many miles to the north of the old capital city of Burma.

The other figures referred to above are less important, but they are not devoid
of interest. Some similar to them had already been found at Shwebo by Mr. Taw
Sein Ko in 1903, and were described by him in the Archaeological Survey of India
Annual Report for 1908-09, pp. 145 ff. I shall therefore describe shortly only those
not included in Mr. Taw Sein Ko's paper, or the designs of which differ sensibly.
(PI. LXXIX, 4.) The group on the extreme left of the upper row (No. 1) represents
the Buddha Dipankara followed by some Arhats and predicting to Sumedha, who
had thrown himself on the ground, that the Buddha might not soil his feet, that he
would, in times to come, become the Buddha Gotama. Then are seen (No. 2) the
twenty-eight Buddhas. On the extreme right of the same row, is the scene of the
Bodhisattva's birth in the Lambini Grove— to the left, Maha-Maya holding
the tree with her right hand, and her sister Mahaprajapati assisting her, and, in
front of Mahaprajapati, the child making his first seven paces.

On the left, in the second row, the Bodhisattva is going to his pleasure garden
in the royal chariot; the next four figures are the four sights he saw on his way
thither which decided him to relinquish the world. They are, in order: an old
man, a sick man, a dead man, and a monk. The next figure is the Bodhisattva
cutting off his hair with his sword, and, to his right, Sakra receiving it in a small
shrine. Then comes a representation of Mount Meru, on the summit of which
is Sakra's heaven. The figure next to this is the "Jewelled walk" stretching
from East to West, on which he took exercise for a week, walking to and fro.1 After the Jewelled walk comes the Ratanagāra which was made for him
by the gods to the Northwest. Then follows the Buddha under the Ajapala or
Goatherd's Banyan tree, where he sat scrutinizing the Dharma. Next comes the
representation of the Buddha near the Mucalinda lake where the Nāga
king of the same name protected him with his coils and hood from the heavy
rain that poured down then. It will be remarked that Fig. 7 in PI. LIII, A. S. R.
1903-04, is much more realistic and artistic. This is succeeded by the Buddha
under the Rājāyatan tree. It was at daybreak of the seventh day of his sojourn there
that there arrived the two brothers Tapussa and Bhallika, who obtained some hairs
from him.2 The next figure shows us Sotthiya, the grass-cutter, offering the Bodhi-

1 Cf. Fig. 4, PI. LIII, A. S. R. 1903-04.
2 See page 135, A. S. R., 1902-03; and cf. Mahānāma, Vol. XIII, 268 ff., where the account is much more
probable than that current among the Burmans; the latter have appropriated to themselves the whole episode and
made the heroes natives of Rangoon, retaining the country around Takula after the legend recorded in the Sacred Book
merely as an historical afterthought. For a very similar incident and the manner in which place-names were
transferred from India to Burma, see Note sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie et propos de la légende de Purva.
sattva & bundles of grass. After this comes the seat of wisdom, eight cubits high, rising from the ground; and, next the Buddha lifting his hand to express his doubt as to advisability of disclosing his profound doctrine, in answer to the prayer of Brahma Sahampati. The image next to the last, on the right represents the Buddha "inaugurating his spiritual dominion" by preaching his first sermon to his first five disciples, and the last scene is the Mahaparinirvana.

As to the antiquity of the Hledauk pagoda itself there is no doubt. A stone inscription belonging to it was found among the collection made by king Bodawpaya: it gives the year 473 B. E., that is 1111 A.D., as the year in which the pagoda was built. Alaungsithu marched against Yunnan with a strong force, and on his return built nine shrines in the Shwebo district and several others in the Mawya Township, of which the Hledauk pagoda is one. This inscription enables us to rectify the Hman Nan Bajavan, the standard history of Burma, which was compiled with much care and scholarship, for it gives the year 470 B. E. as the year of the foundation of this pagoda, instead of 473, that given by the inscription.

CHAS. Duroiselle.
VISHNU IMAGES FROM RANGPUR.

The accompanying plates illustrate five stands of metal images recently brought to light in the Rangpur District of Eastern Bengal. They were found quite accidentally by a Sonthal cooly while ploughing in ground belonging to the Rājākumār of Tājhat, and were appropriated under the Treasure Trove Act by Mr. C. Tindall, the Officiating Collector. The exact date of the discovery is said to have been the 6th November, 1910. The locality is described as near Sahibganj, in ThanlGovindganj of the Gaibandha Sub-Division. In Mr. Tindall’s report to Government, from which the above details are taken, it is stated that the cooly struck something hard below the ground with his ploughshare, and on digging down found a large earthen pot with bricks above it and below. It was within this pot that the five images were found.

As the largest of the five is some three feet high, and the others are also of substantial size, it is clear that the pot must have been unusually large, and it is regrettable that steps were not taken for its preservation along with the treasure. The very few broken fragments shown to me were much too minute to afford any evidence as to its nature, beyond the fact that it would seem to have been of ordinary earthenware, undecorated. But no accuracy of judgment is possible with only the existing fragments to go by.

Neither were the bricks preserved which were found above and below the deposit.

Thus, no evidence now exists as to the precise period at which the images were buried. But as they are clearly of pre-Muhammadan date, it may be surmised with reason that they were buried to preserve them from desecration at the hands of some Modern invader, and there is nothing to militate against the identification of this invader with Bakhtiyār Kihiti himself, whose eastward advance is said to have taken place in 1203 A.D.

This statement, however, should be understood as a mere supposition. Neither is anything more than a hypothesis possible as to the exact age of the images, as no certain criterion appears to exist. But it will not, I think, be questioned that considerations of style alone suffice to place them within the period commonly called
mediaeval and associated with the dynasty of the Pālas, the limits being roughly the 8th to the 12th centuries. From what point within this period the bronzes date no one can now affirm with certainty. But it is probable, owing to the fact that the Pālas were Buddhists, that these Hindu deities date rather from the middle or end of their rule than from its commencement. The legend of Mayānāmati, however, as has been pointed out by Mr. Bisvesvar Bhattachāryya, is sufficient evidence for a certain amount of religious friction in the Rangpur District in mediaeval times, and there is thus no reason to assume a date definitely subsequent to the Pāla rule, although that rule terminated earlier in the East than elsewhere. The excellence of the workmanship, particularly in the larger images, tempts one to assign them to an early period as is consistent with the facts as we know them.

Bītālo, the famous bronze founder of the East, lived in the 9th century, but as it is fairly certain that he must have been a Buddhist, from Tārānāth’s mention of him in connection with the Buddhist monarchy, it is of course impossible to associate the present images with his name. Neither is there any reason to suppose they are so old as this would make them. On the other hand, it is reasonable to assume that they are not altogether remote from him in time, as they show certain characteristics of mediaeval sculpture which would seem to place them about the 10th century. It is possible, therefore, that they can legitimately claim to be examples, not of Bītālo’s work, of course, but of the bronze school derived from him in Eastern Bengal.

My reasons for this ascription are as follows: First, the excellence of the work would seem to preclude any much later date. Secondly, the close similarity in detail between the image shown in Fig. 1 of Pl. LXX and the Vishnu statuette in the Mathura Museum pictured as Fig. 150 in Mr. Smith’s History of Fine Art, page 207, would point to a close connection in time. This statuette is also dated in the 10th century. Then, again, in the small bronze shown in Fig. 3, of Pl. LXXI, the device of the lion and the elephant is noteworthy. In the image of Buddha from Kurkihar illustrated in Fig. 5 of Pl. XLII of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey for 1903-04 the same device occurs in what Dr. Vogel has shown to be a slightly older form, that is to say, with the lion standing just behind, rather than actually upon, the elephant. As the Kurkihar statue is dated in the 9th century, on epigraphic as well as stylistic grounds, the 10th is again indicated for the bronzes under discussion, and I believe may therefore be accepted provisionally as a close proximation to the truth. I say the 10th rather than the 11th on stylistic grounds chiefly, assuming that the nearer one approaches to the period of Bītālo, the higher the merit of the bronze will be.

Little need be said as to the images themselves, as the plates adequately indicate their exceptional excellence and extraordinary state of preservation. The style in general is manifestly formal, but this is true of almost all mediaeval work, and does not detract from their comparative merit.

The image shown in Pl. LXX, 1, is the largest and is in practically perfect condition, the only damage being the slight corrosion of the pedestal and the

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2 Cf. Vincent Smith’s Hist. of Fine Art in India, p. 209.
4 Its dimensions are: height with crown, 36½; height of pedestal, 6; height of central figure, 21½; width of crown, 15½.
minuter worshipping figures and Garuḍa, and the loss of the large jewels with which
the top of the screen and the several ornaments of the Vishnu image were adorned.
These jewels were apparently removed when the bronzes were buried, as the cavities
all show ancient corrosion. Like all the others, the sculpture represents Vishnu
with his attendant goddesses, and, in this particular case, Garuḍa, the vehicle of
the God, and two subsidiary worshippers. The central image is of the usual four-
armed type, the hands holding the customary attributes. In the upper right hand
is the mace, the handle of which is very long and attached to the top of the lotus
on which the Vishnu stands. The upper left holds the discus, which is here so
fashioned as to resemble rather a diminutive gada it is than the strictly canonical
chakra. In the lower left hand is the conch shell, while the lower right is extended
in the varada-mudrā, or attitude of bestowing favours upon the worshipper. The
palm is marked with a conventional representation of the lotus, which thus completes
the four attributes of this divinity. It would be superfluous to emphasize the
artistic merit of the image. The extreme skill and grace with which the hands are
modelled, particularly the upper hands, are self-evident, as is also the excellence of
the workmanship in the attributes themselves. The tilaka and the eyes of the
central figure, it may be noted, are of silver, the latter having the pupils marked
in black. This naturalistic treatment adds curiously to the animation of the image,
and, in my opinion, undoubtedly enhances its lifelike appearance. I would call
attention also to what seems to me the great skill with which the multiple arms are
represented. I cannot myself agree with Mr. Vincent Smith that there is an
obvious call here for the surgeon’s amputating knife. The two superior arms are
not depicted at all in a disfiguring way and when they are so delicately and success-
fully modelled as in this instance, I, for one, fail to find anything monstrous or
offensive in them. That, however, is a matter of individual taste. All will, I
think, agree that the figure as a whole is excellent. The exaggeration of the
“lion-body” is not excessive, and although the legs are almost wholly schematic,
and in this respect present a curious contrast to the naturalism of the hands, this
is a defect common to almost all metal images in India, and does not affect the
comparative position of the statue among images of its own class. The pose of
Lakshmi, the little goddess on Vishnu’s right who holds the lotus, is of course
exaggerated. But for all that the figure is not unpleasing, and it is certainly not
lacking in either grace or animation. The figure on the left, holding a vina or lute,
is Sarasvati, but in my judgment the image is wooden, and, despite its greater natu-
ralism, far short of the pendent goddess in artistic effect. Of the little Garuḍa at
Vishnu’s feet it is unnecessary to speak. The pose is good, but the corrosion here
and on the worshipping figures lower down on the pedestal prevents any accurate
critique of the artistic merit of the images. It would be interesting to know
whether these worshipping figures represent the donors of the image. It seems
highly probable, but I do not know that it can be affirmed absolutely.

Fig. (2) of Pl. LXX is another very large image, of great artistic merit,
although inferior, in my opinion, to the statue just described. The central figure

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* The dimensions are: height over all, 94½; height of pedestal 4½; height of central Vishnu, 17½; width of screen, 15½. 

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shows the same defects, the waist being again too attenuated, and the legs still more wooden, although less spindling. As usual, the hands and the attributes are admirable, but the face is distinctly less pleasing. The attendant goddesses are better balanced perhaps, and neither shows the conventional pose in so extreme a form as the Lakshmi in the first group. But this merely illustrates how little mere naturalism has to do with artistic effect, for I take it that all will agree that of the four goddesses in question the first Lakshmi is the most successful. It should be noted, however, that the identity of the attendant figure on the left of Vishnu in this group is open to question. Elsewhere in these bronzes the attribute of the vida appears clearly to indicate Sarasvati, and the inference is therefore easy that the same goddess is depicted here. But although this would accord very well with Vaishnavya usage in Bengal, which is echoed by the unquestioning designation of this figure as Sarasvati by Mr. Jagadishanath Mukherji in the careful description of these bronzes which he published in the vernacular Pustikā of the local Sāhitya Parishat, it should at the same time be remembered that there is authority for identifying the figure otherwise. In the Sarada-tilaka Narayan is described minutely in words which apply to our group with great accuracy, and he is there said to be accompanied by Indirā and Vasumati. Mr. Mukherji declares the image is Sarasvati with the vida, बल्ब बल्भ बन, i.e., carried sinuously, or simply bent, crooked. In this he must surely be wrong, for how such an inflexible article as a vida, whose handle must of necessity be straight, could be intended by the curving object held by this goddess, I fail to see. Unless I am much mistaken, the attribute is really a lotus, and its selection in this place would appear due to considerations of rhythm or symmetry. In the circumstances, therefore, I am inclined to interpret this figure as Vasumati or Prithivi, after the Sarada-tilaka, although elsewhere there is no doubt but what Sarasvati is actually intended.

Another point of interest in the present group is the halo behind the Vishnu's head. In the other stands we have the usual lotus supported in various ways. The most successful method, and the one most harmonious with the general style of the whole sculpture, is that shown in Pl. LXX. 1, and its close parallel in Pl. LXXI. 4. The open, lacy effect, is quite in keeping with the rest of the screen. Here, the solid background is less congruous with the general design, but it is none the less interesting for that reason. The form of the lotus in the halo, too, is quite different from the others, and deserving of notice. Mr. R. D. Banerjee of the Calcutta Museum tells me the water-lily is intended, not the lotus, as is indicated by the number and the narrowness of the petals. I have been unable to find confirmation of this statement, but it appears very probably correct.

The third image (Pl. LXXI, 4) is smaller and decidedly less delicate

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1 Cf. the article entitled Rangpur aarāmikā nāma (Roṣhai) in the Rangpur-Gauritā: Pārthīka Parishā, Part V. Nos. 3 and 4, page 128.
2 I quote from the Archaeological Survey of Mayūrabhūja by Mr. Nagendranāth Vasu, Intro., p. 496.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height of central image</th>
<th>Height of pedestal</th>
<th>Height of petals</th>
<th>Height of attendants</th>
<th>Width of screen</th>
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<td>15&quot;</td>
<td>10&quot;</td>
<td>34&quot;</td>
<td>24&quot;</td>
<td>94&quot;</td>
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x 2
than the others, particularly as regards the face and the expression of the Vishnu, which here wears both a stare and a smirk in unhappy combination. Neither are the hands at all so delicately modelled. The attendant figures are badly corroded, especially the Lakshmi, while from the same cause the Garuda has lost all but his general outline. The design of the screen itself is good, and considerably more consistent and harmonious in its several parts than the screen of the statue just described.

The remaining images (Pl. LXXI, 3 and 5) are both much smaller than the others, the former measuring only 11½ inches with the screen, the latter 13½". Of Fig. 5 I need only remark the general lack of refinement both in the design of the supporting screen and in the details of the Vishnu image, and the meaningless and unpleasant exaggeration of pose in the attendant figures. The absence of all except the simplest jewellery is in harmony with the general inferiority of the piece compared with the rest of the collection. Apparently, the artist himself felt that it was hardly worth jewellery at all. The whole stand, moreover, is at present in a less satisfactory state of preservation. It was selected for examination by Mr. Hooper, the Assayist, and was unfortunately broken into several pieces in transit.

The other image, however, Fig. 3 of Pl. LXXI is perhaps the most interesting of the lot. It is certainly the most intricate and elaborate in its design, although less delicate in its various details. The presence of the Kirttimukha or mask at the top of the screen is of special interest. Mr. R. D. Banerjee affirms that this device never appears on images dating after the Muhammadan invasion. If this is true, it is of course clear corroboration of the antiquity of the present bronzes, but I do not know his authority for the statement. My own impression is that the Kirttimukha is fairly common in Orissa and elsewhere in what might be called modern times. It would seem a surprising circumstance if it had been eliminated from Hindu design by so irrelevant an occurrence as the Moslem advance. But at all events its presence on this image is a point of interest. The little figures in the screen behind the conventionalized lotus of the halo are identified by Mr. J. N. Mukherji with the ten avatāras, and in this he is presumably correct, although I cannot make out the individual figures. However this may be, there is no mistaking the identity of the very rampant lions surmounting the recumbent elephants in the design of the screen behind the attendant goddesses, and the harmonious way in which this motiņ has been worked into the general design is admirable. The possible significance of this device for the dating of the image has been pointed out above. I should like to add that the design, as we have it here, is said to be peculiarly the emblem of the Pāla dynasty. In point of chronology this would agree very well with the conclusions already drawn as to the age of the bronzes. But, nevertheless, I cannot believe that the device here has any such significance. A lion rampant upon an elephant is, as Dr. Bloch says," to be seen projecting from the front of the spire in every temple in Orissa," and since the Pālas were

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1 The other dimensions are: (1) Fig. 3: height of pedestal, 1½; height of central Vishnu, 5½; width of screen, 5½;
2 Fig. 5: height of pedestal, 2½; height of central Vishnu, 8½; height of attendants, 5½; width of screen, 5½.
of course Buddhists, who did not include Orissa in their territory, it is as clear that this device is not necessarily associated with them, as it is improbable that it has any reference to them in the present instance.

Reference has been made above to the assay which was attempted to determine the composition of the metal. Mr. Hooper reported that it is a bronze consisting of copper, lead and tin, with traces of antimony, zinc and iron. He added that the figure was encased in a hard buff-coloured or light brown enamel, which had been chipped off in places, and which appeared to be composed of Kaolin or clay with some binding material. It is worth noting, however, that whereas this enamel was buff-coloured in the specimen submitted to Mr. Hooper, the majority of the images show an enamel of a most beautiful and delicate light green colour, which is certainly not the effect of corrosion. This is particularly striking on the background of Fig. 2 of Pl. LXX although conspicuous also on other specimens. It is evidently this enamelling which has saved the images from corrosion, and which accounts for their remarkable preservation. As regards the analysis of the bronze also, I should like to observe that it would seem clearly to indicate that the actual composition consisted of the so-called aśhta-dhātu or eight metals. It is true that no trace of gold or silver is mentioned in Mr. Hooper's report, but it is equally true, I believe, that the merest atom of these metals, if added to the blend, is enough to constitute the theoretical composition desired. It was of course not feasible to damage the selected specimen by the analysis of more than a minute portion, and the absence of manifest traces of gold and silver does not, therefore, exclude the possibility, still less destroy the probability, that in intention the bronze was of the aśhta-dhātu type. Mr. Mukherji, I observe, makes the same assumption.

The slight variation noticeable between the several images, in the form of the attributes (the discus in particular) and in the pedestals of the attendant figures, is of too trifling import to warrant discussion. I should like, however, to call attention to the exceptional lightness and elegance of the mace in the upper right hand of Fig. 2 of Pl. LXX. I find it difficult to conceive how this attribute could be more delicately fashioned or more gracefully held.

It only remains to note the disposal made of these images. Unfortunately, only the older rules for governing procedure under the Treasure Trove Act are as yet in force in Eastern Bengal. These rules are deficient as regards cases of treasure not consisting of coins and the result in the present case has been regrettable. Considerable time elapsed (nearly six months indeed) between the discovery and the Collector's first official report to Government, while a still longer period passed before the Government Archaeologist was consulted. Meanwhile, such strong local sentiment had been aroused, that, when finally the time for a decision arrived, it was rightly enough judged inexpedient to wound the religious feelings of the community, and a favourable ear was accordingly lent to the prayer of the people that two of the images should be retained in Rangpur and be re-consecrated. It is understood that the Mahārāj Kumār of Tajhāi is to construct a

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1 So Vincent Smith, "Hist. of Fine Arts," p. 188. But the same author in his paper on the Pala Dynasty (Indian Antiquary for Sept. 1900, p. 247) speaks of the victory of Jayapala over the lord of the Tikhas, quoting the Bhagapur grant of Narayangada. I regret that I have no access to Dr. Halacz's discussion of the inscription, but I assume that Jayapala's victory remained fruitless.
temple for their enshrinement, and that their worship will be duly instituted afresh. The duty of selecting the two images to be so consecrated devolved upon the Government Archaeologist. I accordingly visited Rangpur in July of 1912, and after careful examination of the Treasure in consultation with the Collector, Mr. De, and the taking of photographs and detailed notes, selected three of the five as acquisitions for the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The three selected were those represented here as Figs. 1 and 2 of Pl. LXX and Fig. 3 of Pl. LXXI. The two others, Figs. 4 and 5 of Pl. LXXI, were left at Rangpur, where it is hoped that their religious significance will be as greatly appreciated by the local Hindus as the artistic merit of the others is sure to be by the wider public having access to the Museum in Calcutta.

D. B. Spooner.
ROCK-CUT TOMB NEAR CALICUT.

The tomb here described is situated on private land to the left of the road from Malaparamba to Chevayur, and about a mile to the west of the Sub-Registrar's Office at the latter place. The distance from Calicut is about five miles, and, owing to the wretched state of the roads in this locality, the journey is a most unpleasant one.

The tomb was discovered in June, 1911, by some workmen whilst excavating the ground for laterite stone. Some three feet below ground they came across the rock-cut roof of the tomb and what appears to have been the original entrance into the sepulchre. This entrance faces the west and was completely closed with blocks of stone covered over with earth, so that no signs of the tomb were visible before excavation took place. On opening the tomb it was found to consist of a circular rock-cut chamber with a domed roof, supported in the centre by a short round pillar tapering from the top to the bottom, the entire structure, including the pillar, being hewn out of the solid laterite rock. The interior is very small, measuring only 7' 6" x 7' 8" and 3' 9" in height (Pl. LXXII, 1 and 2). Cut into the north-west wall of the chamber, close to the entrance, is a small recess, not unlike a little doorway. On sounding this, it gave forth no hollow sounds and appeared solid behind, so apparently it is but a niche, and not a closed passage leading to another chamber beyond. The walls of the tomb had been left in their rough state, no attempt being made to dress them or to cover their rough surfaces with plaster. Standing on the floor of the tomb, were found a number of red earthenware cinerary and domestic vessels, mostly empty. The village munsiff, who was present before the contents of the tomb were removed, informed me that there were about twenty-five vessels in all, most of which appear to have been of the usual Indian pitcher or chotti type. A number of the vessels were broken in opening the tomb, probably by blocks of stone falling into the interior, as the excavation work proceeded above. Fortunately, however, some of the best specimens escaped destruction, and these will shortly find a place of safety in the Madras Museum. A few of the urns contained a mixture of fine red earth, ash, and minute fragments of bone, but nothing else. One vessel, curiously enough, contained a small quantity of water, probably due to percolation through the roof. No doubt, many of the vessels were originally filled with food for the use of the dead in the "Other World."
but, owing to the tomb not being air-tight, the contents have decomposed and vanished. With the exception of these earthenware vessels found standing or lying on the floor, the tomb was empty, and not filled up with the fine red earth which we invariably find in the rectangular cell-tombs or kistvaens.

Pl. LXXII, 3-7, illustrates the different types of urns and pitchers found in the tomb. The only other object found was a broken earthenware tray, 2' 3" in length, 1' 3" in width and about 2" thick, having a raised rim running all round, the ends of the tray being slightly rounded off. Attached to the under surface were originally eight little legs, about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in height, so as to raise the tray from off the ground. Inside, was found a mixture of fine red earth, ash, and little pieces of bone, which was covered with an earthenware lid similar in size to the tray. It appeared to represent a miniature sarcophagus, and, judging from its small size, may have contained the remains of a child.

Fig. 3 illustrates the largest type of urn found in the tomb. But for the absence of handles, it is not unlike the amphorae of the Romans having the same pointed base for insertion in a stand or hole in the ground. In the photograph, the urn is shown inserted in its stand, which is 5" in height and 9" in diameter. The urn itself measures 1' 5" in height and 1' 3" in diameter at its greatest width.

Fig. 5 shows another kind of cinerary urn, with four little legs to take the place of the annular stands used with the bigger and heavier urns. It measures 1' 1" in height and 9" in diameter at its greatest width.

The other vessels were of the ordinary Indian pitcher or chatt\(i\) type still in use. The larger ones measured 7" \(\times\) 7" and the smallest 5" \(\times\) 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)". All the articles are made of coarse red earthenware of medium thickness, and much the same in quality as that at present in use in this locality. The broken pieces are black inside and indifferently baked.

Vessels and trays similar to those described above have been met with before in many parts of Southern and Western India, some of which are now in the Madras Museum; but I am not aware that a tomb precisely of this type has ever been unearthed before in India.

I was fortunate in persuading the owner of the land to present the best specimens to the Madras Museum, and the village munshi kindly undertook to see to their safe custody until the Tahsildar could arrange to have them carefully packed and despatched.

Thanks are due to the Hon'ble Sir John Atkinson for having called attention to the existence of this unique tomb and for suggesting its inspection by this Department.

A. H. LONGHURST.
FOUR SCULPTURES FROM CHAILMAU.

(A) DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENTS OF RAMALALI, MASHI, AND THE

(B) GENERAL PLAN.
FOUR SCULPTURES FROM CHANDIMAU.

THE village of Chandimau is situated on the old road from Silao to Giriyek in the Bihar Sub-division of the Patna District of Bengal, at a distance of about three miles from the Giriyek Police Station. A number of very fine Buddhist images were found here and removed by Mr. Brodley to the Bihar Museum, whence they were brought to Calcutta in 1885. Sir Alexander Cunningham visited the spot in 1871-72, and discovered an image of Buddha dedicated in the 12th (f) year of Rāmapāladeva of Bengal. The site seems to have been left severely alone since that date. At least no record has survived of its exploration. The place simply abounds with Buddhist and Brahminical images and fragments. The village is entirely surrounded by arable land, and the only approach to it is a cart track across the fields leading from the unmetalled road from Giriyek to Rajgir. At the southern extremity of the village a small mound is covered with potsherds and broken bricks where three or four images, mostly Brahminical, have been heaped together under some trees, and about five hundred yards from that spot is a large flat mound on which a modern Brahminical shrine has been built. The shrine and its yard are full of Buddhist images, which, according to the villagers, have been gathered from the neighbourhood for a radius of about two miles. Close by, at the foot of another mound, some ten or fifteen images, both Buddhistic and Brahminical, were lying about on a plot of grass. The votive inscriptions on them and the general style of the sculptures bespeak the tenth or eleventh century A.D., as the date of their execution. One medium sized image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, remarkable for its beauty, bore the longest votive inscription. (Pl. LXXIII, 1.) It records the dedication of the image on the 30th day of Ashadha of the 42nd year of the reign of Rāmapāladeva of Bengal by a merchant named Sadhu Saharanā, son of the Sadhu Bhadulva, who was originally an inhabitant of Rajagriha:


This image has now been brought to the Indian Museum. Close by, fragments of three finely carved pillars of the Gupta period were found in the walls of a native house. These pillars were secured for the Indian Museum in October 1911. None of them were found in a complete state of preservation. In fact, only one of them is even relatively complete, the rest being fragments from corners of pillars. The first pillar is the lower half of a large one, square at the base and with an octagonal shaft. (Pl. LXXV.) The shafts of these pillars are square from the base up to a height of 1' 9". At this height, there is on each face of the pillar an oblong panel measuring 1' 4" × 10", which projected about ½" from the side, and contained a bas-relief. Over each panel is another semi-circular panel containing ornamental figures, such as a Kiritumukha, or a Kumarī, with arabesque work in the inter-spaces. The shaft over these semi-circular panels was octagonal in section, the spandrels above the semi-circular panels being filled up with ornamental foliation. On each alternate face of the octagonal portion of the shaft, is a lion with one head and two bodies. (Pl. LXXV.) It is impossible to form any idea of the remaining portion of these pillars. When the pillars were removed from the walls of the house, no other fragments came to light, and the owner of the house did not know whence the pillars had originally come. Two of the pillars bear fragmentary inscriptions, in characters of the north-eastern type, in vogue during 5th or 6th centuries A.D. as well as a number of marks known as "shell-shaped characters."

Pillar No. I is, on the whole, in a better state of preservation than the others. The upper part of it, above the semi-circular panels, is of course missing, but three out of four of the oblong panels have been almost entirely preserved. Moreover, the square portions of the shaft below the oblong panels have escaped damage. The bas-reliefs in the oblong panels still remaining on the pillar represent scenes from the Mahābhārata. For the purpose of convenience I shall style these panels A, B, and C. The entire series of these bas-reliefs on this pillar represented the story related in one chapter (Kaṇḍa-pāreṣa ādhyāya) of the Pāṇa-pāreṣa of the Great Epic. The pillar itself is 4' 5½" in length, and 1' 3" square at the base. The panel bearing the penultimate scene of the chapter is complete, and measures 1' 4" by 10".

The story begins in the second or right half of the panel A. The tree in the middle of the bas-relief divides it into two equal parts, of which the first or left half contains the last scene, and the right half the first scene, of the chapter. At the request of Yudhishthira, Arjuna went to see Śakra the lord of the Suvas and Sāṅkara, the God of Gods.

Arjuna started alone towards the North with a fine Bow and a Sword with a

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golden hilt. The following verses (vs. 1530-1535) contain a description of the forest into which Arjuna entered. He was pleased with the forest and remained there performing harsh austerities. He wore the bark of trees, used Kuśa grass as a bed, and was decorated with a staff (daṇḍa) and a skin. He ate the dry leaves of trees which had fallen. In the first month he ate fruits on every third night; in the second on every sixth; while in the third month he ate only once in a fortnight, and in the fourth month once only. He remained standing with arms raised aloft, standing on the top of one toe. The right half of bas-relief A represents Arjuna during the performance of austerities in the Himalayan forest. The single tree in the centre serves to represent the forest as well as to divide the panel into two different parts. Arjuna is standing on one leg, holding a rosary aloft with both hands. Around him on four sides are four bowls with flames issuing from them. These indicate that Arjuna was performing the harshest possible austerities, being surrounded by fire in summer and submerged in cold water in winter. Afraid of Arjuna, the great sages approached Mahādeva in a body, and told him that “Pārtha” is performing great austerities in the Himalayan tracts. He has clouded the four quarters with smoke and is persevering in his performance. We do not know what he desires. He has troubled us all, so please stop him.” Having heard the words of apprehension from these great sages, Śiva told them that they need not be afraid of Arjuna. He knew what was in Arjuna’s mind. Arjuna did not want the Kingdom of heaven, wealth or long life. He would do what was wanted by Arjuna. The sages, delighted with Śarva’s assurance, went to their respective places. After the departure of the sages Śiva, with Pārvati, dressed as hill-men, with thousands of bhūtas and females, dressed in various costumes, went to the place where Arjuna was performing austerities. At that time a wicked Daitya named Mūka was trying to attack Arjuna, in the form of a wild boar. Arjuna seeing him took up his bow and arrow, and addressed him in the following words: “As you desire to kill me though I have done you no hurt, I shall despatch you to the presence of Yama first.” Seeing that Arjuna was striking the demon, Mahādeva asked him to forbear, saying “I desired this animal aforesight”; but Arjuna, paying no heed to the words, let fly the arrow. At the same time Śiva shot an arrow at the boar, and the demon died after forsaking his assumed form of the boar and showing his real one. Arjuna then saw Śiva attended by women and addressed him as follows:—

“Who are you, roaming in this forest surrounded with females. Are you not afraid of this dense forest? And why did you strike the boar which was my due. The boar came here to kill me and what you have performed today is against the rules of the chase. So, O hillman, I shall relieve thee of thy life today.” The Kirata only laughed on hearing this, and said: “We live in this forest and are not afraid of it. But why do you live here, and why do you roam about alone in this lonely forest?” Arjuna replied “I live here in the protection of the Gāṇḍīva (bow) and Nārāya (arrow). This demon came to slay me in the guise of an animal.” The Kirata then accused Arjuna of taking his prey. “I

\[1\] Vs. 1530-35.
\[2\] Vs. 1536-49.
\[3\] Another name of Śiva.
\[4\] Vs. 1532-37.
was chasing this animal; it was killed by my arrow; this was the object of my chase, and it is my prey; you take my prey and at the same time accuse me of taking yours. I shall shortly relieve you of your life.” Arjuna became enraged upon hearing his words, and began to shoot. Śiva caught the arrows with his hands. At this Arjuna became astonished and praised him saying “Who art thou? Deva, Yaksha, Rudra, Sura or Asura? Only the holder of the Pinākā bow can withstand the nārākha shot from my bow. I shall end your career very shortly with this nārākha.” Arjuna began to shoot fast, but all his arrows were caught by Śiva. Then arrows fell short in Arjuna’s quiver, and he became afraid. He thought of Agni (Fire) who had given him a quiver in which arrows shall never end (aṅkṣaya tāṇa). He began to think “Who is this man who catches all arrows that I shoot? What shall I do with the bow when I have no arrows? I shall slay him with the bow.” But the bow was also taken away from him. He attacked the supposed Kirāta with his sword but the sword broke. 

At the extreme right of bas-relief A is the head-less figure of a male standing in front of Arjuna, wearing a loin cloth (dhoṭi) and another piece of cloth on his breast ( Uttarīṣa). This may be the God Śiva dressed as a Kirāta. Unfortunately, the representation of the story up to the time of the fight is lost. The slaying of the boar and the fight with arrows was most probably represented in the next panel which is entirely missing. The bas-relief in the panel B (Pl. LXXIII, 3) represents the fight between Śiva and Arjuna, first with the bow or sword, and afterwards with fists. About one-third of the bas-relief on this panel has been broken. On the extreme left we have two pairs of human feet. One pair probably belongs to Śiva but I am not able to assign any reason for the presence of the second pair. In the centre is a figure rushing towards the left. This is Arjuna hurrying forth to strike with the bow or sword. The object in his hand is curved.

After losing his sword Arjuna began to throw stones and fight with trees, but Śiva caught all these missiles. Failing in all these attempts, Arjuna took to his fists. Śiva and Arjuna fought for some time. Then at last Arjuna bruised and senseless fell in a heap. The last scene is to be found on the right side of the panel B where an enameled figure is wrestling with a full fleshed man. The full fleshed man evidently is Śiva as the Kirāta, and the enameled figure represents Arjuna. Śiva is holding the left arm of Arjuna with his right, while his left hand has grasped the latter round the neck and is drawing him on to the breast, most probably to press his breath out of his body—a trick often practised by modern wrestlers in India.

Arjuna was on his feet in a moment. He made an earthen altar and began to worship Śiva. But the garlands with which he worshipped the emblem flew to the head of the Kirāta. Arjuna then came to understand who his assailant was, and fell at his feet. Bhava was pleased. This scene is represented in the bas-relief on panel C. On the extreme left of the scene a man is kneeling in front of a four-armed male. The kneeling figure evidently stands for Arjuna and the four-armed figure is Śiva. In the text we find Śiva saying to Arjuna

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1 V. 1658-1673.  
2 V. 1624-1613.  
3 V. 1614-17.
FOUR SCULPTURES FROM CHANDIMAU.

(Fig. 1.) IMAGE OF BODHISATTVA LOKANATHA, DEDICATED IN THE 42ND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF RAMAPALADEVA.

(Fig. 2.) BAS-RELIEF ON PILLAR 1, FACE A.

(Fig. 3.) THE SAME, FACE B.

(Fig. 4.) THE SAME, FACE C.
"You were formerly a Great Sage; so I give you (fresh) eyes (i.e., Divyachakshu-
shā). Behold me." 1 The four hands indicate that Śiva had laid aside the form of the
Kirata and was showing his divine form to Arjuna. The objects in the hands of
Śiva are not discernible. Śiva then showed the forms of his consort Pārvati and
himself. 2 The scene is to be found in the right half of the bas-relief on panel
C. Śiva and Pārvati are seated on some rocks which represent the Himalayas.
Śiva's right hand is extended in the posture of benediction, while the left rests on
Pārvati's shoulder. There is no doubt about the identity of the figure. The rest of
the verses in the chapter go on to describe the dialogue between Śiva and Arjuna.
In the end Arjuna obtains his desired weapons and Śiva goes away. 3 The Lokapalas
and the Gods come to Arjuna and enrich his store of weapons by giving away
their special ones. 4 The left half of the bas-relief on panel A contains the opening
scene of the Indra-lök-ābhidhamana parvam. When the Lokapalas had departed,
Arjuna thought of Lord Indra for his chariot. As he was thinking, Mātuli, the
divine charioteer, appeared on the scene with Indra's chariot. 5 The left half of the
bas-relief A shows Arjuna in the car of Indra being driven towards the land of
the Gods. The length of panel A is 1 2½", of B and C, 1 ½".

The semi-circular panel above the oblong panels A and B contain fine lion's
heads with their front paws and arabesque designs in the interspaces. The semi-
circular panel above the oblong panel C contains a female Kinnari surrounded
by arabesque work. On the square face of the pillars below the panel A are a
number of so-called shell-shaped characters, and below B, a fragmentary inscrip-
tion, consisting of a single word in characters of the 5th or the 6th century A.D. —

ādhāraṣya

and to the left —

Śrī-vaṣa.....................asya.

The square face below panel B is plain.

Only one corner of the second pillar is extant. It is the highest of all three and
shows the double bodied lion at the corner almost fully. One face bears half of a
panel measuring 8½" in length and containing a bas-relief, which represents a
female figure kneeling on the back of a Makara, with hands clasped in adoration.
It is evidently meant to represent Ganga, whose vehicle is the Makara. A male
attendant holds a parasol over her head. A peacock flies overhead with a garland,
while traces of a man's hand and rocks are discernible on the extreme left. The
right corner of the bas-relief is also damaged. The fragment of a semi-circular
panel contains the figure of a Kinnari and arabesque work. Most probably the
original design consisted of a Kinnara and a Kinnari facing each other in the
centre and arabesque work in the inter-spaces. Below the panel on the square face
of the pillar are some stra letters. To left, one above another are three letters: —

Ra, Na, Pra,

and to the right a single one: bhā.

On the adjoining face of the pillar which we designate B, we find Śiva and
Pārvati seated on some rocks. The male figure is Śiva. A female kneels in front

1 V. 1630. p. 466.  2 V. 1633.  3 V. 1639.  4 V. 1714.  5 V. 1715-1719.
of the pair, holding a bowl aloft with her left hand while the right rests on the
ground. Síva is pointing down with one finger of his right hand, while
the left is engaged in holding up his consort's chin. Another female attendant,
dressed in a close fitting robe, is carrying a child, perhaps Kárthikeya, and is look-
ing at the divine pair. The scene may have some connection with the story of the
birth of Kárthikeya. The fragment of the semi-circular panel above contains the
head and a fore-paw of a horned lion, and arabesque scrolls. The length of the
panel is 9\frac{1}{2}".

The third pillar is also a fragment from one corner. It is broad at the base and
narrow at the top; consequently a very small portion only of the two bas-reliefs has
been preserved. The panel on one of the faces of this pillar contains almost one
half of a bas-relief, representing a male seated on rocks, with snakes issuing from
masses of matted hair. He is staring sternly towards his left. To his right, a girl (?)
is kneeling at the foot of the rocks while two males are standing with hands
clapsed in adoration (Kritákajalapāta). If the kneeling figure be a female, then
the scene may be taken to represent the burning of Madana (Madana-bhasma).
Madana, the God of Love, shot his five arrows at Mahádeva when Gauri, the
daughter of Himalaya, was worshipping him, and the former was burnt by the
flames which issued from the eyes of Síva. This formed the prelude to the birth
of the War-God. The length of this panel is 9". Below the panel on the face
of the square portion is an inscription in acute angled characters of the 6th or 7th
century A.D.:—

Śri-Bhāma (?i de (v)....

The panel on the adjoining face of the pillar contains a very small fragment
of a bas-relief representing a dwarf lying on the ground, while another is capering by
his side or running away from him. The length of this panel is 7".

The miscellaneous inscriptions on these pillars help to fix their dates. If these
were carved by vandals pilgrims in the fifth or sixth centuries A.D., then the work
must be assigned to the 4th or 5th century. The fine workmanship indicates
clearly that the carving belongs to the early Gupta period.

R. D. BANERJI.
TWO NEW KINGS OF BENGAL.

The names of two new independent Kings of Bengal have been recently brought to light by the discovery of three silver coins in the Maldah and Khulna Districts of the Presidency of Bengal. In January, 1911, two old coins were shown to me by the late Babu Radhesh Chandra Sett, B.L., a pleader of Maldah. They were made of silver and bore legends in Bengali Characters on both sides,—a fact which succeeded in rousing considerable local interest in them.

According to Radhesh Babu, the coins were discovered in a field about four miles from the celebrated Ādinā Masjid at Pandua in the Maldah District. The coins were also examined by Pandit Rajani Kantā Chakrabarti of Maldah, Babu Akshoy Kumar Maitreya, B.L., of Rajshahi, and several other gentlemen in my presence. Subsequently, Radhesh Babu published an article on these coins in the Rangpur Branch of Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika with two indifferent photographs. Immediately before his death in August, 1911, Radhesh Babu came to Calcutta for treatment, and at that time I learnt from Babu Byomkesh Mastaful, one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, that the coins were intended as a present to the newly formed Museum of the Sahitya Parishad. Radhesh Babu died very suddenly on the 25th of August, 1911, before he could carry out his intention of presenting these two coins to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Subsequently, I made two distinct attempts to get the coins for examination through Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., of the Bengal National Council of Education, and Babu Bipin Chandra Ghose, B.L., Pleader of Maldah, but without success. Consequently, I have been obliged to rely on the photographs published by Radhesh Babu for the following description of the coins. The drawings accompanying this article have been prepared from the photographs published by Radhesh Babu in the Journal of the Rangpur Branch of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. The third coin was discovered by a Muhammadan while digging the ground in the village of Basudebpur in the District of Khulna. Later on it was secured by Babu Jnanendra Nath Roy of the same village, who made it over to Prof. Satish Chandra Mitra of the Daulatpur Hindu Academy in the Khulna District. I received the coin from Prof. Mitra, who has expressed his intention to present it to the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya.
Parishad. All three of these coins are made of silver and round in shape. The types are close copies of the coins of the independent Sultans of Bengal.

The first two coins were found by a farmer in a field four miles from the Adina Masjid at Pandy, who sold them to a goldsmith in Old Maldah bazar. They were secured for Radhesh Babu by Baba Krishna Chandra Agarwalla, Manager of the "Gandadita" of Maldah. The following description of these two coins is based on notes taken by me during the actual examination of the coins in January, 1911, and Radhesh Babu's description:

(1) Sri-mahendradéca—round silver coin, 170 grains, diam. 3½".
   Obverse: In scalloped circle (1) Sri-bri-mah-
   (2) mahendra-
   (3) dévaya.

   Reverse: In square in circle
   (1) Sri-chaquí
   (2) charaya-pa-
   (3) róya.

Margin: In segment of circle above square Sakสดā: to left of square, 336: below square, Pandy: to right of square, Nagaṇa.

Radhesh Babu read the date as "336" and the latter half of the marginal legend as Pandanaga. He also took considerable pains to prove that the coin was actually minted in Saika year 336, i.e., 414 A.D.

(2) Sri-Damjumardanadéca—round silver coin, 167 grains, diam. 3½".
   Obverse: In circle with arabesque border (1) Sri-bri Da-
   (2) jumardena-
   (3) nádèva.

   Reverse: In square in circle
   (1) Sri-chaquí
   (2) charaya-pa-
   (3) róya.

Margin: In segment of circle above square, Pandy, to left of square Nagaṇa; below square, Sakสดā; and to right of square, 339.

Radhesh Babu read the date as "339" and tried his best to prove that the coin was minted in Ś. 339 i.e., 517 A.D.1

In type and weight these two coins resemble the silver coinage of the independent Sultans of Bengal and present no new features, except that they are written in Bengali characters. The fact that they were written in Bengali characters proved conclusively that they could not have been minted in Ś. 239 and Ś. 336 as surmised by Radhesh Babu, but even then I could not undertake to restore the original legends at that time, as both the coins were unique. There was very little doubt about the fact that the dates on both coins consisted of four figures instead of three, and that the true date of these coins lay in the 15th century A.D. instead of the 3rd and the 4th. The missing link in the chain of evidence was supplied by the discovery of the third coin, which is in a fair state of preservation:

(3) Damjumardanadeva—round silver coin, 160 grains, diam. 3½".

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1 Rangpur Sāktip Parishāt Patrika, V, P. 11, p. 72.
TWO NEW KINGS OF BENGAL.

Obverse:—In double hexagon (1) Śrī-Śrī-De-
(2) uñjanarddha-
(3) nādōva.

Reverse:—Scalloped circle in plain circle (1) Śrī-čānji
(2) charaga-pe-
(3) rāyana.

Margin:—Śakāda "1339" Chandradvīpa.

The importance of these three coins lies in the fact that they bring out the names of two independent Kings of Bengal and that of two new mints, viz., Pāṇḍu-
unāgara and Chandradvīpa. Radhesh Babu had tried to prove that Pāṇḍuunāgara
is the same as Pāṇḍu or modern Pārua, a station on the Katihar-Godagari Section
of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. In support of this he cited Cunningham, who
has recorded a tradition that Pāṇḍu was also known as Pāṇḍava. The proximity
of the find-spot of these coins to the modern village and ancient ruins of Pāṇḍu has
much to speak in favour of this identification. The other mint Chandradvīpa is
certainly the Chandradvīpa, also called Bāklā, the Baeola of early European travel-
ers and the Bogla of the Ain, which is the name of a pargannah in the Backerganj
District of Bengal.

We learn from these three coins that a king named Mahendradeva was reign-
ing at Pāṇḍuunāgara in Bengal in S. 1336 = 1414-15 A.D. Three years later we
find that another king named Danujamardanadeva was reigning in the same place
(S. 1339 = 1417-18 A.D.) Pāṇḍuunāgara is most probably the Pāṇḍu of modern
maps and the Pirūzābād of Muhammadan history. In the very same year we find
that Chandradvīpa was included in the kingdom of Danujamardanadeva. The
status of these kings was much higher than that of the rebel zamindars of Bengal
such as Pratipādityarāyo of Jessore, Sitarāmarāyo of Bhushnā, and Chandrāyo
and Kedārārāyo of Eastern Bengal. These two kings were powerful enough to
issue a coinage of their own, and in the year 1417 their kingdom extended from
Pāṇḍu in North Bengal to Chandradvīpa on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. In
1414 A.D. we find that a king named Shibbū-uddīn Bāyazīd Shāh was nominal
ruler of Bengal. The cabinet of the Indian Museum contains four silver coins of
this king, three of which were issued from the mint of Pirūzābād in the year 816-17
A. H. = 1413-14 A.D. We know nothing about the relations of these Sultans
with the House of Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh. Prof. Blochman identified him
with king Shams-uddīn, son of Said-uddīn Hāmza Shāh: but in his Catalogue of
Coins in the Indian Museum, Mr. H. N. Wright correctly places Shibbū-uddīn
Bāyazīd Shāh as a successor of Shams-uddīn. The dates given in the Rīyāz-nas-
Sālāgūn are slightly earlier than those found in the coins of these kings. For
example, we find that Shams-uddīn Ilyās Shāh died in 785 A. II., but we find that
these coins are issued by Ghiyāsh-uddīn Aʿẓam Shāh in 799. Similarly, we find that Shams-
uddīn, son of Hāmza Shāh, died in 783 A. H. At the time when the silver coin of
Mahendradeva of the Pāṇḍuunāgara mint was issued, we find that Shibbū-uddīn

1 This side of the coin bears two chief marks.
3 J. A. S. E. 1873, Pt. II. p. 243.
the Chōla country is no longer tenable.  Vimalādītya must have gone to the Chōla country on an altogether different mission.

Now let us go on with Rājendrā-Chōla's conquests. Rājarāja had to recruit an army, while Rājendrā-Chōla inherited the great warlike army whose services are referred to in every inscription. The first conquests of Rājendrā-Chōla were Idaistānī-naḍu, Vanavasi, Kollippakke and the camp of Maṇḍlay, all of which are included in the Mysore State,—Vanavasi being situated in the Bombay Presidency almost on the border of the Shīmoga district. Perhaps Rājendrā-Chōla had to quell some local rebellions here. Next follows his disposal of Pāṇḍya and Ceylon. Rājarāja's conquest of Ceylon must have been complete as we have a Tamil inscription of the king in that island. Besides, Rājarāja had ordered three or four villages in Ceylon to supply some of the requirements of the Tanjore temple. Rājendrā-Chōla had only to guard against Ceylon becoming turbulent. With the Pāṇḍyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Chōlas, Rājendrā had to adopt a definite policy. And this he seems to have attempted by starting the title Chōla-Pāṇḍya and conferring it on his son who was to be the viceroy of the Pāṇḍya country.

The Mahāvamsa gives us a connected account of what happened in Ceylon about the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. During the reign of Dappula V. (A. D. 940-52) king Pāṇḍa, because he feared the Chōlains, left his country and got into a ship and landed at Mahātīṭhī. The king of Ceylon was disposed to help the Pāṇḍu but a fierce strife arose among the princes of the island to the great misfortune of Pāṇḍu. Consequently the Pāṇḍu left his crown and other apparel and went to Kēraṇa. During the reign of the Singhalése king Udāya III (A. D. 964-72) the Chōla king attempted to regain the whole country once held by the Pāṇḍu and sent emissaries to obtain the crown and the rest of the apparel that the king of Pāṇḍu left there when he fled. But this attempt did not meet with eventual success and the crown and the apparel remained in Ceylon. In A. D. 1036 there was a Chōla invasion, when the Chōlas "took the queen with all the jewels and ornaments and the crown that was the inheritance of kings and the priceless diamond bangle that was a gift of the gods, and the sword that could not be broken and the sacred forehead band." Inscriptions of Rājendrā-Chōla refer also to "the crown of the king of Ilaṃ (Ceylon) who came to close quarters in fighting; the ex-

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1 In the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1895-6, paragraph 29, we are told that Rājendrā-Chōla having defeated his brother-in-law Vimalādītya set up a pillar of victory on the Mahāśākya mountain. It is not clear what the war between Vimalādītya and Rājendrā-Chōla was fought. In the historical introductions of Rājendrā-Chōla, the conquest of Vāṭi is not mentioned at all; but in later records of the king's reign where the introduction becomes abbreviated into Pāṇḍavānänāsūrāyam Rājavānana yondu, Pāṇḍavānā is identified with Vāṭi. If Vāṭi had been conquered by Rājarāja and lover had been restored by him in that province, what was the necessity for another war? Vimalādītya's queen was the Chōla princess Kumbāra-Mahāśākya and her father was the Chōla king Ko-Rājendrā-Chōlaṇavīraṣa of Śrī-Rājarājaṇa. The accession of Rājendrā-Chōla took place between the 27th March and 7th July A. D. 1012 while the accession of Vimalādītya took place on Thursday, the 10th May A. D. 1011. The identity of Pāṇḍavānā with the Vāṭi country is easily established from the earlier inscriptions of Ko-Bājālīkaya's reign. In all probability Rājendrā-Chōla and Vimalādītya began like friends and perhaps it was laterly, if at all that they became enemies.

2 The Kubita Vimalādītya was probably called after the Eastern Chāhākya king of the same name.
5 Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906, p. 68, paragraph 17.
6 Chapter EII, pp. 81 to 84.
ceeding beautiful crown of the queen of that (king): the beautiful crown and the pearl-necklace of Indra, which the king of the South had previously deposited with that (king of Ijam)." Some of the statements of the Mahāvaṇihā are thus confirmed by the records of Rājendra-Chōla and must, therefore, refer to his campaign against Ceylon. But while according to the Mahāvaṇihā these events took place in A.D. 1030, Tamil inscriptions show that they must have happened before 1017.

The Kēraḷa country is next mentioned as having been conquered by him and with it the island of Sāndimattivu. The latter is apparently the name given to the tract of land in Kēraḷa reclaimed by Parāśurāma. The seven and a half lakhs of Iraññapādi had already been conquered by Rājaraṇa. But all the same it was necessary for the son to reconquer it. If Rājendra-Chōla's conquests had stopped with the taking of the seven and a half lakhs of Iraññapādi he would have followed mostly in the footsteps of his father and no originality could be claimed for him. But he was apparently a man with a powerful imagination. He must have had unbounded confidence in his 'great and warlike army' and his trusted generals and wanted to go out of the beaten track. He undertook an expedition against the North. As the sacred waters of the Ganges are stated to have been conquered or obtained with the help of 'the great and warlike army' the most important object of the expedition might have been to fetch the Ganges' water on a very large scale.

From the Tīravāḷañḍāgīḍu plates it appears certain that Rājendra-Chōla did not accompany the expedition against Northern India himself. It was in charge of a commander (daṇḍanātha). The expedition was more in the nature of a pilgrimage³ to the Ganges and the instructions to the general were apparently to fight against those who showed themselves unfriendly either to the Chōlas or to their expedition. The reason for the Chōla army advancing against Northern India is thus set forth in the Tīravāḷañḍāgīḍu plates:

\[\text{तन्त: परमवर्तीवैरवस्मसं सत्यवर्मावेद्वाहस्मसं} \]
\[\text{वाहस्मसं भिन्नदियम्भिन्नदियम्} \]
\[\text{वाहस्मसं भिन्नदियम्भिन्नदियम्} \]
\[\text{वाहस्मसं भिन्नदियम्भिन्नदियम्} \]
\[\text{वाहस्मसं भिन्नदियम्भिन्नदियम्} \]
\[\text{वाहस्मसं भिन्नदियम्भिन्नदियम्} \]

Rājendra-Chōla made fun of Bhirathra who brought down the Ganges to the earth as the result of his penance. The light of the solar race wished to purify his own country with the water of the Ganges. Of the kings who dwell near the banks of the river those who showed themselves unfriendly had to be overcome. A very serious difficulty here which requires explanation is how a single Chōla general could have conquered such a large extent of territory. Almost the whole of his conquest of Northern India must have taken place in A.D. 1023. It comprised: (1) Uttirāḷañḍam (North Berar), (2) Mahāpāla, (3) Gōvindachandra of Vāṅgalāsē (4) Rāṇāsura of Takkana-Lañḍam, (5) Daṇḍabhikīti ⁴ and the defeat of Dharma-pāla in a hot

² [In his article entitled "Contributions to Sinhalese Chronology" (J. R. A. S. for July 1913), Professor Hultzsch has discovered an error of 28 years in the traditional figures given for the Sinhalese sovereigns in Mr. Wijeratne’s Translation of the Mahāvaṇihā, Part II, pp. XVII to XXVIII—H. K. S.]
³ See below p. 176.
⁴ Daṇḍabhikīti as a province subordinate to the Gāḍā king Rāmayāla is mentioned in the Rāmaṇaravahara; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 322.

Again, it is difficult to imagine how all this tract of country was overcome in about a year by the Chōja army. There is also the further difficulty of bringing all the subdued kings together to the south. These latter must have actually carried the water of the Ganges from somewhere near Allahabad, if the superstitions that now prevail were also current during the eleventh century A. D. In this connection we cannot afford to ignore the beginning of the Gāhadavāla inscription at Gangaikondachōlapuram, the Chōja capital, quoted in the sequel. As we cannot imagine that all Northern India was conquered by Rājendra-Chōja's general in about a year the only reasonable alternative seems to be that a few previously chosen tracts of country were actually invaded and if the inhabitants offered any resistance a regular war was gone through. The names of the remaining territorial divisions with their rulers were ascertained and included in the list of kings overcome. I am only making a suggestion here and what actually took place might be altogether different.

The exact course which these roving pilgrims followed in Northern India cannot be easily traced at present. For instance Māsuni is a purely Tamil name and could not be applied to any part of North India. It is a translation of Nāga-dēsa or some equivalent of that name. Odda-vishaya is the name of Orissa and Kōsalai-nādu is probably Southern Kōsala. Raṇṣārā ruled over Takkaga-Lāḍa, i.e., Dakshinavirata or Southern Berar, while Gōvindachandra was the ruler of Vangāla-dēsa, i.e., the Bengal country. Mahipāla whom the Chōjas deprived of his elephants and women is identified by Professor Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahipāla 1. The last items of conquest are Uttara-Lāḍam, i.e., Uttara-virata or Northern Berar and the Gangā, i.e., the river Ganges. The Chōja Tamil inscriptions refer to "Vangāla-dēsa where the rain-wind never stopped, (and from which) Gōvindachandra fled having descended (from his) male elephant." I do not find anything to substantiate the existence of this Gōvindachandra. Gōvindachandra of the Gāhadavāla family came to reign nearly a century later.

The sole cause of the Chōja invasion of Northern India as already stated, was to take the purifying water of the Ganges to the Chōja capital. Consequently they must have made friends with those kings who were reigning near Benares and Allahabad. And we find an inscription of Mahipāla at Sārnāth with the date Sarvāst 1085 = A. D. 1026. This may be regarded as the time when the Chōja influence was established at Kannu. This influence seems to have been kept up even in the succeeding reigns. During the reign of Rājakesarivarman Rājadhirajadēva, the title "protector of the people of Kappakuchchi" had been bestowed by the king on one of his royal relatives. This shows that the relation between Kappakuchchi (Kannu) and the Chōjas remained as close as in the previous reign. In the succeeding reigns of Chōja kings too, I have no doubt that the memory of this relationship was cherished.

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1 Could this be a reference to the Bastar country which was ruled over by the Nāga or the Nāgavāmśī kings? That it is mentioned with Śakkalkōṭṭam (identical with Chakravarta in Bastar) is significant.
with great care. During this interval, perhaps several visits and revisits (or return visits) must have been exchanged between Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram and Kanauj. At the former place an inscription of Kulottunga I dated in A.D. 1110-11. After the regnal year of the king, is the following:

वोकामालवेनिकौरसिसंघोऽप्रवलः
मकरशुरार्गे स निमि वैमेवसुः वः
बालोभोगलयतिपर्यर्गुणाविज्ञानदासिः दिव गदाः
सामायिकिसायिष्ठतम्भितांत्र नावा यमीविनिर्विश्व प्रविष्टाः
नमुनीमुखभीचन्द्रदासिंहमिम निपिः
वेणायासुकुपुरापरे यापारिष्ठ वयमः
तत्तथा मुनियो नविहरित: क्राणाविभाष्योऽयो
विवासकोविभिर्योगितिमिः नाहवदेवी नवे: 1

Here the inscription stops abruptly. The passage quoted is a copy of a portion of the introduction in the copper-plates of the Gahaṇavāla king Gōvindachandra of Kanauj. That the Gahaṇavāla family-praṇāma is put in after the name of the Chōla king Kulottunga I shows clearly that the Chōlas were to be looked upon as overlords.

The conquest of Kaṭāha (or Kiḍāram in Tamil) is another very bold stroke on the part of Rājēndra-Chōla I. His father Rajaṟaśa had allowed Maraṇavijayottungavarman, son of Chūḍāmaṇivarman to build a Buddhist vihāra at Negapatam. The former (Maraṇavijayottungavarman) is described as Saṅgrāmana-samhita, Śrīvishay-udhīpati and Kaṭaḥ-udhipatyam-ātane.2 The king of Kaṭāha with whom Rājēndra-Chōla was fighting was Saṅgrāmanavijayottungavarman. We are not told what the causes were which altered the relationship of the Chōlas to this feudatory family. The claim of the family to belong to the Saṅgrāma-vaṁśa, might connect them with some part of Orissa.3

The foundation of the city of Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram in the old Trichinopoly district, is generally ascribed to Rājēndra-Chōla, also called Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla. There is also a tradition that the temple Gaṅgaikondachōḷāvara is older than the Rajaṟaśastra temple at Tanjore. In the first place the records of none of the early kings is found on the temple wall. In fact not a single inscription has as yet been found mentioning the town, either before the 6th year of Rājēndra-Chōla under the form Mudigondaḥchōḷapuram or before the 10th year under the designation Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram. It seems to be apparent that the original name of the town was Mudigondaḥchōḷapuram and was subsequently altered into Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram. It was for over a 100 years the capital of the Chōlas. The place is frequently referred to in inscriptions, being sometimes called Gaṅgapuri and at other times Gaṅgakonda. Its great Śaivite temple is deservedly famous. It has

1 The connection of Gōvindachandra with the South is established by the Śrāvaka inscription of Kanauj (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX), where it is stated that this queen was the daughter of a chief of Pīḷi (i.e. Pīḷaṇpuram).
2 See the Layjan plates published in Vol. IV of the Archaeological Survey of India, p. 297, text-line 80 f.
3 The Burūva plates of Mālharavarman state that this chief was a member of the Saṅgrāmavamsa and was ruling from Kaṅgāḷa somewhere in the Gajjam district.
been seriously doubted whether the temple was built by Rājendra-Chōla or by his father, the great Rājarāja I. Its plan and design are similar to those of the magnificent temple at Tanjore, though it is not as large. It is stated at the end of the Tiruvālaiṅgādu plates that the Chōla king was living at Mudigondachōlapurūm.

Pandita-Chōla was another surname of Rājendra. The Kaliṅgottu-Pārami calls Kulottunga’s adoptive father Rājendra-Chōla I., as Pandita-Chōla. A regiment of archers in Tanjore attached to the temple of Rājarājaśvara were known as Pandita-Chōla-terinda-viiṅgal, ‘the chosen archers of Pandita-Chōla,’ evidently after this surname of Rājendra-Chōla. What could have been the cause for the king assuming such a surname is not quite clear. It shows, at any rate, that Rājendra must have himself been a scholar (pandita) in Sanskrit, or taken deep interest in its progress, to deserve such an appellation. The Vīratotkṣara of Buddhaśmitra who was a contemporary of one of Rājendra-Chōla’s successors, Rājarājaśvara I. quotes the well-known historical introduction tiru maraini, etc., found at the beginning of Rājendra-Chōla’s inscriptions, in illustration of one of the metreśas and introduces into Tamil grammar, perhaps for the first time, terms like pala-ner-ōchamāsam which is a clear translation of the Sanskrit bahuvrihi-samāsa. This indicates an advanced stage of Aryan element in the progress of Tamil language and must be accounted for in a certain degree, to the influence which the Northern expedition of Rājendra-Chōla (or of his general), exercised upon himself and his subjects. The several northern kings who carried the water of the Ganges to purify his country and their connection with the South for some generations after, could not but have affected even the language of the people. There is reason to believe also that Saivism which largely flourished in the time of Rājendra-Chōla, was due to his intimate connection with the North. In Trilōčanaśivagārya’s Siddhāntasārācālī, in the commentary on verse 9 of the Kriyāpāda, we are told:—

राजेन्द्रचोल विजय, चोलमूर्ति मदीन मवसन।
गजं महामायं गहन वालन वरानु तदा॥
ब्राह्म प्रतिनिघ्न तत्ततु तामु समादाय शैवकानु।
मर्को सागरभासं शैवचार्यवास्तुदाः॥
काशीस्वरेण चोलमूर्तिः सर्वस्व प्रविष्टरः॥

The Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla went for a bath in the Ganges, saw the best of Saivas there and brought them with him to settle in his own country, in Kāṇchari and throughout the Chōla land. This statement confirms also the suggestion made above that Rājendra-Chōla’s expedition to the North was purely in the nature of a pilgrimage.

V. Venkayya.
THE THIRD VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY;
ITS VICEROYS AND MINISTERS.

This dynasty of Vijayanagara kings to which the alternative name Karnāta is frequently applied in modern epigraphical literature, includes in it potentates who strived—and perhaps strived successfully—to maintain with unabated energy the empire which was started nearly two and a half centuries ago by the adventurous brothers Harīhara I and Bukka I and which, subsequently, was embellished by powerful and enlightened monarchs such as Harīhara II, Devarāya I, Devarāya II, Narasimha, Krishnarāya and Achyuta. For over one century, practically from the time of Sadāśiva almost down to the British settlement on the Coromandel coast, despite the crushing defeat sustained by the combined Hindu forces in the memorable battle of Tālkotta and the merciless devastation of the capital town of Vijayanagara by Muhammadan desperadoes, it must be said to the credit of the Karnāta kings that they did not allow their prestige as emperors of the vast Vijayanagara kingdom to suffer in any appreciable degree. Following closely in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessor the great Krishnarāya, they seem to have upheld a liberal policy which conduced towards bringing peace and plenty into the kingdom. We have seen how the foreign travellers Ibn Batuta, Nicola de Conti, Abdur Razzak, Núñez and Paes, by their accounts of the Vijayanagara empire in the different periods of its history have supplied us, to a considerable degree, with reliable and authentic information of the contemporaneous kings of that dynasty and of their times. The same must be said of Gaspar, Correa, Manuel Barradas and Carl Frederic whose valuable notes greatly help us in unravelling a portion at least of the history which followed the death of Sadāśiva, the last of the second or Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara kings. Literature and inscriptions remain nevertheless to be the main sources from which we derive any correct or connected account of the period under reference.

In the concluding paragraphs of my thesis on the kings of the second Vijayanagara dynasty, I have discussed at full length the nature of the intrigues that followed the death of Achyuta and the eventual elevation to the throne of Sadāśiva.
by his brother-in-law, the powerful Râmarâja. It was also there stated that Râmarâja was the de facto ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the time of Sadaśiva and that the family to which he belonged had several collateral branches of semi-independent chiefs who were holding their fief from Sadaśiva, or rather from the all-powerful regent Râmarâja himself. Practically therefore what could be said of Râmarâja and his rule, was collated in the paragraphs under reference, viz., his conquests in various directions, the progress made by Telugu literature in his time, the spread of Vaishnavism, etc. Like the minister Narasana-Nâyaka, the founder of the Tuluva dynasty, Râmarâja began his career as the chief officer of State and the guardian of the puppet king Sadaśiva, and having like Narasana brilliantly fulfilled that function he or his successors were evidently tempted to usurp the kingdom which subsequently they did. One point in favour of Râmarâja's right to take such an extraordinary step, which Narasana-Nâyaka had not, was his close relationship to Sadaśiva as his sister's husband.

During the regency of Râmarâja, his two brothers Venkataāri and Tirimula held apparently as stated by Caesar Frederic the subordinate positions of commander-in-chief and chief minister respectively, in the Vijayanagara kingdom. Mr. Sewell refers to a rebellion by these two brothers about Śaka 1471 and the capture by them of the fortress of Adoni. It is doubtful how far this statement made on the authority of Muhammadan historians is to be accepted as a fact. During the battle of Talikola Tirimula (called also “Yelturnajj” by Ferishta) helped his brother by commanding a detachment of forces, having been deputed by him to block the passage of the Krishnâ at all points; and so also did Venkataāri. It is again reported that Tirimula was the only brother who survived the battle of Talikola and that he ran away to Penugonda with King Sadaśiva carrying thither the
celebrated jewelled throne of kings and immense royal treasures. If this is true, he must have abandoned the city of Vijayanagara to the mercy of Muhammadan soldiers. According to Caesar Frederick, however, Tirumala tried to repopulate the deserted city, but does not appear to have been quite successful in his attempt. During the lifetime of Sadashiva—and we have his inscriptions dated up to at least the beginning of Saka 1492 (=A.D. 1570)—the three brothers Ramaraja, Tirumala and Venkatadri continued to rule only as feudatory Mahamandalakoraras. After the battle of Talikota in which Ramaraja died and subsequent to the demise of Sadashiva, Tirumala seems to have actually usurped the kingdom. It is not impossible that he may have had a hand also in hastening the death of the old emperor.

We have not many references in lithic records to Venkatadri. He was in Saka 1480, apparently in charge of the country round Tiruvaiyaru near Tanjore. 1 In Saka 1486, i.e., a year or two before the battle of Talikota, the Mahamandalakorara Venkatadriyaraja-Mahasaraa (evidently the brother of Tirumala) is stated to have been 'ruling the whole kingdom' as a subordinate of king Sadashivaraya and, in that capacity, to have conferred the governorship of Barakura-rajya on Keladi Sadashivaraya-Nayaka. We have perhaps to understand from this that Venkatadri, like his brother Tirumala, was also one of the Mahaprathanaas (ministers) of Sadashiva. The Vilapaka and the Kondyata grants speak of him as having been a helpmate to his brother Ramaraja (on the battle field) 'verily as Lakshmana was to the epic hero Rama.' The Kalakuri grant states that Venkatadri was a great hero and a patron of poets like king Bhoja of old. 2 Ramarajyamanu or Narapatirajyamanu, a Telugu poem purely devoted to the description of the Karnata kings descended from Brahman the Moon, after continuing the line of Tirumala down to Rama IV, 3 takes up the branch which issued from Venkatadri, and in doing this states that Venkatadri was a veritable Arjuna on the battle field, that he conquered Baridu, that the combined armies of Nijam, Vedalkhana and Kutupashah gave up altogether the hope of capturing him, that he ruled at Kandamonu (Kurnool) and married two wives Rangana and Krishnamma, on whom he begot the two sons Ranga V. and Rama. Thus we gather that Venkatadri was the governor of Kandamonu for some time under his brother Ramaraja and that he probably escaped with life, as already hinted by Ferishta, from the battle of Talikota in which the federation of the Dakhani Muhammadan kings Ali Barid, Hassan Nizam Shah, Ali 'Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah opposed the Hindus. The Narasahpatalya man also confirms these statements about Venkatadri and adds by way of pun that Edulakhana (i.e., Ali 'Adil Shah) who was entitled Saipada actually deserved that surname having displayed, as he did, his swift foot by running away from Venkatadri right up to the banks of the Bhimarathi (river).

1 No. 256 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Venkatadri is here called Mahamandalakorara Ramaraja-Venkatadriyaraja-Mahasaraa.
2 This was perhaps with reference to the patronage offered by him to Talapaka Tiruvengadaksha, the author of Remonagandikoraram. The Vyamadaksha-Komba of Ramanaiya, quoted above, was written under orders of king Ramaraja at the instance of Venkatadri. The title Bhoja is again applied to Tirumala I. brother of Venkatadri, in the Krishnantiyam plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 328, v. 92). This was evidently the reason why Ferishta sometimes refers to Tirumala as Bhoja Tim Bu.
From the Krishnapuram plates quoted above and the two Chitaldroog inscriptions already mentioned in connection with Ramaraja, it becomes plain that Tirumala I succeeded Ramaraja in the administration of the kingdom immediately after the death of the latter in the battle of Talikota and that Veeradri, his younger brother, continued to serve Tirumala either as the governor of a province or as a military officer. From Saka 1465 to 1473 the Mahamandakamava Ramaraja Tirumalayyadiva-Maharaja, i.e., Tirumala I, was himself in charge of Udaygiri. He was the governor of Kanchevaravahana during the Saka of 1474 during the lifetime of his brother Ramaraja. Under Tirumala’s orders in Saka 1476 the Velugoti chief Koman-Timmav-Nayakar was governing the Nagarama, kondasina (Palnad taluca of the Guntur District). Evidently Tirumala must have been at head quarters at this time as one of the ministers of State. He must have also continued to occupy the same position in the Saka years 1477 and 1480. The records of Venkitappa to which these last quoted dates belong speak of Tirumala as Guttu Yara-Tirumalara-jyaya or Guttu Tirumalayyadiva-Maharaja. The first of these alternate forms corresponds to Yeltumraj of Perihsa. The attribute Guttu may indicate the division which was under his direct control and with which he was intimately connected as a military officer. He is called Guttu Tirumalara-jayyada also in Ep. Corn. Vol. XII, Si. 31. From a Chechulavada inscription of Saka 1488, Krishna (A.D. 1565–66), we learn that Yara-Tirumalara-jyaya was enjoying the jaghira of Komavati-rjaya and that his agent there was the Mahamandakamavasa Siddheraja Rangaparajaya. Until Saka 1492 current, Saka, we do not find Tirumala assuming any imperial birudas. In this year he is stated to be ruling the earth with the title Maharaja-dhiraja added to his name. No. 497 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905, which is dated in Saka 1498, Prajapati, calls him Virapatapasa Tirumalaiyyadiva-Maharaja. The Tumkur copper plates, dated in this same year, mention his queen Channamodi and devote a series of verses to describe the king’s glory. They attribute to him the titles Maanai-

1 A. S. R. for 1888–9, p. 396.
2 The battle of Talikota and the death of Ramaraja must have occurred between the mouth Magha (December- January) of the cyclic year Baktaka (Saka 1467) when Ramaraja was still ruling as the royal regent, and the month Kartika (September-October) of Krithrana (Saka 1488) when, according to a record from the Kalur district (Ep. Corn. Vol. X, Si. 60), Tirumala was the chief officer of State. Perihsa gives the date January 25, A.D. 1565.
3 Nallora Inscriptions, U. 80 and N. 104.
4 This great was also the subordinate of the next king Ranga II.
5 Nallora Inscriptions, N. 112, also calls him Yara-Tirumalaiyya-Maharaja. The term Narasimhalapriyama masculine refers to him as Yara-Timma and attributes the titles Chalilakha-Nayaka and Birudavaramnivihara. The village Narasimhalapriyam is described in the Gsity thikamu of the Anantapur district; its identity is not clear. The term Madravasa is perhaps called after Yara-Timma who is stated to have been ruling the territory called Gsity to the time of Ramaraja. The form Hiru-Tirumala mentioned in the Kamesa records attributable to him, must be a corruption of Yara-Timma.
6 Nallora Inscriptions, O. 29.
9 The Baidhala copper-plates from the Nekalasagala thikamu of the Bangalore district also belong to the time of Tirumala, but are dated in Saka 1478, Vriddhikrama. Strangely too, they do not mention Sakti, a term which must have been ruling at the time of Ramaraja who was still at the head of the administration. The plates apparently begin after the main inventions with the verse trudy, Sratana, which describes Tirumala one of the three sons of Sratana, as having been anointed for sovereignty like god Hari, in the Hindu Trinity. The verse is apparently therefore, out of place in a record which bears the date Saka 1478. Again the statements made in II of Tirumala’s queen Channamodi, of his ascension (prajapathi), his great military prowess, his gifts to Ketch Sratana, Shukulakha, Kukkakshat, Ahhala, and other shrines and of the donations made in the presence of drainschamuladeva (i.e., the Ramayana temple at Perumal), all point to the Baidhala plates being wrongly dated. If, however, we could not presume them to be a distinct forgery.
yān-Samul, the disgrace of Avalalaraya, Gandagarul, Manyapuli, the chief jewel in the garland of the city of Anviti, Dharmavarma, Antemavaranga, Vengatribhuvanimala, Urigeola-Suratanga, Chālikkachakrivarti, Konarānukotalinga, Oddiyarāyadisapati and Hindurāya-Suratanga. Some of these at least have also been the titles of previous Vijayanagar kings. Elsewhere Tirimula is stated to have adorned the golden throne of Karṇātaka and to have made a grant of a village in the Penugonda-rajya, which was a division of Hastinavati (i.e. Vijayanagar). The exact date when Tirimula transferred his capital to Penugonda is not certain. Incisions of Sadasivarāya dated subsequent to A.D. 1505, the date of the battle of Talikota, refer only to the king's rule from (the capital) Vidyanagari (Vijayanagar). It therefore looks very unlikely that Penugonda could have become the declared capital before Śaka 1492, which is the latest available date for Sadasiva. Copper plate records of Tirimula and of the later Karṇātaka kings do not clearly state that Tirimula transferred the capital to Penugonda. A stone inscription, however, from the Shimoga district dated in Śaka 1493, Prājapati calls him the glorious king of kings, the great lord of kings, ruling the whole kingdom from his throne at Penugondi which belongs to Hampe-Hastinavati. Prājapati was also the year in which Tirimula assumed the imperial titles as noted above. Consequently we may perhaps presume that the removal of the capital to Penugonda by Tirimula took place about Śaka 1493, i.e., immediately after his actual usurpation of the Vijayanagar throne. Tirimularāya does not appear to have ruled long. The earliest record of his son Raṅga II being dated in Śaka 1496, Śrīmukha, we may presume that Tirimula must have occupied the Karṇātaka throne for hardly two or three years after actually securing it. The Telugu poem Vasatcharita written by the poet Rāmarājabhūshana, was, as already recorded, dedicated to Tirimula. It relates that the forces of Tirimularāya when they destroyed the army of the Kāla, who was deputed (against him) by the king of the Yavanas (i.e., the Muhammadans) verily endowed upon the hills of Penugonda the ērīkabha (i.e., the state of Śivahood or that of being the best of hills), by spreading thereon the skins of mad elephants and the skulls of slaughtered soldiers. We learn also from the same poem that Tirimula made his second son Raṅga (II) his heir-apparent and eventually retired from the Karṇātaka throne in his favour. This abdication by Tirimula is also hinted in the Śrītirājana, a commentary on Gita-govinda, of which Tirimula

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1. *Nelkor Inscriptions*, N. 106. This record mentions a certain Mahāmanḍalātvara Rāmarāja Śrīnāgarjaya, who is perhaps to be identified with Raṅga IV, son of Allaya-Rāmarāja, as the table of the third Vijayanagar dynasty, facing p. 296 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III. It may be observed that at Vijayanagara itself we have no inscriptions of the dynasty subsequent to Śaka 1488 (A.D. 1584-5).


3. Courtauld, a record of Śaka 1501 from Kanĉatur (Chingleput district), which belongs to the time of Tirimula's son Śrīnāgarjaya speaks of the latter as ruling from his jewelled throne at Vidyanagari. Perhaps the traditional capital was occasionally mentioned out of regard which the kings still maintained for that town.

4. *In his Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, Mr. Sewell mentions an inscription with an earlier date, i.e., Śaka 1494 for Raṅga II. It is doubtful if this could be accepted, for in the same book we find later on the date Śaka 1495 for Tirimula, the father of Raṅga. The date Śaka 1499 given for Tirimula on p. 76 (ibid.) belongs actually to the time of Raṅga (Nos. 338 and 341 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1901). A record from the Kolar district (Mr. 57), which is dated in the same year is distinctly stated to belong to the reign of Tirimularāyā-Mahārāja who was ruling at Chandragiri. Perhaps this was prince Tirimula II, son of Rāma III, who was the governor at Chandragiri. Two other records of this same prince, styled only a Mahāmanḍalātvara, come from the Mysore district (Nos. 89 and 108) and are dated in Śaka 1407, Puthiva.
was himself the supposed author. We are here told that Tirumala placed the heavy burden of administration on his four sons of high character and (retired from the kingdom) in order to keep company with the best of the learned and their learning.

The new capital Penugonda, which Tirumala preferred to substitute for the old Vijayanagara, was from early Hoysala times a military stronghold and the seat of a Viceroy. Bukka I, the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty is reported to have ruled from Penugonda and Dōrasamudra simultaneously for a time and to have afterwards appointed his son Vira-Viruppāna-Odeyar to be in charge of the province Penugonda-rāja, of which Penugonda was the chief city. During the Saluva usurpation and the regency of Narasāna-Nāyaka, Penugonda continued to be equally important. According to Nuniç, prince Tamarao was imprisoned and murdered at Penugonda with the connivance of Narasāna-Nāyaka. From lithic records we gather that the fortifications at Penugonda were constructed by Anantadāya-Odeyar, a great minister of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I in Śaka 1276, Jaya (=A. D. 1354-5). In the time of Raṅga II, the son of Tirumala, these fortifications were repaired and extended by an officer named Channappa-Nāyakū. The tradition that the teacher Kṛiṇāsakti was the founder of the city of Penugonda proves the great reverence with which that holy person, already referred to in my account of the first dynasty, was looked upon by the rulers of the Vijayanagara kingdom and their ministers. The reputation of Penugonda under name Ghanagiri and its connection with the Vijayanagara throne seems to have continued down to A. D. 1856-7 when "the glorious Mahārajādhirāja Raṣṭrī Arbutanot Sahib born of the Hūna (i.e. European) race, was administering the five parganas beginning with the throne of the kingdom of Ghanagiri."

The chief feudatory families that owed allegiance to Tirumala, as before him they did to Sadāsiva and Rāmarāja, were: (1) the Nāyakas of Madura, (2) the Vodeyars of Mysore, (3) the Nāyakas of Vēlūr, (4) the Nāyakas of Tanjore, (5) the Nāyakas of Keladi and (6) other chiefs who being relations of the royal family served as viceroyos over different provinces. Brief accounts of some of them will be given at the end of this paper.

According to copper-plate records Tirumala had four sons, viz., Raghumāha, Raṅga II, Rāma and Venkaṭa I. Raṅga and Venkaṭa, who actually ruled after Tirumala, are stated in the Vijāpaka plates to have been the sons of Vēgajāmbla. The Telugu poem Rāmarājīyamu, however, is explicit in stating that all the four were sons of Vēgajāmbla. Queen Channamadēri already referred to is not mentioned in Rāmarājīyamu, a work which is very particular in giving the names of the queens of the Kāraṇa kings and their issues. Perhaps Channama was not a queen in the accepted sense of the term. Raṅga II was the first to be crowned in the orthodox fashion to rule over Penugonda-rāja, which was evidently the name now conferred on the newly formed Vijayanagara empire. By this time, therefore, the town of Vijayanagara may be supposed to have been completely abandoned.

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1 From the colophon of a manuscript of this work preserved in the Tanjore library it looks as if Āṃskrtī Lakshmīmadēri was the actual author (Dr. Helmbold's Report on Sanskrit manuscripts No. III, p. 180. No. 2113).
Before speaking of Raṅga II, we may note that Raghunātha and Rāma, the two other sons of Tīrūmalā, who did not succeed to the Kannāṭa throne, are also now and then referred to in inscriptions. A record from Kālūnaḷa in the Cuddapah district mentions the Mahāmaṇḍapēka Kannāṭa Raghunāṭhairājakāśa-Mahārāja sanctioning certain terms of a contract to be followed by the accountants (karaṇa) and the agriculturists (kampa) of that village. Rāmarājaḷaya (Rāma III), son of the Mahāmaṇḍapēka Rāmarāja-Tīrūmalārājaḷaya (i.e. Tīrūmalā I) appears in an epigraph at Kollāgālā as a feudatory of Sadasiva in Śaka 1491. He was ruling evidently the Hādinaṇḍa-sime in which a portion of the present Mysore district was included and is also mentioned in two records from Penugonda as enjoying the chieftainship of that fortress and of the whole Penugonda-rajya under king Sadasiva-deva-Mahārāja, immediately after the battle of Tālkotā.¹

Raṅga II succeeded to the throne in or about Śaka 1490 Śrimukha (= A. D. 1573-4).² Prior to this, he must have served, like other Vijayanagara princes, as a viceroy in one of the provinces. The few copper-plate records of his time found so far refer to his residence at Uḍḍagiri (i.e., Udayagiri) and his conquest from there of the inaccessible Kondavidu, Vinīkōṇḍa and other fortresses. This apparently is a reference to an event which must have happened prior to his coronation on the throne of Penugonda-rajya. Raṅga II is stated in Telugu literature to have fought with the Muhammadans, to have made his war-drums heard at the very gates of Vijapura,³ to have defeated the Gālakōṇḍa warriors and brought back to life the dwindled power of the Kannāṭa empire.⁴ His coronation at Penugonda is particularly recorded as having been performed 'by the best of Brāhmaṇas according to Śāstric injunctions.' During his reign, Venkāṭa I—the last of the four brothers—appears to have occupied the position of crown prince. The record at Kuppatūr already referred to, registers a gift by the general (devarāja) Gobburi Tīrūmalai-Nāyaka for the merit of the king's younger brother Venkāṭapatidēva-Mahārāja. So also does an epigraph in the Triplicane temple, dated in Śaka 1507, when a gift was made by the same general for the merit of Rāmarāja-Venkāṭapatirāja, who is perhaps to be identified with Venkāṭa I. Three inscriptions from Satturachcheri, Sampaniṇellur and Perumall near Velūr call Raṅga the Mahāmaṇḍapēka SĪrāngadēva-Mahārāja, though by this time almost a full year must have elapsed after his coronation. A stone epigraph from Elvānāsūr in the South Arcot district attributes all the Vijayanagara titles to Raṅga II, and makes him also 'the conqueror of all countries!' Still another from Tīruvānuvām in the same district adds 'that he received tribute from all countries and from Iḷam (Ceylon), that he subdued the insolent Kallav and Maraḷar (tribes) inhabiting Koṅgu and Malai-ṇāḍu and that (robbing them of)

¹ It will be seen below that Tīrūmalā II, son of Rāma III, was the Vijayanagara Viceroy at Sīrāngapātām in whose time Rāja-Vedhayya of Mysore rose to prominence.
² In his "Chronology of Modern India" (p. 47) Dr. Burgess registers the successor of Śrī Raṅga II in the throne of Penugonda in A. D. 1575.
³ The term from the Nīpaṭayayana or Rāmarāyaṇa quoted above on p. 107 of A. S. R. for 1569-9 as referable to Raṅga I, has been found on examination of the original to refer to Raṅga II, the son of Tīrūmalā. The last epithet about the dwindled Kannāṭa empire now becomes quite intelligible inasmuch as the battle of Tālkotā and its after effects had completely ruined the continuity of the Vijayanagara rule.
their treasures he distributed (the same among the poor). This record has a peculiar interest: attached to it is as much as it fixes the voluntary contributions (mogani) paid by the principal inhabitants, the merchants whose business extended over the fifty-six countries and the eighteen districts and others who gathered together on each Wednesday market held at Gidangal, in order to carry out repairs, in the Tirumurumalaiya-Nayṉar temple at Tiruviyam. The inscription at Elvanāṣvar attributes to Rāṇa II, the title Virakṣārī and his records at Penugonda give his name as Vira-Śeṣaṅgadēva-Mahārāya. According to copper-plate inscriptions Rāṇa II appears to have married Tirumaladēvi and Krishnāmbā; but the Kāmarājaṉu mentions only the former under the name Tirumumāmbā. Reference has been made already to the military officer Channapa-Nāṇuḍa and to the repairs and extensions carried out by him to the fort of Penugonda. This information is registered in an epigraph engraved on the south wall of the Ājanēya temple at the North gate of the fort at Penugonda. The record which is dated in Śaka 1499, Dhātṛi (= A.D. 1576-7) i.e., a decade after the battle of Tālikōṭa, is very interesting and gives us a peep into the events that preceded and succeeded that decisive contest. In the year Pīṅgala corresponding to A.D. 1557-8, Channappa-Nāṇuḍa, a chauri-bearer of Vira-Tirumaladēva-Mahārāya (i.e. Tirumala I),—at the time while Tirumala had occupied the town of Penugonda-pattāṇa and was ruling it,—built under orders of that heroic prince, a dwarf fort (pilla-kōḷa) within the big fort, erected fort gates, added bastions, dug trenches, etc., and lowered the big fort he renovated the (already existing) hill fort; by the grace of his family god Channarāya of Mārrākpūra (i.e. Mārkāpur in the Kurnul district) whom he had established at Penugonda, he defeated in the Pausha month (November-December) of Khaya (= A.D. 1566-7) the Muhammadan general Rambikēsara Khāṇū; in the Vaśākha month (March-April) of Vishvāra (= A.D. 1568-9) he defeated Vambinamāli Khāṇū and other (Muhammadan) generals (sardārum); and in the Mārgaśīra month (October-November) of Dhātṛi (= A.D. 1576-7) he conquered Yedula-Sahī who had come (to capture Penugonda). The curious impression at the end of the record states that Penugonda-pattāṇa is a god-built city and no man could possibly boast of conquering its surrounding fortifications. Evidently, therefore, it becomes clear that Tirumala I was in charge of Penugonda before the battle of Tālikōṭa was fought and that subsequent to it, his general Channappa-Nāṇuḍa successfully defended the stronghold against continued attacks by Muhammadans in the years 1560-7, 1568-9 and 1576-7. This justifies the boast of both Tirumala and Śri-Rāṇa II, often recorded in the Telugu literature, of having fought with the Muhammadans and defeated them. Rambikēsara Khāṇū and Vambinamāli Khāṇū must have been the generals of the united Muhammadan forces who, knowing that Tirumala with the puppet king Sadasiva had taken shelter at Penugonda, must have pursued him

1. See Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906, p. 80, paragraph 35. The items on which mogani was collected are stated to be: 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton and of jaggery; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton and of jaggery; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton or of jaggery; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton. 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton and of jaggery. 2 kāḷa on each podi of cotton or of jaggery. 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton; 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton and of jaggery. 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton or of jaggery. 1 kāḷa on each podi of cotton.

2. Modern Epigraphical Collection for 1901, No. 341. This temple—built by the famous general Channappa-Nāṇuḍa, villagers were granted by Tirumala (I) and his son Rājgūṭhārāya, Śriṅgāyā (II) and Ramanā (III).
and besieged the fortress, though no such immediate attack is mentioned by Ferishta. Among the generals who commanded the combined Muhammadan army at the time we find names like Kishwar Khan and Roomy Khan, both of which may be found combined in the name Rambhikesaru Khānu. Whom the other name Vambinamali Khānu denotes, I am not able to say. The capture of Penugonda by Yedula-Sahi in A.D. 1576-7 is a historical event also recorded by Ferishta. In this campaign Ally Adil Shah (Yedula-Sahi) of Bijapur attacked Penukonda on which account Venkatādri (perhaps Venkata I) "committing the place to the care of one of his nobles retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandurgeery." The siege which continued for three months was eventually raised for want of provisions.

Ranga's policy towards the Muhammadans must have been one of continuous contest. The taking of Udayagiri, Kondavīdu and Vinikonda mentioned in his copper-plate records, must evidently have been from his enemies the Muhammadans, who, according to Ferishta, attempted to deprive the Hindu king of his northern possessions. Ally Adil Shah of Bijapur "proceeded south to attack the country of Bejannagur and wrest it out of the hands of Sree Runga Ray." The latter sought the aid of Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda. Some time after, however, a campaign was arranged by this same Qutb Shah against the Vijayanagar dominions for a supposed remissness in the payment of tribute on the part of some Hindu governors at Kondavīdu and other provinces. This was perhaps also the occasion when Ranga II took back from the Muhammadans the fortresses of Udayagiri and Vinikonda. The conquest of the Hindu kings south of the Krishnā by Ibrahim Qutb Shah, is described in detail in a Telugu inscription near the Durgi temple on the hill at Aminabad (Guntur district). I have elsewhere given a complete extract from it which shows that Ibrahim captured in Śaka 1502 (= A.D. 1580) the hill fortress of Udayagiri (Udayagiri) (which was then perhaps in charge of Ranga's brother Venkata I), Vinikonda, Bellamkonda, Tunga and the country included in them. He also took Kondavīdu, the capital of the Karnata viceroys.

Ranga II was a patron of poets after the fashion of his ancestors—his court-poet being Rāyasam-Venkatapati, who wrote the Lakshnavilāsamu. From literature we gather that Pemmāsānu Pedda-Tinamarāja was a minister of Śri-Raṅgarāya, and continued to hold the same office also under Ranga's brother Venkata I. Śri-Raṅgarājajaya, son of Salakarāja-Chikka-Tirumalarājaya, who having opposed the succession of Sadasiva was uprooted by Ramaraja, appears also to have served as Ranga's feudatory in some part of the Kolar district. The subordinates of Tirumala mentioned on p. 182 above, continued to acknowledge Ranga II as their overlord, and we gather from inscriptions that on the west coast in Śaka 1502 the governor at Bārkūr was a certain Aachappa-Odya.  

1 Colonel Briggs' Translation, Vol. III, p. 484.
2 The Telugu poem Tāndikkamrānasu by Pemmīsānu Telāganna which was dedicated to Amin Khān, one of the military officers of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, states that Phulīgra Khān, the son of Amin Khān went to the court of Śri-Raṅgarāya (i.e. Ranga II) and brought about a diplomatic alliance between him and the king of Golconda; Lives of Telugu Poets, p. 267.
3 It is somewhat significant that Bhainva II, the Jaha chief of Kāla-Kāhala-Rāja, whose Kākada record is dated in Śaka 1508 and falls into the reign of Ranga II, does not acknowledge the sovereignty of that king. Evidently the whole of the West coast and its petty rulers had been assuming independence. An attempt on the part of Ally Adil Shah to subdue them was practically a failure; Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. III, p. 141.
Veṅkata I was by far the most famous and perhaps also the most powerful king of the dynasty. A large percentage of the Vijayanagara inscriptions of this period (both on copper and stone) belong to his reign. In the earlier years he seems to have served his elder brother Ranga II as viceroy, being placed by him in charge of Udayagiri, Konadavidu and other outlying hill fortresses. We have seen above how Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda in Saka 1502 (=A.D. 1580) acquired these fortresses by driving out from them Veṅkatapatrāja, by which undoubtedly Venkata I is meant. It was perhaps thus that Veṅkata came to entertain a bitter hatred for the Sultans of Golconda and inflicted, as stated in copper-plate records, a crushing defeat on Mahamanda-Sālu (i.e., Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, son of Ibrahim). The Aminubād inscription quoted above states further that in Saka 1514, Nandana (=A.D. 1502-3) certain Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs on the south side of the river Krishnā, viz., Ballārayaṇḍu, Sībājī, Alamkhāmāṇḍu, Khānakhāna and others rebelled against the Government at Golconda and became unruly. Muhammad Quli sent his minister Malka Aṁmha Malka to punish the rebels. Aṁm Malka crossed the river Krishnā with a large Gōlakoṇḍa army and drove away the enemies before him as darkness before the rising sun. All this evidently happened while Veṅkata was ruling the Vijayanagara kingdom. Veṅkata's chief victory is described in copper-plate records in the following terms:—"Forcibly deprived of troops of horses and elephants, weapons, parasols, etc., at the head of a battle by the excellent soldiers of the army of this powerful king (Veṅkata), the son of Malikībhārāma, viz., Mahamandā-Sālu reaches (his) house in despair; (and) being reduced (nandita) in inscr (maha) he thus daily makes (his) name significant." It looks, therefore, almost certain that the defeat herein recorded as having been inflicted on Muhammad Shah must be in connection with the attempt on the part of the Karnāṭa king to recover the outlying fortresses on the south of the Krishnā river, which had evidently been lost to him. Whether these fortresses came back permanently or not into the possession of the Hindu king remains, however, doubtful. The Aminubād record is plain in stating that "Aṁm Malka made a victorious march through the country, punished the wicked and protected the good." This account of the conflict of Venkata with the Sultan of Golconda and of the rebellion of petty potentates south of the Krishnā, against the Golconda government is confirmed by Ferishta, who describes the frequent attempts of Venkutputty to invade the Golconda dominions and the rebellion of the Jageerdars Alum Khan Pathan, Khan Khanan, Sabajee Marratta and Bala Row. The Telugu poem Rāmarājyaṇamu describes Veṅkata as having terrified the son of Ibharāmu (i.e. Ibrahim) at Gōlakoṇḍa, by his large army, to have dispersed his forces, defeated a number of enemies at Nandala (Nandyal) and established a capital at Vēḻur. This last item of information accounts perhaps for the name Rāya-Vēḻur, which is still applied to Vellore (Chittoor district).

Before entering into other details of the reign of Veṅkata, we have to examine two stone records of a certain Viravasantarāya, from the Salem and North Arcot.
THE THIRD VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY: ITS VICEROYS AND MINISTERS.

districts both of which are dated in Śaka 1490, Vībhava. The former states that this date corresponded to the 3rd year of the king. The Vijayanagara bīrūdas attributed to Viravasanta in these records coupled with the fact that a set of copper-plates from Tinnevelly dated in Śaka 1514 (which falls into the reign of Veṅkaṭa I) mentions a throne (piṭka) of the local deity called Bhūjābala-Viravasanta-Vēṅkaṭadēva-Mahārāja evidently after the name of the ruling king, lead to the conclusion that Viravasanta may have been a title borne by Veṅkaṭa I and that the Śaka year 1490 corresponding to the 3rd year of his reign may consequently signify that Veṅkaṭa ascended the throne as perhaps a crown prince in Śaka 1488 while yet Sadāśiva was alive. It may be noted that among the titles of Viravasanta appears also the usual boast that he “conquered and levied tribute from Laṅkāpuri (Ceylon).” It is thus clear from the Tinnevelly epigraph that Viravasanta must have been a recognised bīrūda of Veṅkaṭa. Whether those from Salem and the North Arcot districts do refer to Veṅkaṭa or not, still remains doubtful. In an inscription from Mārkapūr, of Śaka 1489 Veṅkaṭa appears as a subordinate of Sadāśiva, as may be inferred by the title Mahāmangalēvara which he there receives. No inscriptions of Veṅkaṭa with the titles of a supreme sovereign, are discovered prior to Śaka 1505. But as Rāṅga's records go up to Śaka 1507, Pārthiva (= A.D. 1585-6) it is not impossible to suppose that Veṅkaṭa continued to be the crown prince down to 1597. In some of the copper-plate records belonging to his reign, Veṅkaṭa is distinctly stated to have occupied the throne only after the death of Rāṅga II. Veṅkaṭa's coronation was performed by the Vaishñava teacher Tātāyarāya, generally known as Tīrumalā Tātāchārīyā or Kōṭikanyādānam Tātāchārīyā.

Veṅkaṭa married five wives, whose names according to the Vijāpāka grant were (1) Veṅkaṭāṁbā, (2) Rāghavāṁbā, (3) Ped-Obāṁbā, (4) Khiruṁmāṁbā, and (5) Kōṇḍāmīṁbā. The Rāmarajaśāmanu omits to mention the second and states that (3) and (4) were daughters of two different chiefs of the Jilleja family and that (5) was the daughter of Gobhūri Obarāja. A few copper-plates of Veṅkaṭa-pati from the Mysore State, mention Piṅ-Obāmāṁbā instead of (4) Khiruṁmāṁbā and omit Kōṇḍāmīṁbā altogether. The Rāmarajaśāmanu is silent about Veṅkaṭa's issues. It speaks, on the other hand, of the two sons of Veṅkaṭa's elder brother Rāma, viz., Tīrumalā II and Rāṅga III, who are also mentioned in copper-plate records. It tells us that of these two, the later was crowned guevara being henceforth also entitled Chikkarāja. This statement is an indirect hint that Veṅkaṭa had no issue of his own to succeed him on the throne. The story of Bārradas translated by Mr. Sewell on pp. 222 to 231 of his Forgotten Empire, lends support to what has been stated above on the authority of the Telugu poem Rāmarajaśāmanu. The intrigues in the royal family subsequent to the death of Veṅkaṭa-patirāyalu, the appearance of Chikkarāya on the scene, the opposition to his succession offered by certain rebellious chiefs under the leadership of Jaggarāya, the eventual installation of Chikkarāya on the Karnāṭa throne by the Veṅkaṭa-giri chief Echana-Nāyaṅa and the continuance of this war of succession in the farther south where, the Nāyaṅgas of Madura and of

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1 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 81, paragraph 92.
2 See above, A. S. B. for 1908-9, p. 186, footnote 7, and below, p. 188.
3 It may be noted that Bārradas mentions also queen Soyana, the daughter of Jaggarāya.
Tanjore as feudatories of the Vijayanagara throne took up the side of either Jaggaraya or the son of Chikkaraaya who became now the rightful heir, are so vividly depicted in this foreigner's account as to carry historical conviction. Chikkaraaya herein referred to is identical with Ranga III whom Venkata, as we have seen already, chose to be his crown prince and eventual successor. According to Baddamas also the succession passed on from Venkata to Ranga III and shortly after, to the latter's middle son 1 Rama IV, who, it appears, was the only son that survived the tragic massacre of the royal family perpetrated at the instance of the infamous Jaggaraya. These events are mostly confirmed by the Sanskrit poem Sáhityaratnakara which was dedicated to one of the Nayaka chiefs of Tanjore.2 Jaggaraya, who was the cause of all the troubles subsequent to the death of Venkata I, is stated by Baddamas to have been the father-in-law of Venkata, but is referred to in the Rámarájyanam only as an enemy of Rama IV and of his younger brothers Sínga, Ráyappa, Ayyana and Chunná. Jagga’s associates are stated in the same poem to have been his own brother Choonchu Viraapa and the two friends Yächana and Miuka.3

The literary activity which was displayed during the reign of Venkata was an extraordinary one. The Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tatácharya both as a writer and an ardent Vaishnavi missionary, contributed largely to the progress of Vaishnavism under the royal patronage of his direct pupil, the Kamata king Venkatapati. Stone inscriptions engraved on the walls of the Aruñja-Perumal temple at Little Conjeevaram disclose the fact that Tatácharya was a learned Brahman of Ettar and was placed by Venkatapati to be in sole charge of the repairs carried on in that temple about this period. Contemporaneous with Tatácharya, was another Vaishnava teacher, vīś. Kandala Appalācharya, who was equally famous. The poet Tenali Rāmākrishnācārya, whose wit and wisdom are praised even today by students of Telugu literature, was also living about this time, though it is not certain if, actually, he was the court poet of Venkata. Other Telugu poets were Chinna Navanakavi, Tarigoppula Malla and Maṭṭa Amanta.4 Venkata’s minister was Pammassam Pedla Timmariya whose younger brother Chinna Timmariya was also the patron of a Telugu poet. To these may be added the name of the famous Śaiva Advaita philosopher Appayya Dikshita whose direct patrons were the subordinate chiefs—the Nāyakas of Vellore. The chief military officer of Venkata was Govbūri Gharajayya perhaps identical with Obora, the brother-in-law of Venkata as mentioned by Baddamas, or his.

1 The Rámarājyanam makes him the eldest of the five sons.
2 Mr. T. S. Kapuramami Sattra’s Tenali pamphlet added “A short history of the Tanjore Nayaka Princes,” p. 74.
3 Yachana here is referred to is evidently different from Echana-Nayaka who was supporting the cause of prince Ranga III and could not, as such, also a friend of Jaggaraya. Miuka may have been one of the Kārīppattanagunda, who were subordinate to Vijayanagara.
4 Dumara Venkatapati, the author of the RāmaHāranaśatra, is stated by H revenge Virdhalingam Paudal to have been a nephew of the Vaishnavi chief Yachana (Echana-Nayaka who was the opponent of Jaggaraya and the recipient of a generous gift from Venkatapati (Venkata II). The English factor who obtained from Venkata II about A.D. 1640, a grant of land upon which the modern Port St. George is built, states that the country surrounding Madras was the property of a chief called Dumara Venkatapati who was very powerful and ruled over the coast line between Polluco and St. Thomas. As the poet Dumara Venkatapati also belonged to a ruling family it looks very probable that he is identical with the chief Dumara Venkatapati. If so, the latter must have lived at a period some time later than that to which Mr. Virdhalingam assigns him.
Fig. 1. CHINNADEVI.
Fig. 2. KRISHNABAYA-MANLABAYA.
Fig. 3. TIRUMALADEVI.
Fig. 4. VENKATAPATIRAYA.
Fig. 5. A KING.
Fig. 6. HIS QUEEN.
Perhaps Tirumala.
Perhaps Vengalamba.
father-in-law as stated in the Rāmāvaṇīyam. Venkata appears to have issued a
gold coin which was known as the Veṣṇuvarāga-vaṇabhaṇ. This coin is described
by Professor Hultzsch on p. 307 f. of Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX. Copper-plate
inscriptions of the time of Venkata invariably bear the signature śrī Veṇkaṭeśa.
As the grants registered herein are also stated to have been made in the presence
of the god Veṇkaṭeśa on the hill at Tirumalī, it is inferred that the king must have
changed his capital from Penogonda to Chandragiri, a town close to Tirupati. But
no direct statement to that effect has been made in any of the inscriptions copied
so far. A copper statue of Veṇkaṭapatiśīrṣa (Veṇkaṭa I) labelled in clear Telugu
characters of that period still adorns the right side of the entrance into the Veṇkaṭeśa-
Perumāḷ temple on the Tirumalī hill and indicates the great devotion the king had
for that deity.

Venkata’s latest record is dated in Śaka 1539 and corresponds to A. D.
1617-18. Two epigraphs from the Kolar district which are respectively dated in
Śaka 1538 and Śaka 1539 refer to the ruling sovereign as Rāma-deva or
Rāmchandra, i.e., Rāma IV. It is consequently doubtful if the Trichinopoly record
first quoted could be accepted as belonging to the reign of Veṇkaṭa I. Besides, it
is generally presumed that Veṇkaṭa died in or about A. D. 1614. The European
traveller Floris heard of his death while at Masulipatam on October 25th of that
year. We find from the sequel that in this very same year Veṇkaṭa’s grand nephew
Rāma IV, is stated to have been ruling at Penogonda with the imperial titles Raja-
dhiraja and Raja-paramēṣvara and the epithet Mahāmāndalēśvara.

It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty what time might have elapsed
between the death of Veṇkaṭa and the establishment of Rāma on the throne of
Penogonda. The unfortunate Ranga III, who is reported to have been murdered
in prison, is mentioned in a record from the Tumkur district which is dated in Śaka
1521, Vikāra (≈A.D. 1599-1600), to have been ‘ruling.’ We have perhaps to
understand by this that he was ‘ruling’ only as a crown prince. Another record
from the same district, dated in Śaka 1537, Ananda represents him again as a ruling
king in the Āsvaya month of that year. But Rāma IV, his son, was reigning
in the Kārthika month of the same year. Hence it appears as if the sad event
of Ranga’s murder must have occurred in the cyclic year Anada between Āsvaya
ba. di. 3 and Kārthika ba. di. 13. The elder brother of Ranga III, viz. Tirumalī,
was also ruling, in perhaps a subordinate capacity, under Veṇkaṭa I in some part
of the modern Mysore State. For, two records from the Mysore district refer to
grants made by him to a chief of Hadi-naṭu. The direct ancestors of the present
line of Mysore kings were also subordinate to Veṇkaṭa I. They are stated to have

1 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1911, Part II, paragraph 86.
2 On p. 126 of his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, Mr. Sewell refers to a stone record at Varikunta which is
dated in Śaka 1539 and mentions, "Veṇkaṭapati of Vijayanagar (ruling) at Chandragiri." But a large number of
Veṇkaṭa’s inscriptions mention his capital Penogonda.
3 The accompanying plate is prepared from a photograph recently taken for that purpose. The stone images of
a king and queen which are placed to the left of this copper statue do not bear labels. They may represent the parents of
Venkaṭa, viz., the first Kāmēla king Tirumalī and his queen Veṇugamāla. I avail myself of this opportunity to include
with the kind permission of the Director General three other metallic statues preserved in the temple on the Tirumalī hill and found to the right of Veṇkaṭapatiśīrṣa on the plate. The central figure represents the great Krishnaśīrṣa
of the second Vijayanagar dynasty; to his right is his queen Chitamādevi and to his left, queen Tirumalādevi.
received from him the country round Seringapatam as vumaha, i.e., a tax-free tenure.

Rama IV must have succeeded to the throne in the latter part of Saka 1536-7, Ananda. His rule was not apparently an eventful one. Echana-Nayaka, who had been supporting the cause of Rama, is said to have sought the assistance of Achyutappa-Nayaka of Tanjore. Thereupon his opponent Jaggaraya contracted an alliance with the Madura Nayaka who was ruling at the time and carried on a vigorous campaign against Rama, Echana-Nayaka, and their ally Achyutappa-Nayaka. The Sahityavarmakava states that Jaggaraya with the allied Pandyas destroyed the bridge over the Cauvery and advanced against Raghu Natha Nayaka, the son of Achyutappa-Nayaka. But the latter came off victorious and brought the contest to a close by accepting in marriage a daughter of the Madura Nayaka. Jaggaraya also appears to have acquiesced in the succession of Rama; for we find Kumara Immasha-Jagadevaraya a minister's son of Rama Peda-Jagadevaraya (perhaps identical with the Jaggaraya under reference), making a grant as Rama-deva's subordinate, in Saka 1545 (Ep. Canu. Vol. IX. Ca. 182).

Inscriptions referable to the time of Rama come mostly from Mysore and range in date from Saka 1536 to Saka 1552. One epigraph from Narayanavanam in the Chittoor district mentions the ruling sovereign Viravekata-deva-Maharaja and is dated in Saka 1544, Raudra (=A.D. 1621). It is perhaps to be presumed that this king is Venkata II, the grandson by direct descent of the great Ramaraja (Hemra), and that he was already the elected crown prince. The cause or causes that led to the change of line after Rama IV, may have been similar to those that brought about the events immediately following the death of Venkata I. Rama IV may have died childless; or, for political reasons, may have been compelled to choose Peda-Venkata (Venkata II) as his crown prince in preference to his own sons or to those of his brothers. The Ramarajayama does not offer any clue on this point. After describing Rama (Hemra) and his two brothers it continues the line of Tirumala, the middle brother, down to Rama IV (mentioning even then Venkata I as the ruling king), goes on next to that of the last brother Venkata-pradi and finally comes back to the descendants of Ramaraja (Hemra) of whom a later member named Kodandaramaraja was the patron of the poet. It thus appears that practically one king of each of the three lines ruled on the Karnata throne—Venkata I being the most famous in the Tirumala line, Venkata II in

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1 The contest between Echana-Nayaka and Jaggaraya must have been a serious one. In his Bhubanesvaraka-virata Dvandva Venkata-pallali, describing the prowess of his (paternal) and his son Velegoli Ychana-Nayaka, says—"Camp was (here) equal Velegoli Yacha who near Utablummuller had (the army of) Rama Pape, defeated (the lord of) Chintupala-kasta (Chintupala) by surrounding its walls, drove away Yatihya who had met him near Palakotta dispersed many brave chiefs who opposed him at Tirumala, cursed completely Jaggaray and his associates, deprived of their cort he chiefs of Muthura (Madura) and Chasij (Gunga) and expelled the ruler of Thirumallipalla (Trichinopoly)."

2 A stone inscription (with its duplicate on copper) comes from Ellure in the Kistna district and belongs to Ranga VI, the adopted son of Gopala and the grandson of "Arjuna Rama-raja Kupappadu." It is dated, according to Mr. Sewell in Saka 1548 which also falls into the reign of Rama IV. There is thus room for the possible inference that while Rama IV was ruling, princes Venkata II and his cousin brother's son Ranga VI were also associated with him in governing the country, but were in independent charge of some outlying provinces. Mr. Sewell notes also a record from Arumbudur (Trichinopoly district) which is dated in Saka 1548 in the reign of Venkata-pallali. This latter must refer to prince Venkata II.
the Rāmarāja line and Raṅga VI, the adopted son of Gōpala, in the Venkaṭādri line.

From lithic records we learn that the chiefs of Rāveḷa who once also served under Krishṇarāya, were subordinate to Rāma IV, otherwise known as Rāmadēva of Penugonda, though there is good reason to believe that he must have been ruling at Chandragiri. The paucity of his records beyond the Mysore State clearly points to the decline of suzerain power in his time and to the independence assumed by most of the feudatory chiefs.

According to the Kūniyūr plates and the Rāmarājyaśana the next successor on the Karnaṭa throne was Venkaṭatapati (II) the grandson of Aliya-Rāmarāja. The latter is stated to have married four wives, of whom Tirumalāmbā the daughter of Krishṇarāya and sister of Sadāśiva, was one. The three others were daughters of noblemen who were related to the royal family. Rāma’s two sons by Tirumalāmbā were Krishṇapa and Pedda-Timma. Kondarāja, Rāchūri Timma and Śrīnāga were his sons by other wives. Of these latter Kondarāja is stated to have ruled at Anegondipura and Śrīnāga apparently continued the line having given birth to two sons Pedda-Venkaṭatapati (II) and Chima-Venkaṭatapati. The former was crowned to the throne by Tirumalā Tatāchārya and married Baṅgāramāmbā, who, according to the Rāmarājyaśana was the daughter of Gobhūri Obarāja.²

It was stated above that Peda-Venkaṭa was the chosen crown prince already during the reign of his predecessor Rāma IV. The same will have to be asserted of Venkaṭa’s successor Raṅga VI; for, we find a copper-plate record of the latter from Māgadi in the Bengaluru district, dated in Śaka 1552, the very year in which probably Venkaṭa ascended the throne. Venkaṭa appears to have for a time revived the supreme sovereignty of the Karnaṭa kings, which was found to be fast declining. The famous Tirumala-Nayaka of Madura made the grant recorded in the Kūniyūr plates with permission from king Venkaṭatapati-Mahārāya. Another copper plate grant from the Nanjangud taluka shows that the Mysore chiefs were also his subordinates.³ The Sājuva chiefs of Kārvēṭinagar owed allegiance to Venkaṭa. An interesting document of his time now preserved in the Dargā of Bābayya at Penugonda records the renewal of certain old grants together with the bestowal of fresh grants, to that popular Muhammadan institution. The reason for the renewal is stated to be the loss of the original documents on the occasion when Immadi Hāvaḷi-Bhairēgānda of Pedda-Baljapura seized the fortress of Penugonda then in the possession of Hadapā Komārārāya, Mr. Rice mentions in connection with Doḍ (Pedda-Baljapura, a chief of Avati (Hāvaḷi?)) named Malla-Bairēgānda who founded that

¹ In the Māhāra Pradēshyā we have an inscription of his time at Dālikōmba (Madura District).

² It is not impossible that the Tāvahāra teacher Tirumala Tatāchārya, who performed the coronation of Venkaṭa I, should have lived to the time of Venkaṭa II. It may also be that the event is here described without any significance—the verse about the coronation by Tirumala Tatāchārya being borrowed verbatim from the copper-plate records of Venkaṭa I. Gobhūri Obarāja, the father-in-law of Venkaṭa II must be different from the father-in-law of Venkaṭa I, who here also the same name.

³ The quick succession of kings from Nannārāhu downwards, recorded at the beginning of this grant, gives as a clue to the apparent claim the Karnaṭa kings advanced for usurping the Vijayanagara throne. After Naṅknātha (i.e., Vīra-Nanānāhā) came Krishṇa. He was followed by Rāma who received the kingdom direct from Krishṇa as his son-in-law. Rāma’s younger brother Timma was crowned at Penugonda. After him ruled his son Raṅga II and then came the latter’s brother Venkaṭa I. Venkaṭa’s grandson (correctly his nephew’s son) Rāma IV came next and then his elder brother Venkaṭa II.
town and his three successors all of whom were named Hāvalī Bairāganā. They were perhaps subordinates at the commencement of their career, to the Vijayanagara kings at Penugonda, but evidently during the reign of Venkata II or a little before appear to have become rebellious and to have seized the capital of the Vijayanagara kings for at least a short period." An epigraph from Narāyana Vanamā datēd in Śaka 1544, while Venkata was yet the crown prince, refers to the mercantile community of Ayvāyle headed by Prithivivēṣṭi Rāyanimantri-Bhāskara and to the gift of voluntary fees to the Vaishnava temple of that village. Prithivivēṣṭi Rāyanimantri-Bhāskara is apparently identical with Rāyanimantri-Bhāskara whose date is discussed by Mr. Guriyada Rāmamurtigōru in a pamphlet entitled Rāyana Bhāskara Ramantri-charitram. In the course of his discussion the learned author refers to a pharma of Ālamghir Padshā which mentions Prithivivēṣṭi, father of Māntrik Bhāskara. This Bhāskara, generally believed to have been a contemporary of Krishnarāya, was a most charitable man and is supposed to have induced the kings of his time, by paying large amounts into their treasury, to discontinue certain items of taxation which were distressing the poorer classes. He may have been a Brahman who cast his lot with the welfare of the mercantile community, and this is perhaps the reason why the Kōmāṭi merchants of this day still call their Brahman spiritual gurn by the general epithet Bhāskara-Pantulū. The Telugu poem Rāmarajyam in speaking of Venkata II says that he ruled the whole country between Sētu (i.e., Rāmēsvaram) and Krishnā. The poet and chief Dāmera (Dāmarla) Venkatapanthese was ruling over the whole coast line from Pulicat to St. Thomas as a subordinate of Venkata. "The Founding of Fort St. George," compiled by Mr. Foster, says that the chief Venkatapani was "the lord-general of Kannāṭika and grand vizier to the king." He had, besides, under him 15,000 soldiers to put into the field. It was this Dāmarla Venkatapani that first granted with the permission of Venkata II, a deed to the English factors to build a fort at Madraspatam which the Nāyaka had called Chennopatna. after the name of his father. We learn also from the interesting extracts published in the book quoted above, that king Venkatapani died at Narāyana Vanamā in A.D. 1642. This is in perfect accordance with what we find from the available dates of Bāṅga VI as a ruling king, the earliest of which is Śaka 1568, Vīshu (Vrīsha), Āṣavaṇa 38 (September-October).

Venkatapani is stated to have left only an illegitimate son who could not on that account succeed to the throne. Consequently his nephew Ranga VI, who was adopted by Gopāla of the Venkataṉūr line under the bidding of god Venkatesha in a dream, was proclaimed king on October 29, A.D. 1642. He was, as already suggested, served as crown prince since the beginning of Venkata's rule, i.e., from Śaka 1552 (=A. D.

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1 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1913, Part II, paragraph 72.
2 Three inscribed stones on the tank bund at Nammangalām (North Arcot district) (Nos. 261-264 of the Madras Epigraphi collection for 1901) make reference to a tank as being designated Chennangalām after Chennappa-Nāyaka, the father of Venkataappa-Nāyaka, who built the tank. Their dates correspond to the time of Dāmarla Venkatapani. The records may probably, therefore, have been referred to the same chief; see also Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907, p. 95, para 74. An inscription from Tiruvannàvar in the Chingleput district refers to Venkataappa-Nāyaka, grandson of Dāmul Venkataappa-Nāyaka and son of Chennappa-Nāyaka. It is dated in Śaka 1547, during the reign of Rāma IV, in 1547, Dāmarla or Dāmara; therefore, as applied to this chief, indicates the village Dāmul in the same district which appears to have been his native village.
3 The Founding of Fort St. George, p. 25, footnote.
1680). The latest record in which he is called Ranga, son of Gopala and grandson of Araviti Rangaparajaya (i.e., Ranga IV), is dated in Saka 1586 (correctly Saka 1558). Subhakrit. A few records of his time found in the Belur taluka of the Hassan district, state that Ranga was ruling at Velapuri (sometimes also spelt Belapuri). In Saka 1587 he was ruling the Penugonda country from his throne at Chandragiri-durga, which was now his permanent capital.

Inscriptions do not supply us with any historical details about the reign of Ranga. The Ramaaprasada says that Ranga was 'raised to the throne' by Gopala (i.e., was adopted by him to succeed to the Karnata throne as described in copper plate records) and ruled from his capital Veluru. The latter was the seat of Government also under Venkata I. It is doubtful whether Ranga's capital Veluru is to be identified with Vellore or with Velapuri (Belur) in the Hassan district, mentioned above. Ranga is represented to have defeated the army of Kutupushan, who must be identical with Abdulla Quutb Shah, the fifth of the Quutb Shahi kings of Golconda, who ruled from A.D. 1611 to 1672. According to Mr. Foster's extracts, the Muhammadan kings of Golconda and Bijapur began to invade the territories of the Hindu king in 1642, immediately after the death of king Veakatapati (II). They are even stated to have occupied the whole country on the coast. In 1644 the Moors advanced into the interior, but were defeated. Perhaps the defeat of the army of Kutupushan mentioned in the Ramaaprasada is the defeat registered in Foster's extracts. Ranga was a lover of poets and largely patronised them. He is remembered in history as the last great Hindu sovereign, who in the cyclic year Parthiva (A.D. 1645-16), in the dark half of the month Kartika, gave his royal sanction to the costrt already granted to the English factors by Damaala Venkatappa in the reign of Veakatapati II, and affixed his signature not by adding his name as might be expected, but by adding that of Srimama, probably his tutelar deity. This act of Ranga VI was done with the best of motives, viz., in order to secure the prosperity of his subjects by opening up the country for foreign merchandise. It is unnecessary to add that this pious object of Ranga has been more than fulfilled and, in the fulness of time has borne such fruit as nover India could have dreamed of if the relentless Muhammadans or the unscrupulous petty chieftains had gained the upper hand. The Dutch also at this time are reported to have made vigorous attempts to extend their sway. King Sri-Ranga declared war and sent his general Chinama-Chetty against them. The Hindus besieged Pulicat; but internal dissensions and differences among the three powerful Nayaka subordinates of the empire, seem to have ultimately weakened the Hindus. The Muhammadan powers of Golconda and Bijapur found it a favourable opportunity to assert themselves. The whole country was conquered and the able general Mir Zamula finally became its Nawab. King Ranga fled southwards and found refuge with one of his subordinates, a chief of Keladi. He must

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1 In another inscription of Saka 1582 Ranga VI is called the great grandson of Araviti Ramaaparajaya (i.e., Venkatapati, brother of Aliya Ramaapati).

2 Ramaaprasada, Oppert's edition, v. 398. In Saka 1567 the date of a record at Kalgopalli near Hingalore, it is stated that Ranga made the grant with permission from Fodda-Venkatapatra. This suggests that Venkatapati II was still living having perhaps abdicated the throne in favour of Ranga VI, or rather, that some member of the royal family answering to that name held the strings of administration in his hands. The Kisanam plates of Saka 1596, Tanasa (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1911, p. 88, paragraph 80) register a grant made by Ranga VI at the request of a certain Venkatara, son of Kuri-Channa and grandson of Fodda-Venkatara.
have there kept up the semblance of a rule for at least two more decades. The English factors of Madras in their reports to Surat, have referred to a severe famine which occurred in A.D. 1647 and in which thousands of lives perished. With Rânga’s permission were issued by the East India Company the coins usually known as the “three Swami-pagodas.” These are described as such by Sir Walter Elliott and Thurston.

With this we might close the history of the Karnatâs. Later inscriptions, however, of kings called alternately Rangarâya or Veṅkaṭapatī, and bearing all the imperial Vijayanâgar titles are found extending beyond Saka 1537, which is the latest sure date for Rânga VI. They go up to Saka 1640 and may even to Saka 1713 (= A.D. 1793). The Suguṭuṇu and Yelâhanâka chiefs of the Bangalore district, for instance, call themselves subordinates of a certain Śrînâgarâya-dèva-Mahârâya, who was ruling at Ghanagiri (Ponugonda) in Saka 1639, Nandana. A grant by the Nâyaka queen Mangammâl was made in Saka 1626 while the Mahârâya-dâdhrâja, Pâromesâvara Vîra-Veṅkaṭadèva-Mahârâya, was governing on the jewelled throne at Ghanagiri-nâgarâ. It is not possible to state at this stage of our epigraphical knowledge, how these later kings Veṅkaṭapatī and Rânga were related to the last two Karnatâ rulers of that name and over what extent of territory they exercised their sway.

The subordinate families who wielded much power during the reign of the Karnatâs, but nominally submitted to their overlordship were :— (1) the Nâyakas of Madura whose kingdom extended over almost the whole of the southernmost districts and lasted from A.D. 1559 to 1736; (2) the Nâyakas of Tanjore, who, for a time, asserted their sway over what may be called the Chola dominions proper; (3) the Nâyakas of Vellur, who were powerful in the modern North Arcot district; (4) the Vâdayars of Mysore and their feudatories (the chiefs of Ávatî, Yelâhanâka, Suguṭuṇu, etc.) wielding their authority over a vast extent of territory; and (5) the Nâyakas of Bednâr, known also as Kâladi or Ikkâri kings, whose sway extended as far as Malabar, down to the coast of Honore (Honâvar) and who, successfully opposing the advance of the Bijapur forces and the Portuguese of Goa, maintained their power for nearly a century and a half from A.D. 1499 down to A.D. 1763.

Detailed accounts of these various subordinate families cannot find a proper place in this paper. They are noted briefly in order to establish the connection which they bore to the Vijayanâgar sovereigns.

The Nâyakas of Madura started almost an independent dominion in the south under Viṣvâmanâtha-Nâyaka, who was a military officer of Achyuta and followed that sovereign in his campaign against Travancore. On this occasion he conquered many kings including the Pâdayas on the battlefield in the Tiruvâdi (Travancore) country and acquired by force the sovereignty over Madhurâ-nâjya.1 A record of Saka 1485 actually states that in the time of Sadâśiva, Viṣvâmanâtha-Nâyaka got as an amaranâyaka-grant from the great Râmarâja-Âyyâg (Hemurâj), the Tiruvâdi-dèsa.

1 Mr. Sewell gives a long list of the Karnatâ kings who followed Chinnâ-Vâleôtaka III (Forgotten Empire, p. 213). The Râmarâja-prôsa also mentions three to four generations of kings subsequent to Chinnâ-Vâleônâ. His grandson Rama or Kâla-dhâruṇâ, who was the patron of the poem Râmarâja-prôsa is stated to have built (reconstructed?) the big śûpura of Viṅgaṅkâta (lit. Hampi), to have rendered into the śûpura the story of the Râmedyog and dedicated the same to Viṅgaṅkâta and to have constructed for Rânga a temple on the banks of the Tungi.1
Viśvanātha's son, Krishnapāla-Nāyaka, was also subordinate to Sādāsiva and issued the Krishnapuram plates with the permission of Tirumala, who was then at the head of the State. His son Virappa was the feudatory of Ranga II while he was himself the overlord of the Pāṇḍya chief Vānadarāya. The next Nāyaka, Vira-Krishna or Kumāra-Krishna was a contemporary of Venkata I, and as his feudatory induced that king to issue the Veḷḷaṅguṇḍi plates. Muddu-Krishna and Muddu-Vira the two next Nāyakas, were likewise subordinates of Venkata I. The great Tirumala-Nāyaka, in whose time the Nāyakas of Madura must have been at the height of their power, was a feudatory of Venkata II. It was in this capacity that he claims to have invaded the Travancore country and exacted tribute from it. Later Nāyakas and their history down to queen Minākshi are noted by Mr. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II. They must have shaken off the Vijayanagara supremacy some time during the reign of Tirumala-Nāyaka. The Madura-Nāyakas were devotees of the famous Minākshi temple at Madura and largely contributed towards its improvement. In the Tirumala-Nāyaka-māndapa (also called Pudu-māndapa) at Madura are found on pillars, the statues of the Madura chiefs of whom Tirumala-Nāyaka and his two consorts occupy a prominent place. Copper coins issued by Muddu-Krishna and the founder Viśvanātha have been published by Professor Hultzsch. In the latter part of their career the Nāyakas of Madura were constantly at war either with their neighbours, the Nāyakas of Tanjore, the Vodāyars of Mysore or the Muhammadans of Golconda. Sāṃbānāyiga, a general of Vijayarānga-Chokkanātha is stated to have contracted friendship with Sādulā-Khan (i.e., Sādatullah Khan) of Arcot, defeated Ānandarao Pishvāi of Tanjore and entered into an alliance with Nānjarāja of Mysore. Of the Madura Nāyakas, Tirumala, Muddalagādri and Vijayarānga-Chokkanātha were patrons of Telugu literature.

The Nāyaka line of Tanjore was founded by Chevva or Chinna-Chevva, who married a sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king Aṣhūparāya. Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri of Tanjore, in a Tamil pamphlet entitled "A Short History of the Tanjore Nāyak princes," has given copious extracts from Sanskrit literature to show that during their reign learning was liberally encouraged and had, in consequence, developed highly under royal patronage. It is also stated that Chinna-Chevva completed the eleven storied gopura of the Tiruvanānamalai temple which Krishnarāya had commenced and left unfinished. Aṣhūparāya-Nāyaka, the son of Chevva, must have been a feudatory of both Ranga II and Venkata I. Aṣhūparāya's chief minister was the Brahman Dīkṣitar Ayyaṇ (i.e., Govinda-Dīkṣitar) who according to the Sāhityaratnakara also held the same office under Raghunātha-Nāyaka, the son of Aṣhūparāya. This latter was the patron of the beautiful Telugu poem Vijayavilāsamu written by Chemakūrī Venkatādri. Reference has been already made as to how Raghunātha took up the cause of the Kāṇṭa king Rāma IV and defeated the combined armies of Jaggarāya and the Madura Nāyaka on the banks of the Cauvery. His son Vijayarāghava-Nāyaka lost his life in a battle with Chokkalinga-Nāyaka of Madura. It was from this Vijayarāghava that the Dutch received the grant of Negapatam just as the English factors got Chemnapatam from Ranga VI.

No detailed account of the Nāyakas of Vellore has yet been made available. Like the Nāyakas of Tanjore these also were great patrons of learning, and the name...
of the Śaiva-Advaita philosopher Appaya-Dīkshita is intimately connected with Chinna-Bommu-Nāyaka. The Vēlūr family is generally supposed to have been founded by a certain Bommu-Nāyaka. But it is doubtful if we could identify him with Vēlūr Bommu-Nāyaka, who during the reign of Achyutarāya was governing the country around Jambai in the South Arcot District. The Vilāpaka grant of Venkata I, supplies three names in succession, viz., Virappa-Nāyaka or Chīna-Vīra, his son Chinna-Bommu-Nāyaka and his son Līngama-Nāyaka. The second was, as already stated, the patron of Appaya-Dīkshita and the feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Sadasīvaraṇya and of the Karnāṭa king Tirumalā. A certain Chīna-Vīra, son of Pāppu-Nāyaka of Vēlūr, is mentioned to have been the Governor of the Pādaividu-rājya during the rule of the Karnāṭa king Ranga II. Līnga of the Vilāpaka plates was a subordinate of Venkata I. The titles held by the family clearly point to its members being followers and upholders of the pure Śaiva religion as expounded perhaps by the scholar Appaya-Dīkshita. Vellore having eventually become the capital of the Karnāṭa kings, the power wielded there by the local Nāyakas must have been considerably weakened, if not altogether become extinct.

Enough and more has been written about the Mysore Vōdeyaras. Recent accounts of them given by Mr. Rice and Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar leave nothing to be added. Rāja-Vōdeyar was the first in the family who asserted himself and tried to shake off the Vijayanagara yoke. He was a subordinate of Venkata I; but so long as that powerful monarch held the reins of Government, it was not apparently possible for Rāja-Vōdeyar to do anything. The death of Venkata in A.D. 1614 and the subsequent disputes that arose about succession, gave a general opportunity for petty chiefs to strengthen their position and Rāja-Vōdeyar was not slow. He displaced the Vijayanagara viceroy at Serīngapatam, who was then prince Tirumalā II, nephew of Venkata. In spite of the independent power thus secured by Rāja-Vōdeyar, the Mysore chiefs continued to accept the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara rulers and made grants mostly with their permission. Some famous kings of the line were Kanṭhirava-Narasārāja, who issued the gold pieces known as Kantheroy-fanams and who acquired by conquest 'Danāyakankōṭtai, Satyamangala and other places from the Nāyak of Madura' and Chīkka-Dēvarāya 'who established a kingdom which extended from Palmi and Anaimalai in the south to Midagāri in the north.' Frequent invasions into the Madura country and counter-invasions by the chiefs of the latter into Mysore were not uncommon. Mangummāl is stated to have once joined hands with Taṭijavārū to oppose Mysore.

Of the Keḷadi kings who ruled over the Aṟagā country including Gutti (Chandragottū), Bārakūr and Mangalore, Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was the first. He was a military officer of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśivarāya. Sadāśiva's grandson Rāmarāja-Nāyaka was similarly a feudatory of the Karnāṭa kings Tirumalarāya and his son Ranga II. He was devoted to the Krishṇadēva temple at Udipi and made grants to it through the Māluva teacher Vādirājārīthī. Rāmarāja's brother Venkataappā-Nāyaka was the most famous of the line. He and Śivappa-Nāyaka, a great grandson of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka are stated to have revived the Advaita-mathā at Śrīnagari and to have patronised also the Dvaita institutions at Udipi. Thus the earlier Bednār chiefs with a true political sagacity afforded liberal patronage to
Dvaita and Advaita schools alike, though later members of the family are known to have been bigoted Saivas of the Lingayat creed. Virabhadra-Nâyaka is stated to have rendered active help to Venkata II on the battlefield. The last of the Karnâta kings, Raûga VI, sought refuge with the Bednâr chief Sivappa-Nâyaka when he was ousted from Chandragiri by the Muhammadan kings of Golconda and Bijapur. In the Bednâr family was also a female ruler by name Chinnanmâji during whose reign, about A.D. 1580-81, there appears to have been oppression from the invading Mughals. The Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle was at Ikkâri (the Capital of the Bednâr chiefs for a time) in the year 1623 and describes the ruler Venkatapa Naicka as a ‘good soldier who much enlarged his territory.’ The coins known as the Ikkâri-varâhans owe their origin to these chiefs of Keladi.

H. Krishna Sastri
# Archæological Reports Published Under Official Authority

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<td>V. Venkayya, 1st Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.</td>
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<td>The antiquities of the Kolaba Agency. (Ser. 330, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 7.)</td>
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<td>Observations on inscriptions on copper-plates dug up at Natoor, in the Kaedal Division of the Sawai Wares State, 1848; with translations and facsimiles, 1841. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 10.)</td>
<td>Major G. LeG. Jacob.</td>
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<td>Report on the illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India, etc.</td>
<td>Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Fergusson, General Cunningham, and Colonel Meadows Taylor.</td>
<td>1869.</td>
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<td>Notes to accompany a series of photographs designed to illustrate the Ancient Architecture of Western India.</td>
<td>Captain Lyon, late of Her Majesty's 6thth Regiment of Light Infantry.</td>
<td>Carey Brothers, Old College Street, 3, Geneva, 1871.</td>
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<td>Memorandum on the antiquities at Dabhoi, Ahmedabad, Tham, Junagadh, Girnar, and Dhanlık.</td>
<td>James Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.</td>
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<td>Memorandum on the remains at Gumli, Gop, and in Kaedal, etc.</td>
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<td>Provisional Lists of Architectural and other Archæological remains in Western India, including the Bombay Presidency, Sindh, Berar, Central Provinces, and Hyderabad.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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<td>Reports (from the Collectors) regarding the Archeological remains in the Karachi, Haidenabad, and Shikarpur Collectories in Sindhi, with plans of tombs.</td>
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<td>J. Burgess, Archeological Surveyor, Western India.</td>
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<td>Notes on the Buddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bugh Caves, modern Budha Mythology, etc.</td>
<td>J. Burgess, Archeological Surveyor and Bhagwanlal Indrajji Parsit.</td>
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<td>Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes, etc.</td>
<td>J. Burgess, Archeological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.</td>
<td>Ditto, 1885.</td>
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<td>Schemes for the protection and conservation of ancient buildings in and around the City of Ahmedabad.</td>
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<td>The antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujrat</td>
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<td>George Waterston &amp; Sons, Edinburgh, 1888.</td>
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<td>An account of the Caves at Nalsur and Karasambila.</td>
<td>H. Cousens, Archeological Surveyor, Western India.</td>
<td>Ditto, 1891. Re. 0-10-0.</td>
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<td>Progress Report of the Archeological Survey of Western India for the months of December 1889 to April 1890.</td>
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<td>A. H. Longhurst, Superintendant, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.</td>
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<td><strong>Bombay—continued:</strong> Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khadees, India. Volume I (Vitorial subjects).</td>
<td>John Griffiths late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jeebhay School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
<td>W. Grigg, London, 1890.</td>
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<td>Ditto ditto, Volume II (Decorative details).</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto, 1900.</td>
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<td>List of statues and busts in the Town and Island of Bombay.</td>
<td>Government of Bombay</td>
<td>Government of Bombay, Central Press, 1911, Re. 0-8-0.</td>
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<td>Revised list of Tombs and monuments of Historical or Archaeological interest in Bombay and other parts of the Presidency.</td>
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<td><strong>Bengal—</strong> Account of a visit to Mount Parnassus (in Chutia Nagpoor) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1877. (Ser. 230, Sel. Rec., Bengal, No. 38.)</td>
<td>A. P.</td>
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<td>Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgoon, Sub-Division Billah, District Patna.</td>
<td>H. L. Harrison, B.C.S.</td>
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<td>Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic Capital of Pataliputra, the Pañcavati of the Greeks, and description of the supericial remains.</td>
<td>L. A. Waddell, M. B.</td>
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<td>Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896.</td>
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<td>Report with photographs of the repairs executed to some of the principal temples at Ruhandasvar and caves in the Khudagiri and Udaigiri Hills, Orissa, between 1898 and 1903.</td>
<td>M. H. Amott, M Inst. C.E., Executive Engineer, Bengal Public Works.</td>
<td>Waterlow &amp; Sons, Limited, London, W., 1903, Rs. 10-9-0.</td>
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<td>Report on the excavations at Pataliputra.</td>
<td>Lt.-Col. I. A. Waddell</td>
<td>Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1903, Rs. 3-8-0.</td>
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<td>The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.</td>
<td>V. A. Smith, I.C.S.</td>
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<td>Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.</td>
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<td>Objects of antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Buhawalpur, and Chamba States.</td>
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<td>Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.</td>
<td>A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archeological Surveyor.</td>
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<td>Descriptive List of Photographic Negatives of Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum.</td>
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<td>Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins at Jamalgachi during the months of March and April 1873. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 12th February 1874.)</td>
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<td>Report on the explorations of the Buddhist ruins near Khurei during the months of March and April 1874. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 11th June 1874.)</td>
<td>Lieut. Skene Grant, R.E.</td>
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<td>Report on the explorations at Taikil near Peshawar. (Supplement to the Punjab Government Gazette of 18th November 1875 and of 30th March 1876.)</td>
<td>Lieut. P. Haslett, R.E.</td>
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<td>Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.</td>
<td>Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E.</td>
<td>Public Works Department, Punjab, 1883.</td>
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<td>Detailed report of an Archaeological tour with the Buner Field Force.</td>
<td>Dr. M. A. Stein, Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.</td>
<td>Ditto, 1898.</td>
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<td>Annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1906-07.</td>
<td>Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle.</td>
<td>Ditto, 1907. Rs. 0-4-0.</td>
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Burma—


Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma—

I. The Shwe Dagon Pagoda | Ditto | Ditto, 1885. |
| II. The first Buddhist Mission to Suvarnabhumi. | Ditto | Ditto, 1884. |

List of objects of antiquarian and Archaeological Interest in British Burma.

Reports on Archaeological work done in Burma during the years 1879-89. (Being a Review, dated 18th June 1889.)

Dr. E. Forchhammer

1889.

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<td>E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.</td>
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