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Raja Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Raja of Chamba

CATALOGUE
OF THE
BHURI SINGH MUSEUM
AT
CHAMBĀ.

(CHAMBĀ STATE, PANJAB.)

BY

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CALCUTTA :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1909

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PREFACE.

My explorations carried on in Chambā State since the summer of 1902 led to the discovery of a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions both on stone and metal. It soon became apparent that special measures were required for the preservation of these ancient documents, most of which possess great interest for local history, and it was His Highness Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., who first suggested that a Museum would be the best means for preserving those relics of the past.

In 1908 one of the public buildings suitably situated on the *Chaugān* was set apart for the purpose, and I devoted part of the summer of that year to arranging, labelling and cataloguing the exhibits. Several inscribed stones which, owing to their position, were in danger of being damaged or lost, had already been collected in previous years in the course of my tours, which covered nearly the whole of the State. To these were now added a number of ancient title-deeds engraved on copperplates which the owners consented to place in the State Museum on loan. A third branch was formed by important State papers including some beautifully written Persian *Sanads* addressed to the Rājās of Chambā by the Durānī kings of Kābul. The personal interest taken in the matter by His Highness the Rājā, as well as by the State officials, made it possible to enlarge on the original scheme of a purely epigraphical collection, and to add other sections pertaining to local art and industry. His Highness presented to the Museum a large number of ancient Indian pictures representing partly historical and partly mythological subjects. At the same time Captain Sri Kanth Baratru, whom the Rājā had wisely placed in charge of the new institution, brought together a valuable collection of ancient armour and embroideries, including some fine specimens of the well-known Chambā *rūmāls* which he generously gave to the Museum on loan. Some interesting specimens of ancient wood-carvings I had been fortunate enough to rescue from the State *Kōthī* at Brahmor after its collapse in the earthquake of the 4th April, 1905.

On the 14th September, 1908, the State Museum was opened by Mr. R. E. Younghusband, C.S.I., Commissioner of Lahore, in the presence of a large assembly of European visitors and State officials. On his proposal it was decided that the Museum should be named after Rājā Bhuri Singh who had both initiated the project and lent his support to carry it into effect.

J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.,

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Archæological Survey,
Northern Circle.*

LAHORE :

The 9th January, 1909.



Chamba Town from Manglā.

RULES.

1. The Bhuri Singh Museum of Chambā State, founded in September, 1908, is intended to contain objects relating to the history of the State, products of local art and industry, and natural history specimens found locally. Objects from neighbouring States and Districts which are historically connected with Chambā will be included.

2. It will consist of the following sections :—

- A. Inscriptions and sculptures in stone.
- B. Inscriptions on metal.
- C. Documents on paper.
- D. Pictures.
- E. Photographs.
- F. Woodcarving and woodwork.
- G. Ancient weapons.
- H. Embroideries and textiles.
- I. Ornaments.
- J. Miscellaneous objects.
- K. Natural history specimens.

3. The Museum will be in charge of a Curator whose appointment for the time being will be honorary. He will be responsible for the upkeep of the Museum building, and for the proper custody of the exhibits.

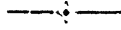
4. The Curator will be assisted by an Assistant Curator who will keep an accurate register of the objects acquired for the Museum, with particulars regarding their find-spot or place of origin. This register should be kept in duplicate, one copy being kept in the Museum building and the other in the office of H. H. the Rājā. All such objects should at once be numbered in continuation of the present catalogue.

5. Objects of special antiquarian value such as copperplates, *sanads*, will be kept in a fire-proof safe, and will only be shown to visitors by special permission of H. H. the Rājā.

6. The lighting of fires and smoking inside or close to the Museum building will be strictly prohibited. A notice to that effect should be placed at the entrance of the building.

7. The Museum will be open to the public daily from 8 to 11 A.M. and from 3 to 6 P.M. in summer, and from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M. in winter.

CATALOGUE.



A.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURES.

[The stone inscriptions preserved in the Chambā Museum represent two distinct classes: they either belong to temples or to fountains. Those of the former kind are necessarily few in number as it would be objectionable to remove such epigraphs from shrines which are used for worship and kept in proper repair. I wish, however, to note that the oldest and at the same time most perfect inscription (No A, I) in the Museum records the consecration of a Siva temple by a local chieftain or Rāñā,* who must have held sway in the Sāhō valley previous to the foundation of Chambā town, in the 10th century of the Christian era.

The next three numbers are inscriptions on stone images which originally must have stood in temples, but were found buried at the village of Tur, in the Basu *parganā*. It appears from one of these inscriptions that this village was once the seat of a Rāñā who owned allegiance to the Rājā of Chambā. It is dated in the reign of Rājā Vidagdha who was the grandson of Sāhulla, the founder of Chambā, and must have been in power in the latter half of the 10th century. The Museum contains also a copperplate charter (No. B2) issued by Vidagdha himself.

Nearly all other stone inscriptions in the Museum collection belong to the second class. These "fountain inscriptions," which are peculiar to Chambā, deserve special mention. Sportsmen and tourists who visit the more remote parts of the State will notice huge stone slabs carved with quaint figures and decorative devices. They are most common in Churāh and Pāngī. Usually such stones are provided with a square opening through which a water-spout is passed, so as to collect the water of the spring in a cistern constructed in front of the slab. In several cases these fountain-stones bear inscriptions, from which it appears that they were, as a rule, erected by Rāñās for the future bliss of deceased relatives (*paralokārtham*). Usually the inscriptions are dated in the reign of the Rājā of the time.

As these stones were placed in the open, most of them are now broken or damaged. The Museum possesses only one complete specimen (No. A, 34), while another (No. A, 6), which was found broken in several pieces, has been refixed. All the others are more or less fragmentary. It should be noted that some of the finest fountain-stones could not be removed to Chambā owing to their size and position.

A fountain enclosure at Dēvī-Kōthī has yielded no less than three inscriptions, all of which are now placed in the Museum (No. A, 9-11). A fourth inscription, containing the first half of a eulogy in Sanskrit poetry, has disappeared. It is said to have been carried off by a lama.

I have given a transcript and English translation of the two most important inscriptions (No. A, 1 and 10) in Appendix II.]

A, I.† Stone slab (1' 10½" by 11¼" by 6½") from Sarāhan, *parganā* Sāhō. It is inscribed on two sides with an inscription in twenty lines, consisting of twenty-two stanzas of very elegant Sanskrit poetry. It is remarkable both for its excellent preservation and fine execution. Most of the inscription is devoted to the praise of a lady Somaprabhā (Moonlight) by name, a daughter

* On the Rāñās of the Panjāb Hills, see my note, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1908, p. 536.

† For a transcript and English translation of this inscription see beneath Appendix II, A.

of the Chief of Kishkindhikā (the ancient name of the Himgiri *pargaṇā*). She was married to Sātyaki, the son of Bhogaṭa, evidently a local Rājā who ruled part of the Sāhō valley. Her husband, "in order to establish an unshaken friendship between her and the Mountain-daughter (Pārvatī)," built a temple to the moon-crowned Śiva. The temple referred to is perhaps that known by the name of Chandra-śekhara (the moon-crowned one), which exists at Sāhō not far from the place where the inscription was found. The inscription is not dated, but, judging from the character, it may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century. It must belong to a period before the foundation of Chambā town, when independent Rājās still held sway in the valleys of the Rāvī and its tributaries. It is probably the oldest Śāradā inscription existing.

A, 2. Stone image stand (2' 3½" by 1' 3" by 6") from Tur, *pargaṇā* Basu. It bears a Sanskrit inscription in six lines, which records the erection of an image by a local chief named Thakkika, who must have been a vassal of the Rājā of Chambā. This may be inferred from his dating the inscription in the first year of the reign of Vidagdha* who was the grandson of Sāhilla, the founder of Chambā. Vidagdha must have reigned in the latter half of the 10th century. The epigraph is also of interest, as it mentions Brahmor, the ancient capital of the State, by its Sanskrit name Brahmapura.

A, 3. Stone image stand (3' by 2' 1" by 7½") from Tur, *pargaṇā* Basu. It bears an inscription in three lines, which records the erection of an image of Kārttikeya by Rājā Dodaka, the son of Vidagdha, mentioned in the previous inscription (A, 2). It may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

A, 4. Stone image (1' 11" by 1') from Tur, *pargaṇā* Basu. It represents a standing four-armed goddess, probably Pārvatī, the spouse of Śiva. One of the two left hands is missing, and the carving is much defaced generally. The figure seems to hold a trident in one of her right hands and a snake in the preserved left hand. A lion, the vehicle (*vāhana*) of the goddess, rests at her feet. On the base is an inscription in three lines, too much obliterated to be deciphered.

A, 5. Stone slab (4' 9" by 1' 10" by 2") from Bhakūṇḍ, *pargaṇā* Tisā, *wazārat* Churāh. It stood originally at a spring, as appears from the inscription which says that it was erected in honour of Varuṇa, the god of the waters, by Paripūrṇa, the son of Bhośarman, "fearing with the fear of existence." This expression implies that the erection of the fountain stone was regarded as a pious act which would increase the religious merit (*punya*) of its author, and thus lead to his deliverance from transmigration (*saṃsāra*). The inscription is dated in the fourth year of the Śāstra era† and in the reign of Trailokya-deva. This name does not occur in the genealogical list of the Rājās of Chambā. Most probably Trailokya-deva was a ruler of the neighbouring State of Balor (Sanskrit Vallūpura), as the name Trailokya occurs on the genealogical list of the Balor Rājās shortly before Kalaśa, who is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgi‡ as a contemporary of Aṃanta of Kaśmīr (A.D. 1028-1063). Trailokya-deva is also mentioned in the two fountain inscriptions of Naghai and Dādṅvār, both belonging to Churāh. From the date of the Dādṅvār inscription (No. A, 6)

* A complete list of the Rājās of Chambā is given in Appendix I.

† In dates expressed in this era the figure or figures indicating the century are regularly omitted. To obtain the corresponding year of the Christian era 24 or 25 has to be added.

‡ Rājatarāṅginī is the name of the famous chronicle of the ancient kings of Kaśmīr, composed by Kalhaṇa about A.D. 1150. It has been edited and translated into English by Dr. M. A. Stein under the title *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, Westminster, 1900; 2 volumes.

it can be calculated that he lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. The date of the Bhakūṇḍ fountain-slab must, therefore, be A.D. 1028-29.

A, 6. Stone fountain-slab (6' 3" by 3' 2") from the village of Daḍvār, *pargaṇā* Tīsā, *wazārat* Churāh. Like No. A, 5, it was erected in honour of Varuṇa, the god of the waters, whose effigy is shown over the spout opening. The rest of the slab is covered with decorative carvings. In this case also the donor was a Brahmin : his name was Bhoga, the son of Saihila. The inscription is dated in the year 17, and in the reign of Trailokya-deva. Though the figures expressing the century are omitted, there is reason to assume that the inscription belongs to the 11th century. If so, its date must correspond to Thursday the 30th April, A.D. 1041.

A, 7. Fragmentary stone fountain-slab (1' 9½" by 1' 4") from the village of Bāṇḍōtā, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Tikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. It contains the name of Rājā Soma-varman, the son and successor of Rājā Sālavāhana. The latter was deposed by Ananta, the king of Kāśmīr, as stated in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VII, 218). Soma-varman must therefore have lived about the middle of the 11th century A.D. His name occurs also on two copperplates, once alone and once associated with that of his brother and successor Āsaṭa.

A, 8. Stone fountain-slab (2' 8½" by 1' 8½") from Lōh-Tikrī, in Churāh. It is carved with a lotus-rosette which must have occupied the centre of the stone, when entire. On each side of it is an inscribed panel, that on the proper left being partly destroyed. The inscription is dated in the ninth year of the reign of Jāsata whose name occurs in the genealogical roll of the Chambā Rājās, and who is frequently mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī as a supporter of his kinsman Bhikshāchara, the Kāśmīr pretender. The accession of Jāsata fell in A.D. 1105. The date of the Lōh-Tikrī inscription is therefore A.D. 1114.

A, 9. Stone statuette (1' 2½" by 8¾") of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu from a ruined fountain enclosure at Dēvī Kōṭhī, *pargaṇā* Bera, *wazārat* Churāh. It is three-faced, the side faces being those of a boar and a lion, probably an allusion to the boar and man-lion incarnations. The god is seated on his vehicle, the divine bird Garuḍa, and holds his spouse Lakshmī on his left knee. Originally the image must have had four arms with the usual attributes—the mace, the wheel, the lotus and the conch—but only the mace can still be traced. The Nārāyaṇa figure is placed in a little ornamental chapel. The carving of the sculpture is much defaced. On the base is an inscription in two lines which records that this Nārāyaṇa image was made by order of Rājā Nāga-pāla, who, as will appear from the next inscription (No. A, 10), was a vassal of Rājā Lalita-varman of Chambā, and lived in the middle of the 12th century A.D.

* A, 10. Stone slab (1' 6½" by 10½") from the same ruined fountain enclosure at Dēvī Kōṭhī as the previous number. It was let into the back wall to the proper left of the Nārāyaṇa image. A corresponding slab, placed to the right of the image, has unfortunately been lost. The slab in the Museum contains consequently only the second half of the inscription, and even of this half a large portion is destroyed. This is the more to be deplored as the inscription possesses great interest both literary and historical. It contains the history of the local Rājā Nāga-pāla, also mentioned in No. A, 9. After his father's death, his mother Bahā wished to become *satī*. But he held her back, and she devoted the rest of her life to pious works. "She reduced her body [by fasting]" the inscription says, "and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor, and her devotion to Kṛiṣṇa." In memory of her husband she

* For a transcript and English translation of this inscription see beneath Appendix II, B.

built the fountain enclosure in which the inscription was placed. It further mentions that Nāga-pāla received the title of Rājā* from his liege-lord, Lalitavarman of Chambā. The inscription is dated in the 17th year of the reign of that Rājā, i.e., in A.D. 1159-60. It was composed by the Rājā's *guru* Kamalālāñchhana, and does great credit both to his knowledge of Sanskrit and his poetical skill.

A, 11. Stone top-slab (1' 10" by 5½" by 10") from the same ruined fountain enclosure as Nos. A, 9-10. It was placed over the Nārāyaṇa image. The inscription is dated in the reign of Rājā Raṇa-pāla, the year 2, the month Āsvina, the eighth day of the dark fortnight, on Wednesday. Presumably the Rājā Raṇa-pāla, mentioned in the inscription, was a ruler of Balor (Sanskrit Vallāpura) the neighbouring hill state in the lower Rāvī valley. It appears from this and other inscriptions (cf. above No. A, 5 and 6) that the Balauriā Rājās gained temporary possession of Churāh in the 11th and 12th centuries.

A. 12. Fragmentary stone fountain slab (2' 2" by 5' 7") from Batrūṇḍī, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Ṭikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. There is a local tradition that the cistern to which this fragment belonged, was destroyed by the invading army of the Rājā of Basōhī in the second half of the 18th century. On this fragment two rows of rudely carved figures are partially preserved. In the middle of the upper row is Varuṇa, the god of the waters, in whose honour fountain slabs like the present were erected. On both sides of Varuṇa is a female figure, probably a river-goddess, standing with a vessel in each hand. At the ends of the upper row we find two clumsy horsemen. In the lower row we notice an archer and two swordsmen fighting. The inscription, incised on two panels on both sides of the horsemen, is almost completely obliterated.

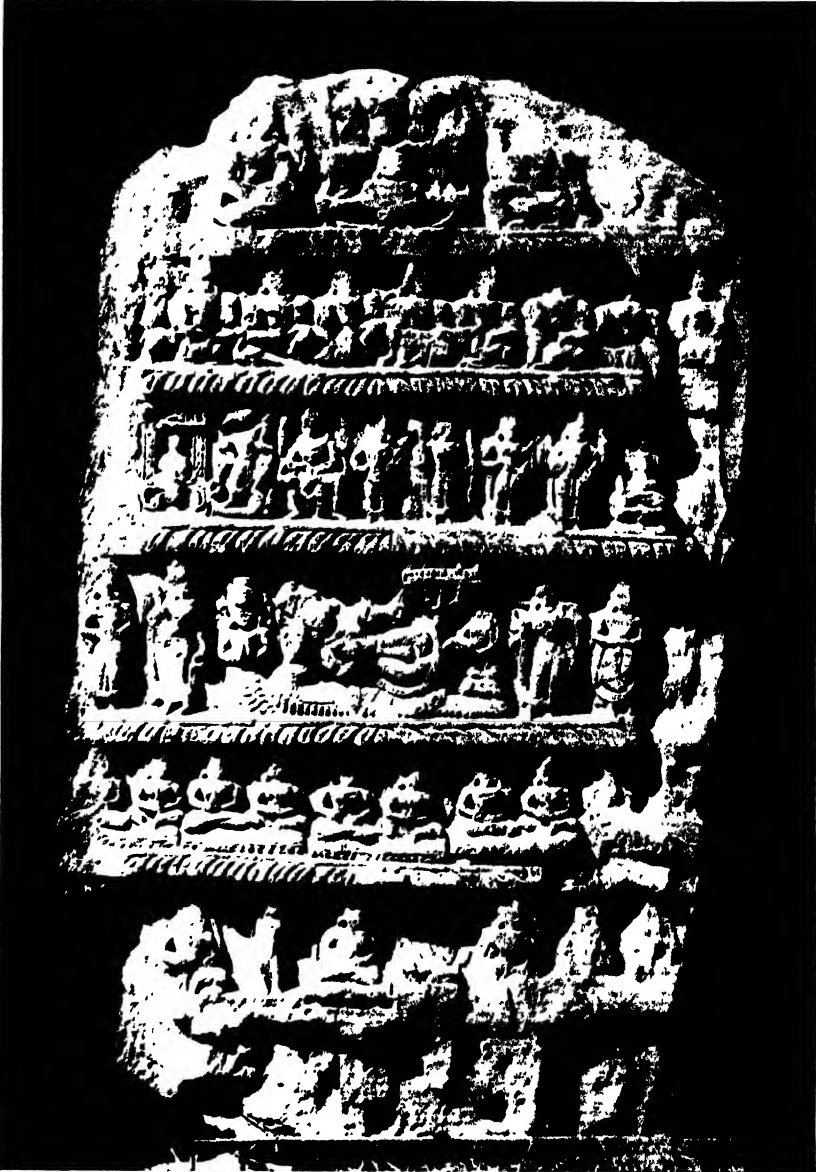
A, 13. Fragment (1' 2" by 2' 1") of a fountain slab from Mangaloa, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Ṭikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. It is carved in the usual fashion with a lotus-rosette and other decorative devices. Originally it must have had two inscribed panels, but only that on the proper left side is partially preserved. It contains two stanzas in very corrupt Sanskrit in which the merit of pious works is extolled.

A, 14. Fragment of a fountain slab (3' 1" by 3' 4") from Sīyā-Dudhār, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Ṭikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. The proper right portion of the stone with one-half of the inscription is lost. The remaining fragments are carved with a figure of Varuṇa, the god of the waters, which must have occupied the centre of the slab, when entire, and with two lotus-rosettes. Between the upper lotus and the Varuṇa figure is an inscribed panel containing the second half of the inscription. It mentions that the stone was set up by an individual of the name of Phringo, apparently for the sake of his deceased brother.

A, 15. Stone fountain slab (3' 2" by 3' 8") from Bhaṭkārā, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Ṭikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. It is decorated with three lotus-rosettes, of which one is placed over and two at the sides of the spout opening. That to the proper left is missing. The inscription, which is cut on two nearly square panels on both sides of the upper lotus, is almost obliterated. It informs us that the slab was erected by an individual of the name of Dhaṇa "fearing with the fear of existence."

A, 16. Fragment (1' 8" by 2' 3") of a stone fountain slab from Sukōi, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Ṭikrī, *wazārat* Churāh. The panel containing the inscription must have occupied the centre and was flanked by two lotus-rosettes, of which that on the proper left side is lost. Half the inscription is also missing.

* The word *rājānaka* meaning a *rājā* is lost, but can be restored with next to full certainty.



Carved Slab from Chamba Town, (Cat. No. A. 18).

A, 17. Fragment (2' 6" by 2') of a fountain slab from Nāl near Tisā, *parganā* Tisā, *wazārāt* Churah. It is carved with three rows of clumsy figures, separated by dwarf pilasters. In the upper row is a horseman: in the central row two women with a child. An inscription in three lines runs along the horizontal raised rims which separate these rows of figures. It is dated in the reign of a rājā whose name is unfortunately lost.

A, 18. Stone slab (3' 3" by 2' 2") excavated in 1906 in the Kashmiri Muhalla, Chambā City. It is carved with seven rows of figures all more or less defaced. Uppermost are the three gods of the Hindu Trinity. In the centre the four-armed Vishṇu riding on the Garuḍa and holding Lakshmī; to his right Brahmā seated on a goose, and to his left Śiva on the bull Nandi. The second row consists of the nine Grahas, *i.e.*, the Sun, the Moon, the five planets, Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), and Saṅiścara (Saturn); the Eclipse demon Rāhu, and the Comet Ketu. Each of these figurines is seated on its peculiar vehicle (*vāhana*). The third row represents the ten incarnations (*avatāra*) of Vishṇu, to wit: (1) the fish (missing), (2) the tortoise (placed in a door-frame surmounted by Lakshmī and her two elephants), (3) the boar (lifting the Earth on his left elbow), (4) the man-lion (disembowelling the demon king Hiranyakaśipu), (5) the dwarf (holding a parasol?), (6) Paraśurāma or Rāma with the axe, (7) Rāma, holding a bow, (8) Kriṣṇa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalkī, the future incarnation (lost). The fourth row of figures represents the sleep of Vishṇu, symbolizing the rainy season when the sun is invisible. Vishṇu is shown reclining on the serpent Śeṣha ending in a human bust which folds the hands in the attitude of adoration. Lakshmī is seated at the feet of her lord. Two attendants, one carrying a fly-whisk, stand on each side. The three remaining rows seem to contain human figures, probably the donor of the sculpture with two relatives and attendants. The stone probably served the purpose of a fountain slab, as the subjects of the carvings are similar to those found on fountain stones at Brahmor and Chhatrārhi. (Cf. plate II.)

*A, 19. Fountain slab (4' by 2' 4") from the village of Luḍu, *parganā* Panjila, *wazārāt* Chambā, five miles from Chambā Town on the road to Jamvār. It is decorated with three rosettes. On both sides of the spout are the traces of an inscription.

A, 20. Fountain slab (3' 7" by 2') from Luḍu decorated with two rosettes and birds.

A, 21. Fountain slab (2' 6" by 1' 9") from Luḍu carved with three rows of seated figures. In the top compartment is the four-armed Śiva seated on his bull between two conch-shells. The first figure of the central row is Gaṇeśa. The lowermost row consists of five figures, presumably the donors of the stone.

A, 22. Fountain slab (2' 1" by 1' 5") from Luḍu, carved with two rows of seated figures. In the upper row we find Śiva on his bull and two other deities, one male and the other female. The second row consists of four figures, two male and two female, probably representing the donors. The stone is provided with an ornamental spout.

A, 23. Fountain slab (2' 2" by 1' 3") from Luḍu, carved with a male figure worshipping a *liṅga*. Above is a medallion, with three faces such as is usually found in the pediments of temples. The stone is provided with a plain spout.

A, 24. Fountain slab (1' 7" by 1' 1½") from Luḍu, carved with two seated figures, male and female. Above is a *liṅga* between two conch-shells.

A, 25. Fountain slab (1' 5" by 11½") from Luḍu, carved with two seated figures, male and female. Above is a *līṅga*.

A, 26. Fountain slab (1' 6½" by 11½") from Luḍu, carved with two rows each of three seated figures. A *līṅga* above.

A, 27. Fountain slab (1' 3" by 9") from Luḍu, with one seated figure. Above is a *līṅga*.

A, 28. Fountain slab (3' 5" by 2' 11") from the village of Bāṇōṭā, *pargaṇā* Lōh-Tikri, *wazārat* Churāh. In the centre is the figure of Varuṇā, the god of the waters. To his right is a horseman armed with sword and shield, and to his left a woman standing with a water-vessel in her left hand. We may assume that these two figures represent the Rāṇī and his wife who erected the slab. The rest of the stone is carved with decorative devices; above is a lotus-rosette, over the spout are two birds and at the sides two dwarf pilasters.

A, 29. Fountain slab (1' 10" by 1' 8") from the village of Dhundh or Dhundhi in the *pargaṇā* of the same name, Chambā *wazārat*. It is carved with two rows each of seven standing figures, men and women mixed. The men hold an arrow in their right and a bow in their left hand. The women either carry water-vessels or they hold their hands joined in front of the breast in the attitude of adoration.

A, 30. Stone slab (2' 3" by 1' 5") from the village of Dyōl in Trēhtā, *wazārat* Brahmor. It was placed over the entrance of the State Kōṭhi which was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April, 1905. In the centre is the image of Gaṇeśa, four-armed and holding his usual attributes. On both sides is an inscription in Tākari, which contains the names of Rājā Uday Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) and of some of the local officials.

A, 31. Stone slab (3' 7" by 1' 3") from the village of Salūṇi, *pargaṇā* Mañjir, *wazārat* Churāh. It stood in front of a Śiva temple. It contains an inscription of nine lines in Nāgari, but the lettering is so indistinct that it is impossible to make out the contents. The inscription is dated both in the Śaka and in the Vikrama era, the year being expressed in word-numerals. The Śaka year is 1794 and the Vikrama year 1929, both corresponding to A.D. 1872.

A, 32. Stone image (ht. 1' 5") of Guggā, from the village of Jagatī, *pargaṇā* Raṅhūn Kōṭhi. The worship of Guggā appears to be based on historical fact, as he is said to have been a Rājput warrior of the Chauhān clan who fell in battle with the Muhammadans. One might call him the Cid Campeador of India. In the course of time many mythical elements have been added to the Guggā legend. The story says that, after his head had been severed from the body, he still went on fighting. In the Panjāb and Rājputānā the hero Guggā is extensively worshipped, and songs are sung in which his exploits are described. In Chambā he is usually designated by the name of Maṇḍalīk. For further particulars regarding the Guggā worship see Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, vol. xiv, p. 81.

Among the Chūdāsamī princes of Girnar in Kāthiāvār we find five rājās of the name of Maṇḍalīka, the first of whom joined Bhīmadeva of Gujarat in pursuit of Maḥmūd of Ghazni in A.D. 1023.* As the name Maṇḍalīka does not occur in any other Indian dynasty, we are led to the conclusion that the name Maṇḍalīk, by which Guggā is known in Chambā, is derived from that borne by the princes of Girnar, who finally succumbed in their struggle with the Muhammadans.

* M. Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 284.

A, 33. Stone image (ht : 5½") of a goose from Raṅhūn Kōṭhī. It was kept in the State Kōṭhī, but no information is forthcoming regarding its origin and purpose, except that it is said to have belonged to the Rāṅās who once resided in that place. Possibly there was a figure of some deity (Brahmā or Sarasvatī) on the back of the animal where the stone shows a fracture.

A, 34. Stone fountain-slab (5' 4" by 3' 3" by 4") from the village of Dhundh or Dhundhī, *parganā* Dhundh. Over the spout is a lotus-rosette, and on each side the figure of an elephant. Over the left-hand elephant is a bird decoratively treated, and on the corresponding place to the right an inscribed panel. Unfortunately the lettering is too much obliterated to allow of decipherment.

A, 35. Stone slab (1' 11" by 1' 4") from the village of Svāimī, *parganā* Himgiri. It is carved with a figure of Vishṇu—seated on his vehicle, the bird Garuḍa. The god wears a halo, a crown (Sanskrit *mukuta* or *kirīṭa*) and long locks, whence he is called Keśava. He is three-faced, the side faces being those of a lion and a boar (cf. above No. A, 9). He has four arms, whence his name "the four-armed one" (Sanskrit *Chaturbhujā*). Two hands hold a wheel and a conch, whilst the other two are placed on the heads of miniature attendants. The latter hold each a fly-whisk or *chourie* (Sanskrit *chāmara*) and a mace.

B.- INSCRIPTIONS ON METAL.

[From remote times it has been the custom in India to engrave important documents on plates of copper. Especially was this the case with pious donations made by the ancient Hindu rulers to Brahmīns or temples. Grants of land engraved on copper have been found all over India, and are of great help in reconstructing the history of India previous to the Muhammadan conquest. In the Panjāb such documents are extremely rare, which is perhaps partly due to the early establishment of Moslem rule. The abundance of copper-plate inscriptions in Chambā is all the more remarkable. The custom of issuing such documents was kept up by the rulers of Chambā all through the Muhammadan period, and has only recently been discontinued. The number of inscribed copperplates found in the State must amount to nearly one hundred and fifty.

The most important of them historically have now been deposited in the Museum, where they are kept in a safe and will be accessible to any one desirous of studying them. They include five plates of the pre-Muhammadan period. Earliest in date is a charter (No. B, 1) issued by Yugākara-varman, the son and successor of Sāhilla, the founder of Chambā town. It dates back to about A.D. 950, and records a grant of land to the temple of Narsingh at Brahmor (called *Brahmapura* in the inscription), the ancient capital of the State. The temple is still extant, but suffered much in the earthquake of the 4th April, 1905.

Next comes a title deed (No. B, 2) of Yugākara's son, Vidagdha, who must have lived in the latter half of the tenth century. It is curious that up to the present day the land granted is held by the descendants of the original grantee, who live in the village of Suṅgaḷ (named *Sumangala* in the inscription) a few miles from Chambā up the Sāhō valley.

There is another copperplate (No. B, 3) ascribed to the same ruler, but evidently a forgery of a much more recent date. This is obvious from the character used, which is that employed in title-deeds of the Muhammadan period. There is reason to assume that the forger partly copied a genuine plate of Vidagdha which is no longer extant.

The copperplate inscriptions of the Muhammadan period show a marked deterioration both in scholarship and workmanship; they possess, however, historical interest, as they enable us to fix the approximate date of all Rājās of Chambā from about A.D. 1300. Most numerous are the plates of Rājā Balabhadra (A.D. 1589-1641) who is said to have carried his liberality to the Brahmīns to such an excess that he had to be temporarily deposed. No less than forty-two copperplates granted by this Rājā have come to light, ten of which are now preserved in the Museum (Nos. B, 20-29). One among them (B, 22) is exceptional in that it records no grant of land, but the appointment of a certain Brahmīn as the Rājā's family-priest. Rājā Balabhadra extended his generosity even to his cook who is the donee of a grant issued shortly before his death (B, 29).

A copperplate (B, 36) of a comparatively modern date but of great historical interest, contains a treaty between the warlike Rāj Singh of Chambā and his powerful

neighbour Sansār Chand of Kāngrā. It is dated from the latter's camp at Nadaun *Samvat* 1845 (A.D. 1788). I may add that six years after this agreement Rāj Singh fell in battle with the Kāngrā troops at Nērti, near Shāhpur (Kāngrā District). On the spot where this event took place, a temple was built, and up to the present a *melā* is held there on the anniversary of Rāj Singh's death.]

*B, 1. Copperplate (1' 1½" by 8½") issued by Yugākara-varman, the son of Sāhilla-varman, in the tenth year of his reign (about A.D. 950). It records a grant of land to the temple of Narsingh at Brahmapura, now Brahmor, the ancient capital of the State. Present owner Mutalvi, *pūjārī* of the Narsingh temple. (Cf. plate III.)

B, 2. Copperplate (1' 5" by 1' 1") issued by Vidagdha, the son of Yugākara-varman, in the fourth year of his reign (about A.D. 964). It records a grant of land at Sumaṅgala, now Suṅgal, to a Brahmin named Nandu(ka). Present owners Dīdō Dēvidyāl, etc., Brahmins at Suṅgal, *parganā* Gudyāl, who still enjoy the grant.

B, 3. Copperplate (10½" by 6") alleged to have been issued by Vidagdha, but in reality a forgery of the Muhammadan period. It was probably partly copied from a genuine document. It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village of Sai, *parganā* Gudyāl, and is now in possession of Byaja, a Brahmin resident of the said village.

B, 4. Copperplate (1' 2½" by 10½") issued by Soma-varman, the son of Sālavāhana, in the seventh year of his reign (about A.D. 1067) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It records a grant of land at Kulikagoshtha, now Kulait, in the *parganā* of Trighatṭaka, modern Trēhṭā, in the upper Rāvī valley. This as well as the next plate (B, 4) contains an extensive eulogy in praise of Sāhilla, the founder of Chambī town, and extols his victories over the Kīras, the Saumaṭikas and the ruler of Durgara, *i.e.*, Dugar, the country of the Dōgrās. The document mentions the names of the Rāpās Rihila and Kōhila who held the offices of Prime Minister and Great-Recordkeeper. Present owners Thalaman, Jungī, etc., Brahmins and *pūjārīs* of the Kārtik-Svāmi temple at Kulait, who still possess the land.

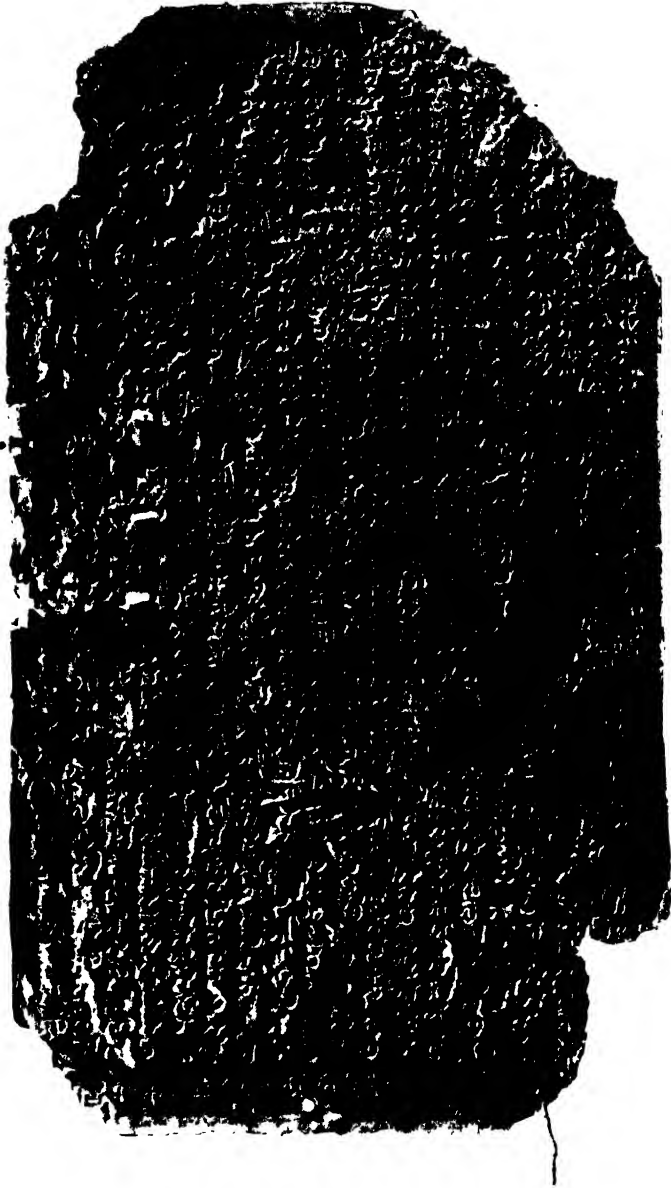
B, 5. Copperplate (1' 6" by 1') granted by Soma-varman and issued by his brother and successor Āsaṭa in the first year of the latter's reign (about A.D. 1080). It records a grant of lands situated in various villages round Chambī town to the temples of Vishṇu, Hari (another name for Vishṇu), and Śiva, and mentions the ancient names of the *parganās* adjoining the capital. The document contains the same eulogy on Sāhilla which is found in B, 4, and mentions in addition a victory reported by that ruler over the Turushkas (Turks), *i.e.*, the Muhammadans. The plate belongs now to the temples of Champāvattī and Hari Rūi in Chambā City which enjoy the grant.

B, 6. Copperplate (1' 1½" by 9½") issued by Āsaṭa, the son of Sālavāhana, in the fifth year of his reign (about A.D. 1085). It records a grant of land in the Bhaṭṭāraka *parganā* to a Brahmin named Mācha. Present owner Jasu, a Brahmin at Thundhu-Mundhu, *parganā* Gudyāl.

B, 7. Copperplate (10" by 8") issued by Vairāsi-varman in *Sāstra-samvat* 6, Vikrama-samvat 1387 (A.D. 1330). It records a grant of land at the village of Gurōli, *parganā* Gudyāl. Present owner Lōchā and other Brahmins at the said village.

B, 8. Copperplate (7½" by 6") issued by Bhoṭa-varman in *Sāstra-samvat* 73, Saka-samvat 1318 (A.D. 1396). It records a grant of land at the village

* Inscriptions B 1-2 and 4-6 have been preliminarily edited in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* for 1902-3, pp. 244-271.



Copper plate of Yuga-kara. Cat. No. 4. 1

of Bhaisā (?), now Mhesa, *parganā* Lihl, now Lihl. Present owner Maṅgā, Ghīnku, and other Brahmins at Mhesa.

B, 9. Copperplate (10½" by 8") issued by Bhota-varman, the son of Māṅkya-varman. Without date. It records a grant of land at the village of Jungurāra, now Jungharār, in Chaturāha, now Churāh. Present owner Chanaṅ, a Brahmin resident of the said village.

B, 10. Copperplate (11" by 5½") issued by Saṅgrāma-varman in Śaka-saṁvat 1316, Śastra-saṁvat 70 (A.D. 1395). It records a grant of land and belongs to a Brahmin named Gokal in the Bakāṅ *parganā*. The plate is broken in two and much burnt.

B, 11. Copperplate (12½" by 6½") issued by Saṅgrāma-varman; without date. The last owner is a Brahmin, Siv Karṅ by name, in the village of Miṅdhā, *parganā* Pañjalā. On his death the grant lapsed.

B, 12. Copperplate issued by Ananda-varman in Śaka-saṁvat 1403, Śastra-saṁvat 57 (A.D. 1481). It records a grant of land at Uhām, *parganā* Melhā, and belongs to a Brahmin named Atrā, a resident of that village.

B, 13. Copperplate (5½" by 4½") issued by Gaṇeśa-varman in Śāstra-saṁvat 88, Śaka-saṁvat 1434 (A.D. 1512). It records a grant of land at the village of Ghuretha, *parganā* Bhariyā, and belongs to a Brahmin named Gharathu Prabhdya.

B, 14. Copperplate (1' ½" by 8½") issued in the reign of Gaṇeśa-varman by his son and co-regent Pratāp Singh in Śastra-saṁvat 34 (A.D. 1558) on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Badarī Nāth and Kēdār Nāth. It records a grant of land at the village of Chahnaya (now Chuhn in Bhaṭṭi?) and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṅa in Chambā City.

B, 15. Copperplate (10" by 6½") issued by Gaṇeśa-varman and by his son and co-regent Pratāp Singh in Śāstra-saṁvat 34 (A.D. 1558). It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village Mohḍaya, *parganā* Hubārā in Bhaṭṭi and belongs to Jyotishī Chandramaṅi.

*B, 16. Copperplate (11" by 8½") issued by Bahādur Singh of Kuḷū in Śāstra-saṁvat 35 (A.D. 1559) on the occasion of the marriage of his three daughters Sunu, Gangā and Raṅgo. It records a grant of land at the village of Hāṭ near Bajaurā and other localities in Kuḷū. The grantee was Paṇḍit Ramāpati, the son of Paṇḍit Surānand, and *Guru* to the Rājā of Chambā. The plate is now in possession of the present Rājaguru, Paṇḍit Mōhan Lāl, who is a descendant of the original donee.

B, 17. Copperplate (1' 3" by 9½") issued by Pratāp Singh in Śāstra-saṁvat 51 (A.D. 1575) on the occasion of the hibernal Solstice or Makara-saṁkrānti. It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village of Thananā, *parganā* Bhariyā, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṅa in Chambā City.

B, 18. Copperplate (1' by 10") issued by Pratāp Singh in Śāstra-saṁvat 51 (A.D. 1575) on the occasion of the hibernal Solstice or Makara-saṁkrānti. It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village of Thananā, *parganā* Bhariyā, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṅa in Chambā City.

B, 19. Copperplate (1' by 7½") issued by Pratāp Singh in Śāstra-saṁvat 62 (A.D. 1586). It records a grant of land to a Brahmin, and belongs to the Purohit Baru Didō.

* The inscription was edited in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey for 1903-4*, pp. 261-269, with a facsimile.

B, 20. Copperplate (1' 2" by 11") issued by Balabhadra, the son of Virabhāna and grandson of Pratāp Singh, in Śāstra-saṁvat 65, Vikrama-saṁvat 1646 (A.D. 1589). No less than forty-two copperplates of this Rājā are known, of which the present one is earliest in date. It records a grant of land to the Rājā's *guru* Rāmāpati Pūrṇānand, and is in possession of the present Rājaguru Paṇḍit Mōhan Lāl.

B, 21. Copperplate (1' 3" by 10½") issued by Balabhadra in Śāstra-saṁvat 68, Vikrama-saṁvat 1649 (A.D. 1592). It records a grant of land at the village of Kōṭlā, *parganā* Sāhō, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B, 22. Copperplate (1' 6" by 8¼") issued by Balabhadra in Śāstra-saṁvat 75, Vikrama-saṁvat 1656 (A.D. 1599). It records the appointment of the Brahmin Išvara as the Rājā's family priest, and is now in possession of the donee's descendant Purōhit Mānsā.

B, 23. Copperplate (1' by 8¼") issued by Balabhadra in Śāstra-saṁvat 83, Vikrama-saṁvat 1664 (A.D. 1607). It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village of Pura, *parganā* Sāhō, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B, 24. Copperplate (1' ½" by 10") issued in the reign of Balabhadra in Śāstra-saṁvat 89, Vikrama-saṁvat 1600, *read* 1670 (A.D. 1613). It records a grant of land by his son, the heir-apparent Janārdan, at the village of Maṅgalūr, now Maṅgarōl, *parganā* Sāhō, and belongs to Gōpālu Sañju.

B, 25. Copperplate (9½" by 8") issued by Balabhadra in Vikrama-saṁvat 1686, Śāstra-saṁvat 5 (A.D. 1629). It records a grant of land to a Brahmin at the village of Miḍaghā, *parganā* Chūnh, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B, 26. Copperplate (9½" by 6½") issued by Balabhadra in Vikrama-saṁvat 1688, Śāstra-saṁvat 7 (A.D. 1631). It records a grant of land at the village of Lāhrā, *parganā* Bhaṭṭi-Tikri, and belongs to the State.

B, 27. Copperplate (10" by 5") issued by Balabhadra in Vikrama-saṁvat 1698 (*read* 1689), Śāstra-saṁvat 8 (A.D. 1632). It records a grant of land at the village of Pañjyārā, *parganā* Sāch, and belongs to Chhunphanān Poṛhi, Māngnu and others.

B, 28. Copperplate (9½" by 8½") issued in the reign of Balabhadra in Vikrama-saṁvat 1693, Śāstra-saṁvat 12 (A.D. 1636). It records a grant of land to a Brahmin by the Rājā's son Mān Singh at the village of Gaḍōḍ, *parganā* Jasōr, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B, 29. Copperplate (1' 1" by 10½") issued by Balabhadra in Vikrama-saṁvat 1697, Śāstra-saṁvat 16 (A.D. 1640). It records a grant of land to the Rājā's cook at the village of Kumhārō, *parganā* Sāhō, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. It is the last plate but one of Balabhadra.

B, 30. Copperplate (9" by 7½") issued by Prithvi Singh in Vikrama-saṁvat 1698, Śāstra-saṁvat 17 (A.D. 1641). It records a grant of land to the temple of Chāmuṇḍa Dēvi at Mind'ial in Pāngī, and is still the property of that shrine.

B, 31. Copperplate (10½" by 7½") issued in the reign of Prithvi Singh in Vikrama-saṁvat 17 [0] 2, Śāstra-saṁvat 21 (A.D. 1645). It records a grant of land by the Rājā's wetnurse Dāi Batulā at the village of Bhujalā, *parganā* Bakān, and belongs to Nikā Sibaṇotar.

B, 32. Copperplate (7¼" by 6¼") issued in the reign of Prithvi Singh in Vikrama-saṁvat 17 [0] 2, Śāstra-saṁvat 21 (A.D. 1645-6). It records a grant of land by the Rājā's wetnurse Dāi Batulā at the village of Sarāhan, *parganā* Sāhō, and belongs to the Brahmin Magnā, a resident of that village

B. 33. Copperplate (11½" by 10") issued by Prithvī Singh in Vikrama-samvat 1702, Śāstra 21 (A.D. 1646). It records a grant of land at the village of Gaila, *parganā* Naḍha (now Rājnagar), and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B. 34. Copperplate (10" by 8½") issued by Chhattar Singh (here called Satru-simha) in the fifteenth year of his reign or Vikrama-samvat 1734, Śāstra-samvat 54 (A.D. 1678). It records a grant of land to a Gōsāin at the village of Samot, *parganā* Dyuhr, and belongs to the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

B. 35. Copperplate (1' 4½" by 8½") issued by Amrit Pāl, Rājā of Basōhli,* on the occasion of his invasion of Chambā territory. It is dated Vikrama-samvat 1831, Śāka-samvat 1696 (A.D. 1774), and records a grant of land at the village of Surdāni (?) *parganā* Dīhur or Dyuhr. It belongs to Jyōtishī Chandramāṇi.

B. 36. Copperplate (10½" by 6½") dated from Camp Nadaun in Kāngrā in Vikrama-samvat 1845 (A.D. 1788) and recording a treaty between Rāj Singh of Chambā and Sansār Chand Kaṭōch of Kāngrā. It belongs to the State.

C.—DOCUMENTS ON PAPER.

[The Museum contains a small but interesting collection of State papers which represent all that remains of the ancient archives of Chambā. Of special interest are the Persian documents which throw considerable light on the relations between the Chambā Rājās and their suzerains—the great Muḡhals and the Durānīs. Covering the period from the middle of the 17th till the end of the 18th century, they reflect the rapid decline of Muḡhal influence in the Panjāb Hill States, and the desultory appearance of Durāni supremacy.

Earliest in date is a letter (C, 1) of A.H. 1058 (A.D. 1648) in which a boundary dispute, between Prithvī Singh of Chambā and his neighbour Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli, is settled in favour of the former by the imperial delegate. It belongs to a period—Shāh Jahān's reign—when the Hill Chiefs fully acknowledged the authority of the Imperial Court and submitted their quarrels to the arbitration of their suzerain at Delhi.

The next letter (C, 2) was issued nearly a century later, a few years after the invasion of Nādir Shāh, which dealt such a crushing blow to Muḡhal sovereignty. It bears the seal of Zakariyya Khān, the well known governor of Lahore, and confers the *parganā* of Paṭhyūr in Kāngrā as a *jāgīr* on Rājā Dalēr † Singh of Chambā.

This donation is confirmed by a letter (C, 3) addressed to Dalēr Singh's successor, Rājā Umād Singh, by Ahmad Shāh Durāni in A.H. 1175 (A.D. 1762). Thus the authority of the kings of Delhi had ceased to exist in the Panjāb and the Hill Chiefs had not been slow in tendering their allegiance to the newly risen power.

In reality, however, Afghān rule was only nominal in the Hills. This is evident from a letter issued by Ahmad Shāh in the same year regarding the seizure of Charī in Kāngrā by the Chambā Rājā. Both letters belong to the time of Ahmad Shāh's sixth invasion of the Panjāb.

Next in date is a letter from Ahmad Shāh's son and successor Timūr Shāh who had succeeded his father on the throne of Kābul in 1773. Timūr invaded the Panjāb in 1777, and on this occasion Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā hastened to offer his services and invite the Afghān king to pay a visit to "that country" (probably the Panjāb). In his reply Timūr Shāh praises the Chambā Rājās for their loyalty to his house, and promises that he will accept Rāj Singh's invitation when time permits.

Last of the series is a letter issued by Shāh Zamān who had succeeded to the Kābul throne in 1793. It is dated in Rajab A.H. 1211 (January 1797)—the time when Shāh Zamān had occupied Lahore—and is addressed to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā, who is instructed in it to perform the services of the Diwāni in conjunct action with the Rājā of Jammū.]

C, 1. *Sanad* in Persian regarding a boundary dispute between Prithvī Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1641-1664) and Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli, in which it is set forth that the *parganā* of Bhalai belongs to Chambā territory. It

* The Museum possesses a portrait of this Rājā (see beneath p. 29, No. D, XI).

† This ruler is known in Chambā under the name of Dalēr Singh, the form *Dalēr* being a corruption of Persian *Dalār*.

bears the autographs in Tānkarī of Rājā Pṛithvī Singh and various officials, and some seal impressions in Persian. Its date is the 19th of the month of Safar A.H. 1058, corresponding to the 5th March A.D. 1648.

C, 2. *Sanad* in Persian issued under the seal of Zakariyya Khān, Governor of the Panjāb in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. In it the *parganā* of Pathyār in the Kāngrā district is bestowed as a *jāgīr* on Rājā Dalēr Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1735-1748) on account of his loyalty to the king of Delhi. It is dated in the 27th year of the reign of Muhammad Shāh (A.D. 1719-1748) and on the 5th of the month of Safar A.H. 1157 corresponding to the 7th March A.D. 1744.

C, 3. Royal *Sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Aḥmad Shāh Durānt, by which the *parganā* of Pathyār in the Kāngrā district is confirmed as a *jāgīr* on Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1748-1764) on the recommendation of Rājā Ranjit Dēv of Jammū who is described as a relative of the Chambā Rājā. The date is the month of Ziqa'dah, A.H. 1175, corresponding to May-June A.D. 1762. It was, consequently, issued at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's sixth invasion of the Panjāb, and shortly after his victory over the Sikhs at Kōt Rahira near Ludhiānā, in February 1762 (cf. Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, p. 283 f).

C, 4. Royal *Sanad* in Persian, in which Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1748-1764) is admonished to make over to Saif 'Alī Khān, the Governor of Kāngrā, the revenue of certain lands belonging to the village of Charī in the Kāngrā district of which "certain persons" (apparently the Rājā himself) had taken possession. The letter is dated in the month Rabīu-l-awwal A.H. 1176, corresponding to September-October A.D. 1762, and, therefore, falls (like No. C, 3) in the time of Aḥmad Shāh's sixth invasion of the Panjāb.

This is evidently the letter referred to by Mr. Barnes in the *Kangra Settlement Report* (cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 98), but it is clear that it was issued by Aḥmad Shāh Durānī and not by his namesake, the king of Delhi, who was blinded and deposed on the 5th June A.D. 1754.

C, 5. Royal *Sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Timūr Shāh and addressed to Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1764-1794) in answer to a letter in which the Rājā had offered his services to the king and invited him to visit the country. In his reply the king praises the rulers of Chambā for their devotion to him and his father "nestled in Paradise," and promises that, when time allows, he will accept the Rājā's invitation. The document, which is composed in very high-flown language, is dated on the 18th of the month Rabīu-ṣānī, A.H. 1191, corresponding to the 26th May A.D. 1777, and, consequently, falls in the time of Timūr Shāh's invasion of the Panjāb in A.D. 1777 (Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 290).

C, 6. Royal *Sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Shāh Zamān and addressed to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1794-1808) who is instructed in it to perform the services of the Diwānī in conjunction with Rājā Sampūran Dēv of Jammū. The document is dated in the month of Rajab A.H. 1211 corresponding to January 1797, the time when Shāh Zamān had taken possession of Lahore, in the course of his third invasion of the Panjāb (Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 301 f).

C, 7. Title-deed in the local dialect and in Tānkarī characters, by which Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā confers the *parganā* of Dhundhī on his Wazīr Zōrāwar in recognition of services rendered by him in Jūṇḍh (perhaps in connection with the war between Chambā and Basōhī which ended with the conquest of the latter place by Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782). The document is dated on the 7th of the month of Kātī (Kārttika) in the Sāstra year 58, corresponding to A.D. 1782. It belongs to Captain Sri Kanth. Baratru.

The Museum contains, besides the documents here noted, fifteen letters in Persian, seven in Hill Tānkarī, one in Nāgarī, and one in Ğurmukhī.

D.—INDIAN PICTURES.

[It is evident from Sanskrit literature that the art of painting flourished in India during the period of Hindu rule. In the old Indian plays, especially, frequent reference is made to painted portraits. The only examples of old Indian painting now extant are those preserved in the famous Buddhist cave-temples of Ajanṭā near Aurangābād in the territories of the Nizām.

Under the benign rule of the early Mughal emperors, the art of painting, like so many others, revived. Akbar and his two successors made light of the tenets of the Muhammadan creed which prohibits the representation of living beings. Jahāngir, especially, was very fond of pictures, and prided himself on the skill of the artists employed at his court. Sir Thomas Roe* tells us how the Emperor had five copies of a European picture made by one of his court painters—"a caveleer" and evidently a man of rank—and was much amused because the ambassador could not immediately distinguish the original from the copies. "You confesse hee is a good work-man," Jahāngir said, "send for him home, and shew him such toys as you haue, and let him choose one in requitall whereof you shall choose any of these copies to shew in England. We are not so unskillfull, as you esteem us: so hee pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it up in a paper, and putting it up in a little booke of mine, deliuered it, with much joy and exultation of his man's supposed victory."

François Bernier, the French physician at the court of Aurangzeb, had an open eye for the excellence of Indian art. "I have often admired," he says, † "the beauty, softness and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Akbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture; I thought it a wonderful performance. The Indian painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions and in the expression of the face, but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art."

From the Indo-Mughal art, which was largely influenced from Persia and to a certain extent also from Italy, sprang a new school of painting which flourished in the 18th century at the courts of the Hindu princes of the Panjāb Hills and afterwards at that of the famous Sikh King Ranjit Singh. Mr. Percy Brown calls it "the Kāngrā School." This name seems appropriate as Kāngrā was, from remote times, the leading Hill State of the Panjāb. We know, moreover, that the Katōch Rājās of the 18th century, Sansār Chand in particular, patronised the art of painting.

"Sansār Chand," Moorcroft‡ remarks, "is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahabharat; it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas, and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two profiles of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Aniruddha§ gave me one. It represents him with prominent features, and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

Most of the numerous pictures which Mr. Percy Brown has acquired for the Lahore Museum originate from Kāngrā and perhaps once formed part of Sansār Chand's collection. Among them is the portrait of the traveller Moorcroft himself, probably painted at the time when he enjoyed the hospitality of the Katōch Rājā. The collection of pictures which His Highness the Rājā of Chambā has placed in the State Museum shows that in the other Hill States also the art of painting stood in favour.‖

* Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer, *Travels in India*, London, 1873, p. 38 f., cf. also p. 89 f.n.

† *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1699, vol. ii, p. 32.

‡ Moorcroft, *Travels*, London, 1841, vol. i, p. 145.

§ Anirudh Chand was Sansār Chand's son and successor who was ousted from his State by the Sikhs. His portrait is in the Museum collection. Cf. beneath p. 30, No. D, XIV.

‖ I have seen collections of Indian pictures both at Nūrpur and Basōhī which were once the seats of the Pathāniā and Balauriā Rājās respectively.

It consists of portraits and mythological subjects. Among the former there are several Rājās of Chambā and some rulers of the neighbouring States. The oldest portraits are those of Rājā Prithvī Singh (1641-1664) and his successor Chhattar Singh (1664-1690). The best specimens are those of Rājā Rāj Singh (1764-1794) and his son and successor Jit Singh (1794-1808). It is interesting to note that these two Rājās were contemporaneous with Sansār Chand Katōch, in whose days evidently the Kāngrā school reached its greatest perfection. The Lahore Museum possesses several portraits of Rāj Singh.

It will be seen that the portraits are invariably executed in profile and that the favourite pose is that of smoking the *hukka*. A peculiarity of the Chambā portraits is that the Rājā is often portrayed in company with his Rānī and heir-apparent, a homely feature which I have not noticed anywhere else.

The Hungarian anthropologist, Baron K. E. von Ujfalvy, who visited Chambā in the summer of 1881, obtained from Rājā Shyām Singh, then a boy of fifteen years, some pictures, six of which he describes and reproduces in the account of his travels.* The subjects are the following: (1) A Rājā, or more probably a Rājā's son, hawking, accompanied by a man on horseback and four men in Gaddī dress carrying various weapons, some very similar to those preserved in the Museum collection. (2) Rājā Charhat Singh (?) performing his daily worship.† (3) Rājā Rāj Singh (?) with a Rānī and four female attendants carrying two *hukkas*, a peacock fan and a sword. (4) Rājā Charhat Singh and a Rānī watching a thunderstorm (similar to No. D, VII in the Museum). (5) Rājā Rāj Singh seated in full *darbār* inside a pavilion in a pleasure garden. (6) Ganeśa and two females. It is not known what has become of these pictures. Ujfalvy mentions that the objects which he collected in the course of his travels have partly been placed in the Ethnographical Museum at Paris.

Among the mythological pictures those relating to the legends of Aniruddha and Ukhā, of Krishṇa and Rukmiṇī, and of the Brahmin Sudāman, exhibit all the excellence of Indian pictorial art; delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour, and minuteness of decorative detail. It is not an art of great inspiration and powerful expression of thought or feeling, but one of patient labour and naive devotion. It is most closely related to the miniature painting which flourished in mediæval Europe, "quell'arte che alluminare è chiamata in Parisi" as Dante says. (*Purg.* xi, 81). It is essentially a decorative art, and it is the "laughing" colours, to use Dante's expression, which makes the real joy of these pictures. It is much to be deplored that none of the mythological series represented in the Chambā collection are complete. It is not known what has become of the many missing numbers, but it is sincerely to be hoped that some fortunate chance will bring them to light again.]

NOS. D, 1-6. THE INDIAN MONTHS.

[According to the names written on the back, these six pictures represent six different months. It follows that the complete set must have consisted of twelve pictures. In each case a human couple is shown in the foreground, their dress varying according to the season. The landscape in the background further illustrates the particular month which the picture is meant to represent. It is also possible that the pictures refer not to months but to seasons. In that case the set would be complete, as the Hindu year is divided into six seasons: Spring, Summer, Rains, Autumn, Winter and Dews, each season consisting of two months. The six seasons form the subject of a famous poem called *Ritu-sanhāra* by the great Indian poet Kālidāsa.]

No. D, 1. The month Bēsākh, the second month of Spring and the first month of the year. In the background people are harvesting (old number 1).

No. D, 2. The month of Jēṭh, the first month of Summer. She brings him shariat; his transparent dress indicates the hot season. In the background a snake, lions in a den, and elephants (old number 2).

No. D, 3. The month Asūj, the first month of Autumn. Behind the two figures is a tank of lotus flowers in blossom. In the background a royal camp and temples (old number 6).

* H.E. von Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaja*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 87-95. The fourth picture has again been reproduced in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, Firenze 1898, vol. ii, p. 65, to illustrate an Italian translation of the *Meghadūta* by G. Flechia.

† Vigne, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 157, says of Charhat Singh: "He passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his *pūja* or Hindu worship; then follows the breakfast, and then the long siesta."

No. D, 4. The month Pōh, the second month of Winter. The cold season is clearly indicated by the stove near which the two figures are seated, and by the snow-clad mountains in the background (old number 9).

No. D, 5. The month Māgh, the first month of the dewy season. The orange-coloured dress of the two figures probably refers to the Spring festival *Basant pañchamī* which falls in this month. The trees are full of birds, and in the background two peacocks are visible (old number 10).

No. D, 6. The month Chetar, the first month of Spring. The trees in blossom and singing birds indicate the season.

NOS. D, 7-8. THE TEN INCARNATIONS.

[According to Hindu mythology Vishṇu was incarnated ten times. The two pictures Nos. D, 7, 8 probably belong to a set representing his ten incarnations or *avatāras*.]

No. D, 7. Vishṇu, incarnated as Paraśurāma (Rāma with the axe) slays Rājā Sahaśrabāhu (the thousand-armed one) who had killed Paraśurāma's father, Jamadagni, and robbed the wishing cow which fulfilled all desires. This cow is seen flying away in the air.

No. D, 8. Vishṇu's tenth and last incarnation as Kalki which is still to come, and is expected to take place in the Iron Age or Period of Sin (Kaliyuga) in which we are now living.

No. D, 9. Two lovers playing at the ball. The decorative border of this picture deserves special notice.

NOS. D, 10-31. THE YOUTH OF KṚṢHṆA AND DEATH OF KĀMSA. (*Prēm Sāgar* Chapters I-XLVI).

No. D, 10. The newly born Kṛṣhṇa in divine shape, with his parents Vasudeva and Devakī imprisoned by his maternal uncle, Kāmsa (Prem S., Chapter IV).

No. D, 11. Vasudeva interchanges the infant Kṛṣhṇa for a girl while the guards are sleeping (Prem S., Chapter IV).

No. D, 12. The washerman Kukshada attempts to kill the girl by order of Kāmsa, but she assumes divine shape and vanishes in the air with half of his arms (Prem S., Ch. V).

No. D, 13. Kṛṣhṇa kills a demoness, Pūtānā, sent by Kāmsa to poison him with her milk (Prem S., Ch. VII).

No. D, 14. Kṛṣhṇa upsets the milk-cart in killing the demon Saktāsura (Prem S., Ch. VIII).

No. D, 15. Kṛṣhṇa steals the milk of the female cowherds (Prem S., Ch. IX).

No. D, 16. Kṛṣhṇa breaks the enchanted twin *arjuni* tree by means of a wooden mortar (Prem S., Ch. X-XI).

No. D, 17. Kṛṣhṇa drowns the Brahmin-shaped demon in a pail of boiling milk.

No. D, 18. Kṛṣhṇa kills the heron-shaped demon, Baka, deputed by Kāmsa to destroy him (Prem S., Ch. XII).

No. D, 19. Kṛṣhṇa kills the snake-shaped demon, Agha, who had devoured his cattle (Prem S., Ch. XIII).

No. D, 20. Brahmā steals the cattle of Kṛṣhṇa (Prem S., Ch. XIV-XV).

No. D, 21. Kṛṣhṇa kills the ass-shaped demon, Dhenuka, deputed by Kāmsa to destroy him (Prem S., Ch. XVI).

No. D, 22. Kṛishṇa jumps into the Jamnā to destroy the snake Kaliya-nāga (Prem S., Ch. XVII).

No. D, 23. Yaśodhā searching for Kṛishṇa on the bank of the Jamnā (Prem S., Ch. XVIII).

No. D, 24. Krishna lifts Mount Govardhana to shelter his people against the rain (Prem S., Ch. XXV—XXVI).

No. D, 25. Kṛishṇa kills a bull-shaped demon (Prem S., Ch. XXXVII).

No. D, 26. Akrūra, the uncle of Kṛishṇa, bathing in the Jamnā, beholds Kṛishṇa at the same time in the river and on the bank (Prem S., Ch. XL).

No. D, 27. Kṛishṇa kills Kāṁsa's washerman and distributes Kāṁsa's clothes among his followers (Prem S., Ch. XLII).

No. D, 28. Kṛishṇa slays Kāṁsa's elephant, Kubaliya, with its own tusk (Prem S., Ch. XLIV).

No. D, 29. Kṛishṇa slays his uncle, Kāṁsa, with an elephant's tusk (Prem S., Ch. XLV).

No. D, 30. Kṛishṇa installs his grandfather, Ugrasena, asking of Mathurā (Prem S., Ch. XLVI).

No. D, 31. Kṛishṇa and his brother, Baladeva, salute their parents Vasudeva and Devaki.

No. D, 32. Unidentified.

No. D, 33. The Sage Śuka relates to king Parīkshīt the story of Kṛishṇa in a pavilion built in the midst of the Ganges (Prem S., Ch. I).

Nos. D, 34-42. KṚISHṆA AND RUKMIṆĪ (*Prem Sāgar*, Chapter LIII—LV).

[There was a king of Vidarbha, Bhīshṁmaka by name, who possessed five sons and one daughter. Their names were Rukmin, Rukmaratha, Rukmabāhu, Rukmakōsa, Rukmālin and Rukmiṇī. Rukmiṇī, hearing Kṛishṇa's beauty, valour, virtue and splendour sung by bards, thought him a suitable husband. Kṛishṇa also, hearing of her virtues, wished to marry her. Her relatives agreed, except her eldest brother, Rukmin, who hated Kṛishṇa, and wished to marry her to Śiśupāla, the son of Damaghosha, the king of Chedi.

On hearing this, she deputed a Brahmin to Kṛishṇa and sent him a love message inviting him to carry her off on the occasion of a festival in honour of Dēvi. Kṛishṇa at once mounted his chariot, and accompanied by the Brahmin, betook himself to Kuṇḍina, the town of Bhīshṁmaka. In the meanwhile the king, on the advice of his eldest son, had betrothed his daughter to Śiśupāla, the king of Chedi. Great preparations were made, and many kings hostile to Kṛishṇa were assembled. But Balarāma, his brother, came to his aid.

Rukmiṇī was already despairing of the success of her message when the Brahmin appeared and brought her the welcome news that Kṛishṇa had arrived. At the moment when she had left the shrine of Bhavānī and was about to ascend her carriage, Kṛishṇa seized her and lifted her on his chariot notwithstanding the surrounding nobles. The latter pursued him, but he repelled them easily. They returned to their master Śiśupāla. They found Śiśupāla downcast and tried to comfort him, reminding him of the instability of fate.

Rukmin pursued Kṛishṇa. He vowed not to return to Kuṇḍina without having killed Kṛishṇa and brought his sister back. He summoned Kṛishṇa to deliver his sister. They fought each other with arrows. Kṛishṇa broke Rukmin's arms one after the other. He descended from his chariot but Kṛishṇa broke his sword, and was about to slay him when Rukmiṇī intervened in behalf of her brother, who was dismissed alive. Then Kṛishṇa took Rukmiṇī to Dvārakā and married her.]

No. D, 34. The Sage Nārada extols to Rukmiṇī the virtues of Kṛishṇa.

No. D, 35. Rukmiṇī sends a Brahmin with a love message to Kṛishṇa (Prem S., Ch. XLIII).

No. D, 36. Kṛishṇa with the Brahmin on his way to meet Rukmiṇī (Prem S., Ch. LIV).

No. D, 37. Rukmin, the brother of Rukmiṇī, demonstrates to his father the claims of Śiśupāla to the hand of his sister.

No. D, 38. Same subject.

No. D, 39. Encounter between Kṛishṇa and Rukmin.

No. D, 40. Kṛishṇa destroys Rukmin's chariot and arms.

No. D, 41. Kṛishṇa has Rukmin bound by his charioteer, but releases him at the request of Balarāma. (Prem S., Ch. LV).

No. D, 42. Śiśupāla marching against Kṛishṇa.

Nos. D, 43-44. THE STORY OF SUDĀMAN (*Prem Sāgar*,
Chapters LXXX—LXXXI).

[Sudāman ("Good giver") was a very poor Brahmin, who had been Kṛishṇa's school-fellow. His wife advised him to pay a visit to his old friend who would be able to remove his poverty. Sudāman, accordingly, went to Dvārakā where, despite his shabby appearance, he was received by Kṛishṇa with great affection and all marks of honour. After some hesitation, Sudāman produced a present which he had brought for his host according to established custom. It was a handful of musty rice, the only gift he had to bestow. Kṛishṇa, however, showed great delight at this humble present of his friend, and began at once to eat the rice. When Sudāman returned home, he found to his astonishment, in place of his hut, a magnificent palace, at the entrance of which he was received by a lady in costly attire attended by a throng of maid-servants. It was with some difficulty that he recognized in her his wife, and understood that Kṛishṇa, in exchange for his present, had bestowed on him the wealth of the earth.]

No. D, 43. The Brahmin Sudāman takes leave of Kṛishṇa.

No. D, 44. The Brahmin Sudāman finds his hut changed into a palace by the divine power of Kṛishṇa.

Nos. D, 45-66. ANIRUDDHA AND USHĀ* (*Prem Sāgar*,
Chapters LXIII—LXIV).

N.B.—The pictures, Nos. D, 45-66, will only be shown to visitors by special permission of H. H. the Rājā.

[Bāna was the eldest of the hundred sons of the demon king Bala who was killed by Vishṇu in the dwarf incarnation. He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and ruled in the town Soṇita. Śiva granted him a thousand arms.

His daughter Ushā saw in a dream Aniruddha, the grandson of Kṛishṇa, and fell in love with him. When she awoke, she was desperate at not finding him. Her friend Chitralekṇā, the daughter of her father's minister Kumbhāṇḍa, asked her the cause of her trouble. When told, she painted portraits of all the gods, demi-gods, demons and men. Ushā was in raptures when she recognised among them the effigy of Aniruddha. Then Chitralekṇā went to Dvārakā, the city of Kṛishṇa, and carried Aniruddha sleeping to the abode of Ushā. Here both lovers passed their days in joy and delight. But the servants reported to the king how his daughter disgraced her house. The king, surrounded by soldiers, betook himself to the harem, and Aniruddha after a brave resistance was caught and bound.

The four months of the rainy season elapsed without Aniruddha being seen. Then Kṛishṇa heard what had happened and attacked Soṇita at the head of his army. They besieged the city of the demon king, whose army made a sally. Then Śiva mounted his bull Nandi and went to the assistance of Bāna. A terrific battle ensued between Kṛishṇa and Śiva and between their respective followers. Kṛishṇa overwhelmed Śiva with a shower of arrows, and put the demon army to flight. Then Bāna himself attacked Kṛishṇa and shot a thousand arrows from five hundred bows. But Kṛishṇa pierced all his bows, killed his charioteer and horses, and broke his chariot. When Kṛishṇa was about to slay him, Bāna's mother Kotarā came naked and with dishevelled hair running out of the city to save her son, and while Kṛishṇa, shocked at this sight, looked away, Bāna escaped to the city. When the demon host was dispersed Jvara (Fever) three-headed and three-legged attacked Kṛishṇa. But he produced another Fever. The Fever of Śiva was defeated by the Fever of Kṛishṇa and praised Kṛishṇa with folded hands.

* In Chambā the name is pronounced Ukhā, just as in Braj-bhākhā.

Krishna told him to be without fear and promised that every one who would remember their dialogue would be free from fever.

In the meanwhile Bāṇa had recovered and remounted his chariot to attack Krishna. In his thousand arms he brandished as many weapons and sent a shower of arrows on the disk of Krishna. But Krishna cut off his arms with the disk. Śiva seeing his devotee helpless, intervened and implored Krishna not to kill him. On Śiva's entreaties Krishna consented to save Bāṇa's life. The latter bowed down before him. He lifted Aniruddha and Ushā on his chariot and returned with them to his capital.

The poet ends by saying that whoever remembers the victory of Krishna over Śiva, when he rises in the morning, will never be conquered.]

No. D, 45. The Sage Vaiśampāyana relates to Rājā Janamejaya the story of Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna, and Ushā the daughter of the demon king Bāṇa. (Old number 1 ; inscription* on back :—

उषा चरित्रे दीया कथा रिखीखर वैसंपायन राजे जनमेजे कने गलादा)

No. D, 46. The demon-king Bāṇa, on seeing Śiva's son, Kārttikeya, seated on Mount Kailāsa, expresses the wish that he also may become a son of Śiva. (Old number 2 ; inscription on back :—

श्री सदाशिवै दा पुत्र स्वामी कार्तिक कैलाश पर्वते उपर बैठा होया दे तां दे राजे वायासुरै दिषेया । भिरी दिषी करी एह मने आइ जे मै भी श्री सदा शिवै दा पुत्र होया ॥)

No. D, 47. The demon king Bāṇa sees adverse omens at the time of the birth of Aniruddha. There are circles round the sun, there blows a violent wind attended with thunder, though the sky is clear. A tree is uprooted, and the royal standard falls. Jackals howl and cats mew. (Old number ; inscription on back :—

इयं उपद्रव होए भ्रजा ठहोई पई दिने सूरज पलेस पए सिवां वोली क (?) मंगार वोले खख पटोइ पए निमलै बंधा मेघे दी गर्जना होई । कुष्मांडे अरज की जे एह उपद्रव बुरे होए ॥)

No. D, 48. The demon king Bāṇa in his harem. (Old number 11 ; inscription on back :—

राजा वायासुर अनेका इस्त्रीया की लई करी भिरी जनाने विच मदरापान कारदा । वजीर कुष्मांड बाहर फिकरै विच वैठा जे एह उपद्रव बुरे होए ॥)

No. D, 49. Ushā, the daughter of the demon king Bāṇa, awakes from a dream in which she has seen Aniruddha. Her friends ask her the cause of her trouble. (Old number 15 ; inscription on back :—

उषा उठीया होईया रोदीया दिषी चित्रलेषा समाधान करदी जे तूह गलाह जे शुध की कुण सुपने विच आया है तिस हो लई ओषां ॥)

No. D, 50. Ushā selects the portrait of Aniruddha. (Old number 16 ; inscription on back :—

उषा की चीत्रलेषा चिहणकीका दा चित्रकरी दसेया)

* I have not attempted to correct the spelling of the inscriptions, which are in the local vernacular.

No. D, 51. Meeting of Aniruddha and Ushā. (Old number 22 ; inscription on back :—

अनीरुधे उषा कने गंधरवी वीवाह कीता करो एकत होइ क्रीडा करखा लगे)

No. D, 52. The guards report to Bāṇa the meeting of Aniruddha and Ushā. (Old number 23 ; inscription on back :—

वाणासुरै दै दुतै वाणासुरे कने षवर दीती जै उषा दे अदर कोइ पुरस हे)

No. D, 53. Bāṇa orders his soldiers to capture Aniruddha. (Old number 24 ; inscription on back :—

वाणासुरै एह षवर सुणौ करौ अपणीष सेना की ऊक्रम कीता जे सौस की पकडी आया ॥)

No. D, 54. Aniruddha defeats the army of Bāṇa, Ushā looking on through the window. (Old number 28 ; inscription on back :—

अनीरुधे जे मारौ भी से नठी करौ सेना वाणासुरे दे घरे की गइ)

No. D, 55. Bāṇa again orders his army to capture Aniruddha. (Old number 29 ; inscription on back :—

अनिरुधे जे देता दी सेना मारौ थी से कीछ पाताले की गइ कीछ आकासे की गइ)

No. D, 56. Bāṇa orders his minister Kumbhāṇḍa to bring his chariot. (Old number 31 ; inscription on back :—

वाणासुरे दी सेना भगन होइ करौ कुम्हाडे की गलाय जे मेरे रथे की लइया)

No. D, 57. Fight between Aniruddha and Bāṇa, Ushā looking on through the window. (Old number 33 ; inscription on back :—

वाणासुरे वरछी छडी करौ अनीरुधे पकडी भीरी परती करौ अनीरुधे वाणासुरे की छडी बाणासर की मुरछा की प्रापत कीता भीरी कुम्हाडे गलाय जे माय कर)

No. D, 58. The Sage Nārada brings Kṛishṇa the news of the imprisonment of his grandson, Aniruddha. Kṛishṇa honours him on his arrival. (Old number 42 ; inscription on back :—

नारद द्वारका आइ पुजा करौ हस्ते पाद पूजा कीती भीरी नागदे अनीरुधे दी षवर दीती)

No. D, 59. Kṛishṇa, Balarāma and Pradyumna, mounted on Garuda, attack Śonita, the town of Bāṇa. Garuda takes water from the heavenly Gaṅgā (Ganges) and quenches the flames with which Bāṇa seeks to protect his city. (Old number 45 ; inscription on back :—

श्रीकीछ बकभद्रे प्रदुमने अगनी कने जूध करखा गरडे इस हजार सर करौ आकास गंगा दा जल करौ अगन बुभार्दे)

No. D, 60. Fight between Krishna—attended by Balarāma and Pradyumna and mounted on Garuḍa—with the firegod Agni, who is defeated and carried away. (Old number 46; inscription on back :—

ब्रह्मे दा पुत्र अम श्री कृष्णे कने युद्ध कीता अमे ब्रह्मण हृदयेषा भीरी से ब्रह्मण
श्रीकृष्णे कटे आ भीरी वाय हृदयेषा अम मुरहत होई प्रीथी आ उप परं गेषा भीरीः
अम सर्गे की कह गये)

No. D, 61. The army of demons being defeated, Siva sends the three-headed Fever to their assistance. (Old number lost, probably 48; inscription on back :—

वज्रीभङ्गे हले मुसले करी सेना मारी करी गगन (?) कौत भीरी द-ज्वरे
धुडी... ठली ...)

No. D, 62. Krishna, attacked by Siva's Fever, produces another Fever which defeats Siva's Fever. (Old number 49; inscription on back :—

कौष्णे दाहजुरे कने जुधु लगा भीरी छातीया कने जाया भीरी प्रीथीया पर
सुटेया भीरी जुर छातीया बीच प्रवेश कीता भीरी कृष्णे की मुरहा होइ भीरी
साभधान होइ करी कौष्णे अपया जुर कटेया करी सीवे दा जुर कौष्णे अपये जुर
करी बाहर कटेया करी कौष्णे दा इच्छा होइ ने इस दा सेबह कराये ता आकासवाणी
होइ ने इस की मत मारे श्रीकौष्णे गलाया ने मेरे तेरे जुधे ने कोइ सुध तीस की
ते पीडा नही करणी)

No. D, 63. Fight between the demon king Bāna and Krishna mounted on Garuḍa, with Balarāma and Pradyumna. (Old number 54; inscription on back :—

वायासुर अणु जुधे की आया करी वडी गरजना कीतो भीरी श्रीकौष्णे की
गलाया ने तुध की अज जीदे जाय नही दीदा ता श्रीकौष्णे गलाया ने जुध करी तुध
की हो मार्धा की तु मे की मार करी जुध करणा लगे)

No. D, 64. Bāna, the king of the demons, causes darkness to prevail. (Old number 55; inscription on back :—

वायासुरे अपयो माया करि अंधकार करी दीता)

No. D, 65. Koṭarā, the mother of Bāna* saves her son from being killed by Krishna. (Old number 56; inscription on back :—

वायासुर मुरदागत (?) कीता घोड़े रथ मारी दीते करी श्रीकृष्णे सुदरसन चक्र
उठाया तां महादेवे मने बीच बीचारी ने चक्र छुटग तां वायासुर बचदा नही करी लंबा
नामी देवी श्री कृष्णे कछ नगन करी मेजी तां श्रीकृष्णे मुह वदकी जया तां देवी वीक्ष्या
ने मेरे बरे भंग मत करी तां कृष्णे बोल्या ने मारदा नही वाही कटवा)

* According to the inscription, it is not the mother of Bāna, but a goddess, Lambā.

No. D, 66. Ushā prostrates herself before Rukmiṇī, the wife of Kṛishṇa, the latter with Balarāma (with plough and mace), Pradyumna and Aniruddha standing to the right (no inscription on back).

NOs. D, 67—150. STORY OF RĀMA (ACCORDING TO THE
Rāmāyaṇa OF VĀLMĪKI).*

[In Ayodhyā, the capital of Kosala, there reigned a king of the name of Da aratha.

I. Bāla-Kāṇḍa.

As he was sonless, he resolved to perform the horse sacrifice. In the meanwhile the gods complained to Brahmā about the insolence of Rāvaṇa, the king of the giants (Rākshasas). As Rāvaṇa could only be destroyed by a human being, Viṣṇu resolved to be born as a man. He appeared to king Da-aratha in the sacrificial fire and presented him with a magic potion for his three queens, Kau-alyā, Sumitrā, and Kaikeyī. Consequently Kauśalyā gave birth to Rāma, Kaikeyī to Bharata, and Sumitrā to Lakshmaṇa and Satrugṇa.

When Rāma was sixteen years old, the Sage Viśvāmitra appeared at the court of Da-aratha and begged the king to allow Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa to accompany him to his hermitage, and to destroy the giants Subāhu and Mārīcha who disturbed his sacrifices. After some hesitation Da-aratha gave his consent and the two young princes accompanied Viśvāmitra to the hermitage. On the way thither Rāma killed the man-eating demones Tātakā. When, after their arrival at the hermitage, the demons approached to disturb Viśvāmitra's sacrifice, Rāma repelled and destroyed them.

Then Viśvāmitra took the two princes to the court of Janaka king of Mithilā. This king possessed a wonderful bow and had made a vow that the man who was able to bend it, should marry his daughter Sitā. The bow was produced on an eight-wheeled cart, drawn by a hundred and fifty men. But Rāma not only bent it but broke it in pieces. Then Janaka gave his eldest daughter, Sitā, to Rāma and her sister, Urmilā, to Lakshmaṇa; Bharata and Satrugṇa married the two daughters of Janaka's brother Ku-ādhvaja, the king of Sāṅkāyā. On their return to Ayodhyā, Rāma had an encounter with Para-urūma the destroyer of the Kshatriyas, but vanquished him in a contest with the bow. After his return he lived happily with Sitā in his palace. Bharata, accompanied by Satrugṇa, went to stay with his maternal grandfather Aśvapati, the king of Rājagṛiha.

On account of his great age, Da-aratha resolved to appoint Rāma, his favourite son, as co-regent. He ordered his family priest, Vasishtha, to make the necessary arrangements for Rāma's consecration, which would take place on the following day. The news caused great rejoicing among the citizens of Ayodhyā. Mantharā, a hump-backed

II. Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa.

maid-servant of the second queen Kaikeyī, persuaded her mistress to prevent Rāma's consecration and to secure the succession for Kaikeyi's own son Bharata. Once Kaikeyi had saved the life of the king, who had promised her to fulfil whatever she should desire. On the advice of Mantharā, she now reminded the king of his promise, and asked him to consecrate her own son Bharata and to send Rāma into exile for a period of fourteen years. Da-aratha first refused her request, but finally yielded when Rāma himself swore to fulfil the promise made by his father. Rāma's wife Sitā and his brother Lakshmaṇa resolved to follow him into exile. They donned the garments of bark worn by hermits. A great number of the citizens accompanied the three as far as the river Tamaśā. They crossed this river, also the Ganges and the Jamnū, and built a hermit's hut on Mount Chitrakūṭa.

After Rāma's departure Da-aratha was afflicted with grief. Once in the middle of the night he awoke and related to Kauśalyā how, when crownprince, he had, while hunting, killed by accident a young hermit whose blind parents then cursed him. In consequence of this curse Da-aratha died of grief caused by the separation from his son.

The morning after the king's death messengers were sent to Bharata, who with his brother Satrugṇa lived at Rājagṛiha at the court of his maternal grandfather Aśvapati. On his return to Ayodhyā he learned from his mother the news of his father's death and Rāma's banishment. She urged him to have himself consecrated as king, but he refused and reproached her for her bad behaviour towards his father and Rāma. After his father's cremation, Bharata and his brother Satrugṇa left Ayodhyā with a large retinue in search of Rāma. They found him in his hermitage on the Chitrakūṭa. Bharata entreated Rāma to return to Ayodhyā and accept the crown, but Rāma replied that he was bound to fulfil the promise made by his father. After the period fixed for his exile had elapsed, he would

* An excellent résumé of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given by Hermann Jacobi, *Dās Rāmāyaṇa* (Bonn, 1893), pp. 140-208.

be ready to assume the duties of government. Bharata returned to Ayodhyā and placed Rāma's sandals on the throne, so as to symbolize that Rāma was king and that he (Bharata) only reigned as his substitute during his absence.

Rāma, accompanied by Sitā and Lakshmaṇa, left Chitrakūta. First they paid a visit to the hermitage of the Sage Atri and his wife, Anasūyā.

III. Araṇya-Kāṇḍa.

When they entered the Daṇḍaka wood, they encountered the giant Virāḍha who tried to carry off Sitā but was killed by the two brothers. They visited the abodes of several other hermits who all implored Rāma's assistance against the giants who had murdered many of them. At last they settled at Pañchavati on the bank of the Godāvārī. On their way they met the eagle Jatāyus, an old friend of Rāma's father.

Rāvaṇa's sister, the ogress Sūrpanakhā, fell in love with Rāma who ordered Lakshmaṇa to cut off her nose and ears. She entreated her brother Khara (Donkey) to take revenge. First he sent fourteen soldiers who were easily defeated by Rāma. Then Khara attacked Rāma with an army of 1,4000 giants, but Rāma slew him and his entire army. Sūrpanakhā now took refuge with her other brother Rāvaṇa, the giant king of Laṅkā (Ceylon). She persuaded him to carry off Sitā. At Rāvaṇa's request the giant Mārīcha assumed the shape of a golden deer and showed himself in the neighbourhood of Rāma's hermitage.

Sitā wished to possess the wonderful animal and, at her request, Rāma pursued it. When it had carried him far away from the hermitage, he wounded it mortally. But at the moment of its death, the giant assumed his real shape and cried for help with Rāma's voice. Sitā, thinking that Rāma was in danger, sent Lakshmaṇa to his assistance. As soon as the latter had left the hermitage, Rāvaṇa appeared in the shape of an ascetic and, as Sitā scorned his overtures, he ended by carrying her off. The eagle Jatāyus pursued Rāvaṇa, but was mortally wounded after destroying his chariot.

When Rāma and Lakshmaṇa returned to their hut, they found Sitā gone. The dying Jatāyus informed them of what had happened, but was unable to tell them where Rāvaṇa had taken Sitā. In the course of their search, they encountered the headless monster Kabandha who was defeated after a hard struggle.

Rāma and Lakshmaṇa met the monkey king Sugrīva who had been ousted by his

IV. Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa *

brother Vālin. Rāma concluded an alliance with him and promised him to kill Vālin and to restore him to his throne. Sugrīva in his turn would assist Rāma in recovering Sitā. Both reached Kishkindhā, the city of Vālin. Sugrīva and Vālin fought. The latter was killed by Rāma with an arrow, and Sugrīva restored to power. Sugrīva collected the army of monkeys from all parts of the world, and sent them in four divisions to the east, south, west and north in search of Sitā. The southern division, under command of the monkey general, Hanumān, reached the shore of the ocean where they met the vulture Sampātī, the brother of Jatāyus, who informed them of Sitā's whereabouts.

Hanumān jumped across the ocean from Mount Mahendra to Laṅkā, and entered the

V. Sundara-Kāṇḍa.

palace of Rāvaṇa. He found Sitā and delivered the message from Rāma. To test the strength of the giants, Hanumān destroyed the palace garden and killed numerous giants sent against him by Rāvaṇa. At last he was captured by Rāvaṇa's son Indrajit and brought before the giant king. The latter ordered Hanumān's tail to be wound with cotton wool and set on fire. But as soon as he was let loose, Hanumān jumped from house to house and set the town on fire with his burning tail. After these exploits he again jumped across the ocean and reached the Indian Continent where he was received by his friends. He returned to Rāma and informed him of his meeting with Sitā.

Rāvaṇa held a council with his chief advisers. His brother Vibhishana warned him

VI. Yuṅgha-Kāṇḍa.

of Rāma's vengeance, and advised him to surrender Sitā. As Rāvaṇa refused to listen, Vibhishana joined Rāma's army which in the meanwhile had reached the shore of the ocean. The monkeys constructed a bridge across the sea, and the whole army marched over it to Laṅkā. The battle between the giants and Rāma, with his monkey allies, is described in great detail. One after the other the chiefs of the giant army were slain by Rāma, and finally Rāvaṇa himself was killed and Sitā liberated. Rāma returned to Ayodhyā with Lakshmaṇa and Sitā and, as the period of his banishment was now past, he was solemnly consecrated as king.

(The last canto (vii) of the Rāmāyana, called Uttara-Kāṇḍa, which describes Rāma's further adventures, is not represented by any pictures in the Museum except No. D. 171.)]

* This canto is not represented by any pictures in the Museum.

† Hence a plant with a long cluster of yellow flowers, apparently a kind of *Verbascum*, is called 'Hanumān's tail.'

I. BĀLA-KĀṆḌA.

No. D, 67. Daśaratha consecrated as king of Ayodhyā by his family priest Vasishṭha.

No. D, 68. Agni the god of fire* appears in the sacrificial fire and presents Daśaratha with a magic potion which the latter gives to his three queens Kauśalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā.

No. D, 69. Kauśalyā with Rāma, Kaikeyī with Bharata, and Sumitrā with Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna.

No. D, 70. The Sage Viśvāmītra begs king Daśaratha for the assistance of his two sons, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, against the giants (Rākshasas) who disturb his sacrifices.

No. D, 71. Daśaratha takes leave of his sons, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, who accompany the Sage Viśvāmītra to his hermitage.

No. D, 72. Rāma kills the man-eating demoness, Tātakā, while Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmītra are standing by, and the gods watch the spectacle from the clouds.

No. D, 73. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa defeat the giants who approach to disturb the sacrifice of Viśvāmītra.

No. D, 74. Viśvāmītra tells Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to accompany him to the court of Janaka, king of Mithilā.

No. D, 75. Indra deceives Ahalyā by assuming the shape of her husband, the Sage Gautama.

No. D, 76. Rāma revives Ahalyā who had been turned into stone by the curse of her husband.

No. D, 77. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmītra visit king Janaka at Mithilā and assist at his sacrifice.

No. D, 78. The heavy bow, presented to Janaka by Śiva, is produced.

No. D, 79. Rāma breaks Śiva's bow in pieces, and thus wins Janaka's daughter Sītā.

D, 80. Daśaratha receives a messenger from Janaka.

No. D, 81. Daśaratha orders his ministers to prepare for the journey.

No. D, 82. Daśaratha's arrival at the court of Janaka, three of the brides watching them from the palace.

No. D, 83. Wedding of Śatrughna and Śrutakīrti in a pavilion decorated with wooden parrots.

No. D, 84. Janaka in conversation with Vasishṭha and Daśaratha attended by his four sons.

No. D, 85. Rāma, accompanied by his father, three brothers and the Sage Viśvāmītra, meets Paraśurāma ("Rāma with the axe").

No. D, 86. Rāma breaks the bow of Paraśurāma, the gods looking on from heaven.

No. D, 87. Rāma distributes clothes to his servants on his return to Ayodhyā after his wedding.

No. D, 88. Daśaratha takes leave of two of his sons who accompany their uncle Yudhājit to Rājagriha.

* According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it is Viṣṇu who appears in the sacrificial fire.

II. AYODHYĀ-KĀṆḌA.

- No. D, 89. Vasishtha informs Rāma of his impending consecration as co-regent (*Yuvarāja*).
- No. D, 90. Preparation for Rāma's consecration as co-regent.
- No. D, 91. Kaikeyī, the second queen of Daśaratha, persuaded by her maid, the humpback Mantharā, to prevent Rāma's consecration.
- No. D, 92. Daśaratha grants Kaikeyī's request to exile Rāma.
- No. D, 93. Kaikeyī sends the minister to inform Rāma that he has been exiled.
- No. D, 94. The minister delivers his message to Rāma and Sītā.
- No. D, 95. The minister ushers Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa into the presence of Daśaratha and Kaikeyī. The women give expression to their grief at the news of Rāma's banishment.
- No. D, 96. Kaikeyī informs Rāma of his banishment; he takes leave of his mother Kauśalyā.
- No. D, 97. Sītā and Lakshmaṇa resolve to follow Rāma into exile.
- No. D, 98. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa, clad in the bark robes worn by hermits, take leave of Daśaratha.
- No. D, 99. Rāma dismisses the citizens of Ayodhyā.
- No. D, 100. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa cross the river Tamasā.
- No. D, 101. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa visit the hermitage of the Sage Bhāradvāja.
- No. D, 102. Daśaratha relates to Kauśalyā how once on a hunting expedition he had accidentally shot the son of a couple of blind hermits.
- No. D, 103. The two parents cremate the body of their son and curse Daśaratha.
- No. D, 104. Death of Daśaratha.
- No. D, 105. Council of ministers, discussing the question of succession.
- No. D, 106. Bharata's return to Ayodhyā and meeting with his mother, Kaikeyī.
- No. D, 107. On hearing the news of his father's death and Rāma's banishment, Bharata faints and refuses the kingdom.
- No. D, 108. Funeral procession of Daśaratha.
- No. D, 109. The funeral procession arrives at the river Surayu (the modern Gogra).
- No. D, 110. Bharata weeps outside his tent on the bank of the Surayu.
- No. D, 111. Bharata declares in the council of ministers his intention to bring Rāma back to Ayodhyā.
- No. D, 112. Bharata and Śatrughna start in search of Rāma.
- No. D, 113. The van of Bharata's army arrives at Rāma's hermitage.
- No. D, 114. Meeting between Rāma and Bharata.
- No. D, 115. Bharata, clad in hermit's dress, rules the State for Rāma, whose sandals are placed on the throne.

III. *Aranya-Kāṇḍa*.

- No. D, 116. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa visit the Sage Atri and his wife, Anasūyā.
- No. D, 117. The giant Virādha attempts to carry off Sītā.
- No. D, 118. The giant Virādha, shot by Lakshmaṇa, assumes the shape of a celestial being (Gandharva).
- No. D, 119. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa, accompanied by numerous ascetics, betake themselves to the hermitage of the Sage Agasti.
- No. D, 120. Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa in the hermitage of the Sage Agasti.
- No. D, 121. Rāma discourses with the vulture Jaṭāyus, a friend of his father Daśaratha.
- No. D, 122. Lakshmaṇa converses with the vulture Jaṭāyus.
- No. D, 123. Rāvaṇa's sister, the giantess Sūrpaṅakhā, assumes the shape of a beautiful woman and tries to win Rāma.
- No. D, 124. Lakshmaṇa cuts off the nose of the giantess Sūrpaṅakhā.
- No. D, 125. Sūrpaṅakhā entreats her brother Khara to avenge her.
- No. D, 126. The host of Khara attacks Rāma in his hermitage.
- No. D, 127. Rāma, assisted by Lakshmaṇa and the vulture Jaṭāyus, defeats the host of Khara.
- No. D, 128. Sūrpaṅakhā entreats her brother, the ten-headed giant king Rāvaṇa, to avenge her insult.
- No. D, 129. The giant Mārīcha appears before Rāma in the shape of an antelope.
- No. D, 130. Rāma pursues the antelope-shaped giant at the request of Sītā, who in the meanwhile is carried off by Rāvaṇa.
- No. D, 131. The eagle Jaṭāyus attempts to rescue Sītā, but is killed by Rāvaṇa, after having destroyed his chariot.
- No. D, 132. Rāma, on his return to the hermitage, meets with adverse omens.
- No. D, 133. Lakshmaṇa revives Rāma, who had fainted on not finding Sītā.
- No. D, 134. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa mourning the loss of Sītā.
- No. D, 135. The corpse of Jaṭāyus cremated by Rāma.
- No. D, 136. Rāma slays the headless monster, Kabandha, who is reborn in deified shape.
- No. D, 137. Sītā, guarded by four giantesses, scorns the overtures of Rāvaṇa, who appears to her in the shape of Rāma.

IV. *Sundara-Kāṇḍa*.

- No. D, 138. Hanumān jumps across the ocean to Laṅkā, the city of Rāvaṇa.
- No. D, 139. Hanumān arrives at Laṅkā and finds Rāvaṇa sleeping in his palace.
- No. D, 140. Hanumān follows the women and finds Sītā in Rāvaṇa's palace.

No. D, 141. Hanumān destroys the palace garden of Rāvaṇa.

No. D, 142. Hanumān defeats the giants sent by Rāvaṇa to capture him.

No. D, 143. Same subject.

No. D, 144. Hanumān captured by Rāvaṇa's son Indrajit.

No. D, 145. Rāvaṇa orders Hanumān's tail to be wound round with cotton and set on fire.

No. D, 146. Hanumān, on his return from Laṅkā, again jumps across the ocean and is met on the other side by the bear king, Jāmbavān, and the monkey prince, Aṅgada.

V. *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*.

No. D, 147. Rāvaṇa admonished by his brother Vibhīṣhaṇa to deliver Sītā to Rāma.

No. D, 148. Rāvaṇa declines Vibhīṣhaṇa's advice.

No. D, 149. Vibhīṣhaṇa joins Rāma's army.

No. D, 150. Rāma's army of bears and monkeys crosses over to Laṅkā.

Nos. D, 151-169. THE EXPLOITS OF THE GODDESS DURGĀ (ACCORDING TO *Durgā-saptasatī*, BOMBAY 1871).

[The story of the exploits of the goddess Durgā was first related by the Sage Modhas to Rājā Suratha and the Vaiṣya Samādhi

After a struggle of a hundred years the gods were defeated by the demons under Mahisha ("Buffalo") who expelled them from heaven and usurped their functions. From their wrath the goddess Durgā was born. The gods equipped her with their various emblems and weapons. Then she laughed and the whole sky was filled with the terrific roar. On hearing this sound, Mahisha sent his army to attack her, but the demons were defeated by Durgā with great carnage. The Earth became impassable from the chariots, horses, and elephants fallen on the battle-field, and there flowed a river of blood.

Then Mahisha assumed his buffalo shape and attacked Durgā. He threw up large mountains with his horns and roared and rent the earth; and the ocean, struck by his tail, overflowed. Durgā caught him in a lasso, but he assumed the shape of a lion. Defeated again, he became a man, then an elephant and finally a buffalo again. Then Durgā placed one foot on his neck and pierced him with her trident. The demon, overpowered by the goddess, half issued from the buffalo's mouth. She drew her sword and cut off his head.

The two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha conquered the earth and expelled the thirty gods from their realm. The latter resorted to Durgā for help. In the meanwhile, Chanda and Muṇḍa, two servants of the demon king, saw Durgā and, struck by her beauty, they said to their master: "You possess all the jewels of the gods; why don't you take this jewel of a wife also?" Sumbha sent a messenger to Durgā. He found her seated on the Himālaya and communicated to her his master's wish. But she answered that only he who conquered her in battle would be her husband.

The demon-king first sent his general Dhūmrālochana, but the goddess turned him to ashes by her breath. Then the two demons Chanda and Muṇḍa were sent against her. On their approach, Durgā's face became ink-coloured, and from her wrinkled front emanated Kālī "the black goddess" of terrible appearance. She attacked the host of the demons and devoured wholesale elephants, horses, chariots and men. Finally she slew Chanda and Muṇḍa and took the severed heads to Durgā with the words: "I have brought you here Chanda and Muṇḍa the great beasts. Sumbha and Niśumbha you will slay yourself in the sacrifice of battle." Durgā answered: "As you came to me with Chanda and Muṇḍa, therefore you will be called Chāmundā in the world."

Now Sumbha, hearing of the death of Chanda and Muṇḍa, sent a fresh army of demons. Then from each of the gods issued his Śakti (female energy) similar in appearance and attributes to her male counterpart: Brahmāni riding on a goose, Māheśvari on a bull, Kāumārī on a peacock, Vaiṣṇavī on a Garuda, Aindrī on an elephant, Varāhī and Nārasinhī. A terrible battle ensued, in which the demon Raktabīja was most prominent. In vain the Śaktis tried to destroy him. Every drop of blood from his wounds became a new demon, as soon as it touched the earth. The gods were seized with terror, when they saw thus the whole world filled with demons. Then Durgā ordered Kālī to intercept the blood drops and swallow them before they took the shape of demons. Thus Raktabīja was slain, and the Śaktis danced, drunk with blood.

Then Sumbha and Niśumbha themselves attacked the goddess. First Niśumbha was killed after a gigantic battle. A fresh fight ensued between Durgā and Sumbha—first on the earth, then in the air. At last she pierced his breast with the trident, and he fell, shaking the earth with its oceans, islands and mountains.

Then the whole world became calm and the sky pure. The rivers followed their prescribed courses. Gentle winds blew and the sun was of good splendour. The gods praised Durgā and asked of her a boon, namely, that she would always free the three worlds from distress and destroy their enemies. The goddess promised that, whenever demons caused trouble, she would be born again to destroy them.

Thus ends the story of the exploits of the goddess, which was first related by the seer Mēdhas to Rājā Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi. On his advice, they worshipped her image to obtain the fulfilment of their wishes. After three years spent in sacrifice and asceticism, the goddess appeared to them and granted their prayer. The Rājā regained his kingdom and the Vaiśya attained supreme wisdom.]

No. D, 151. Brahmā reveals to the Sage (Ṛishi) Nārada the greatness of the goddess Durgā. (Old number 2).

No. D, 152. Rājā Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi meet in the wilderness. (Old number 6).

No. D, 153. Viṣṇu overcomes the two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, in the presence of the goddess Yoganidrā and the serpent Śeṣha. (Old number 9).

No. D, 154. Viṣṇu slays the two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha. (Old number 10).

No. D, 155. The goddess of Fortune, Mahālakṣmī. (Old number 11).

No. D, 156. The goddess Durgā born from the splendour of the gods. (Old number 12).

No. D, 157. The goddess Durgā equipped by the gods with arms and attributes. (Old number 13).

No. D, 158. The host of demons attacks the goddess Durgā. (Old number 14).

No. D, 159. The goddess Durgā defeats the host of the demons, (Old number 15).

No. D, 160. The goddess Durgā kills the demon Mahisha after he has in turn assumed the shape of a buffalo, a lion, and an elephant. (Old number 17).

No. D, 161. Sugrīva, the messenger of the demon king Sumbha, urges Durgā to become the wife of his master. (Old number 21).

No. D, 162. The demons Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa approach Durgā, and the terrific Kālī emanates from her wrinkled front. (Old number 22).

No. D, 163. Kālī offers Durgā the heads of the demons Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa. (Old number 23).

No. D, 164. Death of the demon Raktabīja; Kālī swallows the blood flowing from his wounds. (Old number 25).

No. D, 165. Durgā, assisted by Kālī and the Śaktis, slays the army of the demon king Niśumbha. (Old number 26).

No. D, 166. The gods praise Durgā after her victory over the demon king Sumbha. (Old number 28).

No. D, 167. The goddess Bhīmā "the terrible one." (Old number 31).

No. D, 168. The goddess appears to Suratha and Samādhi and grants the fulfilment of their wishes.

No. 169. The gods, headed by the four-faced Brahmā, entreat Viṣṇu to incarnate himself.

No. D, 170. The Sage Nārada visits a king.

No. D, 171. Rāma's sons, Lava and Kuśa, born in the hermitage of Vālmiki, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Nos. D, 172-177 which represent Brahmanical deities, have been received on loan from Paṇḍit Thākur Dās.

No. D, 172. Paṇḍit Utsava, first *pūjārī* of Raghubīr, worshipping Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. The Paṇḍit must have lived in the days of Rājā Prithvī Singh (A.D. 1641-1664) in whose reign the image of Raghubīr (*i.e.*, Rāma) was brought to Chambā from Delhi.

No. D, 173. Picture of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. It is said to have been made during the life-time of Paṇḍit Utsava and must therefore belong to the middle of the 17th century.

No. D, 174. The goddess Gāyatrī seated on a full-blown lotus. The three figures on the proper right side are Śiva, white coloured, seated on an elephant skin; Viṣṇu, blue-coloured and four-armed, seated on a lotus; and Brahmā, four-faced and four-armed, likewise seated on a lotus. The miniature figure at the back of the goddess is a representation of Viṣṇu. This and the following pictures belong to the end of the 17th century.

No, 175. The goddess Mahēśvarī, the female energy (*Śakti*) of Mahēśvara or Śiva. She is white-coloured and has five faces (*pañchānānā*), each provided with a frontal eye. She wears round her neck a garland of skulls and has four arms in which she holds the attributes of Śiva, namely an axe, a club (*khatvāṅga*), a trident (*triśūla*), and a tabor (*ḍamaru*). She is seated on the bull Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva.

No. D, 176. The goddess Brahmānī, the female energy (*Śakti*) of Brahmā. She is red-coloured and has four faces. In her four hands she holds the attributes of Brahmā: the Veda, a rosary (*akṣhamālā*), a spear and a waterpot (*kamaṇḍalu*). She is seated on a goose, the vehicle of Brahmā.

No. D, 177. The goddess Vaiṣṇavī, the female energy (*Śakti*) of Viṣṇu. She is blue-coloured and has three faces, each provided with a frontal eye. In her four hands she holds the attributes of Viṣṇu: a disk (*chakra*), a lotus (*padma*), a conch (*śankha*), and a mace (*gada*). She is seated on the vehicle of Viṣṇu, the bird Garuda, who holds a snake in two of his four arms and joins the other two in the attitude of adoration. The meaning of this figure is uncertain. It has miniature representations of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu on his forehead, breast and belly.

PORTRAITS.

Nos. D, I—IX Rājās of Chambā.*

D, I. Portrait of Rājā Prithvī Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1641-1664), who assisted the troops of Shāh Jahān in reducing Jagat Singh, Rājā of Nūrpur.

D, II. Portrait of Rājā Chhattar Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1664-1690) who extended his dominions over Pāḍar and Lower Lahul.

D, III. Portrait of Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1748-1764) who occupied Rihlu and Charī in the Kāṅgrā District (*cf.* above No. C, 4). He is said to have built the oldest part of the present palace of Chambā.

D, IV. Portrait of Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1764-1794) who conquered Basōhī and Kishṭwār and was killed in battle near Nērti in Kāṅgrā,

* For full particulars regarding these Rājās see *Chambā Gazetteer*, pp. 90-107.



Portrait of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, (Cat. No. D IV.)

fighting against the troops of Sansār Chand Kaṭōch, the famous Rājā of Kāngrā. (Cf. plate IV. and above No. B, 36.)

D, V. Portrait of Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1764-1794) with his Rānī from Bhadarvāh and the heir-apparent Jit Singh.

D. VI. Portrait of Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1794-1808) and one of his Rānīs. (Cf. plate V.)

D. VII. Portrait of Rājā Charhat Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1808-1844) with his Kaṭōch Rānī watching a thunderstorm. (Cf. above p. 14.)

[Vigne (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 156) says of Charhat Singh. "He is not tall, and is inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile, and a large eye; a somewhat heavy expression, and a weak, drawling voice."

D. VIII. Portrait of Rājā Charhat Singh of Chambā. (A.D. 1808-1844) with his Kaṭōch Rānī in his pleasure garden at Rājnagar.

D, IX. Portrait of Bhāga Wazīr of Chambā from 1838 to 1854, under the reign of Rājās Charhat Singh and Sri Singh. When the Chambā State was in danger of being attached to the territories of Gulāb Singh of Jammū, Wazīr Bhāga saved his country by a personal appeal to Sir Henry Lawrence. The picture represents him listening to a Gaddī petitioner. It has been given on loan to the Museum by Captain Sri Kanth Baratru who is a great-grandson of Khilāva Magnā who was the elder brother of Wazīr Bhāga.

Nos. D, X—XVIII. *Rājās of other Hill States.*

D. X. Portrait of Rañjīt Dēv of Jammū who ruled about the middle of the 18th century. He was the real founder of the modern Jammū State. He first established the supremacy of Jammū over the surrounding hill states, and initiated a policy, which was afterwards continued by Gulāb Singh, with well-known success. The traveller Forster, (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 283) who visited Jammū in April 1783 shortly after Rañjīt Dēv's death, praises him on account of his just and liberal rule. Umēd Singh of Chambā had married a Jammū princess who after her husband's death in A.D. 1764 acted as Queen-regent, during the minority of Rājā Rāj Singh. Owing to his near relationship to the Rājā's mother, Rañjīt Dēv exercised considerable influence in Chambā affairs. After Rāj Singh had come of age, this led to a collision with Jammū and to the invasion of Chambā territory by Amrit Pāl of Basōhī. (*Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 98 f). The picture was acquired by exchange from the Lahore Museum. It has no inscription, but could be identified by comparing it with other portraits of Rañjīt Dēv in the Lahore collection.

D, XI. Portrait of Amrit Pāl of Basōhī, who invaded Chambā in A.D. 1774 by order of Rañjīt Dēv of Jammū. He was driven back by Rāj Singh with the assistance of the Rāmgarhia *sardārs*. The Museum possesses a copper-plate grant (No. B, 35) issued by Amrit Pāl during his occupation of Chambā territory. The picture was obtained by exchange from the Lahore Museum. It bears the following inscription in Nāgarī : अमरिपाल चंद्रन पाल अमरिपाल दा "The illustrious Rājā Ambrat (read Amrit) Pāl of Basōhī."

D, XII. Portrait of Ghamand Chand Kaṭōch of Kāngrā, who was a contemporary of Rañjīt Dēv of Jammū and likewise initiated a policy of expansion continued by his grandson Sansār Chand. In 1758 he was appointed by Ahmad Shāh Durānī to be Governor of the Jālandhar Doab and the hill-country between the Satluj and Rāvi (*Kangra Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 33). During Rāj Singh's minority the Katoch Rājā seized all territory east of Rihlu which had previously been occupied by Umēd Singh of Chambā. About A.D. 1770 Ghamand Chand became tributary to the Sikhs. The picture which was

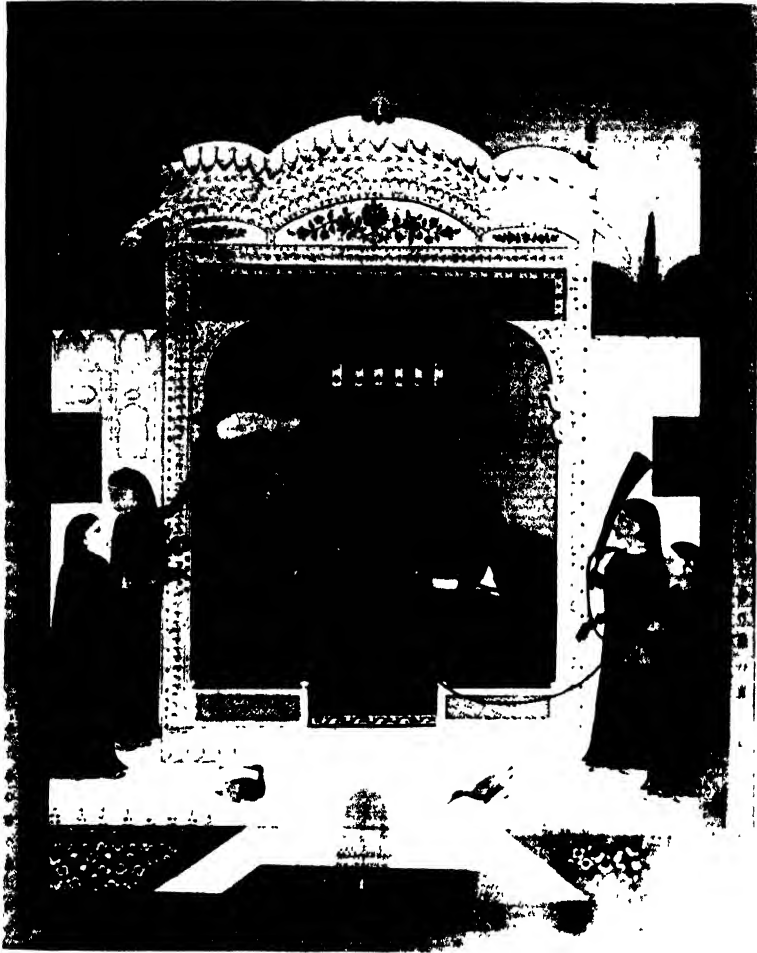
obtained by exchange from the Lahore Museum has a Nāgarī inscription ਕਾਠੋਚ
ਰਾਜਾ ਬੁਸੰਠ ਚੰਦ "The Kaṭōch Rājā Ghumaṇḍ Chand."

D. XIII. Portrait of Sansār Chand Katōch, the famous Rājā of Kāṅgrā who for a time held supreme sway over the surrounding hill states, but finally had to submit to Ranjīt Singh, "the Lion of the Panjāb," and acknowledge him as his overlord. He died in A.D. 1824 (*Kangra Gazetteer*, 1904, pp. 33-38). The traveller Moorcroft (*Travels*, vol i, p. 126) who visited Sansār Chand in the days of his humiliation, describes him as a tall, well-formed man of dark complexion, but fine and expressive features. On the present picture he is all but dark. Though in this respect it is perhaps somewhat flattering, there can be little doubt that it is a good likeness. This we may infer from a comparison of other portraits of Sansār Chand (Cf. Ujfalvy, *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaja*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 72, fig. 29). The picture was acquired in exchange from the Lahore Museum; it is not inscribed.

D. XIV. Portrait of Anirudh Chand Katōch, the son of Sansār Chand, and the last ruling Rājā of Kāṅgrā. He succeeded his father in A.D. 1824 only to lose his kingdom four years afterwards. "In 1827-8 Anirudh Chand having visited Lahore, Ranjīt Singh preferred a request on behalf of Hira Singh, son of the minister Dhyān Singh, for the hand of his sister. Surrounded by Sikhs in the Lahore capital, the Katōch chief pretended to acquiesce, and returned homewards. His mind, however, was made up, and seeing the folly of resistance, he determined to sacrifice his kingdom, and to live an exile from his native hills, rather than compromise the honour of his ancient house. There were not wanting councillors, even of his own household, who advised him to keep his country and submit to the disgrace. But the young prince was inexorable; he crossed the Satluj with all his household and retainers, and sought a refuge from oppression within British territory. Ranjīt Singh and his ministers were foiled and enraged; but the person and honour of the Katōch Rājā were safe beyond their reach. His country lay defenceless at their feet, and was immediately attached in the name of the Khalsa." (*Kangra Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 38).

Moorcroft (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 126) describes Anirudh Chand as a man with a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but remarkably corpulent. This well agrees with our picture which was made before his accession. This is evident from the Nāgarī inscription: ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਡੀਕਾ ਅਨੁਰਠ ਚੰਦ "The illustrious heir-apparent (*īkā*) Anuradh (*read* Anirudh) Chand."

D. XV. Portrait of Bir Singh Paṭhānā, last ruling Rājā of Nūrpur. The fate of Bir Singh of Nūrpur is not less pathetic than that of his neighbour Anirudh Chand of Kāṅgrā. The traveller Vigne who met the exiled Rājā in 1839 in Chambā, gives the following interesting account of his career (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 145; cf. also p. 156, and *Kangra Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 36): "I afterwards saw the ex-Rajah of Nūrpūr, Bir Singh, at Chumba. He is now an elderly man, short in stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere, and a good-natured, manly, but very melancholy expression. Many years ago, a Sikh general invaded his country, by order of the Maharajah. He defended himself successfully for several days, but Runjit sent to request an interview, and Bir Singh repaired to Lahore. There—such is his own story—he was threatened with annihilation from the mouth of a cannon, if he did not agree to the Maharajah's terms. The Sikhs say that Runjit demanded the evacuation of the castle of Nūrpūr, in order that it might be garrisoned by his own troops, and that he would allow the Rajah to keep possession of the country upon payment of a certain revenue; and that he was liberated upon



Portrait of Raja Jit Singh of Chamba, (Cat , No. D. VI)

these conditions. However, when he had obtained his liberty, he returned to Nārpūr, collected a force, and tried to retake his castle; upon which the Sikhs returned with a strong force, and Bir Singh fled towards Chumba. But the Rajah of the latter place, whose sister he had married, fearing the resentment of Runjit, refused to protect him; and he was again taken prisoner, confined for seven years at Amritsir, and regained his liberty only in a fit of compunction, which seized Runjit when he supposed himself to be on his death-bed. He again came to Chumba, and his brother-in-law, the Rajah, purchased his freedom for a lakh of rupees. He has since passed many years at Simla and Subathu, in the Company's territories, and his whole prayer, night and day, was for the death of Runjit, after which he expected that we should again reinstate him; and I am of opinion that it will some day be found necessary to do so." Vigne's description is in agreement with the present picture which I purchased in Kānḡrā in 1904 and presented to the Museum. The Nāgarī inscription on the back reads राजा बीर चौध नूरपारीच । "Rājā Bīr Singh of Nūrpur."

D. XVI. Portrait of Bikram Sēn of Sukhēt. I purchased it in Kānḡrā in 1904. There is a Nāgarī inscription on the back राजा सधेतन श्रीकम सेन । "Rājā Bikram Sēn of Sukhēt."

D. XVII. Portrait of Gulāb Singh of Jammū and Kaśmir. His part in the history of the Panjāb is too well known to call for any comment. The picture was obtained in Kānḡrā. It is not inscribed. Portraits of Gulāb Singh and his brother Dhyān Singh have been published by Dr. Honigberger, *Fruchte aus dem Morgenlande*, Vienna 1851, plate 3.

D. XVIII. Portrait of Dhyān Singh, the younger brother of Gulāb Singh and minister of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. Works on the Sikh period give full information regarding his remarkable career. The picture, which I acquired in Kānḡrā, has no inscription.

E.—PHOTOGRAPHS.

(Taken by the *Archæological Survey*, Northern Circle.)

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 E. 116.—Inscribed fountain-slab at Sālhi (Pāṅgī).
 E. 117.—Group of Rāṇās at Sālhi (Pāṅgī).
 E. 118.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvī at Udaipur (Lahul).
 E. 119.—Brass image of Mirkulā Dēvī.
 E. 120.—Western panel of ceiling.
 E. 121.—Eastern panel of ceiling.
 E. 122.—Northern panel of ceiling.
 E. 123.—Southern panel of ceiling.
 E. 124.—Central panel of ceiling.
 E. 125.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvī at Udaipur (Lahul); entrance to sanctum.
 E. 126.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvī at Udaipur (Lahul); entrance to sanctum.
 E. 127.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvī at Udaipur (Lahul); entrance to sanctum.
 E. 128.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvī at Udaipur (Lahul); entrance to sanctum.

E. 129.—Temple of Mirkulā Dēvi at Udaipur (Lahul); entrance to sanctum.

E. 130.—Window (east side) of temple of Mirkulā Dēvi.

E. 131.—Window (west side) of temple of Mirkulā Dēvi.

E. 132.—General view of Trilōknāth, from north-west.

E. 133.—Temple of Avalokiteśvara at Trilōknāth.

E. 134.—Temple of Avalokiteśvara at Trilōknāth.

E. 135.—Marble image of Avalokiteśvara at Trilōknāth.

E. 136.—Roof of temple of Avalokiteśvara from north-east at Trilōknāth.

E. 137.—Detail of *Sikhara* temple of Avalokiteśvara at Trilōknāth.

E. 138.—Wooden masks used at the Ohar festival at Trilōknāth.

E. 139.—Buddhist statuettes in possession of the Rāṇā of Trilōknāth.

E. 140.—Buddhist statuettes in possession of the Rāṇā of Trilōknāth.

E. 141.—General view of Tārāgarh Fort from east.

E. 142.—Fort Tārāgarh; view of upper fort.

E. 143.—Chambā Gate of Tārāgarh Fort.

F.—WOOD-CARVING AND ORNAMENTAL WOOD-WORK.

[In a country like Chambā with its extensive forests it is only natural that wood should be largely used for building purposes both in ordinary dwelling houses and in edifices of a more ornamental character, such as temples. In the latter especially we find the art of wood-carving extensively applied from a very early date. It is remarkable that this art has been constantly declining, the earliest wood-carving found in the State being by far the best. That of the 17th and 18th centuries has no longer the excellence of the old work but still produces a pleasing effect. Most of the modern work is valueless and there is reason to apprehend that the art will be entirely lost.

The Museum does not possess any specimens of the earliest wood-carving, which is purely Indian in character. It is to be found in the temples of Śakti Dēvi at Chhatrārhī, of Lakṣanā Dēvi at Brahmor, and of Mirkulā Dēvi at Mirkulā or Udaipur in Lahul. The Chhatrārhī and Brahmor temples which were built by Rājā Meru-varman about A.D. 700, exhibit by far the oldest and finest wood-carving not only in Chambā, but in the whole of the Panjāb. The doorways are decorated with rows of figures of Hindu deities. The capitals of the pillars are gracefully carved in the shape of vases with overhanging foliage. And the ceilings consist of overlapping panels of which the central one is adorned with a full-blown lotus-flower. (See photos Nos. E. 32—35, 43 and 59).

The temple of Mirkulā Dēvi probably belongs to a later date, but at the period when it was built the art of wood-carving still retained a high degree of excellence. More especially the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* (ante-room) of this temple is a marvel of elaborate carving. It is divided into various panels exhibiting rows of figures alternating with decorative designs. One of these panels represents Buddha assaulted by Māra, the evil one. The central panel is embellished with an exquisitely carved lotus-flower. (See photos Nos. 118—131).

Most of the carved wood-work preserved in the Museum originates from the State Kōthī at Brahmor which was ruined in the earthquake of the 4th April 1905. The tradition that this building was raised in the reign of Rājā Prithvī Singh is confirmed by the style of the carvings. They clearly show the influence of Mughal art, especially by the use of the cusped arch in which the figures are enclosed. (See No. E 45). On one of the doors of the Brahmor Kōthī we find four figures in Mughal court dress. (Cf. plate VI.) The balconies are decorated with winged figures which represent Persian fairies (*parī*) and with winged angel heads likewise found in Mughal art, but ultimately derived from the well-known Cherubs of the ecclesiastical art of Italy.

The temple of Khaji Nāg at Khajiār belongs to the same period. It was built by Dāi Batlō, the wetnurse of Rājā Prithvī Singh. The wood-carving on this temple shows a curious mixture of Hīndū and Mughal elements. The wooden posts which enclose the verandah have capitals of the pot-and-foilage type and are surmounted by brackets decorated with curiously twisted Atlantes of purely Indian type. These figures remind one of the following passage in Dante's *Divina Commedia* (*Purgatorio* X, 130-134).

“ As to sustain a ceiling or a roof,
In place of corbel, oftentimes a figure
Is seen to join its knees unto its breast,
Which makes of the unreal real anguish
Arise in him who sees it. . . . ”

But the Indian ceiling-supports make an even more painful impression than those of mediæval Italian art to which Dante refers. Those at Khajūr perform the acrobatic feat of touching their head with their heels. Hence the local belief that they represent the Kauravas tied to the ceiling in this awkward position by their adversaries the Pāṇḍavas. The sons of Pāṇḍu themselves are portrayed in life-size wooden figures of clumsy make, which are placed in different parts of the shrine. The two flanking the entrance to the *cella* are said to be Arjuna and Bhīma. The ceiling itself with its lotus rosettes follows also the old style, though the carving is much flatter than in the early temples of the pro-Muhammadan period. On the other hand, we find the cusped arch and a star border introduced, both peculiar to Mughal art.

The same kind of winged figures as we noticed on the Brahmor Kōthī may be seen in the temple of Chāmundā Dēvī which overlooks Chambā. It is said to have been rebuilt or repaired by Rājā Rāj Singh (1764-1794). The wood-carving, however, is so similar in style to that of the Brahmor Kōthī and the Khajūr temple that I feel inclined to assign it to the same period. Probably Rāj Singh, in repairing the temple, retained much of the old work. Another example of late wood-carving is afforded by the temple of Chāmundā Dēvī at Dēvī Kōthī built in the reign of Rājā Umed Singh in A.D. 1754, as is stated in a Tākari inscription on the building. Here also Mughal influence is evident.

The wood-carving of the Muhammadan period is far inferior to the early pure Indian work. It is generally flat and shallow, and the figures are clumsy and badly arranged. Yet some pleasing examples of decorative designs are occasionally met with, for instance on the porch (*prol*) of the Brahmor Kōthī, now reconstructed in the Museum.]

F. 1. Wooden porch (*prol**; height 10' 5", width 8' 4") of the State Kōthī of Brahmor which was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April, 1905. The Brahmor Kōthī is ascribed to Rājā Prithvī Singh (A.D. 1641--1664). The carvings show clearly the influence of Mughal art. The jambs and uppermost lintel are decorated with a floral and foliated design of twelve-petalled rosettes each provided with an iron boss in its centre. The lowermost lintel is adorned with six bells carved in high relief and enclosed within cusped arches. The second lintel has a repeat of half-rosettes in triangles. Between the upper and lower lintels there are three rectangular panels carved with figures of deities. The central panel represents Vishṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) seated on a lotus with his consort Lakshmi. He has four arms and holds his usual emblems—the wheel, the conch, the mace and the lotus-flower.

The left-hand panel consists of three divisions. The central one contains the figures of Rāma with bow and arrow and his wife Sītā. On one side is his brother Lakshmaṇa, likewise armed, and on the other the faithful Hanumān approaching with a lotus-flower as an offering.

The right-hand panel is also divided into three compartments. The central one is occupied by Brahmā with four faces and four hands in which he holds the Vedas, a rosary and a waterpot. To his right stands Śiva who holds a trident, a rosary, a tabor (*damaru*) and a cup (?) in his four hands, and is accompanied by Pārvatī and his bull Nandi. To Brahmā's left we have again Vishṇu carrying his four usual attributes and his spouse Lakshmi.

It will be noticed that all these figures are placed under cusped arches—a sure indication of Muhammadan influence.

F. 2. Porch of similar construction as the previous number, but smaller in size (height 7' 8"; width 3' 9"). It also belonged to the Brahmor Kōthī and presumably dates back to the 17th century. The jambs and upper lintel are decorated with a simple floral and foliated design. The lowermost lintel has the same bell ornament as No. F. 1, but here miniature cypress trees are introduced, another element peculiar to Indo-Muhammadan art. A well-known instance is the tomb of "the Cypress Princess" near Lahore. The second lintel is carved with a foliated pattern. Of the three panels, only the central one is preserved. It again represents Vishṇu seated on a lotus and holding

* On this word, a derivate of Sanskrit *pratolī*, see my note *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 547 ff.

his four usual emblems—the wheel, the conch, the mace and the lotus-flower.

F. 3. Fragment (width 10' 5", height 1' 5") from the Brahmor Kōthī. Originally it must have contained five panels, of which two are missing. The central one shows the figure of some deity seated on a lotus. In the adjoining compartment there is a female figure playing with a ball. It shows traces of painting. The third panel apparently contains a male and a female figure.

F. 4-6. Wood-carved doors from the Brahmor Kōthī. At the time when the present catalogue was written, these doors had not yet reached the Museum. (Cf. plate VI.)

F. 7. Door (height 5' 11", width 1' 9") of painted wood, said to have been brought from Basōhī after the conquest of that place by Rājā Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782. It was afterwards preserved in the Chambā palace. In the centre is the figure of a Rājput of the Mughal period standing to the right and resting his left hand on a curved sword. Above him is a bunch of lilies (?) and beneath a bunch of poppies, both artistically treated. Each of these three subjects is surmounted by a cusped arch and enclosed within a border of conventional flowers. The door probably belongs to the 18th century.

F. 8. Sample of ceiling decoration in gilt and painted wood of a conventional floral design called *gul-jamish*. It is said to have been brought from Basōhī after the conquest of that place by Rājā Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782 and was afterwards used in the Chambā palace. We may, therefore, assume that it belongs to the 18th century.

F. 9. Sample of ceiling decoration in gilt and painted wood of a scrolled design called *bandrūn*. It has the same history as the previous number (F. 8).

F. 10. Sample of ceiling decoration in painted wood, consisting of stars enclosed within hexagons. It is called *chhih-sitāra* "six-star." It was used in the court of justice (*thara*) of the Chambā palace.

F. 11-14. Three spandrils and one top-piece of a balcony (*bukhārcha*) decorated with wood-carving. These pieces belonged to the old palace, demolished about A.D. 1890.

G.—ANCIENT WEAPONS.

The traveller through the peaceful valleys of the Panjāb Hills will find it difficult to imagine that only a few generations ago these tracts were the scene of unremitting strife and warfare. Yet such was the case. When in the spring of A.D. 1783 the traveller, Forster, disguised as a Moslim merchant, travelled with a caravan from Garhvāl to Kashmir through the lower hills, he found Bilāspur at war with Kūngrā, Basōhī devastated by the troops of Chambā, and the Biās valley overrun with Sikh marauders. And if we go eight centuries back to the time of the foundation of Chambā, our early records speak of Sāhila, the founder of Chambā city, as "a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīra forces; fanned as by the wind, by the lord of Durgara (Dugar) assisted by the Saumatikas; whose army was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown on his brow and who by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree, the large force of the Turushkas, sore with wounds."

Thus from the beginning the history of these Panjāb hill-states is one of continuous petty warfare, not less destructive to life and property than the collisions of great nations. It is significant that up to the present day it is thought inauspicious in Chambā to mention the names of Basōhī, Jammū, and Nūrpur—neighbours and therefore rivals. When a reference to these places is unavoidable, it is customary to indicate Basōhī and Jammū as "Pārlā Mulk" "the Land beyond", "and Nūrpur as "Saparvālā Shahr" "the Rooky Town." It is not to be wondered at that under such conditions the cult of the sword rose to prominence. This expression is to be taken in a literal sense. Up to the



Wood-carved Door from Brahmor Kōthī, (Cat., No. F. 4).

present time the noble Rājput houses of the Punjab Highlands follow the ancient custom of worshipping the sword and other weapons on the Dasahra festival.*

For the information contained in this section of my catalogue, I am largely indebted to the assistance of Captain R. St. I. Gillespie, R.E. The indigenous names of the various weapons have been supplied by Captain Sri Kanth Baratraj.

G. 1. Rājput padded helmet lined with brocade (*kimkhāb*) and decorated with brass studs. It was presented to Rājā Charhat Singh by Wazir Indar, son of Wazir Natthu, together with Nos. G. 2-4, and all are the property of His Highness the Rājā.

G. 2. Velvet padded sur-coat decorated with brass studs. See above under G. 1.

G. 3. Corslet consisting of four plates of inlaid steel (*kuftgarī*).† It is fastened with leather straps and lined with velvet. See above under G. 1.

Similar cuirasses in four pieces from Rājputānā in the Tower of London collection are described as "four mirrors" (*chār āīnā*).

G. 4. Two brassets (*hathīlī*) of steel inlaid with gold (*kuftgarī*). They are lined with velvet and provided with velvet cuffs. See above under G. 1.

G. 5. Double-handed two-edged sword (*khaṇḍā dudhārū* from Sanskrit *khaṇḍga dvidhāra*), with inlaid hilt (*kaḍa*) and blade of damascened steel and scabbard of velvet-clad pinewood.

G. 6. Persian scimitar with a hilt of inlaid steel and ivory, and leather scabbard. On the blade is an inscription in Persian: *Za'ān'uml Aṣṣahānī* "Sword made in Isfahān."

G. 7-8. Two broad-ended curved hill-swords (*dhenkaru*) with plain steel hilts. They were obtained by Rājā Shyām Singh from a Nēpālī blacksmith.

G. 9. Straight sword (*sakīlā*) with steel hilt and scabbard of leather-clad wood. The blade was broken and has been brazed in the middle. A popular adage says *Sakīlā phir akalā*, "Who has a *sakīlā* can go alone."

G. 10-11. Two sabres (*talwār*) with steel hilt and scabbard of velvet clad pinewood.

G. 12. Small curved knife with damascened blade, horn hilt and velvet-scabbard.

G. 13. Sword-stick (*guplī*) with crystal handle (*dastī*) and sheath of painted cane with a brass knob.

G. 14. Rājput dagger (*kaṭār*) with ornamental blade and leather silver-pointed sheath.

G. 15. Afghān knife with ivory hilt and scabbard of *papier maché*.

G. 16. Knife (*chhurī*) with silver hilt in the shape of a lion's head inlaid with three stones (one missing), and brocade-clad wooden scabbard.

G. 17. Dagger (*khañjar*) with gilt iron hilt and wooden sheath.

G. 18-19. Two caps of chain mail.

G. 20. Coat and cap of chain mail.

G. 21. Round shield (*dhāl*) of tortoise shell decorated with six steel bosses.

G. 22. Round shield of rhinoceros hide decorated with four bosses of gilt copper.

* Kalhana refers to this "worship of the weapons" (Sanskrit *astrapūjā*) in the *Rājataranginī* VII, 246; Dr. Stein's translation, Vol. I., p. 289.

† *Kuftgarī* work is made in Kōṭlī (Siālkōt District). It is said, however, that the specimens in the Museum collection were made locally in Rājā Charhat Singh's time.

G. 23. Round shield of rhinoceros hide decorated with crescent and four bosses of silvered iron.

G. 24. Round shield of rhinoceros hide decorated with four bosses of gilt copper.

G. 25. Battle-axe of inlaid (*kuftgarī*) steel with lacquered wooden handle. Hammer-head decorated with a sun.

G. 26-27. Two battle-axes (*tabar*).

G. 28. One battle-axe (*thekarū*).

G. 29-30. Two axes (*gandalhā*) formerly employed by the people of Trēhṭā in bear hunts and still used by the Gaddīs to kill goats.

G. 31-32. Two battle-axes (*gaṇḍāsā*) still used at festivals in Pāngl.

G. 33. Clubmace (*gurz*) of iron with steel top.

G. 34. Small mace (*gurju*) probably used as a knob-kerrie.

G. 35. Two-pointed lance (*neza, barchī*) with handle in centre, used by cavalry.

G. 36-38. Three bows (*kamān*).

G. 39. Bow of painted wood (*nimcha*).

G. 40. Arrow (*lār*) used in war.

G. 41. Arrow (*tukkā*) used for practice.

G. 42. Arrow (*lās*).

G. 43. Quiver (*tarkas*) of *papier maché* containing nine arrows.

G. 44. Priming horn (*rinjak*) with ivory *makara* head.

G. 45. Flint-lock pistol with inlaid but-end and muzzle. It bears the following inscription in Nāgarī characters :

याते नीति पढे सभू लोक ताते नस होइ

इहा स्वर्ग मो आनंद यो नसवंतो होइ

श्री राजाधिराज चढत सिंहस्येदं शस्त्र विशेषरियं च ध्यान

“ Whosoever studies good policy, he will attain fame

“ Here and in heaven he will have joy and fame.”

“ This excellent weapon belongs to the illustrious Rājādhirājā Charhat Singh ” (the last words are unintelligible).

It was made by order of Rājā Charhat Singh (1808—1844).

G. 46. Flint-lock pistol with superposed double barrel. Lock defective.

G. 47. Flint-lock pistol with double barrel, marked “ Manton.”

G. 48. Flint-lock pistol with single damascened barrel and hinged ramrod. Figure of lion and brass decoration.

G. 49. Small flint-lock blunderbus (*sherbachhā* literally “ tigercub ”) with decorated steel barrel and wide muzzle.

G. 50. Two flint-lock blunderbusses (*karabīn*) with inlaid steel barrels and bell-mouthed muzzles. At the accession of Rājā Shyām Singh (A.D. 1873) these weapons were still used for firing a salute. (On their use cf. Vigne, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 184).

G. 51. Jingly (*baghū*).

G. 52. Jīngal (*jamūr* from Persian *zambūr* "a hornet or wasp; a camel-swivel"). They were used to defend forts and were still in use during the Sikh period.

G. 53. Jezail (*jhajhāl*) nearly 8' long with decorated barrel.

G. 54. Match-lock jezail with long silver-inlaid barrel and but decorated with ivory.

G. 55. Bronze muzzle-loading cannon (bore 2½" diameter; 51" length) decorated with a trident (*triśūl*) and with the following inscription in Ṭākari characters :

श्री लक्ष्मीनाथ सहाई श्रीमहाराजा श्री चडत सिंघे जी दी सरकारा दी कारीगिर
लेघु दोग लेहद्याल मंनिया × सं १७ हाङ्ग प्र १

"May the holy Lord of Lakshmi (*viz.*, Vishṇu) help us !"

"In the reign of the illustrious Mahārājā, the illustrious Charhat Singh Jī, the workman Leghu [and] Daroga Manniyā of Lāhdā. Anno 17, the 1st of Hār."

From this inscription it appears that the gun was made in Chambā in A.D. 1841. The nephew of the workman Leghu is a blacksmith, Sohṇu by name, who still resides in Chambā.

G. 56. Bronze muzzle-loading cannon (bore 2½" diameter; 48" length). It bears the following inscription in Ṭākari :

श्री रघुवीर जी सहाई श्रीमहाराजा चडत सिंघे जी

"May the holy hero of the Raghus (*viz.*, Rāma) help us !

"In the reign of the illustrious Mahārājā Charhat Singh Jī."

G. 57. Bronze muzzle-loading cannon (bore 2½" diameter; 44" length) brought from Fort Tārāgarh near the village of Jājri in *parḡanā* Hubār, *wazārat* Bhaṭṭi.

G. 58. Bronze muzzle-loading cannon (bore 2½" diameter; 70" length), brought from Fort Tārāgarh. It has the following inscription in Ṭākari characters :

रघुवीर सहाई श्रीमहाराजा चडत सिंघे जी

"May the hero of the Raghus (*i.e.*, Rāma) help us !"

"The illustrious Mahārājā Charhat Singh Jī."

G. 59, 60. Two kettle-drums (circumference 9') said to have been brought from Basōhī after the conquest of that place by Rājā Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782.

G. 61. Powder horn (*singarā*).

G. 62. Priming horn (*rinjak*) with ivory mouth in the shape of a lion's head swallowing an antelope.

H.—EMBROIDERIES* AND TEXTILES.

H. 1. Gold-embroidered crimson velvet breast-covering, worn on state occasions by Khilāwā Bijai Rām to whom it was presented either by Rājā Jit

* The Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, contains a large embroidery representing the battle of the Pāṇḍavas with the Kauravas. It was presented by Rājā Gōpāl Singh of Chambā.

Singh or by Rājā Charhat Singh. It is the property of Captain Sri Kanth Baratru, a descendant of the original owner.

H. 2. *Rūmāl* (39" square) with figures of Jagannāth, i.e., Kṛishṇa, with his brother Balabhadra and sister Subhadrā. Above are figures of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. On both sides are cypress trees. On loan from Captain Sri Kanth Baratru.

H. 3. *Rūmāl* (25" by 23") with *chaupaṛ* and various figures.

H. 4. *Rūmāl* (21" by 20") with figures of Gaṇeśa and his two wives.

H. 5. *Rūmāl* (34" by 32") with Kṛishṇa piping, and Rādhā and the *rāmaṅḍal* of Kṛishṇa dancing with the *gōpīs*.

J.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

J. I. Grain-measure (*māṅi*) of wood strengthened with iron. It is said to have been brought from Basōhī by Rājā Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782. The *māṅi* is the unit for measuring grain. Twenty *māṅi* make one *piṛā* and twenty *piṛā* one *khāri*.

J. 2-3. Wooden stocks (*harī*) used in Chambā to secure the feet of prisoners up to A.D. 1863. In a copper-plate title-deed of Rājā Siddh Sēn of Maṅḍi (c. A.D. 1700—1727) we meet with the expression *har-rasī* meaning "Summary confinement with blocks and ropes."

J. 4. Pair of sandals (*kharāṭō*) of chestnut wood previously worn by the people of Chambā indoors, but now almost exclusively used in connection with worship.

J. 5, 10. Five wooden vessels made in the village of Jagati near Raṅhum Kōṭhī. Nos. 5—9 are of chestnut wood and No. 10 is made of walnut wood.

J. 11. Brass *kalamdān* obtained at Chanohta in the upper Rāvī valley.

J. 12. Brass *kalamdān* with two inkpots obtained in Chambā City.

J. 13-14. Two steels (*chakmak*) for striking fire worn by the Gaddis or shepherd tribe of the upper Rāvī valley. The traveller Moorcroft* remarks: "Every man carries a knife hanging from his girdle, and *chakmak* or steel for striking a light, fastened to his girdle also, by a chain, along with a leather pouch containing some vegetable tinder and a few pieces of quartz. The *chakmak* is of a peculiar and ornamental construction and is an article of foreign import, selling for a rupee or if much decorated a rupee and-a-half. It might be supplied advantageously, I should think, from Britain."

The editor H. H. Wilson adds in a footnote: "Drawings and specimens of the *chakmak* were forwarded by Mr. Moorcroft to several of his friends in this country (*viz.* England). Whether any manufacture or export of them was ever attempted is not known."

J. 15. Pouch (*bagalu*) of rough leather decorated with *rattis* and little mirrors worn by the Gaddis or shepherd tribe of the upper Rāvī valley.

J. 16. Mirror set in leather decorated with *rattis* worn by the Gaddis.

J. 17. Mirror decorated with coloured wool, beads and cowries, worn as breast ornament by Gaddī women

* Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab* (London 1841), Vol. I, p. 201. Cf. also Harcourt, *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti* (London 1871), p. 275.

- J. 18. Breast ornament (*phulāṅgaru*) decorated with coloured beads, cowries, buttons and coloured wool, worn by Gaddī women.
- J. 19. Iron padlock (*jandra*) and key.
- J. 20. Iron puzzle (*gorakh-dhandhā*) used by *sādhus* (*faqīrs*).
- J. 21. Iron peacock probably used as a toy. It is said to have come from the palace.
- J. 22. Iron chandelier consisting of an elephant-like animal on wheels, carrying a parasol and four oil-lamps surmounted by birds. It is said to have come from the palace.
- J. 23. Iron chandelier with three oil-lamps.
- J. 24-28. Five iron lamps suspended from chains.
- J. 29. Iron oil-lamp suspended from a rod.
- J. 30. Iron globe.
- J. 31. Iron scourge (*saṅgal*) used by *chēḷās* of Dēvī and Nāg temples. It is also presented to such shrines as a votive offering.*
- J. 32. Iron trident (*trisūl*) presented as a votive offering at Dēvī and Nāg temples.
- J. 33. Iron snake presented as a votive offering at Nāg temples. The Nāgs or serpent gods are usually represented either with a snake-hood or with a body ending in that of a snake.
- J. 34. Wooden sword presented as a votive offering at Nāg temples.
- J. 35. Hookah with decorated brass waterpot (*narīlā*) and *narī* and *chilam* of shisham wood turned on the lathe.
- J. 36. Four bracelets and twenty finger-rings made of horse hair.

APPENDIX I.

RĀJĀS OF CHAMBĀ.*

- MŪSHŪṆA or MŪSHAṆA ; progenitor of the Chambā Rājās.
.....
ĀDITYA-VARMAN.
BALA-VARMAN.
DIVĀKARA-VARMAN or DEVA-VARMAN.
- Circa A.D. 700—MERU-VARMAN. He erected brass images at Brahmor, his capital, and at Chhatrārṇhī. *Image inscriptions.*
.....
MRITYUNĀJAYA-VARMAN. *Proṭī-rā-galā rock-inscription.*
.....
- Circa A.D. 930—SĀHILLA-VARMAN. He made Chambā his capital. War with Durgara (Dugar), Sumaṭa (Sumarta ?), the Kiras and Turushkas.
- Circa A.D. 950—YUGĀKARA-VARMAN. *Brahmor copper-plate.*
- Circa A.D. 970—VIDAGDHA-VARMAN. *Sungal copper-plate. Tur image inscription.*
- Circa A.D. 990—DODAKA-[VARMAN]. *Tur image inscription.*
.....
- Circa A.D. 1045—SĀLAVĀHANA-VARMAN ; deposed by Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr. *Rājat. VII, 218. Vikram. XVIII, 38.*
- Circa A.D. 1065—SOMA-VARMAN. *Kulait and Chambā copper-plates.*
- Circa A.D. 1090—ĀSAṬA brother of Soma-varman ; visited Srinagara in A.D. 1087-8 in the reign of Kalaśa of Kaśmīr, who married his sister Bappikā. *Rājat. VII, 588, 319. Chambā and Thundhu copper-plates.*
- Circa A.D. 1115—JĀSAṬA ; surrendered to Sussala of Kaśmīr at Vijbror (Vijayēśvara) in A.D. 1101. *Rājat. VII, 1512.* He succeeded in A.D. 1105 and ruled over Churāh and Pāngī. *Luj and Loh-Tikrī fountain inscriptions.* He met the Kaśmīr-pretender Bhikshāchāra at Kuruksheṭra Circa A.D. 1114 and took up his cause. *Rājat. VIII, 538, 542, 547, 553.*
- Circa A.D. 1130—UDAYA-VARMAN ; assisted Sussala in the defence of Srinagara against Bhikshāchāra in A.D. 1122. *Rājat. VIII, 1083.*
- Circa A.D. 1160—LALITA-VARMAN ; ruled over Churāh and Pāngī. The poet Kamala-lāñchhana his *guru. Devī Kōṭhī and Sālhi fountain inscriptions.*

* This list contains only those names which have been authenticated by epigraphical or literary records.

Circa A.D. 1180—VIJAYA-VARMAN. *Mūl-Kihār fountain inscription (?)*.

.....

Circa A.D. 1330—VAIRĀSI-VARMAN. *Copper-plate of A.D. 1330*.

Circa A.D. 1365—MĀṆĪKYA-VARMAN.

Circa A.D. 1400—BHOTA-VARMAN. *Four copper-plates A.D. 1396-1426-7 (?)*

Circa A.D. 1450—SĀMGRĀMA-VARMAN. *Three copper-plates A.D. 1395 (?) 1446*.

Circa A.D. 1480—ĀNANDA-VARMAN. *Two copper-plates A.D. 1481*.

Circa A.D. 1500-Circa 1560—GAṆEŚA-VARMAN. *Nine copper-plates A.D. 1512-1558*. He built Fort Gaṇēs Gaṛh in Bhaṭṭi.

Circa A.D. 1560-Circa 1588—PRATĀP SINGH. *Seven copper-plates A.D. 1575-1586*.

VIRABHĀNU. It is uncertain whether he actually reigned.

A.D. 1589-1641—BALABHADRA. Forty-two copper-plates A.D. 1589-1641. Sūraj Mall of Nūrpur and his brother Mādhō Singh who had rebelled against Jahāngīr in A.D. 1618 sought shelter in Chambā. *Bādshāh Nāma* quoted *Kangra Gazetteer* 1904, App. I, p. II.

A.D. 1641-1664—PRITHVI SINGH; grandson of Balabhadra. Seven copper-plates A.D. 1641-1661, two recording grants by Dāi Baṭlo (or Baṭulā). Assisted the army of Murād Bakhsh in reducing Jagat Singh of Nūrpur in A.D. 1641-2. *Bādshāh Nāma* quoted *Kangra Gazetteer*, App. I, p. VIII. Boundary dispute with Basōhlī decided in favour of Chambā in March 1648. *Sanad C 1*. Built Fort Prithvi Jōr.

A.D. 1664-1690—CHHATTAR SINGH.*

A.D. 1690-1720—UDAI SINGH. Murdered by his officials at Udaipur on the left bank of the Rāvī. Temple erected on the spot where he died. Udaipur (Mirkula) in Lahul named after him.

A.D. 1720-1735—UGAR SINGH. Deposed by his officials in favour of his cousin Dalēl Singh.

A.D. 1735-1748—DALĒL SINGH. Received Paṭhyār in *jāgīr* from Zakariyya Khāṇ, Governor of the Panjāb in A.D. 1744. *Sanad C 2*.

A.D. 1748-1764—UMĒD SINGH. He married a Jammū princess and tendered allegiance to Aḥmad Shāh Durānī who confirmed Paṭhyār to him in *jāgīr* in 1762. He seized Chaṛī in Kāngṛā. *Sanads C 3 and 4*.

A.D. 1764-1794—RĀJ SINGH. He succeeded as a minor. Jammū invasion of Amṛit Pāl of Basōhlī, in A.D. 1774, repelled with the assistance of the Sikhs. He tendered allegiance to Timūr Shāh in A.D. 1777.

* There exist copper-plates of all the later Rājās; but, their dates being known from other sources, these documents do not possess the same chronological interest as those of the earlier period.

Sanad C, 5. He conquered Basōhī in A.D. 1782. Treaty with Sansār Chand Kātōch in A.D. 1788. *Copper-plate*. He was killed at Nērti in A.D. 1794. Temple erected on the spot where he died. Rāj-nagar named after him.

- A.D. 1794-1808—JIT SINGH. Received a *sanad* from Shāh Zamān, the king of Kābul, in January 1797. *Sanad C* 6.
- A.D. 1808-1844—CHARHAT SINGH. Succeeded as a minor. Bīr Singh of Nūrpur sought shelter in Chambā. Chambā visited by Mr. Vigne and Captain (afterwards General, Sir) Alexander Cunningham in 1839. *Vigne Travels*, vol. i, pp. 150ff. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, vol. xiv, pp. 109ff.
- A.D. 1844-1870—SRI SINGH. Succeeded as a minor. Treaty between the British Government and Gulāb Singh of Jammū of 16th March 1846. Appointment of British Superintendent, December 1862.
- A.D. 1870-1873—GŌPĀL SINGH brother of Sri Singh. Abdicated in favour of his son.
- A.D. 1873-1904—SYĀM SINGH. Succeeded as a minor and abdicated in favour of his brother. Baron K. E. von Ujfalvy visited Chambā in the summer of 1881. *Aus dem westlichen Himalaja* (Leipzig 1884), pp. 82ff.
- A.D. 1904—BHŪRI SINGH.

APPENDIX II.

A. THE EULOGY OF SARĀHAN.*

ओं सन्तिः ।

जयति शिव एष ईशः सोमप्रभया विभूषितशरीरः ।
सततामुरक्तगौरोदेहार्धनिवद्धसद्भावः ॥ १ ॥
आसौत्प्रशक्तगुणगौरववृत्तयुक्तः पर्युक्तसद्विमलिमाकरराजिशुद्धः ।
श्रीभोगटो भुवनभूषणभूतमूर्तिः सुव्यक्तमौक्तिकमणिप्रतिमः पृथिव्याम् ॥ २ ॥
तस्मादजायत जयन्त इवामरेन्द्राच्चन्द्रार्धशेखरधरादिव कार्तिकेयः ।
श्रीसात्विकः प्रणयिदेव्यगिराकारिष्णुर्विष्णुर्यथा पृथगुणो विजितारिचक्रः ॥ ३ ॥
किष्किन्धिकाधीशकुले प्रसूता सोमप्रभा नाम बभूव तस्य ।
देवी जगद्भूषणभूतमूर्तिस्त्रिकोचनस्येव गिरीशपुत्री ॥ ४ ॥
अपूर्वमिन्दुं प्रविधाय वेधाः सदास्करत्वान्तिकलङ्कमुक्तम् ।
संपूर्णविम्बं वदनं यदोयमभूत्तरां कण्ठकिताङ्गयष्टिः ॥ ५ ॥
नागाविघाणं हतिसंनिवेशविशेषरम्या गुणशालिनी या ।
मनोहरत्वं सुतरामवाप सचेतसां सत्त्वविभारतीव ॥ ६ ॥
शृङ्गारसिन्धोः किमियं नु वेला किं वा मनोभूतखमङ्गरी स्यात् ।
वसन्तराजस्य नु राग्यलक्ष्मीस्त्रैलोक्यसौन्दर्यसमाहृतिर्गुं ॥ ७ ॥
जगत्त्रयीवश्यविधानदक्षा विद्या मनोमोहनिकाभिधा नु ।
इत्थं जगो जातवितर्कराश्रियस्या न निश्चेतुमभूत्समर्थः ॥ ८ ॥
क्षयं प्रमोदोक्तसया समेतो वृष्टा क्षयं विस्मयगर्भया च ।
क्षयं वितर्काकुलरूपया च पश्यन्नो यां वज्रभावको भूत् ॥ ९ ॥
या च द्विरेषद्युतिकेष्टपाशं विभर्ति धात्रा कुसुमायुधाय ।
जगत्त्रयीमानससंयमार्थं हतं प्रियं कर्तुमभीष्टनेव ॥ १० ॥
समानतम्भूधनुषा कटाक्षविद्योपवायैर्जनतामनांसि ।
आक्रान्तवत्या सुतरां विजित्य गिराम्नयोऽकारि यया मनोभूः ॥ ११ ॥

* Cf. above p. No. A, 1. The *sandhi* has been altered according to modern usage. Restored syllables lost in the original are placed between square brackets.

यस्याः कपोलौ परिपाञ्चुराङ्गौ सौन्दर्यकान्तिप्रवर्णिभरौ च ।
 नेत्रोत्पलानन्दविधानदक्षौ शशाङ्कबुद्धिं कुरतो जनस्य ॥ १२ ॥
 रागान्वितेनाप्यधरस्य यस्याः काठिन्यभाजा मुकुमारमूर्तेः ।
 न पद्मरागेन रसोष्णितेन सुधा[र]सस्यन्दिन आपि साम्यम् ॥ १३ ॥
 यस्याश्च वप्सोष्णदन्तरानेर्मृद्याणकौमस्यभुजाणतायाः ।
 तुङ्गं सजावस्थजलं विभाति कुचद्वयं दु[र्गमि]वात्मजस्य ॥ १४ ॥
 बालप्रवालाख्यभावभाजौ कराम्बुजे यद्दनेन्दुभासा ।
 योने पि यस्याः प्रविकस्ररत्नं धनो जने विस्मयकार्यभूतत् ॥ १५ ॥
 भ्रुवत्वभाजा विमलात्मकेन प्रसर्पता यातिमनोहरेण ।
 नखांशुजालेन विभाति दिक्षु मुक्ताकलापानि च विक्षिपन्ती ॥ १६ ॥
 यस्याश्च मध्यं क्तनभारभृत्या मा भूदिभङ्गः क्लृप्ताकुणस्य ।
 एतस्य शशाङ्गमिति विभ्रतेव धात्रा वलीदामचयेन वद्धम् ॥ १७ ॥
 लीलाविषासादिकरत्नकोशसर्वस्वसारं समवेत्य तत्स्यम् ।
 तद्रक्ष्यार्थं मकरध्वजेन मुद्गेव यस्या विदधे च नाभिः ॥ १८ ॥
 यस्या विशाले च नितम्बविम्बे वृष्टिर्भ्रमन्ती गितरां मुमोह ।
 ऊरू च धत्ते ऽम्बुजगर्भगौरौ सुसंगतौ साधुजनौ यथा या ॥ १९ ॥
 पतेत्सुधासूतिकरप्रतानो व्याकोशताशालिनि पङ्कजे चैत् ।
 तस्याः सरागे चरयाञ्जयुग्मे नखांशुजालस्य तदोपमा स्यात् ॥ २० ॥
 अप्रच्यवं शैलजया सहास्याः स्यात्सख्यमित्येतदसौ नरेन्द्रः ।
 अचौकरदेवकुलं कणङ्कमुत्तन्द्रेखाङ्गितशेखरस्य ॥ २१ ॥
 जपतु हिमरश्मिशेखर आवसुधं चेदमस्तु देवकुलम् ।
 प्रस्थाततमं जयतु च पृथ्वीं श्रीसायकिः सकलाम् ॥ २२ ॥

Translation.

Hail !

1. Victorious is Siva, our Lord, whose body is adorned with moonlight* and whose affection is fixed on [that] half of [his] body [consisting] of the ever-devoted Gauri. †

2. There was on the earth a man of laudable virtues, dignity and deportment—pure like the sickle of the glittering shedder of brightness (the Moon)

* An evident allusion to the name of the lady to whose praise the greater part of the poem is devoted. Cf. verse 4.

† Siva is sometimes represented half male and half female, the female half representing his spouse Gauri or Durgā.

—whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls.

3. From him was born—even as Jayanta from [Indra] the Prince of the immortals, and Kārttikeya from [Śiva] who bears the half-moon as his diadem—the illustrious Sātyaki who used to put away the sorrow of his dear ones—like unto Vishṇu of abundant virtue and the victor over his enemies' host.

4. A daughter of the house of Kishkindhikā's Lord, Somaprabhā (Moonlight) by name, whose form was an ornament of the world, was his queen—even as [Durgā] the daughter of Himālaya [was the queen] of the three-eyed god (Śiva).

5. When the Creator (Brahmā) had fashioned her face—a moon such as was never seen before, of ever-sparkling splendour, devoid of blemish and full-orbed—the hairs on his slender limbs stood up.*

6. She, exceeding lovely and rich in virtues, attained by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of men of taste, like the muse of a good poet.†

7. “Can she be the high-tide of the ocean of passion, or a cluster of blossoms on the tree of love, or the presiding goddess of the realm of king Spring, or the sum of the beauty of the three worlds?”

8. Or a spell named “Mind-perplexing,” capable of rendering the three worlds obedient?‡ Thus lost in a multitude of doubts, one cannot decide about her.

9. Beholding her with an eye, now sparkling with joy, then pregnant with amazement, and then again confused with doubt, one was bewildered and full of imaginings.

10. She bears a lock (*lit.* sling) of hair, glittering like a bee, made by the Creator—desirous, as it were, to show favour to the flower-armed [Cupid], that he may fetter [with it] the hearts of the three worlds.

11. By her who with the bent bow of her brow and with the arrows of her side-long glances has attacked and completely conquered the hearts of mankind, Cupid has been rendered shelterless.‡

12. Her cheeks of a very pale hue full of the essence of beauty and loveliness, capable of causing delight to the night-lotuses which are the eyes of her admirers], make on the people the impression of the Hare-marked [Moon].§

13. Her lip is not equalled by the ruby, though endowed with [a like] redness; for the one partakes of hardness and has no moisture, the other is soft-shaped and nectar-distilling.

14. Her rows of teeth beam like diamonds; her slender arms are soft like lotus-stalks; her pair of breasts, high and watered with charm, appear [like a castle] of Cupid.||

* Brahmā himself was in raptures over her face which resembled and at the same time surpassed the moon, as it was never obscured by clouds or eclipses, had no markings and never waned.

† According to the laws of Indian rhetoric, good poetry has three virtues, namely, vigour, serenity, and sweetness. The ornaments of speech are an essential part of it.

‡ Cupid (Kāma) dwells in the human hearts.

§ The man in the moon appears in Indian poetry as a hare or deer.

|| The words between brackets are missing in the original.

15. Her lotus-like hands, possessing the ruddy appearance of young buds, remain expanded in the brightness of her moon-like face, even when in contact [with each other], causing amazement among the people.*

16. With the flashing net of her ray-like nails, gifted with whiteness, of spotless nature, exceeding captivating, she seems to scatter bundles of pearls in all directions.

17. The Creator (Brahmā) who was afraid that, by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break, has fastened it with a girdle of multitudinous folds.†

18. The dolphin-bannered [Cupid], perceiving that she contains exquisite treasures of grace and dalliance and such-like pearls, has, in order to guard these, shaped her navel like a seal.

19. The eye roaming over her broad, round hips is wholly bewildered. She has thighs yellowish like the centre of a lotus, well-matched like two honest men.

20. If a tendril-like beam of the Nectar-shedder (the Moon) fell on a widely expanded red lotus, then would there be an image of the net of her ray-like nails on the rosy pair of her lotus-like feet.‡

21. "May there be an unshaken friendship between her (Somaprabhā) and the Mountain-daughter (Durgā)." With this wish that prince (Sātyaki) had this temple § built to [Śiva] whose diadem is marked with the stainless sickle of the Moon.

22. Victorious be [Śiva], whose diadem is the cool-rayed [Moon], and may this temple be of high renown, as long as the wealth-bestowing [Earth endures], and may the illustrious Sātyaki conquer the entire Earth.

B. THE EULOGY OF DEVĪ KŌTHĪ.¶

... .. याश्चाटुकविधिं
विधातुं वा तस्याः परिमितगिरौ जं गुणनिधेः ॥ १० ॥
तस्यामभूदस्य शुभैकशालो गुणैर्विशालो रिपलोककालः ।
धर्म्यक्रियोत्पुंसितपापजालः श्रीनागपालो रणसौम्यबालः ॥ ११ ॥
[पितरि पर]मुपेते लोकमस्तोकशोकः सपदि पतिवियोगा[भूर्द्धितां मातरं]स्वाम् ।
अनुगमनविधानादारयामास कृष्णात्स नय[विनयशाली बाल]केनामुजेन ॥ १२ ॥
सञ्चामवाप्य सततं नि[यतोपवा]सतीव्रव्रतैर्निजतनुं तनुतां नयन्ती ।

* The red lotus-flower expands only in the day-time, and not when the moon is shining.

† The three-folds (*trivali*) about the waist are considered a mark of female beauty.

‡ As the flower of the red lotus is closed at night, the condition proposed by the poet is never fulfilled; in other words, the combination of her feet which are red like a lotus-flower and of her nails, glittering like the moon, is without a parallel.

§ The temple in question is probably that of Chandarsokh at Sāhō, at a short distance from which the inscription was discovered in 1903.

¶ Cf. above p. 3, No. A, 10. The *sandhi* has been altered according to modern usage. Restored portions not found in the original are placed between square brackets.

वृद्धिं नि[नाय व]रदानमसौ सुतौ च दीने दयां च सुरवैरिणि [चैव] भक्तिम् । १२ ॥
 तं नागपातं ललितक्षितोशब्दकार [राजागक]शब्दवाच्यम् ।
 अकायडचक्षयमदयडचयडोर्द[यडकाजा]सिखिखिखितारिम् ॥ १४ ॥
 जवगपवनवेक्ष्णोक्तको[ल]माकाप्रतिमितशुशिलेखाचक्षणं जीवकोकम् ।
 प्रति[पदम]वबुध्याचौकरत्साथ बद्धा निजपतिसुकृतार्थं पुष्क[राधा]रमेतम् ॥ १५ ॥
 शुभैकज्ञतकर्मणः [परवधूविपन्न]र्मणो वितोर्यबज्जभर्मणो ऽर्धेषु हत[द्विषण्]र्मणः]
 [दृष्ट]क्षलितवर्मणो मुनिविधूमिते वत्सरे[प्रशस्तिमकरोदिमां कम]ललाङ्घनस्तदुदः॥१६
 सन्तो नन्दन्तु [सदा जगद]पि सुखप्रालि भवतु सामन्तः ।
 भुवि जय[तु नामपालस्तोयाशय] एष च स्थिरो भवतु ॥ १७
 शास्त्री[ये संवत्सरे ...]निर्मितेयं प्रशस्तिरिति श्रेयः ॥ घटितं ...
 उद्भूतस्यापतिभागराजेण भडि त्रयेण भडि भगीरेण ...

*Translation.**

...[this] was enough even to flatter her [who was] of measured speech and a vessel of virtue. She bore him [a son], the illustrious Nāgapāla, the sole abode of grace, great by his virtues, the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not [acting] like a child in the forefront of the battle. After *his father* had gone to the *next* world, he—*that abode of good behaviour and modesty*—overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother [who was still] *an infant*, held back from following him [into death] † his mother instantly *fainting* at the separation from her lord. She recovered consciousness, and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of *constant fasts* she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Krishna. On this Nāgapāla king Lalita ‡ conferred the title of *Rānā* on him who with his deadly sword and rod-like arm—fierce like the suddenly-flashing rod of Death—had torn asunder his foes. But Balhā [his mother] who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this *cistern* made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.

In the year shown by [the words] “*seer*” and “*moon*” of [the reign of] the great Lalita-varman § - who solely performs good works and whose sport is

* *N.B.*—Words in italics represent the missing portions of the inscription which have been restored. Words between square brackets are not expressed in the original and have been added for the sake of clearness.

† The meaning is that Nāgapāla prevented his mother Balhā from becoming *sati* at her husband's death.

‡ Lalita-varman, the Rājā of Chambā, who reigned in the third quarter of the 12th century of our era.

§ The date of the inscription is expressed by the numerical value of the words “*seer*” (i.e. seven) and “*moon*” (i.e. one), referring to the reign of Lalita-varman of Chambā. In other words, it was composed in the 17th year of his reign. As the Sālhi fountain inscription—referred to above, which is dated in the Sāstra year 46, corresponding to A.D. 1170—belongs to the 27th year of Lalita-varman, it follows that our present inscription was composed about A.D. 1160.

*the misfortune of the wives of his enemies, who has lent much support to the needy and baffled the joy of his rivals—Kamala-lāñchhana, his spiritual guide, composed this eulogy.**

May the righteous ever rejoice and the world be full of happiness; may the baron *Nāgapāla* be victorious on earth and may this *cistern* be stable.

In the year 35-6 (?) of the Śāstra era was this eulogy composed. May it be blessed. This cistern was constructed by Master Bhāgarāja, the son of Udda.....by the mason Tyaga, by the mason Bhagīra.....

* It is here stated that Kamala-lāñchhana, the *guru* or spiritual preceptor of Rājā Lalita-varman, was the author of the inscription.

APPENDIX III.

PERSIAN SANADS.

In the summer of 1908, while arranging the State Museum, I made inquiries into the existence of ancient papers relating to the history of Chambā. An investigation made by Captain Sri Kanth Baratru resulted in the discovery of seventy-two such documents, including thirty letters in Persian. Translations of six of these letters—apparently the most important among the number—are now available, and, on account of their historical interest, I have thought fit to edit them as an appendix to the present catalogue.

The letters are given here in chronological order. For the translations of Nos. II and III, I am indebted to my late Assistant Maulwi Nur Bakhsh, M.A. The other four have been rendered into English by Syed Ghulam Hussain Shah, M.A., Macleod Arabic Reader at the Government College, Lahore, in co-operation with Maulwi Hasan Din, Arabic Teacher at the Oriental College, Lahore. Dr. J. Horowitz, Professor of Arabic at the Muhammadan College of Aligarh, has been good enough to revise the transcripts and translations.

I.—Settlement of a Boundary dispute between Rājā Prithvī Singh of Chambā and Rājā Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli, A.H. 1058 (A.D. 1648).

The origin of the boundary dispute to which this letter refers has to be sought in the rebellion of Jagat Singh Pathāniā of Nūrpur against the Emperor Shāh-Jahān in A.D. 1641. We know from the *Bādshāh-Nāmah* that Rājā Prithvī Singh of Chambā, who had just succeeded his grandfather Balabhadra, assisted the imperial troops under Prince Murād Bakhsh in reducing the fort of Tārāgarh in which Jagat Singh had sought a last refuge. Local tradition holds that on this occasion the Chambā Rājā obtained assistance from his neighbour, Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli, in exchange for the *pargaṇā* of Bhalai which adjoins the Basōhli territory.

We do not know on what terms an agreement was made by the two Rājās, who both had good reason to rejoice in the humiliation of the turbulent ruler of Nūrpur. But it appears from the document here edited that in the early spring of A.D. 1648 an imperial delegate was deputed to settle the question whether the *pargaṇā* of Bhalai rightfully belonged to Chambā or to Basōhli. It is not apparent who the officer was to whose arbitration the two Hill chiefs had to submit, but he seems to have been an emissary of the Governor of Lahore. It is stated that, before coming to Chambā, he had settled the affairs of Jammū.

Sangrām Pāl did not obey the summons, and the question was decided in favour of Rājā Prithvī Singh of Chambā. It is noteworthy that in the *Bādshāh-Nāmah* the Chambā Rājā is called Prithi Chand, whereas in the text of the letter he is called Prithi Singh, the name which in the Sanskrit form Prithvī-sin̄ha is found in his copper-plate grants. I presume that the name Prithi Chand is due to an oversight.

The grant of Bhalai to Chambā was confirmed by a *sanad* which was issued under the seal of Mir Khān, governor of the Panjāb, under Aurangzēb. It is dated 22nd Ramazān in the 8th year of the reign of that Emperor corresponding with the 18th March, A.D. 1666.

Text.

الله اکبر

این ذکر است در بیان آنکه چون بنده درگاه را نواب قدسی القاب صاحب عالم و عالمیان قبله جهان و جهانیان حکم فرموده بودند که در میان رفعت پناه راجه پرتیپ سنگه و سنگرام پال مناقشه حد حدود داشت - در آنجا رفته رفع مناقشه نماید - چون بنده درینجا آمد بعد فراغ معامله جمون سنگرام پال را طلبید که بحضور او تحقیق معامله نماید - او نیامد - از قضات و اهالی و موالی و جمهور سکنه و متوطنه و جمیع زمین داران از روی قسم مسلمانان را و قسم آئین هندوان به هندوان تحقیق نموده شده - جمیع مردم حسب الله گواهی دادند - که بهلئی داخل ملک چنبه است - و در تصرف بزرگان و پدر پدران راجه پرتیپ سنگه شده آمده - و چون تحقیق شده که بهلئی بر راجه تعلق دارد - بنابر آن این چند کلمه محض نوشته داده که سند مومی الیه باشد - بتاریخ ۱۹ شهر صفر سنه ۱۰۵۸ *

Translation.

“God is great.”

“This is an explanatory report, because the Nawāb of Holy Title, Master of the Universe and its creatures, *Qiblah* of the World and its denizens, ordered me, who am a servant of his Court, to go and settle the quarrel between Rājā Pirthī Singh, the asylum of Dignity and Sangrām Pāl, regarding their boundaries. When I came hither, having settled the affairs of Jammū, I summoned Sangrām Pāl in order that the investigation might be made in his presence. He did not appear. The investigation was made from the Qāzīs, the people at large, and all the inhabitants and all the *zamīndārs*; from Muhammadans under their oaths and from Hindūs under the law relating to their oaths; and all men, for the love of God, gave evidence that Bhalai is included in the Chambā State, and had been in the possession of the ancestors and fore-fathers of Rājā Pirthī Singh. When it was proved that Bhalai belongs to the Rājā, this brief document was written in order that it may serve as a certificate for the above-named.”

Dated 19th Šafar, 1058 A.H.
(15th March, 1648 A.D.)

Signature of Rāi Jag Dev.

- Chaudhari Arjun and Jivan Chaudharis of Paṭ Tāreḥ (?).
 Chaudhari Kamūn of Mahrūr (?).
 Chaudhari Lālah of Mahrūr (?).
 Rāi Bhūpat Jamvāl.*

* The duplicate copy has Rājā Śārangdhar Jamvāl.

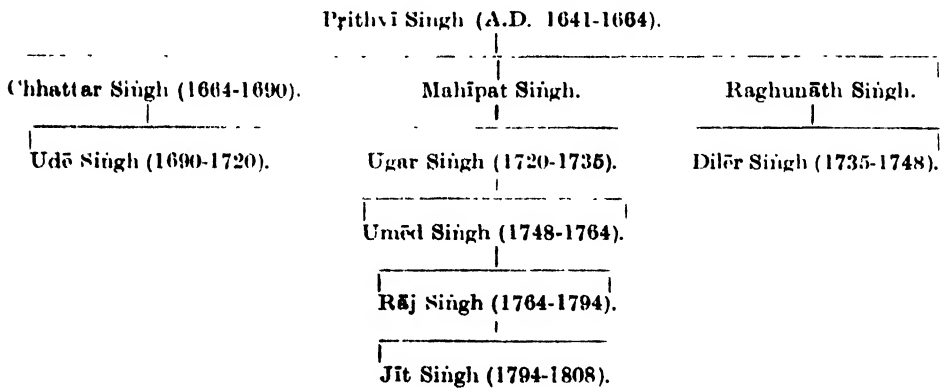
Signature of Rāi Bhūpat [Pāl].

- „ „ Duni Chand Qānūngō of Multān (?).
 „ „ Chaudhari Hakīm Mānā of Multān (?).
 „ „ Tārā Chand Qānūngō of Mahrūr (?).
 „ „ Prahād Qānūngō of Syālkōt, Jammū, etc.
 „ „ Thakurat (?) Qānūngō of Syāl (?).
 „ „ Rājā Kishan or Krishan.
 „ „ Rāi Abhamān Pāl Bhadvāl.
 „ „ Rājā Pirthi Chand [of Śiba?].
 „ „ Kamalāpat Wazīr of Rājā Jagat Singh [of Nūrpur?].
 „ „ Syām Chand [Dadhvāl?].

II.—Grant of the parganā of Paṭhyār in Kāngrā by Nawāb Zakariyyā Khān to Rājā Dilēr Singh, A.H. 1157 (A.D. 1744).

This letter is nearly a century later in date than the previous one and was issued only a few years after the invasion of Nādir Shāh had initiated the downfall of the Mughal empire. It bears the seal of Nawāb Zakariyyā Khān, the well-known Khān Bahādur, (Governor of the Panjāb, under Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719--1748). The village of Bēgampūra on the road from Lahore to the Shālīmār Gardens contains his tomb and a mosque founded by him.* Zakariyyā Khān succeeded his father, Abdul Samad Khān, as governor of Lahore and Multān in A.D. 1737. He was defeated by Nādir Shāh on the banks of the Rāvi in 1739 and died in 1747.†

By this letter the Governor bestows the *parganā* of Paṭhyār in Kāngrā on Rājā Dilēr Singh of Chambā as a reward for his loyalty. It should be noticed that in Chambā this Rājā is known as Dalāl Singh, but *Dilēr* is the correct form of the word which in Persian means "brave." It is also stated in this letter that Dilēr Singh's elder brother Udē Singh had been honoured with a *mansab* and had received the *jāgirs* of Dūn and Nādaun. The expression "elder brother" is not quite correct, as Udē Singh and Dilēr Singh were in reality first cousins, as will be seen from the following genealogy:—



Paṭhyār is a village situated 9 miles north of east from Kāngrā City (Nagar-kōṭ) and halfway between Dharmśālā and Pālampur. The place is

* Latif, *Lahore, its history, architectural remains and antiquities* (Lahore, 1892), p. 138.

† Latif, *History of the Panjāb* (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 193, 201 and 212

familiar to archæologists, as it boasts the oldest inscription of the district—a rock inscription in Brāhmī and Kharōshthī. A more conspicuous monument is the ruined fort perched on the top of a hill above the village.

Nādaun is the well-known place on the Biās. Its fame is expressed in the popular saying*: *Jāgā Nādaun āgā kaun* "Who will go to Nādaun and return?" Dūn seems to be a locality in the neighbourhood.

The Kaṭōch chief who had taken possession of Pathyār was probably Ghamand Chand on whom Aḥmad Shāh, according to Moorcroft,† conferred the government of the Jālandhar Dōāb in perpetuity along with the fort of Kāngrā. This happened in A.D. 1767 at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's last invasion.

Text.

[مهر]

سنه ۱۱ محمد شاه، بادشاه غازی

دودي سيف الدوله زکریا خان

بهادر دلیر جنگ

زمینداران و قانونگویان و مقدمان و رعایا و مزارعان پرگنه پتهیار مضاف صوبه پنجاب بدانند بوضوح پیوست که پرگنه مزبور بجمعدامی سه لگ و هشتاد هزار دام مقرر است - و از قدیم الایام تعلق چنان بوده - از چندی کتوچ قابو یافته زمیندار آنجا را با خود ملحق ساخته - چون رفعت و عوالی پناه راجه دلیر سنگه چنبال برسوخ ارادت در تقدیم جانفشانی بکارهای سرکار والا همیشه حاضر و سرگرم فدویت و پرگنه مزبور محال پادشاهی و اودیسنگه برادر کلانش همیشه بمقصب سرکار والا عز امیناز داشته به تنخواه جاگیرات ضلع دون و نندون سر افزای داشته(؟) لهذا نظر بوراثت و رسوخ خدمتگاری راجه مزبور پرگنه مسطور را من ابتداء فصلربیع الومی ئل(؟) بجایگیر مشار الیه مرحمت نموده شد که بجمیعت خاطر زیاده از سابق در خدمت پادشاهی ظهور فدویت و خدمتگاری مینموده باشد باید که مومی الیه را جایگیدار مستقل المحال دانسته مال واجب را نزد مشار الیه ادا میکرده باشند و از هیچ صلاح و صوابدید او بیرون نروند تاکید دانند *

پنج شنبه شهر صفر سنه ۲۷ سمت ارقام یافت

* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 76.

† *Ibidem*, p. 127.

Translation.

A. H. 1157 (?).
Zakariyyā Khān
Saifu-d-daulah
(Seal) Bahādur Dilēr Jang
the devoted servant
of
Muhammad Shāh
Pādshāh Ghāzī.

“ The *zamīndārs*, the *qānūngōs*, the *muqaddams*, the subjects and the peasants of the *parḡanā* of Pathyār annexed to the province of the Panjāb should know [that] it is evident that the said *parḡanā* is assessed at three *lakhs* and eighty thousand *dāms*, and such has been the term from old days. A short time ago, the Katōeh, finding an opportunity, united the *zamīndārs* of that place with himself. As Rājā Dilēr Singh Chambyāl, the asylum of dignity and eminence, has always been ready and eagerly devoted with a strong inclination to display his zeal in the services of His exalted Majesty, and the said *parḡanā* is a royal estate and his elder brother Udē Singh, being always distinguished with a *mansāb* of the exalted government, was honoured with the *jāgīrs* of Dūn and Nādaun for his maintenance, for these reasons, taking into consideration the hereditary right and the zeal for the service of the said Rājā, the above-mentioned *parḡanā* is bestowed as a *jāgīr* on the aforesaid [Rājā] from the beginning of the last spring season of the year, so that he might display devotion and diligence in the royal service more [eagerly] than before. The above-mentioned [Rājā] should be considered as a permanent *jāgīrdār* of that estate, and the revenue due should be paid to him. None should act against his good counsel and opinion. This should be taken as strictly enjoined. Written on the 5th of the month of Šafar, the 27th year [of accession].”

III.—*Sanad issued by Ahmad Shāh Durānī to Rājā Umēd Singh in A.H. 1175 (A.D. 1762) containing a confirmation of the jāgīr of Pathyār.*

This *sanad* is of great interest as it was issued by Ahmad Shāh Durānī on the occasion of his sixth invasion of the Panjāb, and a few months after his victory over the Sikhs at Kōṭ Rahīrā near Ludhiānā in February 1762. Among the chiefs who waited on the Afghān king at Lahore were Ranjīt Dēv of Jammū and Ghamaṇḍ Chand Katōeh of Kānḡrā.* Portraits of both these Rājās may be seen in the Museum. Ranjīt Dēv was a ruler of great ability and a man of liberal views. The traveller Forster † who visited Jammū in April 1783, shortly after his death, refers to him in the following terms: “ Runzeid Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic despot, and under such a sanction

* Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, pp. 283 f.

† Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 283 f. Ranjīt Dēv's successor was Brajrāj Dēv.

his subjects might deem themselves fortunate; but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the Kashmirians, who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been, since their conversion, rigorous persecutors of the Hindoos. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem, that when he has been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindoos once complained to this chief, that the public wells of the town were defiled by the vessels of the Mahometans, and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river; but he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying, that water was a pure element, designed for the general use of mankind, and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. An administration so munificent and judicious, at the same time that it enforced the respect of his own subjects, made Jumbo a place of extensive commercial resort, where all descriptions of men experienced, in their persons and property, a full security.”

From the manner in which Ranjīt Dēv is mentioned in the present document we may infer that he stood in high favour with the king of Kābul. It was on his representation and on account of his relationship to Umēd Singh* of Chambā that the latter was confirmed as *jāgirdār* of Pathyār. We have seen from the preceding *sanad* that this *jāgīr* had previously been bestowed on Umēd Singh's predecessor Dilēr Singh.

It will be interesting to compare with Forster's account the following extract from the *Gulāb-Nāmah*, † a semi-legendary history of the Jammū Rājās, compiled by order of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh: “In the year 1760 (A.D. 1703) Dhruh Dēv began to reign. He died after having reigned twenty-two years. He had four sons ‡: one Ranjīt Dēv, the second Miyān Ghansār Dēv, the third Mahārājā Sūrat Singh and the fourth Balwant Singh. Rājā Ranjīt Dēv assumed the government. One day he went to Lahore to meet the governor there, Khān Bahādur.§ The latter seized him and held him in confinement. And after that the Wazīrs made Ghansār Dēv Rājā. Sūrat Singh constantly rendered him assistance. Then after some time Rājā Ranjīt Dēv came back and he began to discharge the State affairs as before. This Rājā was very wise, just, gentle, generous-natured and righteous-minded. Many excellent works did he in his sovereignty. Several Rājās and countries remained in the shadow of his royal parasol. To him two sons were born: by one Rāṇī Rājā Brajrāj Dēv and by another Miyān Dalil Singh. Between these two brothers there existed a state of hostility, because they were not born from one mother. The Rājā felt greater affection for the mother of Miyān Dalil Singh. Therefore she said one day to the Rājā: “Rājā, you must give the kingdom to my son Dalil Singh.” As the Rājā was very wise, therefore he did not assent to the request of the Rāṇī.”

* Umēd Singh had married a Jammū princess who exercised much influence in the State affairs after his death and during the minority of her son Rāj Singh. Cf. *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 98 f.

† This book exists in Manuscript in the Jammū Library.

‡ A genealogy of the Jammū Rājās is given by Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, appendix xli. Sūrat Singh is here given the title of Mahārājā as great-grandfather of Gulāb Singh. Cf. also Drew, *Jummo*, appendix vi.

§ Khān Bahādur, i.e. Zakariyyā Khān, the Governor of the Panjāb.

“When Rājā Ranjīt Dēv had gone to heaven in the year 1838 (A.D. 1781) on the ninth of Vaiśākh,* Rājā Brajrāj Dēv succeeded to the kingdom.”

Text.

بسم الله

لله

یا فتاح الحکم سنه ۱۱۷۵

یا هو

احمد شاه

آنکه چون پیوسته منظور نظر اسیب تاثیر و مرکز خاطر خطیر خورشید نظیر به قریبه حال و ترقی احوال اخلاص کیشان عقیدت آئین و خیر اندیشان صداقت تمکین میباشد و مصداق این مقال شاهد احوال عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاره راجه امید سنگه چمبال است که حسن اخلاص او بر مرآت ضمیر منیر ظاهر است و درینوقت عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاره امولک [۱*]م وکیل اخلاص و عقیدت دستگاره ثروت و مکنت و صداقت آگاه راجه راجها راجه رنجیت دیو راجه جمون بعرض اشرف رسانید که محال پتهیار از قدیم الایام بمبلغ سه لک و هشتاد هزار دام الی الان بجاگیر عقیدت آگاه مزبور بوده است که قابض و متصرف میباشد و حال نیز بدستور قدیم بموجب رقم در وجه او بر حال و برقرار باشد لهذا چون راجه امید سنگه نسبت قرابت بر راجه رنجیت دیو دارد و راجه مشار نیز کیفیت اخلاص راجه امید سنگه را بعرض اشرف رسانیده است درینوقت از ابتداء السنه مبارکه یوژت نڈل محال پتهیار را در صورت صدق مدعا بر راجه امید سنگه مومی الیه بدستور قدیم کماکان بجاگیر هر ساله راجه امید سنگه مرحمت و عنایت فرمودیم که هر ساله متصرف بوده دامهای مزبور را بوصول رسانیده صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بتقدیم خدمات و جانفشانی مشغول باشد و احدی را با رجوعی نباشد زمینداران و قانون گوین و غیره رعایای محال مزبور حسب المقرر دامهای مرقومه را بدستور قدیم از محال پتهیار بجاگیر راجه مزبور مقرر و برقرار دانسته باو میرسانیده

* According to Forster (*Journey*, Vol. I, p. 286) Ranjīt Dev died in A.D. 1770.

باشند و او را جاگیردار و بزرگ خود دانسته از و صلاح او بیرون نروند
 و از فرموده تغلف نورزند مستوفیان عظام و لشکر نویسان کرام صورت رقم مطاع را
 در دفاتر لازم ثبت و حسب المقیر معمول داشته

في شهر ذي قعدة الحرام سنة ١١٧٥

Translation.

“ In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.”

(Seal)	God
	the order
	A. H. 1175
	O Arbiter
	O God
	Ahmad Shāh

“ As the improvement of the state and condition of the faithful, sincere servants and the true well-wishers is always the approved object of the elixir-like insight, and the fixed desire of the exalted mind of the sun-like [Emperor], the verifier of this statement is the case of the faithful and sincere Rājā Umēd Singh Chambyāl, whose excellent loyalty is visible on the mirror of the bright mind [of the king]. At this time the faithful and sincere Amolak Rām, advocate of the faithful, sincere, wealthy, mighty and loyal, the Rājā of Rājās, Rājā Ranjit Dēv, the Rājā of Jammū, represented to the exalted [king] that the *mahall* of Pathyār had been from old days theretofore for the sum of three *lakhs* and eighty thousand *dāms* in the *jāgīr* of the said faithful [Rājā] who possessed it and that it should also further continue as usual for that sum as a grant to him. Accordingly, as Rājā Umēd Singh is a relative of Rājā Ranjit Dēv, and the said Rājā [Ranjit Dēv] also has represented to His exalted Majesty the nature of the sincerity of Rājā Umēd Singh, at this time we from the beginning . . . grant as usual the *mahall* of Pathyār for his sincere wish to the above-mentioned Rājā Umēd Singh as a *jāgīr* year after year, so that he should hold it every year, exact the aforesaid *dāms*, spend in his necessaries and engage himself in displaying services and devotion. None should find fault with him. The *zamindārs*, the *qānūngōs* and other subjects of the said *mahall* should consider the estate of Pathyār as appointed in the *jāgīr* of the above-mentioned Rājā, pay to him as usual the aforesaid *dāms*, as ordered, and regard him as a *jāgīrdār* and their superior. They should neither act against his good counsel and opinion nor should they delay his orders. The great examiners of accounts and the noble army-clerks should as usual enter (?) this sum in their registers [Written] in the month of Ziqā'dah, A.H. 1175.” (May—June 1762 A.D.)

IV.—Sanad issued by Ahmad Shāh Durānī (?) regarding the restoration of Charī by Rājā Umēd Singh in A.H. 1176 (A.D. 1762).

This *sanad* was issued four months after the preceding one, apparently also by Ahmad Shāh Durānī, though it does not bear his seal. It appears that, notwithstanding the previous marks of royal favour received from the

Afghān king, Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā had seized the lands of Charī* situated 8 miles due north of Nagar-kōṭ and two miles south-east of Rihlu. Whereas the latter place formed part of Chambā territory, it appears that Charī belonged to the imperial demesne created by Tōdar Mall, the finance minister of Akbar, and presumably placed under the management of the Governor of Kāngrā since the conquest of the Fort by Jahāngir in A.D. 1621.

Saif 'Alī Khān, the *Qil'adār* mentioned in the letter, was the last Muhammadan Governor of Kāngrā. General Cunningham and Mr. Barnes call him Saif-ullah Khān, but from the present document it appears that Sir Lepel Griffin is right in calling him Saif 'Alī Khān.† The Lahore Museum possesses his miniature portrait which is inscribed in Persian نوب صفلي خان کانگرہ کا and in Tānkari नवाब सफ़ली च कंगरे द कौवेदार.

He became Governor of Kāngrā in A.D. 1743, but regarding the date of his death the authorities do not agree. Griffin says that he died in A.D. 1774, but Cunningham and Barnes hold that his death took place in A.D. 1783, while the fort was being besieged by the Sikhs under Jai Singh Kanheya, who had been called in by Sansār Chand Kaṭōch. The present letter does not throw any light on this question. Nor do we know who Ibrāhīm Khān and Raḥīm Khān were, who had been deputed by the Durānī to make Charī and its revenue over to the Governor of Kāngrā, and to bring the Rājā into the presence of the king. Most probably this order was never carried out, for disturbances at Qandahār induced Aḥmad Shāh to return to Kābul at the end of the year, in which the *sunad* was issued. Its date lies between 20th September and 20th October, A.D. 1762.

It is evidently this letter, which is referred to by Mr. Barnes in his Settlement Report ‡ and quoted in the *Chamba Gazetteer*, but its date proves that it was issued by Aḥmad Shāh Durānī and not by his namesake, the king of Delhi, who was deposed and imprisoned in A.D. 1754.

Text.

بسم الله خير الاسماء

آنکه عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاہ واجہ امید ستمگہ چندیبیل بعفایت موفور شاہانہ سرفراز گشتہ بداند کہ درینوقت بعرض عاکفان بر آستانہ اعلیٰ رسید کہ بعضی اراضی چڑی وغیرہ سرحدی قلعہ کانگرہ متعلق بعالیجہ رفیعی نگاہ اخلاص و عقیدت دستگاہ سیف علیخان قلعہ دار قلعہ کانگرہ وغیرہ را کسان آن عقیدت کیش

* Charī is mentioned in the Chambā Bansaulī (verse 105) in connection with the victory of Rājā Pratāp Singh of Chambā over the Rājā of Kāngrā: "The State was increased by war; the king of Nagar-kōṭ, Chandra by name, was defeated and took to flight, as his forces were defeated from the land of Charī as far as the gate (of Nagar-kōṭ?), and elephants, horses and all other booty was taken and much land of vassals and princes."

The village in question should not be confounded with the hamlet of Charī situated near Nagrota, 8 miles east of Nagar-kōṭ, and referred to by General Cunningham on account of its Buddhist remains: cf. *Report Archl. Survey*, Vol. V, pp. 177 f.

† Cf. *Kangra Gazetteer*, Part A, 1904 (Lahore, 1906), p. 33. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. V, p. 161.

‡ *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 98. Cf. *Kangra Gazetteer*, Part A, 1904 (Lahore, 1906), p. 33, footnote 24.

بخلاف راع متصرف شده اند و مکان های مزبور تعلق بعالیجاء مشاراً الیه است باید که بحصول اطلاع بر مضمون رقم مطاع و درود عالیجاهان رفیعی نگهان ابراهیم خان و رحیم (؟) خان محصل هرچه چیزی و غیره اراضی سرحدی کانگڑه را که متصرف شده باشد تمام را بلا عذر و اعمال بعالیجاء مشاراً الیه وا گذارند که متصرف شده مرفه الحال بوده بخدمت مرجوعه سرگرم باشد و عالیجاهان مذکور محصل حسب المقرر عازم نزد راجه مزبور و چیزی و اراضی سرحدی کانگڑه متعلق بعالیجاء مشاراً الیه را که متصرف شده باشد تمام را از راجه مزبور گرفته به تصرف عالیجاء مزبور داده رسید او را گرفته بحضور بیاورد قده (؟) لازم دانسته

فی شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۱۷۶

Translation.

“ In the name of God, the best of names.”

“ Rājā Umēd Singh Chambyāl—the receptacle of Faith and Sincerity, who has been distinguished by numerous royal favours—should know that we have been informed now through the devotees of our Court of exalted dignity that some lands of Charī, etc., on the frontier of Fort Kāngra, belonging to Saif ‘Alī Khān of high rank and eminent position, receptacle of Sincerity and Faith, Governor (*Qila’dār*) of Kāngra, etc., have been taken possession of, from him, the faithful, by some persons against his will; while the above places belong to the above-named of high rank. On the receipt of this mandate, whose contents ought to be obeyed, and on the arrival of both Ibrāhīm Khān and Raḥīm Khān of high rank and eminence, you should make over all the revenue of Charī, etc., the frontier lands of Kāngra which have been taken possession of, without excuse and delay to the aforesaid of high rank; so that having taken possession and being in easy circumstances, he should be eager to serve the Emperor. And the above-mentioned men of high rank, having determined the appointed revenue before the aforesaid Rājā and having taken possession of Charī and the frontier lands of Kāngra belonging to the above-named of high rank, should take possession of them all from the aforesaid Rājā, give them into the possession of the above-named of high rank, take a receipt from him and bring it into our presence. Consider this urgent.”

Rabīu-l-awwal, 1176 A.H.
(September-October, 1762 A.D.)

V.—Sanad issued by Timūr Shāh to Rājā Rāj Singh in A.H. 1191 (A.D. 1777).

The famous Aḥmad Shāh Durāni of Kābul died in June 1773, and was succeeded by his son Timūr Shāh, who had accompanied him on most of his expeditions. In 1777, the new king invaded the Panjāb to crush the rising

power of the Sikhs and regain his lost territories.* In the same year the present document was issued by him to Rājā Rāj Singh in answer to a letter sent by the Chambā Chief. The latter, probably prompted by the rumours of the Shāh's coming campaign, had tendered his submission and offered his services to his nominal liege-lord. He had apparently also invited the latter to visit Chambā.

In his reply Timūr Shāh praises Rāj Singh for his loyalty to him and his father, promises him further favours and says that, when time allows, he will pay a visit to that country. It deserves notice that Ahmad Shāh Durāni is here designated as *Khāqān-i-Khuld-āshiyānī*, literally "the Emperor nestling in Heaven." Similar titles were employed in referring to the deceased Great Mughals,† and it seems likely that the Durānis borrowed this custom from India.

Text.

بسم الله خير الاسماء

[مهر شاهي]

الملك الله

علم شد از عنایات الهي

بعالم دولت تیمور شاهي

دستخط طغرای

آنکه عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاہ صدقات و ثروت انتبہا دولت و ارادت آگاہ
 راجہ راج سنگہ راجہ چنبہ بالطاف گوناگون و اعطاف از حد افزون پادشاهی معزز
 و مباهی بوده بداند عریضه که درینوقت بخصوص حقایق احوال خود و اینکه
 خانواده آن دولت آگاہ همیشه خیرخواه و خدمت گذار پادشاهان بوده اند و در
 عهد فلک مہد خاقان خلد آشیان ہم از روے ارادت خدمات شایان بتقدیم رسانیده
 و تمام راجہاے کوهستان را بدولت خواهی این دودمان با خود متفق و متحد
 میسازد و قبل از آنکہ موکب کواکب حشم وارد آن دیار شود خدمتی بار مرجوع
 گردد کہ در انجام آن اہتمام نماید و مواد دیگر قلمی و انفاذ حضور سعادت ظہور
 نموده بود در او انیکہ شہباز بلند پرواز دولت ارجمند و حشمت بی گزند فراز بہلہ
 تمنا و پنجه مدعاے ما نشیمن ساخته بود بنظر بیضا اثر اشرف رسید کیفیت

* Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, p. 290.

† Maulwi Nur Bakhsh has given me the following list: *Firdaus-makānī* for Bābar, *Jannat āshiyānī* for Humāyūn, *Arsh-āshiyānī* for Akbar, *Jannat-makānī* for Jahāngir, and *Khuld-makān* for Aurangzēb.

مندرجہ حالی راے جهان کتا گردیده صور ارادت و عقیدت آن اخلاص کیش عکس افکن مرات شہود گشت و باعفی مزید الطاف شاہانہ درباره او شد در ہر باب خاطر جمع بودہ باشد کہ نقود تمام عیار دولت خواہی و اخلاص عقیدت کیشان در نزد نواب ہمایون ما رواج تمام دارد و این فرقہ را درین دودمان عزت و اعتبار تمام می باشد در باب تشریف آوردن ما کہ استدعا نمودہ بود در ہنگامیکہ ایام اقتضا نماید عنان اشہب گیتی نورد را بآنصوب معطوف خواہم فرمود و برورد آن حدود حسب التمنا مستمول عواطف خاص سلطانی خواہد شد و اینکہ خدمتی باو مرجوع شود کہ بیشتر راجہا را با خود یکدل و در انجام آن اہتمام نماید انشاء اللہ تعالی بروقت خدمتی باو خواہم فرمود کہ مقصدہ آن حسن کردانی خود را ظاہر سازد *

فی ۱۸ شہر ربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۱۹۱

Translation.

“In the name of God, the best of names.”

“God is King.”

(Seal.) “By God’s grace the kingdom of Timūr Shāh has come into existence in the world.”

“Rājā Rāj Singh, Rājā of Chambā, the receptacle of Faith and Sincerity, the awakener of truth and prosperity, the knower of wealth and affection, who has been exalted and glorified by the Emperor with kindness of every description and innumerable favours, should know that at this time a petition specifying his rights and showing that his prosperous House has always been devoted and obedient to the kings, and has also during the exalted reign of Khāqān (whose cradle is Heaven and whose nest is in Paradise) conscientiously performed suitable services; and that he is now uniting all the Hill Rājās in loyalty towards our House; and that he may be entrusted with some services in order that he may bring them to an end, before the royal procession, which is innumerable like the stars, arrives in that country, and other things that were written therein and submitted to the blessed presence (of the king) came into the sun-like view of the most noble (king) at the time when the high-soaring falcon of noble fortune and harmless grandeur had made the glove of our exalted wishes and the hand of our object its nest.

All this coming under the consideration of the world-conquering Emperor, the expressions of his affection, faith and sincerity have been reflected by the mirror of Evidence and have been the cause of further favours upon him. In every respect he may rest assured that the standard coinage of the loyalty and sincerity of the faithful has full currency with us; and that this class of people shall have the confidence and grace of our House.

Regarding the request made by him that we should pay a visit thither, when the time allows, we shall turn the reins of [our] world-treading, dun-coloured [steed] in that direction. On our coming to that country, he shall be granted special royal favours according to his wishes; and with reference to the services he would be entrusted with, he should combine and unite other Rājās and should try to carry out this order. If God wills, I shall also order him to do some service at the time, and by carrying out these good services he will make himself eminent.”

18 Rabīu-ṣ-ḡānī, 1191 A.H.
(26th May, 1777 A.D.)

VI.—*Sanad issued by Shāh Zamān to Rājā Jit Singh in A.H. 1211 (A.D. 1797).*

Shāh Zamān succeeded to the throne of Kābul in A.D. 1793. At the request of the Muhammadan princes of India he invaded the Panjāb for the third time in the end of November 1796 and entered Lahore on the 3rd January 1797, the Sikh Sardārs Lahnā Singh and Sōbhā Singh having fled.* It was during the Shāh's stay at Lahore that the present letter to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā was issued, in which the latter is called upon to perform the services of the Dīwānī in conjunction of Rājā Sampūran Dēv of Jammū. The term *Dīwānī* means the administration of revenue, a part of which had probably to be paid to the king as tribute.

Sampūran Dēv of Jammū was the grandson of Raṅjit Dēv who is mentioned in the third *sanad* discussed above. According to the Jammū chronicle, the death of Raṅjit Dēv took place in the spring (9th Baisākh) of *samvat* 1838 or A.D. 1781.† His son Brajrāj Dēv is said to have reigned five years and the latter's son Sampūran Dēv ten years. As Sampūran Dēv died without issue, he was succeeded by his brother's son Jit Singh who was apparently the last ruling chief of the older branch. His two sons Raghubir Dēv and Dēvi Singh were ousted by the Sikhs.

The following would, therefore, be the list of Jammu Rājās ‡ in the 18th century according to the local chronicle:—

A.D. 1703-1735	..	Dhrub Dēv.
.. 1735-1781	..	Raṅjit Dēv.
.. 1781-1786	.	Brajrāj Dēv.
.. 1786-1796	..	Sampūran Dēv.
.. 1796	..	Jit Singh.

In 1812 Jammū was taken by Kharak Singh, the son of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh, who made the principality over to Kiśōr Singh the grandson of Sūrat Singh, who was a younger brother of Raṅjit Dēv. On Kiśōr Singh's death in 1822 his eldest son Gulāb Singh was created Rājā.

It will be noticed that, if the above dates are correct, Sampūran Dēv had died before the time when the document under discussion was written. But as it was issued in January 1797, we may assume that the death of the Jammū chief had taken place in the end of 1796, so that the news had not yet reached Lahore at the time when the present letter was written.

* Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, pp. 301 f.

† Forster, *Journey*, Vol. I, p. 286, gives A.D. 1770 as the year of Raṅjit Dēv's death.

‡ Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 153 and appendix XLI; Drew, *Jummoo*, appendix VI; Latif, *History*, p. 428.

Text.

بسم الله خير الاسماء

الله

يا هو

* قرار داد ز الطاف خوبشمن یزدان

نگین حکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان

دستخط طغری

آنکه دولت و ثروت پناه ارادت و اخلاص دستگاہ راجہ جیت سنگہ راجہ چنبہ
 بالطاف موفورہ شاہانہ سرافراز گشتہ بداند کہ چون آن دولت پناه از جملہ اخلاص
 کیشان و دولتخواہان این آستان رفیع الشان بودہ ومی باشد و اشفاق شاہانہ دربارہ
 او مبذول است در ہر باب خاطر جمع بودہ باتفاق دولت و ثروت پناه تہور
 و شجاعت آگاہ اخلاص و ارادت دستگاہ راجہ سپورن دیو راجہ جمون خدمات
 دیوانی را بانجام رسانیدہ حسن خدمت خود را ظاہر سازد کہ فواخوران مورد
 نوازشات شاہانہ خواهد شد *

فی شہر رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۲۱۱

Translation.

“ In the name of God, the best of names.”

(Seal.) “ By His grace God has given stability to the seal of judgment of the world by the name of Shāh Zamān.”

“ Rājā Jit Singh, Rājā of Chambā—the asylum of Welfare and Wealth, and the receptacle of Affection and Sincerity, who has been distinguished by numerous royal favours—should know that as he, the asylum of Prosperity, has been and shall be the highest in rank among all the faithful servants and well-wishers of our Court, and royal favours have been conferred upon him, he, having been contented in every respect, should perform the services of the Diwānī (Civil Justice and Revenue) in union with Rājā Sampūran Dēv, Rājā of Jammū, the asylum of Welfare and Wealth, the knower of Daring and Bravery, the receptacle of Affection and Sincerity, and make manifest his good services that he may be deemed a worthy object of our royal favours.”

Rajab, 1211 A.H.

(January, 1797 A.D.)

* Metre *Mutaqārib*. Very incorrect Persian; note, e.g., the omission of the *Izāfat* between بنام شاه زمان. Also شاه ought to be written شاه *metri causa*.—T. Bloch.

APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS FOR THE YEAR 1909.

C.—Documents on Paper.*

C, 1 and 2. Declaration in Persian given in the reign of Shāh Jahān, regarding a boundary dispute between Prithvi Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1641-1664) and Sangrām Pāl Balauriā, in which it is set forth that the *parganā* of Bhalai belongs to Chambā territory. It bears the autographs in Tānkari of various Rājās and officials, and some seal impressions in Persian. Its date is the 19th of the month of Safar, A.H. 1058, corresponding to 5th March, A.D. 1648. Vide *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 92 and 94. (Two copies.) Cf. above p. 52, I.

C, 3. Declaration in Persian containing a statement that Sangrām Pāl Balauriā has built a fort within the territory of Rājā Shatar Singh† of Chambā. It bears the autographs in Tānkari of several Rājās and officials, who gave evidence in the case, and some seal impressions in Persian. Undated.

C, 4. Letter under the seal of Mir Khān, an officer of the Emperor Aurangzēb 'Ālamgir (A.D. 1658-1707) to Rājā Shatar Singh† of Chambā (A.D. 1664-1690) in which it is notified that the *parganā* of Bhalai, which had been seized by Sangrām Pāl Balauriā, is made over to Chambā and that the *parganā* of Bhadarvāh, which had been given to Sangrām Pāl, is now transferred to Chambā. If a *sanad* for the two *parganās* is required, it will be procured from the Emperor. Sangrām Pāl is directed to make over both 'ilāqas to Shatar Singh and afterwards present himself before the Viceroy. Dated the 22nd of Ramazān in the 8th year of Aurangzēb's reign. As Aurangzēb ascended the throne on the 1st of Zu-l-qa'dah, A.H. 1068, corresponding to the 1st of May, A.D. 1658, the 8th year of his reign began from the 1st of Zu-l-qa'dah, A.H. 1075, and the date of the present document would fall in the ensuing Hijri year 1076, and correspond to Sunday, the 18th March, 1666. The letter is provided with the print of a right hand in saffron.

C, 5. A letter in Tānkari from Rājā Dhirāj Pāl Balauriā to Rājā Udai Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) and Miān Jai Singh concluding a treaty between the two States. Dated 21 Asuj, *sambat* 84 (A.D. 1708). Dhirāj Pāl was the grandson of Sangrām Pāl mentioned in Nos. C 1-4.

C, 6. *Sanad* in Persian issued under the seal of Zakariyyā Khān, Governor of the Panjāb (A.D. 1737-1747) in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. In it the *parganā* of Pathyār in the Kāngrā district is bestowed as a *jāgīr* on Rājā Dilēr (Dalāl) Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1735-1748) on account of his loyalty to the king of Delhi. It is dated in the 27th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719-1748) and on the 5th of the month of Safar, A.H. 1157, corresponding to the 9th March, A.D. 1744. Cf. above p. 54, II.

C, 7. Order under the seal of Muḥammad Hayāt Khān, an Imperial officer, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, to the *zamīndārs*, *qāwūngōs*, *muqad-*

* The following list includes the *sanads* mentioned above, pp. 11 ff., which have been renumbered. For the information regarding the additional letters I am indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison, Church of Scotland Mission, Chambā.

† This Rājā is locally known as Chhattar Singh, in copper-plate grants he is called Satru-sinḥa.

dams and cultivators of the Pathyār *parganā*. It states that the *jāgīr* of Pathyār, worth 380,000 *dāms* (i.e., Rs. 9,500) was for a long time in the possession of the Rājā of Chambā, but the Katōches seized it and brought the *zamīndārs* under their control. As Rājā Dilēr (Dalēl) Singh of Chambā had always been faithful to the Emperor, to whom the *parganā* of right belongs; and as Udai Singh, his elder brother, had held high rank and also the 'ilāqas of Dūn and Nādaun in *jāgīr*—therefore the above-mentioned *parganā* (Pathyār) is confirmed to Dilēr Singh, and the *zamīndārs* are enjoined to look up to him as *Jagīrdār*, and to render all due service. It is dated 11th Muḥarram in the 28th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. As Muḥammad Shāh's accession took place on the 25th of Zul-qa'da, A.H. 1131, the date of the document is the 11th Muḥarram, A.H. 1159, corresponding to 23rd January, 1746 A.D.

C, 8. *Sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Muḥammad Hayāt Khān, an Imperial officer in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719-1748), in which it is declared that the *parganā* of Pathyār had long been in the possession of Rājā Dilēr Singh of Chambā and that the Katōches (Rājās of Kaṅgrā) had forcibly annexed it. In consideration of Dilēr Singh's services to the Emperor, the said *parganā* is regranted to him and he is enjoined to conciliate the *zamīndārs* and remain faithful to the Emperor. It is dated the 27th of Zu-l-qa'dah in the 29th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. The date on the seal is A.H. 1154 or the 23rd year of Muḥammad Shāh (A.H. 1741-2). The date of the document must be the 27th Zu-l-qa'dah, A.H. 1159, corresponding to 30th November, 1746 A.D.

C, 9. *Sanad* in Persian under the seal of Adīna Bēg Khān intimating to the *chaudharis*, *qānūngōs*, *zamīndārs* and others that the *jāgīr* of Pathyār of the value of 380,000 *dāms*, i.e., Rs. 9,500, has been conferred on Rājā Dilēr (Dalēl) Singh of Chambā, and all are directed to pay their revenue to him and not to be disobedient in any way. It is dated on the 7th of Jamādu-ṣ-ṣānī in the 29th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign. The date would fall in the Hijra year 1160 and correspond to 31st May, 1747 A.D. The seal-date is A.H. 1141 (A.D. 1728-9).

C, 10. *Sanad* under the seal of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Khān, Viceroy of the Panjāb in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh (A.D. 1748-1754) to the *chaudharis*, *qānūngōs* and cultivators of Pālam and Barnī (?). It states that, as this *jāgīr* has been the hereditary property of Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā, it is now again declared to be his of right, in return for services rendered to the Emperor. They are enjoined to pay the revenue to him and to be obedient to his orders. Dated on the 5th of Jamādu-ṣ-ṣānī in the 4th year of Aḥmad Shāh's reign or A.H. 1164, corresponding to 20th April, 1751 A.D. The date on the seal is A.H. 1162. Mu'īnu-d-dīn or Mu'īnu-l-mulk, better known as Mir Mannū, was Governor of the Panjāb 1748-1756. In the third year of Aḥmad Shāh's reign or A.H. 1163 he ceded to Aḥmad Shāh Durānī the four *mahāls* of Lahore.

C, 11. Order in Persian under the seal of Adīna Bēg Khān in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II (1754—1759) to the deputies of the *chaklā* of Jammū. They are advised that the 'ilāqa of Jundh with its seventeen castles was in the possession of Chambā under Rājā Ugar Singh, but owing to his unfaithfulness it was given to Mēdinī Pāl Balauriā. Now, since Rājā Umēd Singh is faithful to the Emperor, the 'ilāqa with its castles is restored to his control. He should take and retain possession, and the Balauriās are to have no authority in the 'ilāqa. The officers of the *chaklā* are directed to carry out these instructions. It is dated on the 21st of Zu-l-hijja, in the 5th year of the reign of 'Ālamgīr. On the seal the date is A.H. 1168 (A.D. 1754-55).

The accession of 'Ālamgīr II took place on the 10th Sha'bān, A.H. 1167. The date of the letter is, therefore, the 21st Zu-l-ḥijja, A.H. 1171, corresponding to 26th August, 1758 A.D.

Mēdini Pāl was the son and successor of Dhirāj Pāl. Cf. above No. C, 5.

C, 12. Order in Persian under the seal of Raḥmat 'Alī Khān, an Imperial officer, in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II (A.D. 1754-1759) to the *zamīndārs*, *muqaddams* and cultivators of the Pathyār *parganā*, stating that since the death of the Rānā of Pathyār the said *parganā* has been the *jāgīr* of Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā, and on account of his services and faithfulness the *jāgīr* is confirmed to him. Therefore the *zamīndārs*, etc., should render all dues to the said Rājā and not be disobedient. It is dated on the 15th Jamādu-l-awwal and in the 5th year of the reign of 'Ālamgīr. The seal date is A.H. 1171 (A.D. 1757-8). The corresponding Christian date for A.H. 1172 would be Sunday, 14th January, 1759.

C, 13. Order in Persian under the seal of Raḥmat 'Alī Khān in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II (A.D. 1754-1759) to the *chaudharīs*, *zamīndārs* and subjects of the *parganā* of Pathyār. As the *parganā* has, since the death of Rānā Silā Chand of Pathyār, been in the possession of Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā, and in accordance with the *parwāna* of Nawāb Bahrām Jang has been free of all revenue charges, and as the said Rājā has always been zealous and faithful, the *jāgīr* is granted free of revenue dues. The *zamīndārs*, etc., are enjoined to perform their duty to the Rājā. The letter is dated on the 2nd of Jamādu-ḡ-ṣāni, A.H. 1172. Seal date A.H. 1171. The date for A.H. 1172 would correspond to Wednesday, 31st January, 1759. Nawāb Bahrām Jang is better known as Adīna Bēg. He was appointed Faujdār of Jālandhar by 'Ālamgīr II and after the invasion of Aḥmad Shāh Durānī in A.D. 1757 became virtually independent. He died on the 11th of Muḥarram in the 5th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign or A.H. 1172.

C, 14. *Sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Shāh Walī Khān, Wazīr of Aḥmad Shāh Durānī, confirming the *jāgīr* of Pathyār to Rājā Umēd Singh on the recommendation of Rājā Ranjīt Dēv of Jammū and through the agency of Amōlak Rām, Vakīl. It is dated on the 7th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1175, corresponding to 24th May, 1762 A.D.

C, 15. Royal *sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Aḥmad Shāh Durānī, by which the *parganā* of Pathyār in the Kāngrā district is confirmed as a *jāgīr* to Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā (A. D. 1748-1764) on the recommendation of Rājā Ranjīt Dēv of Jammū, who is described as a relative of the Chambā Rājā. The date is the month of Zu-l-qa'dah, A.H. 1175, corresponding to May-June A.D. 1762. It was, consequently, issued at the time of Aḥmad Shāh's sixth invasion of the Panjāb after his victory over the Sikhs at Kōt Rahrā near Ludhiānā, in February 1762 (cf. Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, p. 283 f). Cf. above p. 56, III.

C, 16. Royal *sanad* in Persian, in which Rājā Umēd Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1748-1764) is admonished to make over to Ṣaif 'Alī Khān, the Governor of Kāngrā, the revenue of certain lands belonging to the village of Charī in the Kāngrā district of which "certain persons" (apparently the Rājā himself) had taken possession. The letter is dated in the month Rabīu-l-awwal, A.H. 1176, corresponding to September-October, A.D. 1762, and, therefore, falls (like Nos. C, 14 and 15) in the time of Aḥmad Shāh's sixth invasion of the Panjāb. Cf. above p. 59, IV.

This is evidently the letter referred to by Mr. Barnes in the *Kangra Settlement Report* (vide page 98 of the *Chambā Gazetteer*), but it is clear that it was issued by Aḥmad Shāh Durānī, and not by his namesake the king of Delhi, who was blinded and deposed on the 5th June, A.D. 1754.

C, 17. Royal *sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Timūr Shāh and addressed to Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1764-1794), in answer to a letter in which the Rājā had offered his services to the king and invited him to visit the country. In his reply the king praises the rulers of Chambā for their devotion to him and his father "nestled in Paradise," and promises that, when time allows, he will accept the Rājā's invitation. The document, which is composed in very high-flown language, is dated on the 18th of the month Rabiū-ṣ-ṣānī, A.H. 1191, corresponding to the 26th May, A.D. 1777, and, consequently, falls in the time of Timūr Shāh's invasion of the Panjāb in A.D. 1777 (Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 299). Cf. above p. 61, V.

C, 18. Agreement in Tānkari, between Rājā Shamshēr Sēn, Miān Surmā Sēn, Rājā Sansār Chand and Rājā Rāj Singh, to attack Makarsa (Kuḷū) and seize Baṅgahāl and divide it equally among them, each taking the portion nearest his own territory. Dated 1 Māgh Vikrama 1834 (A.D. 1878).

Shamshēr Sēn was the brother-in-law of the last Rājā of Baṅgahāl whose tragic death is still sung in a popular ballad. Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 156. It appears that up to that time Baṅgahāl had been dependent on Kuḷū. Shamshēr Sēn, according to the *satī* pillar inscription, died on the 20th of Chaitra of the Sāstra year 57 (A.D. 1781). Miān Surmā Sēn was his successor who died on the 2nd of Phālguna, Sāstra 74 (A.D. 1799). Cf. Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. XIV, pp. 119 ff.

C, 19. Letter in Tānkari from Rājā Pritam Singh of Kuḷū to Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā, affirming the ancient amity and friendship between the two States, and promising mutual help in case of attack. It further states that Wazīr Bhāg Chand had been seized on the road and taken to Chambā, and that Miān Nidhān Singh is sent with the letter to effect his release; Baṅgahāl had been occupied by Chambā, and its restoration is asked. It is dated the 25th of Chēt, Sāstra 55 (A.D. 1779).

The Murlidhar temple at Nagar, the ancient capital of Kuḷū, is in possession of a copper-plate grant issued by Pritam Singh in Sāstra samvat 56 (A.D. 1780). Bhāg Chand was the Wazīr of Kuḷū; he is also mentioned in No. C, 27. Cf. beneath No. C, 51.

C, 20. Letter in Persian from Rājā Rāj Singh to the Sikhs in which the following requests are made: (1) That the *parganā* of Jūṅḍh should be restored to him after the rainy season as agreed upon. (2) That if any complaints are made by the Hazārī people of Kāṅgrā, they should not be attended to. The Rājā adds that in the month of Baisākh he will deal with them according to the writing of the Rājā and his officials. (3) That he should be put in possession of one-third of Kuḷū, as was agreed upon by the Kaṭōches and Maṅdiāls. If they refuse, he asks that he may be put in possession through the Court of Justice and he will pay the revenue to the *Khālsa*. As he has placed himself under the protection of the *Khālsa* he is hopeful of greater favours. If Dugar (*i.e.*, Jammū) causes any trouble, he will inflict due punishment and defend his country in such a way that the world will be astonished. Not dated.

The Hazārīs were artillery officers appointed by the kings of Delhi to the various gates of the Kāṅgrā Fort. They took service under Sansār Chand after he had obtained possession of the Fort. There existed in the town of Kāṅgrā a Havēli Hazārīān which was destroyed in the earthquake of 4th April 1905. The document has a hand-mark in saffron and a seal in Gurmukhī which reads: *Akāl sahāhī. Gurbakhas Si[n]gh*. Gurbakhsh Singh was the son of Jai Singh Kanheya.

C, 21. Letter in Tānkari from Rājā Rāj Singh to Sukhdēv Singh, son of Manaku Dēv, granting to him the State of Kashtwār as a fief

dependent on Chambā and enjoining him to be faithful to Chambā. Undated.

C, 22. Agreement in Tānkarī between Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā and Fatēh Pāl of Bhadarwāh. Fatēh Pāl is made Rājā of Bhadarwāh on the following conditions which he accepts: 1. That he will be faithful to Chambā. 2. That, whenever summoned, he will come to Chambā. 3. That he will give Jai Chand's jāgrī to Bhūp Chand. 4. That he will not enter into an alliance with Balor, Kashtwār and Behandrāltā, and will do nothing without consulting Chambā. 5. That the Chambā troops will remain at Bhadarwāh and Fatēh Pāl will provide supplies and give no trouble. 6. That if he has any communications from Balor, Kashtwār and Behandrāltā, he will keep the Rājā of Chambā fully informed regarding them. 7. That he will maintain his alliance with Chambā only. 8. That Chambā is supporting Miān Kundan Singh in his attempt to gain Kashtwār and Fatēh Pāl must also send a force. 9. That his tribute money shall be Rs. 3,000 yearly, which must be regularly paid. It is not dated.

Fatēh Pāl, the Rājā of Bhadarwāh, was born in A.D. 1732. His younger brother was Miān Bhūp Chand, who was married to the Chambā princes Atharbānu. Both Fatēh Pāl and Bhūp Chand died at Chambā in the Pakkī Chaukī, i.e., the Old Palace, and Atharbānu became a *saū* on the Chandra-bhāgā. Pahār Chand, the son of Bhūp Chand and Atharbānu, was the last of the Bhadarwāh Rājās. He died at Amritsar Cf. *Annual Progress Report Archaeological Survey, Panjāb and United Provinces*, 1903-04, pp. 63 ff.

C, 23. Statement in Tānkarī from Rājā Sansār Chand and Rājā Parkāsh Chand that the dues for the Chambā fort are remitted. Its meaning is not clear, but it may refer to Rihlu Fort. It is dated the 10th of Chēt, saivāt 1837 (A.D. 1780).

Parkāsh Chand was the Katōch Rājā of Gulēr.

C, 24. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngrā which states that Kāngrā, Gulēr and Chambā are united for mutual defence and offence. Dated the 30th of Jēṭh, Vikrama-saivāt 1837 (A.D. 1780).

C, 25. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū to Rājā Rāj Singh, conveying to him the *parganās* of Jūndh, Bhalai, Bhāndal, Kīhār and Diur on condition of service. Dated the 15th of Bhādōn, Sastra 57 (A.D. 1781).

Brajrāj Dēv was the son and successor of Rañjit Dēv. Cf. Latif, *History of the Panjāb*, pp. 342 f. and above p. 58.

C, 26. Document in Tānkarī stating that Rs. 29,000 had been borrowed from Rājā Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū by Kundan Singh of Kashtwār and Rājā Rāj Singh became security for its payment. Dated the 12th of Bhādōn, Sastra 57 (A.D. 1781).

Kundan Singh is also mentioned in No. C, 22.

C, 27. Letter in Tānkarī in which Tulsī Rām and Jassi Rām promise to pay Rs. 15,000 to Rājā Rāj Singh for the release of Bhāg Chand, Wazir of Kulū. Dated the 5th of Bhādōn, Sastra 57 (A.D. 1781). Cf. above No. C, 19.

C, 28. Title-deed in the local dialect and in Tānkarī characters, by which Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā confers the *parganā* of Dhundhī on his Wazir, Zōrāwar, in recognition of services rendered by him in Jūndh (perhaps in connection with the war between Chambā and Basōhli which ended with the conquest of the latter place by Rāj Singh in A.D. 1782). The document is dated on the 7th of the month of Katī (Kārttika) in the Sastra year 58, corresponding to A.D. 1782. It belongs to Captain Sri Kanth Baratru.

C, 29. Letter in Tānkarī from the Rānī of Bilāspur to Rājā Rāj Singh, asking his help and protection for her infant son Mahā Chand. Dated 24th Pau, Śāstra 58 (A.D. 1782-83). This is evidently the Rānī of Bilāspur, who was at war with Kāngrā in March 1783 when Forster travelled through the Panjāb Hills. Cf. *Journey*, Vol. I, pp. 248 ff.

C, 30. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū ordering the officials of Junḍh *parganā* to be obedient to Rājā Rāj Singh. Dated 26th Sāwan, Śāstra 59 (A.D. 1783).

C, 31. *Sanad* in Tānkarī from Rājā Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū to Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā, restoring to him the *parganās* of Junḍh, Bhalai, Diur, Bhāndal and Kihār, as having always been of right Chambā territory. Dated the 18th of Bhādōn of the Śāstra year 59 (A.D. 1783). Cf. above Nos. C, 25 and 30.

This letter was evidently an immediate result of the conquest of Basōhḷ by Rāj Singh which took place A.D. 1782. Cf. Forster, *Journey*, Vol. I, p. 270.

C, 32. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Brajrāj Dēv of Jammū to Rājā Rāj Singh. Meaning not clear owing to difficult writing. Dated 20th of Pau. Śāstra 59 (A.D. 1783-84).

C, 33. Letter from Dayā Pāl of Bhadarwāh to Rājā Rāj Singh acknowledging allegiance and making the following promises:—

1. That, if summoned by Rāj Singh, he will come at once. 2. He will not give trouble to Miān Harkh Chand (who seems to have been residing in Chambā) in the management of his *jāgir*, and will regularly send his grain to Chambā. 3. The tribute money payable by Bhadarwāh to the Sikhs is to be paid through Chambā. 4. He will not communicate with Balor or Behandrāltā without permission. 5. He will not communicate with Fatēh Pāl (probably then in Chambā) without permission. 6. He will afford every assistance to the Chambā troops in the Fort (at Bhadarwāh) and will give supplies to other troops that may be sent. 7. If a letter comes to him from Balor or Behandrāltā, he will send no answer without showing it to the Rājā of Chambā. Mark of hand in saffron. Cf. above C, 22. Harkh (*i.e.*, Harsha) Chand was the younger brother of Sampat Pāl.

C, 34. Letter in Tānkarī from Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh to Rājā Rāj Singh stating that he had taken over Bhadarwāh and tried to make friends with Dayā Pāl, but he (Dayā Pāl) would not accept his advice. No date. Cf. C, 22.

C, 35. Letter in Tānkarī from Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh to Nathū, Wazīr of Chambā. It states that Bhadarwāh has been taken over and the fort occupied. Dated 10th Maghair, Śāstra 59 (A.D. 1783).

C, 36. Letter in Tānkarī from Fatēh Pāl of Bhadarwāh to Rājā Rāj Singh owing allegiance to Chambā. Dated 22 Chēt, samvat 60 (A.D. 1784).

C, 37. Letter from Bhao Singh of Bhadarwāh to Rājā Rāj Singh. Meaning not clear. Dated Śāstra 61 (A.D. 1785-86). Month wanting.

C, 38. Letter in Tānkarī from the Chambā army that invaded Kashtwār in A.D. 1786. It states that, according to orders, a part of the town had been burnt, but no further damage was done after receipt of fresh orders from Chambā. States that Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh with his troops was with the army.

C, 39. Agreement in Tānkarī between Chambā, Maṇḍī and Kahlur to invade and conquer Makarsā (Kuḷū) and divide the territory equally among them. Dated 2nd Sāwan, samvat 62 (A.D. 1786).

C, 40. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Tēgh Singh of Kashtwār to Rājā Rāj Singh promising allegiance and the payment of Rs. 3,000

annual tribute. Dated 1st Kārtik, Śāstra 65 (A.D. 1789). Cf. beneath No. C, 50.

C, 41. Agreement in Gurmukhī between Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā and Bhāi Amar Singh, evidently a Sikh leader, who hereby promises to act in the interest of Chambā. The exact purport of the understanding is not stated. The letter is marked with a handprint in saffron. It is dated the 20th of Asū and the year of the seal impression appears to be 1846 corresponding to A.D. 1789; but the figure which I read 4 is indistinct.

C, 42. Letter in Tānkari from Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh to Rājā Jit Singh promising allegiance to Chambā. Dated 20th of Sāwan, Śāstra 70 (A.D. 1794).

C, 43. Letter in Tānkari from Rājā Bijai Pāl of Basōhli to Rājā Jit Singh promising to pay by instalments the amount due to Chambā for expenses (unspecified). Dated 5th of Sāwan, Śāstra 72 (A.D. 1796).

Bijai Pāl was the son and successor of Amrit Pāl. At Basōhli there exist two copper-plates issued by him in the Vikrama years 1846 (A.D. 1789) and 1848 (A.D. 1791).

C, 44. Royal *sanad* in Persian, issued under the seal of Shāh Zamān and addressed to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1794-1808), who is instructed in it to perform the services of the Diwānī in conjunction with Rājā Sampūraṇ Dēv of Jammū. The document is dated in the month of Rajab, A.H. 1211, corresponding to January 1797, the time when Shāh Zamān had taken possession of Lahore, in the course of his third invasion of the Panjāb. (Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 301 f.). Cf. above p. 64, VI.

C, 45. Letter in Persian to Rājā Jit Singh, probably from Shāh Zamān of Kābul, enjoining him to discharge the duties of his office in conjunction with Rājā Sampūraṇ Dēv of Jammū. Dated Rajab, A.H. 1211 (January, A.D. 1797). Evidently a copy of No. C, 44.

C, 46. Letter in Persian stating that the writer (probably Shāh Zamān of Kābul) had marched from Lahore to Qandahār and thence to Kābul. On the way he had seized and put in prison one Shāhzāda Pīru-d-dīn; and Jit Singh is enjoined to give no shelter to any disloyal people who may take refuge in the Hills. A similar order has been sent to the other Hill Rājās. The letter is not dated, but it mentions that the king had reached Kābul on the 17th of Muḥarram, probably of the year A.H. 1212. Shāhzāda Pīru-d-dīn is perhaps the king's brother Prince Maḥmūd, whose rebellion compelled him to return to Afghānistān. The letter bears the seal of Ḥāfiz Shēr Muḥammad and was delivered by Shaikh Aṣālat Khān.

C, 47. Letter addressed to Rājā Jit Singh and probably from Shāh Zamān, intimating that the king will soon return to that country (the Panjāb) and that Jit Singh must hold himself in readiness to be in attendance whenever summoned. Neither date nor seal. The letter was delivered by one 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān.

C, 48. Agreement in Tānkari by which Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh promises to remain faithful and tributary to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā. It is not dated. Cf. above No. C, 42.

C, 49. Friendly letter in Tānkari from Rājā Jit Singh of Jammū to Rājā Jit Singh of Chambā. Undated.

Rājā Jit Singh of Jammū was the son of Miān Dalāl (Dilēr) Singh, the younger brother of Rājā Brajrāj Dēv. He succeeded the latter's son, Sampūraṇ Dēv, in A.D. 1796 (?).

C, 50. Letter in Tānkari from Rājā Tēgh Singh of Kashtwār promising allegiance to Chambā. Dated 12th of Jēth, Śāstra 77 (A.D. 1801).

Tēgh Singh was the last of the *Kashtwār Rājās*. Cf. *Vigne, Travels*, Vol. I, p. 181, and above No. C, 40.

C, 51. Letter in *Tānkarī* from *Rājā Pritam Singh* of *Kulū* to *Rājā Jit Singh* of *Chambā*, promising assistance in a united attack upon *Kāngrā*. It is dated the 13th of *Bhādōn*, *Sāstra* 77 (A.D. 1801). Cf. above No. C, 19.

C, 52. Letter in *Tānkarī* from *Dīwān Singh* (probably of *Jammū*) to *Rājā Jit Singh*. It states that *Nūrpur*, *Balor*, *Jasrōtā*, *Mankōt*, and *Chambā* with *Bhadarwāh* and *Kashtwār* are united against *Kāngrā*. Dated the 2nd of *Phāgun*, *Sāstra* 77 (A.D. 1802).

C, 53. Letter in *Tānkarī* from *Rājā Jit Singh* of *Chambā* to *Rājā Tēgh Singh* of *Kashtwār*, stating that, if *Kashtwār* is invaded, *Chambā* will send a force and that *Kashtwār* must help, if *Chambā* is at war with another power. *Kashtwār* is asked to send a force to *Bhadarwāh* for which *Chambā* will provide supplies. The tenor of the letter implies that *Kashtwār* was then subject to *Chambā*. It is dated the 1st of *Jēth*, *Sāstra* 79 (A.D. 1803).

C, 54. Treaty in *Tānkarī* between *Rājā Sansār Chand* of *Kāngrā* and *Rājā Jit Singh* of *Chambā*, concluding an alliance between the two States and stipulating that *Chambā* must send a force to the support of *Kāngrā* in case of war. Dated 17th *Maghair*, *Sāstra* 79 (A.D. 1803).

C, 55. Letter in *Tānkarī* from *Miān Mahindar Pāl* of *Basōhli* to *Rājā Jit Singh* making a compact between the two States. Dated the 18th of *Sāwan*, *Sāstra* 82 (A.D. 1806).

C, 56. Letter in *Tānkarī* from *Mahindar Pāl* of *Basōhli* to *Rājā Jit Singh* making a treaty with *Chambā*. Dated the 7th of *Asuj*, *Sāstra* 82 (A.D. 1806).

Mahindar Pāl was the son and successor of *Bijai Pāl* mentioned in No. C, 43.

C, 57. Letter in *Nāgarī* from *Amar Singh Thapa* and *Ranjit Singh* to *Rājā Jit Singh*. He is admonished not to be afraid of *Trigadh (Kāngrā)*. The *Gurkhās*, *Chambā* and *Kahlur (Bilāspur)* are all one and *Chambā* is the *Wazir* of the *Gurkhās*. *Jit Singh* is to send to *Ḍugar (Jammū)* for help and gather all the other *Rājās*, he is to keep a part of his army at *Rihlu* and send the rest to *Samt Pāl*. The letter states that the *Katōch* troops had seized *Pālam*, but the *Gurkhās* drove them out and occupied the *Pathyār Fort*. There is much need of money and the *Wazir* (probably *Nathu* of *Chambā*) had written for Rs. 4,000. This sum is to be sent at once and news will be received in two months. The letter is not dated, but was probably written between A.D. 1806 and 1809, when the *Kāngrā* valley was occupied by the *Gurkhās*.

It is curious to meet with the name *Trigadh* which is explained by *Moorcroft, Travels*, Vol. I, p. 140.

C, 58. Letter in *Nāgarī* in the same hand-writing as the previous one without name or date, but evidently meant for the *Rājā* of *Chambā*. It was most likely sent by *Amar Singh Thapa*, the commander of the *Gurkhā* army that invaded *Kāngrā* in A.D. 1806. The writer asks assistance in money and mentions Rs. 4,000 as having been promised, of which only Rs. 1,000 has been sent.

C, 59. Letter in *Persian* with seal in *Gurmukhī* from *Mahārājā Ranjit Singh* to *Rājā Charhat Singh* (A.D. 1808-1844), in which the *Mahārājā* expresses his pleasure that *Rihlu Fort* and also the '*ilāqa*' had been made over to the *Sikhs*. In exchange for *Rihlu*, the *Mahārājā* confers the State of *Bhadarwāh* on *Chambā*, the only condition being that *Miān Pahār Chand* of *Bhadarwāh* is to receive a '*jāgir*' of Rs. 3,000. The tribute money due from

Chambā to the Sikhs is also remitted, as well as certain obligations of service to Sikh Sardārs, except to Desa Singh who was then Governor of the Hills. It is stipulated that Wazir Nathu is to be in attendance on the Mahārājā. A village in Rihlu of the value of Rs. 1,000 is also conferred on Rājā Charhat Singh for the sake of the rice. Given in Nūrpur Bāgh. Dated the 27th of Jēth, Vikrama 1878 (A.D. 1821). Vide *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 104. This letter was found after the History was printed.

Note.—The village of Rānitad—Vide *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 104. Pahār Chand was the son of Bhūp Chand of Bhadarwāh and Atharbānu of Chambā. He was born in A.D. 1789 and died at Amritsar. With him the line of Bhadarwāh Rājās came to an end. Cf. above Nos. C, 22, 33 and 35.

C, 60. *Sanad* in Persian of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh conferring on Nathu, Wazir of Chambā, a village in Bhadarwāh in *jāgīr* to be enjoyed by him and his posterity. Nathu is also ordered to be in constant attendance on the Mahārājā. Dated the 1st of Hār, Vikrama 1881 (A.D. 1824). The document bears the seal of Ranjit Singh in Gurmukhī.

C, 61. *Parwāna* in Persian of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh to the *kārdārs* of Nūrpur that they are not to interfere in the *jāgīr* granted to Indar Singh, son of Wazir Nathu, as the *jāgīr* is in lieu of service. The *nazarāna* of Rs. 400 for two years which they are demanding has been remitted by a previous *parwāna*. Dated the 3rd of Hār, Vikrama 1884 (A.D. 1827). Seal of Ranjit Singh in Gurmukhī.

C, 62. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammū to Rājā Charhat Singh promising his help in connection with Rājā Bir Singh of Nūrpur (who was then imprisoned in Govindgarh Fort, Amritsar). Dated the 1st Bhādōn, Sāstra 3 (A.D. 1827).

C, 63. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Charhat Singh to Rājā Bir Singh of Nūrpur promising pecuniary help. Dated the 12th of Sāwan, Sāstra 10 (A.D. 1834).

C, 64. Letter in Tānkarī from Rājā Bir Singh of Nūrpur to Rājā Charhat Singh promising to be guided by his advice. Dated the 12th of Sāwan, Sāstra 10 (A.D. 1834).

C, 65. *Parwāna* in Persian of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh to Lehma Singh, Majithia, then Governor of Kāngrā, stating that a village named Sārthi of the value of Rs. 3,000 in Nūrpur has been granted to Lehnā Singh, grandson of Wazir Nathū, in lieu of service. He is required to be in attendance. Dated the 1st of Pōs, Vikrama 1891 (A.D. 1834). It bears three seals, that of Ranjit Singh in Gurmukhī and two others.

C, 66 and 67. Two letters in Persian addressed to Rājā Charhat Singh regarding a disturbance in Pāngī and Pādar which Wazir Nathū had been sent to settle. Both undated.

C, 68. Certificate given to Rājā Charhat Singh by Mr. Vigne and dated 12th February 1839.

On Vigne's visit to Chambā, see his *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 153 f.

C, 69. Letter in Persian addressed to Rāi Śrī Singh in which it is said that Bhadarwāh should be given to the son of Zōrāwar Singh. The letter contains a warning against Pandit Jallā and must, therefore, have been written between September 1843 and 21st December 1844, the date when Pandit Jallā was murdered.

C, 70. Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence to Rājā Śrī Singh notifying that Chambā State has been included in the territory transferred to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammū, by the treaty of Amritsar. He is enjoined to pay

his tribute and render all customary service to Rājā Gulāb Singh. Dated 16th March 1846. It bears the signature of Sir Henry Lawrence.

C, 71. Letter in Persian to Rājā Sri Singh notifying that Chambā has come under the control of the British Government. Dated the 29th of Phāgun, Vikrama 1902 (A.D. 1846). It bears the seal of Dalip Singh (*vulgo* Dhuleep Singh) in Gurmukhī.

C, 72. Letter in Persian addressed to Rājā Sri Singh regarding the approach of a British force which intended encamping at Charī. Undated, but perhaps about the time of the Second Sikh War.

F. WOOD-CARVING AND ORNAMENTAL WOOD-WORK.

F, 15. Carved wooden door from the mansion of the Rāṇā of Svāi (near Ulānsā), ruined in the earthquake of the 4th April 1905. It has the following inscription in Tāṅkari:—

श्री सासत्र सवते ५३ चत्र प्र १ लीख्य
 श्री रणे जहरे दे अमले भेत वणएआ
 राणे जहरे वणएआ वाढी क्जुए
 वणएआ श्री सुसुभ भस

The purport of the inscription is that the door was made by the carpenter Chhaju by order of Rāṇā Jahar in the year 53 or A.D. 18(?)77. Presented by Rāṇā Chēt Singh of Svāi.

F, 16-17. Two wooden brackets each surmounted by the figure of a stag. Manufactured in Chambā.

F, 18. Forty-six specimens of timber produced in Chambā State.

G. ANCIENT WEAPONS.

G, 63. Coat of chain armour from Sihunta, Bhaṭṭi Wazārat.

H. EMBROIDERIES AND TEXTILES.

H, 6. *Rūmāl* (26" square), with floral design.

H, 7. *Rūmāl*, circular in shape (diameter 15"), with floral design and silk fringe.

H, 8. *Rūmāl*, circular in shape (diameter 26"), with floral design and cotton fringe.

J. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

J, 37. Four stone vessels for food; manufactured in Chambā.

J, 38. Large-sized earthenware jar (*mattan*) for storing grain; made in the Bhāndal *parganā*.

J, 39. Earthenware flask (*olī*) for holding water.

J, 40. Earthenware vessel (*charoru*) with several small spouts used for making *charorī*, a mixture of flour (*āṭā*) and clarified butter (*ghī*).

J, 41. Earthenware wedge-shaped implement (*thana*) used for cleaning the soles by rubbing.

K. COINS.

K, 1-18. Ten silver and eight copper coins from Bikaner.

K, 19-29. Eleven copper coins resembling *chaklis* from the Chambā Treasury.

K, 30. Copper-coin of Kalāśa of Kaśmīr (A.D. 1063-1089) who was married to Bappikā, the daughter of Sālavāhana of Chambā. The coin was found on the site of Babor which is mentioned in the Rāja-taraṅginī under the name of Babbāpura, and probably represents the ancient capital of Durgara or Dugar. (Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1907, pp. 403 ff. and V. A. Smith, *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pl. XXVII, 15.)

Obverse: Rudely-cut goddess in middle; left, *kā*; right, *la*, below which is *śa*.

Reverse: Covered with verdigris.

K, 31. Copper coin of 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad K̲haljī. Date illegible.

Obverse: In double circle محمد شاه

Hindi legend on margin illegible.

Reverse: [ا] لسلطان [الا]

عظمه علا ا لد

نيا [والد] [ين]

Cf. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Indian Coins, Sultāns of Delhi*, No. 190.

K, 32. Copper coin of Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq. Date and mint illegible.

Obverse: فيروز [شاه]

سلطان

Reverse: دارالملک

دهلی

Cf. Wright, *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. II, No. 452.

K, 33. Copper coin of Fīrōz Shāh. Date and mint illegible.

Obverse: In double circle

الخلافة

ابو الفتح

خلد خلانته

Reverse : In circle

فیروز شاہ
سلطانی
خاند مملکتہ

Cf. ibid., No. 448.

K, 34. Copper coin of Shēr Shāh. Date A.H. 95—. Mint Shērgarh.

Obverse : In square

فی عہد
[۱] لامیر الحامی ۹۵

Margin at top

سلطان

Reverse :

In square

سلطان
شیر شاہ
ضرب شیر گڑہ

Margins—

top

سلطان

right

خاند

K, 35. Copper coin of Shēr Shāh. Date A.H. 950. Mint Nārñōl.

Obverse : In looped square

فی عہد
[۱] لامیر
الحامی

Margins—

top

۱۰۱۰م

right

۹۵۰

Reverse :

In looped square

سلطان
شیر شاہ
نارنوں [ل]
ضرب [ب]

Margins—

top

ابرا [لمظفر]

right

سلطانہ

Cf. Wright, op. cit., Nos. 719-20.

K, 36. Copper coin of Shēr Shāh. Date A.H. 952 (?). Mint illegible.

Obverse : في عهد
[!] لاصير العا [كمى]
[فرید الدینان] والدين
Reverse : شیر شاه سلطان
خدا الله [ملكه]

K, 37. Copper coin of Shēr Shāh. Date A.H. 953. Mint illegible.

Obverse : As on K. 36; but ۹۵۳
Reverse : سلطان
شیر شاه

K, 38. Copper coin of Akbar. Date, month of Amardād; Ilahī year illegible. Mint Delhi.

Obverse : فلوس
دهلي
ضرب
Reverse : الهی
امرداد

K, 39. Copper coin of Akbar. Date A.H. 995. Mint Nārñōl.

Obverse : نازنو [ل]
فلو [س]
ضرب
Reverse : ۹۹۵
نہصد

Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, No. 491.

K, 40. Copper coin of Akbar. Date A.H. 999 (?). Mint Dāru-s-salām Dogao(n).

Obverse : دارالسلام [م]
فلوس
دو گاو
Reverse : نو [د]
نہصد و ...
سنه في

L, 7. Box for idols (*burka*) decorated with the eight symbols of happiness :—(1) *dPalpeu* = eternity, (2) *Pungpa* = sacrificial pot, (3) *Dung* = conch-shell, (4) *rGyalhsan* = banner of victory, (5) *Padma* = lotus-flower, (6) *gSernya* = pair of fishes, (7) *gDugs* = parasol, *i.e.*, royalty, (8) '*aKhorlo* = wheel. At the bottom is *gZi[g]patra* = a symbolical animal, and at the top *Norbu mebar* = the philosopher's stone (Skr. *chintāmani*). Inside is a piece of bronze with two figures remaining out of several—one of them apparently the goddess *Tārā*; the other probably a *Bodhisattva*.

L, 8. Set of copper sacrificial vessels for *gTorma*. It consists of (1) *Mangu* = a kind of pot for fluids with a spout, (2) a large plate called *gTor zhong*, on which is placed a tripod called *rKang gsum*. On the tripod is placed the *Pateb*—a little plate inscribed with the sacred syllable *Om* in silver *Lañthsā* character and with the symbol of *Padma-sambhava*.

L, 9. Thunderbolt (*rDorje*)—the supposed weapon of the gods—which the *Lamas* also use in exorcising evil spirits. From *Leh, Ladakh*.

L, 10. Bell (*Drilbu*) with an inscription in several mystic syllables, three of which are *lam, bam, mam*. From *Leh, Ladakh*.

L, 11. Several sheets of Tibetan wood-printing; presented by *Dr. J. Hutchison*. From *Leh, Ladakh*.

L, 12. Silver prayer-wheel with four times the sacred formula *Om maṅi padme hum* in *Lañthsā* characters. Purchased at *Simla*.



ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 6, l. 8. Varuṇā read Varuṇa.

P. 11, *passim*. Daler read Dilēr.

P. 11, under C, l. Sangrām Pāl of Basōhī read Sangrām Pāl Balauriā.

P. 12, l. 1. The document No. C, 1 does not contain the autograph of Rājā Prithī Singh of Chambā, but that of one Rājā Prithī Chand of Siba (?).

L. 14, l. 18. The third picture acquired by Baron von Ujfalvy, representing Rājā Rāj Singh (?) with a Rānī and four female attendants carrying two *hukkas*, a peacock fan and a sword, is now in the Musée du Louvre at Paris (Persian section), where it is labelled: "Miniature indopersane XVIII^e siècle, don de M. Emile Soldi Colbert et de la société française de fouilles archéologiques (1905)."

P. 14 under *The Indian Months*. Add to introductory note: In Hindī poetry we meet with a distinct class of poems, called *bārah-māsa*, which consist of twelve stanzas corresponding to the twelve months of the year and descriptive of the pain of separation from a husband, as also of the characteristic changes of the season, and the pastimes which distinguish each month. There appears to be a close connection between our pictures and such poems.

P. 22, footnote †. *Verbascum* read *Verbascum*.

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