# EMBLEMS OF THE INDIAN STATES

by David F. Phillips

The Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, by Valentine Cameron Prinsep. The artist was present at this event in 1877, also known as the Proclamation Durbar because it was the occasion for proclaiming Queen Victoria Empress of India. This vast painting, 27 feet long, first exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1880, shows the armorial banners prepared for the most important Indian princes. The designs on these banners, created by an English artist, were of great importance in the development of the system of Indian state emblems. A surviving example is shown on the inside back cover. For more on the Imperial Assemblage and its role in the development of Indian state emblems, see page 8.

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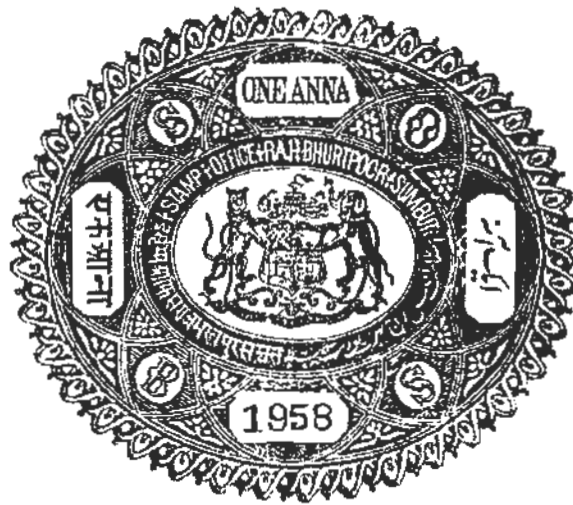
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Acknowledgements

This book is dedicated to the Great God of India, SRI LORD GANESHA, the Mighty, the Auspicious One, the Invincible Large-Eared Lord, Moon-Complected and Gigantic, Inspiration and Scribe, and to the memory of my friend and teacher BABA KALI DAS ACHARYA (MICHAEL BOWEN) (1937-2009).

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A note on the illustrations

Most of the illustrations are black-and-white (or manipulated grayscale) versions of color scans of Indian revenue stamps, either from Dr. Jiří Černý's vast collection or from my own much smaller one. While color is attractive, it is costly and not essential to a representation of an emblem, because the stamps are almost always printed in one color only, often varying with denomination. Sometimes the original colors are quite pale – in most cases, unless complicated by overlying cancellations, the emblems are clearer in black and white than in color. As the focus in this book is on the emblems rather than the stamps, **most of the illustrations are details only, removed from their surrounding context. This is not separately noted in text or captions.** Unless otherwise noted, type numbers are from *The Court Fee and Revenue Stamps of the Princely States of India*, by Adolph Koeppel and Raymond D. Manners (Mineola, New York, three volumes, 1983-89)). They are indicated by the initial K.

The following stamp images are included as decorative elements, without captions.

Front cover	Shahpura K. 25
Acknowledgments	Miraj Junior K. 5
About the author	Gainta K. 15
Title page	Bharatpur K. 10. The stamp is from 1901 in our reckoning. The face date 1958 follows a local Samvat calendar beginning in 57 BCE.
Top of first text page	Patiala K. 10
Back cover	Clockwise from top left: Gaurihar K. 5, Mayurbhanj K. 25, Mangrol K. 6, Cutch K. 11

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Inside front cover	From Wikimedia Commons
About the author	Photograph of the author by Klaudia Nelson
Page 16	Garter by L. R. Brightwell, from *Tabard and Shield*, by Gladys Davidson (London, 1937)
Inside back cover	From a calendar published by the City Palace, Udaipur, Rajasthan
Figure 1	From *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*, by C. Collin Davies (Oxford University Press, Madras, 2d edition, 1959)
Figure 2a	From *L'Art Héraldique*, by H. Gourdon de Genouillac (Paris, 1889)
Figure 2b	From *Civic Heraldry of England and Wales*, by C. Wilfrid Scott-Giles (London, 1933)
Figure 2c	From *Map of Northern India Including the Presidency of Bengal*, by John Rapkin (London, 1860)

Figure 2d	From *Peerage and Baronetage 1881*, by Joseph Foster (London, 1881)
Figure 8	Reproduced under license from the Florida Center for Instructional Technology, *http://etc.usf.edu/clipart*
Figure 11a	From *Wisconsin Blue Book 1999-2000*
Figure 11b	Adapted from an image on the Flags of the World website, *http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/*
Figure 15a	From *www.gilgameshgames.org/babyloniancaduceus.html*
Figure 15b	From *An Elementary History of Art Description*, by N. D'Anvers (New York, 1895), reproduced under license from the Florida Center for Instructional Technology, *http://etc.usf.edu/clipart*
Figure 15c	From *Indian Art of the Americas*, by Le Roy H. Appleton (New York, 1950), reprinted by Dover Books as *Indian Design and Decoration* (New York 1971)
Figure 15d	From *L'Art Arabe*, by Émile Prisse d'Avennes (Paris, 1877), image reprinted in *Arabian Ornament* (Cambridge Library of Ornamental Art, New York, 1991)
Figure 15e	From an issue of *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, by William Griggs (London, 1884-1914), image reprinted in Susan Stronge, ed., *The Decorative Art of India* (New York, 1990)
Figure 26b	From *German Talers 1500-1600*, by John S. Davenport (Frankfurt 1979)
Figure 26c	From *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, by Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez (Paris, 1882-88), reprinted in *The Migration of Symbols*, by Count Eugène Goblet d'Alviella (Westminster 1894, American edition New York, 1956)
Figure 32a	From *Orders – Ordenes*, by Juan Carlos Mantel (Buenos Aires, 1998)
Figure 33a	From the British Admiralty's official *Flags of All Nations* (London, 1930)
Figure 34	From *Osmanli Padışah Tuğralari*, by Suha Umur (Istanbul, 1980)
Figure 36	From Wikimedia Commons

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The names of Indian states, transliterated from Indian languages, are spelled in differing ways in English. In cases of conflict I have followed the usage in the Government of India's official *Memoranda on the Indian States* (Delhi, 1940).

Colophon

This book was composed on a Microsoft Word word processing system, with the aid of a Hewlett-Packard Scanjet 3500c image scanner. It was printed on a Goss Community Web Offset press on 60 pound (40% post-consumer recycled) offset paper, by the Howard Quinn Company of San Francisco; the covers were printed on a Heidelberg digital press on 100 pound gloss cover stock. The body type font is 13 point Times Roman, 12 point Times Roman for the forematter, with embedded captions set in 10 point Franklin Gothic Book and a few (such as the caption below) in 12 point Franklin Gothic Book. There are 175 black-and-white illustrations and seven in color. The first printing, in September 2011, was 1300 copies.
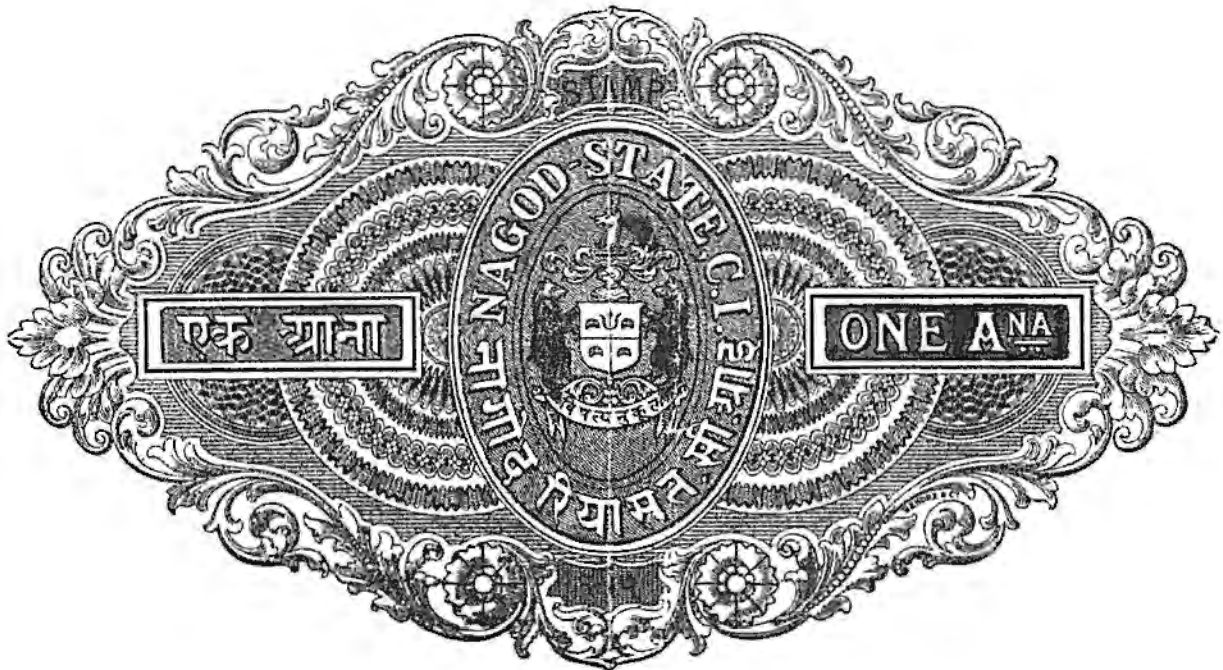
Nagod State revenue stamp (Koeppel Catalogue Type 5)

About the author

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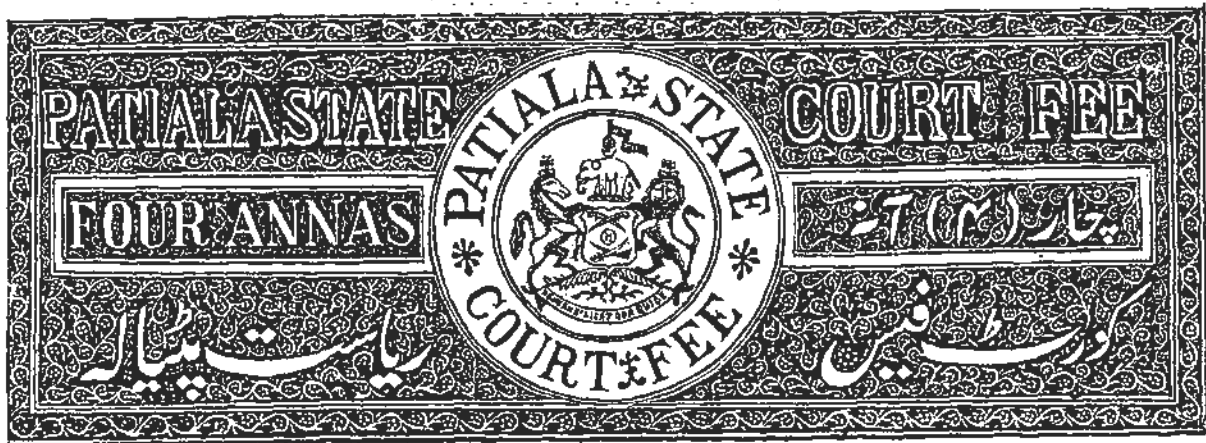
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1. Background

When the British began their territorial penetration of India in the 18th century, the Mughal Empire, which had suzerainty or direct control over most of the area, was in a state of retreat and decay. As Mughal authority crumbled, old states that had had some measure of sovereignty before the Mughals began to reassert their independence, and Mughal governors and other adventurers and warriors established new states. Where British power advanced to encounter them, the fortunes of these new states depended on the accommodations they made with the British. Most (although not all) of the states that accepted British political and military supremacy were allowed to continue as states under British overlordship. Others were overthrown and their lands subsumed into British India.

Historical circumstances produced different results at different times and in different parts of India. Sometimes the British favored annexation as a policy; at other times they allowed local government to remain with local authority. In Gujarat, for instance, in the early 19th century, the British imposed a settlement that recognized as sovereign hundreds of petty chieftains and feudatories who had not been sovereigns before. In other circumstances large states such as Awadh (Oudh) and Punjab were suppressed and direct rule substituted. A series of wars – the Maratha and Sikh Wars for example – helped shape the structure of the Indian state system during the British period.

1

At the close of imperial rule in India in 1947, the British governed about 60% of India directly, as what was called British India (lighter on the map in Figure 1 below), and the other 40% (darker on the map) indirectly through indigenous rulers. This was the favored British method of colonial government for complex societies, also used in Africa, in Malaya, and elsewhere. There were by various counts between 500 and 700 states with differing degrees of autonomy under British paramountcy. Some were "princely states" whose rulers were entitled to gun salutes and representation in the British-organized Chamber of Princes. Others were little more than the lands of *zamindars, jagirdars* and petty landlords, sometimes no more than a village or two. And there were states at every level in between.

Figure 1: Political division of India and Burma in 1939. Shaded areas were Indian states under indirect rule; unshaded areas were under direct British rule.

At whatever level, these states had no independence in foreign affairs. They could not even communicate with one another on a diplomatic basis – only family communications were permitted among rulers. But they were allowed to continue exercising many of the functions of independent states. The larger ones kept military forces, which the British used for their own purposes when convenient – Indian state forces served in both world wars. They imposed and collected local taxes, which were supposed to be used at least in part for infrastructure such as roads, schools and hospitals. Some states actually did use their revenue to maintain an efficient infrastructure, and some did not. Hundreds of these states maintained their own court systems.

In 1947-48 the Indian states all acceded either to India or to Pakistan and ceased to exist, although their rulers kept their status until 1971 and still maintain their dynastic traditions and emblems. Note that the term *Indian state* refers here only to these pre-independence quasi-sovereign territories, and not to the states that formed the administrative divisions of India after independence.

2. Field of study

Most if not all of the Indian states had some form of state emblem. Often, as in Europe, the emblem of the ruler was also the emblem of the state. Unfortunately, to date no comprehensive scholarly work has assembled these state emblems together so they can be compared for study.

The nearest attempt I have been able to find is *Drapeaux et Armoiries des États Princiers de l'Inde Anglaise* [Flags and Arms of the Princely States of British India], by André Flicher, privately published in French in Dreux, France, in 1981. This book does collect the flags and emblems of a great many states – the emblems are often the principal feature on the flags. But the illustrations are line drawings by the author, sometimes fairly rough; many have the look of having been drawn on mimeograph stencils. I don't mean to minimize Flicher's scholarship – his pioneering work was obviously the fruit of much intense and resourceful study, and remains a useful guide. I have no reason to doubt its general accuracy, and I have relied on it for some purposes. However, even where the detail is clear, the illustrations are Flicher's own – they are not government patterns, and their sources are not given, and so they do not have the authority of official issues.

Also helpful is *A History of the Indian State Forces*, by the Maharajah of Jaipur (Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1967). It has clearer illustrations, and as the author was himself a distinguished Indian prince he may be assumed to have had privileged access to official sources. I have relied on this book as well. But it too is unofficial, and much more restricted in scope than Flicher's. Likewise *The Golden Book of India* (Macmillan, London, 1893), and other such works focusing on the princes themselves, reproduced emblems the princes probably approved, but they did not attempt comprehensive coverage. Indian collections of state emblems, such as those in the City Palace in Udaipur, Rajasthan, which were presumably gathered from official sources, have not been published. The Government of India's official and definitive *Memoranda on the Indian States* (Delhi, 1940) organizes a huge amount of data on the states and provides geographical and statistical information on even the smallest of them, but unfortunately gives no information on state emblems.

In the absence of an authoritative collection of Indian state emblems, we are obliged to turn to such original sources as are available – material issued by the states and therefore reproduced from officially approved patterns. The British did not encourage state rulers to issue coins or paper money, although a few did. They likewise discouraged them from creating medals and decorations – some issued them anyway, and many are illustrated in Tony McClenaghan's valuable *Indian Princely Medals* (Lancer, New Delhi, 1996). Although some of these items include state emblems, there are not enough of them to base a survey on. British postage stamps were used in British India, and sometimes overprinted for state use – only a few states issued their own postage stamps. But hundreds of states issued revenue stamps, especially for use by their courts.

The jurisdiction of Indian state courts varied substantially. On the criminal side, the level of punishment an Indian ruler was allowed to impose in his courts was a measure of his status within the princely system, and was sometimes adjusted by the British as a mark of favor or disfavor. On the civil side, these were the principal courts for local citizens for many purposes, including lawsuits, settlement of land and inheritance disputes, and

registration of titles and contracts. They were busy places, and fees had to be paid. Revenue stamps were affixed to documents to show that the fees had been paid, or the documents were required to be written on stamped paper, which was also proof of payment. They were similar in this way to postage stamps and postal stationery, which show that postal charges have been pre-paid (some British stamps were marked *postage and revenue*).

Revenue and court stamps are the best available source for Indian state emblems, because of the large number of states represented and their relatively high technical quality, but especially because the designs were *official issues*. They are catalogued in *The Court Fee and Revenue Stamps of the Princely States of India*, by Adolph Koeppel and Raymond D. Manners (Fiscal Philatelic Foundation, Mineola, New York, three volumes, 1983-1989). This study is based on emblems pictured on Indian state revenue and court stamps.

The most common design on Indian state revenue stamps is a portrait of the ruler, but the second most common design is that of the emblem of the state. Many of these emblems are in the form of European-style coats of arms. Others use only indigenous Indian graphic forms, and many others have fused the two traditions into puzzling hybrid compositions. How did these emblems come to look the way they do?

3. Method

To assemble an inventory of emblems on which to base my survey, I first went through Koeppel and Manners' catalogue (hereafter *Koeppel*) and identified the stamp Types that seemed to use a state emblem as a motif. A Type is a specific stamp design; Koeppel identifies them by numbers. I capitalize the word to show it is used in this special sense. **Unless otherwise stated, all Type numbers given are Koeppel numbers; they are indicated by the initial K.**

Most states issued stamps in many different Types, in successive issues or for different denominations in the same issue. Sometimes a single Type was used in more than one issue, or denomination within an issue. **Illustrations in this paper usually show, and Type numbers given here usually reference,** *only* **the portion of the design showing a state emblem.** Some states used as many as five emblems sufficiently distinct for me to count them separately.

Once I identified all the images in Koeppel that seemed to be state emblems, I searched for others among the superb color scans of Indian state revenue stamps on the "Indian States Fiscals and Stamped Papers" website (*www.indiastaterevenues.com*) maintained by Dr. Jiří Černý. This is a magnificent resource, without which this work would not

have been possible in its present form. Dr. Černý has been kind enough to provide me with high-resolution scans of many of the state emblems I have used as illustrations.

The images from Černý and Koeppel form the bulk of the data on which my survey is based. I added some patterns shown by Černý on his website but not in Koeppel, and a few more found in *Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue* and in my own study collection of Indian revenue stamps and stamped paper. I relied on the British Stanley Gibbons postage stamp catalogue in only one case.

I arranged these images by category, and then refined the categories until I had a sort of rough taxonomy of emblems. It is not a complete or comprehensive accounting of all Indian state emblems, or even of those appearing on revenue (or postage) stamps. Also there are many other sources, including official documents and state government stationery, which could have been used if this were an attempt at a complete survey. But a survey based on revenue stamps is enough, I think, to establish the categories into which Indian state emblems can generally be placed for analysis. I ended up using 284 images from 186 states. The classifications and distribution are discussed more fully, and a tabulation given, in section 20 below.

Sometimes the elements of the emblem were hard to discern from the illustrations in Koeppel, or even from Černý's scans. About 5% of the designs which seemed to be state emblems remained either illegible or too indistinct to analyze, even with the help of the sources mentioned above. I therefore omitted them from my analysis, but this still left more than enough from which to generate a taxonomy. There is no reason to think that the omitted examples belong to categories not otherwise identified, or that including them (if it had been possible) would have changed very much the relative totals of the different categories.

It is possible that some of the designs I have identified as state emblems, especially deities, crescents, and isolated objects like swords, were not actually state emblems. They all appear to me to have been used as graphic symbols of authority, what the Germans call *Hoheitszeichen* [signs of sovereignty]. Perhaps later scholars with a better understanding of the practice in individual states will identify examples of over-inclusiveness which can be pruned in a revised edition.

I feel I should state explicitly that this article only establishes a classification based on *external appearance*. It does not attempt to explore the meaning of individual emblems or their constituent elements. It is not a guide to the iconography of these emblems, work which must await other hands, but only to their form.

Indian state revenue stamps come in four basic kinds. Some, like that shown in Figure 9a, are about the size of postage stamps. Others, like that in Figure 29, page 26, are more like coupons, varying in size – Jhalawar K. 5, for example, measures 125 x 75 mm (4 x 6

inches), but Cutch K. 10 measures only 75 x 37 mm (roughly 1½ x 3 inches). Many are actually printed headings on long sheets of otherwise blank paper intended for handwritten legal documents – the original of Patiala K. 10, shown as an ornamental headpiece on page 1, measures about 19¼ x 7 mm (about 7½ x 2¾ inches), and many such stamps are even larger. These three kinds of stamps were printed by a variety of methods, from high-grade European-style engraving, with engine-turning and other sophisticated features, to more primitive engraving, letterpress printing, offset printing and lithography, and block printing. Those of the fourth kind were not mechanically printed on paper at all, but were applied with hand-stamps (see Figures 30e and 41d). Because the hand-stamp surfaces were typically made of wood or other relatively unyielding materials, they sometimes transferred their images only very imperfectly.

Some of the illustrations are not as clear or distinct as could have been hoped for. Often this was due to the need to enlarge scans of very small images, especially where only a detail was to be shown. **As most of the images in this book show only details rather than the entire design of the original stamp, use of details is not specifically identified in the text or captions.** In some cases (especially with hand-stamps) the original printing was itself indistinct, and on some specimens cancelled in ink it can be hard to distinguish in black-and-white reproduction which lines are stamp design and which are cancellation. Sometimes stamps were cancelled by punching out a hole, see Figure 40, often deliberately through the emblem. Some much-enlarged images show scanning distortion. Because the text illustrations show only those parts of a stamp or stamped paper that bear the state emblem, and only in black and white, they give only a poor impression of the beauty and interest of the stamps themselves.

Some works on Indian state stamps distinguish between states and subordinate estates (*thikanas*). I have not done this, but have treated every issuing authority equally. Deciding which entities were truly states and which were not quite states requires a level of historical discrimination unnecessary for present purposes.

4. Taxonomy of Indian state emblems

Here is a rough classification of Indian state emblems as shown on revenue stamps, derived from the sources mentioned.

> 1. British style dominant
>
>> a. Heraldic arms granted at the 1877 durbar
>>
>> b. Variants on these arms
>>
>> c. Other heraldic-style arms
>>
>> d. Heraldic crests

e. Victorian monograms

2. Mixed British and Indian styles

    a. Mixed achievements

    b. "Regimental-style" emblems

3. Indian style dominant

    a. Emblems based on objects

    b. Emblems based on animals

    c. Emblems based on Hindu deities

    d. Emblems based on the sun

    e. The OM

4. Islamic influence dominant

    a. Emblems based on a crescent

    b. *Tughras* (Turkish-style monogram)

    c. Prince on a throne (*gaddi*)

A more detailed treatment of each category follows in the succeeding sections, illustrated with examples and slightly rearranged (for example monograms, *tughras* and OM are considered together as inscriptions). Section 20 discusses some problems of classification and tabulates the results. By distinguishing between *Indian* and *Islamic* I do not mean to suggest that the Islamic style is not authentically Indian.

5. <u>The European coat of arms</u>

About 35% of the Indian state emblems in this survey take the form of a European (indeed specifically British) coat of arms. Another 9% are hybrid forms incorporating many of the conventions of the British coat of arms. A brief explanation of this form is therefore needed.

The European heraldic system had its origins in the flags and painted shields used for recognition by medieval warriors. It began as a visual system in the 12th century and quickly developed a vocabulary of geometric forms and stylized images (mainly of animals, plants and artifacts) still in use today. Heraldic art in its narrowest sense is based on a decorated shield whose pattern, like a modern logo, signifies a particular person, place or institution.

Unlike round Indian shields, the British heraldic shield has a *heater* form, so called because it is shaped like a clothes-pressing iron, flat at the top and curving to a point at the bottom. A helmet (*helm*), bearing a *crest* on top, is usually associated with the shield because the helmet, crest and shield were used together at the tournaments where this system was further developed. A decorative cloth *mantling* hangs behind the helm, and a twist of fabric called a *torse* covers the join between the helm and the crest. Often a ribbon or scroll, above or below, carries a motto or war cry. Examples are shown in Figure 2, following the main text.

This has been the basic form of heraldic design in Britain since the 13th century. For great noblemen, in the British usage, a crown or coronet is sometimes placed above the shield or helm, and human or animal figures called *supporters*, standing on a field called a *compartment* and appearing to support the shield between them, are added on either side. Arms of states and corporations also use supporters. Other countries in Europe vary this form, but only the British style was followed in India. The entire composition – shield, helm, crest, mantling, motto (and compartment and supporters, if any) – is called an *achievement*. The more common but less precise term *coat of arms* referred originally to a surcoat in the same design as the shield, worn by a knight over his armor.

Heraldic compositions were brought to India by the British, who used them for their own purposes. The form was well known in India long before the time, around 1860, when Indian states began to issue revenue stamps. The British royal arms were of course seen in many places – on official documents, on buildings, on soldiers' insignia, and elsewhere. Until its dissolution in 1874, the East India Company's arms were also in widespread use (even on the Company's coins in the first half of the 19th century), and individual British officers and officials used their own arms for various purposes.

Figure 2a shows the British royal arms as they appeared in the late Victorian period. Note the quarterings (for England, Scotland and Ireland), the supporters (who here stand on an ornament called a *gas-bracket* in satirical reference to 19th century domestic gas fixtures), the motto scroll, the helmet, and the ornamental mantling. All these elements appear frequently in Indian state emblems. The crest is in an unusual form because the arms are royal.

Figure 2b shows the arms of the City of London, certainly familiar in princely circles in India. Here there is a proper crest, although no helm – observe that the torse on which the crest rests is curved as if to fit on top of a helmet. The supporters stand not on a gas-bracket but on a compartment. The drawing, by C. Wilfrid Scott-Giles, is from 1933 – standards of heraldic art in England had revived considerably by then, after centuries of decline. Figure 2c, the arms of the East India Company (from 1860), reflects the more debased style of the mid-19th century. The difference is important because, as will be seen, the Indian states first adopted British-style heraldic arms in significant numbers in 1877.

Figure 2d is the arms of Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Earl of Lytton, the Viceroy who held the 1877 durbar at which the major princes of India were first given heraldic arms. The rendition, from 1881, is by John Forbes Nixon, one of the most distinguished heraldic artists of the period. It shows that even in Victorian times England could produce competent heraldic art. Note that the quartered shield represents the union of two families (Bulwer and Lytton). Three crests are unusual for British arms, but common in other countries.

6. The Proclamation Durbar

The pivotal event in the transmission of the British heraldic style to India was the Proclamation Durbar of January 1, 1877. This event, also known as Lord Lytton's Durbar, was formally titled an "Imperial Assemblage" so as to avoid the precedence problems of an actual durbar (a convocation of subordinate princes, on the Mughal model). It was called to proclaim Queen Victoria as Empress of India, completing the constitutional reorganization of India following the Rebellion or Mutiny of 1857 (or First War of Indian Independence, depending on point of view), the Government of India Act the following year, the nationalization of the East India Company, and the creation of the Indian Empire in 1876.

Lord Lytton's Durbar was a very spectacular affair, full of lavish pageantry. Coats of arms were created in the British heraldic style for the most important princes, and the designs were embroidered on banners which were then presented to them. A prince's acceptance of his banner was a symbolic act of submission, similar to receipt of a *khilat* (a robe the sovereign had touched) from the Mughal emperor at one of his durbars. Colonel Frederick Sleigh Roberts (later Field Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar), the Army Quartermaster-General in charge of the arrangements, describes the event in his book *Forty-One Years in India* (London, 1897).

> Each prince, with his suite, was met at the entrance to the camp, and conducted up the street to the durbar tent by mounted officers, the salute to which he was entitled being fired while the procession moved on. He was then presented by the Foreign Secretary to the Viceroy, who placed him on a chair on his right, immediately below a full-length portrait of Her Majesty. A satin banner, richly embroidered with the chief's armorial bearings surmounted by the imperial crown, was next brought in by Highland soldiers and planted in front of the throne, when the Viceroy, leading the particular chief towards it, thus addressed him: "I present Your Highness with this banner as a personal gift from Her Majesty the Queen, in commemoration of her assumption of the title of Empress of India. Her Majesty trusts that it may never be unfurled without reminding you not only of the close union between the throne of England and your loyal and

princely house, but also of the earnest desire of the paramount power to see your dynasty strong, prosperous, and permanent."

On the inside front cover of this book, a contemporaneous painting by Valentine Cameron Prinsep ("Imperial Assemblage at Delhi") shows the scene; for an example of a surviving armorial durbar banner (from Mewar State, Udaipur), see the inside back cover.

Although only 63 princes were awarded banners at the Imperial Assemblage itself, 90 British-style coats of arms had been commissioned for the occasion. I refer to them all as *durbar arms* because they were conceived and executed as a single project in connection with the Imperial Assembly. The arms were designed by Robert Taylor, an Englishman in the Bengal Civil Service and an "amateur heraldist" who had designed similar arms for Indian princes for British royal visits in 1869 and 1876. Professor Bernard S. Cohn of the University of Chicago describes them in his essay "Representing Authority in Victorian India" (in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983)).

> The devices which Taylor created related to his conception of the mythic origins of the various ruling houses, their identification with particular gods or goddesses, events in their history, topographic features of their territories, or they incorporated some ancestral emblem associated with a ruling house or even a group of houses. Most of the arms of the Rajputs bore the sun to symbolize their descent from Rama. The Sikh chiefs of the Punjab all had a boar on their banners. The background colour of the device could also be used to denote regional groups of chiefs, some had particular trees or plants which had sacred significance for a particular house. Even events of the Mutiny were represented if they indicated loyalty to the British. At times Taylor's imagination seemed to run out. Kashmir ... had to be satisfied by three wavy lines representing the three ranges of the Himalayas, and three roses to represent the beauty of the Vale of Kashmir.

The durbar arms and their *blazons* (technical descriptions) were published as an official record by the Government of India in a book called *The Princely Armoury* (Calcutta, 1877), which has been reissued as a modern reprint. Figure 3 shows the title page and a typical achievement. The arms were all designed in an identical format – shield, supporters, helmet and crest, motto scroll, gas-bracket. A comparison of successive pages in *The Princely Armoury* shows that Taylor used a standard template, filling in only details for each individual prince.

As mentioned, the 1870s was a time of low heraldic standards in England. As a result the coats of arms given to the major princes of India were rendered in a very debased form indeed. In the *Princely Armoury* template the helmet, torse and crest, which should form a unit resting on the shield, instead each float separately above it. The mantling, instead

of flowing down from the torse, appears instead as a stylized flourish, attached somehow to the back of the helm and extending out from its sides like wings. The shield itself is outsized compared to the helmet (try to imagine from Figure 3b how a knight able to fit into that helmet could possibly hold a shield that big). The figures on the shield are too small in relation to the shield to permit a harmonious ratio between figure and ground. The floriated gas-bracket, and the vestigial helmet and mantling, appear identically in every achievement; they are especially decadent features of 19th-century heraldry.

I dwell on these stylistic defects because the arms granted to the princes for the 1877 durbar proved extremely influential in forming the shape and style of Indian state emblems. Many of the princes who received arms at the durbar continued to use them until independence 70 years later, and even thereafter for private purposes. They appear not only on revenue stamps but also on medals, state military insignia, documents and stationery, architectural and decorative details, plaques on statues and monuments, and elsewhere. Taylor's unfortunate design choices were continued without change over the decades.

Moreover these achievements, with all their flaws, were the models for many dozens of others adopted by rulers who had not been given arms-banners at the durbar, but who now created arms for themselves using the same basic pattern and conventions. Thus these decadent features became characteristic of Indian state heraldry, even in arms not created by Taylor. In this way the gas-bracket and the floating-blob helmet with wing-like mantling became a common characteristic of Indian state emblems.

It would be an interesting study to go back to the original documents, now held (if they survive) in libraries in Britain and India, and find out what input the princes themselves had, and what the significance was thought to be of the many Indian iconographic motifs found in the designs.

7. **Durbar arms**

The first category in my taxonomy includes designs that reproduce arms granted at Lord Lytton's Durbar in 1877, without significant change from the elements as shown in *The Princely Armoury*. At least 33 of these durbar arms are included in this study – about 11% of the examples surveyed. Figure 4a shows Jodhpur K. 55, beautifully engraved in the European manner and indistinguishable in style from a British nobleman's bookplate of the time, along with examples from Ajaigarh and Bundi. See also the durbar arms of Cutch in Figure 3b.

States issuing stamps with substantially unaltered durbar arms include Ajaigarh, Balasinor, Bansda, Banswara, Barwani, Bhopal, Bikaner, Bundi, Cambay, Charkhari, Chhatarpur, Datia, Dewas Junior, Dharampur, Dholpur, Dhrangadhra, Dungarpur,

Jaisalmer, Jammu & Kashmir, Jhind, Jodhpur, Kapurthala, Karauli , Kishangarh, Kotah, Maler Kotla, Mandi, Nabha, Narsingarh, Panna, Patiala, Porbandar, Sikkim, and Tehri Garhwal.

8. Durbar variants

A related category, that of *durbar variants*, represented in the survey by 16 examples (about 5%), include designs that begin with the durbar arms but then change material elements. Sometimes the change is relatively slight. Bhopal, for example, merely changed the shield from the European heater shape (K. 15, Figure 5a) to an Indian-style round shield (K. 50, Figure 5b).

Often the changes are more substantial. In Bijawar K. 15 (Figure 5c), the supporter on the viewer's left appears to be a lion or other big cat. But the plate in *The Princely Armoury*, and the blazon, call for a bear instead. Crossed banners have also been added behind the shield of the original composition. Nabha provides another good example. Compare Figures 5d and 5e – the first shows the durbar arms, but with the supporters reversed (the leopard should be on the left); in the second the same supporters now hold a round shield, still built around a saltire (X-shaped) division but with completely different charges, a British royal crown instead of the durbar crest, and a different motto.

A common variation is a simplification of the durbar arms. Thus Bikaner K. 10 (Figure 5f) shows the durbar arms of seven stripes with three falcons (actually the blazon in *The Princely Armoury* calls for only six stripes, a heraldically important distinction). But Bikaner K. 31 (Figure 5g) reduces this design to one falcon and one stripe, and an additional mysterious dot. Likewise Jodhpur K. 55 (Figure 4a) shows the durbar arms, a falcon on a striped field with three ears of barley on a canton. But in the earlier-issued Type 50 (Figure 5h), the stripes and canton are gone, and a sort of border has been added instead.

Sometimes the change is the other way – more complex rather than simpler. The durbar arms for Cutch have two fields – weapons and a banner in the main part and a boat on a separate chief above (see Figure 3b). But Type 11 (Figure 6a, and back cover) shows a quartered shield, with the weapons in one quarter, the boat in another, and other charges in the other two. Where the durbar arms, like all the others, had only one crest, the new design has three. This was the version Cutch used for most purposes.

The durbar arms of Rajgarh had a saltire with five crescents, with flames in each of the four quadrants. Rajgarh K. 40 (Figure 6b) keeps the saltire, but replaces the charges with inscriptions; it keeps the dove supporters, but replaces the crest with a crown. Cooch Behar, which was granted durbar arms, issued stamps with a completely unrelated European-style achievement (Figure 6c).

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The illustrations in *The Princely Armoury* are not always the surest guide. For Narsingarh, for example, the illustration shows a shield with horizontal stripes, but the blazon calls for vertical stripes (as appear correctly on Type 8, not shown here).

Among the states issuing stamps with variants of their durbar arms are Bhopal, Bijawar, Bikaner, Chamba, Dhar, Janjira, Jodhpur, Nabha, Nagod, Narsingarh, Nawanagar, Rajgarh and Ratlam.

9. Other British-style arms

The largest single category in the survey is composed of European-style achievements not contained in *The Princely Armoury*, and therefore presumably not granted in connection with the 1877 durbar, but created in the same style. Fifty out of 284 examples, or about 17%, take this form.

Kushalgarh K. 5 (Figure 7a) is a good example. The emblem is composed almost entirely of Indian motifs. The image on the shield is the Indian god Krishna playing the flute. The supporters are also Indian figures. Above the shield, in the crest position, are crossed swords, with a parasol and fan (both traditional items of regalia at Indian royal courts) and the sun, all local symbols. The only European thing about this emblem is the composition itself, in the style of a European coat of arms, with gas-bracket and motto-scroll. It shows the deep penetration of British style, here used to marshal wholly indigenous elements into a foreign form of expression. Surgana K. 5 (Figure 7b) is another fine instance, among many others, of Indian motifs expressed within the conventions of a more-or-less British-style achievement.

Sometimes the variations in the elements surrounding the shield can be extreme. See for instance Piploda K. 6 (Figure 7c), which includes an image of the elephant-headed god Ganesha on a pedestal in the crest position, and swords above and below the shield, and a monogram, and a label with the name of the state, in a way which would never have appeared in Europe. But the composition is unmistakably British in its inspiration.

Kotah K. 25 (Figure 7d, difficult to make out clearly in the reproduction), is a beautifully composed European-style achievement based on Indian iconography. The crest-support is unconventional from a European point of view, but the achievement is gracefully and harmoniously rendered. Figure 7e shows the charming arms of Gaurihar, also in this category (see also back cover).

Finally, nearing the edge of what could reasonably be called European-style heraldry, are achievements that keep the outer form, but carry landscapes on the shields instead of proper heraldic charges. Figure 7f is Mewar's newer arms (adopted after the sun arms

shown on Mewar's durbar banner on the inside back cover) – the Rajput-faced sun formerly on the shield becomes the crest. Palitana K. 15 (Figure 7g) has all the external elements of a well-equipped European achievement, down to the order hanging at the base, but the round shield-equivalent shows a mountain scene. This essentially anti-heraldic heraldry is also seen in the 19th century landscape arms of some American states – compare the arms of Idaho (Figure 8), designed in 1891 based on an earlier pattern.

Figure 8. Great seal of Idaho.

Khairagarh K. 6 (Figure 7h) offers a more complex fusion of styles. There is a landscape on the shield, supported by two cobras, a gas-bracket below (even though the cobras do not need it to stand on), and a scroll with a Latin motto. A *katar* (Indian push-dagger) rests atop the shield, but enters the shield's visual space in an un-crestlike manner. Draped above it is a half-pavilion, based on a (non-British) European convention but in a form not seen in Europe. Above that are two crossed banners and an image of the god Shiva. Although obviously based on European heraldic patterns, the result is vividly hybrid; only the shape of the shield keeps it in this category.

States using European-style heraldic achievements not granted at the 1877 durbar include Bahawalpur, Balsan, Benares, Bharatpur, Bhopalgarh, Bussahir, Cooch Behar, Darkoti, Gaurihar, Hindol, Idar, Jambu-Ghoda, Jamkhandi, Jaora, Jasdan, Jath, Jhalawar, Kalsia, Keonthal, Khairagarh, Khairpur, Khaneti, Khilchipur, Kotah, Koti, Kurwai, Kushalgarh, Mewar (Udaipur), Mohammadgarh, Morvi, Muli, Partabgarh, Pataudi, Piploda, Poonch, Pudukkottai, Punadra, Sangli, Sarangarh, Sayla, Sirmoor, Sohawal, Suket, Surgana, Uniara and Vijaynagar.

10. British-style crests

A few states used as state emblems crests in the European sense, of the kind customarily placed above the helm, but alone on a torse, without the helm or the shield. This is orthodox in British practice, where crests are used alone for many purposes. Examples include Sawantwadi K. 20 (Figure 9a) and Nawanagar K. 75 (Figure 9b).

11. Other uses of European heraldic style

Some other examples of the penetration of the European heraldic vocabulary appear in this group. For example, note the crown above the arms in Keonthal K. 8 (Figure 10a). This is a form called in British heraldry an "Eastern crown." It is a British idea of what the crown of an Asian monarch should look like, although such radiant crowns (sun symbols) were not ordinarily used in Asia except in ancient states under Hellenistic

influence. But the British included it often in heraldic designs as a sign of service in India and elsewhere in Asia – the supporters in Lord Lytton's own arms (Figure 2d) hold Eastern crowns. The use of this device in the arms of Keonthal (and in emblems of many other states also, for example Morvi, Dholpur and Kumharsain) is a cultural import. Another example is the pavilion, a sort of combination tent and robe used by high nobles in Europe (although usually not in Britain). Jasdan K. 25 (Figure 10b) shows this imported usage. Jath K. 10 (Figure 20b) and Kalsia K. 5 (not shown) are other examples. Mudhol used it too, although not on stamps; see also Khairagarh K. 6 (Figure 7h).

Another sign of European influence is the motto-scroll, a prominent part of the European heraldic vocabulary adopted almost universally in India. Nearly every Indian state emblem, including all the durbar arms, has a scroll of one kind or another, inscribed either with a motto or with the name of the state. Usually the legend on the scroll is in an Indian language, but sometimes it is in English, already a cultural penetration, and occasionally even in Latin, a language central to the education of British officials but having no cultural connection to India at all. See Nawanagar K. 75 (Figure 9b) – Nawanagar's motto *Nil desperandum*, meaning *No cause to despair*, is a tag from the Roman poet Horace (Odes, I.vii.27), a favorite author of classically educated Englishmen. See also Balasinor K. 5 (Figure 19a).

The British royal arms, known throughout India, were a powerful influence on the design of Indian state emblems. In Patiala K. 10 (see the top of page 1) we see a lion and horse as supporters, a fairly common choice for Indian states. This may either reflect the importance of these animals in Indian iconography or echo the lion and unicorn of the British royal arms. See Figure 2a; there is an actual unicorn on Kumharsain K. 5 (not shown). A closer look at the Patiala example reveals more telling details – both animals wear British-style crowns with British-style crosses on them. Patiala was a Sikh-ruled state – no Indian states were Christian – and so these crosses can only be a deliberate copying of British forms. Similarly the motto in the Patiala state arms reads HEAVEN'S LIGHT OUR GUIDE – not only is this phrase in English, but it was the motto of the Order of the Star of India (a British creation), and was used by the Viceroy and as an unofficial motto of British India.

The use of quartered shields, probably derived from the British royal arms, has already been mentioned. In Europe quartering combined (*marshalled*) different arms on a single shield, either to show territories united politically (as in the royal arms, see Figure 2a) or families united by marriage (as in the arms of Lord Lytton, Figure 2d). What I call *clip-art quartering*, where the quarters just accumulate symbols thought to be meaningful or representative, misapplies the technique, and is usually found only where a heraldic tradition has been copied from somewhere else. This was the case not only in India, but among the emerging aristocracy of 18th and 19th century Russia, and in Caucasian Georgia, colonial Africa, and elsewhere, and is common in the United States where towns and counties invent heraldic-looking devices for their local seals and flags. See for

example the arms of Wisconsin, dating from 1851 (Figure 11a). Indian states using quartered arms this way on revenue stamps include Bharatpur (title page), Pataudi (Figure 10e), Suket (Figure 10f), Cutch (Figure 6a and back cover), and Kalsia. Jaipur and Bahawalpur used quarterings in this way too – see Figure 11c. The quartered President's flag of the modern Republic of India reflects this tradition (Figure 11b).

Another example of the influence of the royal arms is the Garter (right), the emblem of the premier English order of knighthood. It is the belt-like object surrounding the shield of the British royal arms (Figure 2a). This order was never used in India – instead the British created separate orders (the Star of India and the Crown of India, as well as other distinctions) for use there. Nevertheless it is sometimes seen on Indian state emblems, for example Kawardha K. 5 (Figure 10c) and Baghat K. 15 (Figure 14a). Dewas Senior K. 32 even goes so far as to show a British flag (along with a Hanuman flag) on a state revenue stamp (Figure 10d, and see also the Bahawalpur example at Figure 11c).

The way certain details of European-style arms are almost invariably rendered in Indian state emblems show how closely they followed the original forms introduced at the time of the 1877 durbar. The so-called gas-bracket is a good example, a late and unfortunate addition to the heraldic vocabulary – see Bharatpur K. 5 (title page) and Kawardha K. 5 (Figure 10c). In earlier centuries, and in modern times also, British supporters were given a proper compartment of earth to stand on (see Figure 2b) But every pattern in *The Princely Armoury*, and almost all Indian state emblems that approach the European-style heraldic form, used a gas-bracket instead.

The *timbre* (the helm, torse, mantling and crest above the shield, taken together) are another such detail. The Victorian model introduced at the durbar, and followed by Indian draftsmen ever since, shows a rounded helm into which no head could reasonably fit. The torse, supposed to be a twisted length of silk resting on the helm, is instead a rigid bar floating above it; the crest floats free above the torse. And the mantling, intended to suggest material hanging down behind the helm and extending decoratively around it, is often shown as a spiky branch or irregular line. Figures 10e-h illustrate these almost invariable tendencies and vestigial forms, rooted in a deep misunderstanding of what these elements of the achievement are really intended for.

Morvi used an emblem whose tiger supporters are lying down behind the shield. Type 15 (Figure 12a) shows this composition, as do other official documents of Morvi State. I think (but cannot prove) that this composition may have been inspired by the version of the royal arms which ran at the top of the front page of *The Times* (of London) from 1792 to 1832, an image which must have been well known in India. See Figure 12b. Other states also used this reversed form – see for example Jath K. 8 (Figure 20a), Dewas Senior K. 20 (Figure 13c) and Jaora K. 20 (Figure 13d).

12. **Mixed achievements**

In this category, European and Indian forms are more thoroughly mixed than those in the British heraldic style. The boundaries are not firm. Some emblems in this category are very close to the traditional European heraldic format. There is a central shield, and supporters, usually something in the crest position, and usually a scroll. But other elements are added too, and at a minimum the shield has the round Indian shape rather than the British heater. Alwar K. 36 (Figure 13a, and see page 31) is a good example of a transitional form. Except for the round shield, this could be a European achievement – note that the supporters stand on a compartment rather than a gas-bracket. The central image on the shield is a *katar* push-dagger, which Alwar State used in many ways (sometimes alone, see Figure 21d) as its principal emblem of authority. An Indian-style helmet floats above the composition. Mayurbhanj K. 25 (Figure 13b, and see back cover), with its peacock supporters and lotus central element, is a particularly beautiful example of this type – note the parasol, emblematic of Indian royalty.

Dewas Senior K. 20 (Figure 13c) takes this kind of cultural mixture almost as far as it can go. There is a round shield, but the images on the shield are not arranged in accord with heraldic convention. Two outward-facing elephants support the shield, Garuda (the divine bird-like figure who carried the Indian gods) rides above in the crest position, and two Hanuman banners are placed behind the shield (in Europe high officials sometimes placed crossed elements behind the shield). Although the result is far removed from a European-style achievement, it is evident that the concept began with one in mind. Jaora K. 20 (Figure 13d) is an even more extreme instance of chaos barely contained within a thin membrane of heraldic format. Comparing this design with the tightly controlled Alwar K. 36 (Figure 13a) shows how wide is the range of this category.

In the next stage of removal, the shield disappears. Baghat K. 15 (Figure 14a) is a transitional example. The layout is like the European achievement, with supporters, a central element, and crossed swords and a banner in the crest position. Although lacking a helm and a torse, these would be comprehensible as a European crest. But the central element is not a shield but an English-style garter with the name of the state and a flourish within. Jamkhandi K. 25 (Figure 14b) is a similar but more complex *mélange* with many more elements; the axe in the center is sometimes used alone as a state emblem (see Figure 21b).

The uncatalogued specimen from Sohawal (Figure 14c) is a classic example of an emblem with supporters but a central device (a banner) not resembling a shield in any way. In Danta K. 15 (Figure 14d) the central element is Shiva's trident – the other features (supporters, gas-brackets, motto-scroll, and a sort of crest) are all in place. Orchha K. 10 (Figure 14e) is similar, using a sacred image (whose head is that below?).

Cochin K. 48 (Figure 14f) is a curiosity, with elephants supporting not a shield but a portrait of the ruler!

It is worth noting that this basic form – two animals facing a central element – is not limited to European heraldic supporters, but has been a recurring motif in the art of many cultures, including India, since ancient times. Some examples appear in Figure 15.

States using emblems in the mixed achievement category include Alwar, Baghat, Baramba, Cochin, Dewas Junior and Senior, Jammu & Kashmir, Jaora, Jath, Kawardha, Khairagarh, Khaniadhana, Mayurbhanj, Mohammadgarh, Mysore, Palitana and Pudukkottai.

13. Regimental-style emblems

Another class of emblems, characterized by crossed weapons and banners, I call for convenience *regimental-style emblems* because of their similarity to the badges of British and Indian military units during the period of British control. I have no proof that the regimental badges influenced the design of these state emblems, but it looks that way.

The badges of the British, Indian and Indian state army regiments followed British army models very closely. Figures 16 and 18 show some representative examples. Most of the Indian regiments whose badges appear here were originally raised before the first Indian state revenue stamps were issued around 1860.

Figure 17 shows some examples of the regimental class of state emblems. The exuberant addition of additional elements can produce a very complicated result, as for example in Manavadar K. 8 (Figure 17f). In Alipura K. 10 (Figure 17g) the supporters dominate and the central element is reduced to small importance.

In Uniara K. 5 (Figure 17h) a regimental-style emblem (crossed *katars*) has been elaborated onto a shield, given supporters, a crest, a gas-bracket and a motto-scroll, and then as a full-dress achievement is set off *again* by a wreath and another motto-scroll

Sometimes the badges are very simple, no more than crossed swords or *katars*. The European influence on state emblems of this pattern cannot be traced as confidently, but it is convenient to classify them here. Compare Figures 18 and 19.

Three examples from Jath State (Figure 20) show the complexity of variations. The first shows the "normal" regimental-style state emblem, a castle with two outward-facing supporters, a banner, crossed swords and two scrolls. The second shows the same emblem, but in a pavilion with a crown on top. The third is completely different, based on a bow and arrow, crossed banners, the same crossed swords, a crescent, and two

scrolls, one reading *Chief of Jath*. This may be a personal device, but its use on a stamp makes it in effect a state symbol.

States issuing stamps with what I am calling regimental-type emblems include Alipura, Alwar, Amb, Aundh, Balasinor, Balsan, Balwan, Bundi, Charkhari, Danta, Gadhka, Hyderabad, Jath, Jhind, Kumharsain, Manavadar, Mansa, Mohammadgarh, Mudhol, Orchha, Patdi, Pathari, Theog and Vala. Other states, for example Indore, used state emblems of this kind, but not on stamps.

14. Emblems based on objects

Another class of emblems is based on objects, usually artifacts, displayed either alone or in groups or scenes, but not crossed or arranged in a composition reminiscent of a British-style heraldic achievement or regimental badge. When we get to this class we are mostly beyond European stylistic influence, and the imagery is mainly Indian.

Weapons are a popular subject of this class of emblems. Figures 21a-d shows a selection. They are usually Indian weapons, but the sword used as an emblem by Gondal State (Figure 21a) is of European design. Unusually, early Bundi issues use the *katar* as an emblem, not only without a developed composition, but without any frame at all. See Figure 22.

Figure 22: Bundi K. 2.

Some of these objects are also used as elements in more elaborate heraldic-style emblems. Bundi's *katar* also appears as the crest in its durbar arms. And compare, for example, Jamkhandi K. 5 (Figure 21b) with K. 25 (Figure 14b), and Alwar Scott Type A1 (Figure 21d) with Koeppel Type 36 (Figure 13a, and see page 31). The Italian word *mobile* means a heraldic charge used independently outside the shield. In these examples, it is more likely that they are not *mobili*, but that the weapon was the original device and the heraldic composition was built around it, rather than the other way around.

Figure 23 shows some non-weapon objects used as state emblems. Although they are usually artifacts, the conch shell of Travancore (Figure 21h) is a natural object. Kolhapur K. 30 (Figure 21e, and see also the tailpiece on page 30) features two *morchels*, badges of rank made of silver and peacock feathers, which formed part of the maharajah's regalia. Figure 23a features an oriel window from Halvad Palace, the ancestral home of the Dhrangadhra dynasty. In Dhrangadhra's durbar arms (on K. 11) three of these distinctive windows are arranged on a shield (they also appeared on the state flag). Gainta K. 15 (Figure 23e) is a very unusual horizontal design of lotus, sun, banners and scrolls.

The sample includes two beautiful examples of temples used as state symbols – Lakhtar K. 10 (Figure 23f) with the snake and trident, and Sirohi K. 25 (Figure 23g), with the sacred *lingam* and image of the bull Nandi. These are the only two of this kind in my survey, but other states such as Wankaner used temples as state emblems, although not on stamps.

States issuing stamps I have classified as object-based include Akalkot, Alwar, Athmalik, Bamra, Baroda, Bundi, Cambay, Charkhari, Cochin, Dhrangadhra, Gainta, Gondal, Jamkhandi, Jath, Jawhar, Jhalawar, Khilchipur, Lakhtar, Lathi, Nawanagar, Rajpipla, Sikkim, Sirohi, Sonepur and Travancore.

15. Emblems based on animals

So far in this survey the animals we have seen have mostly been supporters. The most prominent have been animals important in Hindu iconography – bull, horse, elephant, lion and tiger. But a number of states have also used animals as state emblems outside a heraldic context, either alone or in simple scenes.

Figure 24 shows some examples of animals and animal scenes used as emblems of state authority. Many are of considerable charm. The turtle of Sarangarh appears alone in Figure 24d, but in Figure 25 (right) we see it as part of a larger composition. Figure 25 comes not from a revenue stamp but from a thermographed envelope (made with a heat-based raised print process) of a kind widely used in India among princely courts and families. It is not counted in the survey.

Figure 25. Emblem of Sarangarh State, from an envelope.

The lion and complex landscape in Figure 24f was used by Junagadh as a state emblem for many purposes. The design suggests the geography of Junagadh State.

Among the most notable of the animal emblems is Gandha Bherunda, the two-headed eagle. He was a manifestation of the lion-man Narasimha, himself an avatar of the god Vishnu. Gandha Bherunda, shown in terrifying form in south Indian art, was the emblem of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore. The version used on the Mysore revenue stamps (Figure 26a) was much milder, its form perhaps influenced by European models. A double-eagle of different origin was in widespread use as a state emblem in Europe from medieval times, in the Byzantine Empire and later in Germany (Figure 26b), Austria and Russia, and still in some Balkan countries. The double-eagle appears in the art of many cultures – see Figure 26c for an ancient example.

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Fish are a special case, because as state emblems they sometimes represent an unusual survival of Mughal symbolism -- the Mughals awarded a decoration of honor (originally Persian) called the Order of Fish (*Mahi Maratib*). Dhenkanal's stamps with a fish design (Figure 25e) are this type of survival, as are the fish on the emblem of Benares State and probably those of Bhopal (Figures 5a-b). But the fish in the emblem of Sikkim (Figure 21f) are Buddhist symbols, metaphors for detachment – though surrounded by water, fish do not drown.

States using animals or animal scenes as state emblems in a non-heraldic context include Bastar, Baudh, Benares, Bilaspur, Bonai, Bussahir, Dhenkanal, Gwalior, Idar, Jaisalmer, Junagadh, Naila, Khandpara, Mahlog, Mengani, Mysore, Narsinghpur, Nawanagar, Nayagarh, Pal-Lahara, Sarangarh, and Seraikela.

16. Emblems based on Hindu deities

Hindu deities are the dominant images on the stamps of a number of Hindu states – of course Moslem and Sikh states did not use this imagery. The two deities appearing most often are Ganesha, sometimes called Ganapati, the elephant-headed son of Shiva, beloved in India for his accessibility and help in overcoming obstacles, and Hanuman, the god with the face and tail of a monkey, whose aid to Rama in his fight against the demon king Ravana is related in the Hindu epic *Ramayana*. Figure 27 shows a selection of these images. Ganesha and Hanuman are two of the most popular gods in all India, and indeed in all the world.

Other deities appear also – Figure 28 shows a few examples. All these, and many more in the Hindu pantheon such as Krishna, Saraswati and others, appear not only alone but as constituent elements in Indian state emblems – as charges on shields, in the crest position, and elsewhere.

It is not easy to know, in the absence of research in primary sources, when an image of a deity is truly a state emblem and when it is just an auspicious picture on a stamp. Some Hindu states clearly used deities in their state symbolism, for example Porbandar which bore the image of Hanuman in its durbar arms, on its royal standard and maritime flags, and elsewhere. Even today, more than

Figure 29: Sangli Type 5. The durbar arms appear in the middle, and the image of Ganesha balances the portrait of the ruler. See also Figure 42, on page 29.

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60 years after independence, many of the boats in Porbandar's harbor wear Hanuman flags.

States like Miraj, Kurundwad and Sangli used images of Ganesha in stamp patterns over many years. Even if the image of the deity was not technically the emblem of the state – Sangli, for example, had European-style arms, see Figure 29 above – this practice made identification of the image with the state customary and official. But other states were more casual about this, especially *thikanas* (subordinate estates) in the Jodhpur district, and of these I cannot be sure. For example, the Jodhpur estate of Chandawal issued seven different stamps in succession, with a different deity on each one. I decided these were not intended as state emblems and excluded them from the study.

Although Shahpura's beautiful Type 25 (front cover), with two Hanumans supporting a sun, could have been classed as a mixed achievement of supporters with a central element, its absence of European flavor and the evident devotion (*bhakti*) expressed in the design led me to include it with the deities.

A sub-category of deity-based emblems shows not a solitary figure but a religious tableau. Examples include Kolhapur K. 15 (Figure 28d), identified as the goddess Durga slaying the demon Mahisasura, and Jaipur K. 10 (Figure 28e), showing the sun-chariot of Surya.

States apparently using Hindu deities or religious tableaux as state emblems include Athgarh, Auwa, Badu, Bagasra, Bakra, Bastar, Bhavnagar, Datia, Jaipur, Jamkhandi, Jhalawar, Kanker, Kantaliya, Kolhapur, Kurundwad Junior and Senior, Maihar, Miraj Junior and Senior, Rakhi Jojawar, Ramdurg, Ratlam, Rohat, Samdari, Sangli, Sarangi, Shahpura, Vitthalgarh, Wadhwan and Wadi.

17. Emblems based on the sun or moon

A surprisingly large number of states used the sun as a state emblem. Figure 30 includes some examples. I assume (without actually knowing) that this was because the sun is a symbol of power and brilliance, as it is in every culture, and because many of India's Rajput dynasties identified themselves as "solar" (Suryavanshi Rajputs). In Mewar State, for example, an enormous golden (or golden-looking) metal sun disk was set in the outer wall of the City Palace, Udaipur, and can still be seen there.

The form of the sun used for this purpose among the stamp-issuing states of India usually has wavy or varied active rays and a lively, expressive human face (the face on the Udaipur City Palace sun disk, like those in Figures 30d and e, has a Rajput moustache). On stamps the sun is sometimes only a small part of the composition, often in the crest position above a shield. In the Jetpur example (Figure 30g) the sun wears a Vaishnava

brow marking (indicating consecration to Vishnu). Wadhwan K. 8 (Figure 30h) places the sun (with an OM) as a charge on a British-style achievement – note the Shivaite trident at the top.

I have classed designs from 15 states in this category: Bagasra, Barwala, Bilaspur, Delath, Dharampur, Dungarpur, Jammu & Kashmir, Jasdan, Jetpur, Jhaknavda, Jodhpur, Mewar, Partabgarh, Sikar and Vala. Some states have more than one sun design.

Balancing the sun designs are a group featuring the crescent moon (Figure 31). Sometimes the crescent appears alone, sometimes with a star, sometimes with another simple element like crossed swords, and sometimes as the central element in an elaborate composition. The crescent is of course the premier symbol of Islam, and one would expect its use to signify that the issuing state was a Moslem one. But it can also indicate a "lunar" Rajput dynasty (Chandravanshi Rajputs), as in the case of Rajpipla K. 20 (Figure 31a). Even solar Hindu dynasties sometimes incorporated the crescent into state emblems (see for example Lakhtar K. 10, Figure 23f). A crescent and star together always indicate a Moslem state – see Kalat K. 5 (Figure 31b). Because of the Moslem prohibition against showing human or animal forms, they rarely appear together with the crescent and star. Moslem crescent designs are sometimes very elaborate, as seen in for instance in the issues of Tonk State (Figures 31c-d).

States issuing stamp designs based on the crescent include Bahawalpur, Balwan, Dujana, Hyderabad, Kalat, Loharu, Mangrol, Pataudi, Rajpipla and Tonk. In many other designs the crescent features but does not predominate. See for example Kanker K. 15 (Figure 27f). In Jamkhandi K. 25 (Figure 14b) the sun and moon appear together above the state emblem – in European heraldry this sometimes reads as *sovereign in every aspect*.

18. Emblems based on inscriptions

The final major category of state emblems on revenue stamps is inscriptions. A great many stamps have inscriptions as their major elements – with portraits and emblems this is the third major group – but most of these inscriptions are probably not symbols of state authority. A state motto, serving the same function for the state as HEAVEN'S LIGHT OUR GUIDE served for British India, would be a mark of authority, like E PLURIBUS UNUM on American coins. Some states did have such mottoes, and some did not. The motto of the Cochin royal dynasty (HONOUR IS OUR FAMILY TREASURE) is a typical example except for being in English. As these mottoes are usually expressed in Indian languages I was unable to identify examples, if there are any, among the inscription-only stamps. But three special kinds of emblematic inscriptions can be distinguished here – the Victorian monogram, the *tughra*, and the OM.

Elaborate monograms of interlaced letters were a Victorian specialty, used for many purposes (including regimental badges). They could get very intricate. Hayward and Blanche Cirker's *Monograms and Alphabetic Devices* (Dover, New York, 1970), reprinting four 19th century collections, provides a good selection.

The British used their royal monograms, or *cyphers*, extensively as symbols of authority. The word *cypher* here means a monogram such as VRI (for *Victoria Regina Imperatrix*, that is, *Victoria Queen-Empress*) – see Figure 32a. It seems likely that this British custom influenced Indian state practice – see Figure 33.

A number of Indian states used Latin-alphabet monograms on stamps as emblems of state. They were often the initials of the ruler, perhaps including a letter for his title – see Figures 7c, 17d and f, and 32b-d for examples in different 19th century styles. Some Indian states elaborated these cyphers with crests or other embellishments (see Figure 29e). When emblems place monograms on shields as heraldic charges, as in Figure 29f, I have classed them with the heraldic compositions – compare Figures 17f and 32f.

A *tughra* is a special form of monogram, originally used by the Ottoman sultans. Ottoman *tughras* were written in Turkish using the old Arabic-based script. Details were changed for each sultan, but the basic form remained the same. Figure 34 shows the *tughra* of Sultan Murad V, who ruled at the time of the 1877 durbar. In the Turkish Empire the imperial *tughra* was the subject of elaborate development in illumination and other media.
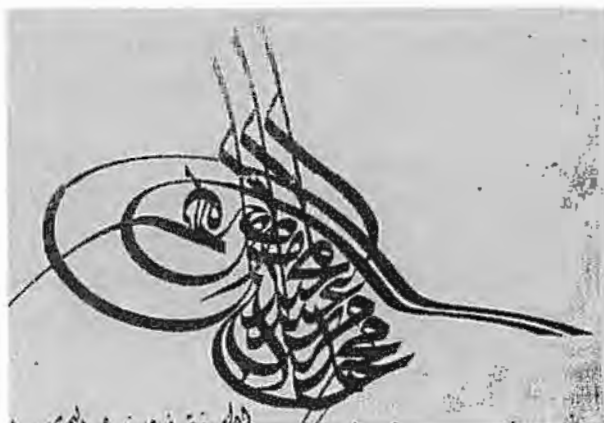
Figure 34. Tughra of Sultan Murad V (1876).

In Islamic lands, where calligraphy had long been a substitute for figurative decoration, use of the *tughra* was widely diffused. Some Islamic countries, such as Afghanistan on its royal standard as late as 1973, used the Turkish pattern, varying only the lettering to indicate the ruler. Sachin K. 10 (Figure 35a) is an Indian instance. Elsewhere, such as in Zanzibar and Malaya, royal cyphers based on calligraphy in the Arabic script took other forms – for an Indian example see that of Bhopal in Figure 35b. Hyderabad used many versions on its stamps (see Figures 35c-h). The Hyderabad state arms (see Figure 36) are unusual – they have the western heraldic form, but the shield is entirely filled with an inscription in Arabic script, and it has one of the most elaborate

Figure 37. OM from Vasavad Type 12.

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motto-scrolls ever seen (including the words FAITHFUL ALLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT). These arms were not used on stamps.

Finally, many states used the Vedic Syllable ॐ, the OM, a sacred glyph in the Hindu tradition, more or less as a state emblem – see for instance Vasavad K. 12 (Figure 37 above). Athgarh K. 20 and Mewar K. 15 also carry the OM as the central feature. In other issues it was a part of a more complex composition. Examples are the regimental Vala K. 21 (see Figure 17a) and Wadhwan K. 8 (Figure 30h; OM as charge on a heraldic shield).

19. Prince on a *gaddi*

One stamp had an image I could not classify with any others. Madhan K. 10 (Figure 38) shows a prince on a *gaddi*. A *gaddi* is a low Persian-style throne suitable for sitting on cross-legged; it was both a symbol and an instrument of royal power in the Mughal cultural sphere. The Madhan image seems not to be a portrait, but a stylized princely image derived from Mughal and ultimately Persian models. I have therefore considered it as an emblem of authority. Research is needed on the use of this image in Madhan.

Figure 38. Madhan Type 10, with pen cancellation.

20. Classification and tabulation

Classifying Indian state emblems based on the revenue stamps (or images of them) available to me was difficult, to some extent arbitrary, and in every sense approximate.

First, of course, the sample is incomplete. All the varieties of Indian state revenue stamps have not been accounted for, in Koeppel's catalogue, or on Černý's website, or anywhere. Indeed, by no means all of them have yet even been discovered – more are being identified all the time. Even my small study collection, assembled from retail sources in Bombay in a couple of weeks in 2008, contains types the revisers of Koeppel's catalogue had never seen.

Moreover, a great proportion of Indian state emblems (including many illustrated in Flicher's book, see page 3) were never used on stamps, either because the state's ruler preferred to use his portrait, or practical rather than symbolic inscriptions, or local scenes,

or blank cartouches, or other motifs for his stamps, or because his state never issued stamps. Hundreds of state emblems appear only on official documents, or on stationery, or in other media – these are not the subject of any image-based catalogue, or indeed as far as I know of any catalogue at all. Letters, envelopes, and other material bearing state emblems can be found in great profusion in the stocks of dealers, in curio shops, and elsewhere in India. Sometimes the forms of the emblem of a given state differ among correspondence from rulers, dynasts, state departments, court officials and others; some of these examples may not be entirely official, and discovering their origins may be difficult now that the largely uncatalogued archives of many Indian states have been dispersed and destroyed. A few of them can be seen in the printer's sample in Figure 39; in the thermographed original each emblem was printed in a different color. Note especially the one in the lower left-hand corner, where an inscription in a stylized Arabic script forms a kind of shield (compare Figure 36). To guard against inclusion of unofficial patterns, I have not counted any design in the survey which was not on a revenue stamp (or occasionally on a postage stamp).

Some of the designs on stamps may not be state emblems at all, or may fit that role only by usage rather than by formal adoption, or may only be designs not intended to have any emblematic purpose. Some states had many different emblems, used for different purposes, or at different times, or just at will – the patterns were not firmly and uniquely set by legislation or regulation as European emblems were in the same period (roughly 1860-1947).

It is difficult to categorize exactly even the examples included in this survey. Some stamps have more than one kind of emblem. The magnificent Bikaner K. 80, for example (Figure 40), displays both durbar arms and a monogram – that the monogram is intended as an official emblem is made certain by the crown. Should it be counted twice?

The same could be asked of Sangli K. 5 (Figure 29, page 21;heraldic arms and Ganesh image), Jammu & Kashmir K. 45 (arms and sun, not shown), Nawanagar K. 60 (arms and separate crest, not shown), and many others. These might be easy to count in two categories, because the elements are distinct, but others are not so easy.

Is Mansa K. 13 (Figure 41a) a group of objects, or a regimental-type emblem, or a mixed achievement with a central element? It could be any of these – any classification would be arbitrary. Is Jambu-Ghoda K. 10 (Figure 41b) a Victorian monogram (yes, mainly) or a regimental-type emblem (yes again – many regimental badges look just like this). Is Mangrol K. 6 (Figure 41c, and see back cover) a crescent-based composition, or a regimental-style emblem, or a seascape, or a collection of objects, or just what? And Mahlog K. 5 (Figure 41d) – is it an animal scene, or a sun-based device, or a central element with supporters? Or something else?

And what of Mudhol K. 5 (Figure 41e)? It seems to be a collection of objects – a crescent, a spear, a sword with a ribbon, a round shield with an inscription. Are those horses supporters? But they are mostly outside the frame and not touching the shield.

TABULATION BY CATEGORY

Classification	Subcategory	Examples	% of class	% of total
British style		113		40.0
	Durbar arms	33	29.2	11.6
	Durbar variants	16	14.2	5.6
	Other British-style arms	50	44.2	17.6
	Crests	5	4.4	1.8
	Monograms	9	8.0	3.2
Mixed style		49		17.3
	Mixed achievements	19	38.8	6.7
	Regimental style	30	61.2	10.6
Indian style		106		37.3
	Based on objects	26	24.6	9.2
	Based on animals	23	21.7	8.1
	Based on Hindu deities	37	34.9	13.0
	Based on the sun	17	16.0	6.0
	The OM	3	2.8	1.1
Islamic style		16		5.6
	Based on the crescent*	10	62.5	3.5
	Tughra	5	31.3	1.8
	Prince on a *gaddi*	1	6.3	0.4
TOTAL		284		100.0

* Note: The crescent category includes issues of some Hindu states with lunar dynasties.

Figures may not add up exactly due to rounding.

Perhaps this is a regimental-style emblem – but if so how do the horses fit in? And on Mudhol K. 8 (Figure 41f) this whole composition is put on a heater-type shield, and that shield is then put on a second shield – does that make Type 8 a heraldic composition?

Fortunately these problems are not as severe as they might seem. This is the first effort I know of anywhere to classify Indian state emblems by design. It is intended only to identify categories and accomplish a rough preliminary sorting. The field is really a continuum and sorting is subjective – even the clearest category, durbar arms, is far more mixed than any comparable collection of noble arms in England. If the categories are mostly right, it does not matter all that much at this stage of research whether a better job could have been done with fuller information (with more stamps, or by including designs not on stamps, or with a better eye for Indian iconography). The main purposes of this essay are, first, to help those encountering Indian state emblems (on stamps, flags, decoration or elsewhere) to understand what they are seeing, and second, to prompt further research.

With that said, the basic tabulation appears above, in the table on page 27. As noted in section 4, I have identified four basic styles: British, mixed, Indian and Islamic. A cultural disclaimer bears repeating – by distinguishing between Indian and Islamic, I do not mean to suggest that the Islamic style is not authentically Indian. But it would not be correct, either, to substitute *Hindu* for *Indian*, because in this context *Indian* means mainly *not British*. I hope my meaning is clear from the context.

21. Conclusion

As mentioned, this essay is just a beginning. Much more work needs to be done.

First, we need a compilation, from primary sources, of all the emblems used officially by all the Indian states during the period of the British Raj (say, for convenience, 1858-1947). Sources should include state documents, *official* stationery, government-issued paper items such as stamps, currency, coupons, licenses, receipts, and financial instruments like *hundi*. They should also include items not on paper, such as coins and medals, flags and insignia, monuments and decoration, works of art and objects from royal households, uniform buttons, license plates, and whatever else has a verifiably official provenance. Secondary sources are valuable too, as long as the source and date are clearly noted. Periods of use, and limited or overlapping fields of use if any (for example stationery used by specific offices or dynasts) should be recorded and documented.

Second, we need a far better understanding than we have now about *why* particular designs were adopted, what the design sources were, and what the elements of the design meant to those who created, adopted and used them. It should not be enough to say: This

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design was the emblem of that state. When? Why? What did it mean? How exactly was it adopted? For what purposes was it used? What documentation of its official use survives? How do we know these things? If for example a trident is included as a symbol of Shiva, why was a Shivaite symbol included in the emblem, when (perhaps) a neighboring Shivaite dynasty adopted a European-style coat of arms without religious elements? In particular, it would be good to learn if any relationship can be documented between army regimental badges and the class of emblems I have called regimental-style.

There is no need to dig deep to find mysteries. The emblem of Lathi, for instance (Figure 23c), includes a ritual object that looks very much like a Chinese *ru-yi* (ceremonial scepter), an instrument derived from the staff (*anuruddha*) used by Buddhist monks in ancient India. But why would such an object feature in the emblem of a Rajput state in western India, where Buddhism has not been a presence for at least a thousand years? And if it's not a *ru-yi* or *anuruddha*, what is it? Many similar topics of research are suggested by the images in this paper alone.

Also, we need to know more about the durbar arms and Taylor's designs for other Indian princes. What instructions, if any, were given to Taylor by the British authorities, and what input did the princes have, and what were the selected designs intended to mean? Cohn's account, quoted on page 10 above, was based on a typescript of *The Princely Armoury* and on a 1904 article from an Indian newspaper that happened to be bound into the India Office's copy that he consulted. Better documentation about this subject is probably available somewhere, probably in English – it should be located and published. We should also discover as much as can be learned about the origins and intended meanings of non-durbar European-style arms created by British and Indian designers, and also of mixed designs and designs in the Indian style.

Third, we need to know more than we do now, which is nearly nothing, of the state symbolism that preceded the British. We need better information on Mughal state symbols and decorations of honor like the Order of Fish, so we can recognize them among the emblems of the successor states. And what of the symbols of the states that preceded the Mughals, and were subsumed into but perhaps not entirely dissolved within their empire? What emblems did those states use as they emerged (or were re-established) when Mughal power receded, before the British came to dominate their governments and official culture? What of the states that lay outside of Mughal control, or were first established in its wake? What emblems stood for authority in the states and communities the British encountered as they expanded their control from 1600 to 1858? In short, we need scholarly

Figure 42. Ganesha, the God of overcoming obstacles. Detail of Sangli Type 5.

attention to the whole subject of the iconography of government and power in non-British India before Independence.

The scholars who do this work will need to use libraries, archives and collections, public, princely and private, in Britain and India, and will for the most part need command of Indian languages. It will be hard work, but it is a nearly virgin field, and it unites the disciplines of art, history, art history and South Asian studies in a particularly fortunate way. I know just from this superficial beginning study how much can be learned about Indian society and history from exploring the subject. I hope other scholars will dig deeper than I have been able to do.
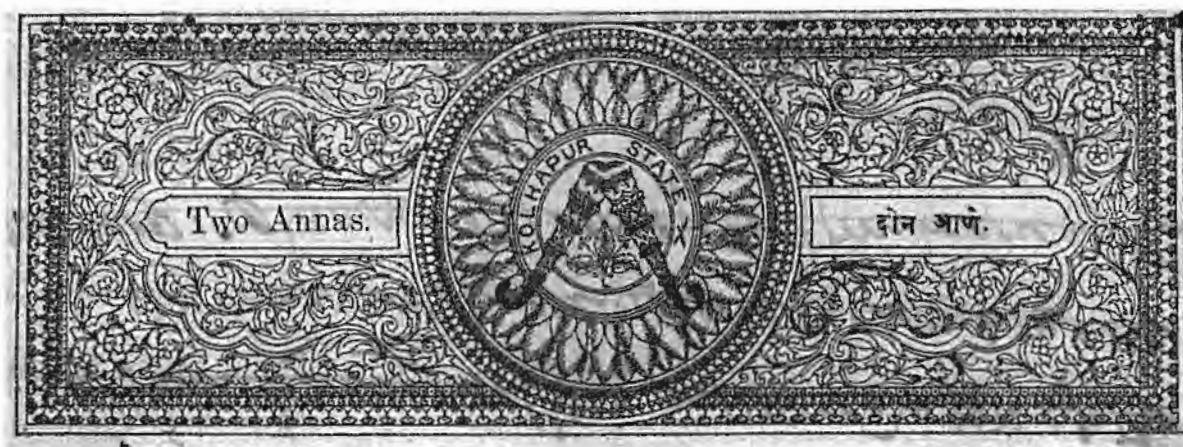
Tailpiece: Kolhapur revenue stamp (Koeppel Catalogue Type 30)

EMBLEMS OF THE INDIAN STATES

GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Note: Figures 1, 8, 22, 25, 29, 34, 37, 38 and 42 are embedded in the text and do not appear in this gallery.

The initial K. indicates a Koeppel Catalogue number.
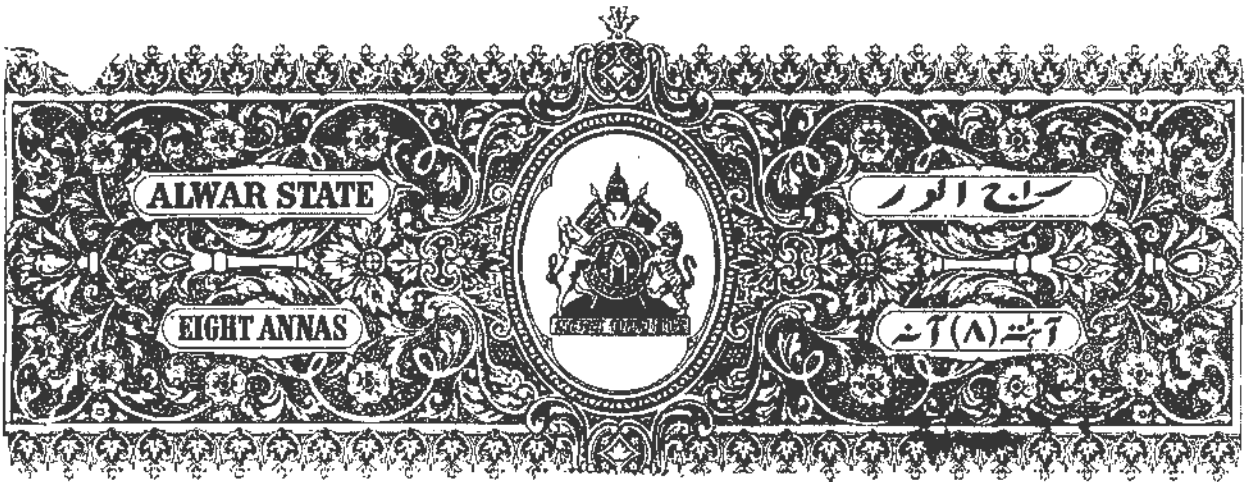
Alwar State revenue stamp (Koeppel Catalogue Type 36)

Figure 2: The British heraldic form

(a)

(b)
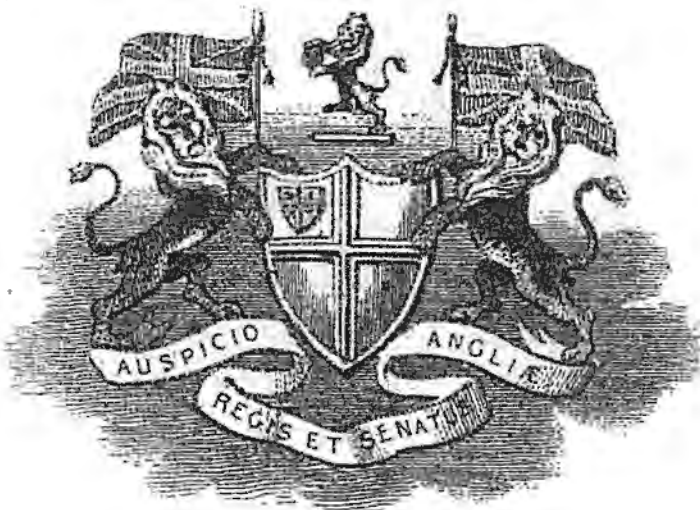
(c)

(d)

(a) British royal arms by an unknown artist, late 19th century; (b) Arms of the City of London, by C. Wilfrid Scott-Giles (1933); (c) Arms of the East India Company, by A. H. Wray (1860); (d) Arms of Lord Lytton (the Viceroy who presided at the 1877 durbar), by John Forbes-Nixon (1881).

Figure 3: *The Princely Armory*

THE

Princely Armory :

Being a display of the Arms of the Ruling Chiefs of
India after their Banners as prepared for the
Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi on
the first day of January 1877.

CALCUTTA:
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING.
1877.

COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE
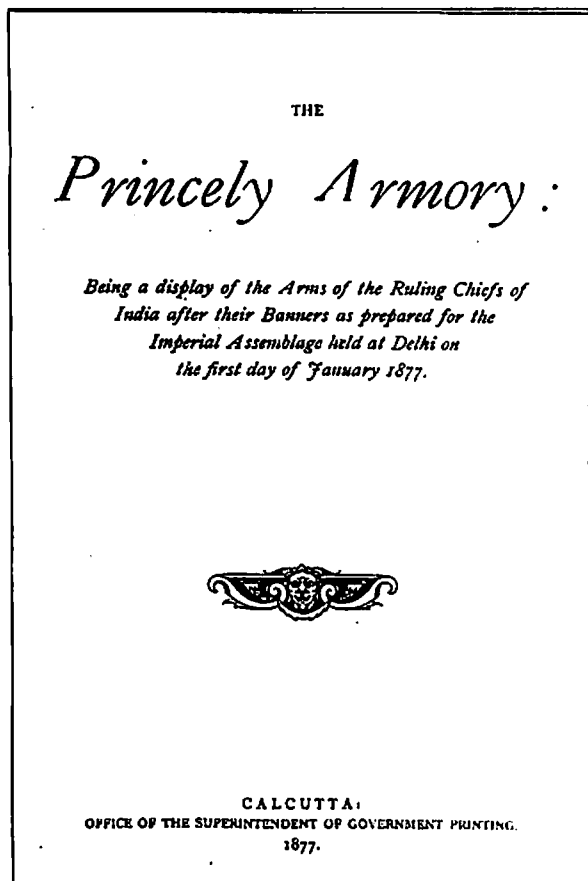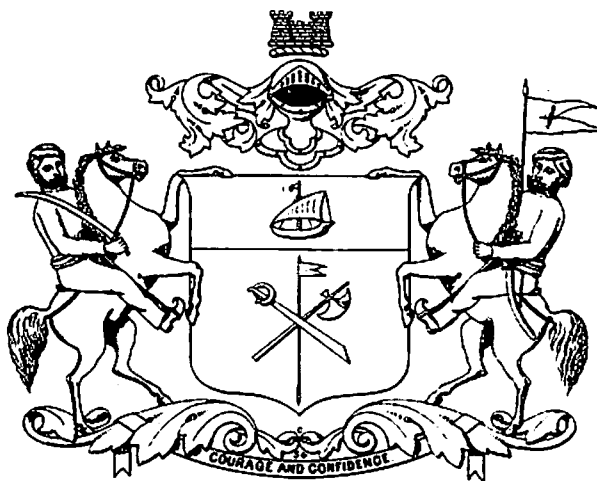
(a) Title page   (b) Sample achievement (Cutch)

Figure 4: Durbar arms

(a)   (b)   (c)

(a) Jodhpur K. 55; (b) Ajaigarh K. 10; (c) Bundi K. 20. In (a) and (b), and in other examples, hatching indicates color: vertical lines stand for red, horizontal for blue, vertical and horizontal cross-hatching for black, diagonal (from upper left) for green, and stippled for yellow. This code, called the *Petra Sancta System*, has a 17th century European origin. The hatching is not part of the design.

Figure 5: Durbar variations
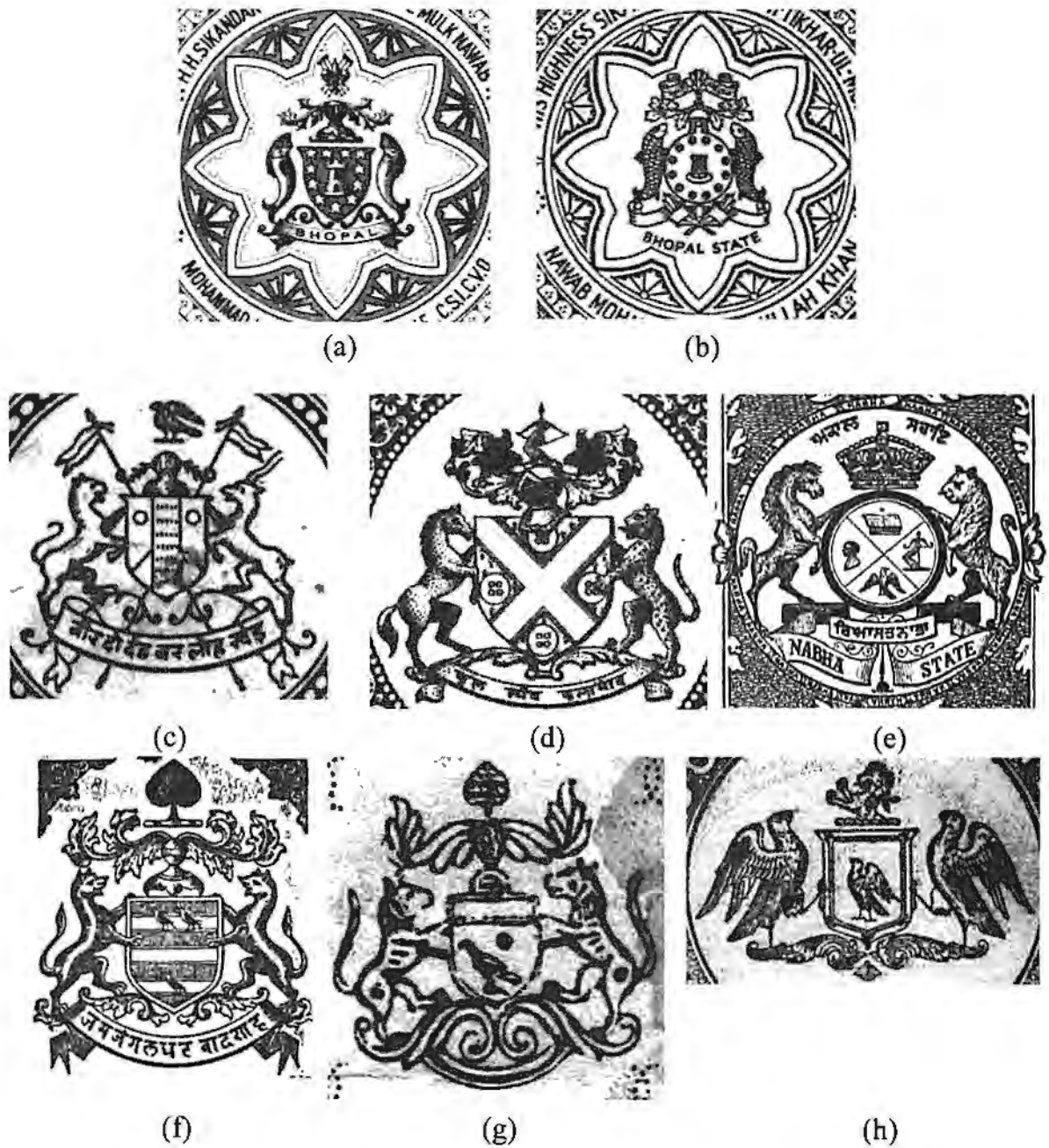
(a) Bhopal K. 15; (b) Bhopal K. 50 (an ink hand-cancel overlies the emblem);
(c) Bijawar K. 15; (d) Nabha K. 45 (durbar arms with supporters reversed);
(e) Emblem from an uncatalogued Nabha *hundi* (negotiable financial instrument);
(f) Bikaner K. 10; (g) Bikaner K. 31; (h) Jodhpur K. 50 (compare Figure 4a).

Figure 6: Durbar variations, continued

(a)   (b)   (c)

(a) Cutch K. 11 (see also back cover); (b) Rajgarh K. 40 (the original was stamped, rather than mechanically printed, in purple ink); (c) Cooch Behar K. 5.

Figure 7: Other European-style arms

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

(a) Kushalgarh K. 5; (b) Surgana K. 5; (c) Piploda K. 6; (d) Kotah K. 15; (e) Gaurihar K. 5 (see also back cover); (f) Mewar K. 65; (g) Palitana K. 15; (h) Khairagarh K. 6.

Figure 9: British-style crests

(a)   (b)

(a) Sawantwadi K. 20. The crest-device is not a star but a European spur-rowel.

(b) Nawanagar K. 25. Note the Latin motto.

Figure 10: Other uses of European heraldic style
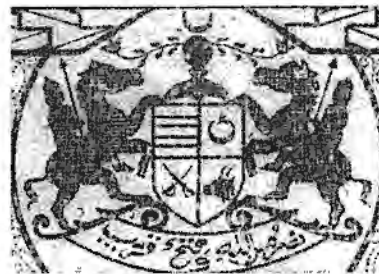
(a) Keonthal K. 8; (b) Jasdan K. 25; (c) Kawardha K. 5; (d) Dewas Senior K. 32; (e) Pataudi K. 35; (f) Suket K. 20; (g) Karauli K. 40; (h) Maler Kotla K. 24; (i) Bharatpur K. 24.

Figure 11: "Clip-art" quartering

(a)
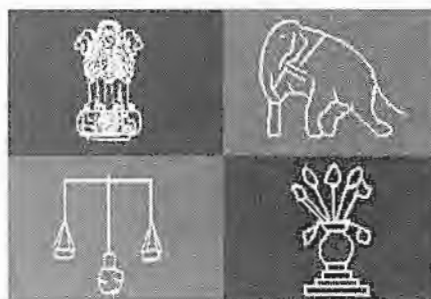
(b)

(c)

The term refers to quarters not used for genuine marshalling of different arms onto a single shield, but just for dropping in images that seem significant. (a) Arms of the State of Wisconsin (the original design dates from 1851); (b) Flag of the President of India; (c) Uncatalogued Bahawalpur revenue stamp, from the Jiří Černý collection. In 11c, the durbar arms occupy the upper left quarter. The others contain a crescent and star (for Islam), a camel (for the desert) and wavy lines (a heraldic convention for water). Note not only the quarterings of the shield, but also the British flag at the right of the composition. The flag at the left is that of Bahawalpur State. This type was not officially issued and is not included in the survey.

Figure 12: Morvi and *The Times*
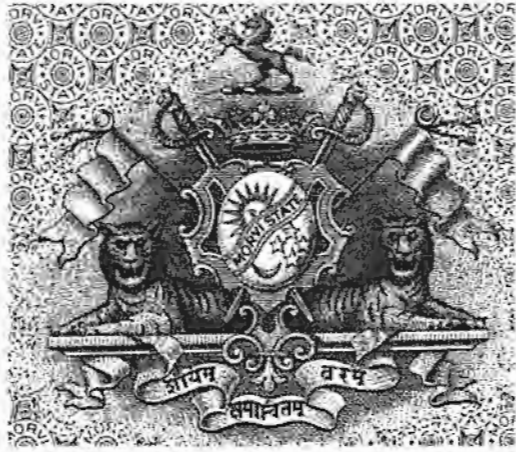
(a)   (b)

(a) Morvi K. 15; (b) *The Times* logo as used from 1792 to 1932.

Figure 13: Mixed achievements

(a)   (b)

(c)   (d)

(a) Alwar K. 36 (and see page 31); (b) Mayurbhanj K. 25 (see also back cover; the writing over the parasol is from a pen cancel); (c) Dewas Senior K. 20; (d) Jaora K. 20 (the Urdu inscriptions are part of a document written on Jaora State stamped paper).

(a)   (b)   (c)

(d)   (e)   (f)

(a) Baghat K. 15; (b) Jamkhandi K. 25 (compare Figure 21b); (c) Uncatalogued specimen from Sowahal; (d) Danta K. 15; (e) Orchha K. 10; (f) Cochin K. 48.

Figure 15: Supporting animals

(a)
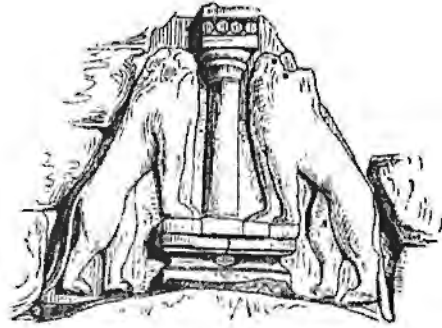
(b)

(c)
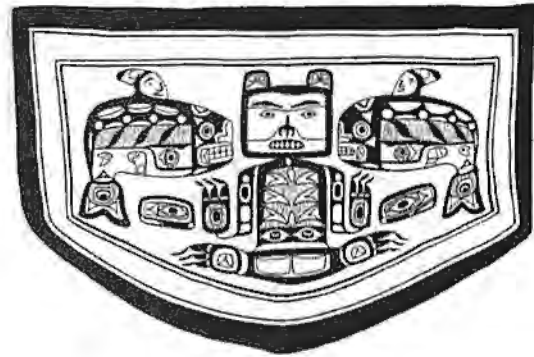
(d)

(e)

(a) The "Babylonian Caduceus" (Mesopotamian, from a vase found at Lagash, circa 2500 BCE); (b) Lion Gate of Mycenae (Greek, circa 1200 BCE); (c) Detail of Islamic wall hanging (circa 12th century); (d) Blanket (Chilkat [Northwest American Indian] people); (e) Ivory statuette of Gaja Lakshmi (Bombay).

Figure 16: British and Indian regimental badges

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)
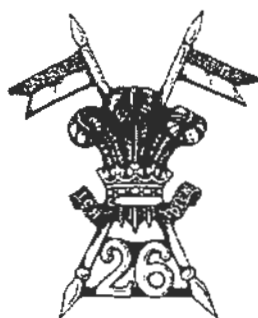
Badges (from Edward M. Nevins' *Forces of the British Empire 1914*). (a) 26th King George's Own Light Cavalry, raised in 1787; (b) Indore Mounted Escort (1904); (c) 40th Pathans (1858); (d) Kashmir Lancers. Most of the regiments discussed in this section were raised originally under other names.

Figure 17: Regimental-style emblems

(a) Vala K. 21; (b) Amb K. 15; (c) Alwar K. 10; (d) Pathari K. 10 (note crescent; the crown is filled with an inscription in Arabic script); (e) Mohammadgarh K. 10; (f) Manavadar K. 8; (g) Alipura K. 10; (h) Uniara K. 5.

Figure 18: British and Indian regimental badges (weapons)

(a)   (b)   (c)   (d)
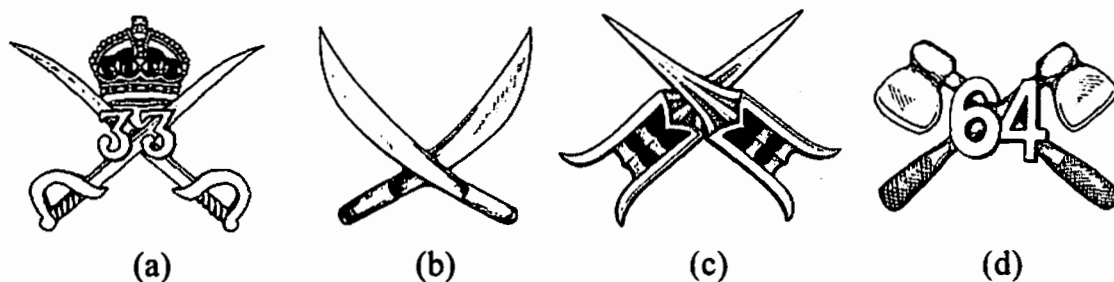
Badges (from Edward M. Nevins' *Forces of the British Empire* 1914). (a) 33rd Queen Victoria's Own Light Cavalry; (b) 91st Punjabis; (c) 122nd Rajputana Infantry; (d) 64th Pioneers. All these regiments were first raised, under different names, before 1820. The hatchets of the Pioneers are primarily tools rather than weapons.

Figure 19: Regimental-style emblems (weapons)

(a)   (b)   (c)   (d)
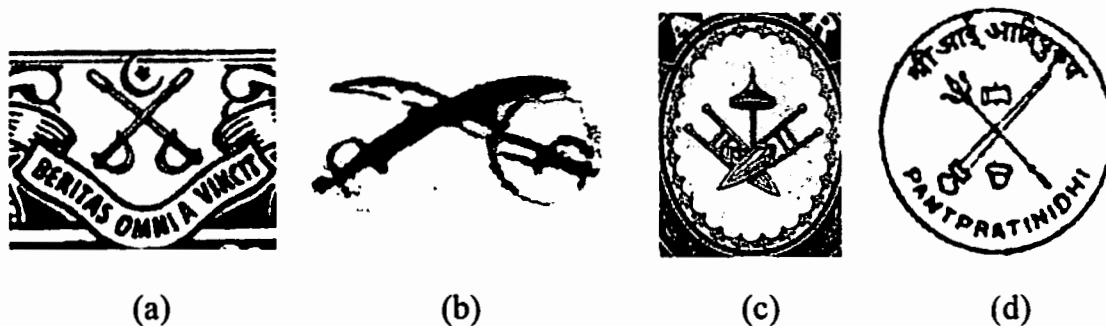
(a) Balasinor K. 5 (note Latin motto [meaning *Truth conquers all*; the word *beritas* should be *veritas*]); (b) Charkhari (Stanley Gibbons catalogue Type 29); (c) Alwar K. 5; (d) Aundh K. 5.

Figure 20: Regimental-style emblems (Jath)

(a)   (b)   (c)

(a) Jath K. 8; (b) Jath K. 10; (c) Jath K. 30.

Figure 21: Emblems based on objects

(a)

(b)
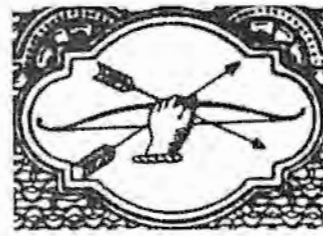
(c)

(d)
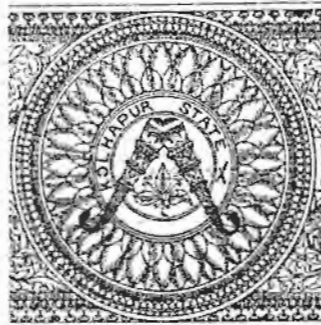
(e)

(f)
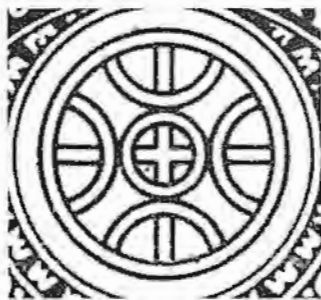
(g)

(h)

(i)

(a) Gondal K. 20; (b) Jamkhandi K. 5 (compare Figure 14b); (c) Jawhar K. 5; (d) Alwar (Scott Type A1); (e) Kolhapur K. 30 (*morchels*, and see tailpiece on page 30); (f) Sikkim K. 10 (urn with Buddhist symbols and fish); (g) Sonepur K. 10 (wheel in double *dorje* [stylized thunderbolt] pattern); (h) Travancore K. 10 (conch shell, emblem of Vishnu, a part of the state regalia); (i) Akalkot Type 1 (pennant). The Akalkot emblem is unusual in being of two colors (red pennant on contrasting background).

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(a)   (b)   (c)

(d)   (e)
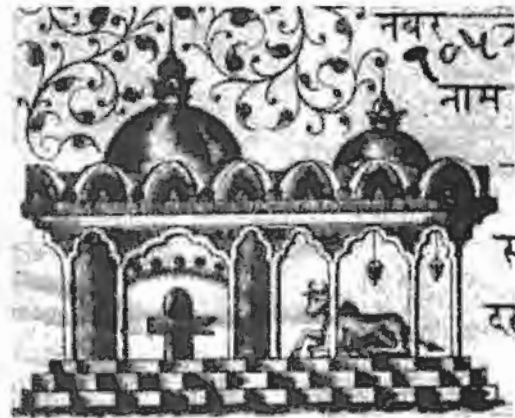
(f)   (g)

(a) Dhrangadhra K. 51 (oriel window); (b) Cochin K. 80 (state regalia: palanquin, candlestick, conch and parasol); (c) Lathi K. 10 (sword, ritual object, sailing ship); (d) Jhalawar K. 20 (hand on sun disk); (e) Gainta K. 15; (f) Lakhtar K. 10; (g) Sirohi K. 25.

Figure 24: Emblems based on animals

(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e) (f)

(g) (h) (i)
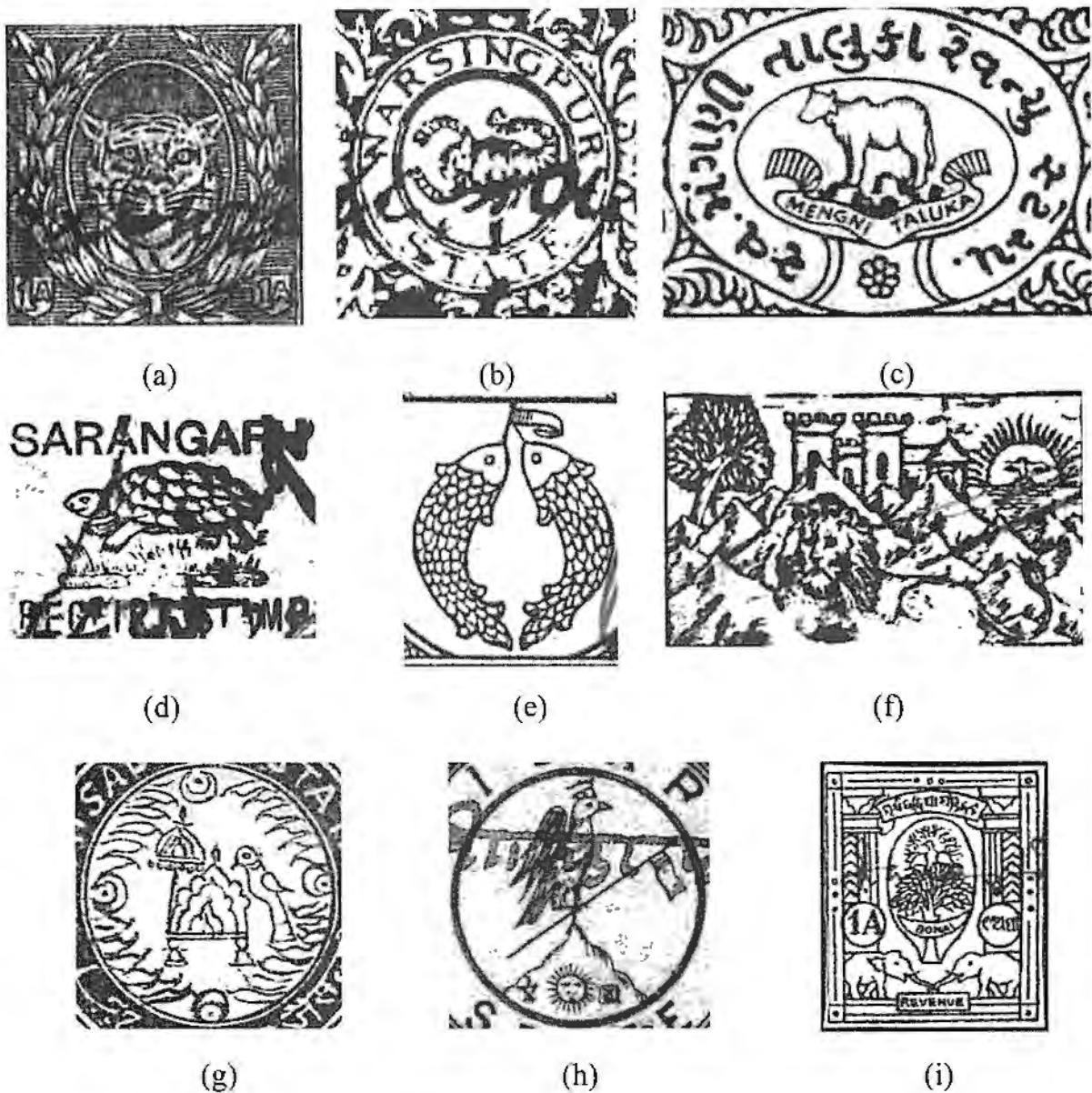
(a) Nayagarh K. 15 (tiger); (b) Narsinghpur K. 15 (scorpion); (c) Mengani K. 3 (cow or perhaps bull); (d) Sarangarh K. 45 (turtle; compare Figure 25, page 20); (e) Dhenkanal K. 6A (fish); (f) Junagadh K. 5 (lion, mountains behind, fort, tree and sun over water); (g) Jaisalmer K. 10 (bird with *gaddi* [princely throne] and parasol [royal emblem]); (h) Idar K. 17 (bird on mountaintop holding banner, sun below); (i) K. 12 (peacock in banyan tree, sun behind, elephants below).

Figure 26: Emblems based on animals (double-eagle)

(a)   (b)   (c)

(a) Mysore K. 75; (b) silver thaler of Leuchtenberg (Germany, 1547), bearing a Habsburg pattern double-eagle of the Holy Roman Empire; (c) Hittite rock carving from Eyuk (Turkey), circa 1300 BCE.

Figure 27: Emblems based on Hindu deities

Ganesha

(a)

(b)

(c)

Hanuman

(d)

(e)

(f)

(a) Kurundwad Senior K. 5; (b) Miraj Junior K. 5 (note Shiva's trident at the top); (c) Sangli K. 30; (d) Ratlam K. 15; (e) Badu (district of Jodhpur) K. 5; (f) Kanker K. 15 (note crescent sign of lunar dynasty).

Figure 28: Emblems based on Hindu deities (continued)

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(a) Kantaliya K. 10 (Lakshmi); (b) Ramdurg K. 7 (Rama); (c) Vittalgarh K. 10 (Shiva); (d) Kolhapur K. 15 (Durga slaying the demon Mahisasura); (e) Jaipur K. 10 (sun-chariot of Surya).

Figure 30: Emblems based on the sun
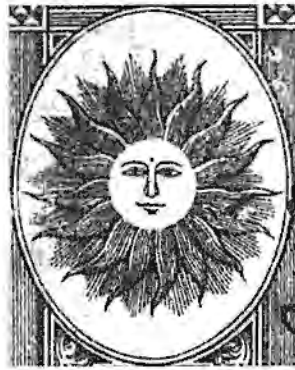
(a)   (b)   (c)
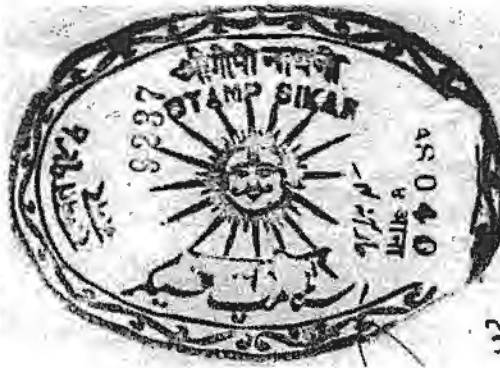
(d)   (e)   (f)

(g)   (h)

(a) Dungarpur K. 1; (b) Vala K. 16; (c) Jammu & Kashmir K. 30; (d) Mewar K. 35; (e) Sikar K. 25 (hand-stamp); (f) Barwala K. 5; (g) Jetpur K. 14; (h) Wadhwan K. 8.

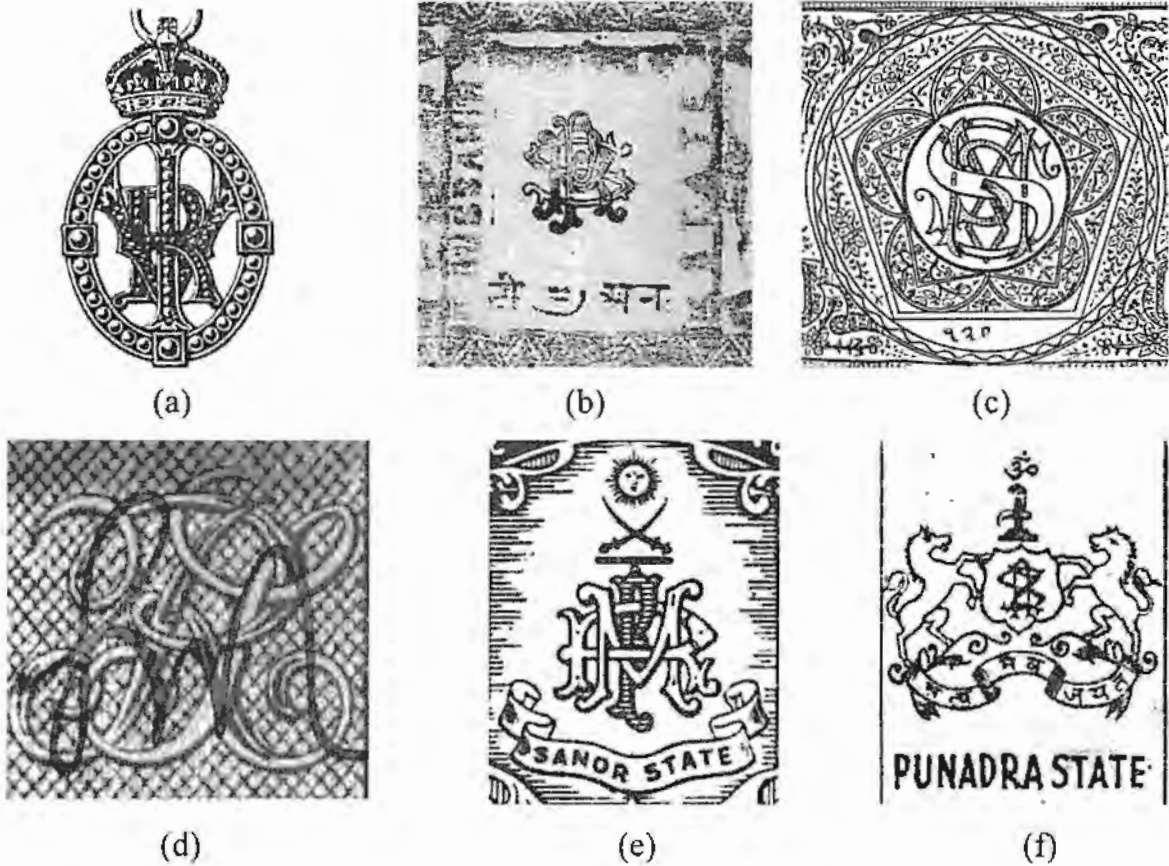Figure 31: Emblems based on the crescent moon

(a)   (b)

(c)

(d)

(a) Rajpipla K. 20; (b) Kalat K. 5; (c) Tonk K. 70 (1929). Compare (d), Tonk K. 65 (1898), where the same basic elements are presented in a wholly different style.

## Figure 32: Monograms

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(a) Queen Victoria's VRI monogram, from badge of the Royal Victorian Order (established 1896); (b) Bussahir K. 15; (c) Indgarh K. 20; (d) Rajkot K. 20 (image complicated by pen cancellation); (e) Shanor K. 5; (f) Punadra K. 5. Although the scroll in Figure 32e reads *Sanor*, the state's name is given as *Shanor* in the Government of India's official and definitive *Memoranda on the Indian States* (Delhi, 1940).

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Figure 33: Cyphers compared
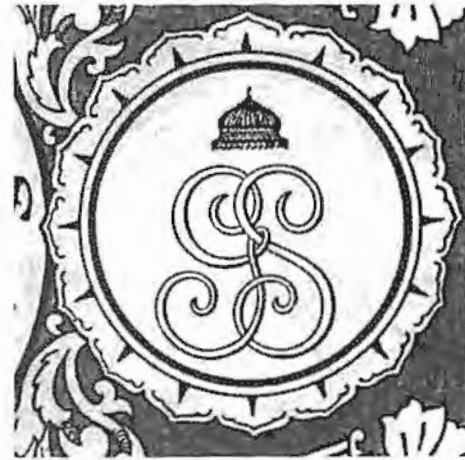
(a)   (b)

Compare (a) the royal cypher of King George V, from a flag badge in the British Admiralty's *Flags of All Nations* (London, 1930), with (b) the cypher of his contemporary Maharajah Ganga Singh of Bikaner, who ruled at roughly the same time (detail from Bikaner K. 80 (1945), see Figure 40). The British royal cypher (which has followed the same basic form through many reigns, despite changing styles and initials, and indeed [as E II R] is still in use) was likely a strong influence on the Bikaner version. Note the nearly identical form of the G, the crown above, and the symbolic plant border (laurel for Britain, lotus for Bikaner). The British cypher reads GvR rather than GRI (for *Georgius Rex Imperator*, the imperial title) because the flag badge on which it appeared (for military authorities afloat) was not intended for use in India.

(a)

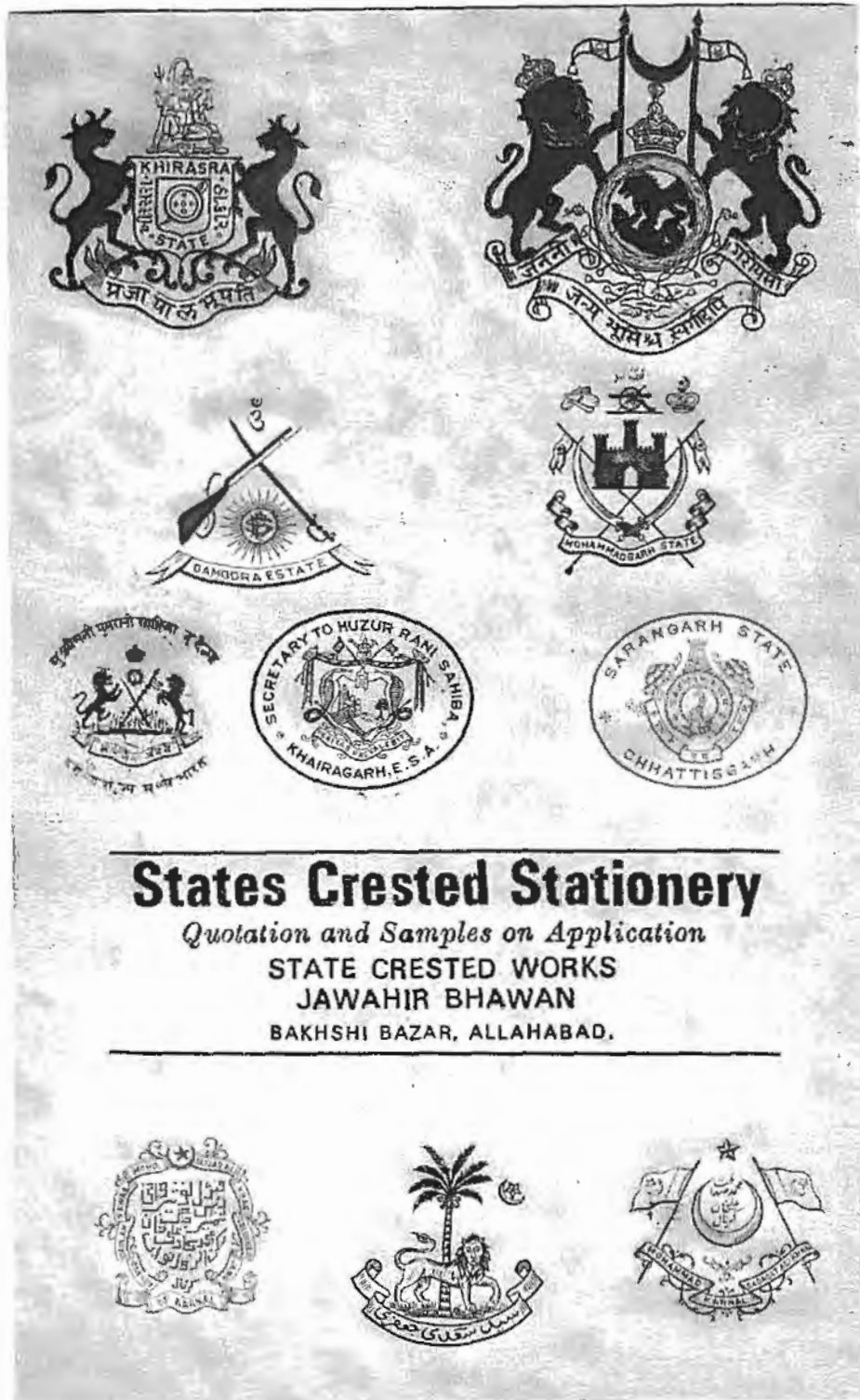(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)
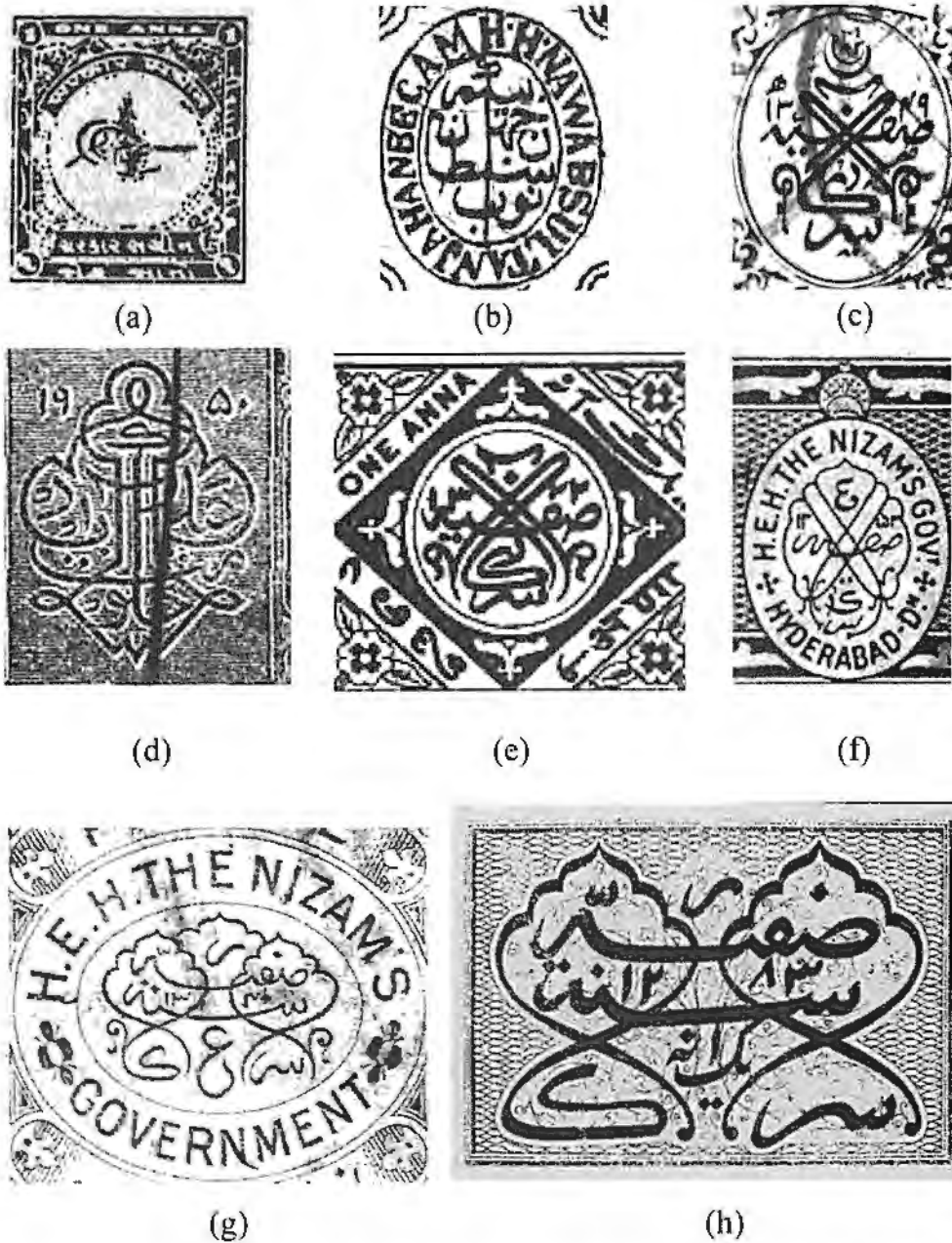
(a) Sachin K. 10; (b) Bhopal, Scott Catalogue Type A24; (c) Hyderabad, Scott Type A8; (d) Hyderabad K. 56; (e) Hyderabad K. 51; (f) Hyderabad K. 60; (g) Hyderabad, Scott Type A7; (h) Hyderabad, Scott Type A2. The designs with Scott numbers are postage rather than revenue stamps.

Figure 36: State arms of Hyderabad

This emblem was not used on stamps.

Figure 39: Printer's Sample

Figure 40: Bikaner Type 80

Note cancellation hole below the name of the state.

(a) Mansa K. 13; (b) Jambu-Ghoda K. 10; (c) Mangrol K. 6;
(d) Mahlog K. 5; (e) Mudhol K. 5; (f) Mudhol K. 8.

The British Indian Empire (1877-1947) included hundreds of indigenous states, but their state emblems have never before been classified by design. In this book the Flag Heritage Foundation presents an analysis and classification of the emblems of the Indian states by David F. Phillips, the first such study ever published.

The durbar banner of the Maharajah of Udaipur (Mewar State),
on display in the Armory of the City Palace, Udaipur, Rajasthan.