

to form *pratishthāpitō* with *sthāpitō* in the beginning of line 9. In line 8 the word preceding *tōraṇam* and ending in *laṇ* and the word following *tōraṇam* and beginning with *vē* may be restored as *chatuḥśālāṇ* and *vēdikā* respectively. Two words are now wanting to complete the fragment; (1) a word of two *aksharas* in line 7 between *Mahāsthāna* and the restored *chatuḥśā*; (2) a word of three or four *aksharas* after *Śōḍāsa[sya]* in line 11. Though we cannot restore these words with certainty, we can guess their meanings. The word in line 7 after *mahāsthāna* probably denoted 'shrine' and the missing word in line 11, as the verb *saṁvart[e]yātām* in the following line shows, must have been in dual number and denoting dominion. The fragment, thus restored, reads as follows:—

6. *vasunā Bhagava[to Vāsudē]*
7. *vasya mahāsthāna..[chatuḥśā]*
8. *laṇ toraṇam vē[dikāḥ prati]*
9. *sthāpitō prītō bh[avatu Vāsu]*
10. *devaḥ svāmisya [Mahākshatra]*
11. *pasya Śōḍāsa[sya]....*
12. *saṁvart[e]yātām.*

Translation.

"By*vasu* a quadrangle enclosed by four buildings (*chatuḥśālāṇ*), a pillared gateway (*tōraṇam*) and a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard (*vēdikāḥ*) have been built (at the shrine at) the great place of the Bhagavat Vāsudēva. May Vāsudēva be pleased, May (*the dominion*) of the lord, the mahākshatrapa Śōḍāsa, endure."

Bhagavato Vasudēvasya Mahāsthāna may also be interpreted as "the great *Mahāsthāna* of shrine of the blessed lord Vishṇu" on the analogy of another Brāhmī inscription *Vāsudēva* of Mathurā which records:—

bhagavato nāgēndrasya Dadhikarṇṇasya stāne silāpatto pratishthāpito

"A stone slab has been dedicated in the temple of the blessed lord of serpents Dadhikarṇṇa."

The rendering of *stāna* (Skt. *sthāna*) as 'temple' (*dēvakula*) is justified by another Brāhmī inscription of Mathurā which reads:—

Dānaṁ Dēvilasya Dadhikarṇṇadēvikulikasya²

"The gift of Devila, the servant or priest at the temple of Dadhikarṇṇa."

In modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars *sthāna* (*Āstānā*) is used indifferently of an altar or a place of worship of a deity as well as of a spot sacred to the memory of a holy man. In the Sarnath inscription of Mahīpāla, king of Gauḍa, of Samvat 1083, *mahāsthāna* is used in the latter sense in the compound *asṭamahāsthānaśailagandhakūṭim* denoting "a stone *gandhakūṭi* (temple) of the eight great places, i.e., containing a slab illustrating the scenes (of Buddha's life) that took place on the eight principal places."³ The old fortified city of Mahāsthān, on the river Karatoya, 7 miles to the north of Bogra in Bengal, is evidently

¹ *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 390, No. 18; Lüders' *List*, No. 85.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 102; Lüders' *List*, No. 63

³ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, Pt. II, p. 99.

so-called because two spots within it are sacred to the memory of two holy persons; Śilā Devī's Ghāt, a flight of steps leading to the water of the river wherefrom Śilā Devī, the daughter of the last Hindu king of the city, is said to have jumped into the river and drowned herself; and the āsthān or tomb of the Muhammadan saint—Māhi-sawar ("the fish-rider"), who is said to have conquered the city.¹ In our fragment the absence of any case-ending after *mahāsthāna* shows that it is part of a compound word the other member of which is lost. If I am right in guessing that this lost word denoted 'shrine' to which the four buildings enclosing the quadrangle (*chatuḥśālam*) were attached, *mahāsthāna* may be understood to denote a spot sacred to the memory of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas, Bhāsa's *Bālacharita*, and other Brahmanic works, Mathurā is the birth place of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva and the scene of one of his most important feats, the slaying of Kamsa. Mathurā is still held holy as the *janmasthāna* or birth place of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva. A spot near the modern temple of Kēśavadēva marked by a small cell is held sacred as the prison house of Kamsa where Vāsudēva and Dēvakī were confined and where Kṛishṇa was born. In the *mahāsthāna* of Vāsudēva mentioned in our fragment we have to recognise a spot that was believed to have been either the birth-place of Kṛishṇa or the scene of some other notable event in his early career. Pilgrimage to places sacred to the memory of holy men must have been a time-honoured custom as early as the time of the composition of the *Mahā-parinibbānasuttanta*. In this *Suttanta* Buddha says, addressing Ānanda, "There are these four places, Ānanda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe (*chattāri imāni Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassaniyāni samvējaniyāni ihānāni*)"² And the places named are the places where the Tathāgata was born, where the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight, where the kingdom of righteousness (*dhammacakkam*) was set on foot, and where the Tathāgata passed finally away. That this commandment of the Blessed One was faithfully carried out in the third century B.C. is shown by the Rumindei pillar inscription which tells us that twenty years after his anointment Aśoka himself visited Lumminigāma and "worship having been performed, because here was born Buddha the saint of the Śākyaas he had a slab of stone bearing a horse made and a stone pillar raised up."³ In the *Divyāvadāna*, No. XXVII, Aśoka says, falling at the feet of Sthavira Upagupta, "O Sthavira, this is my desire. I shall worship the places where the blessed Buddha lived and (thereon) erect monuments (*chihnāni*) for the benefit of posterity."⁴ The prevalence of the custom of making pilgrimage to the *ihānāni* (*sthānāni*) or places connected with the life of Buddha in the reign of Aśoka on the one hand, and the prevalence of the worship of Saṁkarshana and Vāsudēva in the second century B.C. on the other, warrant us in assuming that the Mahāsthāna of Vāsudēva at Mathurā did not suddenly become popular in the time of the Śaka satraps, but must have been a place of pilgrimage long before their rise. The statement of Megasthenes

¹ Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. XV. p. 107.

² *S. B. E.*, Vol. XI, p. 90; *The Digha-Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 140.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 20.

⁴ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 389

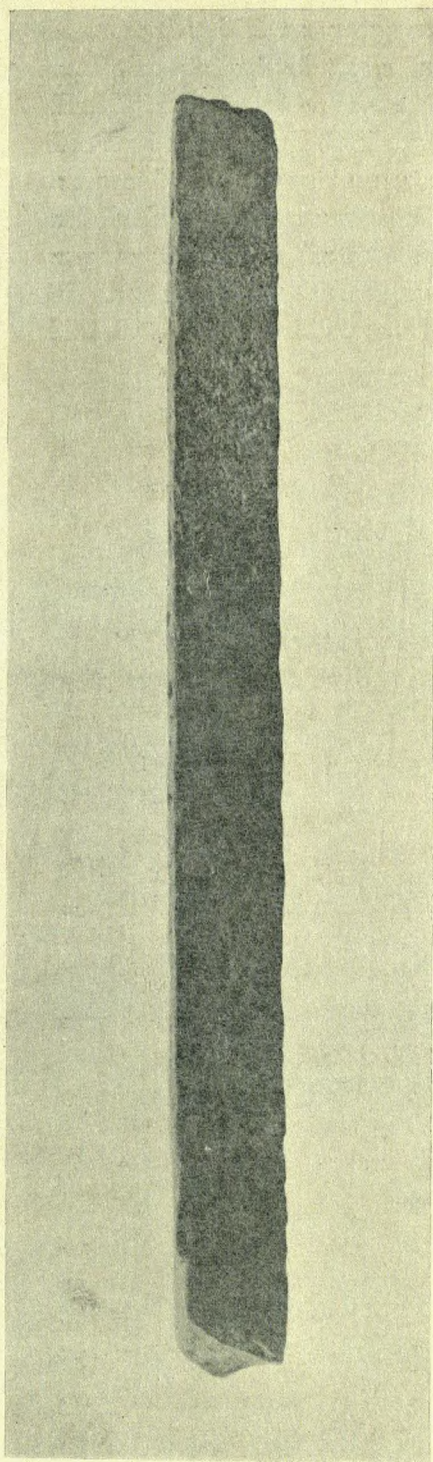


thenes that the Sourasenai who lived in and about Mathurā held Kṛishṇa (Herakles) in special honour lends support to this view.

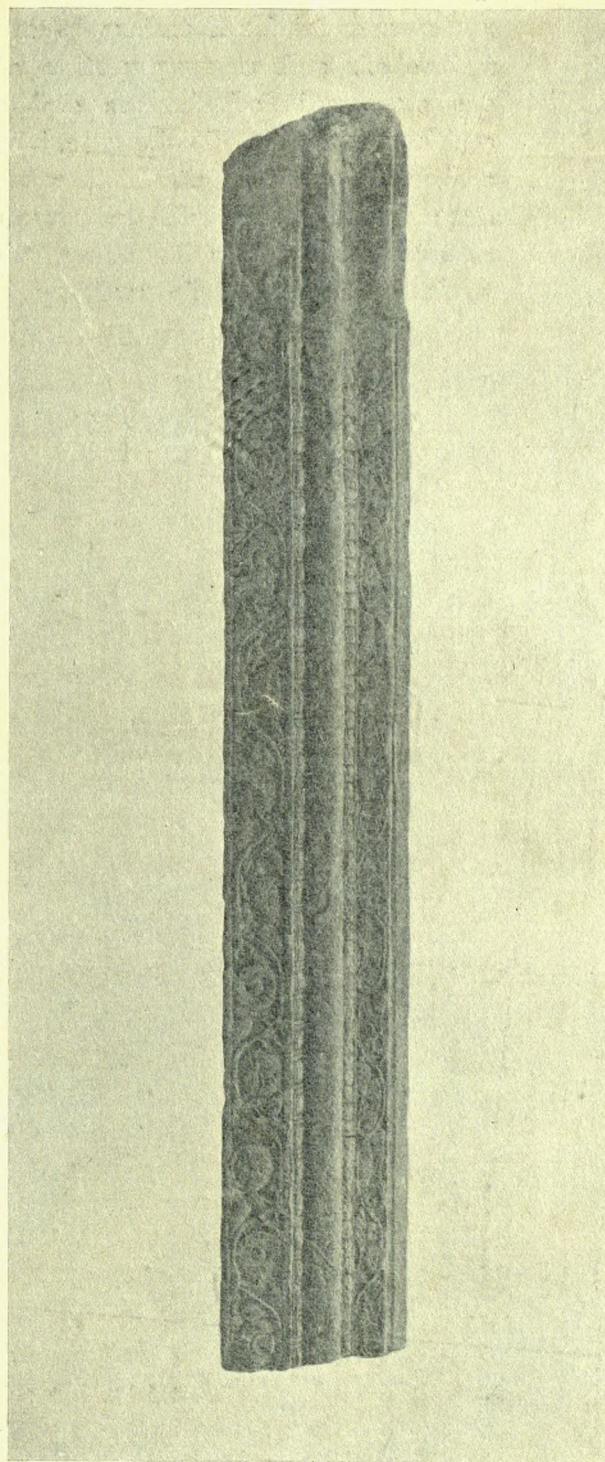
The Vaishnava monuments dealt with in this Memoir all together make up ~~conclusions~~ a mere handful as compared with the number of ancient Buddhist monuments, and the earliest of them is more than half a century younger than the earliest Buddhist ones. So these few comparatively late archæological documents can hardly be expected to throw as much light on the growth of Vaishnava traditions as the Buddhist monuments do on those of the Buddhists, and the conclusions set forth above are necessarily tentative in their nature. But these few documents appear to be sufficient to create a belief that the excavation of the ancient sites of Western and Central India, and particularly those of Besnagar and about Mathurā, will reveal more materials for the early history of Vaishnavism.

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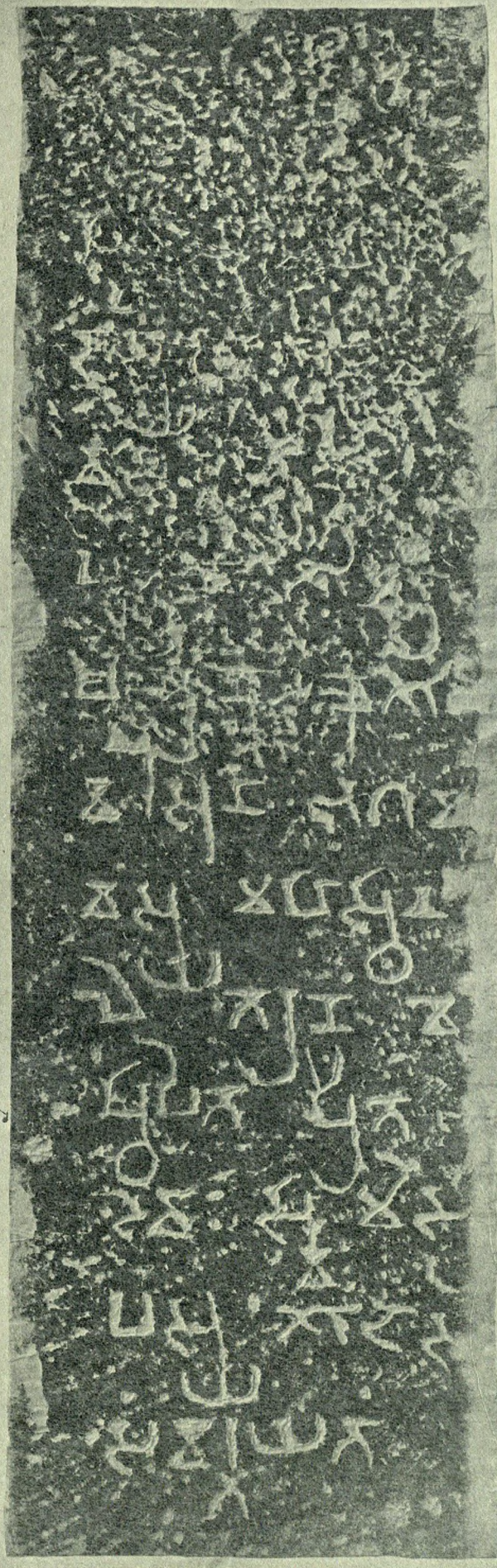
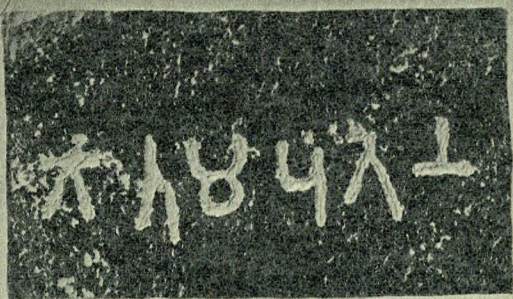
INSCRIBED DOOR-JAMB IN THE MATHURĀ MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY.



a. INSCRIBED SIDE.



b. SCULPTURED SIDE.



a. BESNAGAR MUSEUM GARUḌA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE
YEAR 12 AFTER THE INSTALLATION OF MAHĀRAJA BHĀGAVAT.

b. MATHURĀ FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF THE TIME OF MAHĀKSHATRAPĀ ŚODĀSA.



MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA



No. 6

The Temples at Palampet

G. L. W. YAZDANI, M.A.

Inspector of Archaeology in Charge, British India's Domains



MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 6 The Temples at Palampet

BY

GHULAM YAZDANI, M.A.,

Director of Archæology in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.



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THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.

PALAMPET is a small village in the Mulag Taluqa of the Warangal District, forty miles north-west of Hanamkonda. The road as far as Mulag is tolerable in dry weather, but beyond that it consists of a cart track which is often lost in morasses and thick jungle abounding in wild beasts. The natural scenery on the way is extremely picturesque, and just near the village there is a ring of hills clad with luxuriant foliage, which enfold a lake of transparent water about eight square miles in extent. The northern side of the lake is enclosed by a colossal *band*, a monument of the great Kakatiya kings whose engineering skill in irrigation works is yet to be recognised. Warangal, the metropolis of this dynasty, abounds in magnificent tanks, and the titanic dykes and sluice-gates of Pakhal, Lakhnaram and Ramappa lakes are object lessons even to the modern engineer.

Situation.

The village at present has a small population, which mainly consists of Kalals (*Sendhi*-sellers), and the visitor has to depend on the neighbouring villages for supplies of eatables, only the barest necessities being even then available. On account of the luxuriance of vegetation and the abundance of water, malaria is rampant in the country and has sapped every sign of vitality from the inhabitants of the village, who represent an emaciated and ungraceful type of humanity.

Climate.

The temples at Palampet constitute, perhaps, the brightest stars in the galaxy of mediæval Deccan temples. They have remained in obscurity owing to their unfavourable situation, being far off the beaten track. Mr. H. Cousens in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains of His Highness' Dominions* has noticed them, but his description, compressed into about twenty lines, is meagre to a degree, and one wonders how so distinguished an archæologist, after seeing these magnificent monuments, could have refrained from describing them in greater detail.

Cause of obscurity.

The main temple of the group is enclosed by a low but massive wall, 9 feet in height and 6½ feet in thickness, running 272 feet East to West and 259 feet North to South. The construction of the wall deserves special notice. It is faced on both sides with huge blocks of well-chiselled masonry, some of

Main temple.

Enclosure wall.

which measure $21' \times 3\frac{1}{2}' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'$, and fit each other so closely that no mortar has been used. The top of the wall is covered by similar slabs, which are about 9 feet broad and project a foot on each side of the wall, thus making a sort of coping for protection against rain water. Even so, the core of the wall, which was originally of mere earth, has been washed away in many places by the percolation of water during several centuries, and the heavy facing stones, losing their support from behind, have tumbled down like a house of cards.

Nandi pavilion.

The enclosure has two low entrances, one towards the East and the other to the West. Both were adorned originally with fine sculptures consisting of *Dvārapālas* and figures of gods, which are still intact on the eastern gate, but are missing from the western entrance. The top slabs of the eastern gate have fallen down and have blocked the entrance so completely as to make access to the temple impossible through it. Advancing from the eastern entrance, the visitor first notices the remains of a ruined *mandapa* standing on a high stylobate, the sides of which are adorned with carved panels bearing floral designs and figures of elephants and of musicians (*gandharvas*) in successive rows (Pl. XXXIII b). The roof and the pillars of the *mandapa* have fallen down, but the pavement on which the columns were fixed is intact and is square in plan. This was the Nandi Pavilion, and the huge image of the sacred *Basvāṇṇā* (Bull), which now is placed in the eastern portico of the temple, was worshipped by the votaries here.

Decoration of
plinth and walls.

In front of the Nandi Pavilion stands the main temple, which is of a cruciform plan (Pl. XXX), on a platform 6' 4" high. The plinth of the platform instead of being plain has been divided into foliating surfaces which give a very pleasing effect to the general appearance of the monument (Pl. XXVII a). The platform affords a space ten feet wide all round the temple, forming a sort of promenade for the devout pilgrims whence they can gaze on the long panels of figures which adorn the exterior of the building (Pl. XXVIII a). These carvings are of a very heterogeneous character, and consist of gods, goddesses, warriors, acrobats, musicians and dancing girls, in different poses; and of pairs of figures in indecent attitudes.

Figure-brackets,
their artistic
merits.

The temple has porticoes towards the East, North and South, the western side being occupied by the cella—the holy of holies. On either side of the doors of the porticoes under the eaves are female figures arranged in pairs in the form of brackets (Pl. XXXII). Two of these statues are now placed below the steps of the platform towards the East (Pl. XXVIII a), and it is reported that they were removed from the building by one of the District Officers who wished to carry them home to decorate his house. Government, however, got information in time and stopped this act of vandalism. The statues are of almost life-size, worked in highly polished black basalt, and although they are cut with great precision and accuracy, the general effect is not very pleasing to the eye. The fingers with long nails are exceptionally good,¹ the poses of the body are also in some cases graceful; but the contour and the expression of the

¹ The toes of a mutilated female figure have been carved with wonderful skill.

faces are less successful and, in my judgment, represent very poor art. The floral designs and figures of animals, on the other hand, are exceedingly fine, and one is tempted to think that the artists would not have failed so conspicuously in their delineation of human figures, had their work not been dominated by religious conventions.

A striking peculiarity of this building is the figure-brackets, which spring from the shoulders of the outer pillars of the temple and nominally support the ponderous *chhajja* slabs. They are mere ornaments, having no architectural purpose, and represent the intermediate stage between their earlier analogues at Sāñchī and the later examples at Vijayanagar. Twelve of them consist of female figures, the artistic merits of which have been noticed above, and the rest are representations of *vigalis* (fabulous tigers) supported on pedestals of elephant-heads, which are carved with considerable skill. The heavy slabs of the *chhajjas* are also richly carved from inside with floral designs once painted in diverse colours—the old colouring being still visible here and there on the cornice.

Carvings of
chhajjas.

The walls of the sanctuary are decorated outwardly with pilasters crowned with *śikhara*s of the so called Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, disposed alternately; and in the middle on each side is a miniature spire, a copy of the big spire on the top of the sanctuary (Pl. XXIX *b*). The construction of the main *śikhara* is what Fergusson calls, “a compromise between the styles of North and South India,” *i.e.*, the tiers of pillars rising vertically give the structure an ‘Indo-Aryan’ appearance, while the railings and the bold cornices have horizontal courses characteristic of the Dravidian style. The spire is built of light spongy bricks, and the use of stone seems to have been avoided purposely in order to reduce the weight over the building.

Outward deco-
ration of the
sanctuary.

To enter the temple from any of the three porches the visitor has to ascend several steps, as the floor of the building is 5 feet higher than the platform on which it stands (Pl. XXVII *a*). The arrangement of the interior can best be understood by the help of the accompanying plan (Pl. XXX). The *mahāmaṇḍapa* (hall) measures 41 feet each way and has a square apartment (18'×18') enclosed by four exquisitely carved pillars in the middle—the place for musicians and singers to recite the holy hymns. A platform about 3½ feet high runs round the hall, and on it have been built eight small cells for the images of the presiding deities. The ante-chamber measures 15' 8"×14' 10". The sanctuary is entered by another richly carved doorway and encloses a space 15' 8" square, at the centre of which stands the mystical *liṅga*, the emblem of cosmic energy, on a high pedestal of black basalt (Pl. XXXI *b*).

Plan of the
temple.

Inside the temple is a magnificent display of sculptures depicting scenes from the early myths, the *Ramayana*, the *Puranas*, and the later Hindu texts. The arrangement of the columns has divided the ceiling into several compartments, each of which is superbly carved, the decorations consisting of a variety of floral and geometrical patterns, from the full blown lotus to the most intricate honeycomb scroll. The ornamentation of the four central columns of the hall and the architraves above them is extremely rich and subtle (Pl. XXXI *a*), and the

Hall deco-
rations.

Character of
sculptures.

remark of Col. Meadows Taylor about the Gadak temple, that "No chased work in gold or silver could possibly be finer," has appropriate application here.

The general spirit of the sculptures in the temple is, however, somewhat wanton and sensual. The idyllic scene of Krishna surrounded by a troop of amorous girls (*Gôpīs*), whom the mischievous God deprived of their garments while they were bathing in a tank, has been specially selected by the artist and is represented on every prominent place, even on the jambs of the door of the ante-chamber. Again, the same God in his aspect of the *Murali-Dhara* playing on his magical flute is represented in several places. The figurines instead of exhibiting calm or repose, bear an expression of revelry and voluptuous joy, even the Gaṇeśa with his rotund paunch is represented dancing on an architrave of the central apartment of the hall.

Architecture of
the temple.

The architecture of the building is lofty and grand. The high plinth (10 feet), the lofty pillars (15 feet), the spacious hall (41 feet×41 feet), the ponderous beams and ceiling slabs, and the majestic *śikhara*, all bear witness to the high aspiration and breadth of vision of the builder. The temple represents the full development of the Mediæval Deccan style, which Fergusson has termed 'Chalukyan.' Mr. Havell in his enthusiastic analysis of symbolism in Indian architecture speaks of this designation as 'delusive'; but the reasons which led Fergusson to adopt the term were, first, that the style developed its distinctive features during the reign of this dynasty, and, secondly, that it flourished in the country which was once under their sway. Recently some scholars dissatisfied with the terminology of Fergusson, have adopted equally indefinite terms; to wit, the temples of this type in the Mysore State have been called 'Hoyasala,' which term if applied to their analogues in Warangal, the seat of the Kakatiya kings, is equally perplexing. If the influence of the Chalukya dynasty is not considered as the main factor in the evolution of the style, the term 'Chalukyan' might be changed for 'Dekhani' which is the only other appropriate name for the style.

Term 'Chaluk-
yan.'

Inscriptions.

The temple has several inscriptions inside the hall, and there is another carved on a square pillar of highly polished black basalt, standing in front of a square *chhatra* to the north-east of the temple within the same enclosure. The inscription has not been published as yet,¹ but its contents have been noted by E. Hultzsch, according to whom it records the fact that a dependant of the Kakatiya king Gaṇapati, named Rudra Chamūpati of Recherla, put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudreśvara at the city of Orugallu to which he gave the village of Nekkoṇḍa. In Śaka 1135, the *Śrīmukha* year, he further gave to Rudreśvara the two villages Uparllapalli and Borllapalli. The last two places were important centres of religious worship in Kakatiya days, and there still exists a beautiful temple at Uparllapalli, a photograph of which is appended to this paper (Pl. XXIX a). There are inscriptions at both Uparllapalli and Borllapalli, and as they have not been fully deciphered

¹ Since this was written the inscription has been published by the Archaeological Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Vide *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 3.

as yet, a set of their estampages has recently been forwarded to Dr. Lionel Barnett an Honorary Member of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, who has evinced great interest in the epigraphy of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.¹ King Gaṇapati was a great patron of the fine arts, especially of literature and architecture, and the central temple at Warangal Fort is said to have been begun by him; had it been finished it would have been the most magnificent structure in the Deccan. The genealogy of the Kakatiya kings according to the latest epigraphical research may be given thus:²—

1. Prōlarāja I—of the family of Durjaya, builder of the Kēsarin tank.
2. Tribhuvanamalladēva (real name Bēta or Betma).
3. Prōlarāja II.
4. Rudradēva
(builder of the Hanamkonda temple).
5. Mahādēvarāja.
6. Gaṇapatidēva
(builder of the Pākhal tank, Warangal Fort temple, etc.).

In the same enclosure with the main temple are three smaller shrines which on festive occasions served as adjuncts to the principal temple. They may be briefly described as follows:—

(1) *Temple towards North.* It is constructed on a terrace 3' 6" high and is approached by a flight of steps, on either side of which once stood effigies of elephants (Pl. XXXIII a). One of these effigies is lying in front of the building in a mutilated state. The temple is in a parlous condition, and the shrine-tower which was built of brick covered with stucco, has now almost disappeared. The carvings on the exterior of the building are plain, consisting of two bands of leaf patterns. The floor of the temple rises 2' 9" above the surrounding terrace, and the plan consists of a *mandapa* (hall), 23' × 24', an ante-chamber, 9' 6" × 7' 6", and a square shrine, 9' 6" each way. Around the hall runs a platform on which eight small cells for images have been built. Several of these cells have fallen down, but two of them are still intact and contain images of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśha worked in black basalt. Inside the *mandapa* there is also lying a Nandi dislodged from its original place. The door of the shrine is beautifully carved and the frieze represents Śiva dancing the *tāṇḍava*. The temple at present is in a filthy condition.

Plan.

(2) *Temple towards South.* This temple consists of a large square hall measuring 34 feet each way, with shrines towards the East and West which were built subsequently and were never roofed over. The hall has four majestic pillars in the middle enclosing a square space (14' × 14') apparently to accommodate an orchestra for religious music. The ceiling has some fine carvings and the central compartment represents a full-blown lotus. The plinth of the temple is very high and on the terrace near the steps stands a pair of stone elephants giving the building an air of dignity (Pl. XXXIII c).

Plan.

¹ The inscriptions are published now. Vide *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 3.

² Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 189.

(3) *Hall towards South-West.* The building is styled a *Dharmaśālā* now-a-days, but it is a small room and could have hardly served the purpose of a guest-house for such a big temple. Like the other buildings in the enclosure, it was probably utilised for minor ceremonies on the occasions of big festivals.

Stone used in the
temples.

The stone used in the temples of Palampet is sandstone of a pinkish hue, a little lighter in colour than the red sandstone of Agra, but of the same texture and grain. It has lent itself well to fine carving and has stood the test of time for the last seven centuries with little sign of deterioration. In the decorations of the central temple, however, black basalt (hornblende) which is a much harder stone has been lavishly used. The way in which it has been wrought and polished is a standing marvel to the people, who find no difficulty in accepting the legends which tell of the miraculous creation of these temples.

At Palampet, besides the great temple and its adjuncts, there are four other temples in the vicinity, each a gem of this style. They are described below in the order of their distances from the Great Temple.

Plan.

(1) *Temple No. 1.* Is situated at a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs to the South-West of the Great Temple, which it resembles in point of structural and decorative features. It consists of a *mandapa* (20' square) and shrines with ante-chambers (6' 9" square) towards the North, South and West. The hall is enclosed by a screen of fret-work, and the carvings, both inside the building and outside, are exquisite. The jambs, lintels and friezes of the three shrine-doorways are richly adorned with sculptures of no mean order, and the side-screens are wonderfully delicate. The outer surface of the building is surrounded by bands of figures in high relief; which, on the eastern face beginning from the base, represent (1) figures of goddesses arranged in niches, (2) floral designs, (3) Puranic scenes, (4) leaf patterns, (5) screens of jali-work; and on the western face (1) floral designs, (2) images of goddesses sitting in niches surmounted with *śikharas* of various forms, (3) leaf patterns, (4) *viyalis*, (5) geese, (6) jali-screens. The *chhajjas* of the building are bold and richly carved. The temple was entered from the eastern side only, and a small yet beautiful porch is built in that direction. The sacred bull (Nandi) has been dislodged from its original position and is lying in the hall, where a loose figure of Mahiśāsura-mardini is also lying. The temple was dedicated to Śiva worship, and all the three shrines originally held *lingas*, but these are now to be seen only in the southern shrine.

Carvings.

The temple is buried in thick jungle, and a spreading banyan tree has taken it completely within its embrace (XXXIII d).

Plan.

Temple No. 2. The path to this temple leads through a range of lofty trees interspersed with thick groves of palmyrah, the distance north-west of the Great Temple being $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs. The plan of the building consists of an open pillared hall (23' 6" × 24' 6"), an ante-chamber (9' 3" square), and a square shrine (9' 3" each way). There is also a detached *chhatrī* (10' 9" square) in front of the temple, probably the pavilion for the sacred *Baṣcāṇṇā*. The temple is in a crumbling state. The floor and plinth are incrustated with layers of

silt, and the whole appears to have been left for several centuries to snakes and bats, its only occupants. The carvings are comparatively plain, but quite artistic and appropriate to the architectural dignity of the building. The sculptures of the doorway of the shrine have not been finished, and in other respects it seems as if the building was never completed.

Temple No. 3. It is situated at a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs South-West from the Great Temple, at the western limit of the gigantic *band* which encloses the beautiful Ramappa lake towards the North. The situation of the temple must originally have been extremely picturesque; but now the view is considerably marred by jungle growth. The temple has two detached shrines in front of it which are beautifully carved and adorned with figures of *dvārapālas*. They have ante-chambers in front of them, which are also decorated with fine cornices and screens. The main temple had a portico in front (towards the East); but it has fallen down and buried the Nandi which was placed under it. The plan of the building consists of a hall—25' 6" square, and three shrines with ante-chambers on the three sides—North, South and West. The carvings in this temple are exceptionally fine, and the scene represented on a panel at the door of the western shrine in which a sylvan deity standing in front is shown removing a thorn from the sole of her foot is extremely interesting (Pl. XXVIII c), the figure of the deity being full of life and expression. The temple has various niches in which are images of Vishnu, Lakshmi, Gaṇeśa and the Mahiśāsura-mardini Durgā. There is also a loose frieze representing the nine female celestials. The temple is in a fair state of preservation; but the wild trees have begun to twine their roots about the stone masonry of the roof, a circumstance which is ominous for its future, if action is not soon taken to destroy the trees.

Plan.

Sculptures.

Temple No. 4. This temple is situated at the eastern extremity of the *band* and is equidistant with temple No. 3 from the Great Temple. It stands on a high stylobate (8 feet) which is adorned with carvings of floral designs and animal figures. The plan of the temple consists of a hall (25' 9" × 23' 9") with projecting porches towards the North, South and West, and a shrine (10' 3" × 9' 8") at the eastern end (Pl. XXVII b). The pedestals of the four central pillars of the hall are elegantly carved, and represent figures of musicians and dancing girls in different poses. These sculptures are quite spirited and their general treatment is both graceful and pleasing. The panels at the jambs of the doorway of the shrine are also decorated with similar figures. The frieze over the lintel is adorned with carvings of miniature *śikharas*, and the side screens are of jali-work. The ceiling is divided into several compartments which bear floral pateræ.

Plan.

Sculptures.

The temple has been repaired recently by the Irrigation Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, who used it as a rest-house while working on the western portion of the *band*. The repairs seem to have been executed from a purely utilitarian point of view, and can hardly be called artistic, though they have saved the buildings from entire collapse.

**Translation of inscription in the Great Temple, recording grant of
Rēcherla Rudra in A. D. 1213.**

(By DR. L. D. BARNETT, LITT. D.)

(Line 1). Obeisance to the blessed Rudrēśvara!

(Verse 1). May that Gaṇādhīśa protect you on whose cheek, besprinkled with rutting ichor, the line of bees appears distinctly like a streak of musk.

(Verse 2). May the goddess Śārādā, giver of boons, whose lotus-feet are adored by the troops of gods and demons, ever grant you joy.

(Verse 3). May that god Śiva, whose diadem is the moon, at whose pair of lotus-feet the mass of quivering rays from the sapphires in the crest of obeisant lords of the gods assumes the semblance of gadding bees, be for your prosperity.

(Verse 4). May that lord Śrīpati, in sport (*assuming the form of*) a Boar,¹ be for your happiness—he whose body, covered with all the waters of the ocean like drops of sweat and holding the earth fixed on the tip of his tusk, appears like the sky (*studded*) with many stars and having a cloud standing at the point of the crescent moon.

(Verse 5). Victorious is the puissant blessed king Gaṇapati, in whose spirit dwells Īśa without abandoning his *achala-sthiti* (dwelling on the mountains, *or* immovable condition).

(Verse 6). When he takes the field, the thick dust arising from the ground split open by the hoofs of his squadrons of horses, and advancing in front (*of him*) because of the wind moving forward in a favourable direction, appears like the Earth herself, who, constantly protected by that master of all policy, is furiously marching in the van in order to slay the monarchs his foes for his pleasure.

(Verse 7). The people going about in the courts of his palaces have their limbs well cooled even in the season of intense heat by being bathed with drops of water streaming forth from the tips of the trunks of elephants ridden by kings who have come to do service to him.

(Verse 8). The sacrificial Fire, delighted at obtaining most abundant oblations in the many sacrifices undertaken by the congregations of great Brāhmaṇs pleased by the magnificence displayed in the endless largesses bestowed by him, (*but also*) suffering much toil in carrying to the company of the gods the series of oblations, assuredly feels always joy mingled with pain.

(Verse 9). I will tell of the famous and most noble lineage of the hero devoted to him, the blest General Rudra, the lord of Rēcherla.

(Verse 10). There was a general named the blest Brahma, possessing many virtues, who protected the earth by the rampart of his majesty.

(Verse 11). As soon as his musical instruments had pealed forth he swiftly flung open the doors of the city of Kāñchi like a curtain,² and promptly brought about there the marriage of the Kākati monarch with the Fortune of heroes.

¹ The boar was the crest of the Kākatiyas.

² Cf. below, verse 30, and *Daśa-kumāra-charita*, Wilson's ed., p. 4, l. 11. At weddings a curtain or screen is placed between the bridegroom and the bride, and is removed when the astrologer declares the moment to be auspicious.

(Verse 12). In his family was born the General named Kāṭaya, conqueror of foes, enjoying brilliant fortunes, dear to good men.

(Verse 13). The passionate bee of his spirit day after day freely and plainly haunted with joy Śrīkaṇṭha's blessed lotus-feet, which are ruddily radiant from the lines of large jewels, massive and bright, that are strung on the tips of the crests of obeisant Brahman and all the other immortals.

(Verse 14). His son was the General named Kāma, brilliant in conduct, whose mind was pure in worship of the lotus-feet of the Lord of the world.

(Verse 15). When he, the commander of the blest king Prōla's army, renowned for valour, great of strength, smote in battle king Manthanya-Guṇḍa, the other hostile monarchs instantly fled away in every direction, like the other lesser elephants when the chief elephant (*of the herd*) has been laid low by a lion.

(Verse 16). Of him was born a son, the General Kāṭaya, truthful of speech and adorned with unswerving valour praised by heroes.

(Verse 17). He was an ocean (*producing*) a multitude of the gems of virtues, a unique kinsman to the good, a celestial tree in largesse, a destroyer of hostile factions, possessing renowned flawless intelligence, attaining the accomplishment of his desires, having the lauded form of Paśupati, enjoying famous and endless glory.

(Verse 18). From him was born the blest General Rudra, conqueror of foes, as from the great mountain Rōhaṇa¹ (*is produced*) the brilliant beryl.

(Verse 19). The Lotus-dweller (Brahman) created firmness in Mēru, which is without tenderness, beauty in the Mind-born (Kāma), who is a rebel against Īśa, profundity in (*the ocean, which is*) the source of *viśa* (poison, or water), mobility in the thunderbolt, which is gross, and bounty in the celestial tree, which is beyond the reach of the needy; being dissatisfied with these,² he created him, Kāmāmbikā's son, who is a mine of virtues untouched by faults.

(Verse 20). The heat of the majesty of this (*Rudra*), who is a sun (*scattering*) the darkness consisting of valiant hostile kings,—wonderful to relate!—certainly causes the multitude of (*white*) lotuses which are the bright faces of his foemen's mistresses to fade, yet plainly brings into flower the grove of (*blue*) lotuses which are the eyes of celestial damsels whose hearts are possessed with joy at obtaining their lovers.

(Verse 21). When the blest king Rudra, who was a thunderbolt upon the mountains that are hostile monarchs, and who drew to himself the hand of the bright Earth destined to be enjoyed by the Kākati Lord, had gone to heaven, the hostile princes whom he, renowned for valour, had conquered on the fields of battle sprang up together hastily in panic.³

(Verse 22). He forsooth cut off the head of a haughty feudatory, and set it up for public view, stuck on the top of a lofty flag-staff, in his lord's city,

¹ Mount Ruhuna in Ceylon.

² Because each of these merits was attended by a failing.

³ The first Rudra mentioned in this verse is apparently the Kākatiya king Rudradēva; the second is the general Rēcherla Rudra.

that field for the harvest of universal prosperity, (*as a scarecrow*) to frighten the flocks of the wild beasts that are hostile monarchs.

(Verse 23). Threatened by the pennons on the top of his army's flag-staffs, King Nāgati speedily took to flight.

(Verse 24). Rēcherla Rudra, a hero loyal to his lord, right resolute of mind, when the Fortune of the Kākati Monarch through error had set her foot among many sharp thorns and for the moment the triple lore was disturbed, himself by the might of his arm forcibly crushed and removed those (*thorns*), and very firmly established that (*Fortune*) in security.

(Verse 25). [Owing to the damaged state of the stone this verse is only partially intelligible; it refers to Rudra's military exploits].

(Verse 26). His sharp arrows on the battlefields, though piercing..... monarchs, to whose bodies no blood clings, shine with averted faces, owing forsooth to their intense shame because (*they think*): "We have in vain inflicted wounds upon these men, who at the mere sight of us have instantly gone to heaven."¹

(Verse 27). The crowd of parasols of enemy kings, having their poles split by him with his arrows, laid low, and covered with dust, appears on the field of battle like their halo of glory deprived of lustre.

(Verse 28). Rival kings, fleeing from dread of him, in their desire to become equal to him walk forsooth manifestly at the same moment, owing to his might of arm, over vast *kaṭakas* (slopes, or camps) of *bhūmibhr̥its* (mountains, or monarchs), which are thickly set with broad *śālas* (*sāl* trees, or ramparts), inaccessible to others, thronged with bands of most noisy *nāgas* (barbarians, or elephants), and which have flocks of *vājis* (birds, or horses) grazing over them.²

(Verse 29). His arrows, golden-tailed and keen of point, obedient to his unswerving valour, instantly in battle pierce the crowd of enemy monarchs and enter the earth, in order forsooth to say to the serpent who supports the world: "By overcoming wicked men this day we have relieved the burden of the earth."

(Verse 30). In battle the dust that arises from the ground split open by the hoofs of his squadron of harnessed coursers, and which spreads abroad over the sky, being cut off at its root by the water, consisting of the abundant rutting ichor of lordly elephants, appears like a curtain spread out for the marriage of the damsels of heaven with the valiant hostile kings slain by the blows of the sword swung in his pole-like arm.

(Verse 31). Shattering great hosts of heroic foes, the sword-blade of (*Rudra who is*) burning with majesty plainly assumes the hue of smoke; and the masses of gore arising from enemies' limbs wear the aspect of fire; and the bloodstained

¹ The meaning of this *utpr̥ēśhā* is as follows:—Rudra's arrows make clean bloodless wounds on his enemies because they are already dead from terror, and fly through their bodies and beyond them, with their points turned away from them, as if they were turning away their faces in shame at having "killed the dead" by piercing men who had already expired when they saw them coming. Compare v. 29 below. The idea is borrowed from *Raghuvamśa*, i, 61.

² Of these two sets of meanings, the first applies in each case to the condition of the rivals in exile on the mountains, the second to that of Rudra walking through the camps of his subjects.

pearls falling from the temples of foemen's elephants upon the earth have the semblance of coals.

(Verse 32). A string of pearls, though very bright, is placed upon a *randhra* (orifice of the body, *or* weakness); Śakra's elephant, though white of body, is foul with the oozing of rutting ichor; the swan, though white plainly delights in *jaḍa* (water, *or* stupidity); the moon, though stainless of lustre, is a *dōshākara* (maker of night, *or* mine of faults): thus these things are not equal to his fame, which is faultlessly bright in character.

(Verse 33). And this blest General Rudra, a man of skill, made a consecration of the god Rudrēśvara in the city of Ōrugallu.

(Verse 34). And the sage son of Kāmāmbā then granted to this Śiva, for the accomplishment of enjoyment of theatrical performances and bodily pleasure, the village named Nekkonda.

(Verse 35). By him was built a city brilliantly shooting up lofty pinnacles, in which are delightful palaces, constant fortunes of every kind.

(Verse 36). It is for ever a blest Dvāravatī, an Ayōdhyā together with Girivraja, and a blest Viśālā, and a Mathurā manifestly, and a Bhōgavatī.

(Verse 37). Here in one part (*is heard*) the sound of mighty roaring of towering lordly elephants, in another part the multitudinous clattering of the hard hoofs of squadrons of horses, in another the sportive clamour of warlike exercises carried on by troops of warriors, in another the mutual altercation of numerous libertines in gambling companies.

(Verse 38). In another part the sound of damsels' songs mingled with the tones of the lute and pipe, in another the declamation of verses accompanied by the sweetness of novel musical performances, in another the recitation of the Four Vēdas clearly rendered by congregations of Brāhmans, in another the brilliance of goodly discourses by ardent students of the sciences.

(Verse 39). As if on purpose to behold the splendour of this (*city*), the betel-creepers quickly climb up to the top of the shoulders of the areca-palms in the parks all around.

(Verse 40). He constructed a pond, which stands like an ocean that has come thither from fear of the Submarine Fire, and looks like a mirror for that city.

(Verse 41). In this (*pond*) the banks, covered with rows of waves and underlined with foam all along the water-edge, suggest a resemblance to the ocean, being like in aspect to rows of shells of quivering lustre.

(Verse 42). All the clouds certainly take up its water, not that of the ocean, for they everywhere carry sweet water.

(Verse 43). All the stainless stars in the nights, entering its exceedingly pure waters in the form of reflected images (*of themselves*), ever freely perform in sooth the austerity of water-dwelling¹ in order to be united with the full moon.

(Verse 44). At this (*pond*), which is loved by troops of birds delighted at the swinging play of the lines of gently rising, abundant, sportive, quivering

¹ A form of mortification in which the ascetic stays for a certain time in water; cf. *Kumāra-sambhava*, V, 26.

waves, the *chātaka*-birds all around in the hot season drink the pure water drops dashed up by the fishes' tails as they fall far away, imagining them to be rain.

(Verse 45). In this exceedingly brilliant city this (*Rudra*), who was a terror to rival warriors, performed a consecration of Rudrēśvara which was extolled by great Brāhmans.

(Verse 46). On the top of the temple of this (*god*) shines distinctly a golden cupola, illumining the space of the sky, always having the brilliance of a vast sun's orb standing on the lofty peak of the Eastern Mountain.

(Verse 47). In the Śaka year numbered as "earth, moon, worlds, arrows" [1135], (*the cyclic year*) Śrīmukha, in (*the month of*) Madhu, on the eighth day of the bright fortnight, a Sunday, and under the *nakshatra* Pushya, he, great of mind.

(Verse 48). Granted respectfully to Rudrēśvara together with Gaurīśa Upparlapalli and Borlapalli for their enjoyment.

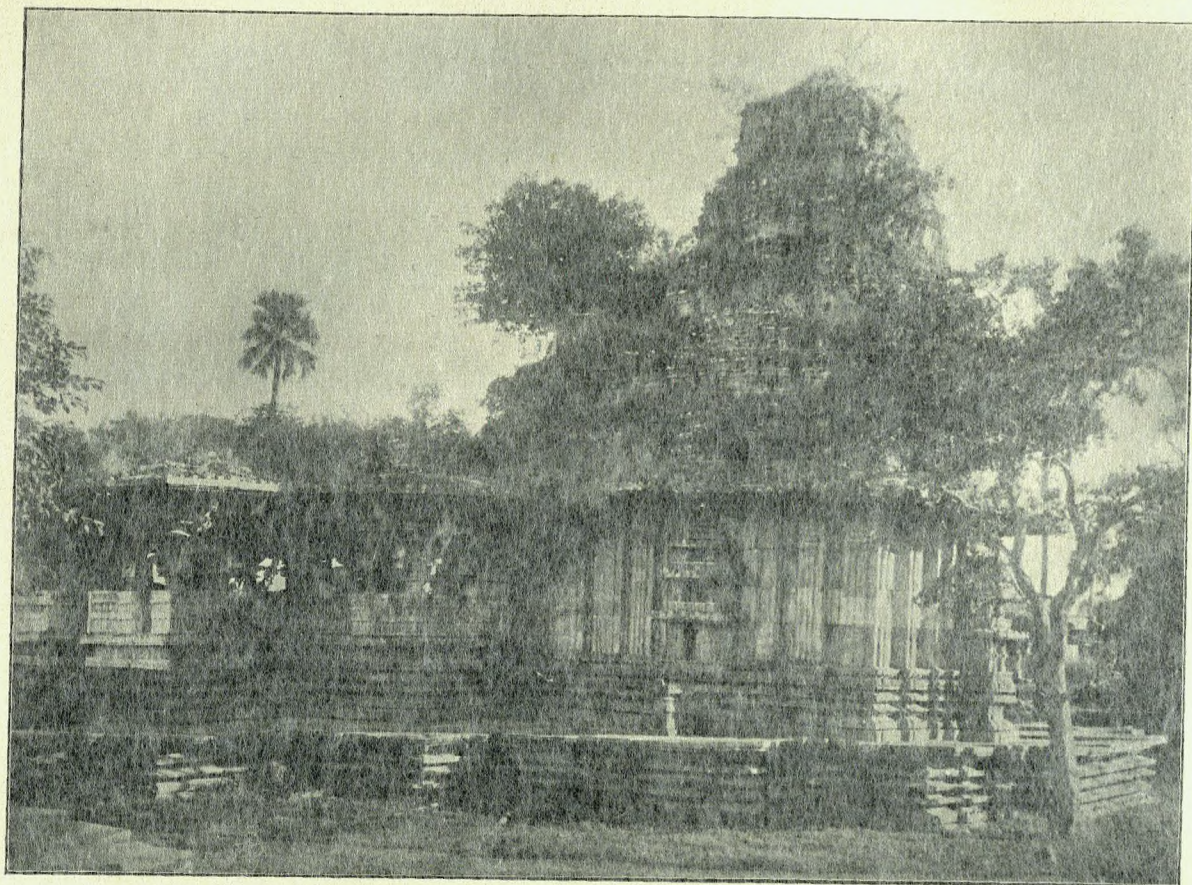
(Verses 49—52). (Four hortatory stanzas).

(Verses 53—54). The blest General Rudra, the sage, rejoicing granted to the god who is well established in the ever fortunate goodly town of Ātukūru, to Kāṭēśvara and Kāmēśvara and Rudrēśvara, the excellent village of Nṛadkude for their enjoyment.

GHULAM YAZDANI.

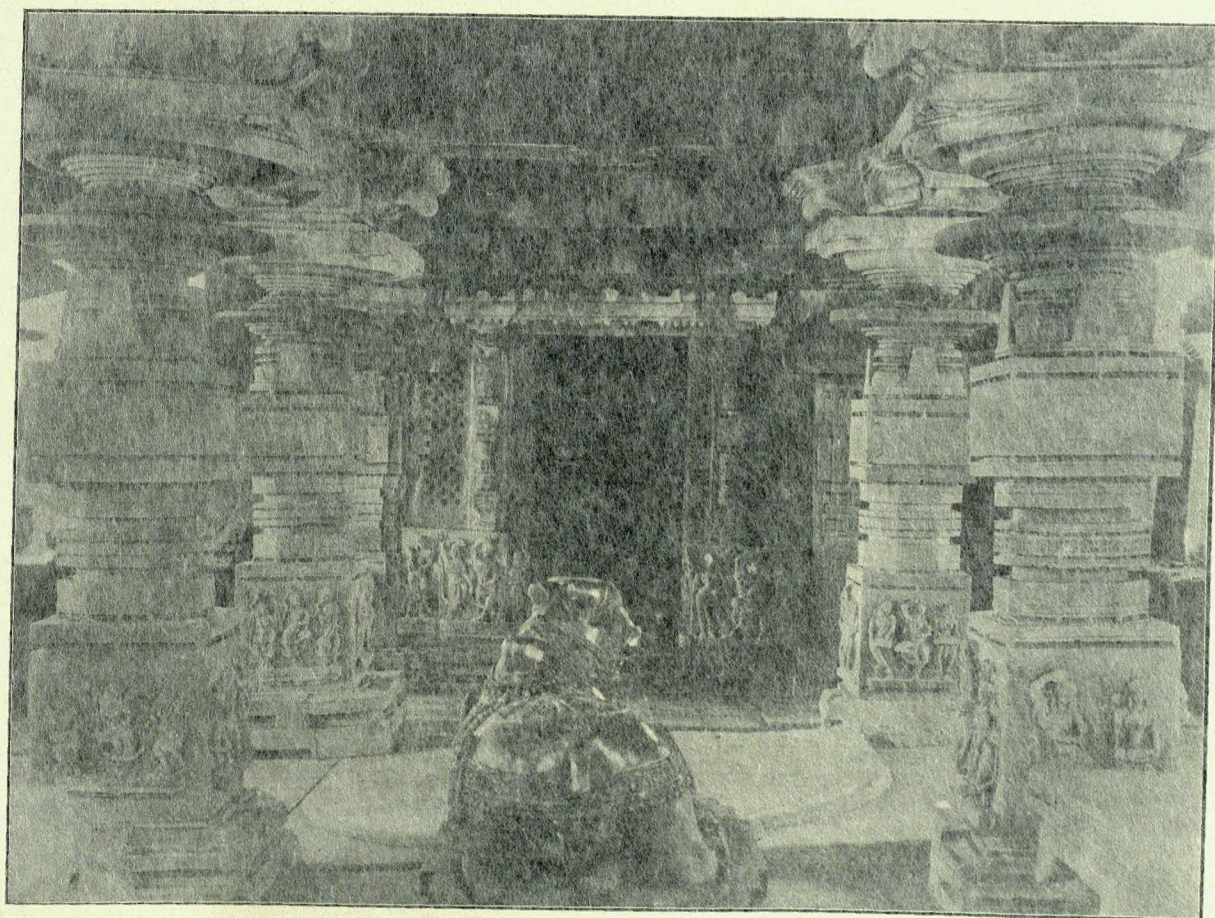
THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.

PLATE XXVII.



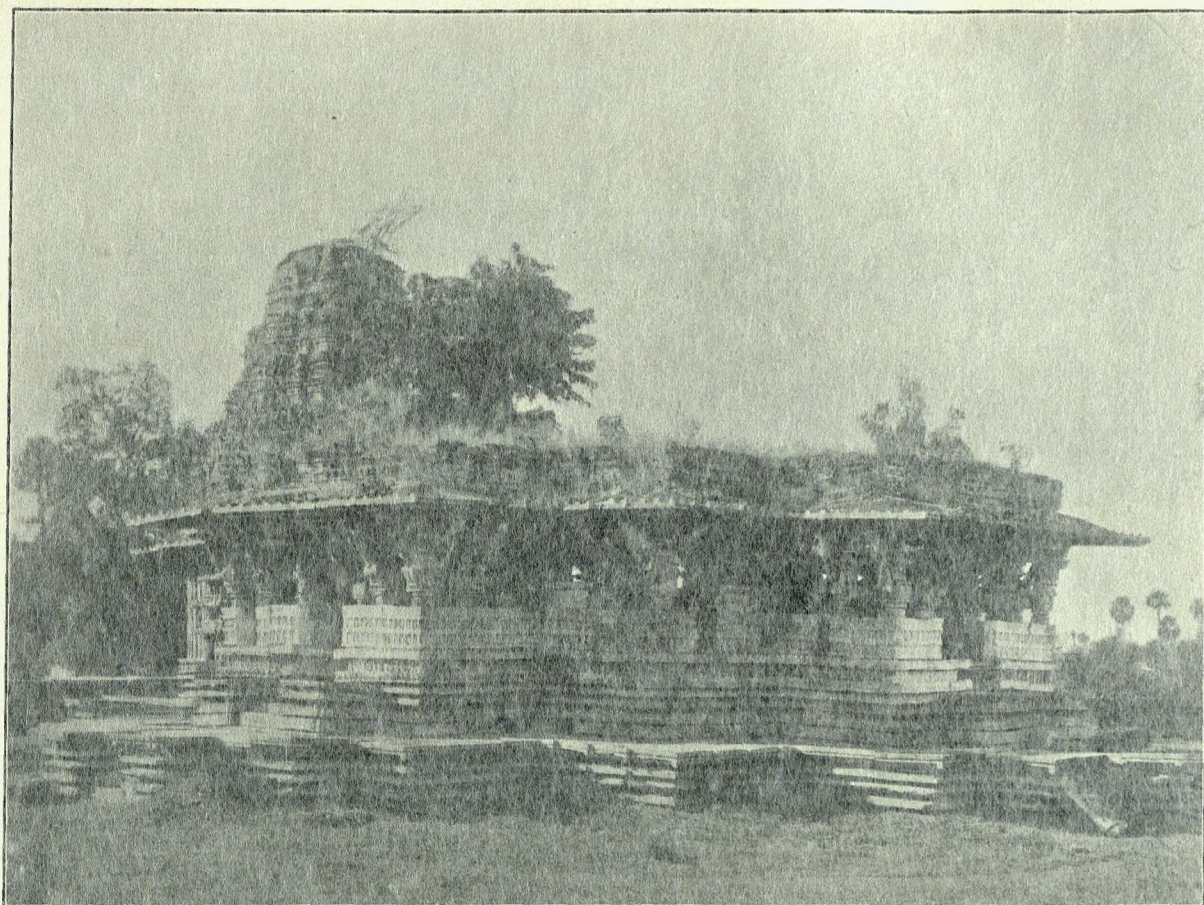
a.

GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET: VIEW FROM N.W.



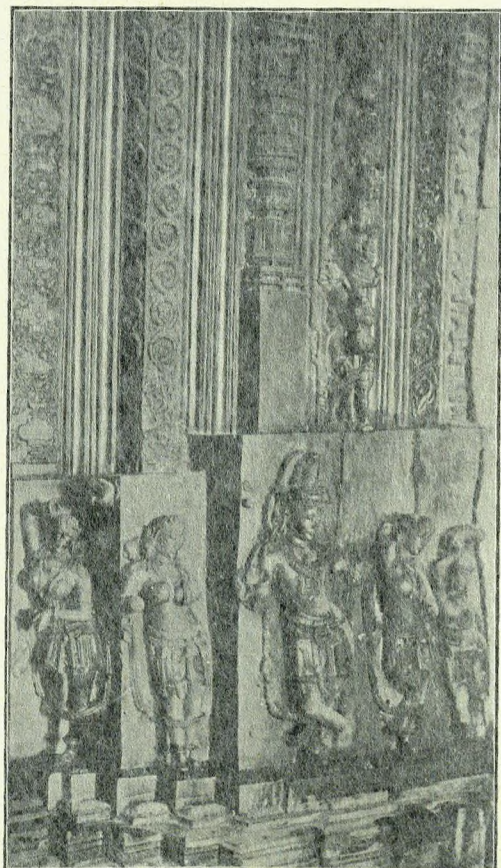
b.

INTERIOR OF TEMPLE AT THE EASTERN END OF THE RAMAPPA LAKE BAND, PALAMPET (WARANGAL).

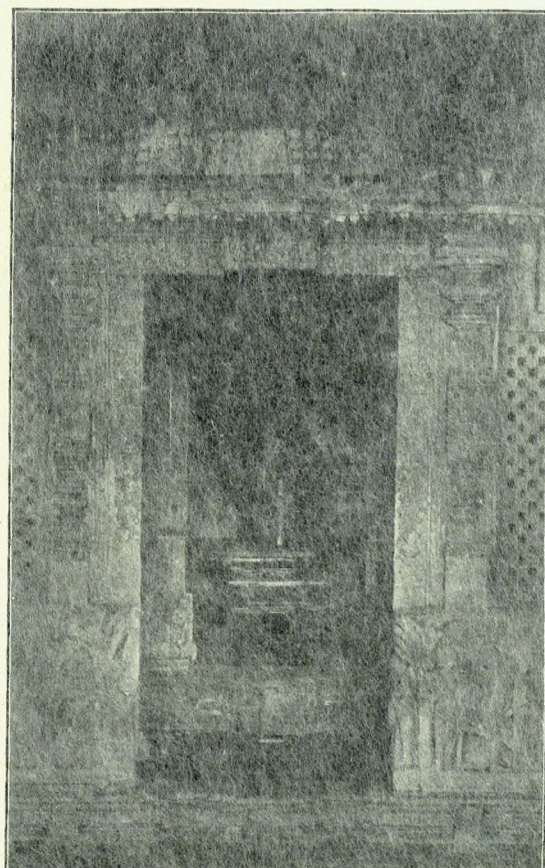


GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET: VIEW FROM S.-E.

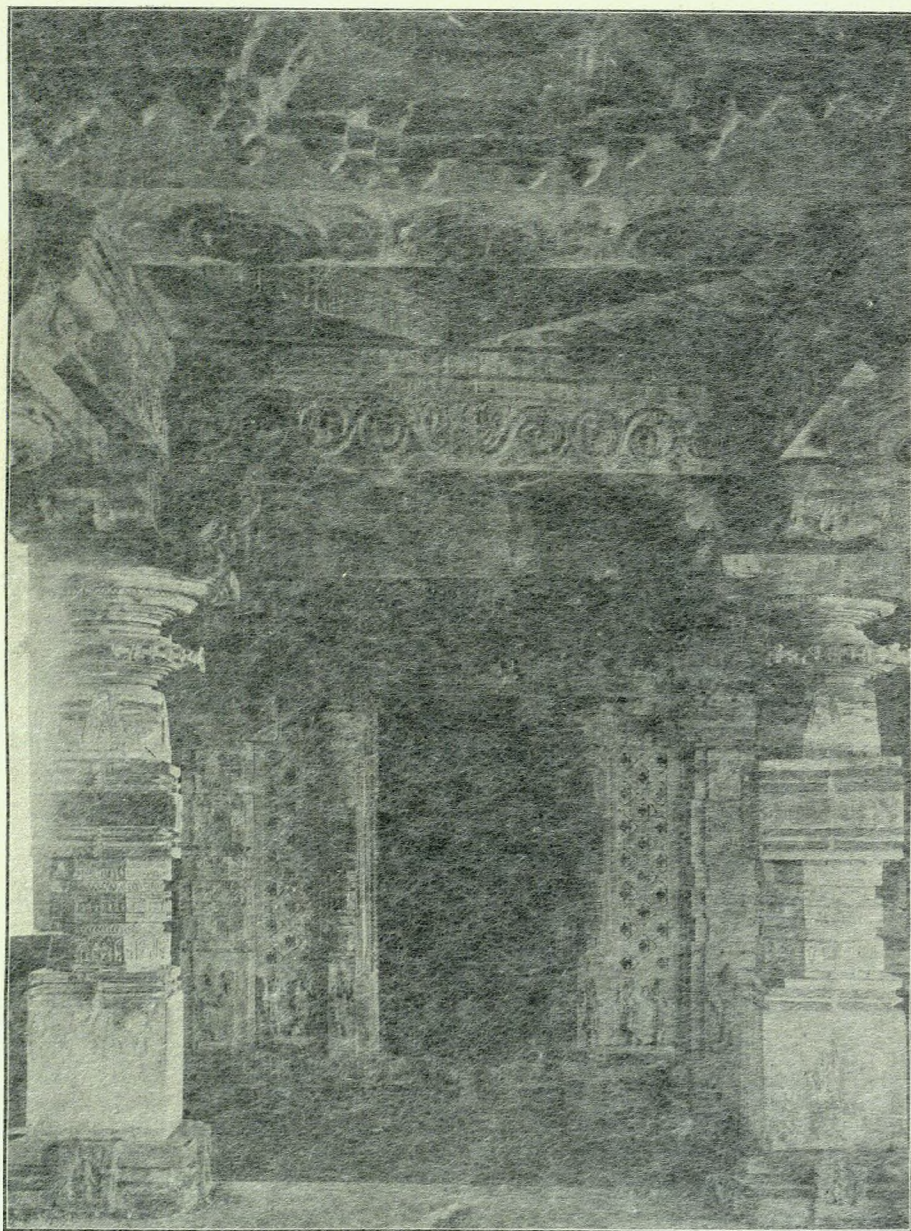
a.



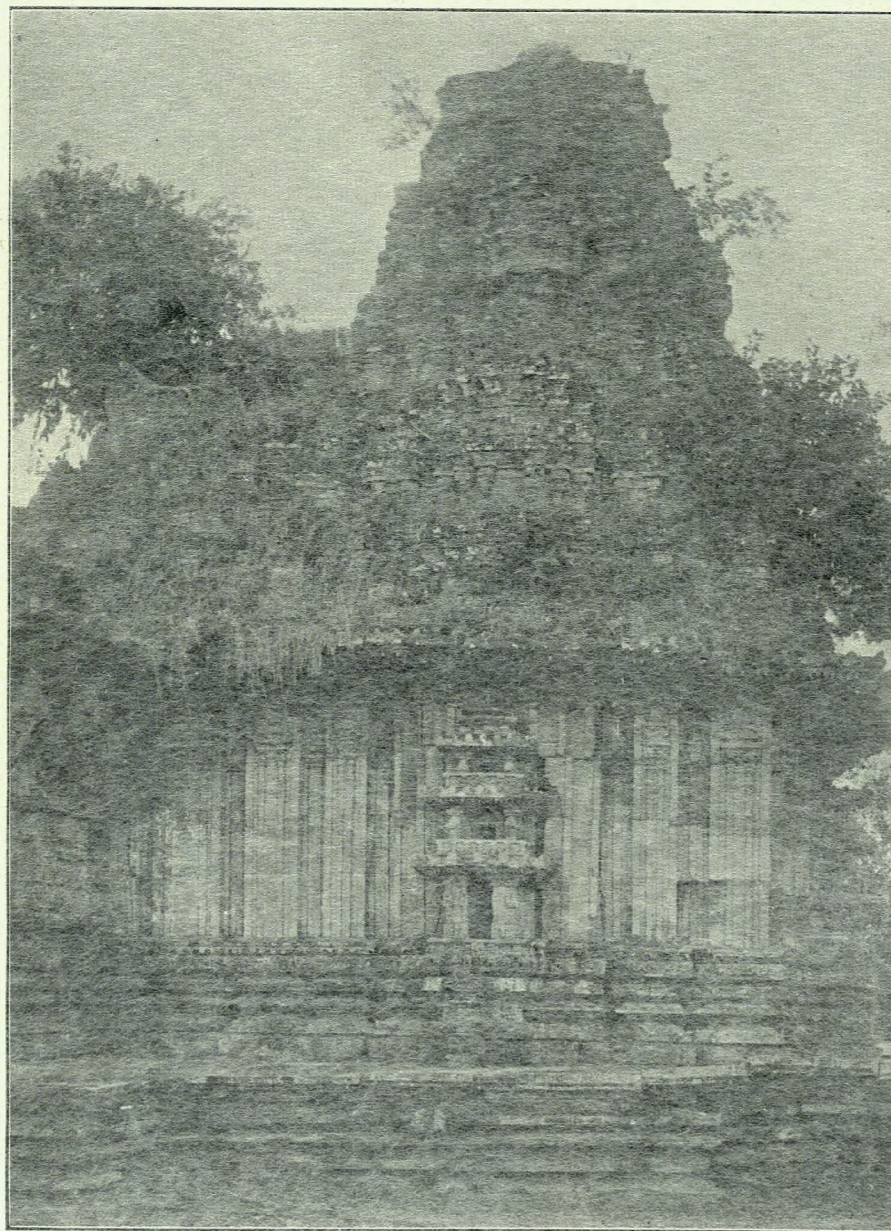
b. JAMB OF DOOR, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



c. DOORWAY OF TEMPLE AT THE WESTERN END OF THE
RAMAPPA LAKE BAND PALAMPET.



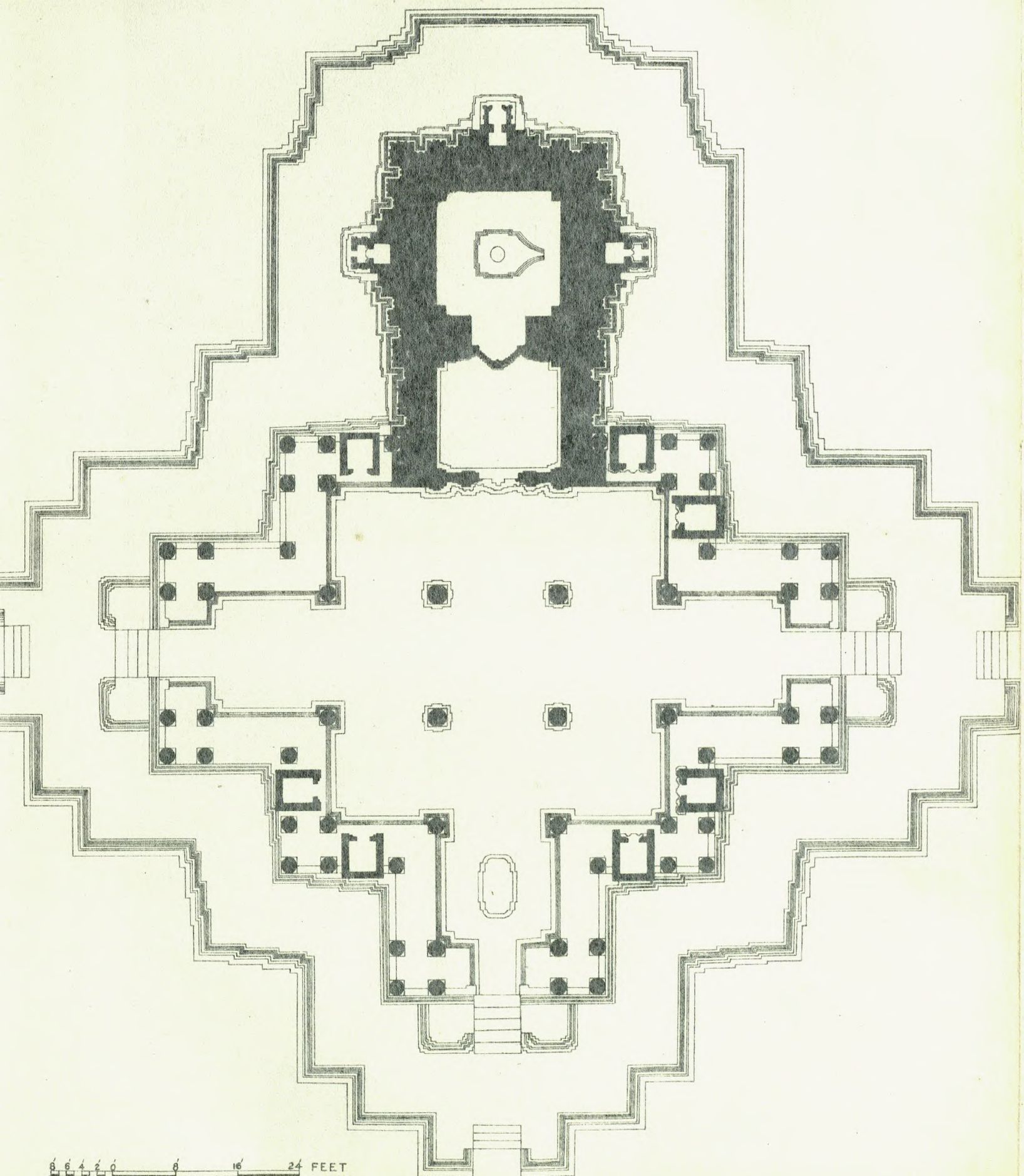
a.
INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE AT UPARPALLE, WARANGAL DISTRICT.



b.
SIKHARA, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.

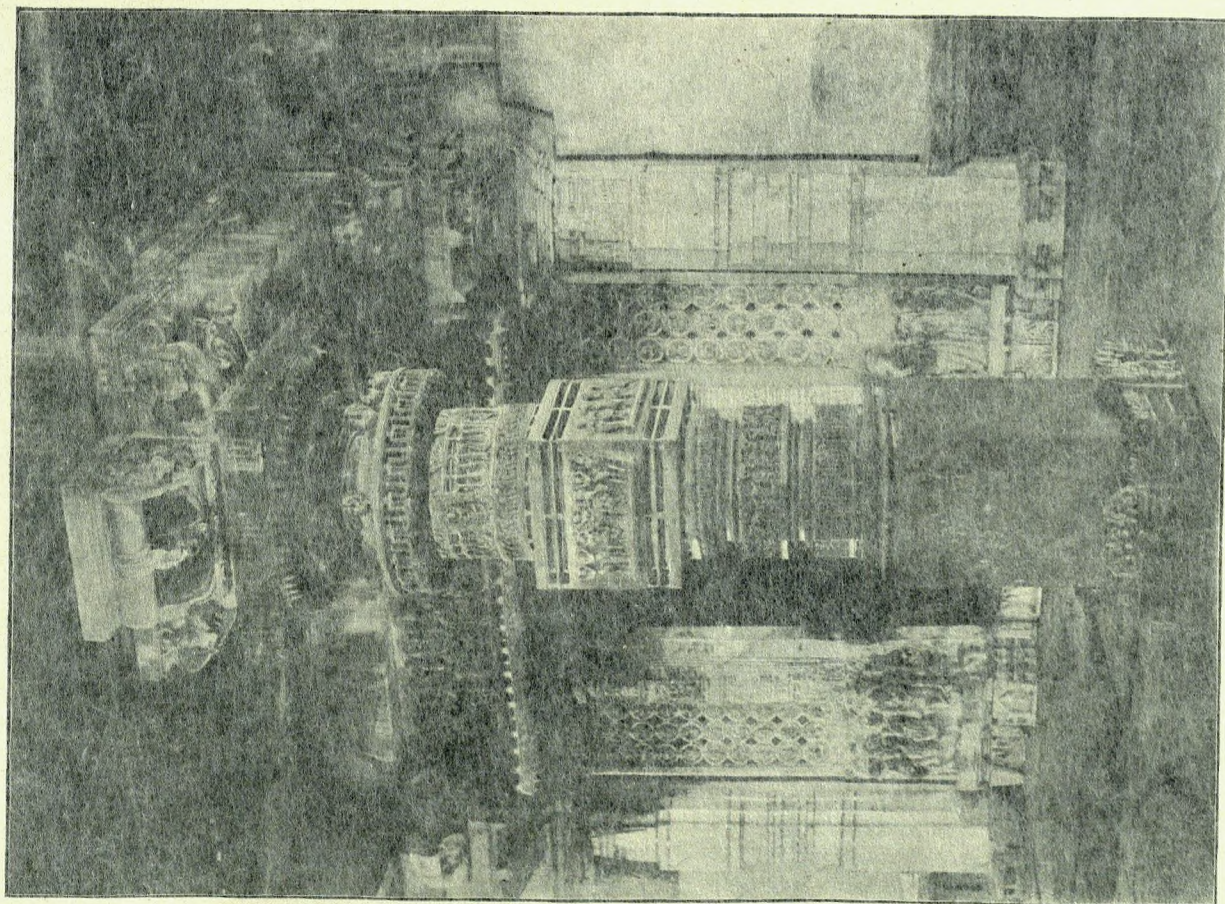
THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.

PLATE XXIX.

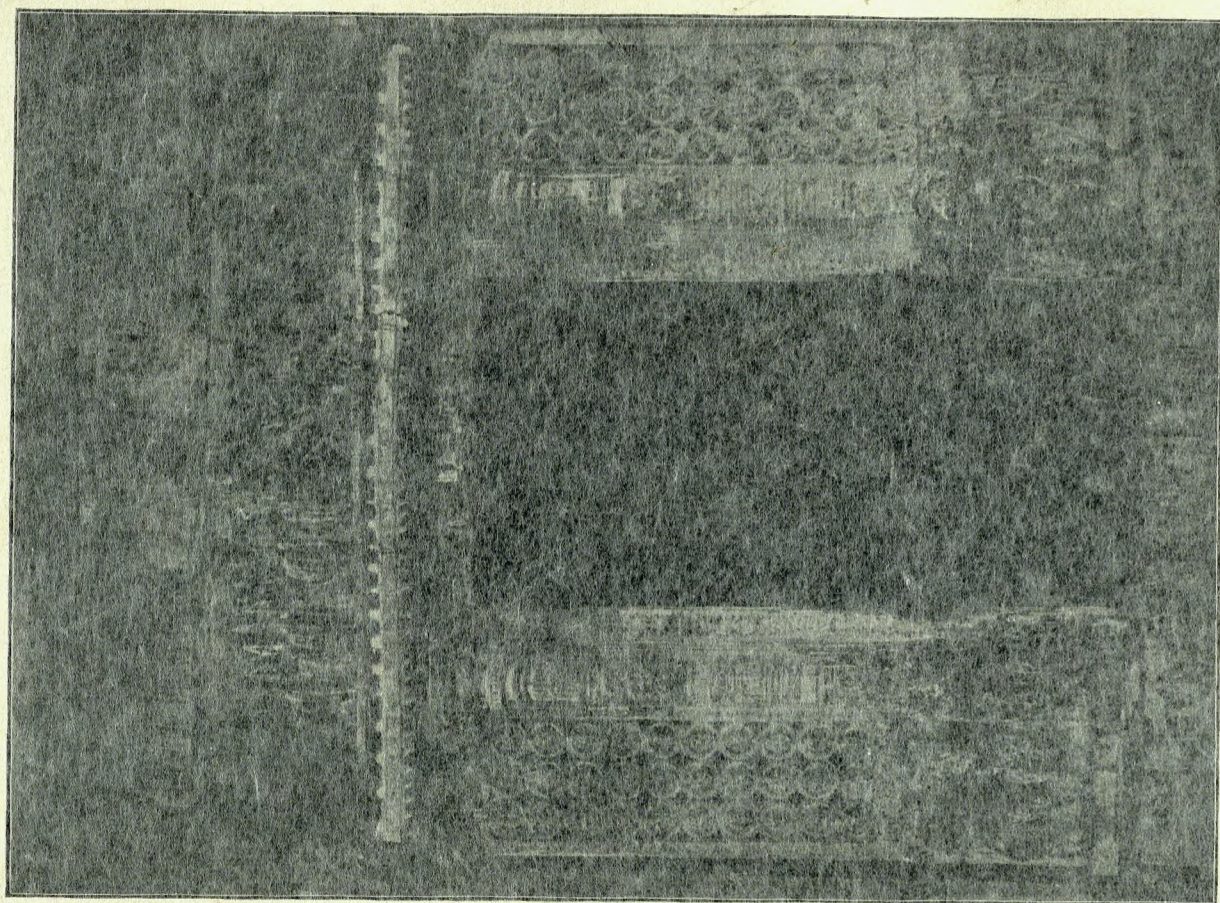


THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.

PLATE XXXI.



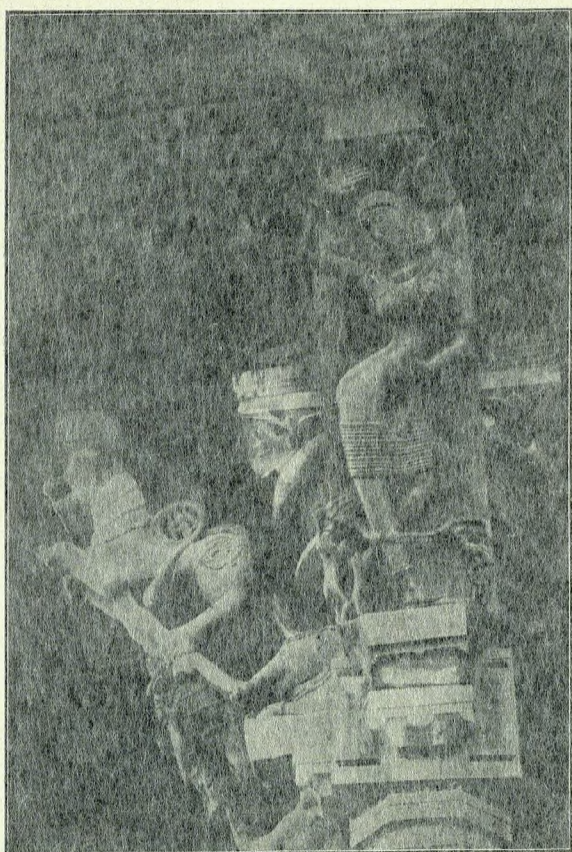
^a
 DETAIL OF PILLAR, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



^b
 DOORWAY, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.

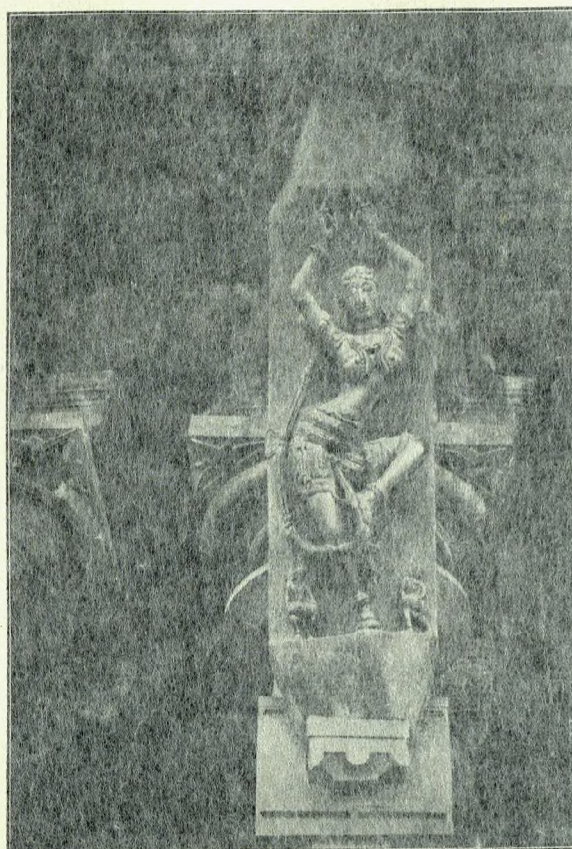
THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.

PLATE XXXII.



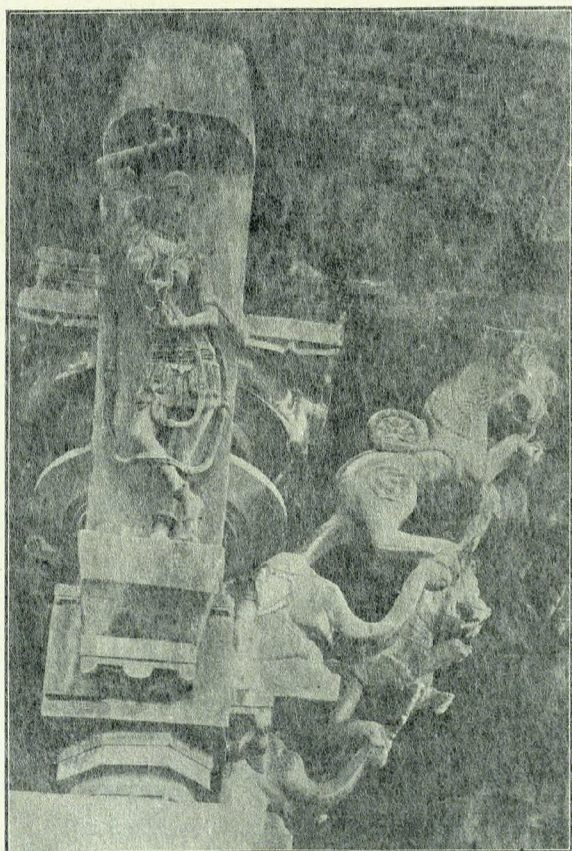
a.

FIGURE-BRACKET, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



b.

ANOTHER.



c.

ANOTHER.

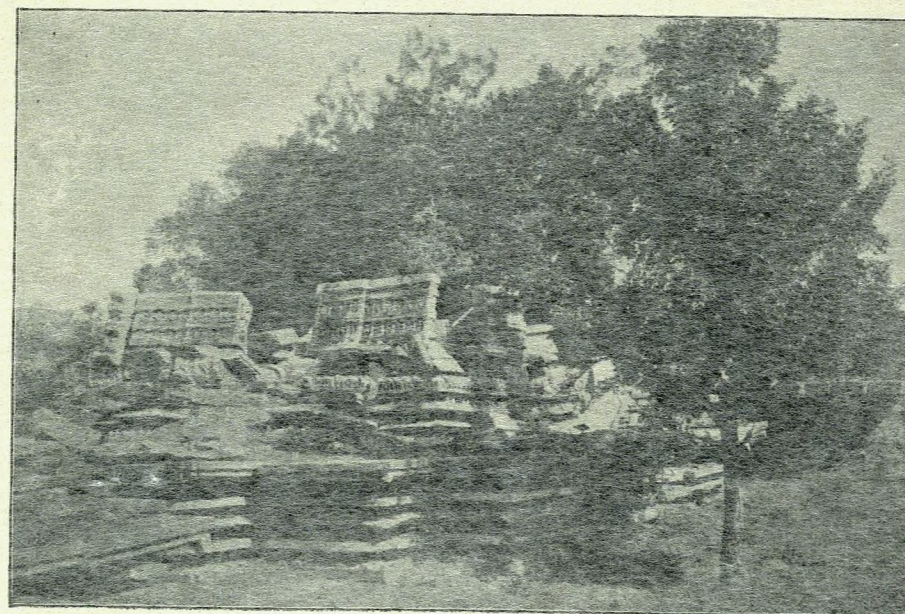


d.

ANOTHER.



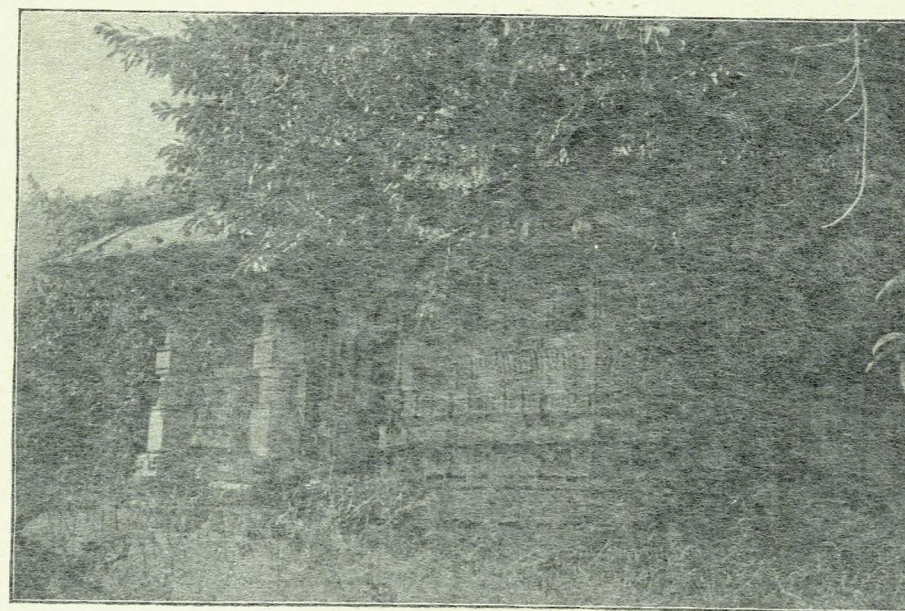
a. RUINED TEMPLE: N.-W. OF GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



b. RUINED NANDI PAVILION, GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



c. RUINED TEMPLE, NORTH OF GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.



d. TEMPLE, WEST OF GREAT TEMPLE, PALAMPET.

THE TEMPLES AT PALAMPET.



CSL

MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA



No. 7

EXCAVATIONS AT TAXILA

The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian

By JOHN MARSHALL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,
Director-General of Archaeology in India.



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EXCAVATIONS AT TAXILA.

THE STŪPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIĀÑ.

IN the accounts of my explorations at Taxila, hitherto published in my Annual Reports, it has been my practice to describe the results achieved season by season on each and every one of the sites where digging has been in progress. This method of publication has been appropriate enough for an Annual Report designed primarily to keep Government *en rapport* with our latest discoveries, but it has the inherent defect of scattering over several volumes the materials belonging to a single group of monuments, and of thus involving the repetition of plans and other illustrations and of causing unnecessary trouble to the reader. Accordingly, now that it has been decided to issue detached memoirs in place of Part II of my Annual Report, I propose henceforth to follow the more convenient plan of devoting one memoir to each group of buildings and of publishing it as soon as the work of excavation is complete. In the present memoir—the first, I hope, of many relating to Taxila—I shall deal in detail with the important group of Buddhist remains near the village of Jauliāñ which I have already briefly described in my *Guide to Taxila*.¹

The exploration of this site was started in the autumn of 1916 and completed in the spring of 1918, the conservation of the monuments exposed being carried out *pari passu*, as far as that was practicable, with the digging. The operations have been conducted under my own personal direction and under the immediate supervision of Mr. Natesa Aiyar, my former pupil and Excavation Assistant and now Officiating Superintendent in the Frontier Circle, who has brought to bear upon them all the skill and efficiency that habitually distinguish his work. To him I am indebted not only for the sedulous care that he has given to the difficult and delicate task of excavating these fragile monuments from the soil and of conserving them when excavated, but for the methodical accuracy with which he has maintained the record of his work.

¹ Pp. 110-115.

The lists of finds at the end of this Memoir as well as the readings of the inscriptions on pp. 9-10 are the outcome of our joint labours, having in the first instance been compiled by Mr. Natesa and subsequently revised by myself. To M. A. Foucher, the well-known authority on Buddhist art and iconography, my grateful acknowledgments are due for the valuable dissertation he has contributed (pp. 22-39 *infra*) on the decoration of the stuccoed stupas; to Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., for having examined the coins and checked the list of those which are decipherable; and to Professor Ramaprasad Chanda, for having made a minute study of the half-burnt manuscript of birch-bark found in the monastery.

Situation, etc.

The hill on which stand the remains I am about to describe is about 300 feet high and situated somewhat less than a mile North-East of Mohrā Morādu and about half that distance from the village of Jauliāñ. It belongs to the spur which ends towards the west in the hill of Hathiāl and, like all the hills in this neighbourhood, is composed mainly of a hard limestone rock, in the cleft and jagged slopes of which grow the wild olive, *phulai* and *sonattha* shrubs. A little to the north is a somewhat lower ridge, and beyond this the broad valley of the Hāro, the stony bed of which shows as a grey streak in the distance. On the other three sides are higher eminences forming an integral part of the main spur, with here and there, on their summits or in the depressions between, the buried remains of other Buddhist settlements. To the south, this girdle of hills is broken by a narrow ravine, through which a rough track leads to the village of Khurram and the Dharmarājikā Stūpa; westward, another and an easier path, made for the convenience of sight-seers, leads up the valley to the stūpa of Mohrā Morādu; while a third, in a north-westerly direction, takes us across the open country to Nikra and, half a mile further on, to the ruined city of Sirsukh. We shall see later, when we come to discuss the date of the Jauliāñ monuments, that they were, in all probability, founded in the Kushān period, about the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., and that their destruction dates from some two and a half centuries later. During this period the capital of Taxila was in Sirsukh; for by that time (the Kushān epoch) the earlier cities of Sirkap and the Bhīr Mound had been entirely abandoned. Indeed, it is probable that most of the monasteries and stūpas in the vicinity of Jauliāñ, Mohrā Morādu and Bādālpur were established after the capital had been transferred to Sirsukh; while the Dharmarājikā Stūpa and many of the other Buddhist settlements further to the west are contemporary with the city of Sirkap. Be this, however, as it may, there is no doubt that the excavated remains at Jauliāñ, as well as those at Mohrā Morādu, synchronise with those in the city of Sirsukh, and we can well understand how attractive such a site must have been for the members of the Buddhist *sangha* eager to enjoy the advantages of this dominating position on the hill top with its wide expanse of view, its calm seclusion, and, last but not least, its cool and dustless air, but no less eager perhaps to keep closely in touch with their devotees in the great city, where their daily alms would be begged. One drawback only would there be to the situation, namely, the difficulty of carrying up their water supply;

Water Supply.

THE STŪPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIĀÑ.

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but this is a difficulty which never seems to have deterred either Buddhists or Jains from establishing themselves in remote and sometimes almost inaccessible places. Doubtless, they required no great quantity of water for their needs, and possibly they could count on their devotees giving them help when they made their pilgrimages to the hill-top. There were novices, too, in the monastery, and possibly slaves as well, one of whose functions would naturally be the fetching of water. In any case, the difficulty in ancient days was not as great as now; for at the southern foot of the hill there were until a generation ago the ruins of several old wells, no doubt contemporary with the monastery, which have now been closed in and ploughed over by the cultivators.

The monuments now brought to light on the hill-top are neither extensive nor novel in character, but they derive an exceptional interest from their remarkable state of preservation, many of them having apparently been but lately erected and the rest but lately repaired and redecorated when they were overtaken by the catastrophe which resulted in their burial. Their plan will be clear from Plate I. They comprise a monastery of moderate dimensions, and by its side two stūpa courts on different levels—the upper to the south, the lower to the north—with a third and smaller court adjoining them on the west. The Main Stūpa stands in the upper court, with a number of smaller stūpas closely arrayed on its four sides and with lines of chapels for cult images ranged against the four walls of the court and facing, as usual, towards the stūpa. Other stūpas and chapels similarly disposed stand in the lower and smaller court. The monastery, which is designed on the same lines as the one at Mohrā Morādu, contains an open quadrangle surrounded by cells, besides an ordination hall, refectory and other chambers.

Plan of Monuments.

Access to this complex of buildings was provided by three entrances: one near the north-west corner of the lower court, a second at the south-east corner of the upper court, and a third on the eastern side of the monastery. At each of these approaches one or more flights of narrow steps led up the steep incline, but of these flights only five of the original steps have survived at the north-west corner, twelve at the south-east and five on the east. They are constructed of solid limestone blocks, like the steps leading to the second floor of the monastery. The north-west entrance was subsequently closed up by a wall of somewhat poor construction, the space thus enclosed being converted into a chapel. For the convenience of visitors it has now been opened out again, and serves as the usual entrance for those coming from the Nikra side.

Entrances.

In the construction of the buildings two chief varieties of masonry are readily distinguishable. One of these is a large coarse diaper of a kind not infrequently employed in foundations and characterised by the use of relatively large stones to fill the interstices between the bigger boulders. This masonry is found in all the older parts of the walls of the monastery and in the lower courses of the wall immediately to the east of Stūpas D⁶. The other variety is the familiar semi-ashlar work which I have already had occasion to describe in connexion with the buildings at the Dharmarājikā and Kunāla stūpas, at Mohrā Morādu, Lālchak and other sites. Here, at Jauliāñ, it is used throughout

Masonry.

the chapel and smaller stūpas and in the later repairs and additions to the monastery, as it is used also at Mohrā Morādu. In both varieties the hard local limestone quarried on the hill of Jauliāñ itself, was used for the larger blocks as well as for the infilling of smaller chips; and in both varieties the core of the wall was composed of loose rubble. Mud served as a binding material in place of lime mortar which had not then come into fashion, and the surfaces of the walls were protected by a coating of plaster made either of mud or of lime and river gravel (*bajrī*), the latter being reserved as a rule for the exposed outer faces of the structures, and the former for the inside of rooms or verandahs, and especially for the dwelling chambers of the monks. In the semi-ashlar work of the stūpas, *kañjūr* stone, let in between the limestone blocks, is used for the mouldings and pilasters, and in some of these monuments, where the decoration is more than ordinarily elaborate, *kañjūr* alone is used for the facing. In many parts of the buildings the foundations of the walls rest on the natural rock. In room No. 16 of the monastery, for example, they descend to a depth of 7 feet below the floor level, of which the first 2 feet 6 inches is dressed stone and the rest rubble masonry.

Of the age of the semi-ashlar masonry there is now virtually no doubt. On other sites at Taxila it was in use, as I have previously demonstrated, from the 3rd until the 5th century A.D., if not longer, and at Jauliāñ there is conclusive evidence, as we shall presently see, to show that some of the semi-ashlar structures here are assignable to the 5th century, though others may be older. The older kinds of this semi-ashlar work are, as a general rule, distinguishable by the thinness of their ashlar courses and by the relative smallness of the stones in the interspaces between the boulders, which approximate to those found in the preceding diaper work.

The age of the coarse diaper masonry, on the other hand, is less easy to determine. I shall refer to it again when I come to describe the monastery. Meanwhile, let it suffice to say that there are good reasons for assigning it to the transition period between the large diaper and semi-ashlar—that is, to about the beginning of the 3rd century of our era.

Besides these two main varieties of masonry, there is a third and later kind, which is found only in two short pieces of walling in front of the chapel B²⁷ on the north side of the upper court. It is somewhat similar to small diaper work of a rough type, and may have been built in conscious imitation of it, but it is not constructed with anything like the skill exhibited in some of the buildings at the Dharmarājikā stūpa.

Floors.

In the upper stūpa court the floor was of concrete (*bajrī* and lime) covered with lime plaster, three successive coats of which indicate that the floor had thrice undergone repairs. A few traces of the ancient plaster may still be seen on the stairway of the Main Stūpa. What remained of it on the floor of the court, was in too fragile a state to be preserved, and has had to undergo repair. The steps, also, leading from the lower to the upper court, though constructed of dressed limestone blocks, seem to have been plastered in the same manner and painted red, but whether similar paint was applied over the whole surface of the courts, is uncertain.

In the lower stūpa court the floor was paved with rough limestone blocks and brought to an even surface by a coating of lime plaster. For purposes of drainage both the upper and lower courts have had to be slightly regraded, and modern drains constructed in front of the chapels.

In the monastery area, the open quadrangle and the outside edge of the surrounding plinth to a width of some six feet had a rough pavement of limestone; the floors of the rest of the plinth and of the cells were of mud and small gravel (*bajrī*) well rammed, and the floor of the image chapel was of the same materials but coated with lime plaster.

Modern roofs have been put over the stūpas and some of the chapels in order to protect the sculptures, but in old days the stūpa courts were open to the sky and the only roofs were those over the chapels and cells. In both places they appear to have been of timber secured by iron bolts and covered with a thick layer of mud. Masses of this mud covering, burnt to terracotta by the fire which consumed the buildings, were found on the floors of the monastery and chapels, and mingled with them were many of the iron bolts and nails belonging to the roof. (Cf. *List of Iron Objects*.)

Roofs.

THE MAIN STŪPA.

With this brief description of their plan and of the methods and materials used in their construction, we may now turn to consider these buildings in greater detail; and for this purpose we shall start with the Main Stūpa, then proceed to the smaller stūpas, afterwards discuss the image chapels and smaller objects found in the three courts, and end up with the monastery and its antiquities.

Though of much smaller dimensions, the Main Stūpa at Jauliāñ must have been very similar in appearance to that at Mohra Morādu, consisting like it of an oblong plinth approached from one end by a flight of steps and surmounted by a cylindrical drum and dome, the whole embellished with plaster reliefs and crowned by the indispensable umbrellas, which symbolise the world sovereignty of the Buddha. Much of the superstructure—including the dome and all but the lowest course of the drum—has now disappeared, but the lofty plinth is still standing almost to its full height and some portions of its stucco decoration have been preserved. The core of the structure is of rubble and its facing of a very early variety of semi-ashlar limestone masonry with *kañjūr* blocks let in for mouldings and pilasters. The details of these and other decorative features will be clear to the reader from the drawings on Plate I and from the photographs on Plates II, III and Va. The horizontal mouldings at the base are of the usual *torus* and *scotia* pattern, but it is worthy of remark that the lowest *torus* both in the continuous base which runs round the whole structure and in the bases of the individual pilasters is finished off in bevelled facets, while the other mouldings are rounded. The character of the figural decoration on the south, east and west sides of the plinth is illustrated in Plate IIIa and IV. It consists of a seated colossal Buddha in the *dhyanamudrā* occupying the bay between each pair of pilasters, and of smaller Buddhas in

Design and Construction.

Figural decoration on south, east and west sides.

a like posture seated one above the other on the face of the pilasters. All of these figures, large and small, are of a relatively late date (*circa* 5th century A.D.) and demonstrably more modern than the body of the stūpa. This difference between the age of the relievos and the body of the monument is evident from the clumsy fashion in which the larger figures have been applied to the face of the walls by filling the hollows between the horizontal base-mouldings with small stones and mud, building up a base of the required size (generally of the same materials) and finishing off with a coat of coarse lime plaster. Notwithstanding the late age, however, at which they were produced, they are not without some dignity and charm. The bodies of the larger figures, it is true, are rude and cumbersome, coarsely fashioned on a core which is mainly composed of *kañjūr* blocks and mud with a not very thick covering of lime plaster, but the colossal heads, of which seven more or less intact and others broken were found reposing on the floor, were of excellent stucco finished with slip and paint and modelled with both skill and feeling (Plates IV and Xa and b). A feature worthy of notice in these heads is the shape of their noses, some of which (*e.g.*, Plate IVa and b) have prolonged tips and almost aquiline bridges, while others adhere more closely to the true Greek type, as illustrated, for example, in Plate XXIVa. Now, it is commonly supposed that the older such heads are, the more nearly do they approximate to the classical, and doubtless this supposition is true of the majority of Buddhist statues in the North-West; but in these particular cases there is good reason to believe that they belong to one and the same period, and that such differences as are visible are due to the idiosyncrasies of their sculptors rather than to any marked disparity in their ages.

Figural
decoration on
north side.

On the north side of the stūpa, to the west of the ascending stairs, are two Buddhas in a standing posture with the remains of smaller seated figures in front of their pedestals (Plate Va). One of these standing Buddhas (to the east) may be of earlier date than the other, and earlier also than the seated Buddhas described above. What remains of the drapery of this figure, particularly the lower edge of the under garment (*antaravāsaka*) is well and skilfully modelled. In the other figure, the drapery is strikingly schematic and wooden and distinguished by a conventional treatment of the folds falling from the right arm, which in this position are meaningless. In one of the corresponding bays on the eastern side of the stair is a seated Buddha with a round hole at the navel, and, on the pedestal below, an ex-voto inscription in Kharo-shthī characters (Pl. XIa) :—

Dhammaṇadisa Buddhāmitra.

“(The gift) of Buddhāmitra, who delighted in the Law.”

The hole at the navel was probably intended for a suppliant to place his finger in when offering up prayers for recovery from certain bodily ailments; for a similar custom still obtains in Burma. To the sides and at the end of the stair are the remains of several seated Buddhas of varying sizes, but devoid of any special interest.

SUBSIDIARY STŪPAS.

Of the small subsidiary stūpas there are 21 set in close array in the upper court, five in the lower, and one in the western court. In their essential features they are, as might be expected, diminutive copies of the larger edifice, but they differ from it in the decoration and shape of their plinths, which were square in plan instead of oblong (since standing space was not required in front of the drum) and usually relieved with more elaborate ornament. In every case the core of these buildings is of rough rubble, faced as a rule with soft *kañjūr* stone in which the main features of the decoration are blocked out and then finished off in lime plaster, the details of the architectural members and the reliefs being modelled throughout in stucco. In the stūpa A¹⁵ (Pl. VIII) the plinth is faced throughout with large diaper masonry similar to that employed in the older parts of the monastery, and it is likely that this is one of the earliest among the small stūpas, although it was no doubt refaced and re-decorated at a later age. In the majority of others the base is of semi-ashlar limestone masonry, and where relic chambers occur (*viz.*, in Nos. A¹¹ and D⁵) they also are built of the same masonry. The use of limestone and *kañjūr* side by side in these and other buildings at Taxila is dictated merely by considerations of convenience, limestone being preferred for its durability, and *kañjūr* for the ease with which it could be fashioned to any desired shape. The domes had in every case perished, but some remains of the *harmikā* and umbrellas with which they were crowned were found in the débris of the courtyard and are described in the list of finds on pp. 41—2 *infra*.

Design and construction.

The scheme of decoration on the plinths of these stūpas, although as a rule richer and more intricate than that on the main structure, is not uniformly so. In one instance (A¹⁵) it consists only of a series of figures of Buddha in the *dhyānamudrā* applied to an otherwise perfectly plain background. In two other cases (A² and A²⁰) the Buddha figures were separated one from the other by Corinthian pilasters, just as they were on the Main Stūpa, but here the pilasters are of thicker and more stunted proportions, resembling in this respect the decoration on contemporary stūpas at Sārnāth and other sites in Hindustan. But the majority of the stūpas are treated in a far more elaborate fashion. As a typical example and at the same time one of the best preserved, we may take No. A¹¹ (Pls. I and IX). Its square plinth is divided into several horizontal tiers which recede successively one above the other. Of these, the lowest is adorned with a series of seated images, four on the east and four on the west side. On the east, the figures are of Buddha in the teaching attitude alternating with Bodhisattvas, of which the one at the northern corner (Pl. IXa) is shown by the flask that he holds in his left hand to be Maitreya. On the west side, are one Buddha and three Bodhisattvas. Above these images is a row of Atlantes alternating with lions. The next tier is relieved by a series of Buddhas seated in niches with attendants on either side, separated one from the other by stunted Corinthian pilasters. In the third tier are Atlantes, alternating with the forefronts of elephants, and, above these again, is another series of

Decoration

Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, like those in the second tier. At the top of the plinth is another row of niches divided by Persepolitan instead of Corinthian pilasters and over this again, other tiers on the circular drum, which, so far as can be judged from what remains of it, was enriched in much the same way as the plinth.

Although of small and sometimes quite diminutive size, the reliefs are remarkable for the vigour and fidelity with which they are modelled, and, thanks to their exceptional state of preservation, constitute an important addition to our knowledge of Buddhist art and iconography in the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. For the analysis and description of them which is appended below I am indebted to my distinguished friend Mons. A. Foucher, whom a singular good fortune—a fortune which every lover of Buddhist art and antiquities will appreciate—has recently brought back to the scene of his former labours in India.

Relic caskets.

Before closing this description of the stūpas at Jauliäñ it remains for me to notice some other features of interest connected with them. The first of these is the discovery of a casket of a somewhat bizarre and novel type in stūpa A¹¹, immediately south of the Main Stūpa. The chamber in which it was found was 10½ inches square and 3 feet 8½ inches high, constructed of dressed limestone blocks, coated inside with lime plaster, and closed at the top and bottom with limestone slabs. The casket (Plate IXb) stands 3 feet 8 inches high and takes the form of a stūpa of slender proportions and conventionalised shape. It is fashioned out of ordinary lime plaster, finished with blue and crimson paint, and bejewelled round the dome with gems of garnet, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, aqua-marine, ruby, agate, amethyst and crystal, cut in a variety of shapes and arranged in several simple patterns. The workmanship of this curious relic casket is undeniably coarse and barbaric, but there is a certain quaint charm in its design as well as in the bright and gaudy colouring of the inlaid gems. Down the body of the miniature stūpa runs a hollow shaft, at the bottom of which were the decayed fragments of a small wooden casket, once held together by 4 iron nails.

Inside this casket were some pieces of lapis-lazuli paste, ivory, gold leaf, rock crystal, beads of gold, green vitreous paste, and coral, and a smaller round casket of copper gilt (diam. 1¾ inch), and in the latter was a still smaller cylinder of the same material (length 1¾ inch) containing a little dark-coloured dust. The metal casket and cylinder are illustrated in Plate Xh.

In stūpa D⁵, also, which is situated in the lower court, there is an unusually large relic chamber, divided into two sections, the upper, square in plan with a depth of 1 foot 9 inches, and the lower, circular with a depth of 4 feet 6 inches (Pl. I). But whatever relics this chamber may have contained, it had long since been despoiled of them.

In stūpa A¹⁶, on the contrary, there was no relic chamber, but a very rough and primitive kind of casket laid simply in the rubble core of the plinth. The casket consists of a cylindrical piece of *kañjūr* (height 5¾ inches) with a small hole at one end, closed by a *kañjūr* plug. Inside the hole was a miniature earthenware vessel (height 2 inches) containing two small copper cylinders,

one within the other; and, inside the smaller one a gold cylinder (length $\frac{3}{8}$ inch) containing some fragments of bone. Along with the copper cylinders were two copper coins of Vasudeva, one of the 'Siva and Bull' type, the other of the seated 'Ardochso' type.

Another feature of interest presented by these stüpas is the presence of inscriptions in the Kharoshthi script on the plinths of A¹⁵ and D⁵. The inscriptions on the former occur on all four sides of the structure and read as follows:—

Kharoshthi
inscriptions.

EAST FACE. On the common base of three-seated Buddhas in *dhyānamudrā*, towards north end (Pl. VIIIa). The first word is at the right end of the base, and the remaining three at the left end, showing that all three reliefs were the gift of the same donor. The reliefs are *appliqué*, the body of each figure having apparently been applied first, then the halo, and then the head, the whole being subsequently covered with a slip.

Saghamitrāsa Budhadevasa bhichhusa danamukho.

"The pious gift of the bhikshu Budhadeva, friend of the holy community" (Pl. XIb). The name *Saghamitra* may have been an honorific title conferred on Budhadeva by the community of monks.

SOUTH FACE. (a) Beneath seated Buddha at the east corner.

Budharachhitasa bhichhusa danamukho

"The pious gift of the bhikshu Budharakshita" (Pl. XIc).

(b) Beneath seated Buddha next to the above.

[Dha]namitrāsa bhichhu[sa] [na]gara[ka]sa danamukho

"Pious gift of the bhikshu Dhanamitra of the metropolis" (Pl. XIe).

WEST FACE. Beneath small Buddha in teaching attitude seated on lotus at north end.

Shamanamitrāsa

"Of the friend of the Sramanas" (Pl. XIc).

Shamanamitra is probably another title, like *Sanghamitra*, conferred on one of the donors.

NORTH FACE. Under second figure from west end.

(a) *Dha[nu]sha... [bhi]chhu.... sa [danamu]kho.*

"Pious gift of the Bhikshu Dhanu....." (Pl. XI f).

(b) Beneath central figure

Rahulasa vanācāsa bhichhusa danamukho

"Pious gift of the bhikshu Rahula, of Vanaya" (Pl. XI g)..

On stüpa D⁵ (Pl. Vb to left of picture) some of the inscriptions are invested with additional interest, as they contain the designation of the images beneath which they are inscribed, though, unfortunately, both the images and the inscriptions are in a sadly damaged condition. Each of the four faces of the stüpa is divided into three bays by Indo-Corinthian pilasters of somewhat slender proportions and with more ornate capitals than is usual in these stüpas. In each bay is seated a Buddha, seemingly in the *dhyānamudrā*, and smaller figures in the same attitude adorn the shafts of the pilasters. The plinth appears to have undergone renovation and some of the images may be later than the background to which they are applied.

EAST FACE. Beneath seated Buddha in central bay

. *danamu[kho]*

The pious gift. (Pl. XIh.)

SOUTH FACE. (a) Beneath central figure

[*Ka*]*śavo Tathagato sa* *sa*

"The Tathāgata Kāśyapa" (Pl. XIi).

The two letters *śavo* are visible only on the lower layer of plaster, the top coat having been broken away; they do not appear on the estampage.

(b) Beneath figure in west bay

. . . [*da*]*namu[kho]*

The pious gift (Pl. XIj).

WEST FACE. (a) Beneath figure in central bay

Kaśavo Tathagato

"Kāśyapa Tathāgata" . . . (Pl. XIk)

(b) Beneath figure in northern bay

Śakamu[ni] Tathagato Jinaeśa*

dana[mukho]

"Sākyamu[ni] Tathāgata, lord of Jinas—a pious gift" (Pl. XIl).

Although the information they contain is meagre enough, these records are of very exceptional value for the history of the Kharoshthī script in India. Hitherto it has generally been supposed that Kharoshthī was evolved in the North-West about the 3rd or 4th century B.C., and that it passed out of use in India in the 3rd century A.D. (Cf. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 18), though it is known to have survived for some time longer in Chinese Turkistan. But it is now evident that the date of its disappearance from India must be advanced by at least two centuries. The masonry of the square plinth of stūpa A¹⁵ is rough diaper, but the round drum above is semi-ashlar, and it seems clear that the stūpa was partially rebuilt and at the same time redecorated, perhaps when the neighbouring chapels were constructed. In any case, the freshness of the inscriptions on both stūpas and of the plaster reliefs to which they appertain, leave no doubt that they had not long been executed when they were buried from view, and, inasmuch as the latter event cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the fifth century A.D., it follows that the earliest date to which we can assign the inscriptions is about the beginning of the same century. Doubtless, at that time Kharoshthī was still the ordinary script of the townspeople of Taxila, just as Prākṛit was their ordinary vernacular, and it need not surprise us that the common speech and the common script were employed in donative records intended to be read and understood by all and sundry who might see them.

CHAPELS.

The practice among the Buddhists of enclosing their stūpa courts with rows of chapels has long been familiar to us from Jamālgaṛhi, Takht-i-Bāhi and other contemporary sites in the North-West. Sometimes, as at Jamālgaṛhi and at the Dharmarājikā Stūpa of Taxila, the chapels were arranged in a circle

immediately around the chief monument. At other times, as at Takht-i-Bāhi and at Jauliāñ, they were planned in the form of a quadrangle sufficiently large to enclose not only the chief edifice but all the subsidiary structures grouped around it. So far as our evidence goes, however, it appears that this practice was not adopted in the North-West until the first or second century of our era, and it seems probable that the quadrangular plan, which is the more developed of the two and which, moreover, has eminent advantages over the circular, did not come into vogue until a later age. Chapels of this kind would not of course, in any case, be needed until cult images of the Buddha had come generally into fashion, and in the North-West this did not happen before the first century A.D. Here, at Jauliāñ, all the chapels are constructed of semi-ashlar masonry and were erected no doubt as an afterthought, long after the Main Stūpa, those around the upper court probably coming first, and the others later on. That they are posterior not only to the Main Stūpa but to the majority also of the smaller stūpas in the upper court may be inferred from the alignment of those numbered B¹⁷ to B²¹ near the S.-W. corner, which have been pushed back in order to permit of a free *pradakshina* passage around the stūpas A¹⁴ and A¹⁵; for, had the stūpas in question not already been in existence when the chapels were erected, it is reasonable to assume that the alignment of the latter would have been symmetrical on all four sides of the court. On the other hand, the irregularity in the plan of the lower court is due to the shape of the hill-top, the chapels on the northern side following the edge of the plateau, instead of forming a right angle with those on the East.

The total number of chapels in the three courts appears to have been 59, namely, 31 in the lower and western courts and 28 in the upper, in addition to two at the entrance to the monastery and one inside it, but the number in the upper stūpa court is not quite certain, since all except one on the south side had collapsed down the hill-side, and owing to the variation in the size of the others it is not possible to compute their number with precision.

Their roofs, as indicated above, were constructed, like those of the monastic cells, of timber protected by a layer of earth. So much is evident from the remains of charred timber and clay found on their floors. On the other hand, it may be taken for granted that, in consonance with the more decorative character of their surroundings in the stūpa courts, they were more ornate than the quarters of the monks, though what form this ornamentation took, there is now, unfortunately, no means of ascertaining, and it would perhaps be idle to speculate on the point.

Of the images which stood within the chapels, the only traces now surviving in the upper court are the two pedestals of rough rubble in B² and B²⁷. In the other courts the remains, fortunately, are more substantial. They comprise the following :—

Chapel C⁴. Torso and arms of a small Buddha figure, of lime plaster, measuring 7½ inches across the shoulders; much damaged.

Chapel C¹⁵. Against the back wall are what appear to be remnants of three ladders side by side (Pl. XIVa). It may be surmised that they supported three figures: the central one of the Buddha, the side ones of Indra and Brahmā, and that the group represented the descent from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven.

Chapel C¹⁹. Against the back wall is a small, but singularly well preserved statuette of lime plaster representing Buddha in the *dhyānamudrā* (Pl. XIIIa). But its diminutive size and unusual position suggest that it is not now occupying the place for which it was originally intended.

In the porch of the same chapel (C¹⁹) and against the north wall, Buddha seated on throne, in European fashion, his feet resting on a footstool. Only the legs from the knees downwards and lower part of garment are preserved. The statue is of lime plaster on a rubble core.

Outside Chapel C³². Against north-wall, a similar figure to the one above. Only feet and hem of garment preserved. The feet measure 1 foot 8 inches from heel to toe. Of lime plaster on rubble core. Traces of red paint on garment.

Chapel C³³. In centre, remnants of a square pedestal, probably of a stūpa, composed of rough limestone and *kañjūr* blocks. On the north, east and west walls are the remains of three larger and three smaller figures. The one in the south-east corner was of clay and has been reduced to a mere shapeless mass. The others are composed of lime plaster over a core of mud and stone, and exhibit traces of red paint on the surface. The only noteworthy figure is the one illustrated in Plate XIIIa, the height of which is 2 feet 3 inches. It represents a Bodhisattva seated in the *dhyānamudrā* on a lotus, and is distinguished by its free flowing draperies and heavy jewellery.

Chapel C³⁴. On the base of the façade in front of this chapel is a row of stunted Corinthian pilasters with a frieze and dentil cornice above, decadent bead and reel mouldings, and Buddhas seated in the *dhyānamudrā* in the bays between the pilasters (Plate XIIc). On the right jamb are two female figures separated by a (?) lotus stalk; the one to the left, standing on a *makara*, probably Gaṅgā; the one to the right, perhaps a Yakshī. On the left jamb are remnants of two similar figures, the inner one of which also stands on a *makara*.

Chapels E¹ and E². These two chapels are situated between the lower stūpa court and the monastery, immediately to the left of the entrance to the latter, and, thanks to the constricted space and the strength of the adjoining walls, contain the most perfectly preserved group of images on the whole site. The group in question is in chapel E¹ facing towards the west (Pl. XIIIb). In the centre, is seated the Buddha in the attitude of meditation (*dhyānamudrā*) with a standing Buddha to his right and left, and two attendant figures behind. Of the latter, the one to his right is a monk carrying the fly-whisk (*chaurī*); the other, as proved by his ornaments, is Indra, holding the thunder-bolt (*vajra*) in his left hand. On the central image are still many traces of the red and black paint and of the gold leaf with which it and doubtless the other figures also were once bedecked. All five figures are of lime plaster, probably on a core of rubble and clay. Of the images in the bigger group which faced south in this chapel, most have disappeared, but three of the subordinate ones are left against the eastern wall. One of these, seated in the corner of the alcove at a height of about 1 foot 9 inches above the floor level, is either a Buddha or a Bodhisattva. The other two appear to portray the donor and his son or servant, a youth carrying a basket of fruits and flowers (Plate XIIb). The

latter wears trousers and a long tunic reaching to his knees, belted at the waist and fastened on the left shoulder with loop knot and buttons. The master appears to wear the same kind of dress, but has an armlet on his left arm and a more ornate belt. On the wall behind the head of the servant are the remnants of a lotus, full-blown. All three figures are of clay, which has been burnt on the surface to terracotta, and on the two standing figures are traces of red colouring.

Chapel E². In centre, remains of robe of a standing image of lime plaster, and to its left, a smaller Buddha of Gandhāra stone. The latter is standing in the *abhaya-mudrā* and is 1 ft. 8½ inches high. It is a very creditable specimen of Gandhāra work, no doubt of earlier date than the other figures in the chapel.

From the above brief description of the images preserved inside the chapels it will be seen that, compared with those on the stūpas, their remains are singularly meagre, notwithstanding that the stūpas stood exposed in the open, while the chapels were roofed in and well protected. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the different materials of which the figures were generally made, according as they were intended for a sheltered or exposed position. Those on the stūpa walls were invariably of limeplaster, which would better resist the effects of heat and rain. Those inside the chapels on the contrary were usually of clay, though here also they were occasionally made of the more costly and durable lime, as in the chapels E¹ and E², C³³, C¹⁹, and occasionally perhaps of stone or metal, as in E² (*Cf.* also list of Stone Objects Nos. 1—3 and Copper and Bronze Objects No. 16). In the neighbourhood of Taxila there is, unfortunately, no stone suitable for sculpture, the only stone found here being a hard and refractory limestone which almost defies the chisel, and a soft *kañjūr*, which is too coarse except for the roughest kind of carving, intended merely as a core to be finished in plaster. Hence it happens that the only stone sculptures found on this site are carved out of the familiar grey schist, which came, as far as is known, from beyond the borders of Swāt. Metal, too, whether copper, bronze or silver, must have been too costly to be used often for this purpose. Clay, on the other hand, is a first-rate medium for modelling—far better, indeed, and more economical than lime plaster, and quite durable enough so long as it is painted and protected by a roof, but doomed rapidly to fall to pieces when rain is admitted to it; and its dissolution is hastened by the white ants eating their way through to the straw and chaff mixed with it for the sake of tenacity and strength. Indeed, had it not been for the heat of the fire which overtook the buildings at Jauliāñ and which was fierce enough to convert some of these clay figures into terracotta, not a single one of them could have been preserved to us. It is this same fortunate circumstance that explains why the clay figures have perished so much more completely in the chapels of the stūpa area than inside or in the immediate vicinity of the monastery—the reason being that the chapels had but a single storey and a small expanse of roof, and consequently there was much less wood to burn than in the monastery with its double storey and broad verandahs, and, as a consequence, the heat in the chapels was not great enough to turn the clay into terracotta.

Materials used
for images.



The suggestion made above that a few of the images may have been made of materials other than clay or stucco derives some measure of support from a curious pedestal or throne which stands to the left of the entrance in front of Chapel B¹⁷ (Pl. XIVb). The throne, which measures 4 feet wide by 1 foot 8 inches deep, is of rubble finished with a thick coat of lime plaster. Its two front corners are supported by lion-like legs of highly conventionalised type, by the side of which fall drapery folds also very stylised and belonging, apparently, to a cushion on the throne. At the back of the throne, simple floral and geometric patterns are roughly incised in the plaster, in imitation perhaps of embroidery. But there is no trace whatever on the plaster of any image, as there surely would have been, had such an image been of stucco or clay. On the other hand the empty throne could not, of course, have been set up merely as a symbol of the Master's presence, as it might have been three or four centuries earlier, nor is it likely that it would have been placed in this position in the stūpa court, if it had been intended as a *śinhāsana* for a preacher, the normal and natural place for such a throne being in the monastery. Taking all things into consideration, therefore, the most likely explanation seems to be that it was intended for an image and that that image was of metal or wood, or at any rate of some material other than stucco.

Two other objects connected with the chapels which deserve notice, are the staircase which ascends from the outer court between the chapels C¹³ and C¹⁴, and the remains of a bold lotus modelled in relief on the wall in front of Chapel B²⁸. The latter, like the one in Pl. XIII*a*, is portrayed in conventional fashion as a full-blown flower with two small buds on the stalk beneath. From the centre of the flower no doubt sprang the figure of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, but though this figure must have been portrayed, as such figures are portrayed, also, at Mohrā Morādu,* seated or standing upright against the wall, the flower itself is, by a strange convention, shown full face, and not, as would be more natural, in profile.

The narrow stairway in the outer court is a curious enigma. It starts from a height of some three feet above the floor level of the court and, although the space is narrow, the steps do not extend right across from wall to wall, a small gap intervening between them and the wall on the eastern side, as if intended for some filling which has now disappeared. Moreover, the treads show no signs of wear, and the top of the stairway merely leads out on to the rocky hill-side. Evidently, therefore, it was never intended for use, but what its purpose was, must for the present remain an unsolved problem.

Antiquities in the Stūpa Courts.

From the lists of finds appended to the end of this Memoir the reader will observe that nearly all of those from the stūpa courts consist of stucco figures, heads, limbs or other fragments, which had fallen from the decorations of the buildings. Apart from these stucco objects, the number of which ran into many hundreds, the only antiquities of interest met with in this part of the site were the following:—(a) a number of copper coins mainly of crude Indo-Sassanian and

* Cf. A. S. R., pt. II, 1915-16, Pl. XIX b and c.

Scytho-Sassanian types, with a few of Huvishka (barbarous), Vāsudeva and the late Kushāns. Cf. Nos. 16, 20, 21, 95, 96, 104, 108-111, 117-25.

(b) Four Gandhāra stone sculptures. Cf. Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 5 of *List of stone objects*.

(c) An iron lamp from Chapel C⁵ (*List* No. 24), a pipal leaf of copper from in front of the steps of the Main Stūpas (*List* No. 1) and a copper reliquary found between the stūpas A⁷ and A⁸ (*List* No. 2).

MONASTERY.

In the age to which these monuments of Jauliāñ belong, the essential parts of a Buddhist monastery, as M. Foucher has so well and clearly shown in his monumental work on the subject¹, were a court of cells, where the monks resided, a hall of assembly (*upasthāna-sālā*), a refectory (*upāhārāsālā*), a kitchen (*agni-sālā*), a store-room (*koshthaka*), bathroom (*jantāgāra*), and latrine (*varchah-kuṭī*). In the monastery at Jauliāñ the court of cells is at once recognisable in the great open quadrangle to the East of the lower stūpa court, and the bathroom in the small square structure at the S.-E. corner of the open depression in its centre. The hall of assembly, too, is without doubt, the spacious chamber with four columns to support its roof at the N.-E. corner of the complex, and the latrine is the small chamber near the eastern entrance from which a drain passes out through the thickness of the wall. The identity of the other rooms—refectory, kitchen and store rooms—is not quite so certain, particularly as it sometimes happened that the refectory and assembly hall were combined into one. But the presence of a second drain leading from the central chamber—a most useful adjunct for the cook and his scullions, and the discovery also of grind-stones and mortars in this chamber, as well as in the refectory, suggest that it was a kitchen, with a small store-room attached for the use of the cook; and, if this was so, then the chamber communicating with it on the south may well have served as the refectory, to which another store-room was attached for the use of the steward. This disposition of the several chambers finds a close parallel in the contemporary monastery at Mohrā Morādu, though in the latter building the accommodation is more spacious. It is to be noticed, however, that both at Jauliāñ and Mohrā Morādu this part of the monastery underwent considerable modifications in ancient days. At Jauliāñ, the original structure embraced only the court of cells and the assembly hall, all the other chambers being later additions. In the earlier days, therefore, it may be inferred that, in accordance with the established rule, the monks depended for their food entirely upon charity, eating it without further ado from their begging bowls, and that it was only in the 3rd or 4th century that they developed the idea of possessing store-rooms and kitchens of their own, and of embarking generally on a more luxurious mode of life.

This question of the modifications made in the original plan of the monastery involves a more detailed consideration of the masonry of the building.

Plan.

Construction.

¹ *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. I, pp. 158sqq.

As stated in my introductory remarks, the masonry employed here is of two kinds. The earlier dates probably from the beginning of the third century A.D. and marks a transitional stage between the large diaper and the semi-ashlar. This masonry is used throughout all the cells as well as in the Assembly Hall. The other variety is the semi-ashlar work which is employed for later additions and repairs (notably on the north side of the Assembly Hall, the wall of which appears to have collapsed, and in all the adjoining rooms on this side of the monastery), for the casings of the door frames and repairs in the cells, and for the base of the niche in front of cell 25.

Court of Cells.

The Court of Cells has an internal measurement of about 97 feet from North to South by 106 from East to West, and consists, as usual, of a *chatuḥśāla* or quadrangle with an open depression in its centre and a line of cells fronted by a broad verandah on every side. The main entrance into the quadrangle is on the west, where it communicates with the lower stūpa court. On the opposite side is another doorway leading through cell 15 to the Assembly Hall and the other common rooms. On the north side of the court the small cell numbered 8 on the plan served as a chapel, and next to it is a stairway giving access to the upper storey. The rest of the chambers on the ground floor, to the number of 26, served as cells for the monks, and as the monastery had two storeys with, no doubt, a corresponding number of cells on the upper floor, it follows that there was accommodation in it for not less than 54 monks—that is, if one cell is allowed for each inmate. The cells vary in their dimensions and are somewhat irregular, the smaller ones measuring between 8 and 9 feet square, and the larger ones at the four corners the same in width by twice as much in length. Their height was about 15 feet 6 inches. With the exception of No. 20, each cell is provided with one or two niches placed at a height of about 4 or 5 feet above the floor level, and closed with an irregular pointed arch.

Windows.

Windows are extant in twelve only out of the 26 cells, namely, in all the cells on the north side and in the four cells on the west side towards its northern end. With the exception of the one in cell 11, they are all of the same type, designed to admit a maximum of light with a minimum of heat. They are placed at a height of from 6 to 10 feet above the floor level and from the outside appear merely as narrow slits in the walls, 10 inches or so in width and a foot or more in height, but towards the interior the sides and bottom of the window are splayed out, as in the loop holes of a fortress. In cell 11 the opening is of the same dimensions externally and internally. Probably this particular window is of a later age, for the back wall of this cell has the appearance of having been rebuilt at some subsequent period—simultaneously, perhaps, with the north wall of the assembly hall, both having given way owing to the pressure of the hill side at their back.

In conformity with a practice observable in other Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* in the North-West and common also in the older buildings of Hindustan, the doorways of the cells were furnished with slightly sloping jambs and were strikingly low, their height, as they now stand, being no more than five feet,

or, if allowance be made for the wooden lintels which once supported the masonry, not more than about 4 feet 7 inches, with a width at the bottom of about 3 feet. It is by no means certain, however, that these were their original dimensions, for the casings of small and neatly cut stones embedded in plaster, into which the wooden frames were fixed, are later additions, contemporary, probably, with the chapels in the stūpa courts. The grooves for the wooden door frames* and panelling are 3 to 5 inches wide and a little less in depth. Many of them are still filled with the charred remains of the old wood.

The walls of the cells, inside and out, were plastered with mud and probably colour-washed. The floors are of *bajrī* and mud well rammed, and are raised a little above the level of the verandah outside, the thresholds being of roughish limestone blocks sometimes projecting a few inches beyond the face of the wall.

Walls and floors.

In front of some of the cells and facing on to the verandah were small alcoves containing groups of figure-sculptures. Of such alcoves there were originally four on the west side of the court in front of cells 1, 2, 27 and 29, and one on the east in front of cell 17. They are of varying dimensions, the largest in front of cell 29 having a width of 4 feet 7 inches, and the smallest in front of cell 17, a width of 2 feet 2 inches. Most of them are too much damaged for their shape to be made out with certainty, but the one in front of cell 27 appears to have been quadrilateral, with sloping sides and a flat top; the others may have been of the same form or closed with an arch above. Inside the alcoves are the following groups of figures fashioned in clay and finished with a slip, white limewash, paint and gilding.

Alcoves.

Alcove in front of Cell 1.—Image of Buddha in (?) teaching attitude, seated on throne supported at corners by kneeling Atlantes. On each side, two attendant figures, of which the front ones are badly damaged. Of those behind, the one to the left of the Buddha is a female wearing hair ornaments and wreath; the other to his right is probably a male, having his hair adorned with a simple fillet and medallion. The free flowing draperies of the central figure are worthy of notice (Pl. XVIa).

Alcove in front of Cell 2.—Buddha seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on throne. To his right, four figures, of which the front one, of larger size, may be the donor, with his wife (a much smaller figure) beside him. Behind, is a standing robed figure of which only the lower part survives, and above it a small seated Buddha much mutilated. To his left, in front, the figure of a monk, corresponding to the donor on the opposite side. Behind, a monk erect and in the attitude of prayer, and, above him, Indra (?) holding a fly-whisk (*chaurī*) in his right hand and wearing a jewelled head-dress, armlets, etc. The donor's figure bears traces of gilt. Much damaged by white ants (Pl. XVIb).

In front of Cell 17.—In centre, seated Buddha in teaching attitude. To his right and left, in front, lower parts of two standing figures, male to right and female to left. Behind them, remnants of other smaller figures.

* The door frames, fixed in the stone jambs, were probably perpendicular not sloping, in order to permit of the doors swinging easily and truly on their hinges.

In front of Cell 29.—In centre, Buddha standing, probably in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Of subordinate figures to right and left, there appear to have been twelve, but several of them have perished (Pl. XVIIa). Of the surviving ones the most striking is the male figure of medium size to the right of the Buddha, wearing tunic to knees, trousers with buttons for lacing, ornamental belt and cap. The dress and bearded head of a peculiarly distinctive type clearly prove him to be a *mlechchha* (Pl. XVIIb). Between this figure and the Buddha is a smaller male figure with long robe and ornaments. To left of the Buddha, a standing figure probably of a monk, wearing *saṅghāṭī*. The other figures are much mutilated.

Pedestal in front of cell 25.

Besides the four alcoves sunk into the façade of the cells, there is an erection of semi-ashlar masonry, now much ruined, in front of cell 25, which may have supported another alcove or served as a pedestal, like those in the monastery of Mohrā Morādu, for an image.

Chapel.

The chapel near the middle of the northern side of the court is smaller than the adjoining cells, and must have been designed in the first instance for the purpose to which it has been put. Originally, there appear to have been 13 figures in it, of which remnants of eight have been preserved. All are composed of clay and all are partially burnt, but the chapel was too small and the figures were too numerous and too bulky for the heat to penetrate through them, and as a consequence they are not so well preserved as in the alcoves of the open verandah. One of the figures against the east wall appears to be Maitreya holding a flask in his left hand. The clay casing of the door frame is decorated with foliate designs consisting, apparently, of a serpentine pattern relieved by half-lotuses.

Staircase.

Next to the chapel described above and on its eastern side is the stairway leading to the upper storey of the monastery. A more convenient place for it would have been in the immediate vicinity of the entrance, from which point the inmates could have passed directly to their cells on the upper floor; but there must have been some special reason for placing it where it is, and I suggest that the explanation may be that on entering the monastery the monks made a practice of paying their devotions, in passing, at the chapel before going to their cells, and perhaps repeated the devotions again, when leaving the monastery. This explanation is nothing more than a surmise on my part, but the assumption at any rate is a reasonable one and would sufficiently account for this otherwise curious position of the steps.

At the foot of the stair and immediately to the left of the entrance is a recess in the wall, probably intended for a group of figures, the rubble infilling in which is of a late date.

The stairs were divided into two flights, with six steps in the lower and nine in the upper, and the passage-way which connected the stairs with the upper verandah was returned again at right angles to the upper flight. Possibly there was a second chapel above the ground-floor one, but more probably the latter occupied the full height of both storeys. It would have been contrary to Indian practice to construct a cell for habitation over the holy images.

The walls of the cells in the upper storey were of masonry like those below them, but timber was employed for the floor between the two storeys, including that of the verandah, as well as for the pillars supporting the latter, and for the roof. Probably, the pillars were of the Persepolitan or Indo-Corinthian order, like those so frequently portrayed in contemporary sculpture, and carvings in keeping with them would doubtless have adorned the cornices or other members. The verandah itself appears to have been about 13 feet wide.

Upper floor and verandah.

The depression in the middle of the court is a little over 1 foot deep and provided with four sets of steps, one in the middle of each side. On its southern side a drain passing beneath cell 21 carries off the rain water discharged into it from the roofs.

Depression in courtyard.

On a platform at the south-east corner of the depression is a small bathroom provided with entrances on the northern and southern sides and furnished with a drain on its west side, which discharges into the larger drain referred to above. The walls of the bathroom are of late semi-ashlar masonry and are now standing to a height of about 5 feet. Why there were two doorways in so small chamber is not apparent.

Bathroom.

In the Assembly Hall and other rooms on the eastern side of the monastery the following points are deserving of notice. The three largest chambers—Assembly Hall, kitchen and refectory (?)—were too spacious to be spanned by timbers from side to side, and accordingly columns were erected in each of them as supports for the roof beams. In the Assembly Hall and in the refectory the existing bases show that there were four such columns disposed in a square in the middle of the hall, the architraves above them being laid probably in a corresponding square with diagonals from each pillar to the nearest corner of the room. In the kitchen (?) a raised stone plinth, near its middle and running from east to west, suggests that there were two pillars here carrying the roof timbers. As mentioned above, this room possesses a drain of rough limestone, besides several millstones and grinding slabs. In the small store-room belonging to the kitchen is a raised bench of stone, about 1 foot 5 inches high, running round three sides of the chamber. In the floor of the latrine near the eastern entrance, is a square depression about 6 inches deep and paved with limestone flags.

Assembly Hall and other chambers.

Antiquities in the Monastery.

Apart from the heads and other fragments of partially burnt clay from the figural groups in the alcoves of the quadrangle, most of the minor finds made in the monastery were of earthenware, bronze, copper, brass, iron or gold, and comprised a number of vessels and domestic utensils of the monks, tools, fittings, ornamental objects and articles of personal use. Nearly all of these are described in the list appended below and are illustrated in plates XXV-XXVIII, the only one omitted from the catalogue being some capacious store-jars and water-vessels which have been kept where they were unearthed in cells 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 14, 16, 28 and 29. The positions of these vessels, which number sixteen in all, are shown in the plan on Plate I. They are of

the usual types and there is nothing in their shape or fabric which calls for particular remark. The smaller earthenware vessels include *gharas*, water-bottles, ewers, jugs, goblets, cups, strainers, lamps and what appears to have been an ink-pot¹ (No. 2 of List). Of the bronze and brass objects the most noteworthy is a small image of the Buddha, of crude workmanship, found in cell 21 (No. 16), and of the copper objects, the two pieces apparently belonging to a miniature stūpa (Nos. 8 and 9), the ornamental wheels, rosettes and *triśulas* (Nos. 3, 6 and 7), which were nailed probably to the doors or woodwork of the cells, and the terminal of a monk's staff (No. 24) adorned with *chakras* at the three corners of the triangle. The iron tools comprise adze-heads of two types, axes and a chisel with hollow socket (Nos. 11, 12, 13, 17 and 18); while among the iron fittings are numerous nails, clamps, staples, door-chains, rings, hooks and bosses. Other finds made in the monastery are the gold ornaments described on page 57, and a large number of copper coins, the legible specimens of which are catalogued below. Most valuable, however, of all the finds made in the monastery are the remains of a birch-bark manuscript described in detail by Professor Ramāprasād Chanda. This manuscript was discovered in an earthen vessel in cell 29, partly incinerated by the monastery fire, though sufficient can still be made out to establish the fact that it is written in Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. To about the same date belongs also a seal of burnt cornelian, found in cell 3 (length $\frac{3}{4}$ inch) engraved with the legend: *Śrī Kuleśvaradāse*, in Gupta characters. Neither the manuscript nor the seal were necessarily new at the time when they were buried, and the only inference that can safely be drawn from their presence in the charred *débris* is that the fire took place some time after 400 A.D. A like conclusion is also arrived at from a consideration of the coins found in both the monastery and stūpa areas, many of which are debased Kushano-Sassanian types, referable to the 4th or 5th century A.D. It is a reasonable surmise, therefore, that the destruction of these buildings as well as those of Mohrā Morādu and other Buddhist settlements in the neighbourhood was due to the invasions of the White Huns who swept over the North-West of India in the second half of the 5th century A.D. Be this, however, as it may, there can be no doubt about the approximate date when the fire took place, and it follows from what I have said above regarding the newness of some of the stucco and clay figures at the time when they were buried, that neither these nor the Kharoshthī records can be assigned to an earlier period than the close of the fourth century, though more probably they belong to the fifth.

The date thus arrived at for these sculptures is corroborated by analogous proofs at Mohrā Morādu and other sites at Taxila, and is of great value for the history of plastic art in India. Hitherto, it has generally been imagined that the Gandhāra school had faded out of existence during the 3rd century of our era, long before the Gupta school took its rise in Hindustan. So far as the stone sculptures of Gandhāra are concerned, this supposition appears to be still, in the main, correct; for no evidence is yet forthcoming that stone sculptures

¹ An ancient ink-pot of a different pattern has also been recently found at Sāñchi.



of any real merit were produced in Gandhāra after the third century of our era. On the other hand, the excavations at Taxila have now demonstrated that the school was still a vigorous and thriving one at least a century and a half later, and that the plastic work in clay and plaster which it was then producing was hardly less vital and vigorous than the older carving in stone. True, it is of a different order. It lacks much of the ordered grace and dignity which distinguish the earlier work; there is less refinement and delicacy, especially in the architectural features; and far less elaboration and thought in the compositions. On the other hand, the art of these later reliefs is freer and more spontaneous, and for the very reason that it is further removed from the Hellenistic tradition, less academic. The impression, in fact, produced by a comparison of these with the earlier sculptures is that the latter are the creations of intellectual and well trained artists working consciously and thoughtfully in accordance with the traditional precepts of their guilds, while the former are the handiwork of clever craftsmen endowed with remarkable skill and completely masters of their materials, but with no very high conception of the aims and purposes of art.

THE DECORATION OF THE STUCCOED STUPAS.

By Mon. A. Foucher.

The most striking feature in the decoration of the stūpas and monastery at Jauliāñ is the fact that it has been almost entirely executed either in clay or in stucco made of sand and lime. The excavations have yielded only a few fragmentary stone sculptures (see Pl. XVIII), and, as the slate of which they are made comes from the Afghan hills, it is very likely that they were brought over ready carved from the other bank of the Indus. We will not discuss again the reasons, which have been set forth above (p. 13) by Sir John Marshall, and repeat why they used, in the Taxila monuments, materials easier and less refractory to work than the local freestone. But, if the Jauliāñ excavations add nothing to our knowledge of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, we cannot too much insist upon the importance of what they have disclosed to us about the part—till now almost unsuspected—which clay modelling played in the Gandhāra School. True, the almost rainless climate of Chinese Turkestan has preserved for us, in the dry sands of the Takla-Makan, a number of specimens of a somewhat similar kind. But we needed all the care and intuition now being bestowed on the researches of the Archaeological Survey to discover that the clay images were no less numerous in the Buddhist convents of North-Western India, and that in this matter also Central Asia acted merely in conformity with the custom prevailing in Gandhāra. Unfortunately, these fragile pieces could only last so long as they were sheltered from any crushing impact or from the inclemency of the weather. Had it not been for a happy accident, we should not have recovered even the few samples described above, the masterliness of which makes us regret all the more their small number. The stucco figures, on the other hand, which decorated the open stūpa courts, were able to resist (especially when new and freshly coated with paint and gilding) the alternate ravages of showers and sun, and later on, after the buildings had fallen into ruins, the pressure of the wrecked walls and the infiltration of the rains. Thus it happens that numerous remains of them have come down to us, and the extensive use of stucco by the Gandhāra School has been for years a well-known fact. But nowhere yet have any stuccoed monuments been brought to light and preserved in such a good condition as the Jauliāñ *stūpas*. The felicitous discovery of Sir John Marshall gives us an exceptional opportunity for undertaking for the first time a detailed account of this kind of decoration.

STUCCO HEADS AND FIGURES.

Decoration in stucco has only been known till recent years through a number of detached heads, jumbled together in public or private collections, and defying every attempt at classification. It cannot but be instructive to find such heads in their proper place, on the shoulders of the figures to which they originally belonged. True, in the case of Jauliāñ, the number of

Preliminary
Remarks.

the heads picked up in the diggings—more than a thousand of them—far exceeds the number not only of the heads remaining in position, but of the headless bodies brought to light again. That is exactly what previous explorations had led us to expect; but little reliance could be placed upon hasty and disorderly researches, which were not much better, as a rule, than a wild hunting for coins and museum-pieces. At Jauliāñ the excavations have been carried on with all conceivable care and constant supervision, so that we know exactly the original site of every object. As a result we know now what we had previously only inferred (*a*) that the number of the heads was primarily equal to the number of the bodies; (*b*) that the heads owe their comparatively better preservation not only to their form, which enabled them better to resist the pressure of the fallen *débris*, but also to the fact that they were of a stronger make. It is now an indisputable point that most of the bodies were modelled *in situ* out of the same coarse mortar with which the walls were faced¹, while the heads were separately prepared out of a finer and more lasting material. Occasionally we still find in the neck of the headless images the hole prepared for the head to be set in by means of a trowelful of mortar, with or without a stick imbedded in it. It is easy to understand that, such being the case, while the body has been crushed to powder by the weight of the superstructures or disintegrated by percolating water, we still find the heads almost undamaged under the rubbish of the overthrown buildings.

On another moot point closely connected with the preceding one, Sir John Marshall's excavations have thrown light. It has long been open to question whether the school of Gandhāra ever resorted to mould and cast making. It is well known that this mechanical process met with great favour in the religious foundations, of a rather indifferent artistic value, throughout Central Asia. On the other hand, a minute examination of the Gandhāra stucco heads had led us to believe that they had been freely modelled into shape with the boasting-tool and then, when dried, worked at again and finished with the chisel. This well-ascertained theory, which still holds good for most of the finds, now requires some limitation. When they had to deal with certain constantly recurring heads of a fixed type, like the Buddha's, the artists even in North-Western India did not always despise the use of moulds. To satisfy himself on this point the reader has simply to compare the measurements of several heads, two of which are reproduced on Pl. XIX*d* and *e*. Moreover, an actual mould has been dug out on the site of the Dharmarājikā Stūpa². All that we can say is that the Indian modellers were quite capable of doing without such moulds, and that, when they did use them, they have shown a more artistic feeling than those of Chinese Turkestan. The latter have attempted to get, at a stroke, out of a single mould, the entire front-view of the head, head-dress and ears included, so that they have been compelled to

¹ Sometimes, however, in the case of small statues (*cf.* Pl. XIX*a* and *b*), the entire body was separately executed, almost in the round, impaled on a stick and made to adhere to the still fresh coating of mortar on the wall. Even the somewhat large statues on the plinth of Stūpa A¹⁵ seem to have been set up in that same fashion, when the stūpa was being repaired for the last time (See below, p. 32).

² *Cf.* A. S. R., 1915-16, Pt. II, Pl. III*d*.

flatten in the most uncomely fashion the faces of their figures. In the Taxila workshops they were content, as far as we can see, with casting only the most difficult part of the head, *viz.*, the mask. As to the remaining parts, ears, hair or head-dress and neck, they were executed off-hand, with variations insignificant enough, but nevertheless perceptible to anybody who cares to look for them.

In this connexion it may be of interest to point out several minute details. For instance, many of these heads have been finished with a thin slip, of a white or a buff colour. A still larger number of them bear unmistakable vestiges of painting. Often the lips have been tinted red and the hair black; sometimes the pupil of the eye—and, in the case of the Buddha, the *ūrṇā*; in that of the demons the beard—has been delineated with the brush. Now and then, a coat of red paint, the remnants of which may be noticed all over the face, including the ears, was most probably intended as a ground for gilding. Even a stone statue (Stone Objects No. 2) still preserves bits of the gold-leaf the devotees had stuck upon it. Once again we ascertain from the facts what a large amount of polychromy and gilding was lavished on these Buddhist monuments. This is an essential feature to keep in mind, when we try to visualise them in their pristine beauty.

An attempt at
classification.

When we enter upon the study of the numerous stucco heads collected during the Jauliäñ excavations, we are impressed, first and foremost, with their variety. Not only are they very dissimilar from one another in point of size—from the colossal ones, which measure almost 2 feet, to the small 1 inch ones—but they exhibit strikingly different head-dresses and no less strikingly different expressions, from the shaven heads of the monks to the extravagant chignons of the lay worshippers, and from the Buddha's beau ideal to the grotesque figures of the demons. At first sight, the eye cannot but enjoy such numerous and graphic contrasts, but with a little attention and after a short practice, it quickly detects, under this apparently wild luxuriance of inventive powers, the customary routine of a school long specialized in the mechanical reproduction of a very limited number of set types. More slavishly than ever did the Jauliäñ artists follow in the hackneyed path, and the range of their imagination was the more cramped because—either by reason of the decadence of technical skill or of a change in the worshippers' taste, probably for both reasons—they had completely given up the composition of legendary scenes, and had confined themselves to the making of idols or groups of idols. Thus they lost the element of interest which the diversity of the many figures in the Buddha's legend, coming from all the castes and trades of India, and the variety of their dispositions and gestures necessarily introduced in the bas-reliefs. In fact, the examination of the heads, confirmed by that of the monuments, proves that the personages represented all belong to three principal types. The first and most important one, in point of number and dignity, is of course that of the Buddha. Secondly, in contradistinction to his sober *ushnīsha* and plain draperies, the Bodhisattvas and lay worshippers display an elaborate head-dress and profuse jewellery. Thirdly, there are a number of grotesque figures of Yakshas originally

employed as Atlantes along the friezes. To these three main categories, we must add, also, a few monks' heads, some figures of women and children, and, lastly, many animals who shared in the work of the Atlantes.

It goes without saying that our remarks on these different kinds of figures, if restricted to the novelties divulged by the Jauliñ discoveries, will be very meagre indeed: but, on the other hand, it would be quite out of place here to undertake a general study of Buddhist iconography. Thus, as regards the Buddha's type, we shall be content with stating that all its traditional features are on the whole faithfully reproduced. As a rule, the wavy treatment of the hair still preserves, especially on the larger specimens (See Pl. IVb and Xa), a memory of the Greek. Some heads, however, already wear the hair curled in the way which was to remain to our days the orthodox one (Pl. XIXf), while on some the locks are indicated only by dots (Pl. XIXa and b). The ears, wherever they have been preserved, show pendulous lobes distended by the former wearing of heavy earrings. Occasionally the forehead still retains inlaid in it the small bit of crystal intended for the radiating *ūrṇā* of the Blessed One. The long eyes, sometimes more than half-closed, bear (very clearly marked on the large heads; see Pl. IVa and b) that singular curve of the upper lid, to which they owe their dreamy expression. The profile has ceased to be purely Greek and the aquiline nose curves now and then in an exaggerated manner (See Pl. IVa and Xb). All the faces show the heaviness of the lower jaw which is characteristic of the school. But a few heads have a somewhat peculiar look. They are to be found in different sizes, from 7 inches (Stucco objects, Nos. 9 and 26) to 2 inches or less (Nos. 21-22; intermediary are Nos. 18-19) all having in common the same rounded profile, the same retreating forehead, the same schematized hair, the same aquiline nose, the same upper lip marked with a dimple, the same slightly prominent mouth, the same neck furrowed by the three traditional creases (See Pl. XIXa, b, c, g). A particular feature consists in their *ūrṇā* being simply marked by the brush with a red point, and the pupils with two black ones, while on most of them, as if to give confirmation of their relatively late date, vestiges of polychromy are in an unusually good state of preservation. But if these Buddhas have a singular expression of countenance, we must refrain from attributing to them much originality. We find them again, or, at least figures very much akin to them, not only on the neighbouring site of Mohrā-Morādu¹, but on the recently excavated *stūpas* of Takht-i-Bāhi. Besides, we must confess that this type, as a whole, is not a particularly happy one. Nay, we may go still further and admit that, almost without an exception, all these Buddha's heads are lifelessly dull and insipid. They could scarcely be otherwise, when it is borne in mind how many copies of them were made, and that for several centuries the type had already been a stereotyped one. The occasional use of moulds, demonstrated in the case of Pl. XIXd and e, was not calculated to impart to these quasi-mechanically produced images the mysterious spark of life which animates true works of art. Still, with all that, it cannot be denied

Buddhas and monks.

¹ Cf. A. S. R., 1915-16, Part II, Pl. XXd.

that the memory of their Indo-Greek prototypes has been wonderfully kept in the ensemble, if not in the detail of their features.

Much the same may be said about the bodies of these images: they too bear witness to a marvellous persistence of tradition in the matter of proportions and drapery. Often, when the statue is standing, the left arm is still wrapped in the monastic cloak, like that of the so-called antique orators in their *himation*. When the statues are seated, their two established postures are those of meditation and teaching: either their right hand lies in their lap above the left one, or both hands are raised together in front of the breast, the index and thumb of the left being supposed to hold from underneath the little finger of the right. In this second case, the monastic cloak leaves the right shoulder bare, according to the Indian ceremonial fashion; but in the first one, it covers both shoulders, up to the neck, in a way still graceful and supple enough (Cf. Pl. V-VIII). As to the lower part of the *saṅghatī*, sometimes it covers the feet and even the pedestal with flowing folds¹ imitated, not without exaggeration from the oldest Indo-Greek images (See Pl. VIc and XIIIb); sometimes it leaves the feet exposed in the same way as in most Gandhāra statues and in all the Mathurā ones of the second century A.D.; sometimes (and this is a manifest proof of the decadence of the school as well as of the growing unskilfulness of the artists) it is tightly wrapped around them in conventional pleats (See especially Pl. XIIc). Such diversity in the treatment of the draperies, as in that of the hair, is a pleasing characteristic; but it need hardly be said that it would rather confuse our researches, were we dependant on these features for *intrinsic* data in the chronological classification of our statues.

In the same category with the Buddha, we must place the monks, his disciples. As usual, their representations differ from that of their Master only in the fact that their heads are closely shaven; for the dress in both cases is absolutely alike. As to the Jauliāñ specimens, they are few in number and quite commonplace in execution (Pl. VIc and VIIb); nowhere do we recognise the strong and wrinkle-furrowed features of the monk found near the Dharmarājikā stūpa.² Nor do we meet here with any likeness of *tīrthikas*.³ A single clay head (Pl. XXVc) reproduces the traditional type of the Brahmanical ascetics, with their beard and their plaited chignon. Finally, a small-sized stucco head, the *ushnīṣa* of which has been unfortunately lost (Pl. XXe) seems to depict the emaciated Bodhisattva, at the time when he was still called the "Śramaṇa Gautama", indulging in vain austerities with a view to acquiring Sambodhi. As in the celebrated statue of Sikri in the Lahore Museum, the eyes are deeply sunken and a short curling beard serves only to accentuate the ascetic meagreness of the face.

¹ Compare the same luxuriant falls of draperies on the statues of Mohrā-Morādu (*A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Pt. II, Pl. XIX) and on the Chinese rock-statues of Yun-kang and Lōng-men in the plates of Ed. Chavannes: *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*.

² *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Pt. II, Pl. IIIf.

³ In this connexion a group of the Buddha between two nude attendants on Stūpa D 4 might delude us: but, as the heads are not shaven, these two worshippers are probably meant for nothing else than children (See below, p. 28).

Of another group of coquettish figures, we cannot too much extol the prettiness and smiling grace. We know only too well to what extent this smile is a stereotyped one, but we cannot help enjoying its charm. The biggest and most striking of these heads is the life-size one reproduced on Plate XXIVa. Its purely Greek profile, low forehead, short nose and small mouth combine to give it, at first sight, a personal as well as a classical appearance; but its almond-shaped eyes, and moon-like visage make it soon recede among the common herd, and we seek in vain to find a name for it, be it only a generic one. The same disappointment will be experienced over and over again with all these faces. Choose among them those endowed with the most animated countenance and which give the most vivid impression of being at least the picture of a well-known mythological personage, if not some historical portrait taken from life: yet it is useless to question them about their own identity (Cf. Pl. XX-XXI). The only obvious element for discrimination lies in the variety of their head-dress. In some the hair, the ringlets of which are pressed on the forehead by a fillet, is gathered in a knot on the crown of the head (Pl. XXf, k-n, XXIg-i); in others it is covered with a kind of cap surmounted with a rosette. This last is fixed either in the middle (Pl. XXI d, n, p) or on the left (Pl. XXo) or on the right (Pl. XXp), unless it spreads on both sides, calling to mind the petasus of Hermes (Pl. XXIq). Very often these elaborate head-dresses are overlaid with jewels or garlands (Pl. XXI f and u). Here and there a few exceptional models, such as the tiara of Pl. XXI m, the Phrygian cap of Pl. XXI c, the helmet of Pl. XXI b, or the tapering chignon of Pl. XX h, especially attract attention. But all this teaches us nothing more than that these people are high caste lay-worshippers, and that the sculptors have obviously derived their inspiration from the types and fashions of their country and time.

The lay attendants.

Indeed, if we met them only on museum-shelves, we should have to be resigned to knowing nothing more about these stucco heads. By good luck, however, the stūpas of Jauliāñ show many of them still *in situ*. As was expected, all are grafted on bodies clothed with the two traditional lay garments, *dhōṭī* and shawl, and moreover decked with ornaments on their neck, torso and arms. Even that, it is true, does not help us much; it is a well-known fact that the Gandhāra school had at its disposal only this single male type in splendid costume to represent both the *devas* or kings of heaven and *Bodhisattvas* or supermen, as well as the kings or *devas* on earth and rich middle-class donors. Another observation brings us a step further towards the identification of some of these images. On several plinths or dadoes these lay figures are set up side by side with figures of Buddhas, and they alternate with the latter on most of the friezes. This last fact settles the point, and the placing of these richly adorned figures on a footing of equality with the "perfectly accomplished Tathāgata" is an evident proof that we have to deal with Bodhisattvas. Their head is adorned sometimes with a turban (Pl. VI b), sometimes simply with a bejewelled chignon (Pl. IX a); but unfortunately their hands, joined as a rule in the gesture of meditation, do not hold any attribute¹; so we must once more give up the

¹ An exception must be made in reference to the Bodhisattva of Pl. IX a, which his flask marks out as Maitreya.

hope of learning their proper names. Assuredly it is a justifiable guess that, in many cases, they are still Bodhisattvas who act as attendants on both sides of the Buddha, when it is the latter's turn to occupy the centre of the customary triad. But even then we are uncertain whether we have not before our eyes simply *devas* or human worshippers, all of them equally anonymous. All we can assert is that these attendants make an outward show of the keenest devotion. Leaning in pious attitude towards the central personage, let it be a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, they hold in their hands, now ribbons or streamers, now garlands or purses, now caskets in the shape of a stūpa; or else they carry in their distended mantle the flowers they are about to shower on the object of their worship (Cf. Pl. VIa and Pl. XX b-d). A special mention may be made of the curly-headed boy, dressed, according to the *Mleccha* or barbaric fashion, in a pair of trousers and a sleeved tunic, who in chapel E¹ holds out a basket of flowers to his father or master, evidently the Kushān donor of this particular group (Pl. XII b). One of those devotees was even depicted in the act of whistling through his fingers (Pl. XXIa), and it is most probable that with the other hand he waved his scarf; such at least on the old Indian sculptures are the two usual manifestations of religious enthusiasm.¹

Among these numerous attendants we find now and then a few women. The relative plainness of the female head-dresses forms a favourable contrast with the extravagant coquetry of their male counterparts. The essential and almost constant feature is the twisted head-band or the laurel crown which binds fast the lower part of the chignon above the forehead (Pl. XXIIb, c, d). Moreover, these *upāsikās* seem always to wear the traditional feminine costume of the North-West made up of three pieces, the *dhoti*, the sleeved tunic, and the shawl. Pl. XXIIa shows us how this tunic sometimes displayed a special fullness in the waist, much like the Greek *kolpos*. Among the clay groups, in the monastery niches, may be seen a charming figure of a female donor (Pl. XVIa). But the most interesting of all are to be found on two stucco panels decorating stūpas D¹ and D⁴. On either side of a meditating Buddha two women are seated in the European fashion (Cf. Pl. VI d). The right-hand attendant bears in both hands a kind of stūpa-shaped casket,² the bottom of which rests on her left hand, while with the right one she seems about to lift up the lid, viz., the umbrella-pinnacle. Her counterpart holds in her right hand a drinking-cup (a copper specimen of which has been found in the excavations) and in the left one she carries a spear. These two attributes are well-known to belong originally to the genius who is the dispenser of riches, in his capacity of "general" of the Yakshas, and to have been later on lent to his consort Hāritī, the fairy grantor of posterity. So we may guess that these women, too, will ultimately turn out to be Yakshinis and the embodiment of some analogous popular superstitions.

As to the children, we have already alluded above to another group, which is equally well preserved on stūpa D⁴ and which introduces two completely naked male

¹ Cf., for instance, A. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*. Pl. XIIIa.

² We have already seen it in the hands of other attendants, lay-worshippers or monks, on Pl. VIc and VIIb.

attendants. Although these are of the same size as the grown-up worshippers in the other panels, they are probably meant for boys. One of them has his hair close shaven except for three locks or tufts, similar to those which occur alone on the stucco-head of Pl. XXIIIc, or combine with a chignon on the clay head of Pl. XXVf, both of which are undoubted pictures of children. Another clay-head, equally remarkable for its chubby cheeks and its gay smile, wears on the contrary all its hair simply cropped (See Pl. XXVd), but from the analogy of Pl. XIIb this one most likely belonged to some boyish assistant of a foreign donor.

Some of these attendants' heads, remarkable for their strongly marked and somewhat vulgar features (Pl. XXIIIa and b), bring us to the third category of personages, viz., the Atlantes; for the Yakshas or Spirits, which are made to play this part in the decoration of the *stūpas*, are at once distinguished by their realistic or even caricatural ugliness (Pl. XXII-XXIII). All the fancy and humour which still prevailed in the minds and fingers of the Taxila modellers have evidently found their opportunity in the execution of these miniature figures. By the side of the conventional serenity of the Buddhas and the stereotyped smile of their gorgeous attendants, this swarming gang of subordinate genii opens a kind of safety-valve for all the caprices of artistic imagination. From this point of view we could readily compare these Atlantes to the gargoyles of our cathedrals: they not only share with them their grimaces and contortions, but even (a very exceptional fact on a Buddhist monument) their sly or openly mocking indecency. To be sure, the notion and feeling of the grotesque is not an altogether new departure in this school; from the very beginning, as we know, the artists had found matter for it in the unavoidable representation of the direct prototypes of our Yakshas, viz., the demons of Māra's army. But, there, they still kept serious while depicting the most fanciful forms of hideousness; here, it is evident that they are frankly revelling in the making of caricatures. A shock-head, a swollen forehead, a frowning brow, round protruding eyes, a flat or crooked nose, pursed lips protruding like a snout, such are their usual processes of disfigurement. The curious, seemingly winged head of Pl. XXIIIe may be taken as an exception; here, all the deformity, if we may trust the very clear analogy of another Atlant still *in situ* on stūpa A¹⁶, consisted in grafting a pair of elephant's ears on a human head. We must equally discriminate the clay-mask reproduced on Pl. XXVe, which reminds us in such a striking manner of a Renaissance "mascaron."

The postures of the Atlantes are no less diversified than their expressions of countenance, and we cannot help noticing how skilful and fertile in resources the local artists still were. Every conceivable manner of sitting or squatting, in front or profile, three quarters or from the back, is to be found on the friezes. Now the arms clasp one of the legs purposely bent up, now they rest their elbows on both knees, now they are raised so as to sustain the cornice, now they are held down either to find a point of support on the ground or to grasp the two ankles. Sometimes, while buttressing the upper moulding with their arched neck, these genii still manage to indulge their innate propensity for

drunkenness and merriment or their old warlike and diabolical instincts. Some hold in the right hand a two-handled wine cup—the one which the Greeks called a *cantharos*¹—and in the left a leather or clay bottle (Pl. Xi), or play upon a kind of guitar (Pl. XXIIg); others blow a conch (Pl. XXIIIh), beat on a drum, or brandish arms, sword, spear; mace or shield (Pl. XXII e, f, i, j), as if they wanted to insist upon their immediate descent from the demoniacal retinue of the Tempter. But the most remarkable fact, in our eyes, is that, after so many years and so much re-editing, these Atlantes have not become in the end mere lifeless puppets, indifferent to their appointed task; on the contrary, it is obvious, if we consider their tormented postures and their harassed or angry looks, that they have never more heavily felt the weight of the building nor more bitterly resented the wrong of their penal servitude.

We must not forget to mention their fellow-sufferers, *viz.*, the lions and elephants, the hind quarters of which are supposed to be concealed beneath the stūpa, while they vainly struggle to disengage themselves with their extended forelegs (Cf. Pl. VII). Not content with thus relieving the Atlantes from a part of their perpetual burden, they still feel bound, on some stūpas, to support on their back the springing of the niches. In spite of their gaping mouths, hanging tongues and spread-out claws, the lions do not succeed in looking very terrible. As to the elephants, they go so far in the way of self-denial as to flourish, at the tip of their salaaming trunk, a lotus-flower intended for the worship of the stūpa under which they lie half-crushed. Lastly, let us mention the couchant bulls set back to back on the Persepolitan pillars which decorate the upper friezes; unmistakably their part is as purely decorative as that played by the acanthus leaves on the Corinthian pilasters of the lower friezes.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE FRIEZES.

With this rapid survey of the throng of images, we must now consider the way they are laid in rows and tiers on the stūpas. Now that they have been roughly classified, they will help us to understand better the meaning of the panels and the simple rules governing their sequence or their superposition on the friezes. In other words, after having essayed to make an analysis of the decoration, it remains for us to make an attempt at its synthesis. By good luck, this reconstruction need not be a purely imaginary and theoretical one. To get a clear and safe idea of the current scheme which the Taxila artists set themselves to execute, we have simply to examine some of the best preserved among the stūpas of Jauliān. To illustrate our description, we shall choose the stūpa No. D⁴ in the outer court; it will then be sufficient to notice the main points on which the 27 others differ from the selected model.

As may be seen on Pl. Vb, the stūpa D⁴ is raised on a square plinth, just high enough to put the first line of stucco modelling above the reach of passing feet². Properly speaking, only two storeys of the structure are still extant.

General design
of the stūpas.

¹ Cf. the cup in the hands of the "Dionysos" in silver repoussé, found at Sirkap (A. S. R., 1912-13, Pt. I, Pl. XXa)

² As regards the materials of the core of the stūpa, free stone and blocked out *kañjūr*, etc., we refer the reader to the details given by Sir John Marshall (p. 7 ff. above).

The lower one consists of a row of lions alternating with Atlantes, and above this, of a frieze surmounted with a cornice and divided into panels by Corinthian pilasters, there being five panels to each façade. Each of these exhibits a Buddha between two attendants, sometimes sheltered under a trefoiled arch, sometimes under a doorway with sloping jambs.¹ The Buddha is alternately in the meditating or teaching posture, or rather it is so on three of the four façades; on the southern one (to the left of the plate), the view of which is impeded by the proximity of the adjoining *stūpa* D⁵, it was found easier and more expeditious, perhaps, to represent all the five Buddhas in an attitude of meditation. The attendants are set up to the right and left of the central figure, in the space intervening between the arch or door-way and the Corinthian pilasters. As a rule, they rest on a kind of lotus-stool; at other times they are two Buddhas seated and meditating; at others, two monks (*Cf.* Pl. VIc) or two lay worshippers kneeling and praying. The exceptional panel, depicted on Pl. VI d and discussed above (p. 28), occupies the middle of the frieze on the northern façade.

The second storey of the *stūpa* slightly receding on the first, just as the first recedes on the plinth, is equally supported by a row of Atlantes; but, this time, their task is shared by elephants, instead of lions. This architectural unit is horizontally divided by a cornice into two friezes, each of which has likewise five partitions on each face: but, while the lower frieze still keeps to Corinthian pilasters, the upper one introduces Persepolitan columns. Each partition contains the usual triad: only, on account of the narrowing of the available space, the attendants are inserted somewhat sideways (*Cf.* Pl. VIa and b). On both, friezes, arches and doorways are so disposed that they interchange their places horizontally as well as vertically. The springing of the first rests on lions and that of the second on elephants; and, lastly, Bodhisattvas now alternate with the Buddhas.

From this second square terrace sprang, after another set-back, the round drum which supported the dome. This drum, which still exists on some *stūpas* in the upper court, has here almost completely disappeared. To get a complete idea of these structures, their tapering pinnacle of umbrellas included, we have to resort to one of the luckiest finds at Mohrā Morādu.² In the design of that *stūpa* as well as of others in this neighbourhood, the Taxila artists, true to the classical origin of their school, have clearly paid the utmost attention to symmetry in the general design and then tempered it by a studied pursuit of variety in the details.

The preceding description applies word for word to *Stūpa* D¹, and tallies almost exactly with *Stūpas* D²⁻⁴ and A9-10, 12, 16, (*Cf.* Pl. VII), 17-18, except that the number of the panels is sometimes reduced to four or even three to each façade. Unfortunately, these *stūpas*, to whatever height they have been preserved, have lost most of their decoration, if not the whole of it, and show

The Jauliān and other *stūpas*.

¹ We will not reconsider here the architectural origin of these two decorative motives so familiar to the Gandhāran School. Let us only remind the reader that they exactly represent the upper part of the section of a *vihāra* or chapel with either double-curved roof or an angular one (*See L'art g. b. du Gandhāra*, I, figs. 46-47 and 51-52).

² *See A. S. R.*, 1915-16, Pt. II, Pl. XXIVf. This *stūpa* is round from the base upwards.

now almost nothing but their core of blocked-out *kañjūr*. On other specimens such as A³⁻⁷ and A¹⁴, the plinth displays a curious (and shall we say later?) tendency to grow loftier. On A⁸, A¹¹ and A¹⁹, this raised plinth¹ is moreover decorated with a row of Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' figures, set side by side on the faces which were at the same time in good view and well guarded against the wear and tear which the feet and flowing garments of the worshippers would have unavoidably wrought. These statues are, generally speaking, very heavy and dull, as may be judged from plate IXa. All the same, they seem anterior to the still larger ones which constitute the only decoration of the bases of *stūpas* A¹⁻² and A¹⁵ (Pl. VIII). These have already been described above on account of their inscriptions (See p. 26ff.) The increasing unskilfulness in the treatment of their draperies and of the meditation gesture makes it highly probable that they were the last figures to be executed at Jauliñ. Now, were this fact admitted, even so we should not get a quite satisfactory classification of the Jauliñ *stūpas*; for three among the most interesting of them would still fail to find a place in the series, viz., Nos. D⁵ (also bearing inscriptions), A² and A²⁰. While the size of their statues draws them close to A¹⁵, they differ from it in at least one essential feature, as their images are kept separate (exactly as on the plinth of Chapel B⁴, Pl. XIIc) by still slender and finely wrought Corinthian pilasters. Where shall we put these three *stūpas* in any chronological list, and how shall we understand their position with regard to the fourth?

To this question, not to mention many others, the site of Jauliñ does not supply us with any answer; and so we are led to believe that it would be expedient to enlarge the field of our comparisons and bring into consideration the largest possible number of specimens. This is not an impracticable undertaking. Of the long discovered *stūpas* of Ali Masjid, in the Khyber pass, at least photographic reproductions are available.² Of those more recently brought to light at Sahri-Bahlol by Dr. D. B. Spooner and Sir Aurel Stein, we possess, besides photographs, numerous fragments and even one cast. Lately, Mr. Hargreaves has dug up in one of the out-courts of the main convent (at last thoroughly cleared) on the hill of Takht-i-Bāhi, two small stuccoed *stūpas* in a tolerable state of preservation³. Now, we must not forget that the small *stūpas* which fill the open court between the monastery and chapel quadrangles (some forty in all), as well as the large *stūpa* inside the latter, were once equally decorated in stucco. When first disinterred by Sergeant Wilcher, their ornamentation was much the same and probably as intact as that of Mr. Hargreaves' *stūpas*. Only a few vestiges of it are now extant; but, as we had of late an opportunity of ascertaining on the spot (for to these wonderfully preserved ruins you must always return for more information), these remains are not without some bearing upon our present research. Compared with the Taxila *stūpas*, those of the Peshawar District supply all the data wanted for at least a provisional classification of these buildings. To simplify matters,

¹ See above, p. 22, the description of A¹¹.

² See J. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, I, Pl. 103-107.

³ A. S. R., 1910-11, Pt. II, Pl. XXIIa.

we shall confine ourselves to distinguishing three main types of stuccoed *stūpas*. It will clearly be seen how they happen to correspond to as many successive changes in the religious ideas and requirements of their donors.

(i) To begin with, the bulk of the Gandhāra stone sculptures has taught **Evolution of the stuccoed stūpas.**

us that, since the very beginnings of the school, the fashion prevailed of decorating *stūpas* with legendary scenes, the subject of which was borrowed from either the previous births or the last life of the Buddha. Then a new tendency, which first manifested itself in the North-West and soon spread to the Ganges valley, induced the Buddhist people to substitute iconographic groups in place of narrative compositions, in other words to replace bassi-relievi by statues. So we should have, on principle, every reason to infer that stuccoed *stūpas*, adorned with legendary scenes, are anterior to any showing only rows of idols, with or without attendants. Now the existence of the former has been testified, both at Sahri-Bahlol and at Takht-i-Bāhi,¹ by the excavations of Dr. D. B. Spooner. In a series of stucco bassi-relievi, now in Peshawar Museum, he has recognised the customary episodes known as Dipaṅkara's Predication, Nativity, Great Departure, *Sambodhi*, First Predication, etc. That is more than was wanted to prove that the stuccoed *stūpas* were originally conceived and designed exactly on the same lines as the stone ones. If, later on, they started a special development of their own, it is simply because they long outlived their former models, and transformed themselves to suit the new times.

(ii) This transformation, as always happens either in nature or art, was of course a gradual one. The first substitute to take the place of the legendary scenes on the squarish metopes,² must have been these iconographic groups of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva between two or more attendants, so many stone replicas of which have been preserved, and which still retain a faint recollection of the "Invitation" (*Adhyeshana*) to Predication or of the "Instigation" (*Samcodana*) to the Great Departure. A ruined and rather late example of this kind has been actually found on the lower frieze of *stūpa* J, close to the Dharmarājikā of Taxila,³ and we may expect to find more of the same kind. At all events, we already possess very numerous specimens of *stūpa* bases and chapel plinths which only exhibit a row of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas seated⁴ alone between two pilasters with Corinthian capitals, the abaci of

¹ See *A. S. R.*, Pt. II, 1906-7, p. 136-7 (Takht-i-Bāhi) and 1909-10, p. 48 (Sahri-Bahlol) and *cf.* for stucco scenes in Taxila *ibid.* 1914-15, p. 6. The importance of this discovery has been pointed out by Dr. Spooner.

² For this partition of the friezes into squarish metopes, see the *stūpa* of Sikri (*Art g.-b.-du Gandh.*, I. fig. 73) and most of the stone bassi-relievi. It is true some of the stucco scenes from Takht-i-Bāhi, such as the episodes in the palace, and a Nativity from Sahri-Bahlol are framed in arches: but it seems we have to deal here with those arched gables which flanked the domes of the stone *stūpas* as well (*ibid.* figs. 70-72, and *cf.* figs. 233, 271).

³ See *A. S. R.*, 1912-13, Pt. II, Pl. X.

⁴ Rarely standing: however see J. Burgess, *loc. laud.*, pl. 103, 107 (Ali Masjid) and *A. S. R.*, 1910-11, Pl. XXII (Takht-i-Bāhi).

which are stretched out to encompass their heads. The great number of these and the late appearance of many¹ induce us to think that this model must have continued in use throughout the later ages of the school. So we are not prepared to contend that in Jauliāñ the present decoration of *stūpas* D⁵, A² and A²⁰ any more than that (so evidently decadent) of chapel C³⁴ (Pl. XIIc) goes back to a relatively early date. Let us not forget that the *refacimento* of those statues, when rendered necessary by too long a weathering, had to be executed on much the same lines, since architectural dimensions cannot be easily changed, and since they determine to some extent the size and manner of their own decoration. But if this frieze design does not by itself guarantee the antiquity of the images we find enshrined in it, it may nevertheless be traced to a somewhat ancient period. Its introduction actually marks, in the general evolution of the school, the beginning of a medium stage, when the former crowded scenes were definitely replaced by solitary statues, but when the latter still occupy panels of the same size and shape that had been habitually intended for the former.

- (iii) Now the evolution of religious thoughts and forms did not stop there. The enthroneing of so many statues on the friezes was of course only the external manifestation of a growing propensity towards idol-worship within the Buddhist community. One step more, and the idea will begin to prevail that the more numerous the images, the greater the merit of the donor. Now, given a *stūpa* frieze of limited dimensions, how can we manage to increase the number of statues to be located upon it? An obvious answer is that, to increase their number, it will be necessary and sufficient to diminish their size. To diminish their size, the first thing will be to curtail the height of the frieze, and to this end, we shall lower the cornice, dentils and architrave above, and raise the plinth below on the heads of some Atlantes. But it goes without saying that another process would provide us with a much larger number of alcoves for images. Let us run a horizontal moulding through the middle of this frieze; we shall double at a stroke the number of panels. In both cases, two results are unavoidable. First, the Corinthian pilasters, shortened in such a ruthless way, will of necessity become quite stunted: and this is actually the first thing to strike the eye when examining the newly found *stūpas*. Secondly, the panels cease to be about square and take the shape of an elongated rectangle; and this fact, though perhaps less striking, is nevertheless important on account of the consequences it entails. For in such a rectangle, a much larger space remains vacant on each side of the statue, and, to fill it up, the

¹ See *A. S. R.*, Part II, 1909-10, Pl. XIV; 1911-12, Pl. 44 o, 1912-13, Pl. XII (with an arch inserted), etc.

artists have to fall back upon two old expedients of their own. First, they employ, by way of an additional framing, the familiar motives of the trefoiled arch and the door-way with sloping jambs and, by so doing, they obtain at once the exact design of some of the *stūpas* at Ali Masjid.¹ Secondly, they revert to the long discarded pair of attendants, except that they now insert them in the interval between the two frames, and so come in the end to the elaborate model of the Jauliān *stūpa* D⁴. We do not mean to say that this *stūpa* has undergone in fact any of the alterations just described. It is much more likely that from the first it was both delineated and executed exactly as we have it. But its very design, particularly the raising of its plinths on rows of Atlantes and the division of its second storey into two friezes, still seem to bear a clear mark of the procedure we have endeavoured to follow step by step.

There the development ends: not that we consider the *Stūpas* D¹ and D⁴ as the last productions of the Jauliān workmen. They manifestly appertain to the time when all the decorative resources of the school, Corinthian and Persepolitan pilasters, human or animal Atlantes, religious or lay images, were all put under requisition and lavished together to get the maximum of effect—something, in fact, which corresponds to what they call the “flamboyant” style in Gothic architecture. After bringing forth this highly developed model, the school could go no further; but it lingered long enough to know decadence and retrogression towards more artless and seemingly more primitive fashions. If we were always to proceed from the simple to the complex, we ought to put first in the series the Buddha figures seated side by side, without any intervening pilasters or any other extraneous elements of decoration, such as we find on the plinth of *Stūpa* A¹⁵ (Pl. VIII). On the contrary, as already stated, we agree with Sir John Marshall that these statues are among the last to have been ordered and executed before the final destruction of the place. This is what, in spite of their large size, their coarse workmanship and their ungainly setting have already led us to believe; now we may safely look upon them as late and clumsy restorations of what was probably, if we may judge by its proportions, one of the oldest *stūpas* on the site.

Thus the evolution we have just sketched out is a purely theoretical one (we cannot insist too strongly upon this point), and it does not enable us to dispense with a special examination of each particular case. However, it is not unprofitable, in the present state of our studies, to try and prepare, with the documents already at our disposal, a kind of ground-work which future discoveries will contribute to make more correct and precise. From yet another point of view, the comparison between the Gandhāra *stūpas* and the Taxila ones is instructive enough, especially if we make it still more comprehensive by including the stucco heads now preserved in the Peshawar Museum. For what we see in both cases are the same types, which we have tried to classify,

¹ Cf. *Art gr.-boud. du Gandh.* fig. 81; and Burgess *loc. laud.*

repeated over and over again—Buddhas, Buddhist monks and other ascetics; Bodhisattvas, *devas* and lay worshippers; Atlantes, lions and elephants. And the analogy might be followed up even in the minor technical details of style and workmanship. Let it be added, too, that in the glass cases of Peshawar¹, we recognise a few specimens, luckily preserved, of the wonderful clay heads already met with in Taxila. On both banks of the Indus we have not only to deal with the same schools, but, what is more, with the same people. It follows thence that the conclusions arrived at by our study of the Jauliāñ monuments are equally valid for Gandhāra, properly so called. The point is of special interest, as we shall see by and by that some of these conclusions are of no little consequence.

Conclusions.

There is no doubt that the excavations at Jauliāñ have enabled us to get a deeper insight into the ways and manners of the donors who ordered, and of the artists who decorated, these *stūpas*. Now, this familiar acquaintance with by-gone humanity is after all the chief aim of archæological research. Of course, it would be premature to try and reconstitute, from a mere glance at this *débris*, a picture of Taxila society with its castes, types, and fashions. But let us wait and see. Should other excavations, as well managed, give us some more ruins, as well or even better preserved, we could soon undertake to define more precisely the social or racial distinctions we already divine between the plebeian Atlantes and the aristocratic attendants, or the Indian and the Scythian donors. Even now it would be possible to utilize these models as contemporaneous illustrations to Fa-hian's chapter on the habits of the Indians. If it does not seem advisable to take at once in hand, with an eye to a "Dictionary of Indian Antiquities," the collecting of all the ethnographical data supplied by this array of images, it is simply because the North-West Frontier ground, far from being archæologically exhausted, is still keeping in store for us innumerable discoveries of this kind. Yet we must not forget that in those data lies the main contribution which this stucco decoration can make to the advancement of our studies.

With respect to the identification of those decorative images, which are unquestionably Buddhist idols, the new examples from Jauliāñ do not seem to help very much our previous iconographical knowledge. Over and over again, we have only been able to recognise Buddhas and Bhikshus, Bodhisattvas and Devas, Upāsakas and Yakshas; and to these generic denominations we have not succeeded in superadding any proper name. Only the inscriptions preserved on the base of some of the statues record, besides Śākyamuni, his

¹ Perhaps it is advisable also to note here the existence in the Peshawar glass-cases, of some clay and terracotta heads very debased, indeed, and possessed of a Central-Asian look due to their prominent and slanting eyes, which have been found on the sites of Sahri-Bahlol and Shāh-jī-ki-Dheri. From what the Taxila excavations have taught us, the Gandhāra school properly so called, even to its last day (say the beginning of 6th century A.D.), did not descend to the level of such deformities. So we must ascribe these last to the subsequent period of Turkish rule in Gandhāra (8th-9th century A.D.), and to the late and feeble attempts at restoring convents and *stūpas*, of which efforts the Chinese pilgrim Wou-k'ong was the witness.

immediate predecessor, Kāśyapa. At the same time they confirm what the traditional rows of the "Seven Buddhas", met with on the Gandhāra sculptures and, lately, on the Mohrā Morādu *stūpa*, had already taught us, viz., the persistent worship of the so-called Mānushi-Buddhas; but of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas we find no mention and no sure examples. Among the Bodhisattvas, we do not go one step beyond the long-known identification of Maitreya: we do not even see, as in Mohrā Morādu¹, any of them holding in his hand a pink lotus and thus deserving to be called by the name of Padmapāṇi. Upon the whole, therefore, the excavations at Jauliān do not bring any substantial addition to the pantheon of the Gandhāra school; we can only say that they provide some stepping-stones for future discoveries. The alternation of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas on the friezes shows an unmistakable development of the worship of the latter to the prejudice of the former. One could not without a stretch of the imagination construe the unexpected and twice repeated group of Buddha between two Yakshinīs (cf. Pl. VI*d*) into a premonitory symptom of coming "tantrism". But it is undeniable that this panel represents a somewhat later development than the one with the "Tutelary Pair" at Takht-i-Bāhi.² In another direction it is equally curious to observe the arrangement of the personages in the niches of Jauliān and of Mohrā Morādu as well. On either side of the central Buddha are drawn, in a symmetrical array, Bodhisattvas and monks, Devas and Yakshas.³ The most casual observer cannot but be struck by the fact that such exactly are the personages we meet with about the same time and similarly grouped in the "cave-temples" of Yun Kang and, later on, of Long-Men, in far-distant China,⁴ and so those Chinese rock-carvings are no longer without counterparts, or rather prototypes, in North-Western India. But we need not look so far to find interesting parallels; let us mention, for instance, on the jambs of the doorway of Chapel No. C³⁴ (Pl. XII*e*), the small figures quite analogous to those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which it was becoming fashionable to set up at the entrance of every Indian temple.

If we now turn to the chronological problem, we find, here again, that we cannot rely on these stucco images to render easier the difficult task of classifying, according to epoch, the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures. Of course we are not going to deny that it is always possible to establish, on the strength of differences in workmanship, a distinction of time between two statues, even when they elbow each other on the same wall; it is, for instance, what Sir John Marshall has done and rightly done with reference to the Buddhas of Pl. Va (see above p. 6). In the same way we surmise that the heavy conical chignon of Pl. XX*h* is later than the classical *crobylos* of Pl. XX*m*. But most arguments of this kind become very insecure, indeed, when we reflect that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas we have reason to believe to be the latest are

¹ Cf. A. S. R., 1915-16, Pt. II, Pl. XIX*c*.

² Cf. A. S. R., 1910-11, Pl. XXII*b*.

³ For instance, on the only group here reproduced (Pl. XIII*b*), a *bhikṣu* holding a fly-flapper (most probably Ananda) stands opposite to Śakra "the Indra of the gods," holding his thunderbolt.

⁴ See Ed. Chavannes, *Mission dans la Chine septentrionale*.



not so much worse than the others, and that there is to the end plenty of life in the postures and countenances of the Yakshas. Nor can we look for a safer criterion to the few intrinsic elements of differentiation which the Buddhas themselves may present. We have already been compelled (p. 26) to observe that the various ways of waving or curling the hair, and of draping the shoulders and feet, are met with side by side, on the same frieze. So far from helping us, the stucco images would simply achieve our utter confusion and leave us completely at sea, but for the fact that the Taxila excavations have supplied Sir John Marshall with other chronological land-marks. We allude to his highly interesting technical observations on the consecutive styles of masonry employed in the buildings all over the valley.¹ As the decoration cannot be older than the walls to which it has been affixed, these observations have enabled him to bring down to a late date, *viz.*, to the 4th or 5th century of our era, the Jauliāñ decoration in clay or stucco. This is a new and capital piece of information and sheds a much-wanted light on the ultimate destinies, till now quite obscure, of the Gandhāra school.

Of its productivity during those two centuries, we knew practically nothing; now we must admit as an ascertained fact that it kept on much longer and in a much more felicitous way than could have been expected. In all likelihood, its several branches underwent varying fortunes and did not all decline at the same time. The first handiwork to deteriorate was of course the coinage, and next came, as far as we can see, the turn of the stone-sculpture. But for a hitherto unsuspected length of time, the clay and stucco modelling went on maintaining a high degree of efficiency, worthy of better days. Nor is this altogether surprising. While India of to-day has few good stone-carvers, it may still boast of very clever modellers, who have not lost the tradition, and produce plenty of small coloured clay-figures, often very skilful and spirited. The excavations at Jauliāñ, as at Mohrā Morādu, have introduced us to ancient products in the same happy vein. Alas! they have taught us at the same time to realize the full measure of what we have lost in the final wreck of the school; for to the irreparable loss of Gandhāra painting we must add that, almost as complete, of an admirable clay-plastic.

Thus, the cleverly and steadily pursued researches of the Archæological Survey have already succeeded in throwing much light on the last manifestations of the Gandhāra School. At the same time they enable us to define more correctly the place of this particular school in the general history of Indian art. The fact that it was much less decayed than we dared to imagine when it received its death-blow at the hands of the White Huns, fits in most satisfactorily with what is already known about the evolution of Buddhist sculpture in the Ganges valley. A sudden decline, happening (as suggested by the deterioration of the coins) towards the end of the 2nd century A.D., would have left an unbridged chasm between the last Gandhāra productions and the first Gupta works at Mathurā and Benares, some two centuries later. As things now stand, Taxila, the site of which has given back to us fragments

¹ See *A. S. R.*, 1912-13, Part II, pp. 12-13 and fig. 1.

carved both from the blue slate of Gandhāra and from the red Mathurā sandstone, supplies the requisite geographical and historical link. When the destructive frenzy of Mihirakula uprooted the old Graeco-Buddhist school, some of its boughs had already withered; but some were still in bloom, and its offshoots in Madhyadeśa were ready to take up its succession and perpetuate its traditions, albeit under new forms and in a new spirit. The works of art disinterred in Jauliāñ admirably illustrate the transition between the North-Western school and the Gangetic ones. This transition was the more easily accomplished, as the former had for a long time been accommodating itself, in the course of its six centuries' duration, to the local tastes and ideas of the people. For our part, the more we study it, the more are we impressed by the inner Indian feeling underlying its outward classical form. What trained eye could fail to recognise the origin of the objects reproduced on the accompanying plates? A few heads only, as for instance the one reproduced on Pl. XXIVa, could be mistaken for classical pieces, were not their countenance so strongly orientalized. Apart from these few exceptions, this direct offspring of Indo-Greek ancestors has become thoroughly Indian. Thus it appears more and more clearly to any unprejudiced mind that the Hellenistic influence has not been for India one of those poisons which the living organism strives and hastens to eliminate, but an invigorating food which she has perfectly succeeded in assimilating.¹

It will perhaps be said that these far-reaching conclusions extend far beyond the narrow hilly tract from which they originated. Such is, indeed, the case; and there is no better illustration of the special value incidental to any well conducted excavation. The present way of conducting them not only supplies us with plans and museum pieces, but at the same time, with the means of understanding and classifying the finds. Now, the elementary precaution of keeping a careful record of their excavations is just the one which people seem never to have thought of taking during the last century, when digging the inexhaustible soil of Gandhāra. They went on picking up sculptures and piling them up without any proper record of the site and order of the finds, and out of this confused medley of *disiecta membra* (we ourselves made, years ago, that bitter experiment in the Museum at Lahore) it was hopeless to try and draw any historical sketch of the school to which they belonged. With the reorganization of the Archaeological Survey, a new era has dawned upon our studies: now-a-days the approved methods of classical archaeology are being properly applied in India; and that is why the Taxila excavations have not only yielded plenty of "Buddhas," but, what is much more valuable, some history as well.

¹[True, but even the best food must be taken slowly and in moderation. In Gandhāra, the process of assimilation took several centuries; in Mathura, the immediate effect of too much Hellenism was aesthetic dyspepsia. It was only further afield (e. g., at Sānchi and Amarāvati, where its influence was less potent) that the teachings of the Hellenistic genius were quickly and thoroughly assimilated, and that they helped to invigorate at once the true indigenous Art. J. M.]

LIST OF OBJECTS FOUND AT JAULIÂN

By Pandit V. Natesa Aiyar, B.A.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Sone objects.
GANDHĀRA SCULPTURES.		
1	130	Height 2' 8½". The <i>Indraśailaguha</i> scene or the "visit of Indra." In centre, Buddha seated in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> in grotto; face and left ear missing. Around the grotto, are caves, rocks and trees with <i>devatās</i> , animals, etc. Below the cave, to right, Indra's elephant, Airāvata, with attendant holding royal umbrella in front of him. Before them, towards the middle of the panel, a kneeling figure which may be Indra, and, behind him, his wife Śāchī. On the left side of this group the figure holding a broken object before him is probably Pañchaśikha, the harpist of Indra, with his harp. To the left of the Buddha and on a line with his shoulder, is Vaiśravaṇa, spear in hand, seated beneath a tree. Corresponding with Vaiśravaṇa, on the right side of the Buddha, are the remains of a figure, which may be the Vajrapāṇi. Below him, to right, on the edge of the central grotto, a small monkey is imitating by his posture the Buddha. The remaining figures in the forest are of <i>devatās</i> , etc. From against the plinth of chapel C. 15. Pl. XVIIIa.
2	153	Height 2' 1". Buddha standing on pedestal of inverted lotus. Halo, face and forearms mutilated or missing. On face and garment, patches of gold leaf. From right hand side of Monastery entrance.
3	F 1	Height 12¼". Buddha seated cross-legged on lotus throne on pedestal. Head and hands missing, knees damaged. To the right of throne above elephant, base of pillar. In centre of pedestal, the Bodhi-sattva seated cross-legged in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> in centre, with a standing monk and seated <i>deva</i> to either side. At left hand corner, elephant supporting throne. The two figures of monks are probably the donors of the sculptures. From Lower Stūpa court. Pl. XVIIIb.
4	117	Height 7½". Fragment of leafy canopy, with bust of <i>devatā</i> ensconced in foliage, his hands in attitude of prayer. From north side of Stūpa D3.
5	F 2	9¼" across. Ditto, of pipal leaves from right side of halo. A bird is perched on one of the leaves. From north side of Stūpa D3.
MISCELLANEOUS.		
6	290	3¾" across. Marble lamp with projection at either side. From Mon. cell No. 29.
7	F 3	9 broken pieces of umbrellas of <i>kañjūr</i> stone, ranging from 1' 3" to 4' in diam. Some have raised hubs and rims; and to some are adhering traces of the original plaster coating. From Stūpa Court.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stone objects.
		MISCELLANEOUS— <i>contd.</i>
8	F 4	26 pieces of umbrella shafts, diam. from $5\frac{1}{4}$ " to $14\frac{1}{2}$ ". Some are relieved with mouldings at the top and bottom. From Stüpa Court.
9	F 5	<i>Harmikā</i> , 8" in height, with torus moulding at base and upper part divided into 4 tiers. From Lower Stüpa Court.
10	F 6	Balustrade engaged pillar, $10\frac{1}{2}$ " high, bevelled into 3 flat facets on front side, and provided with lozenge shaped depressions (one on each side) for the insertion of cross bars. From Lower Stüpa Court.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
BUDDHA IMAGES.		
1	F 7	Height 10½". Niche enclosed within trefoil arch and divided into two compartments. In the upper compartment, Buddha seated in <i>Sikshāmudrā</i> , with an attendant Buddha on either side. The same figures repeated in lower compartment. Core of niche of kañjūr; decorations and Buddha reliefs of stucco, burnt on surface.
2	192a	Height 8½". Buddha seated in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> . <i>Ushnīsha</i> and <i>ūrnā</i> missing. Ears and hands damaged. <i>Sanghātī</i> covers both shoulders. Curls of hair indicated only by dots. Hole beneath seat for support. Red colour on garment, hands, lips, nose, ears, eye-lids, pupils and forehead. Traces of black colour on eye-brow, eye-balls and hair. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A12. Pl. XIXa.
3	192b	Height 9¾". Upper part of figure. Left ear damaged. Hands in <i>Sikshāmudrā</i> . <i>Sanghātī</i> covers both shoulders. Curls of hair indicated by dots. Hole as in 2. Traces of red paint on hands, lips, ears, eyes, forehead and <i>sanghātī</i> . From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A12. Pl. XIXb.
BUDDHA HEADS.		
4	57	Height 21½". Back part and left ear missing. Right ear damaged. Lime wash. Traces of red paint over hair and right ear. From North-East of Main Stūpa.
5	171a	Height 19¾". Upper part of crown and <i>ushnīsha</i> missing. Right ear, <i>ūrnā</i> and nose damaged. Left ear missing. Aquiline nose. Circular depression on upper lip. Lime wash. From North-West of Main Stūpa. Pl. IVa.
6	32	Height 21¾". Back part of head partially missing and ears damaged. Lime wash. Traces of red paint over hair and ears. From North-East of Main Stūpa. Pl. IVb.
7	172	Height 21¼". Left ear missing. <i>Ūrnā</i> , nose and lips damaged. Lime wash. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A11.
8	53	Height 9½". Forehead and right ear damaged. <i>Ushnīsha</i> and left ear missing. Lime wash. Double coat of plaster on core, the head having been re-made. From between Main Stūpa and Chapel B28.
9	50	Height 7½". Ears slightly damaged. Lime wash. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XIXc.
10	149a	Height 7¾". Left ear and portion of hair damaged. Lime wash and traces of red paint. This and the following three heads seem to have been prepared from the same mould.
11	174a	Height 8". Ears and left eye-brow damaged. Lime wash. Pl. XIXd.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
BUDDHA HEADS— <i>contd.</i>		
12	F 8	Height 8". Thin buff slip. Red paint on lips, ears, eyelids and edge of hair. Traces of black paint on hair and eye-brows. In good preservation. Pl. XIXe.
13	110	Height 8½". Right ear and left temple damaged. Traces of red paint on face and ears and black paint on hair.
14	168a	Height 8½". Right eye-brow and <i>urnā</i> damaged. Lime wash.
15	F 9	Height 5½". Right ear damaged. Lime wash.
16	93a	Height 5½". Ears slightly damaged. Crystal <i>urnā</i> setting still in position.
17	12	Height 4½". Right ear and <i>ushnīsha</i> damaged. Lime wash.
18	160a	Height 4½". Ears damaged. No <i>urnā</i> . Lime wash, and fine buff slip. Traces of red paint on edge of hair, lips and neck.
19	174b	Height 4½". Right ear damaged. Lime wash and slip. Traces of red paint on edge of hair, eye-lids and lips.
20	F 10	Height 3½". Wavy hair. Lime wash and buff slip. Outer edge of halo painted red.
All objects numbered from 9 to 20 are from Main Stūpa Court.		
21	F 11	Height 2½". Right ear slightly damaged. Curls indicated by dots. Traces of red paint on neck, ears, lips, face, and eye-lids and edge of hair over forehead, and grey-black paint on hair. Lime wash. From south-east side of Main Stūpa.
22	150	Height 1½". Lime wash. Traces of red paint on neck, lips and eye-lids. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A10.
23	175	Height 3½". Slightly damaged. Hair arranged in ringlets. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpas A13 and A14.
24	149b	Height 4". Left side of face only. Stucco. Red colouring on chin, lips, nostrils, eye-lids and black in pupil of eye. From south-east corner of Main Stūpa.
25	154	Height 6½". Ears missing. Forehead, tip of nose and chin slightly damaged. Traces of red colouring on eye-lids. Hair treated in ringlets. From between Stūpas A16 and A17. Pl. XIXf.
26	F 12	Height 7". Ears slightly damaged. Lime wash. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XIXg.
27	178	Height 6". <i>Ushnīsha</i> and right ear missing. <i>Ūrnā</i> and left ear damaged. Traces of red colouring on left ear and neck. Remains of socket hole at the back. From east side of Stūpa A18. Pl. XIXh.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects
		HEAD OF MONK.
28	103a	Height 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Turned to left. Stucco finished with buff slip. Red colouring on hair, ears, lips and eye-lids; black on eye-brows and pupils. From north-west corner of Stūpa D1.
		IMAGES OF BODHISATTVAS, DEVAS OR LAY WORSHIPPERS.
29	56	Height 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Upper part of figure. Halo and head-dress damaged. Wears elaborate head-dress and numerous ornaments, including ear-rings, torque and necklaces. From between Chapel C1 and Stūpa D1. Pl. XXa.
30	45	Height 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Upper portion of a lay devotee, with face turned to right. Hair confined by fillet and adorned with medallion and rosette. Traces of red paint on left side. Wears ornaments and holds flowers in fold of garment. From West of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXb.
31	91a	Height 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Ditto, with face turned to left. Wears ornaments and holds flowers as above. Slightly damaged. From Lower Stūpa Court. Pl. XXc.
32	103b	Height 6". Ditto, with face turned to right. Hair treated in curls and confined by fillet. Fantail head-dress. Wears ear-rings and bracelets. Holds flowers as above. From West of Stūpa D4. Pl. XXd.
33	82	Height 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Niche enclosed in trefoil arch containing upper part of Bodhisattva figure in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> . The figure wears ear-rings, neck-lace, torque, bracelets and elaborate turban. Lime wash. Core of niche, kañjūr; decorative details and Bodhisattva figure of stucco. From west side of Stūpa A1.
		HEADS OF BODHISATTVAS, DEVAS OR LAY WORSHIPPERS.
34	4a	Height 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". <i>Ushnīsha</i> missing. Deep sunken eyes and cheeks, lean face with beard. Head of the fasting Bodhisattva. Lime wash. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A10. Pl. XXe.
35	1a	Height 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Head in Hellenistic style, wearing wreath. Back of head broken. Surface damaged. From East of stairway of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIVa.
36	F 13	Height 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Hair disposed in ringlets and confined within ornamental band made of two strings. Top-knot. Ear-rings and <i>vilāka</i> . Lime wash. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XXf.
37	93c	Height 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Wears ornamental turban and ear-rings. Features blurred. Upper part of turban missing. From south side of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXg.
38	34	Height 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Left ear missing. Elaborate head-dress with <i>ushnīsha</i> -like crest. Ear-rings. Lime wash, red paint on lips, nose and eye-lids and black paint on eye-brow, eye-balls and hair. From south side of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXh.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
HEADS OF BODHISATTVAS, DEVAS OR LAY WORSHIPPERS— <i>contd.</i>		
39	93b	Height 3½". Wears skull-cap adorned with medallion and rosette. Red colouring on forehead. Left ear damaged. From south side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXi.
40	161a	Height 3½". Ears, tip of nose and upper part of head-dress missing. Hair confined by a jewelled kerchief. Buff slip and traces of red colouring on face and head-dress and black colouring on eyebrows. From between Main Stüpa and Stüpa A13. Pl. XXj.
41	148a	Height 4". Curly hair confined by ornamental fillets and ending in a fantail top-knot. Ears missing. Nose damaged. From East of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXk.
42	72	Height 4". Curly hair confined by a fillet surmounted by a fantail top-knot. Hair, tip of nose and ears damaged. Red colouring on forehead. From East of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI.
43	F 14	Height 4½". Left ear missing. Curly hair with top-knot confined within a circlet. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From south side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXm.
44	148b	Height 4½". Ear damaged. Curly hair confined within a fillet adorned with rosettes. Lime wash. Traces of red paint. From east side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXn.
45	161b	Height 3¾". Right ear missing. Nose damaged. Wears skull-cap adorned on the right hand side with a rosette and medallion. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From south side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXo.
46	159a	Height 3¾". Right ear missing, but with the rosette and medallion on the left hand side. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From south side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXp.
47	F 15	Height 7". Back of head and right ear missing. Hair bunched over left ear and bound with fillet and medallion. Fingers in mouth indicate that the man is whistling. From Stüpa area. Pl. XXIa.
48	185a	Height 1¾". Right ear missing and left ear damaged. Ridged helmet. Lime wash. Traces of red paint on lips and forehead. From south side of Stüpa A11. Pl. XXIb.
49	9	Height 1¾". Right ear missing. Phrygian cap. Lime wash. Traces of red paint on lips and hair. From south side of Stüpa A11. Pl. XXIc.
50	127	Height ¾". Cap. Lime wash. From north-east side of Main Stüpa.
51	98a	Height 1½". Head-dress with fantail crest and medallions. Traces of red paint on cap. From east side of Main Stüpa steps. Pl. XXIId.
52	185b	Height 1¾". Hair disposed in ringlets over forehead and ears and gathered into a top-knot and tied. Lime wash. From south side of Stüpa A11.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
HEADS OF BODHISATTVAS, DEVAS OR LAY WORSHIPPERS— <i>contd.</i>		
53	4b	Height 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Elaborate head-dress adorned with rosettes and medallion. Wears ear-rings. Lime wash. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXIe.
54	99	Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Features worn. Left ear damaged. Wears elaborate head-dress and ear-rings. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From south-west corner of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXIj.
55	90a	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Hair disposed in ringlets above forehead and dressed in chignon. Wears ear-rings. Lime wash. From north-east side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXIg.
56	186a	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Ditto Ditto. From north side of Stüpa D4. Pl. XXIh.
57	101	Height 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Ditto Right ear damaged. From north-east side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXIi.
58	123	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Hair covering both ears. Features much worn. Wears ear-rings. Lime wash. From north-east corner of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXIj.
59	90b	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Ears damaged. Close cap with rosette on left side. Lime wash. From north-east side of Main Stüpa.
60	F 16	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Hair disposed in ringlets falling over the forehead and ears. Top-knot missing. Lime wash. From Lower Stüpa Court. Pl. XXIk.
61	F 17	Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Elaborate head-dress adorned with medallions. Ear-rings. Lime wash. From Main Stüpa Court. Pl. XXII.
62	90c	Height 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Wears ornamental tiara and ear-rings. Burnt stucco. From east side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI m .
63	F 18	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Hair falling in locks about the ears. Wears elaborate head-dress and ear-rings. From Main Stüpa Court. Pl. XXI n .
64	98b	Height 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Hair drawn back in locks over ears and gathered into a top-knot. Lime wash. From east side of Main Stüpa steps.
65	90d	Height 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Left ear damaged. Wears turban adorned with medallions. Ear rings. Lime wash. From north-east of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI o .
66	91b	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Right ear missing. Elaborate head-dress. Wears ear-rings. Lime wash. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI p .
67	35a	Height 2". Right ear missing. Left ear damaged. Wears turban with fantail crest and adorned with medallions. Ear-rings. Lime wash. Slight trace of red paint on lips. From south side of Main Stüpa.
68	F 19	Height 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Right ear damaged. Wears cap adorned with rosette and medallion. Lime wash. From Lower Stüpa Court.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
HEADS OF BODHISATTVAS, DEVAS OR LAY WORSHIPPERS— <i>contd.</i>		
69	91a	Height 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Wears cap with rosette on either side, resembling <i>petasus</i> . Front of head-dress damaged. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI g .
70	162	Height 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Left ear missing. Hair falling in strands above forehead with loose top-knot. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI r .
71	10	Height 7". Right ear missing. Wavy hair parted in the middle and confined within a fillet and curled above the ears. Wears <i>kundala</i> in left ear. Lime wash. From Main Stüpa Court. Pl. XXI s .
72	F 20	Height 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Right ear damaged. Wears head-dress with conical crest. Ear-rings. Features much worn. Lime wash. From Main Stüpa Court. Pl. XXI t .
73	89a	Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Right ear damaged. Hair falling over left ear. Ornamental head-dress and ear-ring. Lime wash, and traces of red paint. From east side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI u .
74	F 21	Height 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Hair falling in loose locks about the ears and confined within a fillet above forehead. Ear-rings and (?) <i>tiñā</i> . Lime wash. Top of head-dress missing. From Main Stüpa Court.
75	89b	Height 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Right ear missing. Left ear and hair damaged. Wavy hair with top-knot. Drooping moustache. From between Main Stüpa and Stüpa A2. Pl. XXI va .
76	161c	Height 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Features much worn. Hair falling in strands about the ears. Ornamental turban with elaborate crest. Ear rings and <i>tilāka</i> . From south side of Main Stüpa.
77	91d	Height 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Right ear damaged. Features much worn. Wears ornamental head-dress and ear-ring. Lime wash. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI vb .
78	F 22	Height 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Ears damaged. Wears ornamental turban. Lime wash. From west side of Main Stüpa.
FEMALE FIGURES.		
79	545	Height 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Head and legs missing. Wears skirt, tunic, scarf, torque and bangles. Tunic is fastened with ribbon above waist. Traces of red paint. Pl. XXI va .
80	6	Height 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Upper half of female figure. Arms damaged. Hair plaited in coils. Head turned to right. Wears ear-rings, torque, armlets and bracelets. Left hand raised behind head. From west side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI vb .
FEMALE HEADS.		
81	F 23	Height 4". Right ear missing. Left ear damaged. Curly hair confined within a twisted band. Lime wash, buff slip and traces of red paint. From south side of Main Stüpa. Pl. XXI vc .

Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
FEMALE HEADS— <i>contd.</i>		
82	F 24	Height 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Portion of right side of face and left ear missing. Hair curled in ringlets above forehead. Lime wash and traces of red paint. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XXII <i>d</i> .
CHILD HEAD.		
83	90u	Height 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Head of a boy, as indicated by tufts of hair on forehead and above ears. From north-east of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIII <i>c</i> .
FIGURES OF ATLANTES.		
84	161 <i>d</i>	Height 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Upper half of Atlant; arms damaged. Wide-open eyes and thick moustache. Mace in right hand and straps in left. (<i>Cf.</i> 90). From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A13. Pl. XXII <i>e</i> .
85	171 <i>b</i>	Height 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Squatting figure of Atlant. Legs and right hand missing. Hair arranged in corkscrew curls. Holds shields in left hand. Traces of red paint on shield. From between Stūpas A18 and A.20. Pl. XXII <i>f</i> .
86	81(2)	Height 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Upper part of Atlant. Head missing. Playing on four-stringed guitar. From East of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXII <i>g</i> .
87	114a	Height 4". Upper half of Atlant. Left side of forehead damaged. Is blowing on <i>saṅkha</i> , held in both hands. Slight traces of red paint. From north side of Stūpa D3. Pl. XXII <i>h</i> .
88	160 <i>b</i>	Height 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Upper half of Atlant with cornice of stūpa at back. Strap across left shoulder and around waist. Holds sword with both hands. Red paint on sword, body of figure and face. Black paint on eye-brows, eye-balls and hair. From between Stūpas A10 and A11. Pl. XXII <i>i</i> .
89	5	Height 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Upper half of male figure. Arms missing. Head turned to right. Hair curled back over forehead and ears. Twisted scarf or edge of robe falling over right shoulder. Torque and cylindrical ear-ring. From west side of Main Stūpa.
90	F 25	Height 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Upper half of male figure (Atlant). Hair falling over ear and confined within cap and fillet. Right hand holds indistinct object (club?). Left hand holds straps of sling or shield (?) as in 84. Pl. XXII <i>j</i> .
91	89 <i>c</i>	Height 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Squatting Atlant. Head missing. Grasps ankles with hands. From West of Stūpa D1.
HEADS OF ATLANTES.		
92	149 <i>c</i>	Height 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Turned to right. Curly hair, wrinkled forehead and high cheek bones. Pl. XXIII <i>d</i> .
93	186 <i>b</i>	Height 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Elephant's ear over left temple. Sunken eyes, flat thick nose and half-open mouth. Lime wash. From North of Stūpa D4. Pl. XXIII <i>e</i> .

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
HEADS OF ATLANTES— <i>contd.</i>		
94	159b	Height 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Turned slightly to proper left. Shaggy hair in coarse curls. Lime wash. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A10. Pl. XXIII <i>f</i> .
95	23	Height 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Left side of head broken. Fillet adorned with medallion over forehead. Lime wash. From West of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIII <i>g</i> .
96	18	Height 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Hair in ringlets over forehead and ears. Wears moustache. Lime wash. Front of crown broken. From West of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIII <i>h</i> .
97	64	Height 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Wavy hair. Wide nostrils and protruding lips. Lime wash. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XXIII <i>i</i> .
98	171c	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Right ear missing. Curly hair indicated only by dots. Wrinkled forehead and frowning eye-brow. Lime wash and traces of buff slip. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A18. Pl. XXIII <i>j</i> .
99	4c	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Hair in ringlets falling over forehead and ears. Moustache and beard indicated by red paint. Lime wash and buff slip. Red paint on lips, nose, eye-lids, eye-brows, and hair. Left side broken. From west side of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIII <i>k</i> .
100	114b	Height 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Hair confined within a cap (?) turned back in front and looped on right side. Lime wash, thin buff slip and traces of red paint on lips, eye-brows, eye-lids, forehead and head-dress. From north side of Stūpa D3. Pl. XXIII <i>l</i> .
101	114c	Height 2". Moustache and strongly modelled features. Hair waved over forehead and confined by fillet. From Main Stūpa Court. Pl. XXIII <i>m</i> .
102	89 <i>f</i>	Height 2". Moustache and beard. Curls of hair indicated by dots. From West of Stūpa D1. Pl. XXIII <i>n</i> .
103	168b	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Hair waved over forehead and ears and tied into a loop at the crown. Prominent bone structure; sunken eyes, protruding lips and moustache. Lime wash, thin buff slip and traces of red paint. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A6. Pl. XXIII <i>o</i> .
104	89 <i>d</i>	Height 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Right side damaged. Hair falling in strands over forehead and ears. Wears moustache and beard. From north-east corner of Main Stūpa. Pl. XXIII <i>p</i> .
105	143	Height 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Turned to proper left. Shaggy hair in coarse curls. Lime wash. From south-east of corner of Stūpa A7.
106	179	Height 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Turned slightly to proper right. Shaggy hair in coarse curls. Lime wash. From between Stūpa A6 and Stūpa A7.
ANIMALS.		
107	176	Height 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Fore front of lion springing ¹ with part of cornice. From between Main Stūpa and Stūpa A13.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Stucco objects.
ANIMALS— <i>contd.</i>		
108	66	Height 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Head of elephant, holding lotus in uplifted trunk. Traces of red paint inside mouth. From West of Stūpa D1.
109	35b	Height 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Seated bull, probably from Persepolitan capital. Right horn missing. Traces of red colouring. From South of Main Stūpa.
MISCELLANEOUS.		
110	96	Height 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Upper part of trefoil arch, containing miniature stūpa. Stucco burnt grey. From West of Stūpa D1.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Clay Objects.
1	80	Height 7½". Head of Buddha. Left eye-brow and left side of head damaged; wears moustache. Surface only slightly burnt. From Monastery. Pl. XXIVd.
2	F26	Height 3". Head of a Brahmanical ascetic, probably of a Jätä. Burnt to terracotta. Top of <i>jätä</i> missing and nose damaged. From Monastery. Pl. XXVe.
3	F27	Height 12". Head of a lay man. Ears missing. Right hand side of forehead, nose, lips and chin damaged. Hair waved and tied with bow on crown. Burnt on surface to terracotta. From Monastery. Pl. XXIVb.
4	197a	Height 4¾". Head, perhaps of Vajrapäni. Forehead and back part of head and beard broken; chin damaged. Wears drooping moustache, whiskers and beard. Features and muscles strongly marked. Burnt on surface to terracotta. Traces of white lime wash. From south-west corner of monastic quadrangle. Pl. XXVe.
5	197b	Height 5½". Head of a child, with three tufts of hair on forehead and over ears; top-knot and head-dress of looped cords. Socket hole in neck for support. Traces of gilt. From south-west corner of monastic quadrangle. Pl. XXVf.
6	F 28	Height 4½". Head of a child with hair falling over forehead. Nose damaged. Socket hole at back of head for support. Slip and lime wash. From Monastery. Pl. XXVd.
7	F 29	7¾" across. Bunch of pipal leaves of Buddha canopy. Octagonal socket hole in centre for support. From Monastic quadrangle; in front of Chapel 8. Pl. XXVb.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Potteries.
1	253	Small goblet. Height $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". Red clay, powdered with fine mica. From Monastery cell No. 21. Pl. XXVg.
2	300a	Ink-pot (?). Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". A small handle at either side pierced with a hole for string. Common earthenware. From Monastery cell No. 3. Pl. XXVh.
3	270	Three water vessels. Height from $7\frac{1}{4}$ " to $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". Concentric line decoration at neck, middle and bottom. Wheel-turned. Buff clay. From Monastery cell No. 19. Pl. XXVi.
4	274a	Three water bottles. Length from $9\frac{3}{4}$ " to $11\frac{1}{4}$ ". Buff-red clay mixed with sand and mica. Clay wash. Swastika, circle and other symbol on base. From Monastery cell No. 6. Pl. XXVj.
5	F 30	Jug. Height $6\frac{3}{4}$ ". Handle on one side. Red clay, with red slip. Well-baked. From Monastery. Pl. XXVk.
6	247a	Water bottle. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". A handle at either side with hole for suspension. Red clay with clay wash. From Monastery cell No. 14. Pl. XXVIa.
7	278	Lamp (?). Height $4\frac{5}{8}$ ". Red clay and dark red wash. The burning at the mouth of the vessel seems to indicate that it was used as a lamp. From Monastery cell No. 11. Pl. XXVIb.
8	301a	Bell-shaped jar. Height $4\frac{5}{8}$ ". Raised rim at the middle. Red clay; dark red slip. From Monastery cell No. 3. Pl. XXVIc.
9	302	Top of kuza. Height $3\frac{7}{8}$ ". Upturned spout. Buff clay with red brown slip. From Monastery cell No. 28. Pl. XXVI d.
10	F 31	Strainer $6\frac{1}{4}$ " across. Handle on one side. Bottom pierced with small holes. Red clay; dark red wash. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIe.
11	247b	Bowl $8\frac{1}{4}$ " across. Cable-moulding at edge of rim. Grey red clay with red wash. Slightly damaged. From Monastery cell No. 14. Pl. XXVI f.
12	276 and 301b	Eighteen lids of pots. Diameter from $3\frac{1}{4}$ " to $5\frac{3}{8}$ ". Solid handle in the centre. Coarse red clay. From Monastery cell Nos. 10 and 3 respectively.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Copper and Bronze Objects.
1	68	Pipal leaf of copper. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". From in front of Main Stūpa stairs.
2	149d	Copper reliquary. Height $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Cylindrical shape. Detachable lid. From between Stūpas A7 and A8.
3	F 32	Five copper <i>trīśulas</i> . Height 6". Made of thin plate. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIg.
4	231a	Bronze bell with handle detached. Height $3\frac{3}{8}$ ". Tongue missing, slightly damaged. From Monastery cell No. 25. Pl. XXVIIh.
5	226, 238 and 272	Three bronze bell handles. Height from $1\frac{1}{4}$ " to $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". From north side of Monastery and cell No. 26, respectively.
6	231b and 301c	Four decorative <i>chakras</i> of copper. Diameter from $3\frac{7}{8}$ " to $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". <i>Trīśula</i> emblems terminating the spokes. Probably meant for decorating wood work. Two are pierced with holes for nails at the centre. From Monastery cell Nos. 25 and 3, respectively. Pl. XXVIIi.
7	231c and 313	Six copper rosettes. Diameter from 3" to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". Lotus-shaped. Hole in the centre. Probably served as decoration on doors. From Monastery cells Nos. 25 and 29. Pl. XXVIIj.
8	224a	Copper <i>harmikā</i> (?) of stūpa. Height $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". Leaf decoration at the corners. From Monastery cell No. 25. Pl. XXVIIk.
9	202 and 231d	Hollow copper globe. Diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Made in two pieces. Probably belongs to same finial as No. 224. Several more globes of the same type were found. From Monastery cell No. 25. Pl. XXVIIl.
10	260	Copper ring. Diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". Plain. From Monastery cell No. 18.
11	245a	Copper serpentine bracket. Length 6". Flattened at both ends. From Monastery cell No. 13.
12	221	Copper ring with end of staple attached. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". From Monastery cell No. 16.
13	244b	Bronze hoop finger ring. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Plain. From Monastery cell No. 8.
14	231e	Eleven saucer-like objects, probably umbrellas of miniature stūpa. Diameter from $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". Hole in the centre of each. From Monastery cell No. 25. Pl. XXVIIm.
15	298	Miniature bronze tripod. Height 1". From Monastery cell No. 3. Pl. XXVIIa.
16	249	Bronze image of Buddha. Height $3\frac{5}{8}$ ". Seated cross-legged in <i>dhyānamudrā</i> . Plain halo and <i>uṣṇīṣa</i> . <i>Saṅghaṭi</i> covering both shoulders. Hole through body to right of navel. Cast in mould. Crude workmanship. From Monastery cell No. 21. Pl. XXVIIb.
17	1b	Two bronze bells. Height $1\frac{1}{16}$ " with ring attached. Slightly damaged. From in front of Chapel C2. Pl. XXVIIc.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Copper and Bronze Objects.
18	299	Ladle. Length $11\frac{3}{8}$ ". Long upright handle, with terminating ring. Bowl slightly damaged and bent. From Monastery cell No. 12. Pl. XXVIII <i>d</i> .
19	265	Base of copper vase. Height $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". From Monastery cell No. 4.
20	300 <i>b</i>	Finial of miniature stüpa. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". From Monastery cell No. 3. Pl. XXVIII <i>e</i> .
21	245 <i>b</i>	Straining pan. Length $12\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pierced like a cylinder, and probably originally fitted with wooden handle. Damaged. From Monastery cell No. 13. Pl. XXVII <i>f</i> .
22	125	Pipal leaf of copper. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Iron ring attached. From in front of Chapel C12. Pl. XXVII <i>g</i> .
23	120	Spoon. Length $3\frac{7}{8}$ ". Major part of handle missing. Slight ridge along the middle inside and out. From Monastery entrance. Pl. XXVII <i>h</i> .
24	224	Terminal of monk's staff (?). Height $4\frac{3}{8}$ ". Top missing. <i>Chakras</i> at the three corners of triangle. Iron attachments on two of the <i>chakras</i> . From Monastery cell No. 25. Pl. XXVII <i>i</i> .
25	270 <i>b</i> , 300 <i>c</i> and 314	Three antimony rods of copper. Length from 4" to $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". From Monastery cells Nos. 19, 3 and 27, respectively.
26	300 <i>d</i>	Copper pin with head. Length 4". From Monastery cell No. 3.
27	285	Bronze ornament. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". Roughly lotus-shaped. From Monastery cell No. 3.
28	283	Copper ring. Diameter $1\frac{5}{8}$ ". From Monastery cell No. 19.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Iron Objects.
1	F 33	Three door rings with staples attached. Diameter about 3". From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIj.
2	F 34	Double clamp. Length 2¼". With single nail between. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIk.
3	F 35	Staple. Length 4¾". The two points turned over. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIl.
4	F 36	Twelve ceiling hooks. Length from 4½" to 5½". From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIm.
5	F 37	Eighty-one bent-headed nails. Length from 3½" to 12". From Monastery.
6	F 38	One hundred and fifty-one boss-headed nails. Length from 3½" to 7½". From Monastery.
7	F 39	Twenty-one round headed nails. Length from 5" to 21". From Monastery.
8	F 40	Door chain of one link with staple. Length 6¾". From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIn.
9	F 41	Door hook. Length 8¼". Turned over in ring at one end and in point at other. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIa.
10	F 42	Eighteen round door bosses. Diameter from 1½" to 3½". Pierced with nail, 4½" long, in centre. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIIIb.
11	F 43	Axe head. Length 4¾". Pierced with hole for shaft. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIIIc.
12	F 44	Axe head. Length 4½". Blunt edge. From Monastery quadrangle.
13	F 45	Head of adze. Length 6". Designed to fit in separate socket, which is missing. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIIId.
14	F 46	Two square bosses. 3" square. Nail attached. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIIIe.
15	F 47	Head of hoe(?). Width 4½" × 3¾". Made of two sheets of metal, hammered together, with hollow space between them on one side for the haft socket. The hollow is traversed by 3 nails. From Monastery.
16	284	Lamp. Length 11". Spherical bowl with round foot, serpentine handle with solid holder. The lid of the lamp is provided with narrow neck for wick. From Monastery cell No. 21. Pl. XXVIIIf.
17	F 48	Adze head. Length 5¾". Pierced with shaft hole. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIIIg.
18	273	Chisel. Length 11¾". With flat blade and hollow socket. From Monastery cell No. 3. Pl. XXVIIIh.


Serial No.	Registered No.	Iron Objects.
19	F 49	Single clamping iron. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". 2 nails attached. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIII <i>i</i> .
20	F 50	Thirty-three double clamping irons. Length from 3" to 16". The nails are still attached in most of them. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIII <i>j</i> .
21	F 51	Door hinge. Length $12\frac{1}{2}$ ". One section heart-shaped. Nail attached in longer section. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIII <i>k</i> .
22	F 52	Two Ingots. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " respectively. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIII <i>l</i> .
23	F 53	Hoop. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pl. XXVIII <i>m</i> .
24	323	Lamp. $4\frac{5}{8}$ " across. Back portion missing. From Chapel C5.
25	F 54	Bell. Height 2". Tongue missing; traces of copper rust at the edge. From Monastery. Pl. XXVIII <i>n</i> .
26	F 55	Chisel. Length 4". Badly damaged. From Monastery quadrangle.
27	F 56	Three door hinges. Length from 8" to 13". In two sections. In the specimen illustrated in Pl. XXVIII <i>o</i> , one of the nails is still attached. From Monastery quadrangle. Pl. XXVIII <i>o</i> .

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
Serial No.	Registered No.	Gold Objects.
1	F 57	Hoop finger ring, plain; $\frac{1}{16}$ " diameter. From Monastery cell No. 19. Pl. XXIX.
2—3	F 58, F59	Two cup-shaped ornaments, $\frac{3}{8}$ " diameter, with attachments inside for suspension. Crude floral design outside. From Monastery cell No. 19. Pl. XXIX, 2 and 3.
4—7		Coin pendants, 1" high, with tubular attachments at top. One is set with garnet in circlet of granules; the others are plain. The coins are later Kushan types. From Monastery cell No. 19. Pl. XXIX, 4—7.
4	F 60	Obv. King nimbate, standing to left. In right hand, trident with streamers above an altar; in left hand, staff; under right arm defaced legend; in right field <i>tasu</i> (?) in Brāhmī characters. Rev. Enthroned goddess, holding cornucopia in left hand. Marginal legend defaced.
5	F 61	Obv. Ditto Under left arm, Brahmi legend <i>sti</i> ; and in right field, <i>praka</i> . Rev. Ditto.
6 and 7	F62, F63	Similar.


LIST OF COINS FOUND AT JAULIÂN.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
Local Taxilan.						
<i>Circular.</i>						
1	263	Æ. 7	Lion standing left with 'taurine' in front and <i>svastika</i> above.	Blank	Jaulian Monastery, room 2; 9 b. s.	
2	287	Æ. 7	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 11; 18' 9" b. s.	
3	284	Æ. 62	Three-arched chaitiya with crescent and 'taurine.'	As obverse but much defaced.	J. M., room 21; 9' b. s.	
Apollodotus.						
<i>Square.</i>						
4	332	Æ. 65	Apollo standing right clad in chlamys and boots holding out an arrow in both hands; quiver at his back; bow rests upright on the ground in front of him. Gk. legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΑΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ; below, ΑΠΟ....	Tripod-lebes. Kh. legend on three sides from right to left <i>Maharajasa</i> [trata] <i>rasa</i> ; below, legend completely defaced. In right field, monogram.	J. M., room 12; 12' b. s.	Rara. Cf. P. M. Cat., Pl. V. 353.
Azes II.						
5	320	Æ. 5	King on horse-back, right. Kh. letter <i>Ga</i> .	Zeus standing left with Nike on outstretched right hand. Monogram and Kharoshthi legend defaced.	J. M., 6' b. s.	
Soter Megas.						
<i>Circular.</i>						
6	222	Æ. 54	Radiate and diademed bust of king to right within dotted border; with spear in outstretched right hand. Monogram to left.	King on horse-back to right. Monogram to right. Gk.  legend defaced.	J. M., room 14; 5' b. s.	5' Cf. Cunningham, <i>Later Indo-Scythians</i> . Small size.
7	309	Æ. 85	Ditto	Ditto. Gk. legend ... ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	J. M., room 3; 5' 4" b. s.	

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
Kadphises I. (Kadaphes.)						
8	30	Æ. 7	Head right, diademed, closely resembling that of Augustus. Legend completely defaced.	King seated right on curule chair, with right hand extended. Legend completely defaced.	J. M., room 28 ; 12' b. s.	
Kanishka.						
9	260	Æ. 65	King standing left, wearing peaked cap, coat, trousers and cloak ; grasping spear in left hand and holding an elephant goad over altar. Gk. legend obliterated.	Standing deity with crescent behind head. To right, MAO.	J. M., room 18 ; 8' b. s.	Small size, of common type.
10	49	Æ. 62	King standing with right hand over altar and left hand holding spear. Gk. legend ΔΟ ... on left margin. Kh. cha in left field.	Sun-god standing, facing to left with right arm advanced and left hand holding sword (?). Monogram  under right arm. Legend lost.	J. M., doorway of room 1 ; 11' 9" b. s.	Rare. Cf. P. M. Cat., p. 135, No. 57.
11	324	Æ. 68	King standing with right hand over altar and left hand holding spear. Gk. legend obliterated.	Sun-god to front.	J. M., outside N. wall.	Small size
12	244	Æ. 1·06	King standing left at altar, holding spear in left hand. Legend in left margin NH p KI	Wind-god running left. Monogram as in No. 10, in left field. Legend in right margin.	J. M., room No. 8 ; 10' b. s.	Large size.
13	217	Æ. 75	King standing left at altar. Legend on left margin as in No. 12.	Standing deity to left	J. M., inside central courtyard ; 10' b. s.	Small size.
14	281	Æ. 9	As No. 12	As No. 12	J. M., room 11 ; 18' b. s.	Large size
Huvishka.						
15	232	Æ. 88	King, facing, seated cross-legged, holding sceptre in left hand, right hand on hip. Legend defaced.	Sun-god facing. Monogram to left. Legend MII P.....	J. M., room 23 ; 9' b. s.	Large size. For type see P. M. Cat., p. 204.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
16	170	Æ. 8 .	King riding elephant right. Legend completely defaced.	Standing deity	<i>J. S.</i> , between Main Stupa and Stupa A 16; 9' b. s.	Small coin. Late and decadent in style.
17	211	Æ. 1.02 .	King reclining on couch.	Standing deity, possibly Śiva.	<i>J. M.</i> , North-west side; 11' b. s.	Large size. For type, see <i>P. M. Cat.</i> , p. 202.
18	288	Æ. 95 .	King reclining on couch with right knee tucked up.	Standing deity	<i>J. M.</i> , room 6; 11' b. s.	Much defaced. Large size.
19	281	Æ. 1.0 .	As No. 18 . . .	As No. 18 . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 11; 18' b. s.	Much corroded. Large size.
20	84	Æ. 5 .	Barbarous Huvi-shka; fragmentary.		<i>J. S.</i> , 3' b. s.	
Vasudeva type.						
21	335	Æ. 95 .	King standing, facing to front, with right hand over altar. Monogram and legend lost.	Śiva standing, leaning on bull facing to left. Monogram and legend lost.	<i>J. S.</i> , relic chamber of Stupa A 16; 1' 6" b. s.	
22	242	Æ. 72 .	King standing at altar. Legend lost.	Śiva standing to front; behind him, bull standing to left. Monogram and legend lost.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 16; 7' b. s.	Late and decadent type. Large size.
23	263	Æ. 75 .	As No. 22 . . .	As No. 22 . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 2; 9' b. s.	As No. 22.
24	252	Æ. 1.0 .	As No. 22. Monogram  in right field.	As No. 22. In circle of dots.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 26; 6' b. s.	Earlier coin than Nos. 22 and 23.
25	106	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. S.</i> , 4' b. s.	
26	307	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 28; 12' b. s.	
27	305	Æ. 85 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 24; 1' 3" b. s.	Much corroded.
28	267	Æ. 7 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1; 12' b. s.	
29	300	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 3; 13' 2" b. s.	
30	291	Æ. 62 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 7; 12' b. s.	
31	277	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 10; 18' b. s.	

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
32	308	Æ. 75 .	As No. 22. Mono-gram  in right field.	As No. 22. In circle of dots.	J. M., room 29 ; 12' b. s.	
33	286	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 3 ; 5' b. s.	
34	307	Æ. 8 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 28 ; 12' b. s.	In fair pre-servation.
35	305	Æ. 87 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 24 ; 1' 3" b. s.	In fair pre-servation, though corroded.
36	263	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 2 ; 9' b. s.	
37	263	Æ. 62 .	King standing at altar.	Enthroned goddess as on No. 44.	J. M., room 2 ; 9' b. s.	
38	300	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 3 ; 13' 2" b. s.	Much corroded.
39	309	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 3 ; 5' 4" b. s.	Ditto.
40	205	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., east side ; 8' b. s.	Ditto.
41	294	Æ. 95 .	King nimbate to left, with peaked helmet and complete suit of chain mail, making an offering with right hand over an altar ; long trident in left hand ; trident with fillet in left field. Legend ZOΔHO in right margin.	As No. 24 . .	J. M., outside east main wall ; 2' 9" b. s.	In good pre-servation. A comparatively early issue. like No. 24. Large size.
42	234	Æ. 72 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 4 ; 5' b. s.	
43	315	Æ. 75 .	King standing at altar. Legend, etc., lost.	Seated goddess .	J. M., débris .	For type see P. M. Cat., p. 210.
44	335	Æ. 8 .	As No. 21 . .	As No. 21 . .	As No. 21.	
45	58	Æ. 56 .	Ditto . .	Śiva leaning on bull. Monogram and legend lost.	J. M., south west corner, outside ; 5' b. s.	
46	31	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., débris outside.	
47	49	Æ. 56 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	J. M., room 1, doorway ; 11' 9" b. s.	
48	49	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.	
49	54	Æ. 56 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 11' b. s.	
50	54	Æ. 62 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.	


Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
51	44	Æ. 62 .	As No. 21 . .	Śiva leaning on bull. Monogram and legend lost.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1 of extension; 9' b. s.	
52	2	Æ. 69 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , outside Stupa D 6; 3' b. s.	
53	31	Æ. 56 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room on south-east side of extension; 9' b. s.	
54	49	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1, doorway; 11' 9" b. s.	
55	31	Æ. 75 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , débris outside.	
56	31	Æ. 62 .	Ditto . .	Ditto . .	Ditto.	
Miscellaneous Kushan.						
57	264	Æ. 62 .	King standing .	Standing deity. To left seems to be a figure worshipping the deity.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 7; 8' 6" b. s.	An interesting type.
§58—68	106, etc.		King standing at altar.	Indistinct . .	Nos. 58 and 65 from <i>J. S.</i> , and the rest from <i>J. M.</i>	No. 60 is a NANA coin of Kanishka, large size.
Indo-Sassanian.*						
<i>Uncertain.</i>						
69	49	Æ. 5 .	Bust of King to right	Traces of fire-altar	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1, doorway.	<i>Cf. I. M. Cat.</i> , Pl. XXIV, 5. Fragmentary.
70	49	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . .	Fire-altar with symbols in right and left fields.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1, doorway; 11' 9" b. s.	Fragmentary.
71	49	Æ. 42 .	Bust of King to right, completely defaced.	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 1, doorway; 11' 9" b. s.	Ditto.
72	309	Æ. 43 .	Bust of king to right, with long beard.	Ditto . .	<i>J. M.</i> , room 3, 5' 4" b. s.	Ditto.
73	300	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . .	Fire-altar defaced.	<i>J. M.</i> , room 3; 5' 4" b. s.	Ditto.
74	309	Æ. 43 .	Bust of king to right, defaced.	Traces of fire-altar	<i>J. M.</i> , room 3; 5' 4" b. s.	Ditto.

§ With only two or three exceptions all the coins from No. 22 to No. 68 are of late and decadent type, and some of them must have been struck one or two centuries after the death of Vasudeva, on whose issues they are modelled. The latest coins are exemplified by Nos. 66 to 68, which have lost nearly all resemblance to their prototype.

* The coins under this heading are of irregular shape and, in some cases, restruck upon Kushan issues.

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
75	49	Æ. 5	Bust of king to right, partially defaced.	Fire-altar	J. M., room 1, doorway; 11' 9" b. s.	Circular.
76	57	Æ. 7	Bust of king to right, defaced.	Ditto	J. M., outside west wall.	
77	289	Æ. 5	Bust of king, defaced	Ditto	J. M., room 3; 8' b. s.	
78	303	Æ. 54	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
79	267	Æ. 54	Bust of king to right	Ditto	J. M., room 1; 12' b. s.	
80	312	Æ. 54	Bust of king to right, partially damaged.	Ditto	J. M., room 27; 11' 4" b. s.	
81	303	Æ. 54	Ditto	Defaced	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
82	303	Æ. 5	Bust of king to right, defaced.	Indistinct	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
83	303	Æ. 54	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
84	303	Æ. 6	Ditto	Fire-altar	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
85	303	Æ. 5	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
86	303	Æ. 56	Ditto	Traces of fire-altar	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
87	313	Æ. 56	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 12' 3" b. s.	
88	256	Æ. 56	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 10; 6' b. s.	
89	268	Æ. 5	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 2; 13' b. s.	
90	309	Æ. 5	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
91	230	Æ. 69	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 24; 5' b. s.	
92	267	Æ. 5	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 1; 12' b. s.	
93	303	Æ. 56	Ditto	Ditto	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
94	205	Æ. 5	Bust of king to right within dotted border.	Fire-altar in splendid preservation. Monogram in left field.	J. M., east side; 8' b. s.	A beautiful little coin.
95	164	Æ. 43	Indistinct	Symbol 	J. S., 3' b. s.	A pretty coin. Cf. Cun., Later Indo-Scythians, Pl. IV, 11.

Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
96	306	Æ. 7	Bust of king to right. Lion's head on front of head-dress.	Massive fire altar; symbols on shaft. No legend.	Jaulian Stupa D 5; east side.	
97	303	Æ. 62	Bust of king to right. Eagle or vulture head dress.	Fire-altar . . .	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
98	303	Æ. 68	Bust of king to right, wearing three-pointed crown.	Ditto . . .	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	Cf. Cum., <i>Later Indo-Scythians</i> , PL IV, 9.
99	307	Æ. 5	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	J. M., room 28; 12' b. s.	Ditto.
100	303	Æ. 56	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	Ditto.
101	267	Æ. 56	Bust of king to right	Fire-altar with broad base and top.	J. M., room 1; 12' b. s.	Cf. I. M. C. PL XXIV, 7.
102	303	Æ. 56	Ditto . . .	Fire-altar with symbols at the sides.	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	Ditto.
103	303	Æ. 56	Bust of king to right, damaged.	Traces of fire-altar.	J. M., room 29; 11' 8" b. s.	
104	306	Æ. 62	Indistinct . . .	Fire-altar . . .	Jaulian Stupa D 5; east side.	
Later Kushan.						
105	270	Æ. 62	Traces of king standing to left	Seated goddess . . .	J. M., room 19; 4' 9" b. s.	
Uncertain.						
106	123	Æ. 56	<i>Nandipada</i> symbol .	Indistinct . . .	Stupa court; between A 2 and A 4.	
107	106	Æ. 56	Uncertain . . .	Ditto . . .	Stupa court; 4' b. s.	
Crude Indo-Sassanian.						
108	185	Æ. 43	Uncertain . . .	Crude fire-altar or temple in form of square.	Stupa court; between A 11 and A 12.	
109	185	Æ. 5	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	Stupa court; between A 11 and A 12.	
110	185	Æ. 56	Ditto . . .	Crude fire-altar or temple in form of square within dotted border.	Ditto.	

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Serial No.	Registered No.	Metal and size.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Find spot.	REMARKS.
111	185	Æ. 56 .	Uncertain . . .	Crude fire-altar or temple in form of square within dotted border.	J. S. Court ; between A 11 and A 12.	
112	307	Æ. 5 .	Crude standing figure.	Four vertical lines, probably indicating fire-altar.	Jaulian Monastery, room 28 ; 12' b. s.	
113	303	Æ. 5 .	Traces of crude standing figure.	Crude fire-altar .	J. M., room 29 ; 11' 8" b. s.	
114	320	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . . .	Crude fire-altar within dotted border.	J. M., north wing ; 6' b. s.	
115	313	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	J. M., room 29 ; 12' 3" b. s.	
116	158	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . . .	Symbol or crude figure within border of dots.	Jaulian Stupa A 5.	
117	192	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . . .	Indistinct . . .	J. S. court ; between A 11 and A 12.	
118	152	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	J. S. court ; between A 20 and A 21.	
119	186	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	Jaulian Stupa D 4.	
120	185	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . . .	As on No. 110 .	J. S. court ; between A 11 and A 12.	
121	185	Æ. 5 .	Indistinct . . .	Square within dotted border.	Jaulian Stupa court ; between A 11 and A 12.	
122	185	Æ. 5 .	Traces of crude standing figure.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.	
123	185	Æ. 43 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.	
124	185	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.	
125	84	Æ. 5 .	Ditto . . .	Square within incuse.	Jaulian Main Stupa, east side.	
126	327	Æ. 37 .	Bust of king to right	Small squares within border of dots.	Jaulian Monastery, room 29.	

Coins Nos. 106-126 are small copper pieces fragmentary in shape and crude in design. They are probably not earlier than the 4th century A.D. It has been suggested that they are tokens or offerings, but piece No. 126 is similar in shape and weight to the rest and is certainly a coin of Sassanian design. The figure of a square within a circle of dots is more probably a crude representation of a fire-altar or fire-temple than of a stupa ; that is to say, these strange little pieces are more likely to be Indo-Sassanian than Buddhistic issues.

THE JAULIĀN MANUSCRIPT.

[By Prof. Ramāprasād Chanda, B.A.]

The Jauliān manuscript consists of a number of loose half-burnt birch-bark fragments of different sizes. Of these only 52 fragments, varying in size from $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in., bear writing that yields or is likely to yield any sense. There are still smaller fragments bearing a few letters and one or two bigger ones that bear a few scattered letters. The manuscript must have been written with a reed-pen; for in some cases letters are visible, even though the ink has disappeared. With a few exceptions, all fragments bear writing on both sides. In many of the fragments several letters and even lines have become illegible. Some letters are hidden in the depressions of the folds. The extreme fragility of the fragments renders their straightening impossible and their manipulation for decipherment very risky. The writing on the fragments shows that the manuscript was neatly and carefully written in uniform characters.

The characters used in these fragments closely resemble the characters of the Kasiā copper-plate¹, written in black ink, found in the Nirvāṇa stūpa, and, to a less extent, the characters of certain ancient manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan written in what is called the early Upright Gupta characters.² This calligraphic script is classed with the western variety of the Northern Gupta script of the inscriptions. The peculiarities of this division of the Gupta script have been fully discussed by Hoernle in his Introduction to the *Bower Manuscripts*, Chapter III. The Kasiā plate has been assigned to the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. because of the coins found with it.³ The uniform use of *ma* with serpentine left limb and of tripartite *ya* with a loop on the left arm in the Jauliān manuscript indicates that it may be somewhat earlier in date.

These birch-bark fragments presumably belong to a Sanskrit Buddhist text. The religious and particularly the Buddhist character of the text is indicated by such terms as:—*guṇabhakti-gandhitā* (1, a3), 'fragrant with virtue and loving faith'; *abhiyōga* (2, a2), 'exertion'; *iryāpatha*, (2, a3), 'the observances of the religious mendicant'; *gataspriha* (2, b1) 'one who is without desire'; *bhikshu* (35, b2), 'monk'; *arhat-prati[mā]* (40, a2), 'the image of the Arhat (Buddha)' etc., and by the mention of the name of Subhūti (48, a1), one of the leading disciples of Buddha. There are other words and phrases such as *kampayat* (19, a2), 'trembling'; *kuṇapa* (33, a1), 'dead body'; *adīrgharātrena* (33, a2) 'in a short time'; *ity=avadhārya* (33, a3), 'having settled this'; *vanash-aṇḍa* (35, b2), 'forest'; *haya-khura-bhinna* (46, b1), 'split by horse's hoof';

¹ A. S. R., 1910-11, Part II, Plate XXXIX, b.

² Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, Plates CVIII, CIX (Leaf of Buddhist Dhāraṇī); for other specimens see Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Vol. I.

³ A. S. R., 1910-11, Part II, p. 75.

ālimgya (53—2), 'having embraced'; *hataḥ* (27, a3), 'killed', etc., that show that the text embodied a narrative and not a didactic composition. The reference to *shādgūnya-naya* (7, a2), 'policy consisting of six expedients,' strengthens this supposition.

Verses, particularly stanzas in Vamśastha metre, must have constituted a considerable part of the text, if not the whole of it. In two of the fragments we find the two following complete *pādas* (quarter-verses) of stanzas in Vamśastha metre:—

(21, a3) *kvachit=tad=ētarhi mukhaṁ vilokyate* "At this time that face is seen in some places."

(34, 2) *mahaujaso vipratibhā balāt kṛitā* 'men of great powers are deprived of their intelligence by force.'

Other fragments also contain expressions that fit in well with *pādas* in the Vamśastha metre. But there are some lines (6, a2; 10, a2; 33, b3) that do not appear to do so. That the text included verses is also shown by the occurrence of the interpunction mark resembling a comma laid lengthwise (~) or prone comma used in the manuscripts of Eastern Turkestan in Gupta script to indicate the ends of half or whole verses.¹ Two instances of the use of the single prone comma may be cited from our fragments after terms that scan well as the last three syllables of a *pāda* of a Vamśastha stanza:—

(13, b2) ~ — ~ — — ~ ~ — ~ ras-kṛiyā ~

(14, a2) ~ — ~ — — ~ ~ — [u]pāsātē ~

This prone comma is also used above final consonants.

There is nothing in our fragments to show that the text is a canonical one (*buddha-vachana*, or 'Buddha's saying.')

Fragment No. 1 (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 t. gau ra dhana pra
2 . . id. hi . rtai jagad-ādi
3 . guṇabha[kti]-ga[ndhi]taḥ a[bhi].
4 . la va nā mi tā da
5 . phalochchayaḥ bikā
6 . rvinātu ma h. va
- (b) 1 ch. p. tta ye . . .
2 viśeshato hā te bha . . .
3 sakala
4 . nāja
5 pya bhyā kā laksha
6 ṇa

¹ Hoernle's *Introduction to Bower Manuscripts*, p. XXXVIII and Table V; Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains* etc., p. 62, and transcripts on p. 66 ff.

Fragment No. 2 (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 [m.]na . abhavya pha[1].
2 par-ābhiyōgēshu ni
3 lpitē-ryāpatha . . .
(b) □ 1 gatasprī [hena]
2 . budhāḥ nimit=[ta] pe sh.
3 . . tā gu ṇ.

Fragment No. 3 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch).

- (a) □ 1 ch. th. d. shāma y.
2 [pa]śyati tad=apy-a
3 y.
(b) □ 1
2 . tu. hi sam pra d.
3 . . pra n. p.

Fragment No. 4 (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1
2 da ma nya ch.
3 ya se tusṭi subhiksha
4[mō]ma . . . bhyām sa nara . ra
(b) □ 1 katar[ā]
2 yaḥ ki[m]k.
3 . g . .

Fragment No. 5 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- 1 . yaṁ hi tai tva
2 yate tha cha . ghāta sa tma(?) kṛi

Fragment No. 6 (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 2 $\frac{1}{16}$).

- (a) □ 1 h. o-ttama
2 hi simhavan-na kāka-vak=āpi kha . . .
3 pra
4 . . gati
5 [ka]tham k
(b) 1 tam da . . lā . . s. ś. lā
2 ti . . .
3
4 tasya śra . . hi bh.
□ 5 tē vidhāna pa r.

Fragment No. 7 (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 1 inch).

- (a) □ 1 [sa]d=ābhiyōgaḥ pa
2 shāḍgunya-naya
(b) □ 1 ghayet¹ naraḥ sva
2 . . tām ki

¹ Read lamghayēt.

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Fragment No. 8 (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $\frac{1}{6}$ inch).

- (a) 1 sham bha vi ma
2 . pa[rai]
(b) 1 [bh].va . . kuli . .

Fragment No. 9 (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- (a) □ 1
2 sakramāḥ samam t. t.[śchhi]n.
3vati .
(b) □ 1 ra . . lañ
2 t. r.

Fragment No. 10 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $\frac{1}{16}$ inch).

- (a) □ 1 [ya]ntranā bha
2 [du] shkaram kimchid=udāra cha
(b) □ 1 . . h[i] na mātra sphutaka . .
2 . . . sha pakshayoh . .

Fragment No. 11 (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch).

- (a) □ mati charācharam jaga¹
(b) □ . . . d . bh. . .

Fragment No. 12 (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 inch).

- 1 . ko[vi]dhih
2 jagato=sya mu

Fragment No. 13 (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 inch).

- (a) □ 1 sa mūlam ja
2 divāśuchiḥ ya
3 sh[a] hētavo
(b) □ 1 . . v. m. .
2 raskriyā .[vi]
3 [ga]d-guṇādhā²

Fragment No. 14 (1 inch by $\frac{1}{16}$ inch).

- (a) 1 . n. .
2 pāsātē .
3 . viśēsha
(b) 1 [vya] pāsritā
2 [to]g. notkar
3 □ . tayam .

¹ Read jagat.

² Read guṇādhārah.

Fragment No. 15 (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $\frac{1}{16}$ inch).

- (a) 1 [yam]nya yät-kām.
2 . mah pramā.
(b) 1 tt. . . vri[j].
2 pā yai pa
3 yō gā

Fragment No. 16 (1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 inch).

- (a) 1 ten=tarat=mani pra
2 cha ya ni hā
(b) 1 . .
2 r=janēn=aiva hi
3 re pya paka

Fragment No. 18 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{7}{16}$ inch).

- (a) chasya vai nri lam k
(b) ty-apētya śāstrakri

Fragment No. 19 (1 $\frac{7}{16}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- (a) 1 m. d. t. t. kshitu ch.
2 na kampayat ra
3 [pa]
(b) 1 . gu . sa
2 tiva lak[sha]ṇa
3 [k]. [tam] guṇarāśi

Fragment No. 20 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- 1 v. n. y. tā
2 rā v. m. k. th.

Fragment No. 21 (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches).

- (a) 1 [jā]tamātra sār. km.
2 [pa] drutaṁ sugandhi kāle vy. v. k. m. thā
3 [kva] chit=tad=etarhi mukhaṁ vilōkyatē vilupta
4 ta=stad=idrig=cha[k]. . [pra] . . [pa]te . su
5
6
(b) 1
2
3 py. hā vō vivardhatē ja na .
4 vādinaḥ . . . ga . . nya viśesha sādha¹
5
6

¹ Read sādhasam.

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Fragment No. 22 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- 1 sya ka [j].śr. . sy . ś. l.
2 la ni . . . narañ kṛita . . . kshipa
3 . . . tma ni vē . . .

Fragment No. 23 (2 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 jēn-mṛi
2 . . . kṛitōpakā[rē] . . . pi
3 [yya] d [ai] na trasa
(b) □1 hrid .
2 ṇaṁ śārā n.

Fragment No. 24 (1 $\frac{9}{16}$ inches by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch).

- (a) . . . nā mahā n. pā śra
(b) . . . na sa vi ta n.

Fragment No. 25 (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

- 1 ś l balañ vitta[m]
2 ram ayañ s
3 daksh[i]ṇā
4

Fragment No. 26 (2 inches by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

- 1 sā
2 sa tasya tādṛśa t.
3 . . . ma puñya-darśana ¹
4 . . . k[ri]ta che. sañ

Fragment No. 27 (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

- (a) □1 d. t.
2 ya . . . yath[ā]
3 . . . tath[ā]vidhe janēna v. bādha hatās=cha
4 y. m
5 kī
(b) □1 . . . samunna m rmu pra
2 ch. . . . to guñān-vṛithā
3 tep. prakara²
4 pakareshva pi t. sa dh.
5 sad vi ra pai

Fragment No. 28 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch).

- (a) □1 j . . . [k]. . .
2 sh. yāya nu ṇa
(b) □1 sya chāsati ni
2

¹ Read *darśanañ*.

² Read *prakaraṇaṁ*.

Fragment No. 29 (1 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches).

- 1 . l. ssuka
- 2 . rūpā . khalu
- 3 . . . to d. .

Fragment No. 30 (1 inch by $\frac{1}{16}$ inch).

- (a) □ 1 .
- 2 . no ti va
- 3 pavitra
- (b) □ 1 . . .
- 2 [syā] pi [ja] na
- 3 'i dam

Fragment No. 31 (1 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches by $\frac{1}{8}$ inch).

- (a) s. dh[a]rm[a]t.
- (b) [y]. [ṇ]. sh u [v]

Fragment No. 32 ($\frac{7}{8}$ inch by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch).

- . prāyaṃ va[cha]

Fragment No. 33 (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 m. . . . [pr]. [k]. [r]. kuṇapā
- 2 dinaḥ adīrparātrena¹ vich.
- 3 [mi] trayōḥ kutō namēd=ity=avadhāryam=apraṭi
- 4 cho pi
- (b) □ 1 [ya]s=tv=amī d. n. t. . . .
- 2 v. sa[ta]m na nīcha h. . . . halā [a]dh.
- 3 . sk[ri] yā janād=vidheḥ pra
- 4 parā pu

Fragment No. 34 (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

- 1 d. mārḡē m .
- 2 . t mahaujasō vipratibhā-balāt kṛitā na
- 3 balān=niyukta . . rīva sā [dh]avaḥ pri[yam]
- 4 yate n. n. timā . .

Fragment No. 35 (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 t. chitta y. t. t. g.
- 2 tvaḥ² śubha-puṇya-lakṣaṇaḥ paraiti sarvva
- 3 . prava. titāḥ kṛiyāḥ . .
- 4 śivam
- (b) □ 1 chh t. . . asṛipta
- 2 d³vanashaṇḍ³ bhikshu
- 3 . yaṃ . . su
- 4 mayā

¹ Read adirgha.

² Read oavah.

³ Read vanashaṇḍe.

THE STÜPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIÄÑ.

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Fragment No. 36 (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 [t].[ty].h khy. ti
2 ty=apalakshañā . k . pr.
3 . vacha na ya mā . pi . . . pya
- (b) □ 1 purask[ā]ro . v.
2 . vi nam ni ro cha nē nai
3 vā

Fragment No. 37 (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 śa. rūpā ā p. t. vra . . . yah vi
2 yan katham nu
3 . . . mā tam
- (b) □ 1 . . .
2 m. tva mi tya[bh].
3 g.

Fragment No. 38 (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches).

- 1 □ dvyā tē
2 . pramathya[mo] . nirmuliti
3 yathā . . . thā . . . ti n. k.

Fragment No. 39 (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

- (a) □ 1 di . v. .
2 . tā ya¹ cheshtatē k[ri]t-ōpa .
3 mya ch=aushadham kṛit-ōpakarēshu [bha]yē sakhē
4 m. nu
- (b) □ 1
2 gūḍha a na va
3 . . ta purah [a]s[am] . . . ditā
4 tham . . mopaha

Fragment No. 40 (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inch).

- (a) 1 . l puraskṛito-py-amjali vānda
2 . rhatorhat-prati[mā]
- (b) □ 1 vat
2 [va][mī] m. n. r. thai r. . .
3 . vā . . . a . sya sā

Fragment No. 41 (2 inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 dōshēshu sa . . h .
2 parō . . .
3 . s. ś. . to
- (b) 1 tt. .
2 . tā pri
3 ś. sv.
4 tñ

¹ Read *hitāya*.

Fragment No. 42 (2 $\frac{7}{16}$ by 1 inch).

- 1 tāva kumārgam-āśr [itya]
2 nāśa mārge . nayan mahā

Fragment No. 43 (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches).

- (a) 1 . . . sa t. . rū . .
2 d-v[i] dham-upā . . jaga
(b) 1 kācha . .
2 gaṇaya . . . y.
3 sām

Fragment No. 44 (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 h. da y.
2 sha vish-ōjjihīrshu v. j.
3 gā sā ti[śa]ya chā[kri]
(b) 1 chch. yad=asti . ch . pya nā
2 . dva ha .

Fragment No. 45 (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 gocharē cha[r]ed
2 . padēna tath=ōpasarpinī
3 prapīḍayann=iva ma .
(b) 1 kim=atra chitram pra . ti hi

Fragment No. 46 (2 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches by 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 . y. tī . . .
2 . . kā ve yini jī[vi]
3 nair=api kshepya . midam bha . .gē
4 . . . su . . pi . .
5 jri nayana
(b) 1 haya - khura - bh[inna] . . .

Fragment No. 47 (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 2 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches).

- 1 . tma nā tm.
2 ti . . tm bhy.
3 . ya vitta m . . t. . . . vi .
4 . shu chā . cham ra . . . d. n. ma . tsu cha

Fragment No. 48 (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- (a) 1 nam subhū¹
2 ch . . .
(b) 1 pra va
2 pā ta dā n. .
3 rītē hi

¹ Read subhūti.

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Fragment No. 49 (1 $\frac{1}{6}$ inches by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches).

- (a) 1 . . .
2 . sa mam ja śai[kshi]¹
3 . m.
(b) 1 t-tu kṛi[pā]
2 . sta kārmukāḥ na .

Fragment No. 50 (1 inch by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ inch).

- 1 kṣaṇaḥ
2 m . ko pi ma .

Fragment No. 51 (1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch).

- (a) 1 matī cha paṇḍ[i]ta[h]
2 shv=atitīkṣṇa=chakṣhushā ni
(b) 1 my. vedaṁ s. l.
2 . gatē . vaṁ s[u]

Fragment No. 52 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch).

- (a) tā=parādhād=ap[ā]
(b) na tā vā na pa kār.

Fragment No. 53 (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 1 inch).

- 1 [sa]t-kṛ[i]yām
2 . ālingya [ni]

¹ Read śaikṣikāḥ.

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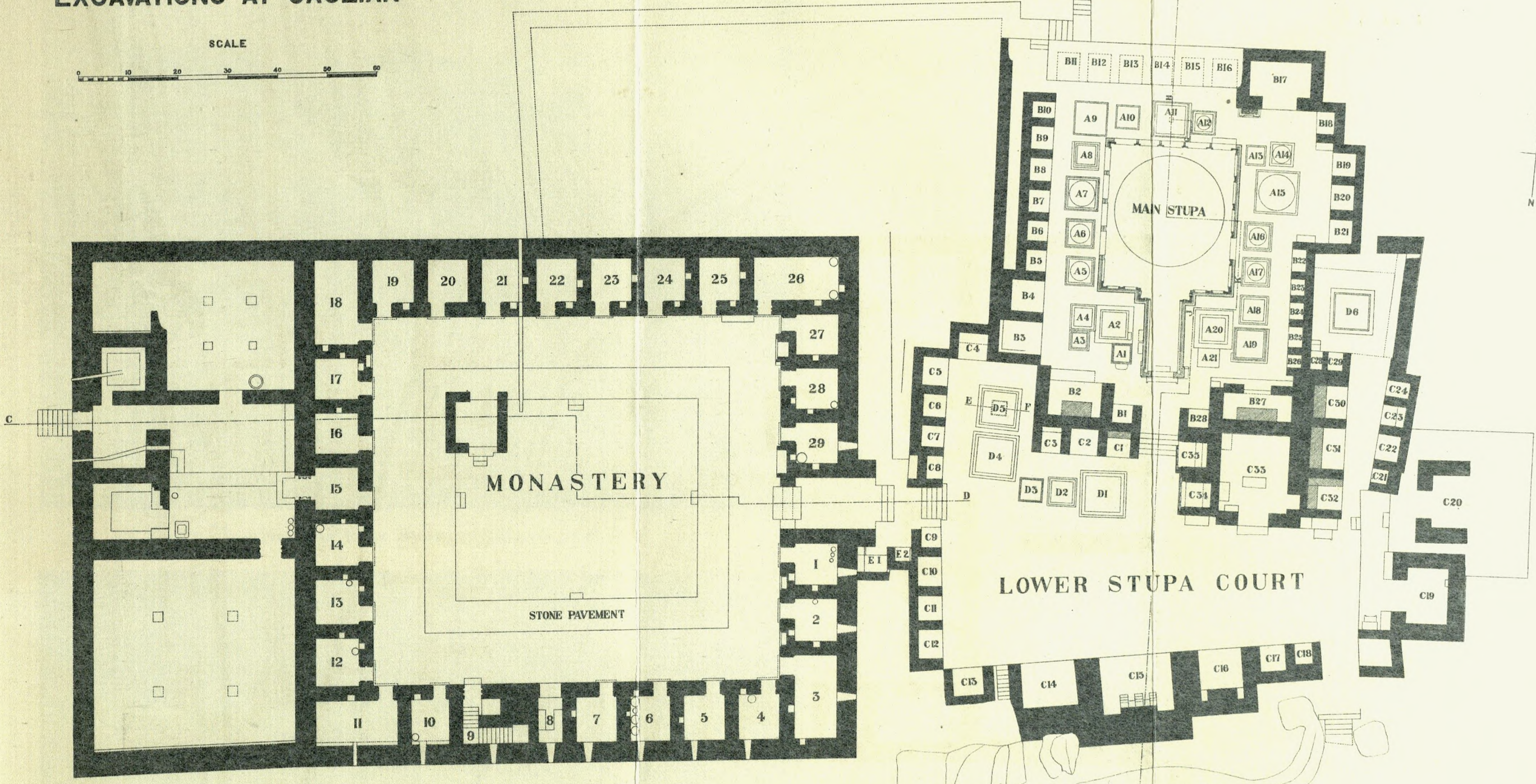
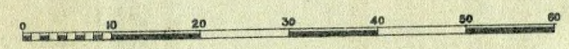
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EXCAVATIONS AT JAULIAN

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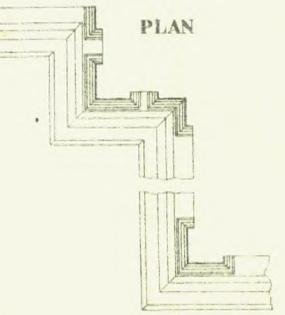
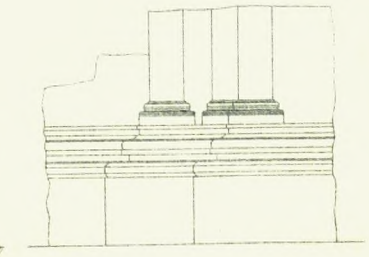
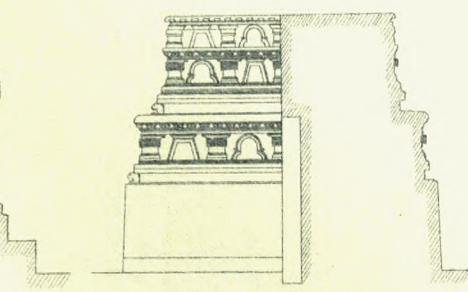
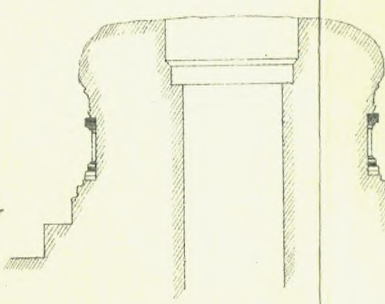
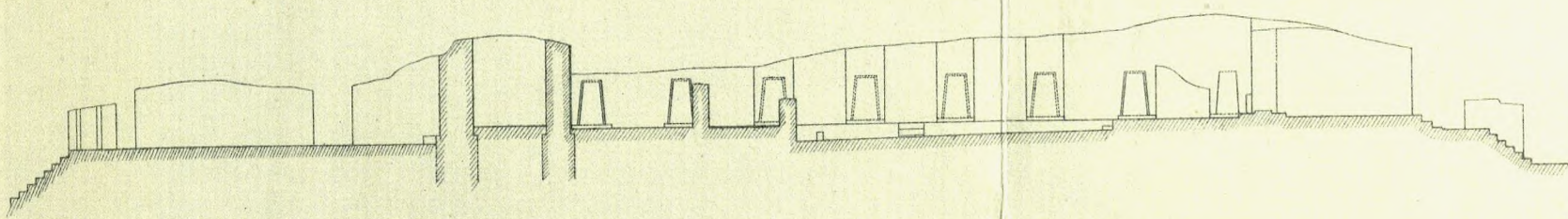
STUPA NO D.5
SECTION ON E.F

STUPA NO A.II
SECTION ELEVATION ON G.H

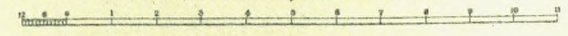
DETAILS AT J.K

ELEVATION

PLAN



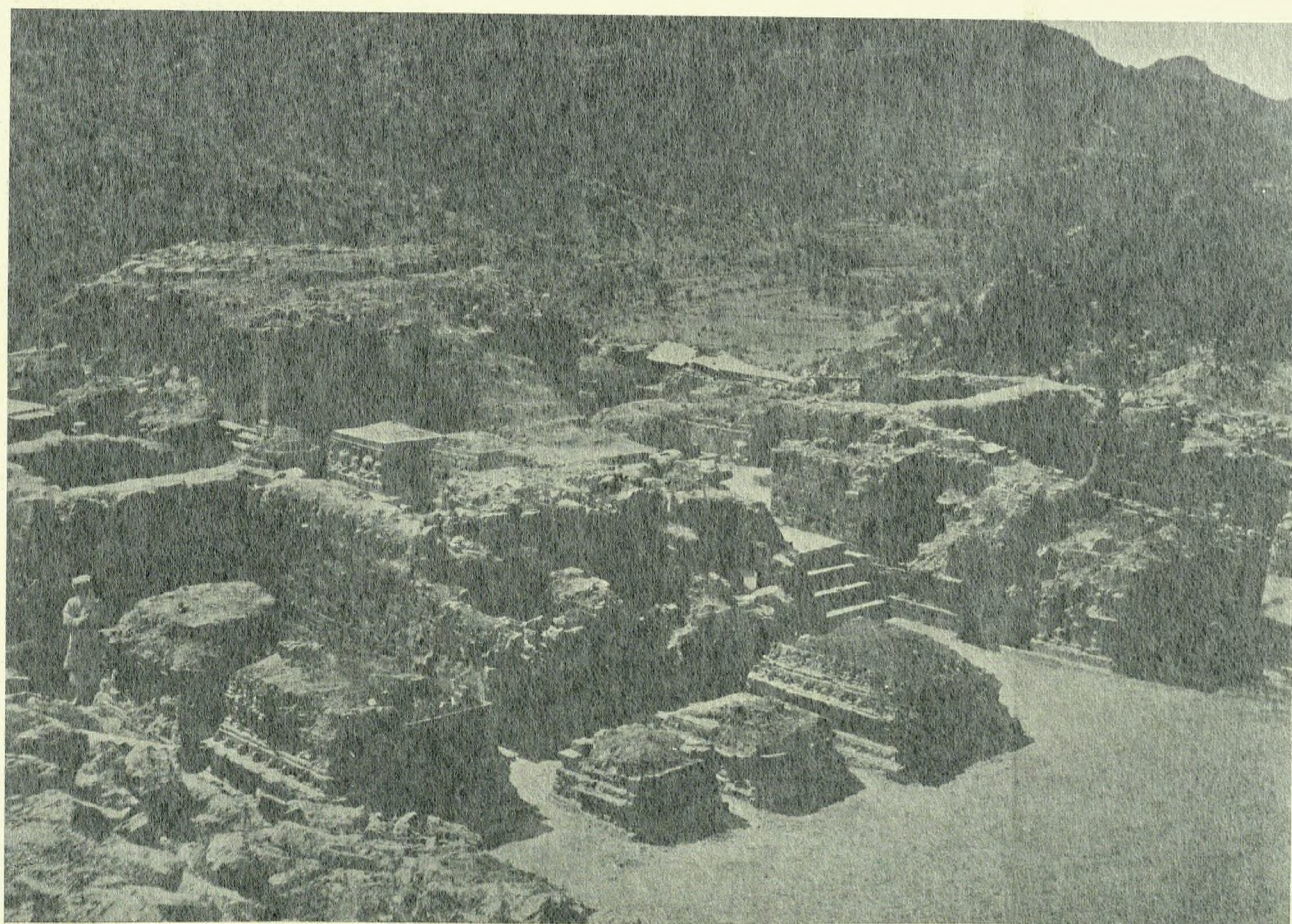
SCALE OF STUPA NO D.5, A.II & DETAILS AT J.K



THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

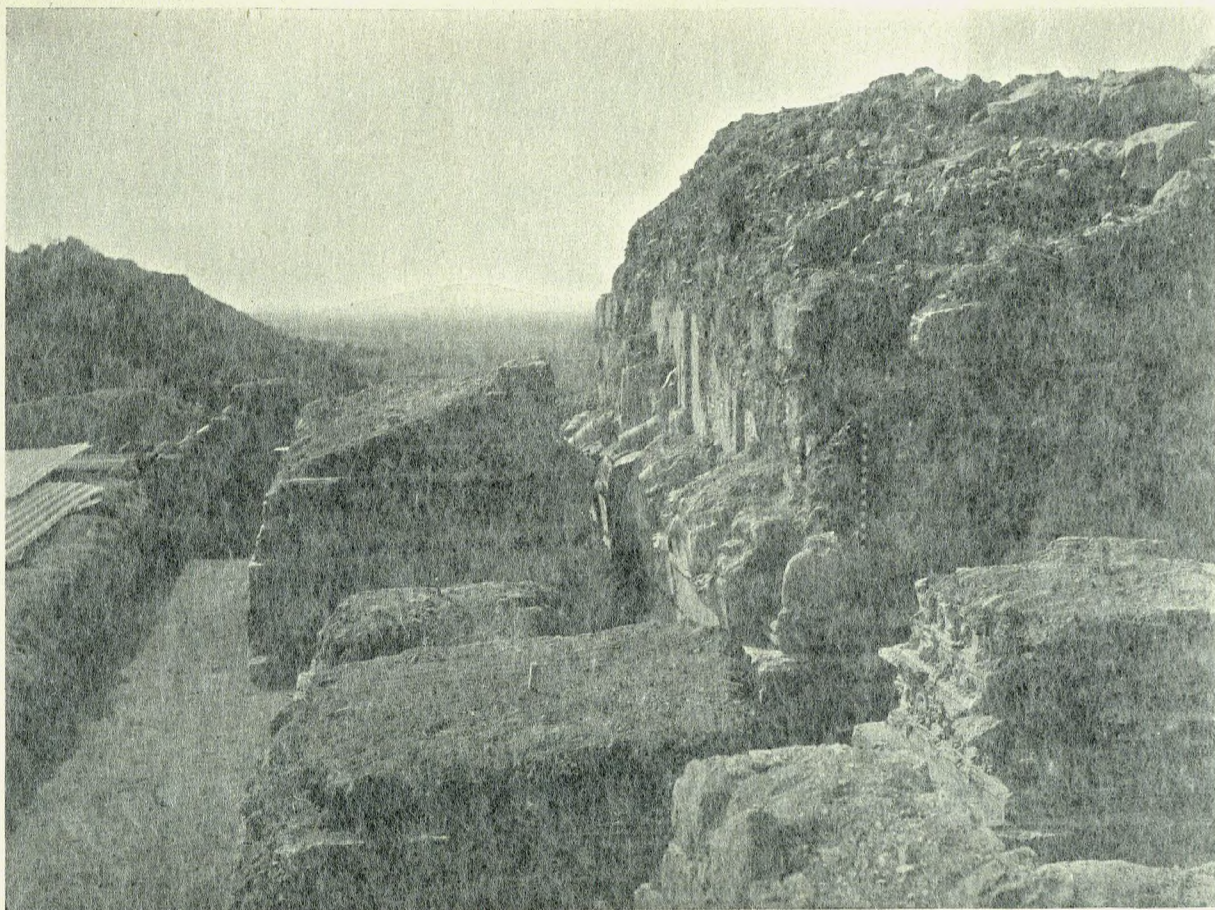


a. MONASTERY MOUND, BEFORE EXCAVATION FROM S.-W.

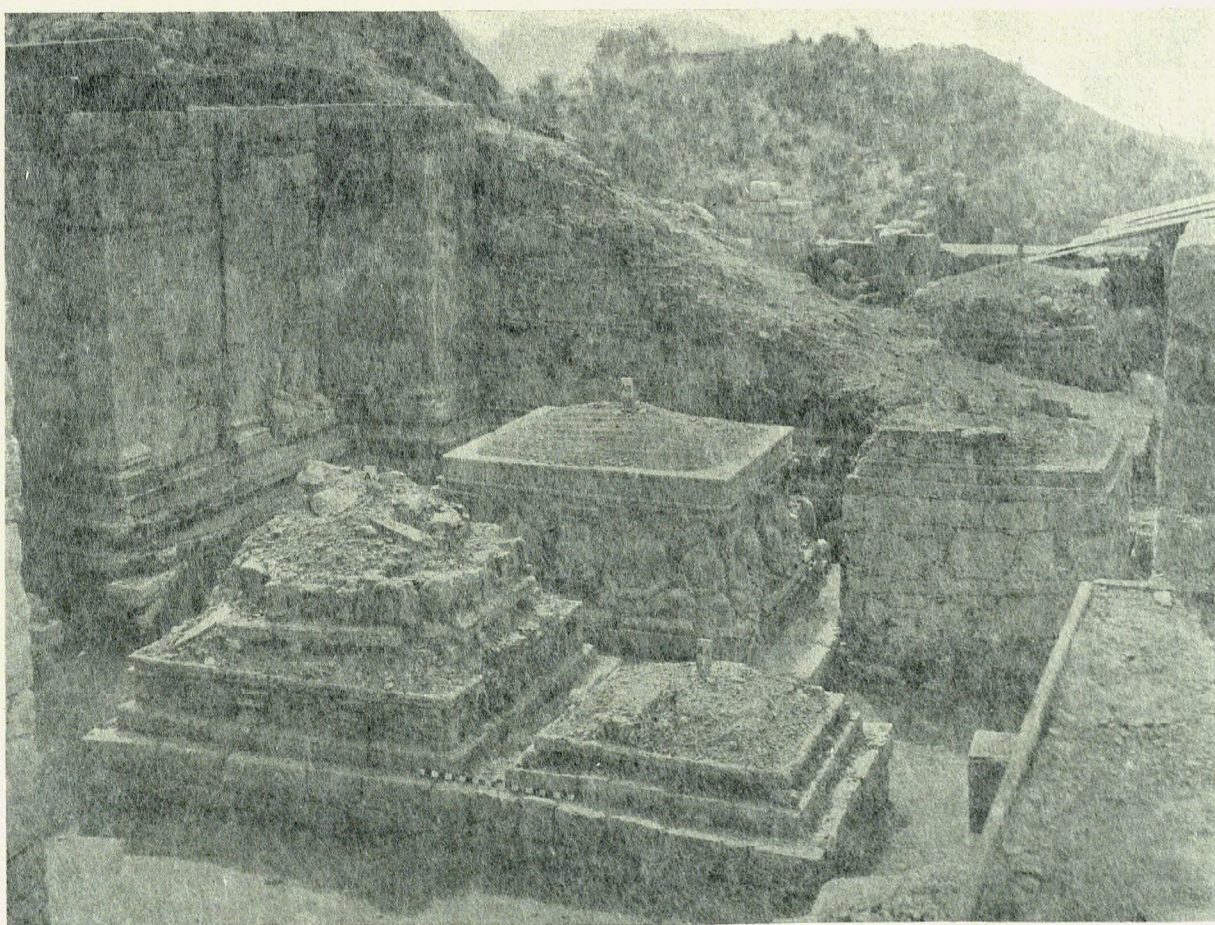


b. GENERAL VIEW OF STUPA COURTS, AFTER EXCAVATION, FROM N.-E.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. MAIN STUPA COURT, AFTER EXCAVATION, FROM S.-E.



b. MAIN STUPA COURT, AFTER EXCAVATION, FROM N.-E.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



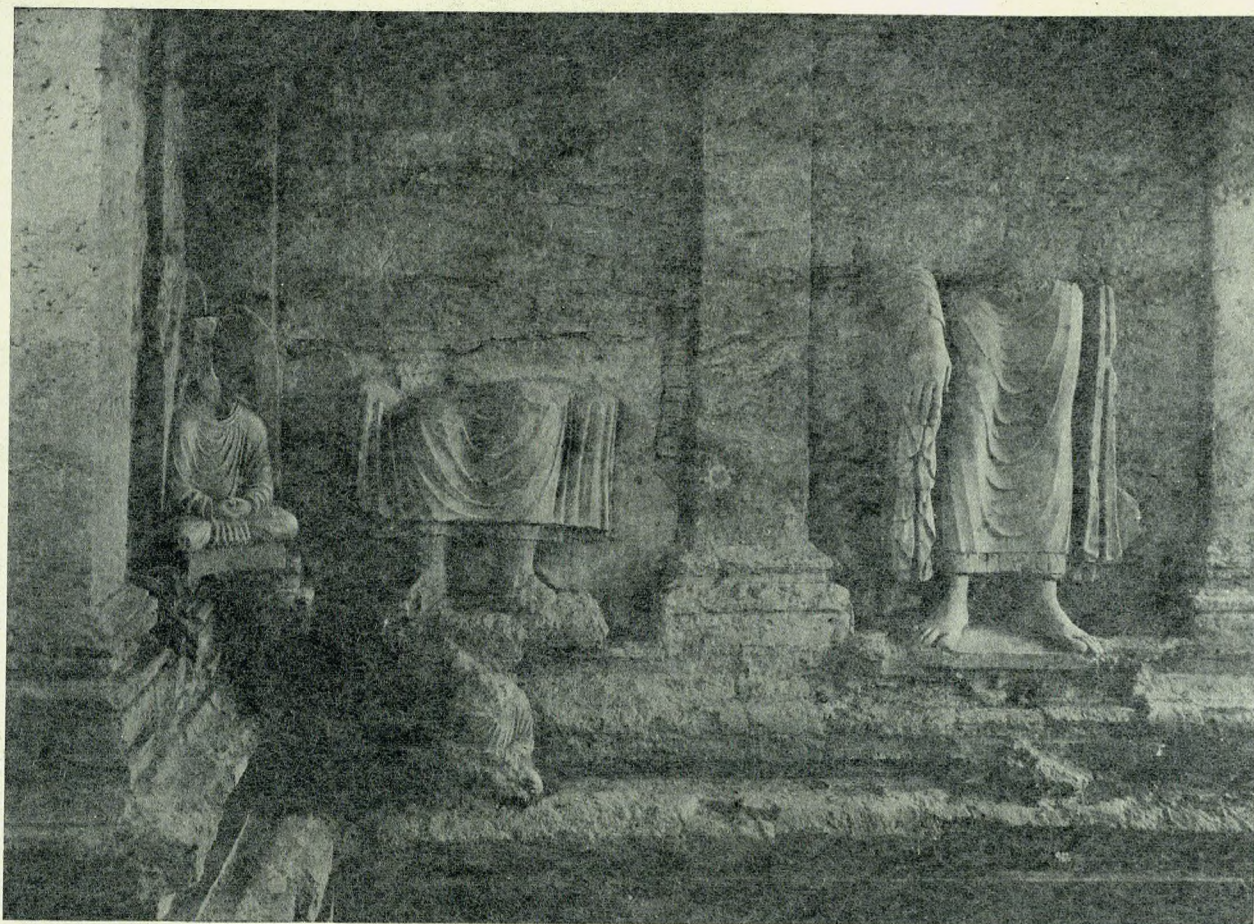
a.



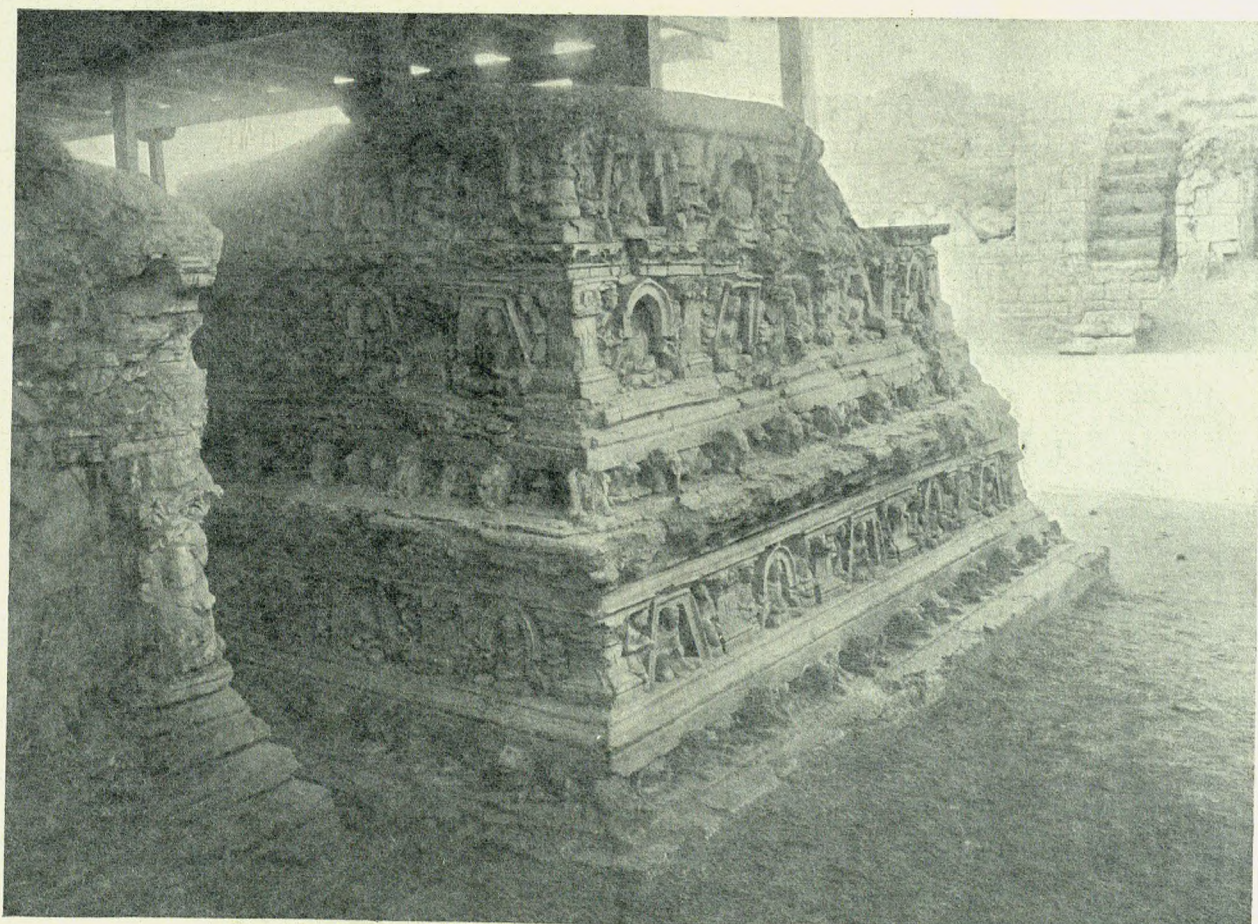
b.

STUCCO HEADS FROM MAIN STUPA.

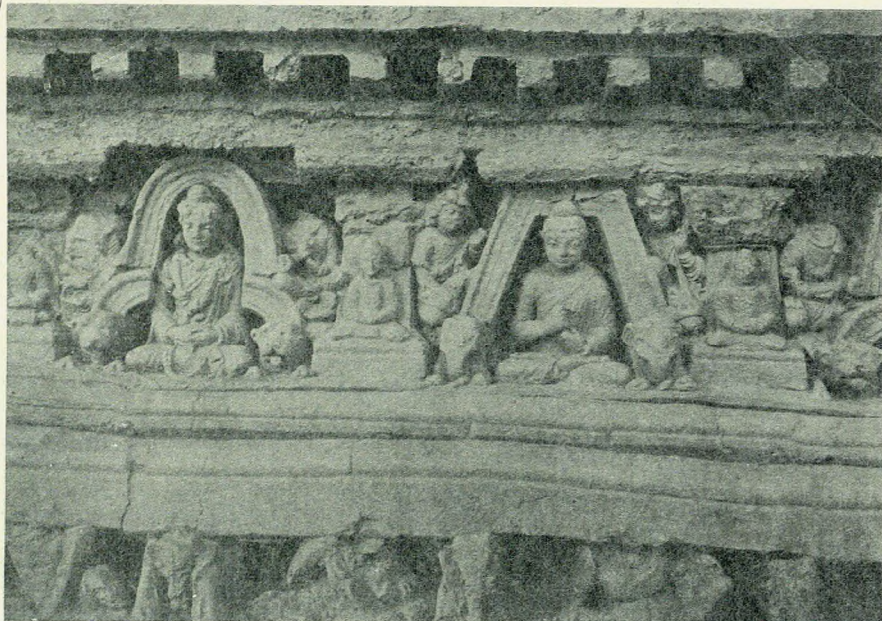
THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



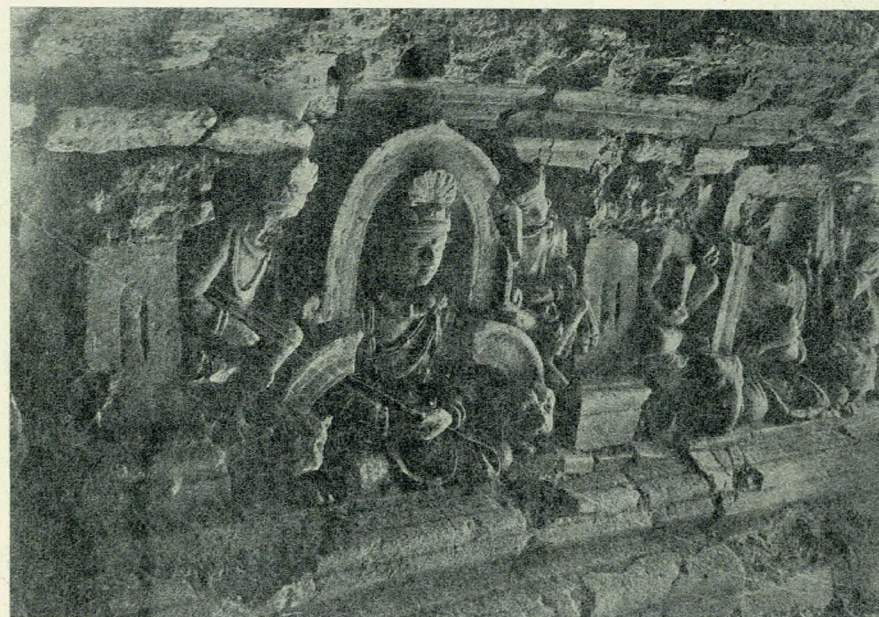
a. NORTH SIDE OF MAIN STUPA, WEST OF STAIR CASE.



b. STUPA D⁴, FROM S.-E.



a.



b.



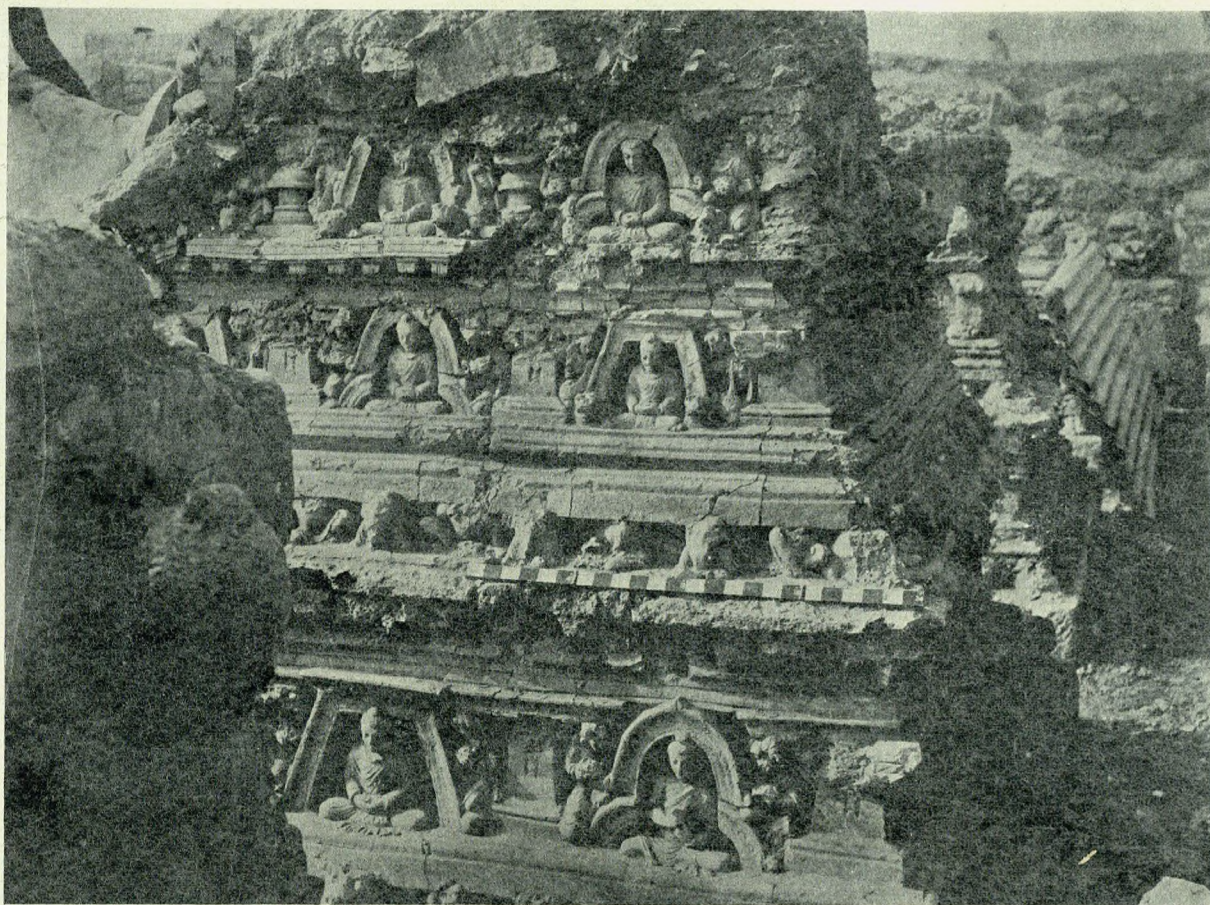
c.



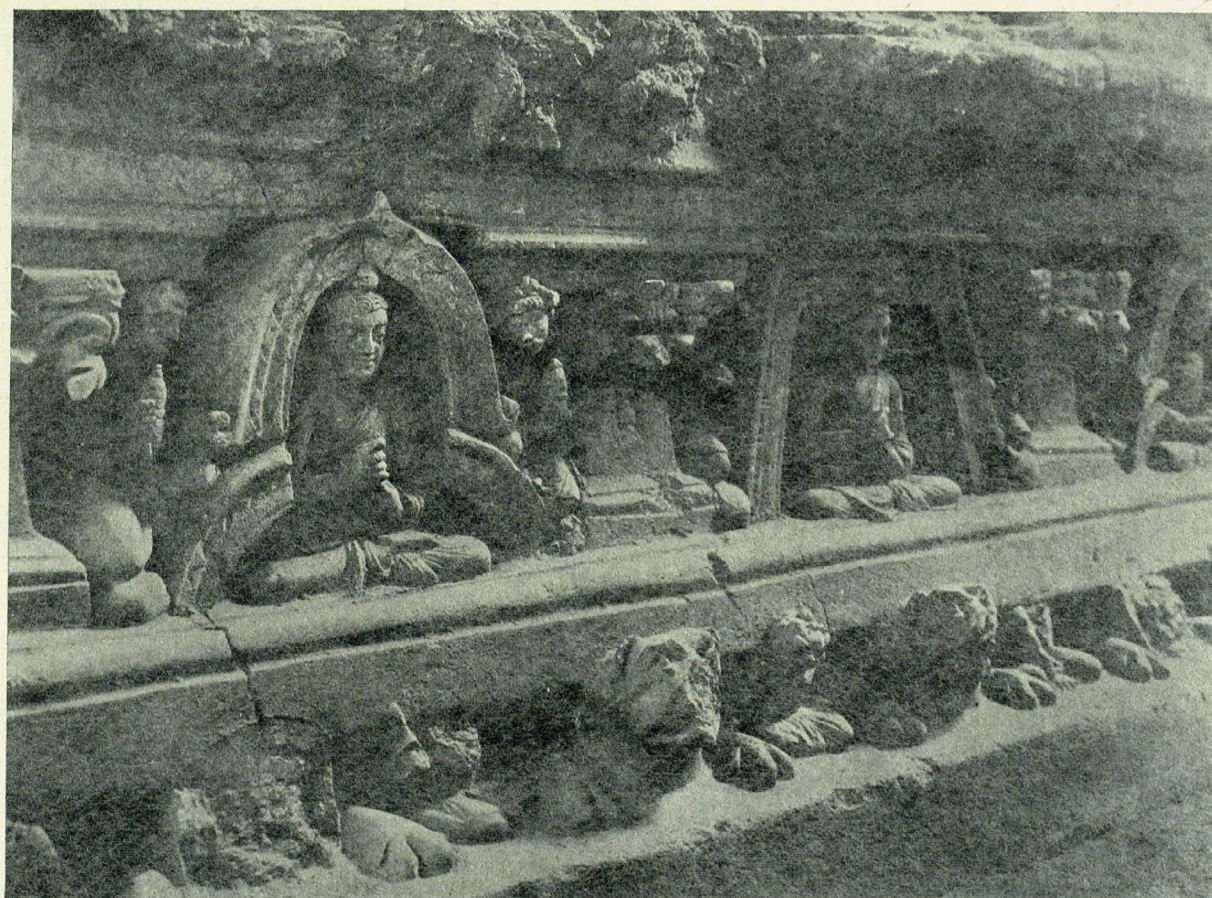
d.

STUCCO RELIEFS ON STUPA D⁴.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. STUPA A¹⁶ FROM S.-E.



b. DETAILS OF DECORATION ON STUPA A¹⁶.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. STUCCO RELIEFS ON EAST FACE OF STUPA A¹⁵.

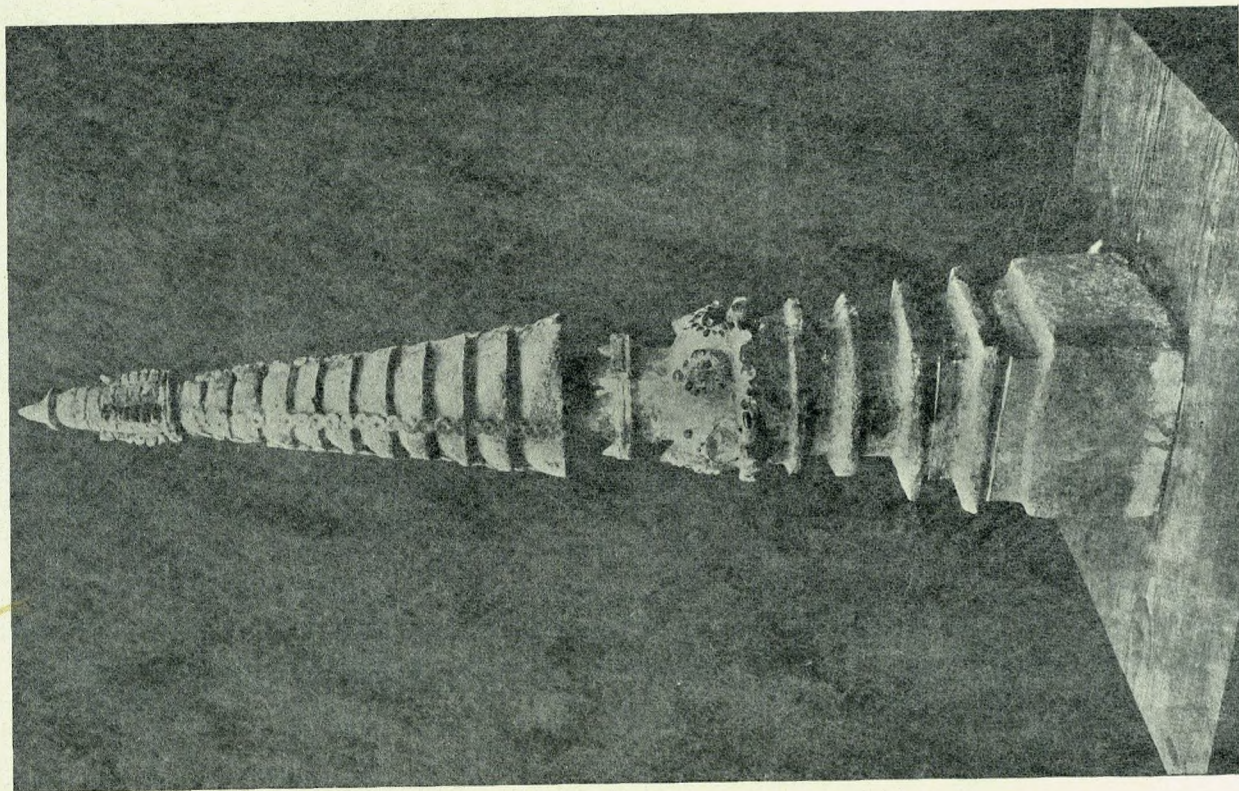


b. STUCCO RELIEFS ON WEST FACE OF STUPA A¹⁵.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. BODHISATTVA MAITREYA ON THE EAST FACE OF STUPA A¹¹.



b. RELIC CASKET FROM STUPA A¹¹.

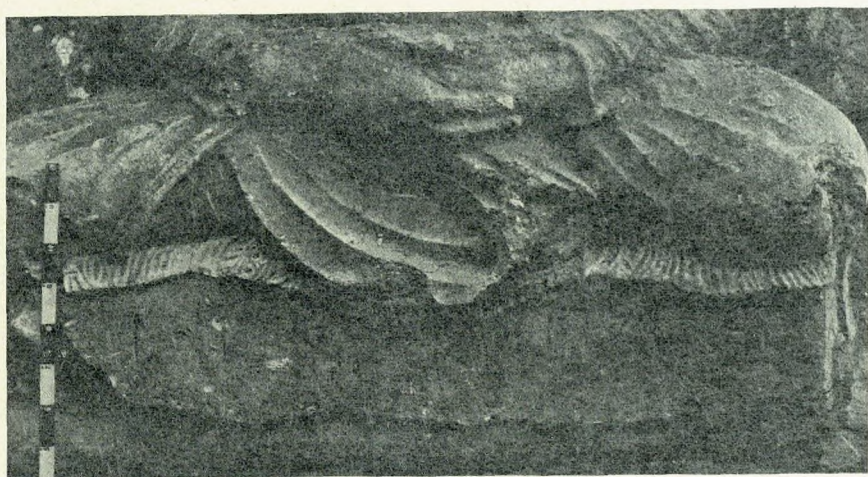
THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



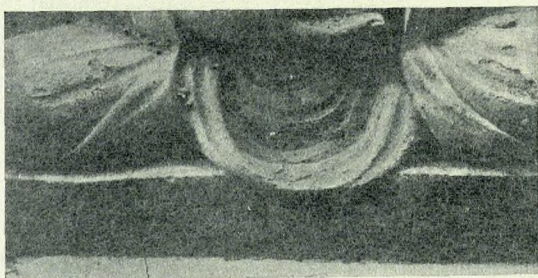
a



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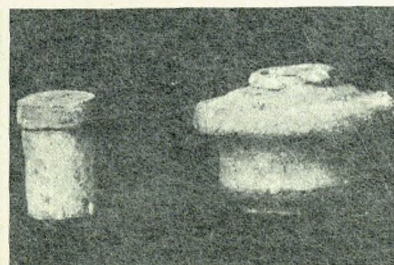
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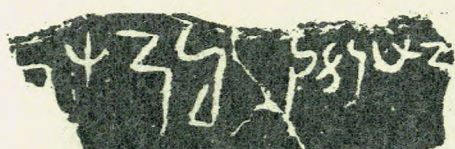
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THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

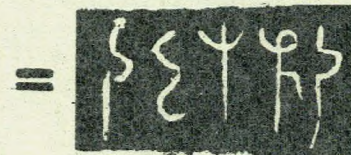
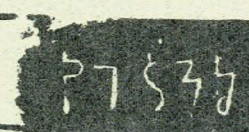
PLATE XI.



a



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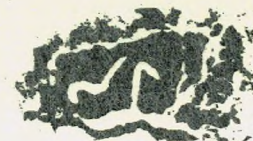
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KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTIONS.

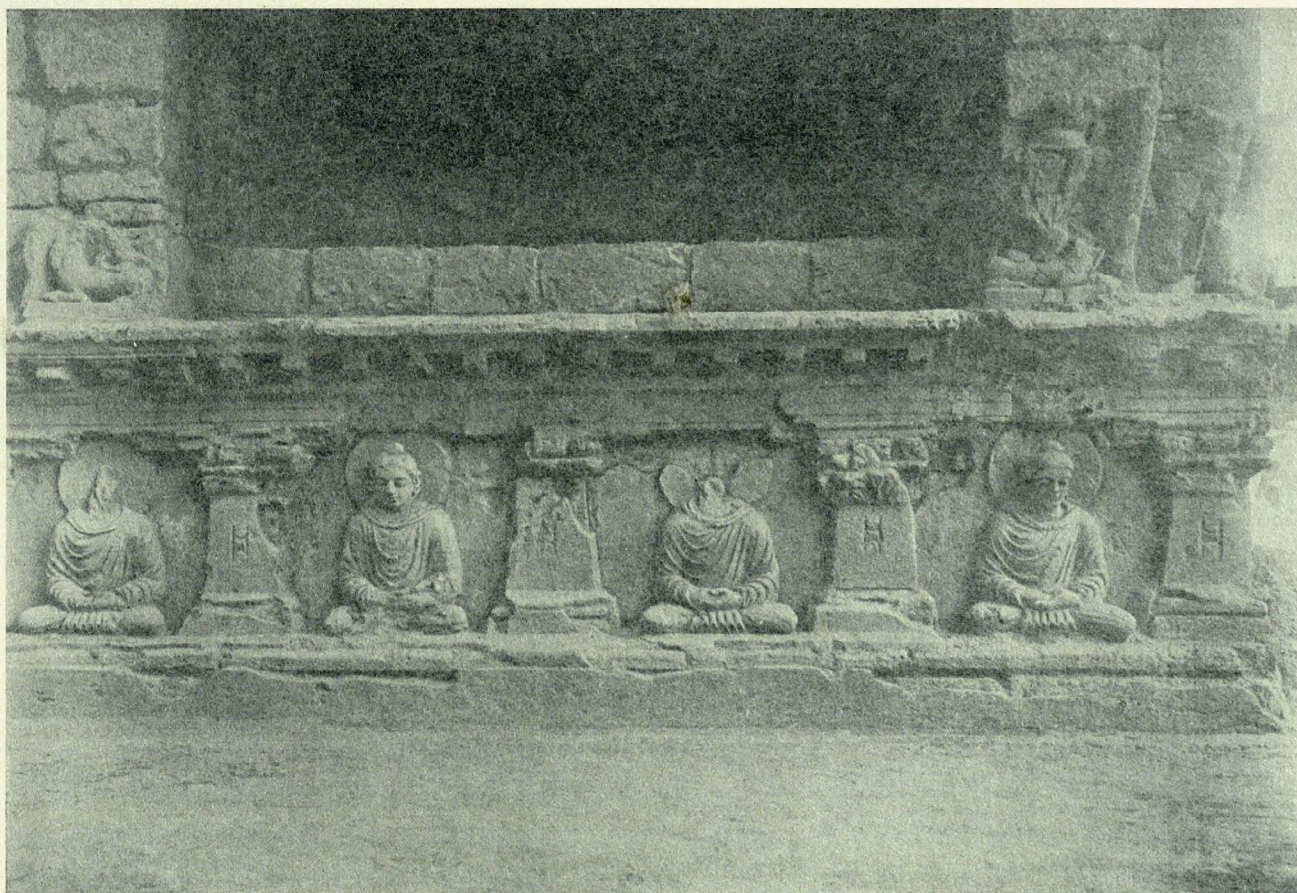
THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. STUCCO RELIEF OF BUDDHA IN CHAPEL C¹⁹.



b. CLAY FIGURES IN CHAPEL E¹.



c. STUCCO RELIEFS ON THE PLINTH OF CHAPEL C³⁴.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

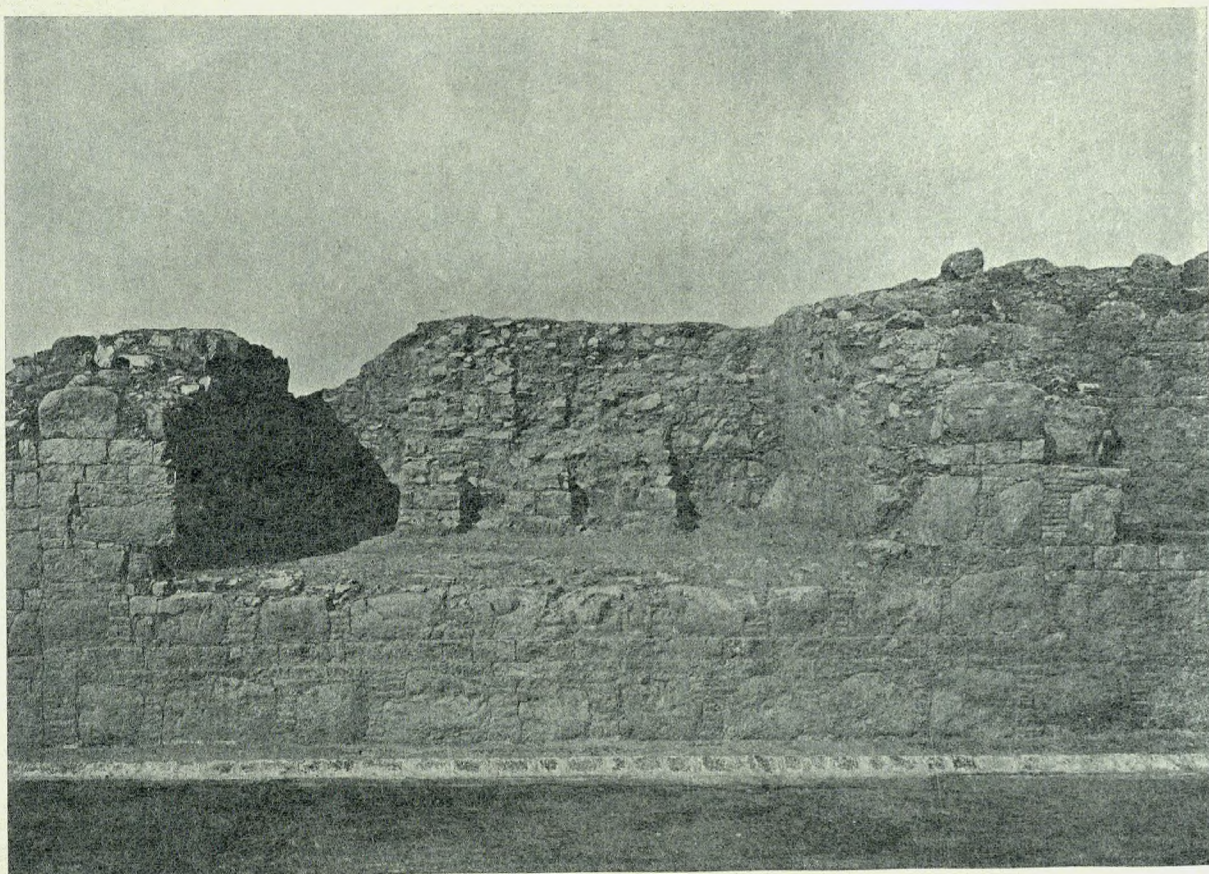


a. STUCCO IMAGE OF THE BODHISATTVA MAITREYA IN CHAPEL C³³.

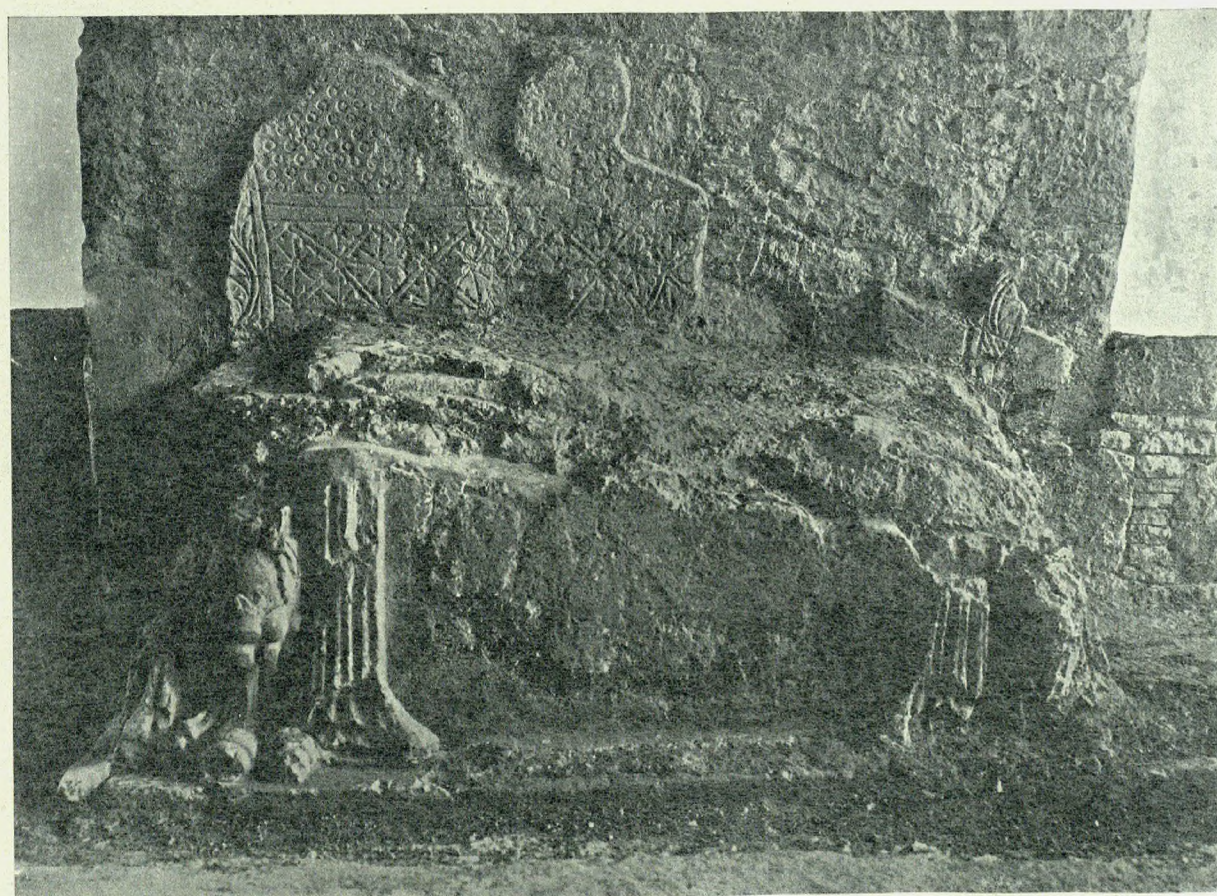


b. GROUP OF STUCCO IMAGES IN CHAPEL E¹.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

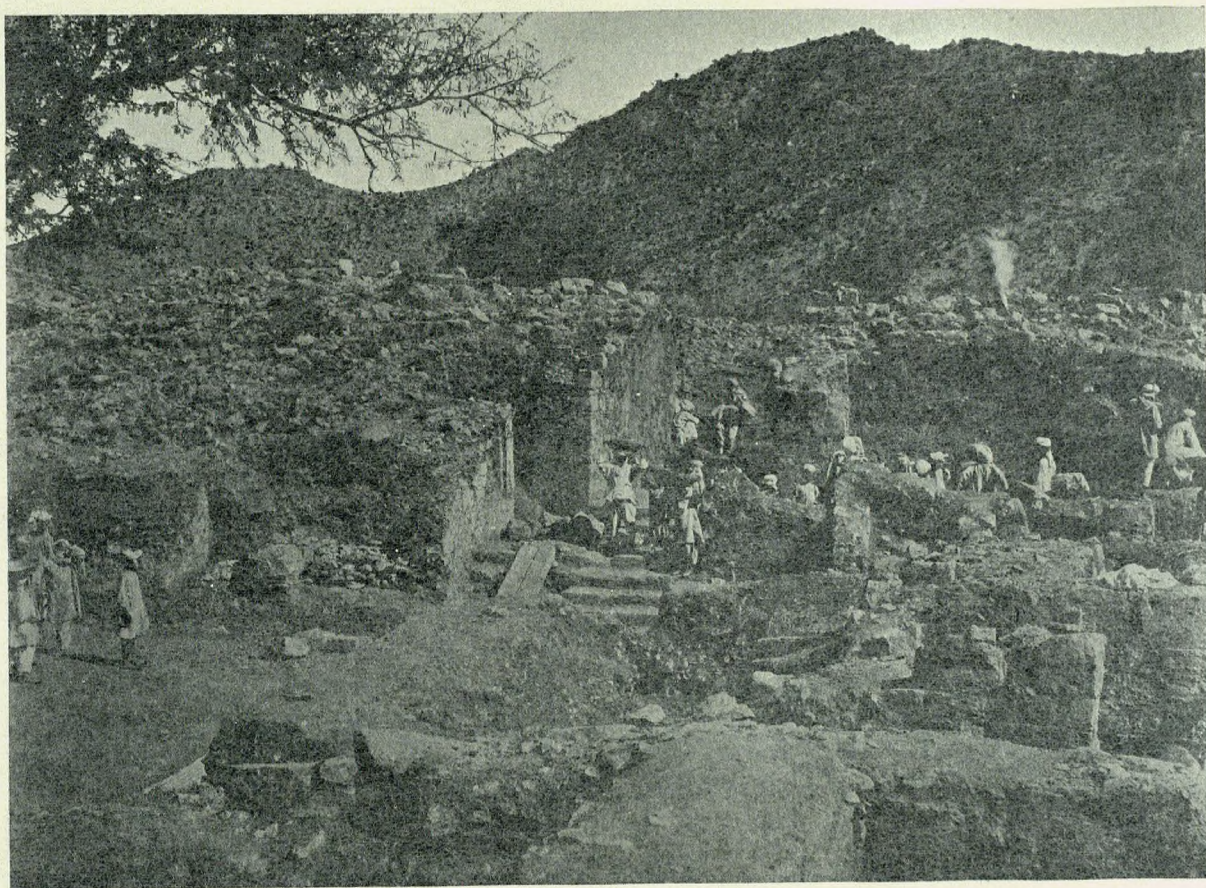


a. CHAPEL C¹⁵, WITH THREE STAIRWAYS.

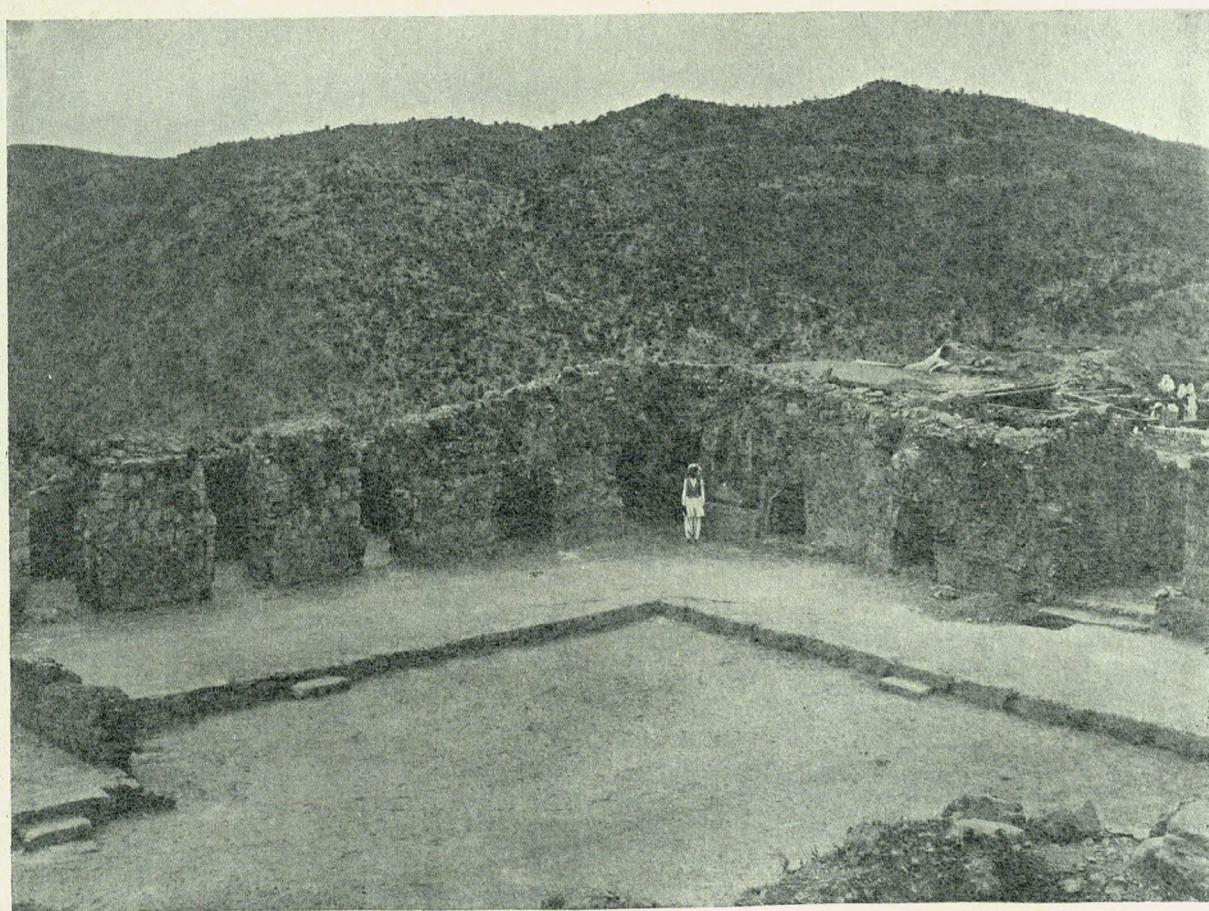


b. THRONE IN FRONT OF CHAPEL B¹⁷.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

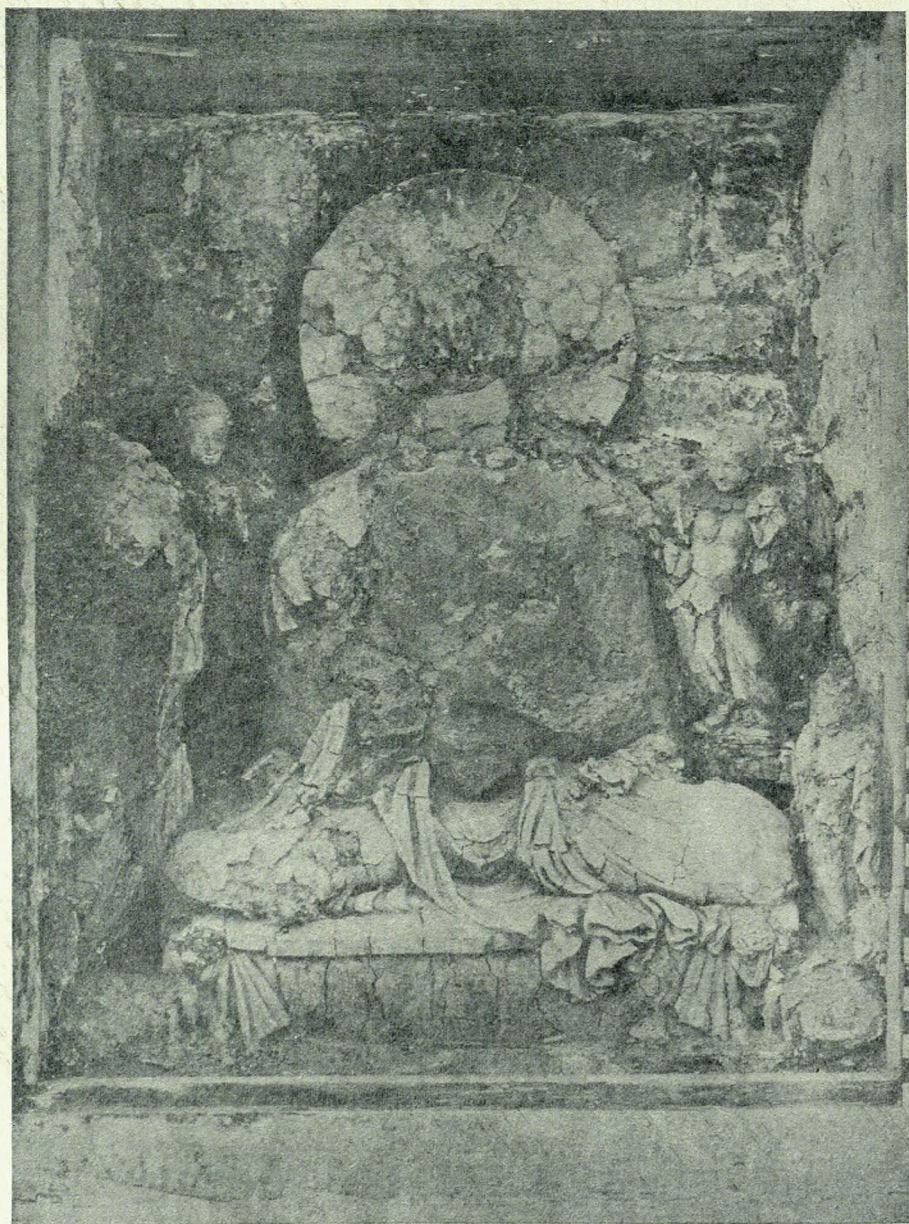


a. ENTRANCE TO MONASTERY DURING EXCAVATION, FROM N.-W.



b. INTERIOR VIEW OF COURTYARD OF MONASTERY, FROM N.-E.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.

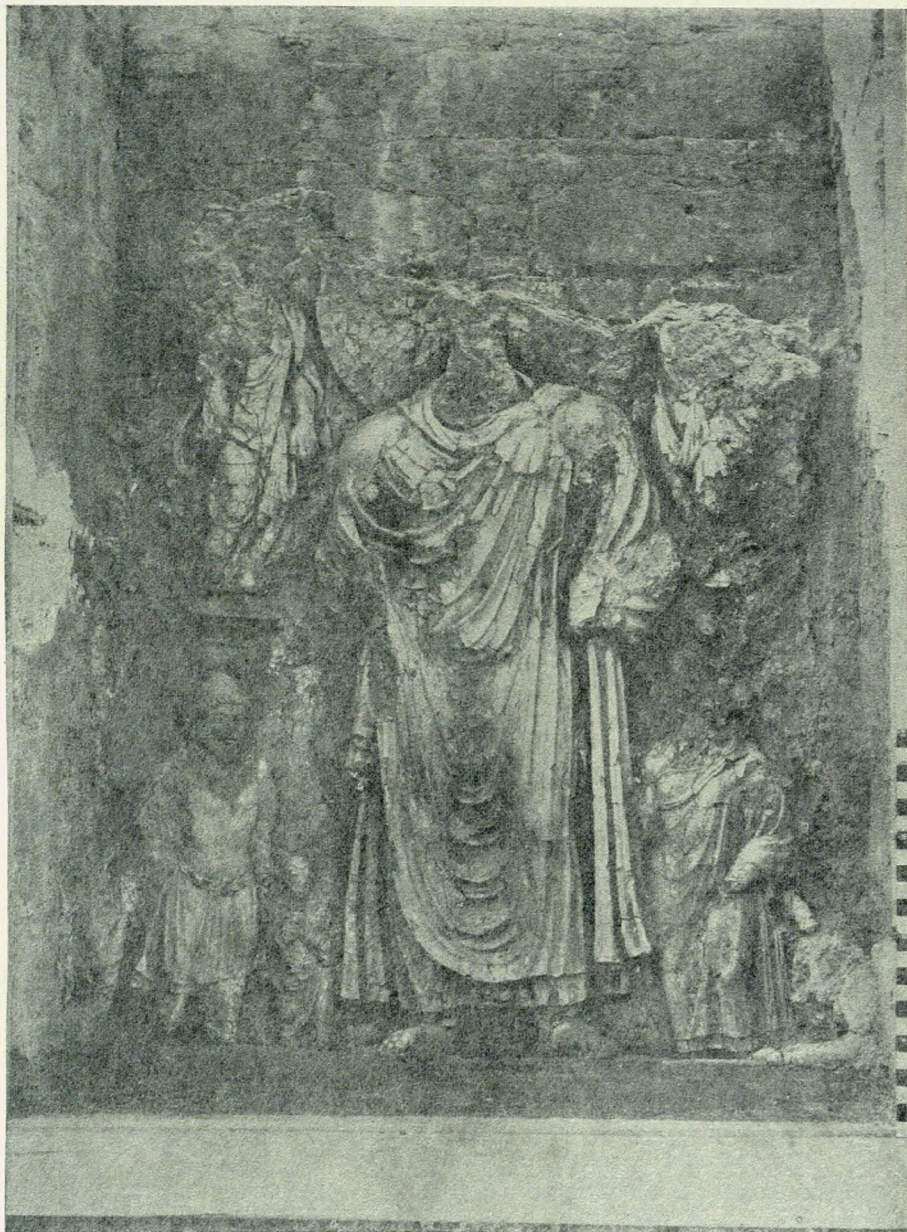


a. CLAY GROUP IN FRONT OF CELL 1.



b. CLAY GROUP IN FRONT OF CELL 2.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. CLAY GROUP IN FRONT OF CELL 29.

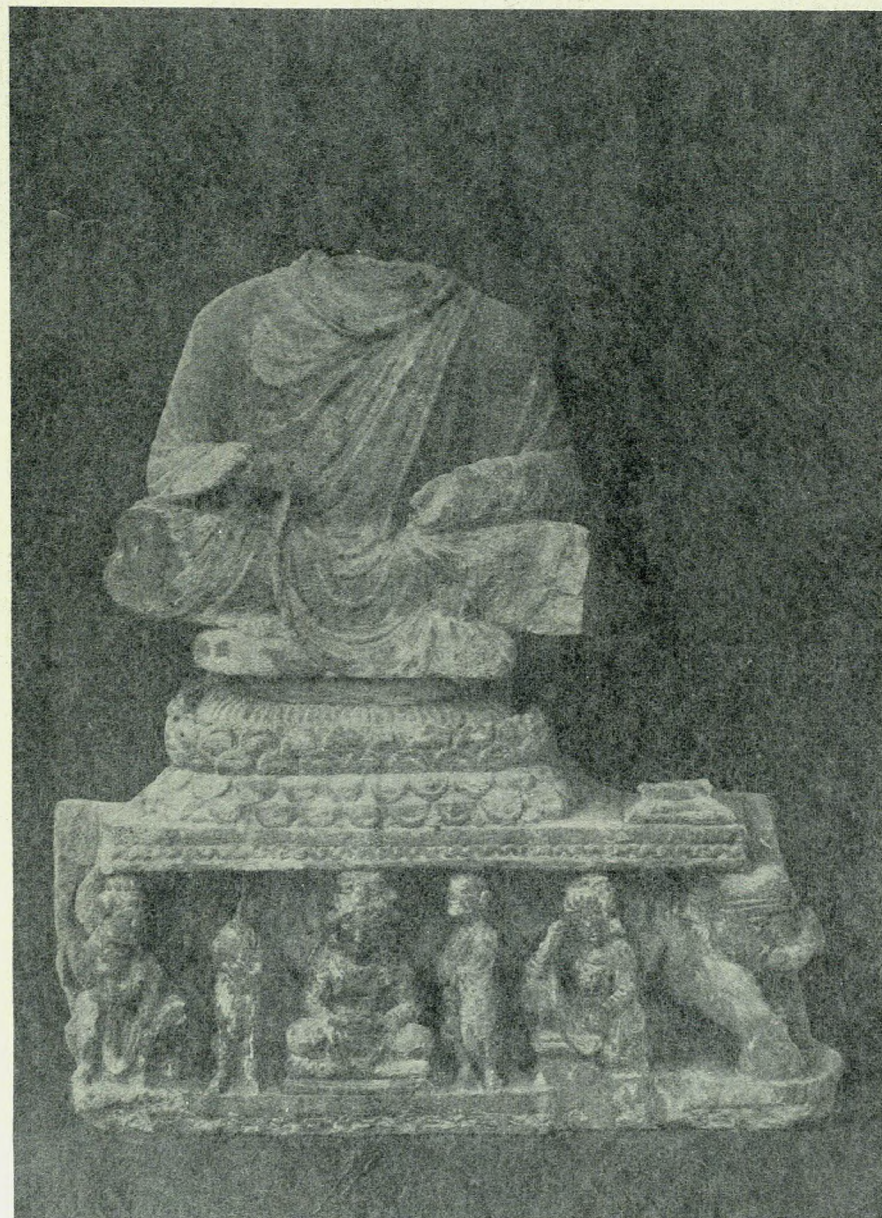


b. FIGURE OF "MLECHCHA" IN FOREGOING GROUP.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a. GANDHARA RELIEF FROM CHAPEL C¹³.



b. GANDHARA RELIEF FROM LOWER STUPA COURT.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h

STUCCO FIGURES AND HEADS FROM STUPA COURTS.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



j



k



l



m



n



o



p

STUCCO FIGURES AND HEADS FROM STUPA COURTS.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



j



k



l



m



n



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u

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



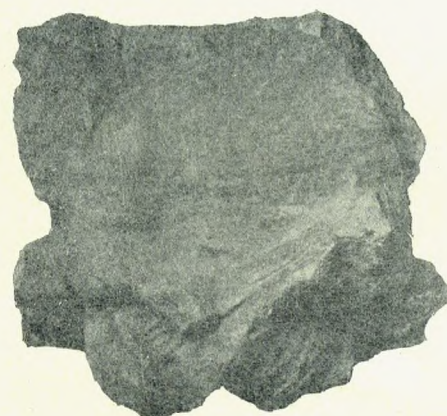
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j

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



d



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o



p

STUCCO HEADS FROM STUPA COURTS.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a.



b.



c.



d.

a. STUCCO HEAD. *b, c, d.* CLAY HEADS.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a



b



c



d



e



f



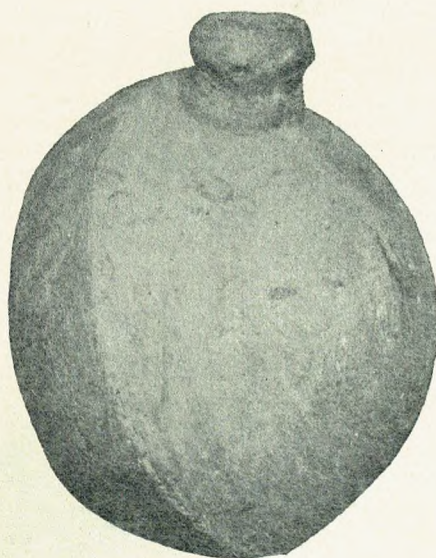
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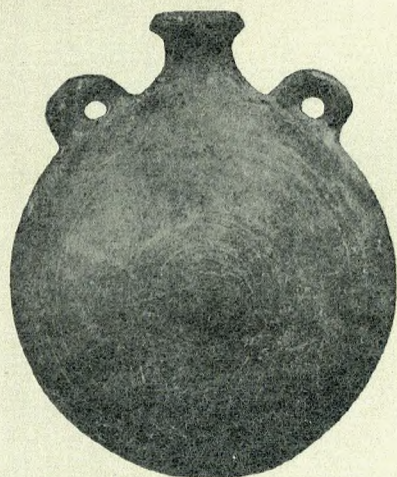
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CLAY HEADS, LEAVES AND POTTERIES FROM MONASTERY.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



a.



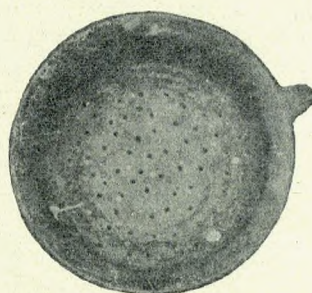
b.



c.



d.



e.



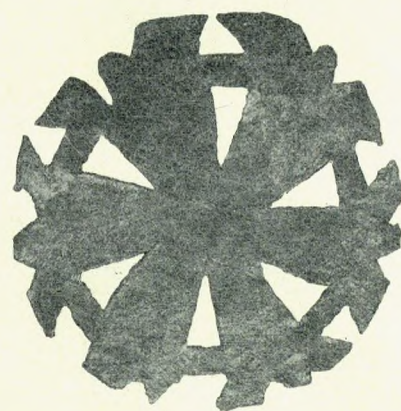
f.



g.



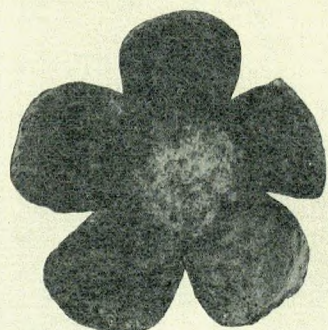
h.



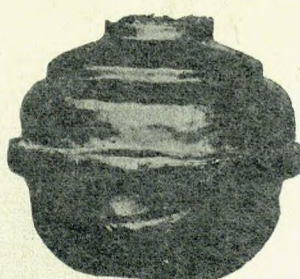
i.



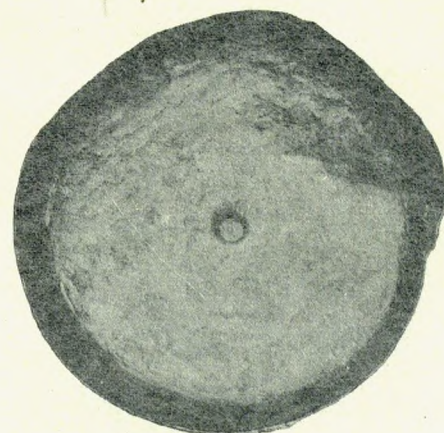
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l.



m.

THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



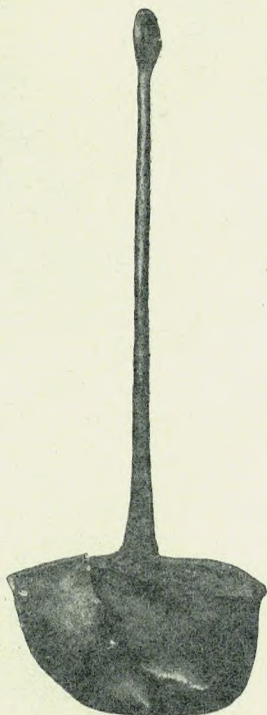
a.



b.



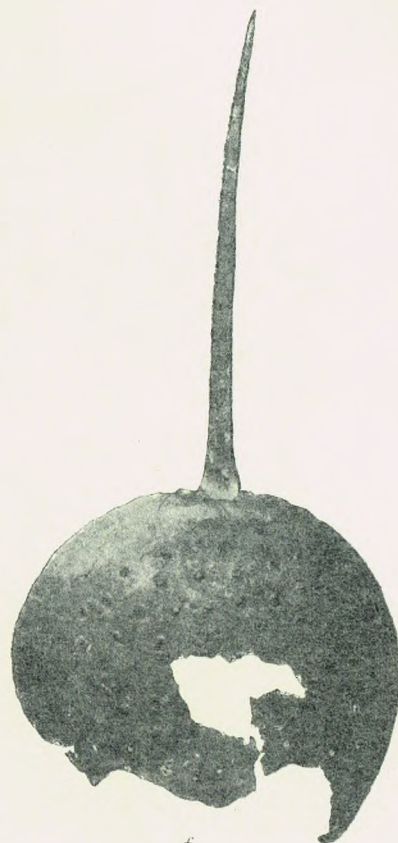
c.



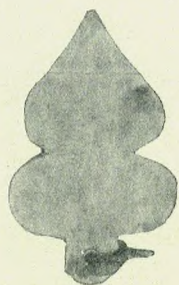
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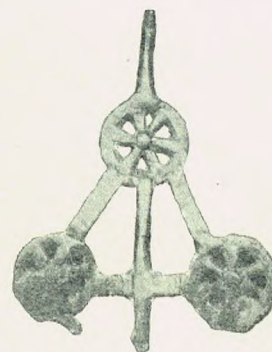
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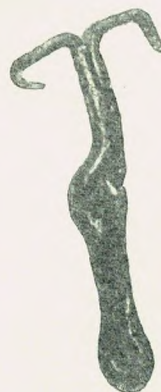
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l.



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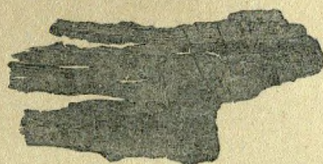
THE STUPAS AND MONASTERY AT JAULIAN.



IRON OBJECTS.



9a



10b



11a



14a



14b



16a



16b



18a



18b



24a



24b



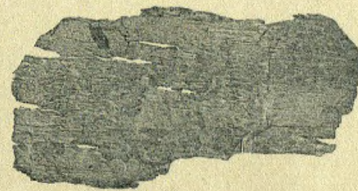
28a



28b



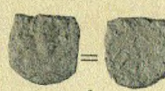
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40a



33b



c



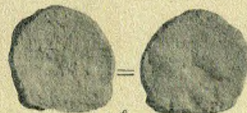
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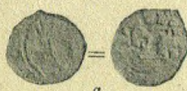
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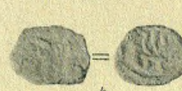
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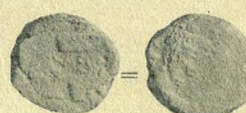
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3.1. MAY 1821

CSL

MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA



No. 8
Six Sculptures from Mahoba

BY
K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A.



MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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SIX SCULPTURES FROM MAHOBHA.

THE sculptures described in this article were found near the Kirat Sagar tank, at Mahoba in the Hamirpur district of British Bundelkhand by some labourers, while digging on an isolated little mound in the midst of low-lying fields, owned by Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Charan Tewari, one of the richest landholders in the neighbourhood. The discovery was reported to Government by the Collector of Hamirpur and the sculptures were subsequently acquired for the Provincial Museum at Lucknow on the recommendation of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, who has also kindly supplied to me some of the photographs reproduced in this note. Mahoba, originally known as Mahotsavanagara, is associated in its rise and fall with the well-known dynasty of the Chandēllas of Jējakabhukti. Brahmanical and Jaina sculptures have long been known among the ruined shrines of Mahoba, but the first clue to the fact that Buddhism also flourished here until the 11th or 12th century, was supplied by the discovery of a stone pedestal inscribed with the Buddhist formula in letters of that period. (Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. II, p. 445.) The present find gives still more tangible data for the study of mediæval Buddhism in Bundelkhand. These sculptures are some of the best specimens of later mediæval art and offer a vivid contrast with the lifeless productions of the contemporary Buddhist school of Magadha, as also with the numerous stereotyped examples of local Jaina artists. In some respects, the artists prove themselves superior to the older artists of the Sarnāth or Mathurā schools, for example, in the delineation of the perfectly placid features of the face, of the graceful pose of the body, and in the faultless mechanical execution. Indeed the statue of Simhanāda-Avalōkitēśvara is likely to take rank among the finest examples of Indian sculpture.

The inscriptions on the pedestals of two of the images, though undated, can be assigned on palæographic grounds to about the 11—12th century A.D. It is evident, that the artists mentioned in the inscriptions on two of the images are not only the donors of them but also the sculptors who carved them; and it is likely that these sculptors lived in the time of Kīrtivarmman, one of the greatest of the Chandēlla rulers, who reigned at Mahoba during the

latter part of the eleventh century and who built the Kīrat Sagar lake, in the vicinity of which the sculptures were discovered. Unlike the black marble used in most of the sculptures from Mahoba, the stone used in this case is the buff-coloured sandstone, of slightly different shades, which comes from the Vindhya, similar in appearance to the familiar variety from the quarries of Chunar, used by the Sārnāth sculptors, but in this case most probably coming from one of the isolated offshoots of the Vindhya, so common in Bundelkhand. The stone is capable of receiving a fine polish, as may be seen from the statue of Simhanāda-Avalōkitēśvara.

1. (Plate I a.) Statue of the Bōdhisattva Simhanāda-Avalōkitēśvara (ht. 2' 8"; breadth 1' 10") seated in the *Rājāḷā* (princely ease) posture, with the right knee raised and the right hand resting over the knee and loosely holding a rosary [Sanskrit, *akṣhamālā*]. Beneath the Bodhisattva is a cushion on the back of a gaping lion sitting on a lotus seat and looking up towards the Bodhisattva. The left hand of the deity rests on the cushion behind the left knee and holds the stem of a lotus-flower. Behind his right hand is a trident (Sanskrit *triśūla*) with a cobra entwined around it. His hair is twined in long curls some of which fall on either shoulder and the rest are coiled in a high mitre-shaped head-dress, decorated with scroll ornament and a crest-jewel. The ear-lobes are elongated and the eyes extended at the corners. The expression of the face is one of perfect serenity and composure. The upper part of the body is partly covered by a scarf, one end of which passes over the left shoulder. The lower garment reaching only to the thighs, is highly decorated; while a garland worn in the fashion of the Brahmanical *yaññōpavīta* is the only one of the 13 ornaments, which are generally found on Bodhisattva statues,—quite a remarkable fact about this interesting image.

The slab at the back of the figure bears a lotus-shaped halo behind the head of the Bōdhisattva; and on either side a pilaster, with a miniature shrine in front containing an attendant with folded hands, perhaps a *gandharva* in flight. The spire of the little niche or shrine illustrates clearly how the stupa of old, with its spire of umbrellas, was gradually evolved into the tower of the modern temple, while the square basement, at first solid, was gradually turned into the image sanctum. (Vide Longhurst: *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* Vol. XII, p. 7 ff.)

An inscription on the cushion seat in characters of about the eleventh century A.D. reads thus: (Pl. II c).

chitrakara Śrī-Sātanas-tasya putraḥ

sakala-śilpa-vidyā-kuśalaḥ Chhītnakas-tasy-eyam||chha||

Translation.—This (image is the gift) of Chhītnaka, the son of the illustrious Sātana, a painter (*chitrakara* by caste) and completely well-versed in the science of all arts.

2. (Plate I b.) Statue of Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara (ht. 2' 2"; breadth 1' 1½") known as Padmapāṇi, seated on a lotus seat in the *rājāḷā* posture. His left hand is placed on the cushion behind the left thigh, and the right makes a mystic sign with the elbow resting on the right knee. The left hand holds

the stalks of a lotus, while another lotus with a long stalk rises on the other side of the deity. The head-dress is similar to that of Simhanāda in the preceding sculpture, while the halo is oval-shaped and ornamented with a lotus pattern. The expression of the face is composed and placid, perhaps more natural and pleasing than that of the preceding sculpture. The ornaments and garments are complete as usually found on the representation of a Bōdhi-sattva (including armlets, anklets, bracelets, wristlets, ear-rings, three necklaces, two girdles and two garments). At the left extremity of the base is a kneeling figure, evidently the donor, while the lotus throne is supported by three other figures. Below these in niches we notice figures of an elephant, two lions and two human figures, all possessed of a symbolical significance.

3. (Plate I c.) Image of the Buddhist goddess Tārā (ht. 1' 9"; breadth 11") in reddish buff sandstone; seated on lotus seat (Skr. *padmāsana*) held by *gandharvas*, in *vajrāsana* posture with crossed legs. The left hand is in *vitarkamudrā*, and the right in *varadamudrā*, the former holding the stems of a lotus, which must be the blue lotus (Skr. *nīlōtpala*) of which we notice another flower to the right of the goddess. The right hand holds an uncertain object, possibly a *vajra*. The usual ornaments of Buddhist deities are complete. Along the top of the back slab are arranged tiny figures of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas in all the different attitudes. To the left of the goddess is a seated female figure, probably a repetition of herself. The figure on the opposite side cannot be identified.

The pedestal bears an inscription (Pl. II d) in characters of the 11th century A.D., which reads:—

Chitrakara-Śrī-Sātanaś-tasya va(m)¹dhūkasya iyaṃ||chha.||

Translation:—This (image is the gift) of a relation (?) of the illustrious Sātana, a painter.

The goddess appears to be Sitā Tārā, but some of the details as the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are unique in this sculpture.

4. (Plate I d.) Image of Gautama Buddha (ht. 2' 8"; br. 1' 9") seated in *padmāsana*, with the upper left portion of the background broken off. The right hand is in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparsa-mudrā*) while the left holds the upper garment, of which the hem appears over the left shoulder. The hair is treated in conventional curls, the ear-lobes are elongated and the *ushnīsha* is protuberant on the top of the head. The legs are crossed and the palms of both the feet are turned outwards. As usual on statues representing the Buddha, there are no ornaments. Below the cushion seat appear, in niches, an elephant, two lions and two *gandharvas* supporting the seat, and four other figures, two of which are bearded.

On either side of the main figure are worshippers in devotional attitude with their heads turned towards the Buddha. Above the worshippers are quaint-looking animals on either side, with the faces of lions but with long ears and horns. The triple halo at the back is broken at one corner. It has at the top a *kīrtimukha*, and at the upper right corner a semi-divine being, probably

¹ Mr. Y. R. Gupta takes this to mean, 'of the daughter-in-law of Sātana.'

a *gandharva*, with the feet of a lion and a curious tail, holding a *vamsi* or bamboo flute in his hands, and standing on a crocodile with a gaping mouth.

This is the only sculpture out of the group described here which has not reached the Museum. The owner is unwilling to part with it, and has kept it in an unsheltered niche in the compound wall of his garden.

5. (Plate II a.) Upper fragment of the back-slab of an image (ht. 1' 3"; br. 2' 2") consisting of a cinque-foil arch with three miniature shrines, one in the centre and one each at either end, with figures seated cross-legged in them. On either side of the central shrine are flying attendants holding streamers, with scroll ornaments at either end. At the extreme ends of the fragments are attendants over crocodile heads.

The spires of the little shrines in this case, clearly illustrate their origin from bell-shaped stupas of the early mediæval period, as the drum and dome separated by horizontal bands, the *hti* or *harmikā* with its polygonal plan and the umbrellas at the top—in fact all the component parts of a stupa—can be distinctly made out.

6. (Plate II b.) Upper fragment of the back-slab of an image (ht. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "; br. 2' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ") consisting of an arched background with an ornamental border, and three shrines containing kneeling and seated figures as in No. (5). On either side of the central shrine we notice flying attendants holding streamers, and the crocodile heads can be traced on the edge.

K. N. DIKSHIT.

SIX SCULPTURES FROM MAHOBA.



a. BODHISATVA SIMHANADA—ĀVALOKITESVARA.



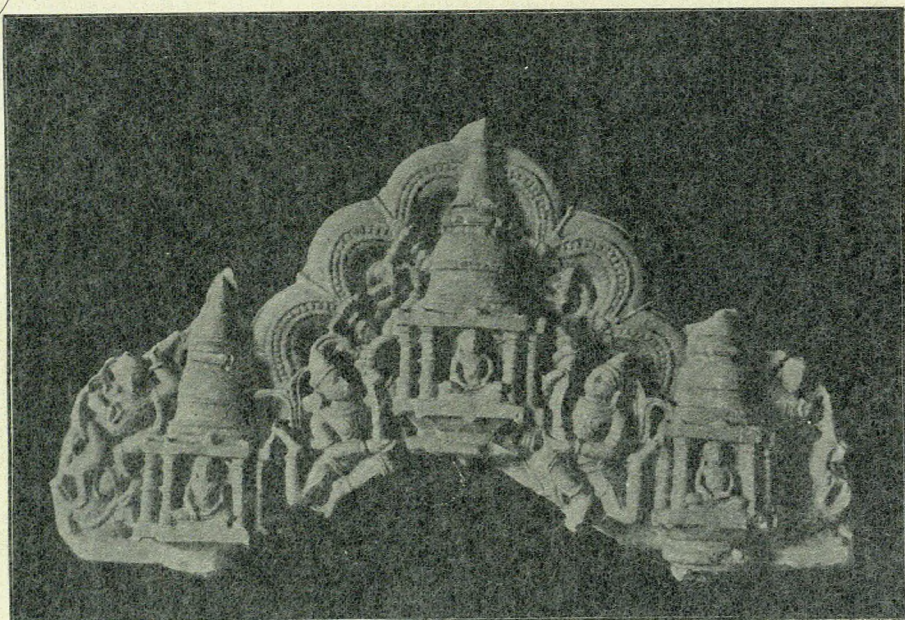
b. PADMAPANI ĀVALOKITESVARA.



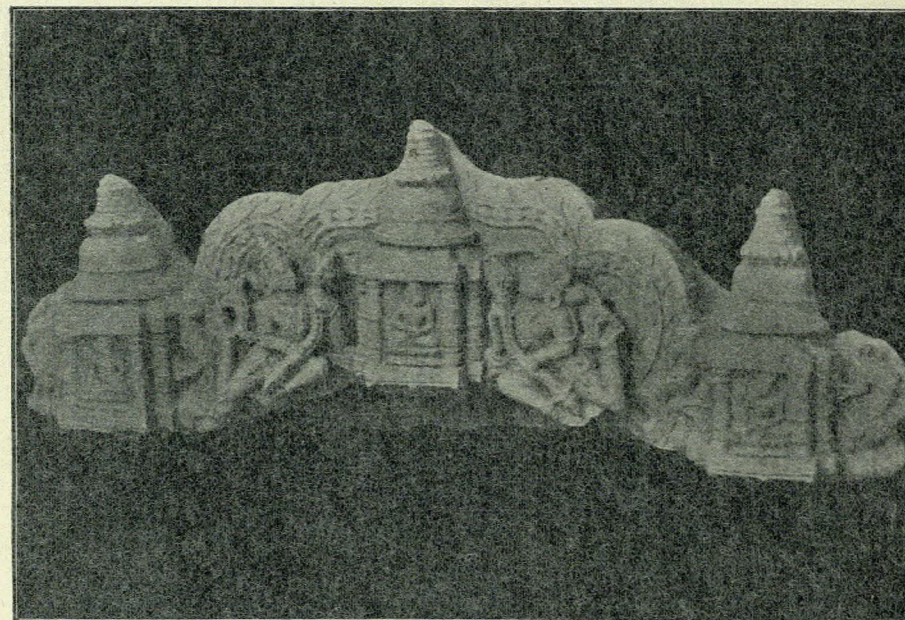
c. TARA.



d. GAUTAMA BUDDHA.



a. FRAGMENT OF THE BACKSLAB OF AN IMAGE.



b. FRAGMENT OF THE BACKSLAB OF AN IMAGE.



c. INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE STATUE OF THE BODHISATTVA SIMHANADA — AVALOKITESVARA.



d. INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDESTAL OF THE IMAGE OF TARA.

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No. 9

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MAULVI ZAFAR HAYAT, B.A., ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
OF ARCHAEOLOGY, DELHI



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Mosque of Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī

BY

MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A., ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
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„ II.—Ground plan of the Mosque of Shaikh Abdu-n-Nabi.
„ III.—Inscription on the marble tablet.

MOSQUE OF SHAIKH 'ABDU-N NABĪ.

AT a distance of about a mile from the Delhi gate of Shāhjahānābād on the Delhi Muttra road there lies a mosque built by Shaiikh 'Abdu-n Nabī, the Ṣadru-ṣ Ṣadūr or Chief Ṣadr of Akbar. The mosque belongs to the style of early Mughal architecture exhibited in the Khairu-l Manāzil,¹ and contains a central hemispherical dome without any flanking towers or *mīnārs* which "were considered nearly indispensable in the buildings of the Mughals very shortly afterwards."² It is constructed of rubble masonry rendered with plaster, and consists of an oblong hall measuring some 73' north and south by 33' east and west. The latter is divided into three compartments communicating with each other by archways. The eastern façade is relieved by three pointed arches, the central of them, which is the highest, being 28' 8" in height and 19' 1" in width. Recessed deeply from these are the actual entrances to the prayer chamber consisting of pointed arches each 15' 6" high and 11' 1" wide. The spandrels of all the arches were ornamented with circular bosses of plaster incised with the Muhammadan creed or geometrical patterns bordered with floral designs, but excepting a few which are extremely faded, they have all disappeared.

The central compartment, which is covered by a dome, is 24' 2" square. At the height of 25' 3" from the floor the square is brought to an octagon by the usual arched pendentives, the sides facing north, south and west being pierced with arched windows, and some 11' higher up the dome springs from a sixteen sided drum. It rises 15' above the drum and is crowned by a plaster lotus cresting. The inner west wall of the prayer chamber is provided with three prayer niches or *mīhrābs* corresponding to the three outer openings.

The soffits of the central dome as well as of the vaults which cover the side apartments, are ornamented with incised plaster, but the principal feature of ornamentation is the many-coloured tiles, set in pleasing designs which embellish the *mīhrābs*. Circular tile discs inscribed with the name of God or the Muhammadan creed are also to be found on the walls and the spandrels of the eastern arch inside the central apartment. These details of ornamentation are, however, fast disappearing, and to a certain extent have already vanished. The mosque is in an advanced stage of decay

¹ A mosque built by Māham Anagah, the wet nurse of Akbar and the mother of Adham Khān, in the year 1561 A.D. It lies between miles 2 and 3 from Delhi on the Muttra road (vide *Carr Stephen*, pp. 199-200).

² Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. (London 1910) part II, p. 220.

and, according to the opinion of the late Mr. Gordon Sanderson, Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, is too ruined for repairs. Its end rooms probably intended for the use of *Mullas* or the priests of the mosque, as well as the walled courtyard measuring some 76' by 79' and entered by a door-way on the east have almost completely disappeared and can only be traced by remains of foundations or accumulated debris.

The inscribed marble tablet measuring 3' 6" by 2' 2½" and recently removed, for safe custody, to the Delhi Museum of Archæology,¹ previously occupied the centre of the outer main arch of the prayer chamber. The inscription consisting of five lines of Arabic Persian² poetry written in Naskh characters runs as follows :—

(۱) في زمان الخليفة الاكبر * ابد الله ذاته النفع
(۲) قد بني بقعة مقدسة * مثلها لا يكون في الاقطاع
(۳) شيخ الاسلام زائر الحرمين * شيخ اهل الحديث بالاجماع
(۴) شيخ عبد النبي نعماني * معدن العام منبع الانفاع
(۵) سال تاريخ ابن بنا فيضي * سال العقل قال خير بقاع

كتبه نقشبتي

Translation.

(1) " During the reign of the emperor Akbar, may God perpetuate his beneficent person,

(2) A sacred edifice, like which there is none in the regions, was built,

(3) By the Shaikh-i Islām,³ the pilgrim of Mecca and Medina and the universally acknowledged chief of the learned in the sayings of the Prophet,

(4) (Named) Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī Nu'mānī,⁴ the mine of learning and the spring of beneficence.

(5) The date of the foundation of this edifice Faizī inquired of wisdom. It answered ' The best place.'

Written by Naqshabī."

The inscription composed by Faizī, Akbar's poet laureate and personal friend, contains his name and furnishes a good example of his skill in Arabic literature and poetry. Perhaps the chief merit lies in the chronogram, of which the numerical value is 983 A.H. (1575-6) and which is the beginning of a *hadīth*⁵ in praise of mosques and therefore a most suitable chronogram for a mosque.

It may be recalled that Faizī, before he rose to power and opulence, was treated on one occasion with great contumely and even expelled by Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī from his court when the former presented himself accompanied with his father before him and applied for a grant of 100 *bighas* of land.⁶ Faizī is said to have been instru-

¹ *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology* (Calcutta 1913), p. 8, C. 40.

² The whole inscription is in pure Arabic except the first hemistich of the last verse which is Persian.

³ The head of religion, i.e. the highest priest.

⁴ *Nu'mānī*. The title borne by the descendants of Nu'mān Ibn-i Thābit, better known as Abū Ḥanīfa, one of the four great propounders of the Muslim law, called the *Imāms*. He is also known as Imām-i- 'Āzam.

⁵ *Hadīth* is a particular branch of Islamic literature consisting of the sayings of the Prophet. The *hadīth* alluded to is " The best place is a mosque and the worst a market."

⁶ *Āin-i Akbari*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 490.

mental in subsequently bringing about the downfall of the Shaikh¹ not more than four years after he had composed this inscription, wherein he had so profusely extolled the Shaikh for his liberality and learning.

Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī, the founder of the mosque, was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad, son of Shaikh 'Abdu-l Quddūs of Gangoh, one of the greatest and best known saints of India. He went several times to Mecca and Medina and studied *hadīth*,² and in the year 971 A.H. (1563-4 A.D.) was made chief Ṣadr by Akbar.³ Soon after the appointment Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī acquired almost absolute powers, and is said to have become arbitrary.⁴ Badāonī's account of his life is very inconsistent, for in some passages he is lavish in praise of the Shaikh's liberality,⁵ piety and learned attainments,⁶ while in others he decries him as haughty and uncivil in his behaviour towards the learned and doctors of religion, mean in the matter of making grants to the latter,⁷ and incapable of understanding even the most familiar *hadīth*.⁸ 'Abdu-n Nabī was in the hey-day of his prosperity at the date of the building of this mosque. The emperor who held him in considerable reverence and esteem repaired to his house from time to time to hear lectures on *hadīth*, and is even said to have placed the Shaikh's slippers before his feet.⁹ Akbar also sent the eldest prince (Jahāngīr) to his school in order to learn the collection of Forty *hadīth* compiled by the renowned master Maulānā 'Abdu-r Raḥmān Jāmī.¹⁰ But at length owing to the enmity of Maulānā 'Abdullah Ansārī, entitled the Makhdūmu-l Mulk, and certain others who were jealous of him, he lost the favour of the Emperor,¹¹ another and perhaps the chief reason being the execution of a Brahman of Muttra¹² who was accused of having used the building material of a mosque in constructing a temple and of having reviled the Prophet and Muhammadans publicly. The story is related with details by Badāonī (*Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Vol. III, p. 80-2).

Later on in the year 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.) Shaikh 'Abdu-n Nabī and his veteran enemy the Makhdūmu-l Mulk were reported to have declared that it was not of their free will but under compulsion that they had affixed their seals to the document which invested the Emperor with the supreme authority in religious affairs. The Emperor got rid of them by sending them away to Mecca, with the order not to return until

¹ *Āin-i Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 491.

² *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh* by Badāonī, Persian text (Bib. Ind.) Vol. III, pp. 79-80; *Maāthiru-l Umarā* by Shāh Nawāz Khān, Persian text (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II, pp. 560-1.

³ *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Vol. II, p. 71. During Akbar's reign the *ṣadr* ranked as the fourth officer of the empire, the first three being the *Vakīl*, *Vazīr* and *Bakshī*. The *ṣadr* was the highest legal officer, and had powers similar to those of an Administrator General. He was in charge of lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest officer of ecclesiastical law and could exercise inquisitorial powers. The *Qāzī* and the *Mir 'Adl* were under his orders and he was assisted in his important duties by a clerk who looked after the financial business and was styled the *Dīwān-i Sa'adat*. (*Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, English translation by George S. A. Ranking, Vol. II, p. 70 n 4; *Āin-i Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 268, 270-1, 527-8.

⁴ *Āin-i Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 546.

⁵ *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Vol. II, p. 71.

⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 204-5.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 204.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 204; Vol. III, p. 80; *Āin-i Akbarī*, English Translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 271.

¹⁰ *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Vol. II, p. 204.

¹¹ *Muntakhabu-t Tawārikh*, Vol. III, p. 80.

¹² *Āin-i Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 546.

sent for, the former having been appointed chief of the caravan of pilgrims and entrusted with the money sent to the deserving people there. But the news of the insurrection of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, infused the two exiles with wild and undefined hopes, who forthwith, inspite of the admonitions of the Sherif of Mecca and in direct contravention to the injunctions of the Emperor, embarked for home and landed in Gujarat in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.). The Makhdumu-l Mulk died at Ahmada-bad, but 'Abdu-n Nabī received orders to attend the royal presence.¹ On his arrival at Fathpur, an account of 70,000 rupees which the Emperor gave him when he set off for Mecca was demanded of him, and with a view to make him settle it, he was made over into the custody of Rāja Ṭoḍar Mal, and for some time was imprisoned like a defaulting tax gatherer in the counting-house of the office, where one night a mob strangled him.² Another historian³ says that 'Abdu-n Nabī was handed over to Abul Fazl who either strangled him owing to previous enmity, or let him suffer a natural death. His death occurred in the year 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.).

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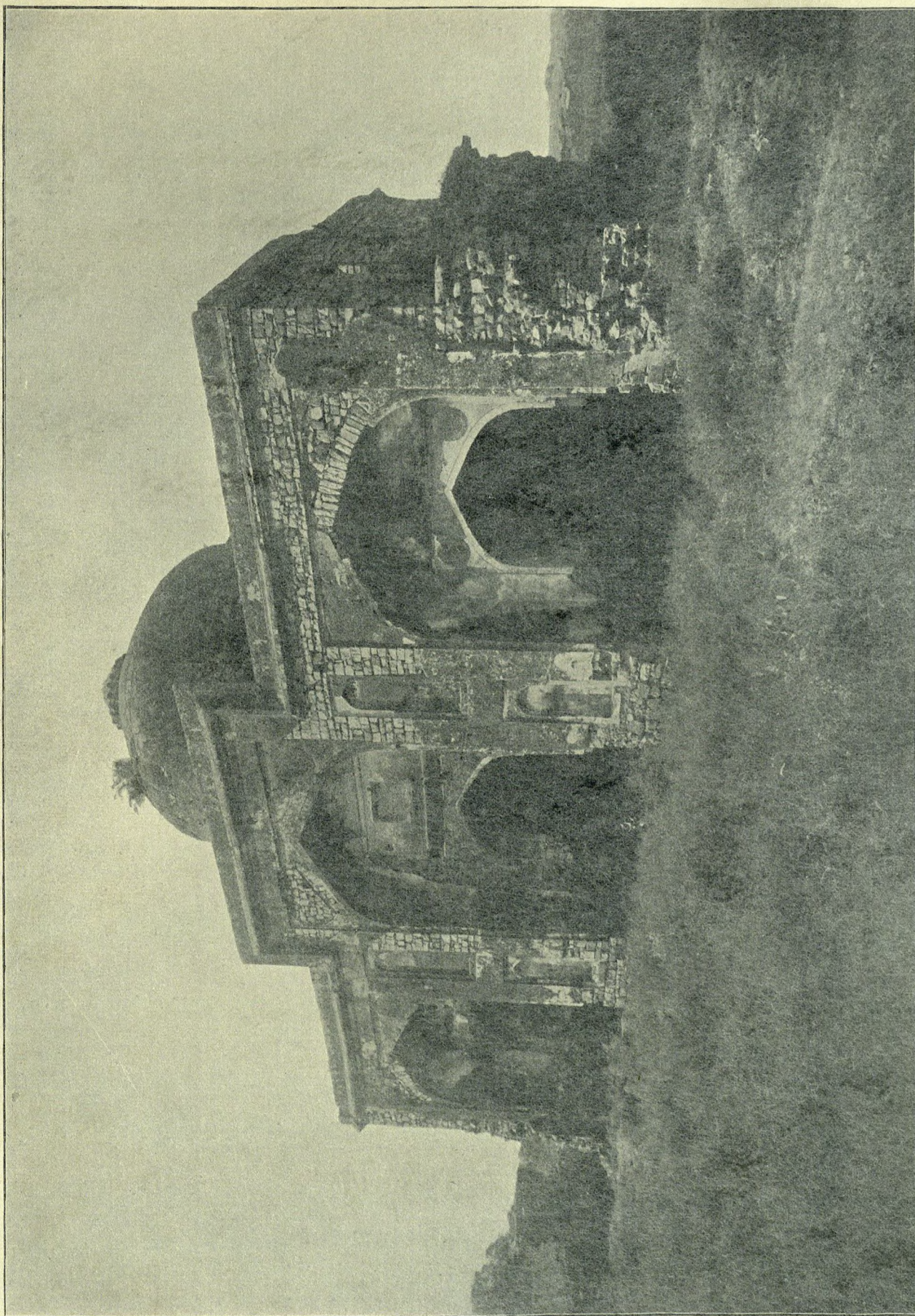
¹ *Maāthiru-l Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 563-4; Vol. III, p. 256.

² *Muntaḥḥab-u-t Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, p. 311.

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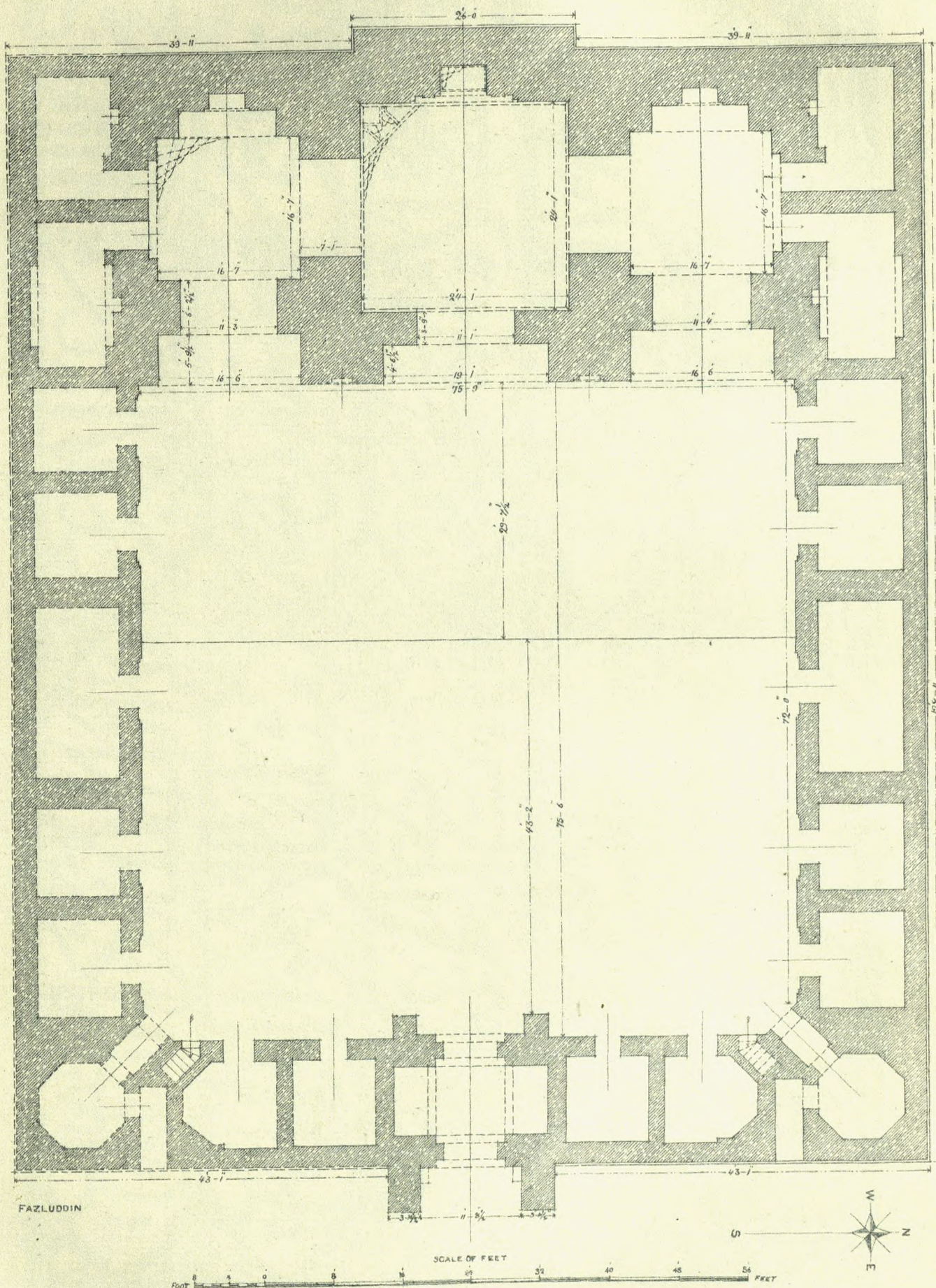


MOSQUE OF SHAIKH 'ABDU-N-NABI.

Photo-enlarged & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1921.

MOSQUE OF SHAIKH 'ABDU-N-NABI.

PLATE II.

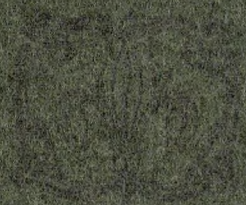






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No. 10

A Guide to Mohenjo-daro

WILLIAM D. BAKER



22 CSL

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 10 A Guide to Nizamu-d Dīn

BY

MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.



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INTRODUCTION.

This monograph is an attempt to give a descriptive and historical account of the chief monuments in the group of buildings found within the enclosure of the village of Nizāmu-d Dīn, as well as brief biographical notices of the saint and other important personages who lie buried there, and whose tombs have been noticed. It is difficult to relate the history of a saint without legends, and here also a few of the legendary accounts, which testify to the miraculous powers of the saint, have been narrated, but they have been confined to only those which are of a historical nature and, in most cases, have been referred to in authentic historical records. Some of the authorities quoted here are quite rare, not noticed before in any of the publications dealing with the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, and they throw additional light on its history.

My best thanks are due to Mr. J. A. Page, A.R.I.B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, who kindly arranged to supply me with the plan and photographs. I should also acknowledge with thanks the valuable assistance of Maulvi Ashfaq Ali in collecting material for this monograph.

DELHI :
August 1st, 1919.

ZAFAR HASAN, *Assistant Superintendent,*
Archæological Survey of India, Delhi.

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A GUIDE TO NIZĀMU-D DĪN.

The tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is one of the most popular shrines in India, being visited by pilgrims from all parts of the country. It is situated in a village, called after the saint, which lies some four miles to the south of Shāhjahānābād (Dehli city) on the Delhi Muttra road.

Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, whose real name was Muḥammad, was surnamed Sultānu-l Mashāikh Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn Auliya.¹ He was a Chishtī saint, fourth in succession from Khūāja Muʿīnu-d Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, the founder of the line, the second having been Khūāja Quṭbu-d Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, better known as Quṭb Shāhib whose shrine is at Mehrauli, and the third Shaikh Farīdu-d Dīn Masʿūd Shakar Ganj of Pāk Paṭan, the *Pīr* or preceptor of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn.

Biography of
Shaikh
Nizāmu-d
Dīn.

The original home of his ancestors, who were Sayyid by caste, had been Bukhāra. It was the grandfather of the saint, named Sayyid 'Alī-al Bukhārī,² who immigrated with his cousin Sayyid Khūāja 'Arab into India during the early Muslim invasions. They first stayed at Lahore, but afterwards proceeded to Badāūn, and as the latter city was the chief religious place at that time, they selected it for their residence.³ Sayyid Aḥmad, the son of Sayyid 'Alī, was appointed Qāzī of Badāūn⁴ by the Sultan of the time. Khūāja 'Arab is said to have been a wealthy man, having a large number of slaves who carried on trade with his capital.⁵ The relationship between the two cousins, Sayyid 'Alī and Khūāja 'Arab, was further strengthened by the marriage of Sayyid Aḥmad with Bibī Zulaikha, the daughter of Khūāja 'Arab, and our saint was born of this union at Badāūn on Wednesday the 27th of Ṣafar in the year 636 A.H. (9th October 1238 A.D.)⁶ Sayyid Aḥmad does not seem to have lived long after

His ancestors.

His birth.

¹ *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (a) ; *Akḥbāru-l Akhyār*, p. 55.

² *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 94 ; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (a) and (b) ; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 269 (b) ; *Azkār-i Abrār*, p. 82 ; *Akḥbāru-l Akhyār*, p. 55. *Farishta* followed by a few other authorities gives the name of the grandfather of the saint as Dānyāl, and says that he came to India from Ghazni (*Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 391).

³ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 94 ; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 186 (b).

⁴ *Mirat-i Aftāb Numā*, folio 93 (b).

⁵ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 94.

⁶ *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 270b ; *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 154. *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (pt. II, p. 391) and *Khazīnatu-l Aḡfiyā* (vol. I, p. 329) record the birth of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn in the year 634 A.H. (1236 A.D.) while *Mirat-i Aftāb Numā* has it in 635 A.H. (1237 A.D.). But the author of *Siyaru-l Auliya* was a disciple and contemporary of the saint, and his statement may be considered more reliable. All these authorities, however, concur in the date of the month, which is given as the 27th of Ṣafar, the second month of Hijra year.

his marriage, for he died when Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn was only five years old. The saint was thus brought up by his mother, who acquitted herself admirably of her charge.

**His departure to
Dehli.**

At the age of 16 Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn repaired from Badāūn to Dehli to complete his education¹ and he studied there for three or four years under Khūāja Shamsu-d Dīn, the most distinguished scholar of his time, upon whom the emperor Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Balban subsequently conferred the post of Wazir with the title of Shamsu-l Mulk.² It was on this occasion that Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn contracted a friendship with Shaikh Najibu-d Dīn Mutawakkil, the younger brother of Shaikh Faridu-d Dīn Mas'ūd Shakar Ganj, which resulted in his becoming a disciple of the latter. He is known to have heard of Shakar Ganj at Badāūn, and in the company of Shaikh Najibu-d Dīn learnt so much of his saintly attributes, that he was inspired with the desire of seeing him. During this period he lost his mother,³ and was free to go to Ajodhan now known as Pāk Paṭan, where Shakar Ganj was living. It is stated that after completing his education at Dehli, Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn expressed a desire for the post of *Qāzi* of that city, but Shaikh Najibu-d Dīn dissuaded him from it.⁴

**Becomes a
disciple of
Shaikh
Faridu-d Dīn
Shakar Ganj.**

In the year 655 A.H. (1257 A.D.) when 20 years old, Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn set out for Pāk Paṭan.⁵ He was received with marked favour by Shaikh Faridu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj, who forthwith made him his disciple, and after a short training of seven months and a few days sent him back to Dehli, entrusted with the commission of public guidance.⁶ Subsequently on the 3rd of Ramazān 663 A.H. (29th June 1265 A.D.)⁷ Shakar Ganj appointed Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn his chief disciple, and granted him a certificate to this effect, which is preserved in *Siyaru-l Auliya* (pp. 117-119), while at the time of his death, which happened a few months later on the 15th of Muḥarram 664 A.H. (27th October 1265 A.D.),⁸ the former bequeathed to the latter the relics, viz., a cloak, a prayer carpet and a staff which he had inherited from his own preceptor Khūāja Qutbu-d Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.⁹

**His return to
Dehli and
residence at
Ghiyāthpur.**

On his return to Dehli after the short stay at Pāk Paṭan in 655 A.H. (1257 A.D.) Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn had no place to live in, nor did he like the bustle of the city. Accordingly, after a sojourn of a few years there, he settled finally at Ghiyāthpur, which was an insignificant village at that time, but according to legend, selected as his residence under divine guidance.¹⁰ There he built a thatched house on the bank of the river

¹ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 100; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 274b. According to *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (pt. II, p. 391) and *Siyaru-l Arifin* (p. 59) the saint was 25 years old when he went to Dehli, while in *Thamaratu-l Quds* (folio 187 (b)) his departure is said to have taken place at the age of 12.

² *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 391.

³ *Ibid*, p. 391.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 391-92.

⁵ *Rahata-l Qalub*, p. 2 et seq; *Siyaru-l Auliya*, pp. 107 and 154; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folios 276 (a) and 284(a).

⁶ *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 392; *Khazīnatul Asfiya*, vol. I, p. 329.

⁷ The author of *Siyaru-l Auliya* (p. 116) gives the date of this event as 669 A.H. (1271 A.D.), which cannot be correct, as Shakar Ganj died early in the year 664 A.H. (1265 A.D.).

⁸ *Khazīnatul Asfiya*, vol. I, p. 329; *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 91; *Akhbārul Akhyār*, p. 54. *Farishta* (pt. II, p. 390) erroneously places the death of Shaikh Faridu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj in the year 760 A.H. (1358 A.D.); he also makes a mistake in the date of his birth, which he gives as 584 A.H. (1188-89 A.D.). According to *Siyaru-l Auliya* Shakar Ganj was born in 569 A.H. (1173-74 A.D.), while in 584 A.H. he became the disciple of Khūāja Qutbu-d Dīn.

⁹ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, pp. 116-122; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folios 284 (a) and 286 (b).

¹⁰ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, pp. 108-11; *Thamaratu-l Quds*, folios 226-27; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 393; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 288 (a) *Khazīnatul Asfiya*, vol. I, p. 329.

Jamna, where subsequently during the reign of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī, Khūāja Ziyāu-d Dīn 'Imādu-l Mulk, one of his disciples, erected a monastery (*Khānqāh*) for him.¹ Local tradition avers that the dilapidated building, known as the *Chillagāh* of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, which stands at the north-east corner of the enclosure of Humāyūn's tomb, is the house occupied by the Shaikh during his lifetime. Once settled in this village, he lived there until the close of his life, and was buried there after his death. Ghiyāthpur, the original name of the village still survives, but has been given to a *paṭṭī* or subdivision of Nizāmpur.

A few years after settling at Ghiyāthpur, the fame of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn as a saint was established, and his convent was attended by large numbers of disciples. The transference of the royal residence to Kilūkhri,² some two miles to the south-east of Ghiyāthpur, during the reigns of Mu'izzu-d Dīn Kaiqubād and Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī, increased the number of his followers, and made him popular among the nobles and the attendants of the court, who came in the train of these emperors and resided in his neighbourhood. The author of *Siyaru-l Auliya* relates this event in the very words of the saint as follows : " At the time I settled at Ghiyāthpur, it had been only an insignificant village with very little population, but when Kaiqubād took his residence at Kilūkhri, a crowd of people came over here, and the nobles, the courtiers and the public disturbed me by their visits."³

The popularity of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn among the nobles and courtiers soon made him known to the emperors of Dehli, although he disliked their company and did not care to attend the royal court. Jalālu-d Dīn and his successor 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī treated him with great respect, and the latter emperor is known to have asked his prayers in cases of emergency. On the other hand, the emperors Qutbu-d Dīn Khaljī and Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq were by no means favourably disposed towards the saint, and conceived measures to persecute him, thus, according to common belief bringing about their own ruin. Of the many stories told about the relations of the saint with the emperors, the following, which refer to historical events, deserve repetition.

His relation
with the
emperors of
Delhi.

¹ *Shajaratul Anwar*, folios 288-89 and 322 (b), see also *Thamaratu-l Quds*, folio 227 (a).

² Kaiqubād gave up residing in the city (Old Dehli), and, quitting the Red Palace, he built a splendid palace, and laid out a beautiful garden at Kilūkhri, on the banks of the Jamna. Thither he retired with the nobles and attendants of his court, and when it was seen that he had resolved upon residing there, the nobles and officers also built palaces and dwellings, and, taking up their abode there, Kilūkhri became a populous place. (*Elliot*, vol. III, p. 126 ; *Ziyā-i Barni*, p. 130.)

Sultān Jalālu-d Dīn Firoz Khaljī ascended the throne in the palace of Kilūkhri, in the year 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.). The people of the city (of Dehli) had for eighty years been governed by sovereigns of Turk extraction, and were averse to the succession of Khaljis ; for this reason the new Sultān did not go into the capital. The great men and nobles, the learned men, the officials, and the celebrities with whom the city was then filled, went out to pay their respects to the new Sultān, and to receive robes. In the course of the first year of the reign the citizens, the soldiers and traders, of all degrees and classes, went to Kilūkhri, where the Sultān had a public Darbār.

The Sultān, not being able to go into Dehli, made Kilūkhri his capital, and fixed his abode there. He ordered the palace, which Kaiqubād had begun, to be completed and embellished with paintings ; and he directed the formation of a splendid garden in front of it on the banks of the Jamna. The princes and nobles and officers, and the principal men of the city, were commanded to build houses at Kilūkhri. Several of the traders were also brought from Dehli, and bazars were established. Kilūkhri then obtained the name of 'New town.' A lofty stone fort was commenced and the erection of its defences was allotted to the nobles, who divided the work of building among them. The great men and citizens were averse to building houses there, but as the Sultān made his residence, in three or four years houses sprung up on every side, and the markets became well supplied. (*Elliot*, vol. III, 135-36 ; *Ziyā-i Barni*, 175-76.)

³ *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 111, see also *Thamaratu-l Quds*, folio 227 (a) and *Shajaratul Anwar*, folio 288.

Jalālu-d Dīn Khaljī who was probably the first emperor of Dehlī to pay regard to the saint, once offered him a village for his maintenance, but the saint refused to accept it,¹ and refused also the emperor's request for permission to attend his monastery.² 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī who also entertained great respect for the saint, was similarly refused the privilege of attending upon him.³ In the year 703 A.H. (1303—4 A.D.) Dehlī was invaded by the Mughals under Tārghī Beg, and the emperor 'Alāu-d Dīn, whose chosen forces were absent on an expedition to Wārangal in the Deccan, was not in a position to face the enemy. He entrenched himself, however, at Sīrī, whereon the Mughals entered the city many times, and plundered the stores of grain. At length the emperor had recourse to Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, and it is related that the same night Tārghī Beg was seized with panic and retired to his own country.⁴

In the year 710 A.H. (1310-11 A.D.) when Malik Nāib ('Alāu-d Dīn's general, better known as Malik Kāfūr) having conquered Ārangal (Wārangal) was returning to Dehlī loaded with booty, the news did not reach the capital for some time owing to the disarrangement of the posts (*Thānas*). This caused much anxiety to the emperor, who sent two of his nobles, Malik Qarā Beg and Qāzī Mughithu-d Dīn, to Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn with a request to favour him with intelligence by divine revelation. The saint informed them of the victory of the royal force and predicted many other conquests to the royal arms. The next day news of the conquest of Wārangal arrived from Malik Nāib.⁵

'Alāu-d Dīn himself was not a follower of the saint, but at the instance of Malik Qarā Beg, the princes Khizr Khān and Shadi Khān were made his disciples, on which occasion the emperor sent him a gift of two lacs of *ṭankas* for the attendants of his convent (دریشان جماعتخانه). In this connection Farishta writes "The magnificent building which stands at his tomb was erected by Khizr Khān." The name of the building, however, is not given, but it probably refers to the mosque now known as Jamā'at Khāna.

Quṭbu-d Dīn, the successor of 'Alāu-d Dīn, was not on good terms with Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, and Amīr Khurd, the author of *Siyaru-l Auliyā* and a disciple of the saint gives the following reasons for it. "The emperor had erected a Jāmi' mosque at Sīrī, the new capital of 'Alāu-d Dīn. On the first day after its completion he announced that all the saints and learned men of Dehlī should offer their Jum'a prayers in his newly built mosque. The saint however took no heed of the royal mandate, declaring that he had a mosque for prayer in his own neighbourhood. Again, it had been a practice for all the nobles, learned men and saints to attend the court on the first day of every lunar month in order to offer greetings to the emperor. Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn did not observe this ceremony personally, but sent his slave Iqbāl. Thereupon the

¹ *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 114; *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 291.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ *Ziyā-i Barnī*, 332; *Siyaru-l Auliyā*, p. 135; *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 199.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, pp. 111-2; *Briggs*, vol. I, pp. 353-55. This event has also been referred to by *Ziyā-i Barnī*, but he makes no mention of the saint. He says:—"After two months the prayers of the wretched prevailed, and the accursed Tārghī retreated towards his own country." (*Ziyā-i Barnī*, pp. 301-2; *Elliot*, vol. III, pp. 190-91.)

⁵ *Ziyā-i Barnī*, pp. 331-2; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, p. 119. This account is also given in *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 192 a and b) and *Khazīnatul Afiyā* (vol. I, pp. 333-34), but with a little variation in certain particulars.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, III, p. 394; see also *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 192 (a) and *Khazīnatul Afiyā*, vol. I, p. 331.

enemies of the saint sought to stir up the emperor against him, and the latter decided to punish him if he failed to attend the court at the next moon. But it so happened that the emperor was killed by his favourite slave Khusrau Khān on the very night of the first moon, before he could carry out his intention.¹ Tārīkh-i Farishta, followed by Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiya, records that the emperor Qutbu-d Dīn bore a grudge against Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn because of Khizr Khān, a disciple of the saint whom Qutbu-d Dīn killed on ascending the throne.² But this statement is not supported by facts: Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān were imprisoned in the fort of Gawāliyār and blinded by Malik Nāib, who had placed prince Shihābu-d Dīn, a boy of seven years, on the throne after the death of 'Alāu-d Dīn, while the accession of Qutbu-d Dīn took place after the deposition of Shihābu-d Dīn.³

The hostility between the emperor Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq and the saint is well known, and different stories are narrated to explain it. The one given in Tārīkh-i Farishta (pt. II, pp. 397-398) and Shajaratul-Anwār (folios 395-6) runs as follows:—

Khusrau Khān, who ascended the throne after the murder of the emperor Qutbu-d Dīn, made a gift of a sum of money to each of the saints in his dominion. A few of them refused to accept it, while the others kept it in deposit, but Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn spent the whole amount he had received. Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq on his accession to the throne demanded the money distributed by Khusrau Khān. Most of the saints paid what was due from them, but Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn did not make any response to the royal demand. Thereupon, the opponents of the saint thought it a good opportunity to accuse him of indulging in music which is forbidden by the Muslim religion as propounded by Imām Abū Ḥanīfa,⁴ and suggested to the emperor to elicit the views of theologians on the subject. Accordingly the saint was summoned to the fort of Tughlaqābād to clear himself of the charge brought against him. While the discussion was going on between the theologians and the saint, in the presence of the emperor, Maulānā 'Ilmu-d Dīn, the grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d Dīn, reached the court from Multān, and the matter was referred to him. The Maulāna, who was a great authority, justified Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn's pleasure in music, and the latter was allowed to return home. The emperor however, although he did not interfere with the saint, was not pleased with him. Whilst he was returning from Bengal, he sent word to the saint to leave Dehlī before his arrival. The saint who was then ill, said in reply "Dehlī is still far off" and this prediction came to pass, for the emperor never reached Dehlī, being crushed to death by the fall of a house at Tughlaqābād. The prediction has now become a proverb in India.

Ibn-i Batūta, who visited India during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq, a few years after the death of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, makes the following reference to him.

"There was then at Dehlī a saint, Nizāmu-d Dīn of Badāūn. Jūnān Khān (name of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh when he was a prince) often visited him to implore his

¹ *Siyar-ul Auliya*, pp. 150-51, see also *Thamarātul-Quds*, folio 193 (a) and (b).

² *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, pp. 394-95; *Khazīnatu-l Aṣfiya*, vol. I, p. 331.

³ *Ziyā-i Barni*, pp. 372 seq; *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. I, p. 123; *Khulāṣatu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 228-29.

⁴ Imām Abū Ḥanīfa also called Imām-i 'Āzam was one of the four juriseconsults of Islām, viz., Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Ḥanbal, Imām Shafā'i and Imām Mālik, from whom are derived the various codes of Muslim jurisprudence.

prayers. One day he told the servants of the Shaikh to let him know when the latter should be in a state of ecstasy. When this happened Jūnān Khān was accordingly informed. As soon as the Shaikh saw him he exclaimed 'We gave you the kingdom.' In the meanwhile the Shaikh died, and Jūnān Khān bore his bier upon his shoulders. The emperor (Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq) heard of this, and was much annoyed."¹

The statement of Ibn-i Batūta is not very reliable, being contradicted by the fact that the saint died a few months after Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Tughlaq, whose death is commonly believed to have been caused by the curse of the saint.

His death.

At the age of 89 the saint fell ill,² and after a continued sickness of a few months died at sunset on Wednesday the 18th of Rabī'a II in the year 725 A.H. (3rd April 1325 A.D.). On his deathbed he distributed all his property to the poor, while he presented his clothes to his chief disciples. The sacred relics,³ which had descended to him from his preceptor, Shaikh Faridu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj, were passed on to Shaikh Naṣīru-d Dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī, whom he thus declared his successor, advising him to stay at Dehlī, and to bear patiently the persecution, which should be inflicted upon him.

General remarks.

Carr Stephen (pp. 102-103) makes the following remarks about the saint :—

"There were Muhammadan saints in India who are still reckoned as superior to Nizām-u dīn in piety and in 'the secret knowledge of the future'; but none equalled him in the hold he acquired on such varied classes of his co-religionists. Of his own fraternity, the well known Chishtīs, there are three names before whom royalty has humbled itself, and which still hold a place in the daily thoughts and feelings of thousands of believers." "While living, he drew the pious allegiance of eager multitudes, and after his death, down to the very date of our description, pilgrimages are made to his tomb from all parts of India, and miracles are still worked there for the believing."⁴

Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is said to have worked many miracles, which need not be related here. In accordance with the advice of his preceptor he did not marry.⁵ The attendants of the shrine who reside in the village of Nizāmu-d Dīn and are styled *Pīrzādas* are the descendants of his sister. He was also the founder of a Sufic order, subsidiary to that of Chishtīya and known after him as Chishtīya Nizāmīya. The 'Urs or anniversary of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is celebrated on the 17th and 18th of Rabī'a II, when his shrine is attended by large numbers of visitors and a *mela* is held there.

¹ *Ibn-i Batūta*, p. 86 ; *Elliot*, vol. III, pp. 609-10, see also *Keene*, p. 53.

² *Siyaru-l Auliya*, p. 154 ; *Shajaratul Amwār*, folio 336 seq. Historians differ regarding the age of the saint. *Tārīkh-i Farīhta* (pt. II, p. 398) says 95 years, while in *Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā* (vol. I, p. 338) it is quoted as 94 years from *Mukhlburul Wasīlīn* and *Shajrai chishtīyā* and 91 years from *Tadhkiratu-l 'Ashiqīn* and *Siyaru-l Aṣfiyā*.

³ It is interesting to note that the number of these relics differ according to various authors, but all concur in saying that the saint gave to Chirāgh-i Dehlī "All what he had inherited from Shaikh Faridu-d Dīn Shakar Ganj." According to *Tāmarātu-l Quds* (folio 261 a and b) these relics consisted of a cloak, a prayer carpet, a staff, a wooden bowl, a rosary and a pair of shoes. *Farīhta* (vol. II, p. 398) repeats the list, but leaves out the pair of shoes, while *Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā* (vol. II, p. 337-8) omits the shoes as well as the rosary. *Siyaru-l Auliya* (p. 122) makes no mention of the bestowal of these relics upon Chirāgh-i Dehlī, but it records that only the first three articles, viz., a cloak, a carpet and a staff were received by Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn from Shakar Ganj.

⁴ One of the Amīrs of the court of Akbar, Husām-u Dīn, "though a young man, expressed to the commander his wish to resign the service and live as *faqīr* at the tomb of Nizāmuddīn Auliā in Dihli. Akbar permitted his resignation. Husām lived for three years as an ascetic in Dihli." (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 440-41.)

⁵ *Tārīkh-i Farīhta*, pt. II, p. 398 ; *Khazīnatul Aṣfiyā*, vol. I, p. 336.



23 CSL

The village of Nizāmu-d Dīn was enclosed by a rubble masonry wall, which was repaired by Nawāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān of Fīrozpur¹ about the year 1223 A.H. (1808 A.D.), when he restored the verandah surrounding the tomb of the saint. The enclosing wall together with the gateways on the east, west and north which gave entrance to the village is now in ruins. The southern part of the village, where lies a Kot or walled enclosure, is reserved for the residences of the attendants at the shrine; while the northern part, termed *Yārāni Ghābūtra*, is occupied by innumerable graves and tombs of the followers of the saint, including those of the Mughal princes and nobles, who were attracted by its sanctity to select it for their last resting place.

Village of
Nizāmu-d Dīn.

The main entrance to the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn is through a battlemented doorway at the north-east corner of the village, about 100 yards to the south of the road from Humāyūn's tomb to Safdar Jang. On entering it, the first object of interest which meets the eye is a *bāoli* (Plate II, b), said to have been built by the saint, who initiated the work by digging with his own hands,² and uttered a blessing on its water that he who drank one drop of it should have no fear against the fire of hell.³ An interesting anecdote concerning its erection is related locally. It is said that the saint was building his well at the same time that the emperor was engaged in constructing the fort of Tughlaqābād, and Ghiyāthu-d Dīn anxious for its completion, did not want to have any of the Dehlī workmen employed elsewhere. They were accordingly prohibited from working on the *bāoli* and compelled to work at Tughlaqābād. They worked, however, for the saint at night. Thereupon the emperor prohibited the sale of oil to the saint, but the workmen found the water of the *bāoli* answer their purpose equally well. Nizāmu-d Dīn complained to Sayyid Maḥmūd Behār, who happened to be building a mud wall, and the latter, angered at the emperor's persecution of the saint, levelled his mud wall to the ground exclaiming at the same time "I have destroyed his empire."⁴ The water of the *bāoli*, which is brackish, is considered holy by believers, who bathe in it and consider it efficacious in curing diseases and expelling evil spirits.

Bāoli of
Nizāmu-d Dīn.

The *bāoli* measures internally 123' by 53' and is enclosed by dressed stone walls on the south, east and west, while on the north are the descending steps which are said to go to a great depth into the well. On the 1st July 1918 there were 38 steps above the water level. On the west wall of the *bāoli* are several tombs including a double storeyed mosque called the *Chīnī kā Burj*, and from the top of these buildings men and boys dive for *bakhshish* into the water below from a height of some sixty feet.

The *Chīnī kā Burj*, which is in a dilapidated state, measures 21' by 12' 9" internally, and has three arched openings on the east. The upper storey consists of a domed chamber 9' 4" square with remnants of tile decoration on the outside, which has given the building its name. Internally, the walls of this upper chamber, which are profusely ornamented with incised plaster and tile work, bear fragmentary verses lamenting the death of a lady, named Zuhra.

Chīnī kā Burj.

Another building worthy of notice on the west wall of the *bāoli* is a tomb, locally known as that of Bāi Kokaldī. It is an elegant marble pavilion 13' 6" by 11' 5" covered

Tomb of Bāi
Kokaldī.

¹ *Aṭṭār-u-ḡ Sanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 28 (ed. Lucknow, 1900), chapter I, p. 43.

² *Aṭṭār-u-ḡ Sanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 42.

³ *Thamāratu-l Quds*, folio 264 (a).

⁴ Carr Stephen, pp. 112-3.

by a vaulted roof, and containing three arched openings shaded by a *chhajja* on each of its four sides. An inscribed marble tablet is set into the floor of the building, and refers to its erection in the year 948 A.H. (1541-42 A.D.). The name of its founder is not given in the inscription, but it is apparent that it was not originally intended as the tomb of Bāi Kokaldī, who died in the year 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), more than a hundred years after the erection of the building. The inscription runs as follows :—

Inscription on a marble tablet set into the floor.

باسمہ سبحانہ

- (۱) این روضہ خلدائین با پنجرہ مرزوں چون قصر بہشت آمد خورش منزل و ما راے
(۲) تا در نظر مردم شد جلوه گر این منزل اہل نظر از ہر سو دارند تماشای
(۳) چون جائے خوشی آمد با اہل خرد گفتم تاریخ بناءے از جائے رچہ خوش جائے

کاتبہ حسین چشتی

Translation.

“ With the name of him who is holy.

- (1) This paradise-like tomb with excellent windows is a pleasant mansion and dwelling place like a palace in paradise.
(2) While this structure remains glorious in the sight of the people, spectators from every direction shall behold it with pleasure.
(3) As it is a place of pleasure, I said to the wise for the chronogram of the date of its erection ‘ a place and what a pleasant place.’

The scribe of this is Husain Chishtī.”

Inscription on the grave of Bāi Kokaldī.

The grave of Bāi Kokaldī, which is of marble, lies inside the pavilion slightly to the west. It is inscribed with the 99 attributes of God and a quotation from the Quran, on the south side being the following inscription which contains the name of the deceased and the date of her death.

- (۱) سال تاریخ فوت او جستیم از دل صاف نیز پاک سرشت
(۲) آہ سرد کشید و گفت بگو باد ہمدم بہر بیان بہشت
بای کو کلدی بنت - لایم خان سنہ [۰] ۱۰۸

Translation.

- (1) “ I enquired of the heart, which is pure and of innocent disposition, the year of her death.
(2) It heaved a deep sigh and bid me say ‘ May she be a companion of the hours of paradise.’

Bāi Kokaldī, the daughter of Mulāyam Khān the year 108[0].”

The date in figures is not clear, but from the chronogram it is calculated as 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.).

No information is forthcoming about Bāi Kokaldī or her father Mulāyam Khān. Sangī Beg, the author of *Sairu-l Manāzil* (folio 41b) is of opinion that she was a mistress of Muhammad Shāh, but this cannot be correct as her death antedated the birth of the emperor, which occurred in 1114 A.H. (1702 A.D.). From the fact that she was buried in a building of some pretension in the vicinity of the shrine of Shaiḡh Nizāmu-d Dīn, it may be hazarded that Bāi Kokaldī was a follower of the saint, and a lady of

some consequence. The tomb is also noticed in *Miftāhu-t Tawārīkh* (p. 274) where only the inscription on the grave is given.

Adjacent to the tomb of Bāi Kokaldī is a ruined pavilion of red sandstone known as Lāl Chāubāra, which contains a small marble grave assigned by local tradition to a child of royal family.

Lāl Chāubāra.

On the east and south walls of the *bāolī* is a narrow passage, which leads to the tomb of the saint, and has recently been paved with red stone slabs by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muḥammad Rafiq, Judge of the High Court of Allāhābād and a resident of Delhi. On the south and partly on the east, this passage is covered with a vaulted roof, which together with the rubble built structure immediately on the south was constructed by Malik Sayyidu-l Hujjāb Ma'rūf, the chamberlain of Fīroz Shāh, in the year 781 A.H. (1379-80 A.D.).¹ An inscription on the southern arch of the entrance, which gives access from the *bāolī* enclosure to the tomb of the saint, refers to the date and the erection of this building. It is engraved on a red sandstone slab in *Naskh* characters and runs as follows :—

Arcaded passage on the east and south walls of the *bāolī*.

Inscription on the southern arch of the entrance to the south of the *bāolī*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(۱) بعدد دولت شاه معظم خجسته خسر و اولاد آدم	(۲) مدار دین احمد شاه فیروز شه صاحبقران سلطان اعظم
(۳) مرفق گشت از حق بنده معروف اساس این عمارت کرد محکم	(۴) جوار روضه شیخ المشایخ نظام الحق و الدین قطب عالم
(۵) وحیدالدین قریشی والد من که با اهل ارادت بود همدم	(۶) بحسن اعتقاد و صدق اخلاص در اسرار ولی الله محرم
(۷) مرا چون برد پیش شیخ عالم بدست خود گرفت و کرد فاسم	(۸) بلفظ خود مرا معروف خوانده درین عالم چو شیخ عیسوی دم
(۹) رجا دارم کز انفاس مبارک دران عالم بود معروفیم هم	(۱۰) بخوان تاریخ اتمام عمارت درین جا چون بیای خیر مقدم
(۱۱) زهجرت هفتصد و هشتاد یک بود مرتب شد بنا و الله اعلم	

Translation.

- “With the name of God who is merciful and clement.
- (1) In the reign of the great king, the fortunate monarch and the descendant of Adam,
 - (2) The support of the religion of Ahmad (*i.e.*, the Prophet), (named) Fīroz Shāh, who is a king, Lord of the happy constellation and the greatest sovereign,
 - (3) The slave Ma'rūf was assisted by God, and he made firm the foundation of this building
 - (4) In the neighbourhood of the tomb of Shaikhul Mashāikh Nizāmu-l Haq Waddīn, the polar star of the world.
 - (5) Wahīdu-d Dīn Quraishī, my father, who was a companion of the devotees (of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn),
 - (6) And who was confident in the secrets of the friend of God (Nizāmu-d Dīn) with good faith and sincerity,

¹ *Āthār-u-s Sanādīd* (ed. Lucknow, 1900), chapter I, p. 43.

- (7) When he brought me before the chief of the world (Nizāmu-d Dīn), he (the latter) took me in his arms and named me.
- (8) And the Shaikh with the breath of Jesus named me Ma'rūf¹ in his own utterance, in this world.
- (9) I hope through that auspicious utterance to attain to fame in the next world also.
- (10) Read the date of the completion of this building as welcome when you visit this place.
- (11) It was seven hundred and eighty one from Hījrat when this building was erected ; God knows best."

Ma'rūf was a favourite noble of Fīroz Shāh having the rank and title of *Malik Sayyidu-l Hujjāb* (the chief of chamberlains). He together with his father *Khūāja Wahīd Quraishī* was a disciple of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, and Malik Sayyidu-l Hujjāb enjoyed great fame for his piety and goodness towards people. Fīroz Shāh conferred great favours on him and entertained such a high opinion about his sagacity that he always consulted him in the affairs of the country. The story of his having been named by Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, as related in the epigraph, has been repeated by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf (pp. 445-451), who says that the Shaikh was performing ablutions when the father of Malik Sayyidu-l Hujjāb brought him on the very day of his birth to the Shaikh, and the latter called him Ma'rūf and put a drop of the water of his ablutions into his mouth.

Enclosure
containing the
tomb of Nizāmu-
d Dīn.

Further south, the passage leads to the enclosure which contains the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn and is entered by a doorway on the north. The enclosure, measuring 124' 3" north to south by 57' 4" east to west, is paved with marble, and is surrounded on the north, south and east by *Jālī* screens of red sandstone, while on the west is the mosque known as Jamā'at *Khāna*.

Tomb of Nizāmu-
d Dīn.

The tomb of the saint (Plate III, *a*) stands in the centre of the enclosure. It measures 31' 9" square externally, the verandah, which is 6' 9" in width and paved with marble, having 5 arched openings on each side, the openings measuring alternately 5' 6" and 3' 3". The columns of the verandah carry multifoiled arches, which in turn support a red sandstone *chhajja*. Above the latter is a *pinjra* parapet topped by a series of dwarf domes, the corners of the parapet being emphasised by dwarf marble *chhatrīs* with gilt finials. The arches of the verandah are usually hung with heavy cotton *pardahs*. The tomb chamber, which measures 15' 8" square internally and 17' 7" square externally, is entered through a silver-plated door on the south side, flanked by marble screens. It is lit by openings filled with marble *jālī* screens, set in sandstone frames, and also usually kept screened by *pardahs*. The floor round the grave is of marble. The dome, which is of bulbous type, springs from an octagonal drum, and is ornamented by vertical stripes of black marble and topped by the usual cresting, which serves as a base for the gilded finial. Internally, the dome is richly decorated with gold and coloured painting. It was much faded, and H. E. H. the Nizām of Hyderabad recently made a grant of money for its restoration, which has been carried out by the Public Works Department, Delhi, under the supervision of the

¹ *Ma'rūf* literally means famous, and this meaning is alluded to in the verse 9.b, wherein 'he gentleman expresses a hope to attain fame in the next world.

Archæological Department. To the north and east of the grave, the wall contains three screens of marble lattice work, the centre screen being larger than those on either side, while in the centre of the western wall is a gilded *mihrāb*. A wooden canopy (Plate III, b) hangs over the grave, and plated glass balls are suspended round it as ornaments, producing a very tawdry effect. The marble grave, which is kept covered with a pall, is surrounded by a balustrade of the same material measuring 8' 3" by 4' 4" and 1' 1" in height.

At the head of the grave on a wooden stand is placed a manuscript copy of the *Qurān* which is oddly described by Professor J. N. Sarkar as having been written by the emperor Aurangzeb.¹ The manuscript is dated 1127 A.H. (1715-16 A.D.), some nine years after the death of that emperor, and there is no internal or external evidence to indicate that Aurangzeb or any other Mughal emperor was in any way connected with it. The attendants of the shrine relate that the copy of the *Qurān* has been there for a very long time, but they have no knowledge of its origin.

The history of *Shāikh Nizāmu-d Dīn's* tomb, which has been repaired and added to from time to time, seems to be as follow :—

The saint was buried in the courtyard of the mosque which was built by him during his lifetime.² Soon afterwards, Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq erected a cupola over his grave.³ It was ornamented by his successor Fīroz Shāh, who writes "I also made the arches of the dome and the lattice work of the tomb of his holiness Sultānu-l Mushāikh Nizāmu-l Haq Waddīn—may God purify his grave—of *sandal* (wood), and hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome."⁴ It was rebuilt in the time of the emperor Akbar. Lal Beg, the author of *Thamarātu-l Quds*, who was the *Bakhshī* (paymaster) of the prince Murād, the second son of Akbar, writing in the year 1006 A.H. (1597-98 A.D.) says "Let it be known that the stone pavement of the court of his (*Shāikh Nizāmu-d Dīn's*) shrine together with the latticed stone screens and the dome of his tomb were finished during the eternal reign of Jalālu-d Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the king champion of faith, by his dignified nobles such as Bairām Khān, Ā'zam Khān, Mirzā Khān and Khūāja Jahān, etc."⁵ Apparently this refers to the re-erection of the central tomb chamber and Sayyid Farīdūn Khān, who put up at the head of the grave a marble slab engraved with the following inscription containing his name and the chronogram of the year 970 A.H. (1562-63 A.D.), seems to have been specially connected with the building operations.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (۱) شکر کہ در روضہ حضرت غوث الانام | از پی تعمیر شد خان فلک احتشام |
| (۲) مہر نسب را شرف ارج شرف را شہاب | سید عالی نسب میر ملک احترام |
| (۳) بانی ار ہاشمی ساعی او ہاشمی | آنکہ بدرزان شان مست سخن را نظام |
| (۴) از پی تاریخ آن چون متفکر شدم | کلک خرد زد رقم قبلہ گہہ خاص رعام |
| (۵) روز بدرگاہ او ار فریدون بصدق | شاید از الطاب پیر کار تو گردد تمام |

کاتبہ حسین احمد چشتی

¹ *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. I, pp. 5-6.

² *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 261 (b).

³ *Siyar-i Auliya*, p. 154; *Shajaratul Anwar*, folio 238 (b).

⁴ *Fatūhat-i Fīroz Shāhī*, folio 10 (b).

⁵ *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 263b-264a.

Translation.

“There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is his prophet.

- (1) Thanks (be to God) that the Khān of the dignity of the sky resolved to build the tomb of his holiness the Ghauth¹ of the world (Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn).
- (2) He (the Khān) is the glory of the sun of (his) family and a star of the height of honour, a Sayyid of high descent and a chief of the veneration of an angel.
- (3) Its (the tomb's) founder was a Hashmī (a descendant of Hāshim the ancestor of the Prophet) and its builder was (also) a Hāshimī, men in whose time flourish letters.
- (4) When I sought to find out its date, the pen of wisdom wrote ‘Qiblagāh² of nobles and commoners’ (i.e. all) (970 A.H.=1562-3 A.D.).
- (5) O Farīdun turn your face with truth towards his tomb, perchance by the favour of the saint your work may be accomplished.

Scribe of this Ḥusain Aḥmad Chishtī.”

In the year 1017 A.H. (1608-9 A.D.) Farīd Murtaza Khān raised over the grave a wooden canopy inlaid with mother of pearl and incised with the following inscription :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (۱) شیخ دہلی نظام را در فرید | کار دنیا و دین مهیا کرد |
| (۲) یک فریدش مقام فانی داد | یک فریدش مقام احیا کرد |
| (۳) مرتضی خان فراز مرقد ار | قبه چون سپهر برپا کرد |
| (۴) ابو فیروزی از جهان برخاست | در یکدانه در صدف جا کرد |
| (۵) بر جهان کعبه مربع ار | چار در از چهار حد را کرد |
| (۶) عرشه مرقد مبارک ار | بر زمین کار عرش اعلی کرد |
| (۷) عرش در پای چار قائمہ اش | چار تکبیر بے محابا کرد |
| (۸) هر که رخ از مقام ار تا بید | پشت بر کعبه معلی کرد |
| (۹) و آنکه در در سجود ار آورد | رخ چو آئینہ مصفا کرد |
| (۱۰) خاک روپ مقامش ار باشی | میتوان کار مد مسیحا کرد |
| (۱۱) سال تاریخ این بنا جستم | قبه شیخ عقل القا کرد |
| (۱۲) قدر بانی او رفیع کناد | آنکه این هفت سقف خضرا کرد |

Translation.

- (1) “For the Shaikh of Dehli (named) Nizām (u-d Din), two Farīds made ready all (that is required) in this world and in the next.
- (2) One Farīd gave him a transitory building, the other raised him to the position of everlasting life.
- (3) Murtaza Khān over his grave erected a dome (lofty) as the sky.
- (4) A blue cloud rose from the world, and a union dropped into the oyster shell.
- (5) On the earth his square tomb threw wide its four doors (for worship) in all its four sides.
- (6) The roof of the sacred tomb did the work of the high firmament on the earth.

¹ In the conventional language of mystics, the name Ghauth or Qutb is applied to the hierarch of the saints, who is supposed to be pre-eminently endowed with sanctity and with miraculous faculties. At his death his place is believed to be filled by another Ghauth.

² A place towards which Muslims look during prayer, hence the most sanctified place.

- (7) The sky on its four firm pillars repeated spontaneously the *takbīr* four times (*i.e.*, expressed wonder).
- (8) He who turned his face away from his place (grave) turned his back on the great Ka'ba,
- (9) And he who bowed his head to him made his face bright like a mirror.
- (10) Should you serve as sweeper of his place (grave) you are capable of the work of a hundred Messiahs.
- (11) I searched for the date of this fabric, wisdom gave as inspiration—'The dome of the Shaiikh' (1017 A.H.=1608-9 A.D.).
- (12) May he who built these seven green ceilings (heavens) increase the honour of the builder."

Khalīl-ullah Khān, entitled 'Umdatul Mulk, who was governor of Dehlī during the reign of Shāhjahān, built in the year 1063 A.H. (1652-3 A.D.) the verandah round the tomb,¹ the material being marble and red sandstone. The inscription on the second and fourth arches of the verandah towards the south referring to its erection and date runs as follows :—

در عهد اعلیٰ حضرت صاحبقران ثانی احقر العباد خلیل الله خان ابن میر میران الحسینی
نعمت الہی کہ حاکم شاہجہان آباد بود فی سنہ ۱۰۶۳ این ایوان را بر در و روضہ متبرکہ مرتب نمود

Translation.

"In the reign of his exalted Majesty Šāhib Qirān Thānī (the second Lord of happy conjunction, *i.e.*, Shāhjahān) the most humble of men (named) Khalīl-ullah Khān son of Mīr Mīrān Alhusainī Ni'matullāhī, who was the governor of Shāhjahānābād, erected this verandah round the blessed tomb in the year 1063 (1652-53 A.D.)."

In the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) 'Ālamgīr II put up the tablet bearing the following inscription, and possibly carried out other repairs and additions as well.

یا عزیز

- (۱) جو ہوے خادم نظام الدین کا دلہین اے غریب
- (۲) خادمی کی تھی عزیز الدین نے بالصدق و یقین
- (۳) مرض دل افکار میرے کا وہ صحت بخش ہی
- (۴) بس پریشان حال ہی اب خلق پر محبوب حق
- ارسے تئیں ہوتا ہی تاج خسروی جگمیں نصیب
- تاج شاہی ہند کا مجھ کو دیا ہی عنقریب
- بے غدار بے دعا بے دروازے بے طبیب
- فضل کر تقصیر وارزنیہ تم ہو حق کے حبیب

باہتمام ہوشیار علی خان غلام محلی سنہ ۱۱۶۹

Translation.

- (1) "He, who becomes the slave of Nizāmu-d Dīn with his heart, receives the royal crown of the whole world.
- (2) 'Azīzu-d Dīn (known as 'Ālamgīr II) performed the services of a slave with true faith; the kingly crown of Hind (India) has now been given me ('Azīzu-d Dīn).
- (3) Through him is healed my wounded heart without recourse to food, prayer, medicine or physician.

¹ *Shajaratul Anwār*, folio 238 (b); *Athār-u-ṣ Sanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, pp. 30-1.

(4) Much afflicted are the people now, O beloved of God (Nizāmu-d Dīn) ; confer favour on sinners, as you are a friend of God.

Under the supervision of Hoshyār 'Alī Khān the eunuch slave. The year 1169 (1755-6 A.D)."

The language of this inscription which is old Urdu deserves special notice.

In 1223 A.H. (1808-9 A.D.) Nawāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān of Fīrozpur replaced the red sandstone pillars of the verandah by others of marble,¹ and the curious parapet with its line of miniature domes is apparently of the same date. In the year 1236 A.H. (1820-21 A.D.) Faizullah Khān Bangash added the copper ceiling, ornamented with blue enamel, to the verandah.² The dome, as it now stands, was rebuilt by Akbar Shah II in 1239 A.H. (1823-4 A.D.). In the year 1300 A.H. (1882-3 A.D.) Khurshīd Jāh of Hyderabad erected around the grave a marble balustrade engraved with the following inscription :—

گذرانیدہ غلامان غلام فدیری محی الدین بہادر شمس الامرا امیر کبیر خورشید جاہ بہت و یکم
ماہ صفر المظفر سنہ ۱۳۰۰ ھجری

Translation.

"Offered by the slave of slaves and the devoted servant (named) Muḥaiyu-d Dīn Bahādur Shamsu-l Umarā Amīr Kabīr Khurshīd Jāh, on the 21st of the month of Safar the victorious, the year 1300 Hijra (1882-83 A.D.)."

Jamā'at Khāna.

The mosque known as Jamā'at Khāna (Congregation House), which forms the western side of the enclosure is the oldest monument at the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn. The account of its building, as given in several historical works, is contradictory, and it is hardly possible to say anything with certainty about the date of its erection or its founder. According to Farishta it was built by prince Khizr Khān, the heir-apparent of 'Alāu-d Dīn Khaljī and a disciple of the saint.³ Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, quoting the same authority, says that it was only the central compartment which was built by that prince, while the two side ones were added by the emperor Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq on his accession to the throne.⁴ On the other hand the author of *Thamāratu-l Quds* states that the saint built this mosque himself in a period of 30 years.⁵ The same author also says "Two marble slabs very clean and bright, are placed near the *mihrāb* instead of *muṣallah* (prayer carpet), and the Shaikh is known to have offered his prayer on them and said 'Whosoever will say prayer after me on these two slabs of stone, God shall hear him and immediately fulfil his desires.'⁶ A marble slab still lies fixed on the floor before the central *mihrāb* of the mosque, but this story is not known to any of the attendants of the shrine. Fīroz Shāh claims that he constructed this building when he decorated the tomb of the saint. He says "I erected a new building of Jamā'at Khāna, like which there was none at that place (at the shrine of Shaikh

¹ *Shajaratul Anwar*, folio 238 (b) ; *Athar-u-s Sanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 31.

² *Athar-u-s Sanādīd*, (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 31.

³ *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, pt. II, p. 394.

⁴ *Athar-u-s Sanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 38.

⁵ *Thamāratu-l Quds*, folio 264 (a).

⁶ *Ibid*, folio 264 (b).

Nizāmu-d Dīn) before.”¹ It was extensively repaired by the emperor Akbar, and an account of these repairs is recorded in *Thamarātu-l Quds* as follows :—

“ And the mosque which stands in the vicinity of the tomb was built by him, (Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn) during his lifetime in a period of thirty years as has been already related, but its stone was not dressed nicely. About the year 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.) a royal order was issued, and in a short time skilful masons, having dexterously cut the upper surface of the stone to the depth of two fingers, dressed it clean and gave it a pleasing finish. Many grand and big mosques are also to be found in other countries such as Kābul, Ghaznī, Gujrāt, Dakhan, Kashmīr and Mālwa, but none of them stands equal to it in beauty and elegance. Travellers and traders, who come over here after visiting various countries, admit the failings in the architecture of other mosques, and declare that they have seen no mosque so pleasing and beautiful as this.”²

The building constructed of red sandstone is a fine specimen of the *Paṭhan* style of architecture. It contains three compartments measuring 95' 9" north to south by 56' 6" east to west. The main central compartment, 38' 6" square internally, is crowned by a low dome rising from a polygonal battlemented drum, while each of the side ones measures 53' by 19' and is covered by twin domes. These domes, which are coated with plaster and whitewashed, are surmounted with marble pinnacles. The eastern façade (Plate IV, a), crowned with a row of spearhead battlements, is broken by three arches, which are ornamented with cusped soffits and Qurānic inscriptions. The side arches are closed by latticed stone screens 6' 6" high each pierced at the centre by a doorway, which gives access to the interior. The central bay projects a little from the main face of the building, and is embellished with bands of geometric carvings and Qurānic inscriptions, which enclose the arch. Recessed from this latter again is an arch, containing a doorway which gives access to the central compartment, and the upper portion of which above the doorway is closed by a latticed screen. On either side of this entrance is a latticed window ornamented with inscriptions from the Qurān, which are also found around the internal arches and *mihrābs*. In the west wall there are three *mihrāb* recesses, between the central and northern ones of which stands a red sandstone *mimbar* reached by two steps. The recessed arched pendentives (Plate IV, b) ornamented with cusplings and Qurānic inscriptions are of special interest and have been described by Mr. Beglar as “ the most beautiful in Delhi.”³ From the centre of the dome, which is lined with red sandstone, hangs an inverted cup said to be of gold, which the *Jāts* are said to have tried in vain to shoot down.⁴

The Persian inscription engraved on the east façade between the central and the southern arches does not make any reference to the building, but contains only the chronogram of the death of the saint. It runs as follows :—

(۱) نظام در گیتی شه ماء و طین سراج در عالم شده بالیقین
(۲) چو تاریخ فوتش بجستم زغیب ندا داد هائف شهزاده دین

¹ *Fatūḥat-i Fīroz shāhī*, 10 (b).

² *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 264 (a).

³ A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 75.

⁴ *Atthāru-s Sanādīd* (ed. Lucknow 1900), chapter I, p. 38 ; *Seven Cities of Delhi*, p. 59.

Translation.

- (1) "The administrator (Nizām) of two worlds, the king of water and earth surely became a lamp for both the worlds.
- (2) When I sought the date of his death, the praiser cried out from the invisible 'the emperor of religion' (725 A.H.=1325 A.D)."

Majlis Khāna.

The Jamā'at Khāna must not be confounded with Majlis Khāna (Assembly house), which is an uninteresting building of the Mughal period to the north. It measures some 32' by 25' internally, and consists of a *dālān*, two bays deep with three arched entrances on the south.

Tomb of Jahānārā.

To the south of the tomb of Shaikh Nizām-u-d Dīn, inside the enclosure of his shrine, are three marble tombs containing the graves of the members of the royal Mughal family. The westernmost one, adjacent to the south wing of the Jamā'at Khāna, is that of Jahānārā (Plate V, a) built by that princess during her lifetime.¹ It is an enclosure open to the sky and measuring 13' 9" by 11' 6" externally. The enclosing walls, which consist of pierced marble screens 8' in height, stand on a plinth 1' 1" high, and contain three bays on each of the four sides, the entrance occupying the central bay on the west. They are crowned by a parapet, perforated and carved with a floral design, while the four angles of the enclosure as well as the entrance are marked by slender marble pinnacles rising 4' 10" above the walls. The decorative parapet had been much damaged, but it was restored by the Archaeological Department in the year 1904.² Inside, the enclosure is paved with marble and contains four marble graves, the central one being that of Jahānārā. It is simple and of the usual shape with a shallow depression on the upper surface, in which grass is growing, and at the northern end stands a headstone, consisting of a marble slab 6' 7" by 1' 10½" (Plate VI, a) which bears the following inscription, written, it is said, by the princess herself :—

هو الحي القيوم

بغير سبزه نپوشد کسی مزار مرا که قبر پوش غریبان همین گیاه بس است
الفقیره الغانیه جهان آرا مرید خراجگان چشت بذت شاه جهان پادشاه غازی انارالله برهانه

سنه ۱۰۹۲

Translation.

"He is living and everlasting.

Let naught cover my grave save the green grass, for grass well suffices as a covering for the grave of the lowly.

The humble and mortal Jahānārā, the disciple of the Khūājas (preceptors) of Chisht, and the daughter of Shāhjahān the king and champion of faith, may God illuminate his demonstrations. The year 1092 (1681 A.D.)."

The inlay work on the headstone had been much mutilated, and the following extract from the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, referring to its restoration, will be of special interest here :—

"The decoration of this headstone had suffered much at the hands of visitors to the tomb. Originally the letters of the inscription were inlaid in black marble,

¹ *Mittāhu-t Tawārikh*, p. 248 ; *Atthāru-s Sanādāt* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 74.

² *Annual Progress Report*, 1903-4, p. 13 and appendix III ; 1904-5, p. 40.

with a foliated border of coloured stones around ; but almost all the tassellated pieces had been sacrilegiously picked out, and the adjoining surface of the white marble ground had been much chipped in the process. Of the coloured stones—agate, jasper, and malachite—it was fortunate that some small fragments still adhered in their places ; enough to make the restoration certain in every particular.”¹

To the east of Jahānārā’s grave is that of Mirzā Nīlī, the son of the emperor Shāh ‘Alam II, while to its west that of Jamālu-n Nisā, the daughter of Akbar II, the small grave at the foot of the last being of that lady’s child.

Jahānārā, the daughter of Shāhjahān and Mumtāz Maḥall, was born on the 21st Ṣafar 1023 A.H. (2nd April 1614 A.D.). She was first given the title of Begam Ṣāhib,² and then of Bādshāh Begam,³ and for a long time was the principal personage in the Royal Harem. She was a most amiable and accomplished princess, famous for her virtues, and the foundress of many charitable institutions, such as mosques and serais, the most important of which was the Jāmi‘ mosque at Agra.⁴ A magnificent caravansarai known after her as Begam’s Serai was built by the princess in Dehlī at Chāndn Chauk near her gardens, which have been renamed as Queen’s Gardens. The building has been greatly praised by Bernier⁵ and also by Manucci,⁶ from whom the following is quoted : “ This princess (Jahānārā) to preserve her memory, gave orders for the construction of a *sarāe* in the square, which is between the fortress and the city. This is the most beautiful *sarāe* in Hindustān, with upper chambers adorned with many paintings, and it has a lovely garden, in which are ornamented reservoirs. In this *sarāe* there put up none but great Mogul and Persian merchants. The king went to view the work that had been done for his beloved Begom Saeb (Begam Ṣāhib), and he praised her energy and liberality.” The serai is no longer extant, but from an old map of Shāhjahānābād in the Delhī Museum of Archæology⁷ we find that it stood at the place now occupied by the Town hall and the Municipal office buildings.

Jahānārā is also famous for her literary pursuits. Her favourite study was religion specially Sufism, and she was the authoress of a treatise entitled *Mūnisu-l-Arwāh*, which contains the biography of Khūājā Mu‘īnu-d Dīn of Ajmer, with brief notices on his chief disciples, the Chishtī saints, for whom she had great respect, as is also evident from her epitaph composed by herself. An incident in her life is related in connection with the establishment and growth of the British power in India. On the night of the 27th Muḥarram 1054 A.H. (5th April 1644 A.D.), as she was returning from her father’s apartments to the harem, her garments caught fire from a lamp, and she was severely burnt. For some time no hopes were entertained of her recovery, but an English physician named Gabriel Boughton, who was then at Sūrāt, was called in and restored her to health. Boughton, in reward for his services, was granted a patent enabling his countrymen to trade free throughout Shāhjahān’s dominions.⁸ On the

¹ *Annual*, 1902-3, p. 28.

² *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 391.

³ *Muntāẓhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 396.

⁴ *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 52 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 190.

⁵ *Bernier*, p. 281.

⁶ *Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 221.

⁷ *Catalogue*, p. 44, K. 2.

⁸ *Miftāḥu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 247-8 ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 189-90.

**Tomb of
Muhammad
Shāh.**

deposition of her father Jahānārā voluntarily shared his imprisonment in the fort of Agra and did much to console him in his adversity. She survived him for sixteen years dying on the 3rd Ramāzan 1092 A.H. (16th September 1681 A.D.).

Contiguous with the tomb of Jahānārā, to the east, is that of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh (Plate VII, *a*), who was the last of the line of Tīmūr to enjoy any semblance of power. He was born on the 24th Rabī'a I, 1114 A.H. (18th August 1702 A.D.) and crowned at Fathpur on the 15th of Zīqā'da 1131 A.H. (30th September 1719 A.D.).¹ The greatest event of his reign was the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh in the year 1151 A.H. (1739 A.D.), and the massacre of Delhī, which followed, is still remembered with horror as the greatest calamity that had ever befallen the imperial city. Muḥammad Shāh survived this disaster for eight years, and died on the 27th Rabī'a II, 1161 A.H. (26th April 1748 A.D.).²

The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh is set in a marble enclosure similar to that of Jahānārā. It measures 21' 4" by 15' 10" externally and is entered through a doorway on the east. The enclosing walls, which are composed of pierced marble screens 7' 2" high, contain five bays on the east and west and three on the north and south sides, and stand on an ornamented plinth 1' 2" in height. The four corners of the enclosure are marked with pinnacles, which also flank the doorway and central bay opposite to it on the west. The *guldastas*, at the top of these pinnacles, have now mostly disappeared. The arch head of the entrance is scalloped, and the spandrels are adorned with a floral pattern in low relief. The door, which is of marble in two leaves, is embellished with a floral design set in panels, three on each leaf of the door. The enclosure, paved with marble, contains several uninscribed graves of the same material, the largest which stands in the centre, being that of the emperor. The one immediately to the west is that of his wife Šāhiba Maḥall, while at the foot of the last is that of the wife of Nādir Shāh's son. The grave to the west of the latter is of the lady's infant daughter, and east of it lies Mirzā Jigrū, the grandson of Muḥammad Shāh, and further to the east of this again Mirzā 'Ashurī. The grave in the north-east corner is a nameless one.

**Tomb of Mirzā
Jahāngīr.**

Further east of the tomb of Muḥammad Shāh is that of Mirzā Jahāngīr (Plate VII, *b*), the eldest son of the emperor Akbar II. He was a frivolous young man and often caused much annoyance to the emperor, who consequently ordered Mr. Seton to arrest and send him as a prisoner to the fort of Allahabad. Mr. Seton posted British soldiers at various places in the fort of Shāhjahānābād, and took the prince under surveillance in the month of Sha'bān of the year 1224 A.H. (1809 A.D.). A few days after, he was escorted together with a few attendants of the seraglio to Allahabad fort, and was granted a monthly allowance of Rs. 500.³ Beale says that Mirzā Jahāngīr was sent to Allahabad by the English, in consequence of having fired a pistol at Mr. Seton, the Resident at Shāhjahānābād, and adds that the prince resided at Khusrau Bāgh for several years until his death in 1236 A.H. (1821 A.D.). He was first interred in the same garden, but subsequently his remains were brought to Delhī.⁴

¹ *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol. IV, p. 840; *Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 485.

² *Elliot*, Vol. VIII, p. 111.

³ *Tārīkh-i Muẓaffarī*, Vol. II, folio 112 (*a*).

⁴ *Miftāhu-t Tawārīkh*, p. 379; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 191.

The tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr, which was built by his mother Nawāb Mumtāz Maḥall,¹ consists of a marble enclosure measuring some 19' 6" by 14' internally. It is raised 3' 3" from the floor of the courtyard of the shrine of Shāikh NiẒāmu-d Dīn, and is reached by a flight of four marble steps. Two doorways on the east and west give entrance to the building, that on the west being provided with marble leaves carved in floral patterns. The corners of the enclosure are surmounted by marble *guldastas*, which also flank the doorways. The enclosure, which is paved with marble, contains four graves of the same material. The grave of Mirzā Jahāngīr, which lies in the centre, is profusely ornamented with floral carvings, and it may be noticed that it bears a *takhtī* the emblem of a woman's grave. It is said that the grave stone originally belonged to a woman's grave, but was placed over the remains of the prince on a dispensation being granted for the purpose by Muslim lawyers. The second grave lying to the west is that of Mirzā Bābar, the brother of Mirzā Jahāngīr. It also was not originally intended for its present position. The inscription which it bears refers to one Mīr Muḥammad, with the chronogram giving the date 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.). The inscription runs as follows :—

Grave of Mirzā
Bābar.

(۱) آن سید عالی نسب معدن جود دان بحر کرم کز ر جهان ... انبوت
(۲) فرزند علی میر محمد نامش چون میر محمد از جهان نقل نمود
(۳) تاریخ وفاتش زخرد پرسیدم گلزار بهشت جائے بادا فرود

Translation.

- (1) "That Sayyid of high lineage, the mine of beneficence, and that sea of generosity from which the world gathered....,
- (2) Is a descendant of 'Alī having Mīr Muḥammad for his name. When Mīr Muḥammad departed from the world,
- (3) I asked wisdom the date of his death, it said 'May the garden of paradise be (his) place.' "

The remaining two graves are insignificant, but it seems almost certain that they are of the members of the royal family.

The building immediately to the east of the tomb of Mirzā Jahāngīr is locally known as the house of that prince. It consists of a central open courtyard with two arched *dālāns* on the north and south, and is entered by a gateway on the east. In the *dālāns* and courtyard are several graves the one in the north *dālān* being that of Mirzā Bābar's wife. It is of marble and bears the following inscription on its head stone :—

House of
Mirzā
Jahāngīr.

Grave of Mirzā
Bābar's wife.

(۱) دریغا زوجه بابر بهادر یکایک زین جهان بیونا رفت
(۲) بهکم صاحب عالم زسالش بقا گفته که در دار البقا رفت

سنه ۱۲۴۴

Translation.

- (1) "Alas, the wife of Bābar Bahādur, repaired suddenly from this faithless world.
- (2) By order of Ṣāhib-i 'Ālam,² about the date of her death, Baqa said, 'She went to the everlasting world.'

The year 1244 A.H. (1828-9 A.D.)."

¹ *Aṭṭār-u-ṣ Ṣanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), chapter III, p. 100.

² *Ṣāhib-i 'Ālam* was a general title of Mughal princes. It is still borne by the descendants of the ex-royal Mughal family residing at Delhi.

**Grave of
'Khuāja 'Abdu-r
Raḥmān.**

An open court to
the east of the
enclosure of
Nizāmu-d Dīn.
Inscriptions on
the southern
doorway of the
court.

The grave of Khuāja 'Abdu-r Raḥmān lies in the courtyard of the house of Mirzā Jahāngīr, and the chief point of interest in it is that it is not aligned north to south according to the practice strictly observed by *Musalmāns*. The deceased was a disciple of Shaiḥ Nizāmu-d Dīn, and the local tradition says that he expressed his desire to be buried in such a direction that his face might remain towards the tomb of the saint.

The eastern wall of the enclosure of Shaiḥ Nizāmu-d Dīn, opposite to his tomb, is pierced by two small arched doorways, which give access to an open court containing several graves, two of them being inscribed. One of the doorways which lies to the south bears on the top a marble slab engraved on either face with an inscription referring to the death of one Mirzā Muqīm.

Inscription on the western face of the marble slab :—

(۱) انہا کہ بکوی قرب جا یافتہ اند کام دل خود پمدما یافتہ اند
(۲) این مرتبه دانی ز کجا یافتہ اند از شیخ نظام اولیا یافتہ اند
قایلہ میر نویدی نیشاپوری

Translation.

- (1) "Those, who have procured a place in the neighbourhood, have obtained the object of their heart according to their wishes.
- (2) Do you know wherefrom they have obtained this position? They have got it from Shaiḥ Nizām Auliya.

Composed by Mir Nawaidī of Naishāpur."

On the eastern face of the slab :—

(۱) فرزند مقیم بندہ حی قدیم جا کرد درین روضہ پو فیض و نعیم
(۲) اررا نبرد ز حشر اندیشہ و بیم چون ساکن فردوس برین گشت مقیم
قایلہ نویدی کاتبہ حسین نقشبندی

Translation.

- (1) "The son Muqīm, the slave of the living and immortal, took his seat in this tomb, which is full of grace and tranquillity.
- (2) He will have no anxiety or fear on the day of resurrection, when he became the resident of the high paradise.

Composed by Nawaidī and written by Husain Naqshabī."

**Grave of Mirzā
Muqīm.**

The grave of Mirzā Muqīm, which is of marble, lies inside the court facing the inscribed doorway. It is engraved with the following verse which contains his name and the date of his death :—

از جهان میرزا مقیم چو رفت نہصد ر شصت و هفت بد تاریخ

Translation.

"When Mirzā Muqīm departed from the world, the date was 967 (1559-60 A.D.)."

**Grave of Abul
Fazāil.**

Beside the grave of Mirzā Muqīm, to the east, is that of one Abul Fazāil, who is recorded in the inscription it bears to have been born at Kābul and died at Delhī, in the year 968 A.H. (1560-61 A.D.). The grave of Abul Fazāil also is of marble and the inscription engraved on it reads as follows :—

(۱) افسوس کہ شد نہان بشہر دہلی ماہی کہ محل طالعش کابل شد
(۲) آن تازہ نہال گلشن حسن و جمال بگذاشت جهان ربالکل فانی شد
(۳) تاریخ وفات آن گل آمد از غیب برباد ز گلشن مراد آن گل شد
وفات ابو الفضائل بن سید مراد در سنہ ۹۶۸

Translation.

- (1) "Alas! that the moon, whose rising place was Kābul, is concealed in the city of Dehli.
- (2) That young plant of the garden of beauty and elegance left the world and became mortal.
- (3) The date of the death of that rose was known from the invisible 'That rose is destroyed from the garden of Murād.'

Death of Abul Fazāil son of Sayyid Murād in the year 968 (1560-61 A.D.)."

Beyond the south wall of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn's enclosure there is another enclosure, which contains the tomb of Amīr Khusrau, the renowned Persian poet of India and a favourite disciple of the saint. It is surrounded on the south and east by arched compartments mostly occupied by the attendants of the shrine, and on the west, by a brick masonry wall. The precinct of Amīr Khusrau, which measures some 103' east to west by 56' north to south, is paved with red sandstone slabs, and is strewn with a large number of graves, some of which are inscribed and dated. It is connected with the enclosure of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn on the north by an arched doorway, which, according to an inscription fixed on it, was erected by one Jawāhar in the time of 'Alamgīr II. The inscription was covered by coats of whitewash, repeated annually on the doorway and enclosure walls on the occasion of the anniversary of the saint. It is written inlaid in black letters on a white marble slab and runs as follows:—

Enclosure of
Amīr Khusrau.

Northern
doorway.

یا عزیز
(۱) بدور سعد ابو العدل شاه عالمگیر بنای ساخت جواهر دربی برای ثواب
(۲) بهوشیار علیخان چه مزده هاتف داد کشاد باب کریم مفتاح الابواب
بچکانه محمداور خانم مرحوم
سده ۱۱۷۱

Translation.

O Glorious!

- (1) "During the auspicious reign of the father of justice, the king 'Ālamgīr, Jawāhar erected the door (as a religious work) for reward.
- (2) How joyful the tidings which the invisible crier gave to Hoshyār 'Alī Khān 'The generous opener of doors opened the door.' 4th (regnal year of 'Ālamgīr II). The year 1171 (1757-58 A.D.). The children of Mahaldār Khān the deceased."

The main entrance to Amīr Khusrau's enclosure is through a gateway on the east (Plate V, b) which was rebuilt by the wish of His Highness the Nizām of Hyderabad in the year 1298 A.H. (1881 A.D.). An inscription on the outer arch of the gateway, referring to its erection, runs as follows:—

Eastern
gateway.

(۱) بدرگاه محبوب رب محبوب بنگاشت دروازه فتح قریب
(۲) بحکم نظام خدیو دکن بسعی محمد رشید لبیب
(۳) بامداد هاشم حسینی لقب شد اتمام بے دخل رعیب رقیب
۱۲۹۸
(۴) چو سال بنایش بجستم زغیب ندا داد هاتف عجایب غریب

Translation.

- (1) "At the *dargāh* (tomb) of the beloved of God who listens (to the prayers of the faithful), this gate was built which has victory near it.
- (2) By the order of the Nizām, the king of the Deccan, by the efforts of Muḥammad Rashīd, the prudent.

(3) And by the assistance of Hāshim, entitled Hūsainī, it was completed without the intrusion or ill-will of a rival.

(4) When I enquired of the invisible the date of its erection, the invisible crier said 'Rare beyond measure.' 1298 (1881 A.D.)."

The west wall of the enclosure is also pierced by a doorway, but it is mainly for the use of the people residing immediately to the south and west of the shrine.

Tomb of Amīr Khusrau.

The tomb of Amīr Khusrau (Plate VIII, a) lies in a small enclosure 28' 6" by 20' 7" surrounded by red sandstone walls of lattice work. The enclosure, paved with marble, is entered through a doorway on the south, where it is partly roofed with stone slabs. The tomb chamber, which is oblong in plan, measures 16' 2" by 12' 6" externally, and is constructed of marble. It is covered by a vaulted roof, supported on 12 pillars and crowned by two *guldastas*, one at either end on the north and south. The space between these pillars is closed by latticed screens, the central bay on the south being open and serving as an entrance to the tomb. Outside the tomb chamber, to the north, stands an inscribed marble slab 7' 11" by 1' 6½" set up during the reign of the emperor Bābar, while on the south lies an uninscribed and unplastered grave said to be that of Shamsu-d Dīn Māhru, the son of Amīr Khusrau's sister. The marble grave of Khusrau in the centre of the building is enclosed by a marble balustrade. It is ever kept covered by a pall, and a cotton canopy hangs over it, tied with ropes to the four corners of the chamber.

The tomb of Amīr Khusrau, like that of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, has been added to at different times. It was the desire of the Shaikh that Khusrau should be buried beside him, but on the demise of the latter this was objected to. The following account of his burial, quoted from *Thamarātu-l Quds*, will be read with interest.

"When Khusrau died it was intended to bury him by the side of the Shaikh's grave. But one of the members of the royal family¹ (یکی از اربابی ملوک), who had great influence, objected to this, saying that in future it would cause difficulty for the people to distinguish the grave of the Shaikh from that of Khusrau. His real motive, however, was that he had built a dome for his burial near the tomb of the saint, and he did not like that any one might be interred between the two buildings. On account of this, Khusrau was buried at the place where his grave now lies. The man, who had raised the objection, was deputed on some business by the emperor (apparently Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq) to Deogīr, where he died. The dome built by him became an abode of bats and mendicants, until the emperor Humāyūn, who came on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn, passed through that dome, and on account of its filthy condition ordered its demolition."²

No building is known to have been erected at the grave of Amīr Khusrau until the reign of the emperor Bābar, when the inscribed marble tablet, mentioned above, was put up at its head. The inscription on this tablet also refers to the erection of a structure by Mahdī Khūāja, but gives no particulars as to its character. Carr Stephen and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, however, state that it was only the enclosing wall which was

¹ Farishta (pt. II, p. 403) says that the man who raised this objection was a eunuch holding the post of prime minister.

² *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 289 (a) and (b).

constructed by Mahdī Khūājā.¹ The inscription which contains several verses runs as follows :—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

زمین را ازین لوح شد سرفرازی بدران بابر شهنشاه غازی

Translation.

“There is no God but Allāh, and Muḥammad is his prophet.

The earth was honoured by this tablet in the reign of Bābar the emperor and champion of faith.”

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (۱) میر خسرو خسرو ملک سخن | آن محیط فضل و دریایی کمال |
| (۲) نثر او دلکش تر از ماء معین | نظم او صافی تر از آب زلال |
| (۳) بلبل مستان سرای بیقرین | طوطی شکر مقال و بے مثال |
| (۴) از پئی تاریخ سال فوت ار | چون نهام سر بزانوی خیال |
| (۵) شد عذیم المثل یک تاریخ ار | دیگرے شد طوطی شکر مقال |

Translation.

- (1) “Mir Khusrāu, the king of the kingdom of words (poetry), the ocean of accomplishment and sea of perfection.
- (2) His prose is more attractive than flowing water, his poetry is clearer than limpid water.
- (3) (He is) a peerless singing nightingale and an unparalleled sugar-tongued parrot.
- (4) For the date of his death, when I bowed my head above the knees of thought,
- (5) A chronogram occurred ‘peerless’ and another ‘Sugar-tongued parrot.’”

(725 A.H. = 1325 A.D.)

ز حرف وصل جانان سادر آمد لوح خاک من طریق ساده لوحی بس نشان عشق پاک من

Translation.

“The tablet of my dust is without even a word of hopes of a meeting with my beloved, simplicity is the only sign of my true love.”

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (۱) مهدی خواجه سید با جاه و جلال | شد بانی این اساس بے شبه و مثال |
| (۲) گفتم سعی جمیل مهدی خواجه | تاریخ بنائے این چو کردند سوال |

حرره شهاب المعماهی الهرزی

Translation.

- (1) “Mahdī Khūājā, a Sayyid of rank and dignity, became the founder of this matchless and incomparable building.
 - (2) I said ‘the good efforts of Mahdī Khūājā,’ when they enquired of me the date of the foundation of this building.
- It is written by Shihāb the enigmatist of Hirāt.”

¹ *Atthāru-ṣ Sanādīd* (ed. Cawnpore 1904), p. 58 ; Carr Stephen, p. 115.

The chronogram in the last verse does not reconcile with the other facts stated in the inscription. It places the erection of the building by Mahdī Khūāja in the year 897 A.H. (1491-2 A.D.) when Sikandar Shāh Lodī was on the throne of Delhi. Now Mahdī Khūāja was a brother-in-law of the emperor Bābar,¹ and he is not known to have come to India before the conquest of that country by Bābar in the year 932 A.H. (1526 A.D.). Nizāmu-d Dīn Aḥmad, the author of *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, describes the Khūāja as a generous and liberal young man, and he speaks of a conspiracy made by Amīr Nizāmu-d Dīn ‘Alī Khalīfa, the prime minister, at the time of Bābar’s death to raise him to the throne in place of Humāyūn.² Moreover Shihābu-d Dīn of Hirāt, the scribe of the inscription, came to India with the historian Khund Mir in the year 934 A.H. (1528 A.D.) and was introduced to Bābar in the beginning of 935 A.H. (September 1528 A.D.). These facts supported by the internal evidence of the inscription itself, the first verse of which refers to the erection of the tablet during the reign of the emperor Bābar, leaves no doubt that the building by Mahdī Khūāja was also constructed about the same time. The value of the chronogram apparently requires some addition to give the exact date, and similar instances are not uncommon in Persian chronograms, when the required dates are obtained by making an addition to or subtraction from their values, which operations are technically styled as *Ta’mīya-i Dākhila* and *Ta’mīya-i Khārija* respectively.

During the reign of the emperor Humāyūn in the year 938 A.H. (1531-2 A.D.) the inner enclosure was built and paved with marble, and a marble tombstone was placed over the grave.³ It was probably at this time that Humāyūn ordered the removal of the dome in order to improve the site.⁴ An inscription of this emperor dated 938 A.H. is to be found on the north and west walls of the enclosure. It, however, does not refer to the erection of any building.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (۱) شاه ملک سخن خسرو سر سالار درویشان | که نامش هست بر لوح جهان چون نقش درخارا |
| (۲) چنان در صورت خوبی سخن پرداز شد طبعش | که زبده دان ازان صورت بخوبی لوح معنی را |
| (۳) شد اغواش در بای تفکر رز محیط فضل | برین آرد در هاء معانی را ازان دریا |
| (۴) بسال پنجم پنجم و هفتم از هجرت حضرت | ز دارالملک دنیا کرد رحلت جانب عقبا |

عاقبت بخیر باد

- | | |
|--|--|
| (۵) بتقدیر الهی مرغ روحش سدره مارا شد | نداء ارجعی چون در رسید از عالم بالا |
| (۶) گذشته بود سی و هشت و نه صد سال از هجرت | بدرران همایون پادشاه غازی دانا |
| (۷) شهشاه که می شاید اگر کرر بیان دایم | دعای دولتش گویند نزن ربی الاعلی |
| (۸) رفیع القدر صاحب دولتی پاک که در عالم | نبون ست و نبا شد مثل او بی مثل و بی همتا |
| (۹) خدایا تاجهان باشد بدولت باشد و بادش | خداوند جهان یار و معین و ناصر الاعداء |

Translation.

- (1) “Khusrau the king of the kingdom of words and the head and chief of saints; whose name is (engraved) on the tablet of world like the mark on hard stone.”

¹ *Humāyūn Nāmah*, appendix B, p. 298 seq.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, pp. 193-4, see also Elliot, vol. V, pp. 187-8, and *Khulasatu-t Tawārīkh*, pp. 96-7.

³ *Ṭahammarāt-i Quds*, folio 29 (b).

⁴ *Supra* p. 22.

- (2) He (lit. his intellect) composed verses in such an elegant style that the tablet of meaning was adorned with it.
- (3) He dived into the sea of reflection and by the grace (of God) brought out the pearls of expression from it.
- (4) In the year five times five (25) and seven hundred from the flight of His Holiness (Prophet) he departed from this world to the next.
May his end be good.
- (5) By the divine decree Sidra (a tree in paradise) became the residence of the bird of his soul, when the call 'Irjā'ī'¹ (turn to me) reached him from the high world.
- (6) Nine hundred and thirty eight-years had passed from Hijrat to the reign of Humāyūn, the king and champion of faith, and the wise,
- (7) An emperor, so worthy, that the angels might well ever pray for his prosperity to the great God,
- (8) Of high rank, wealthy, and pure, like whom there has never been nor ever will be one so peerless or matchless.
- (9) O God ! as long as the world exists may he ever remain in prosperity, and may the Lord of the world be his friend, helper and defender against his enemies."

In the year 969 A.H. (1561-2 A.D.) Shihābu-d Dīn Aḥmad Khān one of the grandees of the court of the emperor Akbar erected a dome with latticed walls of red sandstone over the grave.² The present tomb was built during the reign of the emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1014 A.H. (1605-6 A.D.) by Khūājā 'Imādu-d Dīn Ḥasan, and an inscription consisting of various verses in praise of Amīr Khusrau and containing the name of the founder and the date, is engraved in one line running on the four walls at their top inside the building. There is also an inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr written on a marble tablet which is fixed on the northern wall. These inscriptions are copied below in the same order as they are found on the tomb.

On the east wall.

(۱) اے خسرو بے نظیر عالم با روضہ تو مرا نیاز است
(۲) تعمیر نمود طاهر انرا فیض ازلی ہمیشہ باز است
(۳) تاریخ بفاش عقل گفته با روضہ بگوکہ جائے راز است

Translation.

- (1) "O ! Khusrau, peerless in the world, I am a supplicant at thy tomb.
- (2) It has been built by Tāhir; eternal blessing is always found here.
- (3) Wisdom thus spake the date of its foundation, 'say to the tomb that it is a place of secrets.'"

On the north wall.

قایل این کلام و بانی این مقام طاهر محمد عماد الدین حسن ابن سلطان علی
سفرزاری هجری فی سنہ ۱۰۱۴ غفراللہ ذنوبہ و سقر عیوبہ الکاتب عبدالنبی ابن ایوب

¹ This refers to the verse 28 of Sura LXXXIX of the Qurān, which is as follows ارجع الی ربک راضیة مرضیة (Return to thy Lord well pleased and well pleasing).

² *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 291 (b).

Translation.

“The composer of these lines and founder of this building is Tāhir Muḥammad ‘Imādu-d Dīn Ḥasan son of Sultān ‘Alī Sabzwārī, in the year 1014 Hijra (1605-6 A.D.), may God forgive his sins and conceal his faults. The scribe ‘Abdu-n Nabī son of Aīyūb.”

On the west wall.

(۱) اے شربت عاشقی بچامت و ز دروست زمان زمان پیامت
(۲) شد سلك فرید از تو منظوم زانست که شد لقب نظامت
(۳) جارید بقاست بنده خسر چون شد بهزار جان غلامت

Translation.

- (1) “O thou! who hast the sweet drink of love in thy cup and receivest messages constantly from the friend.
 - (2) The house of Farīd is ordered by thee, hence is it that thou art entitled Nizām.
 - (3) Immortal is the slave Khusrau, for he with his thousand lives is thy slave.”
- On the south wall.

(۱) مرا نام نیک است و خواجه عظیم در شین و در لام و در قاف و در جیم
(۲) اگر نام یابی تو زین حرفها بدانم که هستی تو مرد فهمیم
کاتب مذکور نبیره شیخ فرید شکر گنج

Translation.

- (1) “My name is *Nek* (righteous) and ‘Great Khūāja’; [it contains] two *shīns*, two *lāms*, two *qāfs* and two *jīms*.
- (2) If you can evolve my name from these letters I shall know thou art a wise man. Scribe the same as mentioned above (‘Abdu-n Nabī son of Aiyūb) the grandson of Shaikh Farīd Shakar Ganj.”

The above riddle may be solved as follows :—

2 <i>shīns</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 × 300 = 600	خ (<i>Khe</i>).
2 <i>lāms</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 × 30 = 60	س (<i>Sin</i>).
2 <i>qāfs</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 × 100 = 200	ر (<i>Re</i>).
2 <i>jīms</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2 × 3 = 6	و (<i>Wao</i>).
									خسر (<i>Khusrau</i>).

Inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

بدور شهنشاه عالم پناه ابوالمظفر بادشاه عادل نورالدین محمد جهانگیر غازی خلد الله ملکه و
سلطانہ و فاض علی العالمین برہ و احسانہ

Translation.

“In the reign of the emperor, the asylum of the world, the father of victory, the just king (named) Nūru-d Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the champion of faith, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign and extend over all the worlds his beneficence and benevolence.”

In the year 1280 A. H. (1663-4 A. D.) one Miyān Jān offered the pair of copper plated doors on which he engraved the following Urdū inscription containing his name

and date. The inscription seems to have been written by an illiterate man who has committed a few mistakes in spelling.

On the west leaf of the door.

قطعہ تاریخ

(۱) امیر خسرو دہلی ہیں ایسے کہ اونکا در در جنت ہی اظہار
(۲) نکیزوں تائیر ہو اور فیض یہاں سے ہیں سرکار نظام الدین کے مختار
(۳) غریب و بندہ مسکین میانجان محب و خادم الفقرا وفادار
(۴) بصنعت ارسنہ بابدر یہ تنویر کیا سنہ بارہ سو اسی میں تیار

Translation.

“Verses of a chronogram.

- (1) Amīr Khusrau of Dehlī is such that his door is like the door of paradise.
- (2) Why should not supplicant at his tomb be favoured, for he is the minister of the court of Nizāmu-d Dīn.
- (3) The poor and humble servant Mīyān Jān, who is a faithful friend and servant of the poor.
- (4) Erected these bright doors in the year 1280 (1663-4 A.D.).”

On the east leaf of the door.

(۱) زہ عزو شرف گر کیجی مقبول امیر خسروی مقبول یزدان
(۲) مراد دل ملے اور دل ہو تنویر چہرہ تاندرہ جرزئی میانجان

Translation.

- (1) “What honour and dignity if you accept them (the doors). O! Amīr Khusrau, dear to God.
- (2) Mīyān Jān offers the pair of doors; may he achieve the heart's wishes, and may his heart be illuminated.”

In the year 1303 A. H. (1886 A. D.) Muḥaiyu-d Dīn Khān of Hyderabad erected the pierced marble balustrade round the grave and inscribed his name and date on it.

گذرانیدہ غلامان غلام فدوی محی الدین خان شمس الامرا امیر کبیر خورشید جاہ بستم
رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۳۰۳ ہجری

Translation.

“Offered by the slave of the slaves the humble Muḥaiyu-d Dīn Khān Shamsu-l Umarā Amīr-i Kabīr Khurshīd Jāh on the 20th of august Ramazān in the year 1303 Hijra (22nd June 1886 A.D.).”

Amīr Khusrau was the chief disciple and friend of Shāikh Nizāmu-d Dīn. His real name was Abul Ḥasan, Khusrau being his nom-de-plume. Amīr Ṣaifu-d Dīn Maḥmūd, the father of Khusrau was of Turkish extraction, and migrated to India from Balkh. He was given a place at court, and took up his residence at Muminābād now known as Paṭyālī,¹ where Khusrau was born in the year 651 A.H. (1253-4 A.D.).² At the

Short
biography of
Amir Khusrau.

¹ Paṭyālī is a small town in Etah district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

² *Tārīkh-i Farīshṭa*, pt. II, p. 402; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 219.

age of eight during the reign of the emperor Balban, Khusrau went in company with his father and brother to Shaikh Nizāmu-d Dīn and became his disciple.¹ Shortly after this Amīr Ṣaifu-d Dīn was killed in a battle and Khusrau, who was then nine years old² was taken under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather 'Imādu-l Mulk. At the age of 20 he lost his grandfather also, and he entered the service of Daulat Khān Mu'azzam Khān commonly known as Chhajjū Khān. Later on he went to Samāna, where he received an imperial order to proceed to Lakhnauti,³ but soon after Khusrau and his friend Khūāja Ḥasan took service with prince Muḥammad Sultān better known as Khan-i Shahīd, the eldest son of Ghiyāthu-d Dīn Balban and the governor of Multān and Sindh, the former having been the keeper of the *Qurān* and the latter of the inkpot.⁴ Ziyā-i Barni writes the following about this eminent prince and the appointment of Khusrau under him.

“The court of Muḥammad Sultān was frequented by the most learned, excellent, and accomplished men of the time. His attendants used to read to him the *Shāh Nāmāh*, the *Dīwān-i Thānāi*, the *Dīwān-i Khāqānī* and the *Khamsah* of Shaikh Nizāmī. Learned men discussed the merits of these poets in his presence. Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan were servants at his court, and attended upon him for five years at Multān, receiving from the prince allowances and grants of land. The prince fully appreciated the merits and excellences of these two poets, and delighted to honour them above all his servants. I, the author of this work, have often heard from Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan that they had very rarely seen a prince so excellent and virtuous as Khān-i Shahīd (Martyr Prince).”⁵

The story of the prince's death in a battle against the Mughals when Khusrau was made prisoner by them is related by the same author as follows :—

“In the year 684 A.H. (1285-6 A.D.) the Khān of Multān, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the Sultān (Balban) and the mainstay of the state, was engaged in a battle with Tamar,⁶ the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changez Khān, between Lahore and Deopālpur. By the will of fate, the prince with many of his nobles and officers fell in that battle, and a grievous disaster thus happened to the kingdom of Balban. Many veteran horsemen perished in the same battle. This calamity caused great and general mourning in Multān, and from that time the Khān of Multān was called Khān-i Shahīd (Martyr Prince). Amīr Khusrau was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an elegy on the death of Khān-i Shahīd.”⁷

After his release from the Mughals, Khusrau entered the service of Amīr 'Alī Jāma Dār,⁸ whom he has much eulogized in his poems. Later on the emperor Jalālu-d Dīn

¹ *Tārīkh-i Farīshṭa*, pt. II, p. 402.

² *Ibid.*, p. 402; *Khazīnatu-l Asfīyā*, vol. I, p. 340. In the preface of the *Ghurraṭu-l Kamāl* quoted in *Thamarātu-l Quds* (folio 291 (b) seq) Khusrau writes that he was only 7 years old when his father died.

³ *Thamarātu-l Quds*, folio 292 seq.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Farīshṭa*, pt. II, p. 402.

⁵ *Ziyā-i Barni*, 66-7; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 110.

⁶ *Elliot* (vol. III, p. 122) reads this name as 'Samar.'

⁷ *Ziyā-i Barni*, p. 109-10; *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 122.

⁸ *Jāma Dār* literally a keeper of wardrobe; probably Amīr 'Alī held this post in the royal court.