

apparently contradictory features. Although in later times the word *bhāgavata* came to be employed almost exclusively in the sense of 'a worshipper of Bhagavat, i. e. Viṣṇu', it was not so in the earlier period. Patañjali (second century B. C.) in his *Mahābhāṣya* refers to the *Śiva-bhāgavatas*, i. e. devotees of *bhagavat* Śiva.¹ It is likely that in the present case also the word *bhāgavata* has got to be taken in its original non-sectarian sense of a devotee of *bhagavat* or god who could have been either Viṣṇu or Śiva or any other deity. And as indicated by the religious devices noted above, *bhāgavata* in the legend on the coins of Mahādeva denotes a worshipper of the god (*bhagavat*) Śiva and has a connotation similar to that of the word *Śiva-bhāgavata*.

LEGENDS ON THE AGRA COINS

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

A group of coins generally bearing the legend in early Brāhmī characters : *Agodaka* (or - e) *Agāchajanapadasa* i. e. *Agrodakāt* (or *Agrodake*) *Agratyajanapadasya* is to be attributed to a tribe named Agra on the assumption that *Agratya* is equivalent to *Agācha* which means 'people of Agra'.¹ There are nine coins of the tribe in the cabinet of the British Museum² besides one in the cabinet of the Indian Museum.³ All the British Museum specimens, excepting one, were chiefly procured by C. J. Rodgers at Barwalla in the Punjab.⁴ The provenance of the Indian Museum piece, however, is not recorded though it seems that it also came from the Punjab. A further number of 51 coins bearing the above legend came to light as a result of the excavation carried out during 1938-39 by H. L. Srivastava at Agroha,⁵ a village situated on the metalled road between Hissar and Fatehabad at a distance of 14 miles from the former. Altogether, these coins show that in days of yore there was a flourishing *janapada* named Agra whose chief city appears to have been known as *Agrodaka*, the region being represented by the modern village of *Agrohā*, the find-spot of our coins.

Coins of the Agras are made of copper and mostly of rectangular or square shape. There are some round copper coins, as for instance, in the British Museum. On the ground of devices they may be divided into four classes—tree : bull, tree : lion, tree : composite animal, and tree : Lakṣmī. Generally both the sides of the coins bear legends

1. According to Patañjali, the *Śiva-bhāgavatas* used to carry with them an iron trident (*ayaḥśūla*) as their sectarian mark. Vide *Mahābhāṣya* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* v. 2.76. The presence of trident-battle-axe on these coins is noteworthy in this connection.

1. L. D. Barnett's article in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (henceforth *BSOAS*)
2. *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum (Ancient India, henceforth CCBM)*, pp. cliv, clvii, p. 279, Pl. XLV, 9 and pp. 282-83, pl. XLV. 21-24.
3. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* vol. I (henceforth *CCIM*) p. 206, Pl. XXIII, 12. Coin No. 10 (*ibid.*, p. 205) may also be doubtfully assigned to the Agras on the ground of common devices like tree in railing and lion. The legend is, however, illegible.
4. *CCBM*, p. clvii.
5. *Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India*, 61, p. 5.

in Brāhmī, though the reverse legends are in most cases found to be indistinct or blurred. The legends on the two sides are the same and they are of too varieties, the reading of the second one being controversial : (i) *Agodaka Agāchajanapadas* or *Agodake Agāchajanapadasa* and (ii) *Agāchamitrāpadābhisa* (Allan),¹ *Agāchamitrāpadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* or *Agāchamitrāpadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* (Barnett).² The last reading, proposed by Barnett, has been accepted by D. C. Sircar.³

Prakrit *Agodaka* of the legend may correspond to Sanskrit *Agrodakāt* or *Agrodake*. The reading *Agodake* obviously stands for *Agrodake*. *Agodaka* (or *Aggodaka*) is derived from *agga* (Prakrit form of Sanskrit *agra*) which is used as a substantive signifying (i) top point, summit, (ii) front, forepart, (iii) beginning, (iv) excess, and as an adjective denoting : (v) first in place or time, foremost, (vi) excellent, chief etc. (also see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 6). *Agrodake* (or *Agodaka*) may, therefore, mean 'place of foremost waters'.⁴ If *Agra* is taken to be the name of a tribe, as we have done, it will mean 'waters (i. e. tank) of the Agras.' In support of such an interpretation P. L. Gupta⁵ refers to a traditional story connected with the ruin of a big tank at Agroha, the modern equivalent of ancient *Agrodaka*.⁶ That names with the *udaka*-ending were not unknown is shown by the example of 'Prithūdaka'⁷ which

1. CCBMI, p. clvii.

2. BSOAS, X, p. 279.

3. *Our Heritage* (henceforth OH), 2, p. 72. In his article D. C. Sircar criticises a reading said to have been proposed by Barnett, but actually the same reading has found favour with Sircar. It appears from Sircar's comments that Barnett has offered a reading which is unacceptable to him.

4. Barnett compares Panjabi *aggā* (< Pkt. **aggayam* **aggakam*), i. e. 'front, forepart', Hindi *āge* (< **aggaye* < **aggake*), i. e. 'before' in place or time, and Gujarati *āg* i. e. 'passage in front of a house.' And hence he interprets *Aggodaka* as 'place of foremost waters,' *op. cit.*, p. 278.

5. JNSI, IV, p. 52.

6. Barnett, is, however, inclined to derive Agroha from a Prakrit **Aggarohaya*, 'foremost bank', from Sanskrit **Agra-rodhaka*, parallel to a likely derivation of a town named *Amroha* from Sanskrit *Amravarodhaka*. He points out that the Panjabi *rohī* (< *rohiyā* < *rodhikā*) denotes, among other things, 'the bed of a stream or the stream itself' and thus "*Agroha* would be an almost exact equivalent of *Aggodaka*", *op. cit.*, p. 278.

7. Prithūdaka, a *śiṛṭha* on the Saraswatī, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III 83. 7012, P. C. Ray's edition). The name means either 'pool of Prithu', a legendary king, or 'having extensive water.'

is identical with modern Pehowa in the Karnal district of Haryana, not very far from Agroha.

Difficulty also arises in regard to the interpretation of the second part of the legend which consists of *Agācha* and *Janapadasa*. *Agācha* and *janapadasa* taken together may be supposed to mean 'of *Agācha-janapada*', just as *Śibijanapadasa* means 'of *Śibijanapada*.' But how is the word *Agācha* derived? Barnett¹ traces *Agācha* to **agrā-tya* or **agrāt-tya* (cf. *Pāschātya* and *Dākshinātya*, i. e. 'dwelling in the west' and 'dwelling in the south'). According to him,² "both *agrātya* and *agrāttya* would become in Prakrit either *aggacca*, or in some dialects (including the parents of western Panjabi, Sindhi and Lahndi) *aggāca*, spelt on our coins *agāca*." The legend may thus be taken to mean the 'foremost country' (*Agratya*), *Agachcha* being the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Agratya*. But this interpretation leaves the name of the *janapada* itself unmentioned. Evidence is not lacking to show that 'Agra' was actually the name of a *janapada* of which *Agratya* is a derivative as used in the coin-legend.

Mention may be made of other suggestions regarding the derivation of *Agācha*. Allan³ and, after him, K. N. Dikshit⁴ hold that *Agācha* of the coin-legend may be equated with *Agastya*. Dikshit⁵ also finds *Āngatya* to be a likely source for *Agācha*. The derivation of *Agācha* from *Agastya* is philologically impossible. *Agācha* may come from *Āngatya* but *Āngatya*, i. e. 'pertaining to *Ānga* (country)' does not suit the present context, for *Ānga* was a country in the east. P. L. Gupta⁶ is inclined to consider *Agācha* as the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *Āgreya*, the latter word appearing as the name of a tribe in the *Mahābhārata*. He tries to link philologically *Agācha* with *Āgreya*, and derives *Agācha* thus: *Āgreya* first becomes *Agajja* and then *Agajja* becomes *Agachcha* or *Agācha*. Though Gupta's derivation finds some

1. *op. cit.*, p. 278.

2. *Ibid.*

3. CCBM, p. clviii.

4. JNSI, IV, p. 50.

5. *Ibid.* Dikshit admits, however, that the name of the tribe who issued these coins was *Agra*. Panna Lal also holds the same opinion, *ibid.* The equation of *Agācha* with *Agastya* is upheld by Jagannath, *Comprehensive History of India*, (ed. by K. A. Nilkantha Shastri), II, p. III.

6. JNSI, IV, p. 51.

support from scholars¹ like G. H. Ojha and A. S. Altekar, it is difficult to accept it. If we are to accept the derivation of *Agācha* from *Āgreya*, we have to assume the change of *y* to *ch*. But such a change, we know, happens in the later period and not in the days of inscriptional Prakrit. Further, the change of the vowel *e* to *ā* as well as the modification of the initial vowel *ā* to *a* remain unexplained. The suggestion of Gupta is, therefore, untenable.²

It now becomes almost certain, therefore, that *Agāchajanapada* can be Sanskritized as *Agratyajanapada*.³ The word *Agratya* is the name of a country (hence of the people of Agra or Agratya) and the name is derived, in its turn, from the name of the tribe *Agra* (*Āgreya*, it may be noted, is also derived from *Agra*). From the above discussion it may be held as probable that the original names of the region was '*Agra*', presumably after the name of the tribe, and later on with the emergence of a *janapada* it came to be known as *Agratyajanapada*, appearing in Prakrit as *Agāchajanapada* on coins. Its chief city or capital was Agrodaka, probably the mint-town of the tribe. The legend *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa* will, therefore, mean : '(coin) of the Agratyajanapada (issued) from Agrodaka.' If the reading is *Agodake* instead of *Agodaka*, the meaning of the legend will be : '(coin) of the Agratyajanapada (current) at Agrodaka.'

The second legend, which is a controversial one, appears on a few round copper coins belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum.⁴ The first part of the legend concerned *Agāchamita(tr)pa(da)* seems to be certain and the second part—*bhishṭhāyinaṃ* (or—*bhishṭhā-*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

2. I gratefully acknowledge the help received from my colleague Dr. S. N. Ghosal of the Department of Sanskrit of the University of Calcutta in the matter of the derivation of *Agācha*. Dr. Ghosal also finds it extremely difficult to accept Gupta's view.

3. *Agācha* seems to be derived from *Agratya* thus : *Agācha* < *Aggacha* < *Aggachcha* < *Agratya*.

4. M. M. Nagar notices a 'tree : lion' type of coin found at Katra Keśava-deva in the vicinity of Mathura in *JNSI*, VIII, p. 32. The legend on this coin has been read by him as *Agāchamī(tapada)*. If this legend as read by him is taken to be true, the coin on which it appears will be regarded as an additional piece to be included in the category of a few British Museum specimens on which this rare legend occurs.

yinaḥ) has been restored by Barnett¹ on the basis of the reading—*bhishṭhāyinaḥ* suggested by Allan² after the publication of the *Catalogue*. A comparison of this legend with the previous one i. e. *Agodaka Agāchajanapadasa* will, therefore, show that *janapada* of the first legend has been replaced by *mitrapada* in the legend under study. Barnett takes *mitrapada* to mean 'the Allied State' and hence he interprets *Agāchamitrapada* as 'the Allied State' of the Aggachchas.' The other part of the legend in question is, as has been said above, —*bhishṭhāyinaṃ* or —*bhishṭhāyinaḥ* and thus the entire legend may be *Agāchamitrapadā-bhishṭhāyinaṃ* or *Agāchamitrapadābhishṭhāyinaḥ* to be translated in either case as '(coin) of the rulers (or ruler) of the Allied State of the Aggachchas i. e., Agachchas.'³ Accordingly the coinage is to be regarded as belonging to the 'Allied State of the Agras or Agratyas', though there may be some room for doubt about the second part of the legend —*bhishṭhāyinaṃ* or —*bhishṭhāyinaḥ*.

D. C. Sircar accepts the reading as proposed by Barnett. He,⁴ however, Sanskritizes *Agāchamitra* as *Agratyamitra* and thus offers an interpretation of the entire legend which is different from that of Barnett. Sircar translates the legend as '(this is the coin) of those who dwell at the feet of Agratyamitra' and takes *Agratyamitra* of the legend as meaning 'the friend of the Agratyas' who was none other than 'the tutelary deity of the Agratyas of Agrodaka'. On this basis he⁵ suggests that the coins in question "were issued by the Agratyas not directly in the name of their tutelary deity, as in the case of some of the coins of the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas, but in the name of themselves represented as the devotees of the god Agratyamitra of Agrodaka." It is, however, difficult to support this

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 279. The word *abhishṭhāyina* is uncommon in literature but it seems to be regularly derived from *abhishṭhā* meaning primarily 'stand upon', hence 'dominate', or 'be supreme', *ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. K. N. Dikshit reads *Agāchamitas* instead of *Agāchamitapa(da)*. He takes *Agāchamitra* "as the name of some king, who might be Agastyamitra, connected with the Agastya Janapada", see *JNSI*, IV, p. 50. But, as shown above, the derivation of *Agācha* from *Agastya* is not philologically possible.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

5. *Ibid.*

interpretation. No doubt, there are some instances of tribal coins associated with gods (cf. the Kuṇḍa and Yaudheya coinages), but in the present case *Agratyamitra* as the name of a god is not known from any other source. Besides there is no representation of any such god on the coins of this tribe.

A NEW FIND OF PURIKUSHĀNA COINS IN BHILIṅGI

S. C. Behena

[PL. II]

Bhiliṅgi is a small village in the Śrīkākulam district of Āndhra. It is situated at a distance of about four miles from Ichāpuram station of the South-Eastern Railway. At a distance of about eight miles from Bhiliṅgi there is another small village called Baraṅga, where the present writer had an occasion to discover two sets of copper plate grants¹ of Umavarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman, assigned to the fifth century A. D. In one of the said copper plate grants issued by Umavarman there is reference to Bhiliṅgābhoga vishaya,² which I have identified with Bhiliṅgi.

In May 1960 I visited Bhiliṅgi and learnt from a local gentleman named Śrī Paraśurāma Pātra that a farmer of the village was in possession of a pot full of copper coins. I at once went to meet the owner of the coins who showed me the copper pot consisting of about one hundred copper coins. In spite of all my request he was not prepared to surrender the entire hoard. With reluctance he could spare only five copper coins which are described below :

1. AE., Daim. 1"; Wt. 9.152 grams

Obverse : Figure with right arm downwards; left arm raised; boots curved upwards.

Reverse : Figure with right arm curved downwards; no left arm; crescent towards the top of the left shoulder.

(Pl. II, 1)

2. AE., Daim. 1"; Wt. 6.750 grams

Obverse : Similar to figure 1, But damaged.

1. *OHRJ*, VI, 106, 114.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Reverse : Figure with right arm curved upwards; no left arm; boots curved upwards; crescent towards the left of the left shoulder. (Pl. II, 2)

3. AE., Diam. 1"; Wt. 8.957 grams

Obverse : Same as figure 1.

Reverse : Same as figure 1 but right arm curved a little upwards. (Pl. II, 3)

4. AE., Diam. 1"; Wt. 10.93 grams

Obverse : Figure with right arm raised upwards; left arm downwards; other features same as in figure 1.

Reverse : Figure with right arm raised upwards; left arm downwards; crescent towards the left side of the head; other features same as in figure 1. (Pl. II, 4)

5. AE., Diam. 1"; Wt. 7.17 grams

Obverse : Same as figure 1.

Reverse : Same as figure 3. (Pl. II, 5)

The Above coins favourably compare with the imitation Kushāṇa coins referred to by R. D. Banerji¹ in 1919 and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. There is no doubt that the coins under review are the so-called "Puri-kushāṇa" coins, well known to the numismatic world.

A short reference to the early history of Orissa in the post-Khāravēla period will help us to estimate the value of these coins. A pall of darkness covers the history of Orissa from the death of Khāravēla to the South Indian campaign of Samudragupta² and the rise of the Māṭharas as 'Lord of Kaliṅga'.³ Bhadrak inscription of Mahārāja Gaṇa,⁴ which belongs to the third century A. D. does not help us substantially to throw light on the history of that period. But the recently discovered Asanpāt (Dist. Keonjhar) stone ins-

1. JBORS, V, p. 83-84.

2. CII, III, p. 6.

3. S. N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, I, (II), p. 58-60.

4. IHQ, XXXV, p. 240; EI, XXIX, p. 169.

cription¹ goes a long way in throwing a flood of light on this dark period of Orissan history. On palaeographical ground the inscription may be assigned to the fourth century A. D. The letters of the inscription are similar to those of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The record reveals that Śātrubhaṇja, who was the Lord of Vindhyaṭavi,² who earned great name and fame by donating lakhs of cows in Pāṭaliputra, Gayā, Krimila, Dadāvardhan, Puṇḍra-Vardhan, Varddhamaṇa, Gorhaṭi, Khadranga, Tāmalipti and Ubhaya Toshali, was adorned with victories in hundreds of battles against "Devaputras" (*Devaputra-Samara-Śateshu Sumanḍita pratāpa*).³ The reference to *Devaputra* here, is indeed very significant. Here *Devaputra* is not any epithet of Śātrubhaṇja. Had it been so, he would have been called *Devaputraḥ*. The omission of the *Visarga* in the inscription is by no means a mistake. He glorifies Śātrubhaṇja for having defeated *Devaputras* in hundreds of battles. It is very well known that *Devaputra* was used as a royal title by the Kushāṇas on their inscriptions and coins.⁴ It is also well known that *Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi* entered into subordinate alliance with Samudragupta.⁵ So we are inclined to believe that Śātrubhaṇja, a rising Nāga King, whose inscription has been discovered in the Keonjhar district of Orissa and who is credited to have donated innumerable cows in "Ubhaya Toshali" (i.e., north and south Toshali),⁶ established his strong hold in Eastern India as far as Orissa by subduing the Kushāṇa Devaputras. The lines 5, 6 and 7 of the Asanpāt stone inscription indicate that for sometime he established his hegemony in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa having achieved triumph in hundreds of battles against Kushāṇas. That Śātrubhaṇja had to fight against Kushāṇas before establishing his hegemony in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa suggests that for some time there was eastward-expansion of the Kushāṇa empire.

With this background, the discoveries of the Kushāṇa coins in Orissa, which are as follows, should be reviewed.

1. OHRJ, XIII, p. 1-8.

2. *Ibid*, Line 5 of the inscription.

3. *Sa Jayati punareva Devaputra-Samara-Śateshu, Sumanḍita pratāpa...* (Line 2 of the inscription, OHRJ, XIII, 2, p. 4 & 8). At first I got this piece of information from Sri S. N. Rajaguru.

4. JNSI, XXX, p. 190.

5. CII, III, p. 8.

6. For detailed information about North and South Toshali, see *Inscriptions of Orissa*, I (1), p. 151.

- (i) Many copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were found at Bhañjkiā in the Pānchpiḍha subdivision of the Mayurbhañj district.¹
- (ii) R. D. Banerji discovered 112 copper coins of Great Kushāṇas in the Mayurbhañj district.²
- (iii) Kushāṇa coins were found in the excavation of Virātgarh in Mayurbhañj district.³
- (iv) Copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were discovered at Śiśupālgarh.⁴
- (v) L. N. Bhanjdeo of Keonjhar has discovered some Kushāṇa and Puri-Kushāṇa coins at Sītabinji in Keonjhar district.⁵
- (vi) B. V. Nath⁶ has discovered 13 copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka in the village Kayema in the Jaipur subdivision of Cuttack district.
- (vii) In 1893 at Gurubai salt factory near Māṇik-pātnā (Puri district) 84 copper coins of Kushāṇa rulers were discovered in association with Puri-Kushāṇa coins.⁷
- (viii) J. D. Beglar discovered some Indo-Scythian coins at Jaugaḍa near Purushottampur in the Gañjām district.⁸

Is it clear from the above that Kushāṇa coins were found in Mayurbhañj, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Puri and Gañjām districts of Orissa. Kayema hoard exclusively contains the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. But in the hoards found at Bhañjkiā and Virātgarh and Māṇikpātnā the Kushāṇa coins were found in association with the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins. However the Kushāṇa coins would have been current in Orissa for a long period before they were imitated in the form of Puri-Kushāṇa coins towards the third or fourth century of the Christian era. It is true that most of the

1. *ASIAR*, 1924-25, p. 131-132.
2. *History of Orissa*, I, p. 11-15.
3. *JNSI*, II, p. 124.
4. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
5. *OHRJ*, II, p. 85.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-93.
7. *Proc. ASB*, 1895, p. 61.
8. *CASR*, XIII, p. 116.

Kushāṇa coins are not found independent of the Puri Kushāṇa coins, yet, we need not presume that the Kushāṇa coins were current only at a time when the Kushāṇa empire had ceased to exist. It seems probable that the Kushāṇa empire extended as far as Orissa during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka. No coin of Vāsudeva have so far known in any hoard in Orissa.¹ Possibly Orissa was lost to Vāsudeva by the middle of the second century A. D. But at the same time, it seems that provincial governors, appointed by the Kushāṇas in different parts of Orissa, asserted their independence at the fall of the empire and continued the use of the coins of their erstwhile masters.

As days elapsed the supply of Kushāṇa coins gradually diminished, consequently there was the minting of the imitations of Kushāṇa copper coins which are found in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.²

A brief record of the discovery of the so-called "Puri Kushāṇa" coins in Orissa is given below :—

- (i) In 1858, four miles to the west of Purushottampur in the district of Gañjām there were found the crude imitation coins of Kushāṇa type.³
- (ii) In 1893 a number of Puri-Kushāṇa coins were found in the Puri district.⁴
- (iii) 910 "Puri Kushāṇa" coins⁵ were discovered in 1912 in Balasore in north Orissa.
- (iv) In 1923 "Puri Kushāṇa" coins along with Kushāṇa coins were found at Bhañjkiā; subsequently 170 Puri Kushāṇa coins were also found in association with Kushāṇa coins in Mayurbhañj.⁶

1. An imitation gold coin bearing the motif Vāsudeva I has been found at Śiśupālgarh.
2. *JASB*, XXVIII (N. S.), p. 12; *JNSI*, XII; XIII, p. 107; *JBORS*, V, p. 73; *IC*, III, p. 727.
3. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 7 (N. S.) p. 75.
4. *Proc. ASB*, 1895, p. 61-65.
5. *ASI, AR*, 1924-25, p. 130.
6. *JNSI*, II, p. 123; *OHRJ*, II, p. 85.

- (v) In 1953 P. Āchārya¹ brought nearly 1261 "Puri Kushāṇa" coins from Bhañjikā to the Orissa State Museum and this hoard contains one coin of Kanishka.
- (vi) T. Rama Chandran² refers to five Puri Kushāṇa coins discovered from Sitabinji.
- (vii) A gold coin found in the Śiśupālagarh excavations, is the imitation of the coin type of Vāsudeva I. The legend on the coin has been read by A. S. Altekar³ as *Mahārājārājādhasa Dharmadāmadharsa*.
- (viii) The latest discovery of the Puri Kushāṇa coins from Bhiliṅgi in Andhra Pradesh is the subject matter of the present paper. It could not be possible to know if the hoard consisted Puri Kushāṇa coins exclusively or were there any coin of the Great Kushāṇas.

It is difficult to fix the date of these Puri Kushāṇa coins. One of the coins discovered from Rakha Hills in Singhbhum district (Bihar) contains the inscription *Taika*.⁴ On palaeographical grounds R. D. Banerji assigns the coins some time before the middle of the seventh century A. D. Rapson⁵ puts the uninscribed coins to the period between the reign of Kanishka and the end of the Kushāṇa rule in India. V. A. Smith⁶ finds it impossible to fix the date of the excessively rude coins which are found from Puri to Ganjam, yet he thinks that they might belong to the fourth or the fifth century A. D.

The Puri Kushāṇa coins do not appear to have been circulated at one period. The coin bearing the inscription *Taika* obviously belonged to a later period; but it may well be said that the uninscribed coins are earlier and belong to the period which is dark in the history of Orissa. The chief sources of information for this period at the moment are :

1. *OHRJ*, II, p. 85.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 69.
3. *JNSI*, XII, p. 1.
4. *JBORS*, V, p. 80.
5. *Indian Coins*, p. 14.
6. *IMC*, I, p. 64.

- (1) Bhadrak inscription of Gaṇa
- (2) Large number of Kushāṇa and "Puri Kushāṇa" coins
- (3) Literary sources which describe the Muruṇḍa supermacy in eastern India, and
- (4) Asanpāt Stone inscription of Śatrubhaṇja.

Of these, the Bhadrak inscription, on palaeographical ground, belongs to the third century A. D.; but it does not give us any detail of the political history. The name of the donor in the inscription can not be read with certainty, the portion being damaged. What has been read by D. C. Sircar as *Mahārāja Gaṇa*, has been read by K. C. Pāṇigrāhī as *Mahārāja Surāśarmā*. Pāṇigrāhī² thinks that Mahārāj Surāśarmā was a subordinate ruler under Muruṇḍa ruling family. But there is no clue in the inscription itself to describe Surāśarmā as a subordinate of a Muruṇḍa King.

According to the *Purāṇas* the Muruṇḍas succeeded the Tukhāras and thirteen Muruṇḍa kings ruled for two centuries. Jain literature³ refers to the Muruṇḍas of Eastern India with their capital at Pāṭaliputra. According to Chinese annals⁴ between 240 and 245 A. D. the king of India was called Meou-loun, which according to S. Lévi means Muruṇḍa. The Greek geographer Ptolemy⁵ informs us that "the *Maroundai* occupied an extensive territory which comprised Tihut and the country southward on the east of the Ganges as far as the head of its delta where they bordered with the Gangaridae." On the strength of these sources it has been supposed that Paṇḍu, as described in *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* in 310 A. D., was a Muruṇḍa king and that his vassal Guhaśiva of Kalinga probably issued the Puri-Kushāṇa coins.⁶

In course of the archaeological excavations at Śiśupālgarh near Bhubaneswar, a gold coin bearing the motif of Vāsudeva I was discovered. On stratigraphical basis the coin has been assigned to the third century A. D. The legend on the coin has been read by A. S. Altekar⁷ as "*Mahārājārājādhas Dharma dāma dharasa*." He has

1. *IHQ*, XXV, p. 246.
2. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913) p. 46.
3. *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, II., p. 726; *Ind. Cul.*, III, p. 49.
4. B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, p. 17-18.
5. *IA*, XIII, p. 377.
6. B. C. Law. *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*.
7. *JNSI*, XII, p. 1.

suggested that Dharma Dāmadhara may well have been a Jain and belonged to Muruṇḍa family, which may have ruled a portion of Bihar and also of Orissa.

Thus we find that attempts have already been made by scholars to establish the theory of Muruṇḍa supremacy in Orissa. But the conclusions are based on hypothetical considerations. Mahārāja Surasarmā as Panigrahi supposes, was probably a subordinate under a Muruṇḍa King; but the king himself does not refer to his overlord in the record. Again Guhaśiva who is supposed to have issued Puri-Kushāṇa coins, is only known to us from literature. Dharma Dāmadhara is also supposed to be Muruṇḍa chief on purely hypothetical consideration.

A critical study of the Asanpāt stone inscription reveals that in or about the fourth century A. D. Śatrubhaṇja of the Nāga family claimed victory in one hundred battles against Devaputras. This means that there was still the remnant of Kushāṇa power in Orissa in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. But it is well known that with the death of Vāsudeva in or about 176 A. D. the Kushāṇa empire began to disintegrate. However, it is quite probable that the local Kushāṇa chiefs and other princes took advantage of the situation and asserted independence. It seems that although the Great Kushāṇas lost their hold over Orissa from the time of Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa chiefs, who very probably asserted independence, exercised their sway till the fourth century of the Christian era. Thus we are inclined to believe that with the fall of Kushāṇas when the supply of real Kushāṇa copper coins fell short, the Kushāṇa chiefs who asserted independence circulated in Bihar and Orissa the so-called "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins which are crude imitations of Kushāṇa copper coins.

It may be noted in this context that after the fall of the great Kushāṇa empire sometime after A. D. 230 or 240, the Kushāṇa Chiefs, known to history as the Later Kushāṇas,¹ ruled over the Punjab region for about a century. There also we find a large number of coins, which are debased imitations of those of the Great Kushāṇa Kings. It was with the rise of Samudragupta that Daiva-

1. *Classical Age*, pp. 50-59.

putra, obviously Kushāṇa chief of the Punjab region submitted before the Guptas. In the same analogy we are inclined to believe that even after the fall of the Great Kushāṇas the Kushāṇa chiefs continued to circulate the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins in Orissa. It was the rise of Śatrubhaṇja that brought about the fall of the "Devaputras" in hundreds of battles in the northern and north-western part of Orissa.

These "Devaputras" of the Asanpāt inscription need not be confused with "Muruṇḍas". The terms "Daivaputra" and Śaka-Muruṇḍa have been mentioned as distinctly different in the Allahabad pillar inscription. So we think that although, as gleaned from literary sources, the Muruṇḍas probably exerted supremacy for some time in eastern India, the Kushāṇas continued to govern in different parts of Orissa till the fourth century A. D. In Keonjhar district where we have found both Kushāṇa and Puri Kushāṇa coins, we are also getting the inscription of Śatrubhaṇja of the Nāga family at Asanpāt. The inscription refers to the clash between Śatrubhaṇja and the Kushāṇa chiefs. In that case we may as well presume that "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins found at Keonjhar were either issued by the Kushāṇa chiefs prior to their struggle with Śatrubhaṇja or the coins found at Keonjhar were issued by Śatrubhaṇja himself. In the absence of any direct evidence it is not, however, safe to say as to who issued the "Puri Kushāṇa" coins at Keonjhar.

Śatrubhaṇja although had fought against Kushāṇa chiefs and probably had extended his suzerainty as far as Toshali, he had nothing to do with Kalinga¹ which fell under the Mātharas and Vaśiṣṭhas during the Gupta period. Under Umavarman, Bhiliṅgi, where we have found the hoard of Puri Kushāṇa coins, became an integral part of Kalinga and when the Mātharas extended their territory as far as the river Mahānadī in the north² Bhiliṅgābhoga-vishaya, identified with modern Bhiliṅgi was situated in the heart of their territory. So we are inclined to believe that just as Samudragupta ousted remnant of Kushāṇa power in the North-Western part of India by subduing Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi, the early kings

1. The capitals of Kalinga during this period were located at Pishāpura and Simhapura, far away from Bhubaneśwar.

2. Vide lines 2 and 3 of the Niṅgoṇḍi grant of Prabhaṇjanavarman, *EI*, XXX, pp. 112-118.

of Kalinga, who traced their lineage from Māthara and Vāśishṭha families, were also responsible to oust the remnant of Kushāṇa power in Kalinga just as Śatrubhaṇja in the Keoṇjhar region fought against "Devaputras", the Mātharas, who marched from their capital Pishṭapura in the north eastern direction, very probably had to face a clash with Kushāṇa chiefs near Bhiliṅgi which became their strong hold in the subsequent period. So we think that the Bhiliṅgi hoard of Puri-Kushāṇa coins was either issued by the Kushāṇa chiefs before they were defeated by the Mātharas or the Mātharas themselves might have issued those imitation coins owing to the popularity of the said type.¹

According to a Chinese legend, recorded in *Śrīdharmapitaka*,² a minister called Māthara brought about the tragic end of Kanishka. We further learn from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*³ that the Mātharas were a people who dwelt along the river Śatadru, not far from the capital of Kanishka. We may therefore, suppose that the Mātharas of Kalinga, who appeared in the political scene after the fall of Kushāṇa power in Orissa, might have migrated from the Sutej valley; and like the minister Māthara, who brought about the tragic end of Kanishka, they might have taken an important part in crushing the remnant of Kushāṇa power in Orissa.⁴

1. The Mātharas had issued their own coins at a later period when they extended their territory even beyond Mahānadī. We have some copper coins, discovered at Gaṇḍibedha in Balasore district of Orissa, which bear the inscription "Śrī Nandasya" palaeographically assigned to the fifth century A. D. (*OHRJ*, VI, p. 157-158). It is not unlikely that Śrī Nanda of the Gaṇḍibedha coins is identical with Nandaprabhañjanvarman, whose Baraṅga inscription refers to his lordship over entire Kalinga.
2. *IA*, XXXII, p. 381-3880.
3. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (ed. Pargiter) 1905, p. 316.
4. I express my thanks to Dr. P. L. Gupta for some of the suggestions.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF A NEW MONARCH OF THE GUPTA PERIOD

S. C. Ray

[PL. II]

In¹ the early years of the last decade, the Excavations Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, under the guidance of Dr. Y. D. Sharma, undertook excavations at Rupar, District Ambala. The excavations revealed five periods of occupation ranging in date from C. 2000 B. C. to A. D. 1000. The period IV of Rupar, to which the excavator has assigned a date extending from C. 200 B. C. to A. D. 600 yielded a large number of coins, including a coin-hoard.² The latter contained 660 specimens comprising the coins of the Kushāṇas, several varieties of Kushāṇa imitations, copper issues of Chandragupta II, the Yaudheyas and the Hūṇas and pieces showing unmistakable Sassanian influence. But apart from these familiar types, the hoard presented a series of unique coins, seven in number. These are inscribed and can be divided into two classes, based on the slight variations of typological features. The detailed description is as follows :

1. I am grateful to the Director General, Archaeological survey of India for kindly permitting me to publish this paper and to Dr. Y. D. Sharma, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India for kindly allowing me to go through his excavated materials and giving me the opportunity to express my views on them. Copyright of the plate accompanying this paper belongs to the Archaeological Survey of India.
2. *Indian Archaeology 1953-54 A Review*, pp. 6-7; 1954-55, p. 9; Y. D. Sharma, 'Past Patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar,' *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, April, 1955—March 1956, pp. 121-129.

Variety A

1. AE, Round, Size 1.7 cm., Weight 2.6 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line S A G U
Reverse : Seated goddess, on lion, facing. Border of dots.
 (Pl. II, 6)
2. AE, Round, Size 1.6 cm., Weight 2.7 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. On right legend in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line S A G U
Reverse : Seated goddess on lion. Trident on right field.
 Border of dots.
 (Pl. II, 7)

Variety B

3. AE, Round, Size 1.8 cm., Weight 2.2 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line S A G U
 Border of dots.
Reverse : Rudely executed Śiva and bull. Border of dots.
 (Pl. II, 8)
4. AE, Round, Size 2 cm., Weight 2.9 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line G U
 Border of dots.
Reverse : Rudely executed Śiva and bull.
 (Pl. II, 9)
5. AE, Round, Size 1.7 cm., Weight 2.7 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line S A G U
 Border of dots.
 (Pl. II, 10)
Reverse : Faint traces of Śiva and bull. Border of dots.

6. AE, Round, Size 2 cm., Weight 3.2 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right in two lines.
 First line V I D I
 Second line S A G U
Reverse : Blurred, but probably contained the figure of Śiva and bull. Faint traces of dots.
 (Pl. II, 11)
7. AE, Round, Size 1.3 cm., Weight 2.5 grammes.
Obverse : Trident on left. Legend on right V I D I
Reverse : Corrupt form of Śiva and bull. Partly blurred.
 (Pl. II, 12)

The coin-type referred to above is an unique one which has not been met out so far and about its genuineness there can not be any doubt since the specimens came from a scientific digging. The legend of the coin evidently refers to the name of the striker which by joining two lines of letters appearing in different specimens can be read unmistakably as *Vidisagu*. The word *Vidisagu*, however, makes no sense even as a proper name. There is indeed grave doubt if the coin in its present form contains the full name of its striker. Perhaps in the first line of the legend *Vidi* one gets only the first part of an incomplete form of the real name of the king and in the second line also perhaps the last letter of the king's title is missing. The letter *gu* occurring in the second line is very similar to the same letter occurring in the coins of the Imperial Gupta kings where their name-ending is indicated. Can the missing letter in this case be '*pta*', in which case the striker could be a king holding the title of 'Gupta'. It is, however, clear that all the coins in our series are intact and the missing portions, if any, of the striker's name on the body of the coin can be attributed either to a not too careful system of casting or to want of space in the coin itself to record the full titles. Perhaps the occurrence of the full name of the king on the body of the coin was not actually intended to take place or considered necessary. Imprint of a part of the king's name or title instead of the full one, on the coins struck, is not an unusual feature in ancient India.¹

1. Compare the *Ādi-Varāha* coins. Only on a few of the innumerable specimens the full title is really visible. It is the incompleteness of legend on *Śrī-Vigraha* coins which has led to various controversies. Many other contemporary issues of the same period also suffer from the same lacunae.

As the name of the stricker of the coin cannot be correctly ascertained it is not possible to identify him, and assign him a definite place to any known dynasty, period and locality. There are, however, several indications in the coin-type itself, that its issuer could not be far removed in date from the Imperial Guptas. The figure on the reverse side of coin-type 'A' numbering 1 and 2, shows clearly the debased form of goddess Ambika seated on lion, a type occurring on Gupta coins of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type and lion-slayer types of Chandragupta II and Kumār Gupta I. There can be no doubt that the specimens under our discussion have copied their types from a Gupta coin,¹ which was already current at the time when the former was issued.² The figure on the reverse side of other specimens of type 'B', shows a debased form of Śiva standing with Bull within a border of dots, a type evidently copied from the coins of Vasudeva. The 'Śiva and bull' indeed was a very common type on the coins of northern India in the period following the Kushāṇa rule, coins which were current, in all probability, even at the time of the Guptas.

The letters inscribed on coins have a tendency of assuming a stylised nature and may not often lead to any positively determinable clue about the exact date of the coin. Nevertheless, the few letters in one of our coins, *gu*, *di*, *vi* and *sa* show an advanced form of the Gupta script. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to assign these issues on the palaeographic evidence broadly to the period of the Guptas.

The evidence of the hoard both external, as determinable by its position in the sequence of cultures and internal as revealed from its composition tends to show that it was left there sometime during or immediately following the period of Hūṇas. It is very likely that in our coin-types we are faced with a local potentate who asserted his independence over parts of Punjab in the troubled

1. It also seems that the reverse device, goddess seated on lion, of this type was imitated from the coins of Kanishka III as the reverse side of type 'B' is considered to have been copied from the coins of Vasudeva.

—Nisar Ahmad

2. The excavations of Rupar, in fact, yielded a Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of coin, *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1953-54, p. 7, pl. V. C.

times following the adversity of the Imperial Gupta rulers at the hands of the Hūṇas, and to notify his rise struck these interesting issues. He evidently copied the coin-types which were already current in the area ruled by him. The presence of trident on the left of the legend may indicate the king's affiliation to Śaivism a cult that was popular around the region of Rupar since second-first centuries B. C. as evidenced by the finds of Audumbara coins in the earlier levels of the excavations.¹

1. Y. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

THE COINS OF VIŚVASIMHA AND SUHUNMUN

P. K. Bhattacharya

The only Kāmata dynasty of which we have any connected account is that of the Khyān and Khen kings, whose last representative was Nilāmbara.¹ Nilāmbara attained the great power and extended his rule, eastwards to the Bar Nadi and Westwards as far as Karatoyā; he also included within his dominions the North-Eastern part of the tract which had previously belonged to the Mahammadan rulers of Bengal.

Nilāmbara was, however, overthrown by Hussain the king of Gauḍa, who celebrated his success by the erection of Madrasah at Malda in 1501-2 A. D.² as well as by issuing coins describing him as "the Conqueror of Kāmaru, Kāmata, Jājnagar and Orisā" in the Coin legends.³

The Mahammadan accounts of Hussain Shah's invasion are very brief, but it appears that sometime after the sacking of Kāmtāpur, he launched an expedition to annex the Āhōm Country to the east of the Bar Nadi, and this led to the destruction of the entire Mahammadan army and the loss of the whole of the newly conquered territory.⁴

1. Edwards Gait, *A History of Assam*, 2nd ed. p. 45.

It may be mentioned that Rudra Simha's *Buruñjī* (A.D. 1634) (now in the office of Director of Ethnography, Assam) contains the accounts of rulers of Kāmata previous to Viśvasimha.

2. Edwards Gait, *loc. cit.*

3. See *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam*, pp. 148-152.

One of these coins gives the Hijri date of 899 i.e. A.D. 1493 and therefore, the conquest of Hussain Shah has been assigned by some to 1493 A.D.; See *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. II, p. 173; pt II, pl. V. Gait, however, places the event in 1498 A.D.

4. Edwards Gait, *op. cit.*

Viśvasimha during this period was busy in consolidating his position to the north of the Brahmaputra. After the departure¹ of the Muhammadans the whole country was ruled by a number of petty independent chiefs. Viśvasimha seized this opportunity and in course of time made himself the master of the country West of the Bar Nadi.²

Viśvasimha assumed the title *Kāmateśvara* and declared himself an independent king after his formal coronation in c. 1496 A. D.³ It was the usual practice among the Indian rulers to issue coins in their own name, the moment they feel themselves independent and powerful enough to do that.⁴ The rulers of the Khyān dynasty were independent, and Nilāmbara, the last king of the dynasty also greatly extended his political influence. But they seem to have issued no coin, at least none of their coins have been discovered so far. The *Āsām Buruñjī*, however, informs us that the predecessors of Viśvasimha did not issue any coins.⁵ In other words the author of the *Āsām Buruñjī* wants to suggest and emphasise the point that Viśvasimha was the first ruler of Kāmarupa, who issued coins in his own name.

But unfortunately no coin of Viśvasimha has so far been discovered. This may lead us to believe that unstable political condition of the time might have prevented him from issuing any coins in his name. For simultaneously he had to contend with the

1. The date of complete evacuation of the Muhammadans is not known with any amount of certainty. But the last known date of the coins with the legend—Sultan (Hussain Shah), the conqueror of Kāmaru, Kāmata, Jājnagar and Orishā—is Hijri 979 i.e. A.D. 1513; see *Suppl. to the Cat. of Prov. Cab. of Coins, Assam, op. cit.* But it appears that Viśvasimha's authority was well established in this part of Kāmarupa even before A. D. 1513.

2. Rai Gunabhirama Barua, *Āsām Buruñjī*, p. 55; *Baguḍāra Itihāsa* (Bengali), vol. II, p. 88; and Khan Chaudhury A. Ahmed, *Kuch Behārer Itihāsa* (Bengali) vol. I, pp. 87-88.

3. Khan Chaudhury etc., *loc. cit.*

4. [This is true only about Muslim rulers. There are many Hindu rulers, who never issued any coin—P.L.G.]

5. cf. *Āru vehārala Viśvasimha rajār pūrve kona ṭaka nā chhila*,—Rai Gunabhiram Barua, *Āsām Buruñjī*, p. 249; also see Khan Chaudhury etc. *op. cit.*, p. 280.

powerful Āhōm and the Mohammadans of Gauḍa to the east and the south of his kingdom respectively. Again, the *Durrung Vamśāvalī* and the *Rājopākhyāna* of Cooch Behar are also silent on this point.¹

The point has, however, been clarified beyond any doubt by Durgadas Majumdar when he writes in his *Rājavamśāvalī* that Mahārāja Viśvasimha struck coins in his own name in the 13th regnal year.²

From the *Buruñjī* of Rudrasimha³ we learn that one Āhōm ruler sent an expedition against Viśvasimha in about 1405 Śaka i.e. A. D. 1483. Viśvasimha who was only consolidating his position at that time, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Āhōm King with many presents which have not been specified in the book. But Majumdar refers to a meeting between the Āhōm King Śuhunmuṇ and Viśvasimha in Saka 1419 (i.e. A. D. 1497), and to the latter's presentation of 500 pieces of struck coins and five horses to the former.⁴ The coins of Viśvasimha so much impressed the Āhōm King that he wanted to make similar coins in his own name. He is also said to have admitted that none of his thirteen predecessors had issued any coins.⁵

1. The *Vamśāvalīs* of Gandharva nārāyaṇa and Samudra nārāyaṇa are known as the *Durrung Vamśāvalī*, and were written by Sūryadeva Siddhāntavāgishā and Baladeva respectively in Assamese language. The *Rājopākhyāna* was written by Munshi Joynath Ghosh in Bengali (1823 A. D.), see Khan Chowdhury A. Ahmed, *op. cit.*

2. cf. ...13 (tera) Śakāya mahārāja Viśvasimha Sindhāsana prāpta haiya āpana nāme chhirkā jarap kariyāchhena...the *Rājavamśāvalī*, 16 *patra*.

It may be mentioned here that the *Rājavamśāvalī* is considered to be the second importance only to the *Rājopākhyāna* as the source of the history of Cooch Behar. see Khan Chaudhury etc. *op. cit.*, p. 281.

3. The *Buruñjī* of Rudrasimha, 17 *patra*; see also Khan Chaudhury etc. *op. cit.* pp. 86, 281.

4. cf. ...Śuni Viśvasimha bhūpa Mahānanda mane /
āpana jarava taḍā kari sehi kshana //
pañcha śata mudrā dila pañcha turīgama /
manojava gati tava dṛishti haya bhrama //
—The *Rājavamśāvalī*, 17-18 *patra*.

5. cf. ...turaṅga dekhīya mana raṅga atiśaya /
apara jarava dekhī haila viśmaya /
bale "mama Vamśa-madhya trayo-dāśa jana /
rājatva kariyā sarge karila gamana //

The above statements make two points absolutely clear. Firstly, Viśvasimha issued coins in his own name, and we believe with Khan Chowdhury¹ that his coins may be discovered when the ruins around the old city of Kāmatāpura (modern Gosānimāri) will be excavated. Secondly, the Āhōm ruler got inspiration from these coins to strike coins in his own name. The coins of Cooch Behar Kings were greatly influenced by those of the Muhammadan Kings of the Hussaini dynasty. And the coins of the Āhōm rulers were generally influenced by the coins of Cooch Behar kings and not by the Muhammadan kings directly as supposed by some scholars.² The obverse legends of the coins of both eastern and western Kāmatā kingdoms are intensely devotional in expression, and even the same has been imitated by the Āhōm rulers in their coins and like those of the Kāmatā rulers, the commonest formula appears on the obverse of the coins of the Āhōm rulers, is to describe the Rājā as a bee feeding on the nectar from the feet of Śiva or rarely some other deity of the Hindu pantheon.

Scholars, however, generally agree that Śukleṇmuṇ was the first Āhōm ruler to strike coins.³ But the evidence of the *Rājavamśāvalī*, on the other hand, will make us believe that it was Śuhunmuṇ, the father of Śukleṇmuṇ, and not Śukleṇmuṇ himself, who was the first man in his dynasty to issue coins which were prepared under the instruction of the Brāhmaṇa experts (paṇḍita) who had been brought for the purpose.⁴ The Śuhunmuṇ's coins were possibly made of gold (i. e. Mohar or Mukur).

Of course, it is difficult to describe the shape of Śuhunmuṇ's coins which are not found yet; nor does the *Rājavamśāvalī* give us any information about it. But the coins of Śuhunmuṇ's successors,

tathāpi jarava nāhi kare kona bhūpa /
e jarava dekhītama ati aparūpa" //
ehi mata ālokiyā Āsama Iśvara /
Brāhmaṇa paṇḍita āni rachila mohara //

—The *Rājavamśāvalī*, loc. cit.

1. Khan Chaudhury etc., *op. cit.* p. 281, note 6.

2. Botham, *Cat. of the Prov. Coin. Cab.*, Assam. Part VIII, p. 29.

3. Allan J., *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IX, 1909, p. 300.

4. cf. "...Brāhmaṇa paṇḍita āni rachila mohara".

—The *Rājavamśāvalī*, loc. cit.

discovered hitherto, are mostly octagonal in shape. This peculiarity of the shape is, according to Gait,¹ in accordance with the Śloka in the *Yoginī Tantra* which describes the country of the Āhōm as having eight sides. The suggestion of Gait has widely been accepted by the scholars.²

But a question may, arise as to the date of the *Yoginī Tantra*, which has not yet been fixed beyond doubt. A few verses of the same text, however, supplied us with some interesting information regarding the same. As for example, we find that the exploits³ of Viśvasimha have been narrated in one section of the *tantra* and also we have the references to the successors⁴ of Viśvasimha (C. 1496-1533 A. D.) was the contemporary of Śuḥuṅsuṅ, the father of Śukleṇmuṅ (1539-1552 A. D.). In other places of the *tantra* there are also definite references to some incidents that occurred in Śaka, 1600 (i.e. 1678-9 A. D.).⁵

Thus, it appears to us that the *Yoginī Tantra* must have been composed at least in the last decade of the 17th Century, if not at a still later period. And in that case it will be absurd to think that the shape of the coins of Śukleṇmuṅ, who flourished in the first half

1. Edwards Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

2. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, 1922, p. 100; V. Smith, *IMC* vol-I, 1906, pp. 194-7; Allan, J., *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. IX, 1909, pp. 300-19; Botham, *Cat. of the Prov. Coin Cab.*, Assam, 1930, Part VIII, p. 29.

3. cf. "...Ekena jītavān kāmān saumārān Gauḍa pañchamān"—*Prathamārddha*, *paṭala*-XIII i.e. he alone conquered kāmā (of Kāmāṭā) Saumāras (of upper Assam) and five Gauḍas. see Khan Chaudhury, *op. cit.* p. 89 note. Saumāra perhaps refers to the country of the Āhōms, some Āhōm rulers used to describe them as *Saumāreśvara*. The term *Kuvācha* has been attributed to the people of Cooch Behar.

cf. *Pūrvārddha* Cha Saumārāḥ Kuvāchāḥ Paśchīma tathā /
Dakṣiṇa Yavanastadvaduttare plava eva cha //

79 // *Pūrvārddha*, *Paṭala* XIV

4. cf. *tasyāpi Vahavaḥ putrāḥ Pṛithivī paripūlakāḥ* /
Kuvāchā dhārmikāḥ Sarve rājāno yuddhadurmatāḥ //

16 // *Pūrvārddha*, *Paṭala* XIII

see Khan Chowdhury etc., *op. cit.* p. 77 note.

5. cf. *Shoḍaśāṇḍe gate śāke*.....//58//

Kuvācha=*ryavanai*=*śchandrai*=*rvakusainya*=*Samākulaḥ* /

Tribhi=*rmlechchhaiḥ* *Samākīrṇa*=*mahā yuddhān bhavi shyati* //60//

Aśvamuṇḍai=*rvaramuṇḍai*=*rgajamuṇḍai*=*rviśeshataḥ*.....//61//

of the 16th Century A. D., was influenced by the writing of the said *Tantra*. It seems probable, however, that the octagonal shape of the coins is due to the Śaivite influence. According to such conception Lord Śiva protects the whole universe with His light forms.¹ The obverse legend on the coin of Śukleṇmuṅ represents the *Rājā* as praying to the Almighty *Tārā*, the consort of Lord Śiva.

Tataḥ Kuvācho Yavanān hitvā Saumya-Vināśitāḥ /
Karatoyā-nadī yāvat karishyati mahad=raṇam //64//

—*Pūrvārddha*, *Paṭala* XIV

"When 1600 years of the Śaka era have passed, a terrible war will take place between the three Mlechchha tribes of Kuvācha, Yavana, and Chandra. The Lauhitya, the King of rivers, will surely flow full with the blood of men, of horses and specially of elephants.

After this when the Saumyas have been destroyed, the Kuvāchas will desert the Yavanas and will fight a great battle near the banks of the Karotoyā river."

[From the *Yoginī Tantra* *Pūrvārddha*, *Paṭala* XII, and translation from a *History of Cooch Behar* (English) by S. C. Ghosal, 1942, p. 97]

The above perhaps refers to the battle in the Uttarakula (Kāmarupa) in 1632 A. D. between Mohammadan, king of Cooch Bihar and the Āhōm king. attack by Bhavāni Das of Mohammadan party in 1685 A. D., and also the attack by Ebādat Khān in 1687 A. D. and afterwards by Jabardast Khān and long continued war; for references see J. N. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* Vol. III & *A new History of Bengal in Jehangir's time*.

1. cf. *pratyakṣābhīḥ prapaṇṇa*=*Stanubhi*=*rvastābhi*=*rashīḥ*=*vīśa* /
—Kālidāsa, *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*, Act 1, Verse 1.

NEVASA COINS OF KING SĀTAVĀHANA

Sant Lal Katare

In their report, on the excavations at Nevasa during the year 1954-56, entitled "*From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*",¹ Dr. Sankalia and his co-authors have published a number of interesting Sātavāhana coins,² which include five coins with the legend 'of king Sātavāhana'.³ Deo, one of the co-authors of the *Report*, who wrote its chapter on the coins, has also published a note on these five coins in this *Journal*.⁴

Before the discovery of the five Nevasa coins only three coins bearing the legend 'of king Sātavāhana' were known, and not four as Deo thinks in the *Report*⁵ and in this *Journal*.⁶ Deo describes only three coins, while about the fourth he says that its details are not available.⁷ Actually, no fourth coins with this legend existed before the Nevasa coins. It appears that this Deo's mistake is based on Ramarao's faulty listing of these coins.⁸ Ramarao lists only three coins,⁹ but the sources he cites for them are not correct. Deo

does not seem to have checked Ramarao's list. The three coins of king Sātavāhana known before the Nevasa coins came to light are: the one of the Kaus collection purchased from a coin-dealer of Warangal and published by Mirashi;¹ the second, obtained from a coin dealer of Aurangabad and the published by Joglekar and Dikshit;² and the third, obtained from the excavation at Kondapur in the Medak district of the former Hyderabad state and published separately by Mirashi³ and Ramarao.⁴

From a comparison of the coins with the legend 'of king Sātavāhana' from Nevasa with these published before, Deo is of the view that none of the former is identical in type with the latter,⁵ because some of the symbols found on the earlier three pieces are not found on the Nevasa coins, particularly the Ujjain symbol which occurs on the former three but is conspicuous by its absence from those from Nevasa.⁶ Similarly, some of the symbols that occur on the Nevasa coins are not found on the earlier pieces, particularly the bull, which occurs on three Nevasa pieces,⁷ the tree-in-railing, a symbol like Brahmi *yya*, the hill, and the river with fishes.⁸ The 'symbol of connected empty circles', as the *Report*⁹ describes the symbol made of three circles in a line and connected with a rod passing through their middle, is, contrary to what Deo says,¹⁰ found on two of the three earlier coins, i. e. the one published by Mirashi¹¹ and the other from Kondapur excavation.¹²

1. Publication No. 1 of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, Deccan College, University of Poona, 1960.
2. *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa* (Henceforth abbreviated as *Nevasa*), pp. 171-176.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 74. 3.1; fig. 75.1-2 and fig. 6.1.
4. *XXII*, pp. 138 ff, pl. VIII. 1-4 and 7.
5. *Nevasa*, pp. 172-73.
6. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 138.
7. *Nevasa*, p. 173.
8. *JNSI*, XX, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 6 (Henceforth abbreviated as *NNM*), p. 1, nos. 1-3.
9. For coin no. 3 of his list Ramarao cites sources for two coins, the one from Kondapur and the other from Aurangabad. He also lists the Kondapur coin, published separately by himself and by Mirashi, as no. 2 of the list, but cites only the source in which his note on the coin appeared; even this is not quoted correctly; it should be *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 23 ff, and not 1944. (See *NNM*, No. 6, p. 1, nos. 2-3). Deo makes note of the wrong reference made by Ramarao, but does not appear to have located the correct details of the coins. (*Nevasa*, p. 173 fn. 14; also p. 172, fn. 9).

1. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1 ff.
2. *Bulletin of the Deccan College, Poona*, VI, pp. 5-6.
3. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 5-6, pl. II. 11.
4. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 23 ff. It is published by Ramarao as No. 2 of the *Numismatic Series* issued by the Hyderabad Museum and edited by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.
5. *Nevasa*, pp. 173-74; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 144-45.
6. Coin No. 3640 of the *Report*, fig. 76. 1 seems to show faint traces of the so-called Ujjain symbol with a crescent on one of its arms; it is very much distorted.
7. It is not visible on the plate in the case of the coin in fig. 74. 3.
8. River with fishes is also not visible on the plate.
9. *Nevasa*, p. 173.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1 ff.
12. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 23 ff.

The authors of the *Report* are of the view that the "occurrence of the Ujjain symbol on the coins of the later Sātavāhanas indicates a distinct Central Indian influence which exerted itself when the Sātavāhana Empire expanded",¹ but from a comparison of the palaeography of the characters of all these coins, (both from Nevasa and the three earlier ones), they reach the conclusion at the same time that "the Nevasa coins show a later style" than those of this king published before and who is "taken to be the founder of the dynasty."² This is highly contradictory as shown below.

They are also of the view that all these coins, which bear the name king Sātavāhana, could possibly not have been "the issues of one and the same king"³ and further add: "It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that there were a number of Sātavāhanas. Paleographically and according to the legend all fall between the third century B. C. and first century B. C."⁴ And finally Deo affirms: "The affinity of the Sātavāhana round lead coins from Nevasa with those belonging to Sri Śātakarṇī tend to suggest that this Sātavāhana of Nevasa issues was probably the son of Śātakarṇī I, who has been referred to in one of the reliefs inscriptions at Nanaghat. This is further supplemented by the find of the coins of Śātakarṇī I in the same levels as will be seen below. It may not be wrong to hold that some of the coins from Nevasa are possibly of Sātavāhana who succeeded his father Śātakarṇī I and who is mentioned in the Nanaghat record. He seems to have come to throne in the Deccan and issued coins similar in fabric and motif to those of his father Śātakarṇī (c. 194-185 B. C.)."⁵

Deo makes confusion worse confounded when he says that four Nevasa coins of king Sātavāhana, nos. 1, 3, 4 & 7 illustrated by pl. VIII in this *Journal*⁶ and which correspond to nos. 1981, 1175, 3640 and 6490 respectively of the *Nevasa Report*, belong to "the Sātavāhana who was the son of Kanha and the father of Śātakarṇī."⁷

1. *Nevasa*, p. 174.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
3. *Nevasa*, p. 176.
4. *Ibid.* *JNSI*, XXII, p. 144.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *XXII*.
7. *Ibid.* p. 145.

This is not based on facts and goes against the entire evidence on the Sātavāhana succession, even the one from the Purāṇas, which, as is already pointed out elsewhere,¹ say, -even though what they say, they do it erroneously, - that Śātakarṇī was the son of Kṛishṇa. We discuss the matter below.

Deo's analysis of the characters of the Nevasa coins, with a view to compare them with those of the earlier three coins, and their division into two groups, in order to show a distance of time between the three earlier pieces and the five from Nevasa on the one side and between those of the different groups of the Nevasa coins² on the other, makes no meaning, because the characters that the chart in the *Report* illustrates are not the true representations of the characters on the coins.³ The classification of the characters into two groups⁴ is not only arbitrary but also reflects lack of precision and an inexpressive terminology. The conclusion that Deo arrives from the above analysis of the evidence is vague and meaningless. It may be given in his own words.

"With all these details about palaeography, it may be pointed out that a comparison between the legends on coins and that on contemporary records on rock does not help as the nature of the material on which the legend is recorded differs. Moreover on the basis of fragmentary legends and letters, it is not possible to decide especially when we study palaeography of the post-Mauryan and pre-Christian era periods."⁵

From all this ensemble of arguments and conjectures, one contradictory to the other, the final conclusions that the *Report* seems to reach may be summarised as follows: (1) that the king Sātavāhana of the three coins published before those from Nevasa came to light was the founder of the Sātavāhana Dynasty,⁶ a view first sponsored

1. *IHQ*, XXXVIII, pp. 68 ff.
2. *Nevasa*, pp. 175-76; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 143-44.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 176; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 143-44.
5. *Nevasa*, p. 175.
6. *Ibid.*

by Mirashi¹ and already controverted by this writer;² (2) that king Sātavāhana of the three earlier coins possessed a Central Indian influence, because the so-called Ujjain symbol occurs on these coins;³ (3) that the Nevasa coins belong to two kings of the name, nos. 1981, 1175, 3640 and 6490 to one and no. 2186 to the other,⁴ and these two kings are different from the one to whom the earlier three pieces belong; (4) that the two kings of the name Sātavāhana of the Nevasa pieces lived and ruled after king Sātavāhana of the three earlier pieces, who according to them was the founder of the dynasty;⁵ (5) that the one Sātavāhana of the four Nevasa pieces, of the numbers noted above, was the son of Kanha and the father of Śātakarṇī I and the other Sātavāhana, of coin No. 2186, was the son of Śātakarṇī I;⁶ and (6) that all the three kings of the name Sātavāhana lived between the third and the first centuries B. C.⁷

These conclusions are so apparently absurd that they hardly need an argument to refute them. However, some remarks may be added to clear the misconceptions caused by the *Report*.

The palaeography of the three earlier coins is already discussed by Mirashi in this *Journal*⁸ and by this writer in this *Journal*⁹ and elsewhere.¹⁰ On its and other evidence I have already shown that these coins belong to king Sātavāhana, who was not the founder of the dynasty but the son of king Śātakarṇī I,¹¹ and he is the one mentioned as *Kumāra* Sātavāhana in one of the Nanaghat reliefs inscriptions.¹² He cannot be placed in the second century B. C., to

1. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1 ff; XI, pp. 5-6; XIV, pp. 26 ff; XVI, pp. 83 ff, 205 ff.

2. *Ibid.* XIII, pp. 35 ff; *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 210 ff, *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 77 ff.

Altekar was also of the view that this Sātavāhana was not the founder of the family. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3, fn.

3. *Nevasa*, p. 174.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 144.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-76.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 176; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 145.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 176; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 144.

8. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1 ff; XI, pp. 5-6; XIV, pp. 26 ff; XVI, pp. 83 ff, 205 ff.

9. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff; XII, pp. 96 ff.

10. *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 210 ff; XXVIII, pp. 71 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 55 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff, etc.

12. *ASWI*, V, pl. LI, No. 8.

say the least of the third century B. C. The characters of the Nevasa coins are similar to those of the three earlier coins of king Sātavāhana; the difference, if any, between the characters on any of them is insignificant; it is the difference of calligraphy, because the dies for all these coins had not been made by the same person. As shown below, all these coins were also not issued in the same region. Therefore, the characters of the Nevasa coins are also later than those of the coins of Śātakarṇī I. It may be pointed out here that all those coins which are assigned to Śātakarṇī I by some scholars are not his. Which of these belong to Śātakarṇī I and which to another of the name is not discussed here, since a classification of these coins is not the purpose of this note.

On no coin from Nevasa, *ṇa*, *sa*, *ta*, *va*, *ha* and *na* has a long vertical or *ta* fork-like.¹ Their verticals are sharper neither at the top-end nor at the bottom-end; on the other hand, they tend to roundness. The form of *ta* in fig. 76.1 and 74.3 and *sa* in fig. 74.1 and 75.1 in particular may be noted.² The little difference in the form of *ta* in fig. 74.1 and 75.1 from the one in fig. 76.1 and 74.3 is mainly due to the fact that these coins belong to different varieties, were issued separately and struck from different dies. What canons of palaeography would make these letters earlier in time than those of the coins of Śātakarṇī I or belong to the third or even to the second century B. C., I am not able to make out, if palaeography is of any value for purposes of chronological computation of ancient records.

The use of *ta* on the Nevasa coins in place of *da* on the earlier discoveries of this king is hardly an argument to distinguish king Sātavāhana of the former from king Sātavāhana of any of the latter,

1. This is particularly true of the assignment of these coins in Ramarao's list of Sātavāhana coins in this *Journal*, *NNM*, Series No 6, referred to earlier.

2. Perhaps, it is its form in figs. 74.1 and fig. 75.1 that Deo considers to be fork-like; but even here it is not so. So far as the form of it in fig. 75.2 is concerned, it is not precisely identifiable. Since the print of the coin is not clear.

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as the *Report* does.¹ It may be because of the linguistic peculiarities of the regions from which the coins come. Even though the *provenance* of two of the three coins published before the Nevasa pieces is not known, the third comes from Kondapur in Central Deccan. Nevasa is situated in Western Deccan.² We have also Sadavāhana in the Nasik cave inscription of Kanha (Kṛishṇa) in the legend *Sadavāhana kule-kanhe rājini*.³ Another similar example of inter-change of letters may be quoted from two relievo inscriptions at Nanaghat itself. In one occurs *rāyā* (in *rāyā Simuka Satavāhana*)⁴ in place of *raño* (in *oraño cha Satakanino*)⁵ of the other.

If the so-called Ujjain symbol indicates 'a distinct Central Indian influence', and therefore expansion of the Sātavāhana Empire over Central India, and if the coins with this symbol belong to that king Sātavāhana who is supposed to have been the founder of the dynasty, how would this symbol also indicate a 'later style' than the one of the Nevasa coins, which according to Deo belong to those two kings of the same name who were later than the one who was the founder of the dynasty, is not clear from the *Report*. And if the king Sātavāhana whose coins have the so-called Ujjain symbol was the founder of the dynasty and if he did not possess any Central Indian influence or dominion in the region, the Ujjain symbol does not lend to the interpretation that its occurrence on coins indicates a Central Indian influence. Further, if a king Sātavāhana possessed a Central Indian influence, he must have come to acquire it only after the Sātavāhana dominions had been in existence for some time and not from the time it had been founded. That this is what had happened is evidenced. The first Sātavāhana king to have possessed any influence in Central India was Śatakarṇi I. Therefore, that king Sātavāhana whose coins have the Ujjain symbol will have to be placed at a later date than that of the foundation of these dominions, as also that of Śatakarṇi I. If he is different from the former, he will be later in date than that a king Sātavāhana whose coins do

1. *Nevasa*, p. 174. See also *JNSI*, XXII, p. 144.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

3. *El*, VIII, p. 93, pl. VI. 22.

4. *ASWI*, V, p. 64, No. 3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 64, No. 4.

not have the Ujjain symbol, because according to Deo he did not possess any influence in Central India.

No coins of king Sātavāhana are so far reported from Central India. If the so-called Ujjain symbol indicates a Central Indian influence, it is strange that he should have issued the coins bearing this symbol only in the region that lay far south of them and not in Central India or Ujjain.

The meaning of the so-called Ujjain symbol has remained unexplained yet. As pointed out before,¹ it need not be connected with Ujjain or Central India. It is found on the coins of kings irrespective of the fact whether they had any connection with Ujjain or Central India. Therefore, if this symbol occurs on the coins of a king, it need not indicate any Central Indian influence for him; or that its absence, absence or loss of that influence. Hence, if the so-called Ujjain symbol is found on some coins of king Sātavāhana and is not found on some others, it need not urge the conclusion that king Sātavāhana on whose coins the symbol is found possessed influence in Central India and was different from that king Sātavāhana who wielded no such influence because his coins do not have this symbol.

Occurrence of the so-called Ujjain symbol on the coins of a king may indicate some sort of an imperial claim for him, even if at times that claim may appear only pretentious. But when it occurs on some coins of a king and does not occur on some others of his, it might indicate that the coins which do not have this symbol were issued by him in his home country and those that have it in the conquered regions, where alone he could justifiably claim an imperial status. In the light of the above considerations, the presence of this symbol on some coins of king Sātavāhana may suggest that by the time he came to the throne, the Sātavāhanas had grown in strength and dominion to have been entitled to an imperial dignity as they conceived of it. Inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas indicate that

1. *JNSI*, XVI, p. 62 C. Sivarammurti suggests that it 'represents the conquest of four quarters, upto the four oceans.' *Numismatic Parallels in Kālidāsa*, p. 10; see also *JNSI*, XVI, p. 60.

they founded their dominion in Western Deccan.¹ Therefore, Western Deccan was their home country. Nevasa was evidently included in their home country. Hence, the coins of king Śātavāhana, which do not have the Ujjain symbol, were issued for the home country and those that have it for the conquered regions. This finds ample support from the fact that of the three coins known before the Nevasa coins, one was obtained from excavation at Kondapur and the other purchased from a coin dealer in Warangal. The third, which was purchased in Aurangabad, is also likely to have been carried there from Central Deccan where² Kondapur and Warangal are situated.

The history and chronology of the Śātavāhanas is now not that obscure as to warrant vague and hypothetical conjectures and generalisation, absolutely unrelated to reason, like the ones hazarded in the *Report* and in this *Journal* on the coins of king Śātavāhana from Nevasa. The Purāṇas, the coins and the inscriptions have the outlines of the early Śātavāhana history reasonably firm and intelligible and but for the theory ingeniously propounded by Prof. (now Dr.) Mirashi and repeated by the authors of the Nevasa Report without a moment's thought as to its logical or evidential coherence, king Śātavāhana of the coins would have had no distinction of being the founder of the family. Similarly, but for the theory propounded by Deo two other kings of the name would also have had no existence.

The evidence discussed here and before³ excludes the possibility of a king Śātavāhana between Kanha (Kṛishṇa) and Śātakarṇī I. Kanha of the Nasik inscription⁴ may be identified with Kṛishṇa of

1. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad surmises that Central Deccan was the home country of the Śātavāhanas (cf. *Numismatic Series*, No. 2, p. 3, Hyderabad Museum) is based on the evidence of the coins of king Śātavāhana from Kondapur and the theory propounded by Mirashi that he was the founder of the dynasty. That this Śātavāhana was not the founder is certain, and the evidence does not support the surmise that Central Deccan was the home of the Śātavāhanas. I do not consider it necessary to discuss the original home of the Śātavāhanas.

2. This is also suggested by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad in his editorial note to *Numismatic Series*, No. 2, referred to above.

3. *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 210 ff; XXVIII, pp. 68 ff; *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff.

4. *EI*, VIII, p. 93.

the Purāṇas, even if the Nanaghat inscription or any other evidence does not support the purāṇic statement.¹ If the Nasik inscription does not give the name of Kanha's father or that of his son, the Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā speaks of Vedisiri and Satisiri as her two sons.² It has been pointed out before that Nāganikā was the wife of Simuka Śātavāhana of a Nanaghat relievo inscription, Satisiri the same as Śātakarṇī I, and Kumāra Śātavāhana of another Nanaghat relievo inscription son of Śātakarṇī I.³ It has also been shown that Kṛishṇa was a brother of Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, and an usurper.⁴ It is unnecessary to discuss the matter over again.

As is already stated above king Śātavāhana cannot be placed even in the second century B. C. This is for yet another reason, that no named coins of that early period are known. Whether the coin of Dharmapāla from Eran⁵ is assignable to those early times would require to be supported by some corroborative evidence. Palaeography is the only evidence so far brought to bear upon the dating of the Dharmapāla coin. In India named coins came in use from about the middle of the second century B. C., only after contacts with the Greeks. Therefore, first issues of named coins by no Indian king can be dated to the period before the Indo-Greeks issued coins with a bi-lingual legend, the earliest of which may belong to the third quarter of the second century B. C.⁶ Therefore, coins of Śātakarṇī I may be assigned to about the middle of second century B. C. and those of king Śātavāhana to a still later date. The earliest we know of the Śātavāhana inroads in the Ujjain region is about the time of Śātakarṇī I, son of Simuka and father of Kumāra Śātavāhana and this indicates that king Śātavāhana possessed a Central Indian influence; and this was after, and not before Śātakarṇī I.

1. *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 71 f.

3. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35 ff; XVI, pp. 77 ff; *IHQ*, XXVII, pp. 210 ff; XXVIII, pp. 71 ff.

4. *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 71 ff.

5. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, British Museum Catalogue, p. xci; Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 80.

6. Scholars do not agree as to the attribution and the date of the first Indo-Greek bilingual coins. If Tarn thinks that these coins were issued by

The only conclusion that may be drawn from the above discussion is that king Sātavāhana of the Nevasa coins is no other than king Sātavāhana of the three coins published before and that he is the same as *Kumāra* Sātavāhana of a Nanaghat relievo inscription.

I may take this opportunity to offer some comments on the Rejoinder of Prof. Mirashi¹ to my note on the subject in which he compares the form of *da* in the Sarnath pillar and the Jaugada Rock edicts of Aśoka, the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus and the Nanaghat inscription of queen Nāganikā with that of *da* on the coins of king Sātavāhana. I need hardly to say that between the above two edicts of Aśoka on the one side and the Heliodorus pillar and the Nanaghat inscription of Nāganikā on the other, the distance in time is about a century and a quarter. Whether *da* could have retained this form for another century is not considered by Mirashi. If we are to admit such canons of palaeography, I am afraid palaeography would be reduced to a highly elusive measure for dating coins and inscriptions and for chronological estimates. Mirashi is not correct when he says that I had proposed the date for king Sātavāhana on the basis of the form of *da* on the coins alone; when I did it, I had taken into consideration practically all the evidence available on the subject, I need not repeat the details of the evidence. If king Sātavāhana was the founder of the family, how is it that no relievo was set up at Nanaghat for him when one each was set up for every member of the family, the king, the queen and the princes. The founder of the family could not have been treated in that uncere- monious fashion as would Prof. Mirashi's arguments and those of others who follow him, would suppose. When Mirashi quotes Fleet

Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, for the father (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 138-39), Narain (*Indo-Greeks*, pp. 29-31) assigns them to Demetrius II, who was the son of Antimachus I according to him. I do not consider it necessary to discuss the controversy here. I may only add that I do not agree with either. If we accept that there were only two kings of the name Demetrius, the first bilingual coins of king Demetrius may then be assigned to Demetrius I, son of Euthydemus I, only. I discuss the details elsewhere.

1. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 205-06. I regret this long delay in my reply to Prof. Mirashi's Rejoinder. This was because I was busy in some other work.

on the value of palaeography for dating ancient records,¹ it supports my view rather than his. Unfortunately the plate by which Mirashi illustrates the form of *da* from the records quoted by him does not represent it correctly. I think, this should be enough.²

1. *JNSI*, XVI, p. 206.

2. Prof. Mirashi himself thinks that "eminent epigraphists, like Fleet, Kielhorn and Sukthankar, have erred by centuries, not by decades, in their estimate of the age of certain records on the evidence of palaeography." (*JNSI*, XIV, pp. 26 ff.). Should I know from Prof. Mirashi if he does not consider the possibility to have himself erred by at least a century or more while considering the palaeography of the legend on the coins of king Sātavāhana?

SOME ALLEGED COINS OF KING SĀTAVĀHANA

Nisar Ahmad

Rapson takes coin nos. 1 and 2 of *BMC* to be issued by Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāt reliefs inscription¹ and numbers 5, 6 and 7 to a king named Sātakarṇi.² For the latter coins, he further writes that on the basis of 'certain characteristic features' they appear to have belonged to East Malwa whose ancient name was Ākara and it was included in the 'Andhra dominions in the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who is called 'King of Ākara' and after him it was lost to Rudradāman and therefore this Sātakarṇi 'may be either Gautamīputra or some earlier king'.³ But Mirashi attributes coin nos. 1⁴ 2,⁵ 5 and 6⁶ and Trivedi coin no. 7⁷ of *BMC* to king Sātavāhana. Mirashi suggests that the coin nos.⁸ 5 and 6 having the device of the elephant with upraised trunk associated with triangle-headed standard and the incomplete legends were probably issued by King Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty.⁹ Likewise the coin nos. 1 and 2¹⁰ which have the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* and the elephant device 'may also have been issued by him, but in the absence of definite knowledge about a king named Sātavāhana, it was supposed to have been struck by Sātakarṇi. On the ground of fabric type and palaeo-

1. *BMC, AWK*, pp. XCII-XCIII. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. XCIV-XCVI.
4. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3.
5. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 19, fn. 2.
6. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3.
7. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 253-4.
8. All coin nos. refer to *BMC, AWK*, coins.
9. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3.
10. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 19 fn. 2.

graphy these coins¹ of king Sāta can be shown to be much earlier than others catalogued by Rapson.² For coin no. 7, Trivedi writes that the symbols, metal and shape are the same as the coin of Kaus collection; the tree-in-railing and other symbols of coin no. 7 may be taken as additional features. Therefore he holds that 'this coin too may have borne out the name of Sātavāhana in the legend, which has disappeared leaving traces, the coin being worn'.³

To determine the typological similarities of the coins under discussion with those of king Sātavāhana it will be better to cite the symbolological features of the coins bearing the legends *Raño Siri Sādavāhaṇasa* or *Raño Siri Sātavāhaṇasa* which are of two types, Elephant and Bull.

ELEPHANT TYPE

Salient Features

Obv. Elephant standing r. with upraised trunk⁴ or elephant walking with upraised trunk⁵ or elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.⁶

Rev. Ujjain symbol⁷ or tree in railing.⁸

Associated Symbols

Obv. Elephant alone⁹ or (i) in front of the elephant a peculiar symbol consisting of two flattened circles on a vertical line¹⁰ or on its back a group of four empty circles, the extreme

1. At the place where this statement of Mirashi occurs, he speaks about coin no. 1 of Sātasa (*JNSI*, VII, p. 3) but the words, 'these coins of king Sātasa' suggests that he intends both nos. 1 and 2. It is also attested by his statement written elsewhere, 'The round lead and potin coins (Nos. 1 and 2 in Rapson's catalogue) with the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* were probably struck by Sātavāhana the founder of the family and not by Sātakarṇi as supposed by Rapson (*JNSI*, VIII, p. 19 fn. 2).
2. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3.
3. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 253.
4. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1-4; *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.
5. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139.
6. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 5-6.
7. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1-4; XI, pp. 5-6 and *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.
8. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 140.
9. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 5-6.
10. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1-4; *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42, here too 'the peculiar symbol before the elephant is just visible' and, as Altekar rightly observes, 'the coin of Joglekar collection is of the same type as Mr. Kaus collection', *JNSI*, VII, p. 103.

right circle capped by a crescent¹ and (ii) above² or in front of elephant a triangle-headed standard with a cross-bar.³

Rev. (i) Two circles on a vertical line opposite the upper two corners (ii) svastika and (iii) surmounting Ujjain symbol nandipada⁴ or (i) surmounting Ujjain symbol crescent and (ii) pellets between orbs⁵—these symbols occur on the coins of Ujjain symbol variety.

BULL TYPE

Salient Features

Obv. Bull facing⁶ or walking r.⁷

Rev. Solid-branched tree-in-railing.⁸

Associated Symbols

Obv. Above bull three arched hill.

Rev. (i) To the right of tree triangle-headed standard (ii) to its top left an empty circle (iii) below the tree probably fishes and wavy line indicating a river⁹ or (i) over the tree a triratna (ii) to left of the tree 'a Nāga or Nandipada' symbol and (iii) below the tree three fishes in a river.¹⁰

Here the coins under discussion are described to make symbolological comparison with those of Sātavāhana.

Coin No. 1¹¹

Obv. Elephant standing r.; below three fishes in river.
Legend Raño Siri Sātasa.

Rev. Blurred.

Coin No. 2¹²

Obv. Elephant standing r.; above, tree within railing; in front, three arched hill; below, symbol of river with fishes.

1. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139.

2. *JNSI*, VII pp. 1-4; *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.

3. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139.

4. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1-4; *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.

5. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 5-6.

6. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139, no. 2.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9, nos. 1 and 3.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, no. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 2.

11. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 1.

12. *Ibid.*

Rev. Man standing facing; l., Ujjain symbol; legend as on coin no. 1.

Coin Nos. 5 and 6¹

Obv. Elephant, with trunk upraised, walking l.; in front, svastika and triangle-headed standard; double square line-border including fishes and svastika symbols arranged alternately.

Rev. Tree within railing; r., Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent; in lower corner l., nandipada (out of flan on no. 6); in upper corner r., rayed sun symbol (out of flan on no. 5); double square line border.

Coin No. 7²

Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised, walking r.

Rev. l. Ujjain symbol; r., tree within railing; square border of dots.

Thus we see that the coin nos. 1 and 2 which belong to the elephant type have river with fishes at the bottom of the obverse and the coin nos. 5 and 6, which also have elephant as the salient obverse device, also bear fishes and svastika arranged alternately within double square line border, probably representing the form of the river. The symbol of river with fishes is not marked on the coins of the elephant type of king Sātavāhana but on the specimens of the Bull type and that too on the reverse. It would not be out of place to say that this symbol also occurs on the certain issues of Sātakarṇi I.³ On the coin no. 2 we observe on the obverse two main symbols, elephant and tree-in-railing but these symbols do not occur together on the coins of Sātavāhana. Again, it has human device on its reverse which is not represented on any coin of king Sātavāhana. On coins nos. 5, 6 and 7 we get two main symbols, tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol whereas these two symbols are not found together on the coins of king Sātavāhana; in fact they occur together on the coins of a king named Sātakarṇi.⁴ Again the leaves of the tree on the coins of Sātavāhana are solid whereas on the present coins they are shown in the outlines. Further, on coin no. 8 of *BMC*,⁵ that is ascribed to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *JNSI*, XIII, (1), pp. 35-36.

4. *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa*, p. 178.

5. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 4.

Sātakarṇi II¹, we observe 'double square-line border including fishes' which recall 'the double line border including fishes and svastika' of coin nos. 5 and 6.

Mirashi suggests that coin nos. 1 and 2 are 'palaeographically earlier' and therefore he does not subscribe to the view of Rapson that it belonged to king Sātakarṇi of Nānāghaṭ relieve inscription. In the opinion of Mirashi Sātavāhana was the predecessor of Simuka² and the latter was succeeded by Krishṇa.³ According to the Purāṇas these two kings, Simuka and Krishṇa ruled for 41 years.⁴ Did the letters of the Brāhmī script evolve their distinct features within four decades even when the Sātavāhana coinage and the use of the script both among the local rulers of the Deccan were in initial stages? Mirashi himself compares the characters of the coins of king Sātavāhana with the Nānāghaṭ inscription of Nāganikā and says that they 'belong to about the same age'⁵ and takes the queen Nāganika as the wife of Sātakarṇi I.⁶ Hence the palaeographical basis for the attribution of these coins shatters. Further, if Sātā is taken as the abbreviation of the name of king Sātavāhana, it may well be presumed as the short form of Sātakarṇi's name. For the coin nos. 5 and 6, Mirashi writes, 'The legends on these coins have been almost completely lost. The two letters *nasa* which can be seen on coin no. 5 show that the legend must have been Sātavāhana rather than Sātakaṇisa.'⁷ On the square or rectangular coins of king Sātavāhana the legend are inscribed horizontally or diagonally whereas on the coin nos. 5 and 6 though they are of square shape the legend is written almost rectangularly. Further, on the coin no. 5 Rapson reads *ṇisa*. The trace of the stroke of medial *i* can be marked on the top of the vertical line of the letter *ṇa*.⁸ The presence of medial *i* on these coins precludes the possibility of its being issued by king Sātavāhana. The coin no. 6 has the letter *sa* and preceding

1. Rao, M. R., *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, p. 6.
2. *JNSI*, XI, p. 4.
3. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 119.
4. *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 38-39.
5. *JNSI*, XI, p. 6.
6. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 18.
7. *JNSI*, VII, p. 3, fn. 3.
8. *BMC, AWK*, pl. I, 5.

it is a horizontal line¹ which certainly represents the lower part of the letter *ṇa*. As this coin typologically and on the pattern of lettering is identical with the coin no. 5 it may be suggested that it has also the stroke of medial *i* on the top of the letter *ṇa*. On coin no. 7 the inscription is not read but Rapson presumes it as *Raño Sātakaṇisa* or *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*.² Trivedi reads the legend *tavanaha* or *davanaha*. He observes that 'the letter on the top corner may have been *ta* or *da*, which is followed by a faint but complete *va*; and the letter between *va* and *na* appears to be *ha*.'³ The coin is worn and therefore it is difficult to endorse the view of Trivedi.

The coin nos. 1 and 2 are round in shape. They measure 1.15 and .8 inches and 101 and 86 grains, respectively. The shape round was adopted in the Sātavāhana coinage till the end. Again the coins of these sizes⁴ were issued by the later Sātavāhana kings. Hence these coins on the ground of fabric can also not be considered to be the earliest. To ascertain the fabric resemblance of these coins with those of king Sātavāhana, we have also to consider the metals, shapes, measurements and weights of the coins of king Sātavāhana which are as follows.

S. No.	References & Find spots	Metal	Shape	Size	Weight
1	[Kaus collection] ⁵ Warangal	Copper	Sq.	.8"	110 grains
2	Nevasa, 2186 ⁶	"	Rect.	.7" × .62"	61 "
3	[Joglekar ⁷ collection] Aurangabad	Potin	"	.8" × .6"	78 "
4	Nevasa, 1981 ⁸	Lead	R	1.03"	168 "
5	" 1175 ⁹	"	"	.95"	206 "
6	" 6490 ¹⁰	"	"	.95"	182 "
7	" 3640 ¹¹	"	"	.88"	179 "
8	Kondapur ¹²	"	Oval	1" × .75"	98.9 or 98.13,,

1. *Ibid*, no. 6.
2. *Ibid*, p. 3 fn. 2.
3. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 254 fn. 1.
4. *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 58 nos. 300 and 302.
5. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1-4.
6. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139.
7. *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141-42.
8. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 138.
9. *Ibid*, p. 139.
10. *Ibid*, p. 140.
11. *Ibid*, p. 139.
12. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 5-6.
13. *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, pp. 31-32.

The above chart shows that the round coins of king Sātavāhana are thicker in fabric than the coin nos. 1 and 2.

The coin no. 7 is of copper and square in shape but it differs from the coin of Kaus collection in size and weight as it measures .65 inch and weighs 63 grains. Of course we have a coin of king Sātavāhana of about this weight, i. e. 61 grains, but the coin no. 7 in shape differs from it. Again a coin of the same metal, shape, size and weight, 51.9 grains¹ probably represents the same weight standard, also occurs in the coinage of Sātakarṇi.

The coin Nos. 5 and 6 are of potin and square in shape but the potin coin of king Sātavāhana is rectangular. Further the coins nos. 5 and 6 measure 1.0 and .95 inches and weigh 181 and 140.8 grains respectively and hence they differ in size and weight from the known square coins of this king.

Thus it appears that the coin nos. 5 and 6 bearing the fragmentary legend—*ṇisa* were struck by a king named Sātakarṇi. Coin nos. 1 and 2, bearing the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*, and nos. 5, 6 and 7 are typologically dissimilar from the definitely known coins of king Sātavāhana. Hence these coins may not be attributed to king Sātavāhana but to one of the early Sātakarṇis.

NUMISMATIC NOTES

V. V. Mirashi

[PL. I]

During the last thirty years D. C. Sircar has been indulging in rancorous attacks on my readings and interpretations of inscriptions and coins in and out of season. Many of my friends have inquired of me the cause of it. I told them that I do not know any. So far as I know, I have not given him any offence. Perhaps it is a case of *svabhāvo dur-atikramah*. In self defence I have answered his criticism point by point, but still he repeats it again and again. In his recently published *Studies in Indian Coins* (p. 42) he says, "Another weakness of our students is that they show scant regard for truth and are inclined to stick to their suggestions, based on insufficient study or data, even after they are shown to be totally wrong." This is perfectly true, but it applies more to Sircar himself than to others as I shall show presently.

As Sircar is determined to criticise almost every view of mine, be it right or wrong, he sometimes makes himself ridiculous. Several years ago I showed from new readings and interpretations of some passages of a grant found in a village near Kolhapur and first published by M. H. Krishna that an early Rāṣṭrakūṭa family founded by Mānāṅka was ruling over the Southern Maratha Country, contemporaneously with the Vākāṭkas, who held Vidarbha. I showed that in the first line of the record Mānāṅka is described as *Vidarbh-Āsmaka-vijeta śrīmat-Kuntalanām praśāsita*. I interpreted this to mean that Mānāṅka had conquered Vidarbha and Āsmaka and was the ruler of Kuntala (modern Southern Maratha Country).¹ As Sircar was determined to lose no opportunity to differ from me and criticise my views, he took the statement to mean that Mānāṅka had defeated both the branches of the Vākāṭaka family — one ruling from Nandivardhana (Vidarbha) and the other from Vatsagulma (Āsmaka).² I had then to point out that the country under the rule of the Vatsagulma branch was also included in Vidarbha.³ Further, he interpreted *Kuntalanām praśāsita* in that grant as meaning that Mānāṅka was 'the chastiser of the Kuntalas'.⁴ This was a strange

1. A copper coin bearing the legend *Siri Sātakaṇisa* is square in shape and measures .6 inch, *JNSI*, IV (1), p. 25, pl. II. 4.

1. *ABORI*, XXV (1944), pp. 36 f.
2. *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* (1946), p. 81, n. 1; *HCPI*, III (1954), p. 200.
3. *IHQ*, XX, pp. 369 f.
4. See above note 2.

interpretation. I showed that it was totally wrong for the following reasons : Firstly, though the root *śas* in Sanskrit means both (i) to punish and (ii) to rule, it is used in the latter sense when the object is some territory, and the former sense when it is a living being. I cited several passages to support my view.¹ Secondly, Kuntala did not, in ancient times, comprise only the modern Kanarese-speaking territory but also the upper *Kṛishṇā* valley, which included the dominion of *Mānāṅka*. In support of this I cited an inscriptional passage.² Thirdly, the *Daśakumāracharita*, in its eighth *uchchhvāsa*, says that the ruler of Kuntala was a feudatory of the contemporary king of Vidarbha, while it refers to the ruler of the southern Kanarese country as *Vānavāsya* (the ruler of *Vanavāsī*, modern *Banavāsī* in the North Kanara District).³ Fourthly, *Hāla*, the author of the *Sattasai* in *Māhārashṭrī* Prakrit, ruling from *Pratishṭhāna* (modern *Paiṭhān* in the Aurangabad District), is called 'the lord of Kuntala'.⁴ Fifthly, the *Udayasundarikathā* of *Soḍḍhala*, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A. D., explicitly states that *Pratishṭhāna* on the *Godāvarī* was the capital of the Kuntala country.⁵ There is thus overwhelming evidence supporting the view that the Southern Maratha Country, over which *Mānāṅka* was ruling, was known in ancient times as Kuntala. If the expression *Kuntalānām praśāsītā* is interpreted as 'the chastiser of the Kuntalas', it would be describing *Mānāṅka* as chastising his own people ! No king in his senses would ever think of doing so. The expression must, therefore, be understood to mean 'the ruler of the Kuntala country.' This was pointed out to Sircar long ago. Still, he persists in interpreting the

5. (A) For *śas* to govern, see—

(i) सत्युत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रशशास धर्मेण मेदिनीम् । *CII*, V, p. 108.

(ii) कुमारगृप्ते पृथिवी प्रशसति । *Ibid.*, III, p. 82

(B) For *śas* to chastise, see—

राजः प्रवरसेनस्य शासनं रिपुशासन् । *Ibid.*, V, p. 8

6. विख्यातकृष्णवर्णौ तैलस्नेहोपलब्धसरलत्वे ।

कुन्तलविषये नितरां विराजते मल्लिकामोदः ॥ *EI*, XIII, p. 153

7. *Daśakumāracharita* (BSI, p. 138.

हाल इति शातवाहनस्य कुन्तलाधिपस्य नाम ।

8. See *Bhuvanapāla's* comment on the *Sattasai*, V. 1.

9. कुन्तलेषु तटे गोदावरीति महासरितः प्रतिष्ठानं नाम नगरम् । p. 21; प्रतिष्ठान-
नगरी परमेश्वरः कुन्तलानामधीश्वरो राजा शातवाहनो भवाम् । p. 89.

expression as 'the chastiser of the Kuntalas'.¹ Ordinarily, no person who has good knowledge of Sanskrit would ever think of taking the expression as Sircar has done.

Sircar holds me to ridicule because some of my readings of coin-legends are wrong. I shall show in the sequel that his criticism is ill founded in many cases; but even supposing that all my readings of coin-legends are completely erroneous, it would only show that others who had better means of reading and interpreting them have improved on my attempts.² The reading and interpretation of coin-legends are not easy tasks. What Sircar says about the reading of inscriptions is even more true in the case of that of coin-legends. "The correct reading of a word in a damaged passage of an inscription", says he "may baffle the decipherer for fifty times and occur to him in his fifty-first attempt or not at all. Sometimes a damaged passage cannot be deciphered without the help of a similar passage elsewhere." This is even more true in the case of coin-legends, because each coin does not contain its legend completely or even distinctly. One has, therefore, to revise his readings when better material becomes available. In this connection I would invite attention to the following remarks of Kielhorn : "The task of the critic is much easier than that of the editor. The editor, unless he be ready to delay the publication of his work *ad infinitum*, must, within a limited time, make up his mind on whatever difficulties he may meet with; while the critic may concentrate his attention on certain select passages, and trust to continued study and accident for clearing away the difficulties offered by them."³ When Kielhorn pointed out some mistakes in the readings and interpretation in *CII*, III, at Fleet's request, he did not indulge in any carping criticism. Sircar would do well to bear in mind these noble words of Kielhorn when he is tempted to ridicule others for their mistakes.

And who does not commit mistakes ? The history of Indian epigraphic research will show that several great scholars such as *Cunnigham*, *Buhler*, *Fleet*, *Rapson*, *Hoernle*, *R. G.* and *D. R.*

1. See the references cited in n. 2 above.

2. I have accepted the correction in respect of the interpretation of a coin-legend in *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 122. Still, Sircar harps on it in his *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 140 f.

3. *IA* XX, p. 188.

Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerjee and K. P. Jaiswal, committed mistakes which they themselves or others corrected later. There has been no greater epigraphist than Kielhorn, but even he sometimes committed mistakes either because of bad or insufficient material or want of sufficient time. I have myself pointed out some of his mistakes in *CII*, IV¹ or in *JNSI*.² But I cannot even dream of claiming better knowledge than he or any of the other scholars whose mistakes I may have corrected. I am a humble worker in the field. In pointing what I consider inaccuracies in the writings of others I have always observed proper decorum. In this connection I may be permitted to reproduce here what R. C. Majumdar wrote to me when I sent him an article pointing out a different interpretation of the description of Prabhāvatiguptā, viz. *sāgra-parsha-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā*. He wrote to me on 10-1-1945, "I fully appreciate your criticism of my paper on on Vākāṭaka chronology. I am glad to find in you one who can offer strong criticism without any shade of rancour or bitterness, and, I presume, can also accept criticism in the same spirit. Unhappily, my experience does not show that there is a large number of such free and friendly critics, and I, therefore, welcome your letter all the more."³ It requires a large heart to appreciate merit in the writings of others.

Has Sircar himself committed no mistakes? Let us see. In his *Select Inscriptions* (first ed., p. 193; second ed., p. 200) he gives the following note on the expression *Jīva-sutāya rāja-mātṛya vachanena* in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī — Regnal Year 24 — "The word *Jīva-sutā* suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured against his death. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, but the queen-mother, who might have been in power for some time, had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gautamīputra." The ridiculous nature of this note will be evident to those who know that *jīva-sutā* (having a living son) was regarded as a sign of good fortune in the case of women and the expression is used generally in the description of women in the *Rigveda*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and

1. *CII*, V, Introd. pl. x; pp. 410, notes 1 and 2.

2. *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 238. f.

3. Scholars may contrast the tone in Sircar's criticism of my readings and interpretations in *EI*, XXXV, 69 f. with that in my rejoinder in the same journal, XXXVII, pp. 45 f.

other works of Sanskrit literature.¹ It also occurs in the aforesaid description of Prabhāvatiguptā, though in a somewhat altered form.

But, it may be said, this mistake occurs in the interpretation of an inscriptional passage and not in the decipherment of a coin-legend in which Sircar's authority is unquestioned. Let me, therefore, take an example from his latest work *Studies in Indian Coins*. In Plate XV of this book he has illustrated a coin (No. 18), which he describes as follows in 'the Key to Plates' (p. 382) —

"XV/18. Early Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja. Silver (20-Rati Rūpaka)

—31 grains=2 grammes.

Obverse : head of king to right.

Reverse : humped bull, couching, to right; legend around —

*Parama-Maheśvara-Mahadevyoḥ pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-
Kṛishṇarājaḥ* "the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja meditating
on the feet of the Supreme Maheśvara and Mahādevī
(Śiva and Durgā).

Cf. Rapson, *JC*. IV. 17."

This coin has a long history, which N. L. Rao has given in *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 107 f. I have also given it in *CII*, IV, pp. clxxx f. This type was first noticed by Bhau Daji, who read the legend on it as Rāja Parama-Maheśvara Mānasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyāna Śrīkasa (?). He referred it to a king of the 4th cent A. D. Later, Cunningham read the legend as *Parama Maheśvara Mahāditya-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī Kṛishṇarāja* (*ASR*, IX, p. 30). Fleet first gave the correct reading in (*IA*, XIV, p. 68) as *Parama-Maheśvara-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. I have given the same reading in *CII*, IV, Introd. p. clxxx, and Pl. A, No. 3. N. L. Rao has given an enlarged photograph of the coin in *JNSI*. XVI, parts i-ii, Pl. V, No. 1. That coin is

1. Cf. (1) वयं जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागसः ।

Rgveda X, 36, 9. This is said of men.

(2) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भावं नित्यमविग्रहे ।

क्रोधातो न च गृहीते वचनं मे सुयोधनः ॥

Mahābhārata, V, 144. 2

(3) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्रं रक्षयचाङ्गदम् ।

अन्तको रामरूपेण हृत्या नयति वालिनम् ॥

Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 19.11

well preserved and all the letters of the legend are perfectly clear in the plate. Sircar knows of this article of N. L. Rao as he has referred to it in f n. 1 on p. 239 of his *Studies in Indian Coins*.¹ Still, he has chosen to follow Rapson in the wrong reading given by him. Rapson had doubts about the correctness of his reading; for he has prefixed '(apparently)' to his reading, but Sircar has none. He translates *Parama-Maheśvara-Mahādevyoh pād-ānudyāta* as 'meditating on the feet of the Supreme Maheśvara and Mahādevī (Śiva and Durgā)'.¹

Anybody can convince himself from the enlarged photograph published by N. L. Rao about the correctness of the legend first given by Fleet. Apart from it, even a tyro in the interpretation of epigraphic records knows that *parama Māheśvara*, which occurs frequently in epigraphs in the description of Śaiva kings, means 'a devout worshipper of Maheśvara' and not 'Supreme Maheśvara'. Again, Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja is described in the records of his successors as 'devoted to Paśupati only and not as 'meditating on the feet of the Supreme Maheśvara and the great goddess (Durgā)'. This should convince any unbiassed student that Rapson's reading adopted by Sircar is quite wrong. There may have been some excuse for adopting the reading before Fleet published his version and N. L. Rao published an enlarged photograph of the coin. Now there is none.

If Sircar's reading and interpretation of this coin are proved to be incorrect, I should consider myself to be in good company.

Sircar takes great pleasure in holding me to derision for my readings and interpretations of the Mahisha coins. He made the first attack on me in his Presidential address to the Numismatic Society of India in 1955.² I did not attend that meeting, but some members who did so told me later that his criticism of my views was in bad taste. I answered it point by point in *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 116 f. Sircar again attacked my view in *EI*, XXXV, pp. 1 f. That Journal is generally devoted to the publication of

1. Sircar seems to have become wiser after he wrote the article on Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja in *HCIP*. III; for he says on p. 195, "The greatness of the family was established by Kṛishṇarāja, whose silver coins bearing the legend *paramamāheśvara-Kṛishṇarāja*...were discovered not only in the Nasik District etc." Here he has taken the legend to be *paramamāheśvara*.
2. *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 1 f.

inscriptions, but Sircar did me special honour by discussing in it the coins attributed by me to the Mahisha kings. In that article also he has repeated his previous objections to my readings and interpretations without caring to notice my answers to them in my afore-mentioned article in *JNSI*. I refuted his criticism again in a subsequent part of the *EI*, XXVII, pp. 45-49. In his recently published book *Studies in Indian Coins* he has again repeated his criticism of my views almost *verbatim* from *JNSI* and *EI*, without caring to examine my refutation of his criticism in the two journals. In my afore-mentioned article in *EI*, XXXVII, pp. 45 f. I have shown how his own readings and interpretations of some crucial coins of the family were incorrect and unsatisfactory. His repetition of the same old objections without caring to examine the evidence against them throws lurid light on his professed search for truth. Like the schoolmaster in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, 'though vanquished, he could argue still'. As readers of his book are likely to carry a wrong idea about the coins in question, I propose to answer again, though briefly, his objections to my readings and interpretations of their legends and also to examine critically those offered by him.

I give below Sircar's objections and my answers to them.

Objection I—We know that the names of the Śaka rulers of ancient India did not usually begin with the tribal designation *Śaka*, while there are names like Śakasena and Śakasāta or Śaka-sātakarni among people who were not Śakas. It is impossible to be confident without further evidence that a Śaka is referred to.

Answer—There are instances of the tribal designation *Śaka* being prefixed to the names of Śaka kings. See e.g. *Śaka-Nanda-putreṇa Mahadāṇḍanayakena Śaka-Śrīdharaśvarmaṇā* in the Kanakhera inscription.¹ As for the further evidence required, see the symbols of thunderbolt and arrow on the coins of Śaka Māna. Rapson calls them 'the distinctive badge of the Kshaharātas' who were Śakas. These symbols do not occur on the coins of Śaka Sātakarṇi or any other non-Śaka ruler.

Objection II—It is equally impossible to be definite that the Purāṇic Śakyamāna (which has other variants) really refers to I. *CII*. IV, p. 15 and p. 609.

a Śaka named Māna in view of the fact that the tribal name Śaka, quite well known to Purāṇic Chroniclers, would not, in that case, have possibly been modified in the context.

Answer—Unlike the sacred Vedas, the Purāṇas have not been preserved in their original form. They contain gross mistakes in regard to personal names. If Sircar wants an instance of the tribal name Śaka being corrupted into Śakya, he will find it in the variants given by Pargiter. Instead of the reading Śak-āshṭādaś-aiva tu adopted by Pargiter, some manuscripts of the *Matsyapurāṇa* read Śakyaś-ch-āshṭādaś-aive tu.¹

objection III—On some coins attributed to the same ruler, the legend was originally supposed to read *Mahāsenāpatisa radaji-putasa Sagamāna-chuṭukulasa*, in which *radaji-putasa* was later corrected to *bharadaja-putasa*, although the intended reading of the expression is no doubt *bharadaji-putasa* i.e. *Bhāradvāja-putrasya*. It may be pointed out that the matronymic *Bhāradvāja-putra* born of a lady belonging to the *Bhāradvāja gotra* does not appear to suit a Śaka king very well.

Answer—The reading *radaji-putasa* was given first from a coin with a fragment legend. Since then we have a wellpreserved coin of Śaka Māna with the complete legend and the medial vowels in it clearly marked. There is no sign of medial *i* on *ja* in this legend. So the reading is *Bhāradvāja-putrasya*. We have several instances of patronymics used in the inscriptions and coins of the Śakas. See e.g. the Kanakhera inscription mentioned above. Besides, even granting that the intended reading is *Bhāradvāja-putrasya*, why should the matronymic be unsuitable in the case of a Śaka king when we find a similar one viz. *Mādhari-putra* used in the case of an Ābhīra king?² We know that many Śakas adopted Indian names in that age.

Objection IV—The author's interpretation of *chuṭukulasa* (found to be *chuṭukasa* on some specimens) of *sagamāna-chuṭukulasa* as 'of Śaka Māna who is of the Chuṭu family' is obviously unwarranted. It is also difficult to believe that one and the same person described himself on some of his coins as a scion of the Mahisha dynasty and on others as that of the Chuṭu family.

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (DKA), p. 45, n. 12

2. *CII*, IV, p. 3.

Answer—There is nothing strange in this. Māna called himself Mahisha because he ruled over the Māhishaka country. Notwithstanding this, he may have belonged to the Chuṭu family. Do we not know that the Vākātakas, who belonged to the Vishṇu-vṛiddha *gotra* and the Chālukyas, who were of the Mānavya *gotra*, both styled themselves as Hārīti-putras in their grants?

Objection V—Although the existence of a Chuṭu family of Sātakarnis ruling from Banavāsī in the North Kanara District was accepted by scholars, it was not a Śaka dynasty.

Answer—The epithet *Chuṭukula* may have been assumed by the prince of the Banavāsī inscription in imitation of that adopted by a well-known ruler of the neighbouring country. We have several instances in ancient history of such senseless imitations. See e.g. the epithet *Hārīti-putra* adopted by several southern royal families, though all of them were not descendants or disciples of the sage Hārīti.

I had asked Sircar to give his own readings and interpretations of the legends of these coins. He has given them in his article in *EI*, XXXV, pp. 69 f. and repeated them in his *Studies in Indian Coins* (pp. 126 f.), without meeting the objections raised by me against them in my rejoinder in a subsequent part of *EI*, (VII, pp. 45 f.). I shall state below his readings and interpretations and examine them critically.

Though several coins of Māna and other kings of the Mahisha family have been published in *JNSI*, we need to examine only three crucial coins here. Their photographs or ink impressions are given in Plate I, nos. 1-3 for ready reference. The first two of them are smaller and rectangular in shape, though the incuse on them show that their die was circular. The legends on these coins are complementary to each other. They have the figure of an elephant with uplifted trunk to right as on several coins of the Sātavāhanas, with a *svastika* in the field on the back of the elephant. As the blank of these coins was smaller than the die, some of the *aksharas* have not come out at the lower left and the upper right corner. The legend of No. 1 reads *gamānamahasa* and that of No. 2 *Raño Sagamānama*. The two fragments of the legend show that the complete legend must have been *Raño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*. The last *akshara* is supplied here so that

the expression would be in the genitive corresponding to *raño*. The letters are bold and the coins show that the legend could not have had any more *aksharas*.

Sircar reads the legend on the two coins mostly as I do, but he takes the first two *aksharas* of the legend of No. 2 as a hill symbol. Again, he takes *mahasa* at the end as part of *Mahāsenāpati*. Both these suppositions are unwarranted. If there had been a hill symbol in the beginning of the legend, it would have been very unusual. We have hundreds of coins of the Sātavāhanas with the device of the elephant with uplifted trunk, but nowhere does any symbol occur below the tail of the elephant. Such a symbol may occur in the field over the back of the elephant. See the svastika on the back of the elephant. Again, if *mahasa* had been part of *Mahāsenāpati*, the legend must have had *Chutukulasa* also after it as on Coin No 3 illustrated below; for *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa* (which Sircar takes to mean 'of the Mahāsenāpati of the Sagamas') would not contain the name of any issuer of the coin. We must, therefore, suppose that the legend was *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa Chutukulasa* on these small coins also. It will, however, be noticed that the letters on these coins are very bold, while the size of the coins is small. *So such a large legend is not likely in the case of these coins. The legend begins in the lower left corner and must have ended in the upper right corner as on several elephant-type coins of the Sātavāhanas.* What Sircar takes to be a hill symbol is really the word *raño*. Any unbiassed scholar can convince himself from the photograph of coin No. 2. The *aksharas raño* are quite clear. So the legend of these coins is *Raño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa* meaning that 'this coin is of the king Śaka Māna Mahisha.' For the interpretation of this legend the following line of the Purāṇas renders great help :

*Śakyamān-ābhavad-rāja mahishīṇām mahīpatiḥ.*¹

This line as it stands yields no satisfactory meaning. Parigiter translates it as follows :—'Śakyamāna was king of the mahishīs.'² This makes no sense. We must, therefore, suppose that the correct original reading of the line was—

Śaka-Māno-bhavad rāja Mahishāṇām mahīpatiḥ

Thus emended, the line yields a satisfactory sense. It would mean that 'there flourished the Śaka king Māna, the Lord of the Mahisha country'. This Mahisha is undoubtedly the Māhishaka country mentioned in the epics and the Purāṇas as situated

1. *LKA.* p. 51.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

in the neighbourhood of Vidarbha, Rishika, Kalinga and Āndhra.¹ It is noteworthy that some of the coins of this king were found in the excavations at Kondapur in the Central Deccan.

Sircar has no satisfactory explanation to offer about this hemistich in the Purāṇas.

I have shown above that the legend on Coin No. 1 had at most only one *akshara* more at the end, which has not come out on the face of that coin viz. *sa*. Fortunately, we have a coin the legend of which supports this conjecture. In *JNSI*, XI, pp. 1 f. I have published a coin found in the excavation at Kondapur. Its legend is *ṇa-Mahasasa*. There are traces of an *akshara* like *ma* in the beginning. So the legend is probably *Māna-Mahasasa*. This *Māna* is probably the same as *Māna* of the two coins discussed here, notwithstanding a slight difference in their names. The legend of this coin shows that Coin No. 1 also had a similar legend viz. *Raño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*.

We shall now take Coin No. 3. It has a clear and complete legend which I read as follows : *Mahāsenāpatisa Bhāradāja-putasa Saga-Māna-Chutikulasa*. The legend means 'This coin is of the Mahāsenāpati Śaka Māna, son of Bhāradvāja, of the Chutu family.' Sircar's reading is mostly the same as mine, but he reads *Bharadaji-putasa* in place of *Bharadvāja-putasa*. This coin, which has all medial vowels clearly shown, has no sign for medial *i* on the letter *ja*. As I have shown, there are several patronymics inscriptions and coins of the Śakas. So we need not suppose that the intended reading was *Bhāradvāji-putasya*.

Sircar, again, interprets the legend differently. He takes it to mean '(This coin is) of the *Mahāsenāpati* Chutukula of the Sagamas (i. e. of the Sagama family)'. This interpretation is open to the following objections—Firstly, no such family as Sagama is known to history. Sircar blames me for 'creating' the families of the Mahishas and the Sebakas. If one talks in this manner, all researches in ancient Indian history are 'creations' for we had no history worth the name before. The Mahisha and Sebaka families are no 'creations'; for their coins have clearly shown that they ruled in ancient times. But the so-called Sagama family is in fact a creation of Sircar; for we have no proof of its existence in the past. Sircar interprets *Sagamāna Chutukulasa* on the analogy of Pallavāṇa Sivakhandavāmo in the Hirahadgalli plates of Śivaskandavarman. This interpretation is, however, open to the following objections : (i) The latter expression occurs in a copper-plate grant where there is no dearth of space. No such partitive genitive is known to occur on a coin. (ii) the family name generally occurs after the personal name. Cf. *Raño Siri-Yaṇa Satakaṇisa*; (Pa) *kāsasiva* Sebakas etc. If Sagama had been the family name and Chutukula the personal name of the king who issued these coins the legend on his coins

1. See the passages cited in my article in *JNSI*, XI, p. 4.

would have been *Chutukula-Sagamasā*. Secondly *Chutukula* is not a personal name but a family name since it is added to such personal names as *Vinḥukada*. See the Malavali inscription of *Haritiputra Vinḥukada Chutu-Sātakarṇi*. Rapson also says that *Chutu* like *Satavahana*, is the name of 'a clan'.¹ Sircar's attempt to prove that *Chutukula* was a personal name is futile.

These coins were, therefore, issued by the Śaka king *Māna*, son of *Bhāradvāja*, of the *Chutu* family. He was previously a feudatory of the *Sātavāhanas* and so he uses the subordinate title *Māhasenāpati* on some of his coins. Later, he threw off their yoke and assumed the independent title *Rajan*. That he belonged to the Śaka race is shown by the device of thunderbolt and arrow on his coins. This was a distinctive sign of the *Kshaharātas*, who were Śakas. *Māna* uses it on his coins probably because he was a descendant of *Nahapāna*. It is noticed on the coins of no other family of ancient times. Sircar has not been able to account for the occurrence of these symbols on the coins of the so-called *Sagama King Chutukula*.

Sircar's objection that no inscriptions of the Śaka king *Māna* have been discovered applies equally to his so-called *Sagama king Chutukula*. *Mana's* case is similar to that of *Rāmagupta*. Until the beginning of this year only the copper coins of *Rāmagupta* were found but no inscriptions of him were known. So some scholars like Sircar were objecting to his recognition as a Gupta king. Fortunately, three epigraphs mentioning clearly *Maharajadhiraja Rāmagupta* have recently been discovered near *Vidiśa*, which leave no doubt about his existence in the Gupta age. Let us hope that some inscriptions of the Śaka king *Māna* and his descendants will also be discovered hereafter in the Deccan. If they are discovered, the manner of their dating may throw some light on the question of the spread of the Śaka era in Southern India. I have put forward a theory in this respect, but it remains to be corroborated by the discovery of records actually dated in that era.

Sircar's objections to my attribution of some other coins to king *Sebaka* are equally flimsy. Another coin of that king has recently been published by M. G. Dikshit in *JNSI*². Sircar will have to show how he reads the legends of these coins before he can accuse us of 'creating' these kings.

I regret very much that I have to waste my time in controverting again and again Sircar's fantastic objections to my readings and interpretations of these coins : but I have to do so because he shows scant regard for truth and repeats his arguments again and again even after they have been proved to be wrong.

1. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., p. liii.

2. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 186 f.

MISCELLANEA

I

COINS OF EARLY UJJAYINĪ RULERS

[Pl. I]

Uninscribed *Ujjayinī* coins, attributed to the ancient *Avanti janapada*, are known in quite a large number. But very few inscribed coins, assignable to the early local rulers of *Avanti*, are known so far. Recently with the help of my friend Sri R. K. Sethi, I got an opportunity to study the coin-collection of Dr. S. N. Nagu of *Indore* and there, besides quite a large number of uninscribed *Ujjayinī* coins, I found a few inscribed coins in his collection. Some of these bear the names of local indigenous rulers. Here I publish two coins of Dr. Nagu's collection with his kind permission :

Coin No. 1.

Copper; Round; Size 1.65 cm.; Wt. 68.25 grains.

Obv. : In the centre god Śiva is shown standing. He holds a staff (*daṇḍa*) in the right and vase (*ghaṭa*) in the left hand. The figure of Śiva is flanked by a railed tree to his right and a six-arched hill symbol to the left. Over the hill is shown a curved shaft representing a *dhvaja*. The Brāhmī legend below is *Savitasa*. The legend can be read very clearly.

Rev. : Two taurine symbols of different types are shown.

On palaeographic grounds the coin can be assigned to the 2nd century B. C. (Pl. I. 4)

Coin No. 2.

Copper; Round; Size 1.70 cm.; Wt. 102.50 grains.

Obv. : Three-arched hill symbol. Brāhmī Legend *raño...datasa*.

Rev. : Tree and taurine symbols. (Pl. I. 5)

The complete name of the ruler on the coin is unfortunately lost. Between *raño* and *datasa* there is space for three letters. Palaeographically the coin can be assigned to the later half of 1st century B. C.

These two coins, bearing the names of local Ujjayinī rulers, are quite significant. After the disintegration of the Maurya empire, the region of eastern Malwa declared its independence. This is borne out by the discovery of the coins of several independent rulers, such as Dharmapāla, Indragupta and Śivagupta from the Eraṇ-Vidiśā region. The western Malwa or Avanti also seems to have become independent after the fall of the Mauryan empire. The coins described above¹ and also the coins of the early Śaka rulers of Avanti, already published, offer an interesting material for the study of the political situation of the Avanti region during the 2nd-1st centuries B. C.

K. D. Bajpai

2

A RARE COIN OF ACHYUTA

[Pl. III]

Bust type coins of Achyuta are rare. So far only two specimens are known. The first specimen belonging to Mr. Delmerick and subsequently sold to Sir James Boudillon was noticed by V. A. Smith in 1897.² The second specimen belonging to the Indian Museum Calcutta was also studied by the same author.³ The coin collection of the late Babu Shri Nath Sah of Varanasi is a fortunate possessor of the third specimen. The coin is described as below :

1. Sri V. S. Wakankar has recently reported the discovery of another early king of Ujjayinī, Raṭhi Madana. On a copper coin from Ujjain he has read the Brāhmī legend *raṭhimadanasa*, which he assigns to the 1st century B. C.
2. *JASB*, 1897, p. 302, pl. XXVIII, No. 16.
3. *IMC*, I, p. 188, Coin No. 1 under the heading 'Achyuta' King of 'Abichchhatra, 350 A. D.', pl. XXI, no. 8.

Metal : AE; Shape R (a little oblong); Diam. 1.2×1.4 cms., Weight 16.5 grs.

Obv. : Bust of king to r., legend on l. at 9 o'clock *A* and on r. at 3 o'clock *chyu*; all in dotted border.

Rev. : Eight spoked *chakra* with a dot in between the pairs of spokes.¹ (Pl. III. 14)²

Deena Bandhu Pandey

3

SOME ANTIQUITIES FROM SUNET

[Pl. III]

Sunet, situated in Lat. 30°55' North and Long. 75°51' East, about 5 km. west of Ludhiana (Panjab)³, is a well-known ancient site. The present name derived by V. S. Agrawal⁴ from the ancient name Saunetra is mentioned in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*.⁵ Sunet is famous as a mint site of⁶ Kushāṇas and Yaudheyas but it has yielded, a large number of other antiquities. Most noteworthy amongst which are the terracotta seals and sealings mostly of the Gupta period.⁷

1. However, we see only one dot. Such dots are clearly seen on the name and *chakra* type coins of Achyuta in the British Museum (cf. *BMC, AI*, pl. XIV, 3). The dots are not noticed by Allar.
2. Author is thankful to Prof. A. K. Narain, under whose guidance the coin collection of the late Babu Sri Nath Sah is being catalogued, for his permission to publish this note and to Shri U. S. Sah for providing the coin to be photographed.
3. *PDG-Ludhiana District 1888-89*, pp. 19-20; *IGI*, Vol. I, P. 437.
4. V. S. Agrawal, *JNSI*, IV, 1942, p. 47.
5. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV, 2, 75.
6. *CASR*, XIV, pp. 65-67 and 139-45; Birbal Sahni, *Current Science*, vol. X, no. 2 (March, 1941), pp. 65-67, figs. 1-12; *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, (Bombay, 1945), pp. 32-7 and 61.
7. James Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. I, pl. IV; A. F. R. Hoernle, *Proc. ASB*, LIII (1884), pp. 137-40; *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 98 ff.; *APR*, *Pb. Circle*, 1908, p. 45; *APR*, *Northern Circle* 1916-17, p. 7; A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 183; Coads, G. Fouilles En. Cochinchine, *Artibus Asiae*, X, p. 197; *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 71 f.; **XX**, pp. 67-9; **XXVII**, pp. 98-99; **XXIX**, pp. 30-1 and 38; **XXX**, pp. 22-3.

Recently, the present writer has also obtained from here some interesting relics which are described in this paper.

Though the literary evidence of the existence of Sunet goes back to *circa* fifth century B. C.,¹ yet no archaeological relics had been found to corroborate this antiquity for the site. During one of my exploratory visits to the site, I picked up a sherd of grey ware without paintings which bears close resemblance in type and fabric to the painted grey ware sherds found from other ancient sites. It may, however, be said with some certainty that the sherd in question belonged only to Sunet as there is no grey ware site near this place. It provides us the evidence of the existence of Sunet in the 5th century B. C.

The other important objects I obtained at Sunet are terracotta seals and sealings, a broken figurine and three square moulds. Their details are as follows.

1. This is a small round sealing (Pl. III. 1) with a diameter of .7 inch. It has been baked red. There is a dotted border all around. The letters of legend are very small and in low relief. The legend in Brāhmī script runs as follows :—

(1) *ta a t̥ha² ta ra*

(2) *-a ta ta sa*

(3) *sa ta pa*

The sense is not intelligible. The characters may be assigned to *circa* second century B. C. Being the earliest of the known examples this sealing is interesting and important.

2. This is a small oval seal (.9 × .8 inches) of reddish colour with a lion to left beautifully carved in bold relief (Pl. III. 2). The manes, the long tail curled in a loop behind and the gaping mouth of the animal are suggestive of its fierceness and add to its grace. Above the lion is shown a twin (or a flower). Another unidentifiable mark (probably a part of some symbol) is visible above the tail. The back of the seal bears finger impression, probably of the maker of this seal. It may be ascribed to the Kushāṇa period.

1. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Varanasi, 1963), p. 74.

2. It looks more like *t̥a* —A. M. S.

3. It is a broken terracotta male head of a warrior (Pl. III. 3). The figurine (2 inches high) bears a conical hat typical of warriors during the Kushāṇa period. It is an interesting piece because of its foreign ethnic features—long contemplating eyes, pointed nose, protruding upper lip, long drawn up muscles of the cheeks, long drawn mouth, receding chin, etc. Probably the Kushāṇas had stationed their garrison at Sunet and it was from amongst the Kushāṇa forces that similar faces could be noticed commonly.

4. This clay sealing (Pl. III. 4) measuring 1" × .8" is baked red and is quite worn out. Within a lined border, in the upper half is an indistinct figure of an animal, probably a couchant lion to right with tail curled above in a loop, and the lower half has got a single line inscription as *Śrī sth (āṇuṇa) rmmāṇa*. The characters belonged to the Northern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

5. This round clay sealing (Pl. III. 5) which has been baked blackish-red is 1.2" in diameter and has got the legend in three lines in a single-lined border which is visible only in the lower portion of the sealing. The letters are very much worn out and difficult to be deciphered. The tentative reading of the legend is as :

(1) *Śrī pū¹*

(2) *Chandragupta (sya)*

(3) *Chakrarāja (sya)²*

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

6. This clay sealing (Pl. III. 6) measuring 1" × .6" and baked red has got legend in lined-border as—*Śrī-r-Jyeshṭhadattasya*.

So the sealing obviously belongs to an individual, Jyeshṭhadatta². On palaeographic ground, it is assignable to *c.* fifth century A. D.

There are traces of a third letter also which, however, cannot be deciphered. —A. M. S.

2. The reading is very uncertain except in the case of line 2 which is clearer than the other two lines —A. M. S.

3. Cf. Rajghat sealings with the legend *Jeṭhadas* and *Jyeshṭhamitrasya* *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411.

7. This sealing baked red, (Pl. III. 7) is oval in shape and measures 1.2" x .9". Within a lined in the upper half an elephant with slightly upraised trunk is shown to and the lower half contains the legend. Both are in a lined border—*Śrī-rindraguptasya*.

The characters of the legend are assignable to c. 5th century A. D.

Many of the seals found from Sunet and bearing personal names reveal that the name-ending *Gupta* was quite popular amongst its denizens¹ during the third to fifth centuries A. D.

8—10 Other notable finds were three square terracotta blocks (Pl. III. 8-10) baked red and measuring 1.5" x 1.5" x .6", 1.3" x 1.3" x .6" and 1.25" x 1.25" x .6" inches respectively. All the three of these have got three grooves each the first and third have straight grooves with roundish depressions at the end while the second one has got curved grooves. What was the specific use of these blocks is now a matter of speculation only. The blocks with straight grooves having depressions at the end may have been used for manufacturing nails and pins from molten metals and the one with curved grooves for manufacturing hooks.²

Devendra Handa

4

A NEW BIGA TYPE COIN OF VIMA KADPHISES

[Pl. III]

A rare gold coin of Vima Kadphises, the Kushāṇa monarch, was published by Gardner in his *Catalogue of the British Museum*.³

1. E. G., *Śrī-Kṛi (?) guptasya* (JNSI, XX, p. 68), *Śrī Guptasya* XXVII, p. 98.), *Śrī Hariguptasya* (APR, Pb. Circle, 1908, p. 45), etc.
2. The weights of these blocks are 44.28.5 and 30 grams respectively. Since there is no correlation amongst these weights the possibility of these blocks being used as weights can easily be ruled out.
3. BMC, (London, 1886) pl. XXXII, 13. See also Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians* (London, 1880) pl. XV, no. 7; Whitehead, *PMC*, I, (Oxford, 1914), pl. XX (iii).

The coin bears on the obverse the figure of the king seated in a two-horsed chariot moving slowly to the right. The name of the king with his title is written as *Basileos Oemo Kadphises*. On the reverse stands the figure of god Śiva wearing a lion-cloth and tall head-dress. He holds a *triśūla* in his right hand. There is a Kharoshthī legend on the reverse similar to the one found on the gold and copper coins of the king.

Recently a coin of this ruler has been acquired by me from Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh. The coin was coated with rust. It has been cleaned by my friend Prof. S. S. Nigam, Head of the Department of Chemistry, University of Saugar. He was also kind enough to analyze the metal contents of the coin.

I describe the coin below.

Metal tin with admixture of lead and nickel in small quantities; Shape round; Size 1.90 cm.; Wt. 31.50 grains; slightly broken at the left bottom.

Obv. : The king in his usual dress is seated in a Biga drawn by two horses. He holds a club in the right hand and is looking to right. Figures of the two horses, the back-wheel and the seat of the king are very clear on the coin. Of the border Greek legend, the name *Kadphises* can be clearly read. Traces of *Oemo* are also discernible in front of the chariot.

Rev. : Standing figure of Śiva with the left hand held akimbo. In the right hand the deity holds a long *triśūla*. The border shows only a few traces of the Kharoshthī legend.

(Pl. III. 11)

Biga-type coins of Vima Kadphises are extremely rare. The newly discovered alloy coin of this ruler is a welcome addition to the rare Kushāṇa coins so far known.

K. D. Bajpai

5 A RARE ARCHER TYPE COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

[Pl. III]

Four coins of a variety of the Archer type coins of Chandragupta II, which were unknown earlier, were discovered in the Bayana hoard. They have been described by A. S. Alteker as follows :¹

Obv. : King nimbate, standing to l., wearing a cap, coat, trousers or *dhoti*, necklace, earrings, armlets, and boots, holding arrow in r. hand and bow, string inwards, at the top with the l.; Garuḍa standard on l. behind the right hand. No sword or hunter by the king's side. *Chandra* written under the l. arm. Circular legend *Devaśrī Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptaḥ*.

Reve : Goddess Lakshmi nimbate, seated on lotus, facing, holding noose in outstretched r. hand and lotus in the l., resting on waist. Left foot is tucked up and the r. one is hanging down. Symbol on l. Legend on r. *Śrī Vikramaḥ*.

[Pl. 12]

The peculiarity of these coins lies in the fact that the right foot of the goddess is shown as hanging down the lotus, the left one being tucked up.² Usually, both the feet are above the lotus, tucked up together, with slight modifications in different varieties.

I now publish here a fifth coin of the same variety from the collection of the Patna Museum.³ It was acquired by me from a gentleman belonging to Bihar; but the coin had come to him from one of his relatives in Rajasthan. This coin has the fuller die than any of the two coins illustrated by Alteker. While the reverse legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* is fully impressed, only first seven letters *davaśra maharaja* are available on the obverse of the coins; last three letters are truncated.

The coin is 2.00 cms. in diameter and 7.732 grammes (119.4 grains) in weight.

P. L. Gupta

1. *The Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, pp. 157-58 (Archer type, Class II, Var D.)
2. *Ibid*, intro., p. Lxxx.
3. Accession Register No. 20235.

6 A GOLD COIN OF SRI VARAGUNA

[Pl. III.]

In 1962 a few coins were purchased for the National Museum, of which one is a gold coin of the Pāṇḍyas, so far unpublished and the only one, as far as I know, of its kind. The coin is undoubtedly a Pāṇḍya coin, with the representation of the two fishes, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas, vertically, right in the centre of the coin, recalling the obverse of the Avanipasekharan Golaga coin, published in Desikachari's *South Indian Coins*, Pl. III. 65 & F. Hultzsh's article on "South Indian copper coins" in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1892. The reverse of this round gold coin has right in the centre, in bold clear grantha characters, the name "Sri Varagunaḥ" in one straight line (Pl. III. 13). The coin weighs 4.2374 gms.

This coin, though it poses many problems as to the actual identity of the issuer, still has helped us to put back the chronology of the Pāṇḍyan gold coinage to a date much earlier than hitherto surmised, positively to the 9th century A. D. But, the identity of the ruler is rather difficult to establish as there were two Pāṇḍyan rulers of the same name, Varaguna within the same century whose historic authenticity was established by the larger Sinnamannur grants which threw considerable light on the history of the Pāṇḍyas of the first Empire, 7th-10th Century A. D.

Palaeographically, the letters on the reverse are quite well-developed and point out to a late 9th century date, i.e. the probability being that it is a coin of Varaguna II who ruled between 862-880 A. D. The Tiruchchendur inscription of this ruler speaks of a highly evolved and standardised weight system, money etc.

Pāṇḍyan imperial issues of gold coins are met with rarely except for the Panams rather crudely designed with the figure of a man and the legend on the reverse Sundara Pāṇḍya. The other type of gold coins the Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya coins with fish on obverse and legend "Sri Pāṇḍya Dhananjaya" on reverse either in Nāgarī or Canarese could not after all be a Pāṇḍyan imperial

issue but perhaps those of the feudatories of the Pāṇdyas. This coin under study proves to be the only genuine imperial issue of the Pāṇdyas imperial rulers, of the first Pāṇḍyan Empire attributable with certain reservations to Varaguna II (862—880 A. D.)

The Aivarmalai record which gives Śaka 792 (870 A. D.) as the eighth regnal year of this Varaguna II—clearly proves that he must have come to the throne in 862-863 A. D. He must have been the grandson of Varaguna Mahārāja I (Varaguna I) of the larger Sinnamannur grants, and son of Srimara Srivallabha, (815—862 A. D.)

R. Vanaja

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 58TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Held at Patna on 26th, 27th & 28th October, 1969

The 58th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India was held in the campus of the Patna University on 26th, 27th and 28th October, 1969.

Conference

This first Session of this Conference was held jointly with the 3rd Annual Conference of the Indian Archaeological Society. Sri Nityanand Kanungo, Rajyapal of Bihar State and Chancellor of the Patna University inaugurated both the conferences. Dr. K. K. Datta, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University welcomed the Chief Guest, Delegates, and other Guests.

After the welcome address, Prof. B. P. Sinha read the Presidential address.

Presidential Address

Dr. B. P. Sinha

I am extremely grateful to the Executive Committee of the Numismatic Society of India for electing me the president of the society for this session. I cannot claim to be a professional numismatist and therefore I am quite conscious that the honour you have bestowed on me is more the expression of your love and affection for me than your recognition of my very humble contribution to the early Indian Numismatics. With great humility I accepted this high honour which was legitimately claimed by my very distinguished predecessors.

As a student of ancient Indian History I have had to use numismatic data available from time to time for studying and

teaching the subject for thirty years. But it was during my studies in London that I dared challenge the data processed long before accepted by all scholars. A researcher has to relentlessly test his source material, and in dealing with dynastic history of the later Imperial Guptas I felt like doubting the results tabulated by Cunningham regarding the chemical analysis of the Gupta Gold Coins. I was highly encouraged by late Dr. John Allan and the results that I obtained are to say, in lighter vein, now almost ancient history to fellow workers in the field. All that I want to stress that even the highest authority may be challenged by a keen researcher with great profit to the world of knowledge and scholarship. The study of metrology and purity of coins which had been neglected after Cunningham is receiving proper attention now, and I may claim a share of satisfaction for this.

Ancient Indian Coins are being studied for more than a century now, and have been utilised largely for reconstruction of political history, religious life and social aspects, like use of ornaments and dress. While they constitute just one kind of source, though quite an independent one, for shedding light on the history of the tribal kingdoms, of the Sātavāhanas, of the Kushāṇas, the Sakas and the Guptas, they are by far the most predominant source for the history of the Bactrian and Parthian rulers. For the Post-Mauryan royal dynasties of Kośala and Kauśāmbi, the coins are our main stays. The Puranic account of the Sātavāhana rulers is being regularly supplemented or explained by discovery of coins of new Sātavāhana rulers. The Kushāṇa and the Gupta gold coins not only supplement our knowledge of political history, but also give concrete proofs of the process of fusion of the two Indian and foreign cultures in more than one field.

But the dominant function of a coin is to serve an economic purpose. It is generally believed that coins as such first came into use in Lydia in the beginning of the 7th century B. C. When were coins introduced in India is a vexed problem. While there are vague literary references to something like metal pieces used as means of exchange in the Vedic period, there is no evidence that such pieces were stamped by a corporate authority. Unless

positive proof is available we will have to accept that the punch-marked coins including the bent-bar ones are the earliest coins of India. However, there is still a live controversy about the earliest date to which the punch-marked coins could be taken. Stratigraphically the punch-marked coins are found with the N. B. P., but unfortunately no specific answer to the question as to the exact position of the coins in early or late N. B. P. layers is still available. But Carbon-14 dates do not take N. B. P. earlier than 6th century B. C. and that should be taken to be the time when punch-marked coins were introduced, and it should be so because it is the age of the development of cities in North India spurred by intense trade and commercial activities. It is still an enigma as to which authority issued the early punch-marked coins, whether some of these were issued by the Imperial Nandas and the Mauryas. Aśoka, who was careful in issuing long inscriptions, if issued these coins left them uninscribed. There is no doubt that Kauṭilya speaks of royal mint and coins, but the date of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is still a matter of controversy. All this goes to show how much uncertainty hangs about the antiquity of Indian coinage and its authors.

But while quite a large volume of written material is available and is being enlarged every day, about the authorship of this or that coinage, and the light it sheds on religious and other aspects of life, the economic data from coins which should have been the main topics of study has been generally ignored. It is therefore very satisfying and highly appropriate at the stage of advance in study of Indian Numismatics that a seminar on the problem has been arranged during the current session of the society's annual meet.

Without anticipating the discussion and results of the Seminar, I may pose a few problems which should also receive due attention of the learned scholars assembled here. What was the source of silver of the silver punch-marked coins? Was it from the mines of the same region in the country or from different regions? Was it imported and if so from where? The correct answers to these questions may explain the direction of spread of the coins, and also the nature and extent of internal and external

contacts. Gold was known to and used by Indians from the time of the Harappan. Vedic, Buddhist and later literatures are full of references to gold and gold ornaments. But why do we have the first gold coins only in the 1st or 2nd century A. D. when the Kushāṇas are supposed to have established their hold on India? Why do we have paucity of gold coins in the post-Gupta period? Is it due to extreme rarity of gold in India in the early period? What was the source of gold? Were the Mysore gold mines and gold dust from the Indian rivers not yet exploited? Coins of a specific dynasty are to conform to a basic standard of weight to avoid confusion in the market-economy. Giving allowances for wear in course of circulation, it is found that coins of the same series have slight variation in weight. I had examined the later Imperial Gupta gold coinage from this angle, and had come to the conclusion that generally heavier the coin, later its date. A revised and critical study of the weights of the punch-marked, tribal, Kushāṇa, and Gupta coins of different metals may be made and tentative conclusions arrived at. Whether some peculiar economic factor was behind this modification in weight? My very limited study of the Gupta coins tended to suggest that heavier the coins, more debasement of the metal. Should we not re-examine the coins of different dynasties and tribal or city authorities, who issued them from this angle and find out the comparative percentage of purity or impurity in them? This may throw some light on economic condition of the period. Some of the Gupta gold coins are very much debased having purity as little as 45%. Should it not reveal a deteriorating economic condition tending Suvāṇas to become something like obtaining a mere token value of Suvāṇa. Incidentally another question crops up in my mind? Was leather used as a raw material for coins? It was plentiful. Lead was used. While there is evidence that Kushāṇa gold coins were based on Roman weight standard, have we compared the weight of our silver coins with that of contemporary Greek coins? We have use of dinars in inscriptions which may suggest our knowledge of Sassanian coins. What was the extent of their prevalence in India? We have found very few Sassanian coins in India. Could some economic besides political relationship be inferred on however slender

this base may be? Prevalence of foreign coins certainly has some economic or even political significance. Availability of Roman coins mostly south of the Vindhya certainly had posed the question of Indo-Roman contacts. It was of course not possible to argue that these coins were a kind of souvenirs brought by Indians from Roman empire or presented by Romans to the Indian friends and collaborators. Ptolemy and Pliny had referred to brisk trade of Rome with India and bewailed the drain of Roman gold into India.

Archaeological excavations at Arikamedu gave positive proof of this phenomenon, and also showed that characteristic Roman pottery were imported into India, and suggested the establishment of Roman traders' colonies on the eastern coast. More evidence is coming and Roman antiquities are being discovered in excavations from both North and South Indian sites. It is clear that beyond the Kushāṇa empire in India, Roman goods and coins penetrated into India. What an exciting chapter of India's foreign trade in ancient period is being gradually unfolded! The romance of Roman coins in India can be now understood in a large measure. India had brisk trade and other contacts with both the western and eastern world since the days of the Kushāṇas? Could we search for Indian coins in these regions?

Stray finds or even hoards of coins of the region found in different regions may not actually prove the existence of political or commercial links between the regions, but their being found out in stratified layers in carefully excavated trenches has a very great significance as for the date and economic factors, Archaeologists therefore, though more interested in potsherds than tempting coins, should be very careful in docketing details of the manner and the locus of the coins that they found in stratified layers and note the associated finds with these.

One of the greatest enigma of the early medieval coinage in India is that after the Imperial Gupta rule was over, except for brief periods of the Gahadvalas and Kalachuris gold coins are rare, and coinage as such even becomes thinner and thinner. There were large Pāla and Pratihāra empires which stood the test of time for centuries but we have hardly any gold coins of theirs and only a few silver coins. What is the explanation? Had

trade declined to this extent? Did barter again reign supreme? If so why? Was there the stoppage of source of metals, indigenous or foreign? These are some of the problems and let me hope in the current session of the Numismatic Society of India, we will find answers to some of these.

Actually, the Numismatic Studies in India have to be reorganised. It should not only remain confined to a few isolated Universities. The intelligentsia should take a hand in furthering this branch of study. There are coins being found in obscure places, and in tilling the soil or digging a well. Mostly they are melted or lost. Unless there is a vigilant numismatic society say in every Block, there is danger of this very important source material for our history, cultural, political or economic studies being lost or misplaced. The Treasure Trove Act should also be properly amended to facilitate the task of numismatists. There should be not only stationary museums atleast in every district of the country which should not only have terracottas, sculptures, and other ancient or modern exhibits, but must have actual coins or their replicas. Occasionally mobile exhibitions may be arranged even on Block level to reveal the history of the country, or regions particularly from coins to stimulate interest in the subject and to inculcate a sense of pride and ownership in country's heritage.

I am quite aware of your valuable time that I have taken. I am extremely grateful to you for giving me a patient hearing.

In the General Business Meeting Dr. P. L. Gupta, the General Secretary presented the Progress Report of the Society.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Annual meeting of the Society was being held along with the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress and as such, we had been having our meetings towards the end of December every year. We were following this practice even after, we decided to hold our meetings independently. Accordingly our annual meeting for the year 1968 should have held in December 1968. But under odd circumstances, the meeting could be held only in January 1969. If we would have followed the old practice, the current meeting would have held two months after. But many members, who are also interested in the deliberations of the Indian History Congress were put to many inconveniences due to having our meeting immediately after or immediately before the Session of the Indian History Congress. So, it was thought desirable to change our timings from December to the Durga Puja and Diwali holidays. And accordingly, the meeting for the year 1969 is being held now. As such we had two annual meetings within a year and with a gap of only nine months. This is unusual; and it has placed our members in some discomfortable position. They could not get the Railway concessions that they were usually having for attending the Sessions of the Society. The Railway Board allows only one such concession in a year for the conferences and the annual meet. This inconvenience was inevitable, yet I regret very much for the same. In future, if we have our sessions regularly in the Durgapuja-Diwali holidays, there would be no difficulty in having the Railway concessions for attending our sessions.

Sometimes we have difficulties in setting up the venue of our next meeting quite in time. So, I take this occasion to propose a little departure in scheduling our annual meeting. This year, fortunately enough, we have three invitations for the next meeting. One from Nagpur, second from Madras and the third from Jabalpur. So, I propose to fix up our venue for the next two meetings i.e. for 1970 and 1971 at this meeting; and from the next year we shall be fixing up our venue one year in advance.

I hope this would find your approval when the proposal formally comes before you for consideration.

Financial Condition :

I have little to add what I had said about the financial position of the Society. The financial resources of the Society are limited. They are confined only to the membership-fee; grant-in-aid from Central and State Governments and the sale proceeds of the Society's publications. But looking to our activities and needs, none of these resources are enough to meet our actual expenses. This would be apparent from the audited account of the Society for the year 1968-69, which is published in the Journal Vol. XXXI part I. It shows that while our income had been only Rs. 17,611-01, the expenditure was Rs. 26,078-71. Thus we had a deficit of Rs. 8,467-70.

This deficit had let us to decide in the last meeting to stop the payment of the fee to the contributors of the Journal of the Society; discontinue the honorarium paid to the Editors of the Journal and to keep in abeyance the filling up the posts of the Assistant Secretary and the Assistant Editor. While we may not pay anything to our contributors and the editors, the experience of the past nine months shows that we cannot go without the assistants to look after the publication of the Journal and the office. Therefore, it is necessary that we should fill up the said two posts of assistants. And it would be great hardship to the assistants, if they are not paid an honorarium for their works. As such the problem of the deficit would not be solved.

To solve this problem to some extent, we had decided in the last meeting to enhance our membership fee. To this, many members have expressed their resentment. But we have no alternative. If we are really serious that we should have no further occasion to increase our membership fee, we have to increase the number of members of the society. We should have atleast one thousand members on our roll. I had been stressing the need of increasing the membership every year; and here again, in the light of above naked facts, I earnestly appeal to our existing members and make a personal request that each of them should

take some interest and enrol atleast one member from amongst their friends.

Another appeal to our members is to lessen our burden by promptly paying their annual dues. As soon as they have a demand note from the office of the Society, they should be kind enough to send their subscriptions immediately. Many members are far behind in the payment of the membership fee; they are requested to clear off their dues; that would be a great help to the Society.

The another source of the Government aid is also not encouraging. Many States did not come to our aid; some of those who had been kind enough to help us have withdrawn their kind patronage and those few states that continue to give us help, often do not send the aid in time. We are trying to persuade the States to give their patronage to the Society; but their patronage is only possible if our members, residing within their states take some interest and help us in approaching the Government.

Last year, we had recieved the grants from the following states :

1. Madhya Pradesh	1967-68	Rs. 600/-
2. Maharashtra	„	Rs. 1,000/-
3. Rajasthan	1968-69	Rs. 300/-
4. Orissa	„	Rs. 300/-
5. Uttar Pradesh	„	Rs. 500/-
6. Central Government	„	Rs. 4,000/-

This year during the last nine months, we have received the grants only as follows :

1. Maharashtra	1969-70	Rs. 500/-
2. West Bengal	1967-68	Rs. 300/-

We are trying our best to persuade the States to release the aid quite in time to facilitate the working of the Society. But if our members could also help us in the matter, and see that the grants are released not only in time but also to increase their grants.

The third source of income i. e. publication can only be effective if we could regularly bring out some new publications.

The old publications have a very slow sale after a certain period. But the publication of the new works depends on the funds that is at present is not coming forward. This we have to see. I had thought of raising public donations; but that may come only from business community; and to induce them for any donation is only possible if we would obtain the Exemption certificate from the Income Tax department. And for that attempt is being made; but we could not get the certificate. However, I hope that the necessary certificate might be available. And if and when it is available, I would request the members to help the Society in getting donations from sources within their reach. This would help us in building the Society.

Membership

At the end of 1968, we had 355 individual and institutional members. Since then, our membership has slightly increased. During this period 2 life members, 28 individual members and 5 Institutional members were enrolled. As I have appealed above, we should increase our membership and our friends would come to our help, I hope.

Publication

During this year, we have been able to publish the First part of the Volume XXXI of the Journal; and the second part is in the press and I expect that it would be out by the end of this year. Hence onward, it would be our endeavour to bring out the first part in June and Second part in December every year.

A monograph '*Coin-Hoards from Gujarat State*' was published during this period and is available for sale. It is priced at Rs. 3/- but would be available to the members for Rs. 2/- only. Another monograph '*Coin-Hoards from Maharashtra*', is in the press and will be out within a fortnight. Both these bibliographies have been compiled by Dr. P. L. Gupta. A third monograph on Saka and Pahlava coins by K. W. Dobbins is also in the press.

The publication of the Corpus Volumes and the book common types of Indian coins, prepared at the instance of Government of India, could not be undertaken for the lack of proper funds.

Library, Museum and Building

I have little to add on these matters to what I had said in the last meeting. For want of funds, we are unable to make any progress. It is highly necessary that the upper floor of Society's building is completed as early as possible. It is also necessary that the Library is built up a reference and research centre for the Numismatic studies and we have a Museum where the coins could be seen in original or in casts and photographs. But the lack of funds is the main hurdle in our way. However, we are trying our best to do some thing in this direction.

This is in brief, what I had to say as Secretary. This is my third and the last year of my Secretaryship. I do not claim that I have done anything for the Society during this period. As you all know, I am placed far away from the head-quarters of the Society. So, I had been the General Secretary virtually only in name. My all the burdens were being shared by Dr. A. K. Narain and Dr. Rai Govinda Chandra, the Chairman and Treasurer respectively and the other colleagues staying at Varanasi. I am grateful to them for their kind and general co-operation. If there had been any lapses in the work of the Society, the responsibility was mine and I crave your indulgence to forgive me for those lapses.

GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING

In the business Meeting of the Society the following members were present :

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Prof. B. P. Sinha | 21. Dr. P. C. Roy |
| 2. Prof. A. K. Narain | 22. Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale |
| 3. Prof. K. D. Bajpai | 23. Sri Suraj Mall Gattani |
| 4. Dr. Rai Govind Chandra | 24. Miss. R. Vanaja |
| 5. Dr. P. L. Gupta | 25. Dr. K. K. Sinha |
| 6. Dr. (Mrs.) Roma Niyogi | 26. Sri M. D. N. Sahi |
| 7. Sri R. K. Sethi | 27. Sri T. N. Roy |
| 8. Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri | 28. Sri Carlo Valdetaro |
| 9. Sri S. K. Bhatt | 29. Dr. N. R. Banerjee |
| 10. „ B. M. S. Parmar | 30. Sri S. P. Gupta |
| 11. „ R. C. Agrawal | 31. „ O. P. Tandon |
| 12. Dr. A. M. Shastri | 32. „ P. C. Pant |
| 13. Dr. K. K. Thaplayl | 33. Dr. Purushottam Singh |
| 14. Dr. S. Bnadyopadhyaya | 34. Sri G. B. Sharma |
| 15. Dr. A. N. Lahiri | 35. „ Deenabandhu Pandey |
| 16. Dr. L. K. Tripathi | 36. Mrs. S. Sethi |
| 17. Dr. Nisar Ahmad | 37. Dr. P. K. Jaiswal |
| 18. Sri Jai Prakash Singh | 38. Sri S. V. Sohani |
| 19. Dr. (Smt.) Sushila Malti | 39. „ Ram Govind Prasad |
| 20. Dr. S. B. Deo | 40. Dr. (Mrs.) Elik Zannes |

The following office bearers were elected unanimously :

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>President</i> | — | Prof. T. V. Mahalingam, Madras. |
| (for the year 1970) | | |
| 2. <i>Chairman</i> | — | Prof. A. K. Narain, Varanasi. |
| 3. <i>Vice-Chairman</i> | — | Dr. A. N. Lahiri, Calcutta. |
| 4. <i>General Secretary</i> | — | Dr. P. L. Gupta, Patna. |
| 5. <i>Assistant Secretary</i> | — | Dr. T. P. Verma, Varanasi. |
| 6. <i>Chief Editor</i> | — | Prof. A. K. Narain, Varanasi. |

Members of the Executive Council

1. Prof. V. S. Pathak, Gorakhpur.
2. Sri B. L. Mankad, Baroda.
3. Sri R. C. Agrawala, Jaipur.
4. Sri R. K. Sethi, Indore.
5. Sri C. Valdetaro, Calcutta.

The following resolution was passed :

That the two Editors, Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri and Dr. Nisar Ahmad, nominated by the Chief Editor be recorded.

List of Papers Read at the Annual Conference

1. Numismatic Data in the Amarakosha—Deena Bandhu Pandey.
2. Kopphen-an obscure Mint Town—Samaresh Bandhopadhyaya.
3. A critical study of Punch-marked Coins in the Chandradhari Museum, Darbhanga—Mohan Chaudhary.
4. Some Unpublished Punch-marked Coins of Bihar—Dr. Sarju Prasad Singh.
5. Attribution of the Mahadeva Coins—Dr. Ajaya Mitra Shastri.
6. Some More Gupta Coins from Bairh—B. M. S. Parmar.
7. Notes on some Medieval Coins—P. C. Roy.
8. A note on the Coins of Shahis of Ohind—Sachidanand Sahai.
9. Discovery of Sri Vighraha Coins in Bihar—Samaresh Chandra Bandhopadhyaya.
10. A Gold Coin of Sri Varaguna—Miss. R. Vanaja.
11. Coins of King Vijaya Manikya I of Tripura—A. N. Lahiri.
12. On Seals bearing Religious mottos—Dr. Shobhana Gokhale.
13. An interesting Sealing from Sanghol—G. B. Sharma.
14. Graeco-Roman Bullae from Ujjain—V. S. Wakankar.
15. Biga Type Coin of Wiva Kadphises—K. D. Bajpai.
16. Inscribed Coins from Ujjaiyini—K. D. Bajpai.
17. History & Coins of Ayodhya—Dr. Nisar Ahmad.



AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have examined the above Balance sheet as at 31st March, 1970 and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended on that date of the Numismatic Society of India, P.O. Hindu University, Varanasi-5 with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we obtained all the informations and explanations we have required. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society, subject to that :—

(1) Receipt No. 717 dated 16. 12. 1969 issued for Rs. 578/- in favour of The Registrar of Calcutta University, Calcutta in advance, but the proceeds of the same was not credited in the Cash Book till 31. 3. 1970.

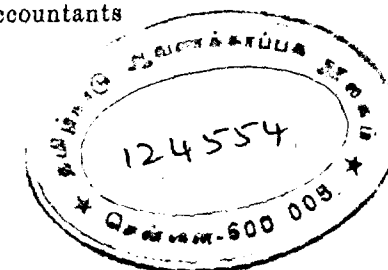
(2) That a Cash amount of Rs. 110/- deposited on 9. 2. 1970 in State Bank of India but the same was not credited by the bank till 31. 3. 1970.

(3) The proceed of the sale of publication worth Pounds 1.4. 3 pens received by the Institution but the same was not credited in the Books of Accounts.

(4) As reported in last year the sale proceed of the sale of publication worth Pounds 3 received on 18. 3. 1968 was not credited till 31. 3. 1970.

Dated : 16th July, 1969
VARANASI

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants



THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
Balance Sheet as at

Capital and Liabilities

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
3,000.00	<i>Furniture Fund :</i>		
	Maharashtra Govern- ment 1962-63		3,000.00
3,000.00	<i>Library Fund :</i>		
	Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		3,000.00
4,000.00	<i>Museum Fund :</i>		
	Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		4,000.00
1,559.48	<i>Booklet Scheme :</i>		1,559.48
2,500.00	<i>Strong Room Fund :</i>		
	Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		2,500.00
40,262.59	<i>Building Fund :</i>		40,262.59
22,106.42	<i>Special Publication Fund :</i>	22,106.42	
	Add Sale of Publica- tion for the year	13,996.90	
		<u>36,103.32</u>	
	Less Excess of Expendi- ture over Income	509.73	35,593.59

P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5

31st March, 1970

Assets and Properties

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
37,892.55	<i>Building :</i>	37,892.55	
	Less depreciation for the year	947.50	36,945.05
1,254.30	<i>Dies :</i>	1,254.30	
	Less depreciation for the year.	125.40	1,128.90
6,050.25	<i>Furniture :</i>	6,050.25	
	Less depreciation for the year.	605.00	5,445.25
283.65	<i>Duplicator :</i>	283.65	
	Less depreciation for the year.	42.65	241.00
895.44	<i>Typewriter :</i>	895.44	
	Less depreciation for the year.	135.00	760.44
3,964.25	<i>Library :</i>	3,964.25	
	Less depreciation for the year.	594.60	3,369.65
49.27	<i>Sundry Advance :</i>		49.27
— —	<i>M/s. Eureka Printing Works.</i>		2,909.50
4,000.03	<i>Museum : (at cost)</i>		4,000.03

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
Balance Sheet as at
Capital and Liabilities

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1.23	<i>Sundry Advance :</i>		1.23
1,016.00	<i>Sundry Liabilities to Editor's Honorarium and Contribution Charges.</i>		1,016.00
531.00	<i>Sundry Liabilities for Gupta Coins</i>		531.00
455.00	<i>Sundry Liabilities for Golden Jubilee Exp.</i>		455.00
114.50	<i>Mr. C. H. Bidulph</i>		114.50
2,508.67	<i>General Fund :</i>		2,508.67
40.00	<i>T. C. Payable.</i>		—
<u>81,094.89</u>	Total Rs.		<u>94,542.06</u>

Dated : 26th June, 1970.
Varanasi.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI—5
31st March, 1970

Assets and Properties

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
2,590.00	<i>Strong Room :</i>		2,590.00
7,000.00	<i>Investment (at cost) : National Saving Certificates.</i>		7,000.00
	<i>Cash & Bank Balances :</i>		
1,559.48	With State Bank of India (Booklet Scheme)	1,559.48	
3,597.16	With State Bank of India (Society)	13,932.50	
1.16	Cash in Hand.	82.14	
—	Cheque in hand.	1,740.00	
11,957.35	With Post Office Saving Bank a/c.	12,788.85	30,102.97
<u>81,094.89</u>	Total Rs.		<u>94,542.06</u>

Dated : 26th June, 1970.
Varanasi.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
Income and Expenditure Account

Expenditure

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs	P.	Rs.	P.
9,729.76	To Printing Charges.			4,238.33	
— —	„ Contribution Charges.			702.50	
979.26	„ Postage & Telegrams.			1,715.20	
7,487.48	„ Salary (including Allowance, D. A. and Provident Fund).			6,674.52	
1,800.00	„ Salary to Corpus Project.			— —	
86.25	„ Bank Commission.			146.95	
306.90	„ Sundry Expenses.			270.00	
366.91	„ Travelling & Conveyance.			255.00	
100.00	„ Audit Fee.			150.00	
222.42	„ Electric & Water Supply.			152.25	
392.62	„ Stationery.			1,098.48	
436.10	„ Telephone Charges.			354.80	
680.00	„ Author's Honorarium.			— —	
800.00	„ Editor's Honorarium.			— —	
2,690.91	„ Depreciation on Assets.				
	Building.	947.50			
	Dies.	125.40			
	Furniture.	605.00			
	Duplicator	42.65			
	Typewriter	135.00			
	Library.	594.60		2,450.15	
26,078.71	Total Rs.			18,208.18	

As per our report on that date on Balance Sheet.

Dated : 26th June, 1970
Varanasi.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY VARANASI—5
for the year ended 31st March, 1970

Figures of the Previous Year	Particulars	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
5,794.30	By Sale of Publications.			— —	
7,388.71	„ Subscription Received.			8,666.95	
30.00	„ Advertisement Charges.			— —	
75.00	„ Delegation Fee.			60.00	
2,523.00	„ Donation Received.			140.00	
— —	„ Interest Received.			831.50	
1,800.00	„ Government Grants :—				
	Central Government.				
	1968-69	4,000.00			
	Madhya Pradesh				
	1968-69	300.00			
	Orissa Government.				
	1966-67, 1967-68,				
	1968-69, 1969-70.	1,200.00			
	Rajasthan Govt. 1968-69	300.00			
	Madras Government				
	1968-69	600.00			
	West Bengal 1967-68	300.00			
	Maharashtra Govt. 1969-70	500.00			
	U. P. Government. 1969-70	500.00			
	Bihar Government 1969-70	300.00		8,000.00	
8,467.70	„ Excess of Expenditure over Income.			509.73	
26,078.71	Total			18,208.18	

As per our report on that date on Balance Sheet.

Dated : 26th June, 1970.
Varanasi.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,

Proposed Budget for

the year 1970-71

S. No.	Particulars	Income		
		Actuals of 1969-70	Estimates for 1969-70 1970-71	
1.	Balance (if in hand) :	—	3,728.62	—
2.	Subscriptions :	8,666.95	6,000.00	6,000.00
3.	Sale of Publications :	13,996.90	10,000.00	10,000.00
4.	Delegation fee :	60.00	40.00	40.00
5.	Advertisement :	—	40.00	40.00
6.	Donations :	140.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
7.	Government Grants :	8,090.00		
	Bihar Govt. 1969-70	300.	300.00	
	Maharashtra „	500.	590.00	
	Orissa 1966-67 to	1,200.	300.00	
	U. P. „	500.	500.00	
	Madhya Pradesh 1968-69	300.	*600.00	
	Madras „	600.	*1,200.00	
	Rajasthan „	300.	*600.00	
	Central Govt. „	4,000.	*8,000.00	
	West Bengal 1897-98	300.	*900.00	
	Total	30,863.00	34,708.62	18,080.00
	Deficit	—	27,835.38	97,067.38
	Grand Total	30,863.85	62,445.09	1,13,087.38

* 1969-70 & Sd. Dr. A. K. Narain Chairman
 1970-71 Sd. Dr. P. L. Gupta General Secretary
 + 1968-69 to Sd. Dr. T. P. Verma Asstt. Secretary
 1970-71 Sd. Dr. R. G. Chandra Treasurer.

Sd. Krishna Kumar Srivastava
 Accountant

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5
Proposed Budget for the year 1970-71

EXPENDITURE

S. No.	PARTICULARS	'ACTUALS OF' ESTIMATES FOR		
		1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
1.	BALANCE (if over drawn)	8,467.70	—	27,835.38
2.	Establishment			
	(a) Salary : 1. Officials	—	2,720.00	10,320.00
	2. Ministerials	2,820.00	6,300.00	6,600.00
	3. Menials	2,012.00	5,136.00	5,196.00
	(b) Dearness Allowance	1,320.00	14,760.00	14,760.00
	(c) House Rent Allowance	—	2,670.00	2,760.00
	(d) City Compensatory Allowance	—	1,008.00	1,016.00
3.	Contribution towards Provident Fund	235.02	350.00	450.00
4.	Remuneration to Sri Maheshwari Sahai at Patna.	287.50	300.00	300.00
5.	Auditor's Honorarium	150.00	150.00	150.00
6.	Author's Honorarium	702.50	2,000.00	2,000.00
7.	Contributor's Honorarium	—	1,000.00	1,000.00
8.	Office Expenses :			
	(a) Stationery	1,098.48	1,000.00	1,500.00
	(b) Postage	1,715.20	2,000.00	2,500.00
	(c) Bank's Commission	146.95	150.00	200.00
	(d) Telephone	354.80	500.00	500.00
	(e) Electric & Water Supply	152.25	500.00	500.00
	(f) Office equipment	—	500.00	500.00
9.	Travelling & Conveyance	255.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
10.	Peon's Uniform	—	—	500.00
11.	Contingent Expenses	270.00	500.00	1,000.00
12.	Miscellaneous Expenses	—	500.00	500.00
13.	Library Books & Bindings	—	2,500.00	2,500.00
14.	Museum	—	2,500.00	2,500.00
15.	White Washing etc.	—	—	1,500.00
16.	Furniture	—	2,000.00	2,500.00
17.	Publications (Journals-Monographs etc.)	4,238.33	5,000.00	10,000.00
18.	Annual Conference	—	500.00	—
19.	Advanced to M/s Eureka press towards printing material	2,909.50	—	—
20.	Diamond Jubilee Expenses	—	—	15,000.00
		27,135.23	62,544.00	1,15,087.38
	Balance	3,728.62	—	—
	Grand Total	30,863.85	62,544.00	1,15,087.38

Sd. Dr. A. K. Narain
 Chairman
 Sd. Dr. T. P. Verma.—Asst. Secy.
 Sd. Krishna Kumar Srivastava
 Accountant.

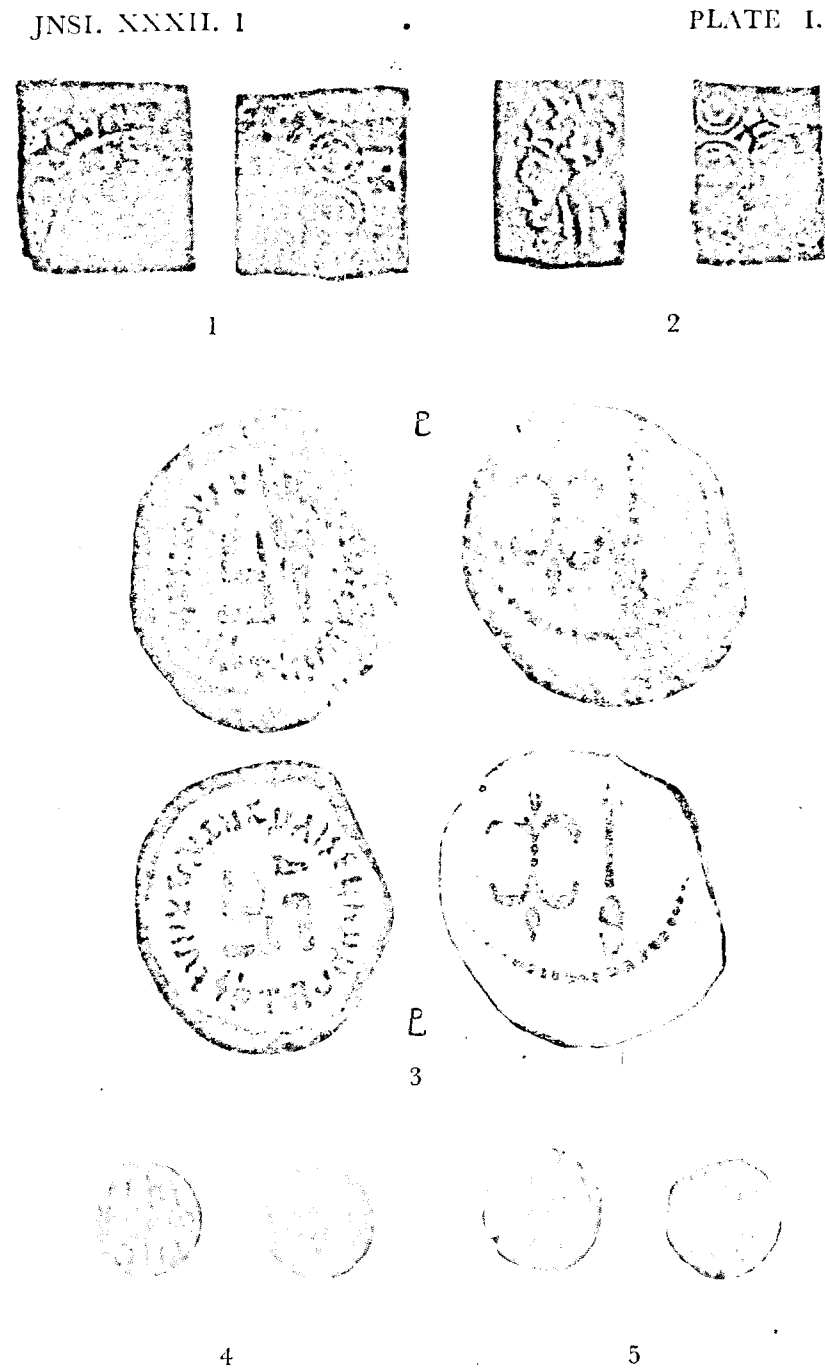
Sd. Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta
 General Secretary
 Sd. Dr. Rai Govind Chandra
 Treasurer

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5.

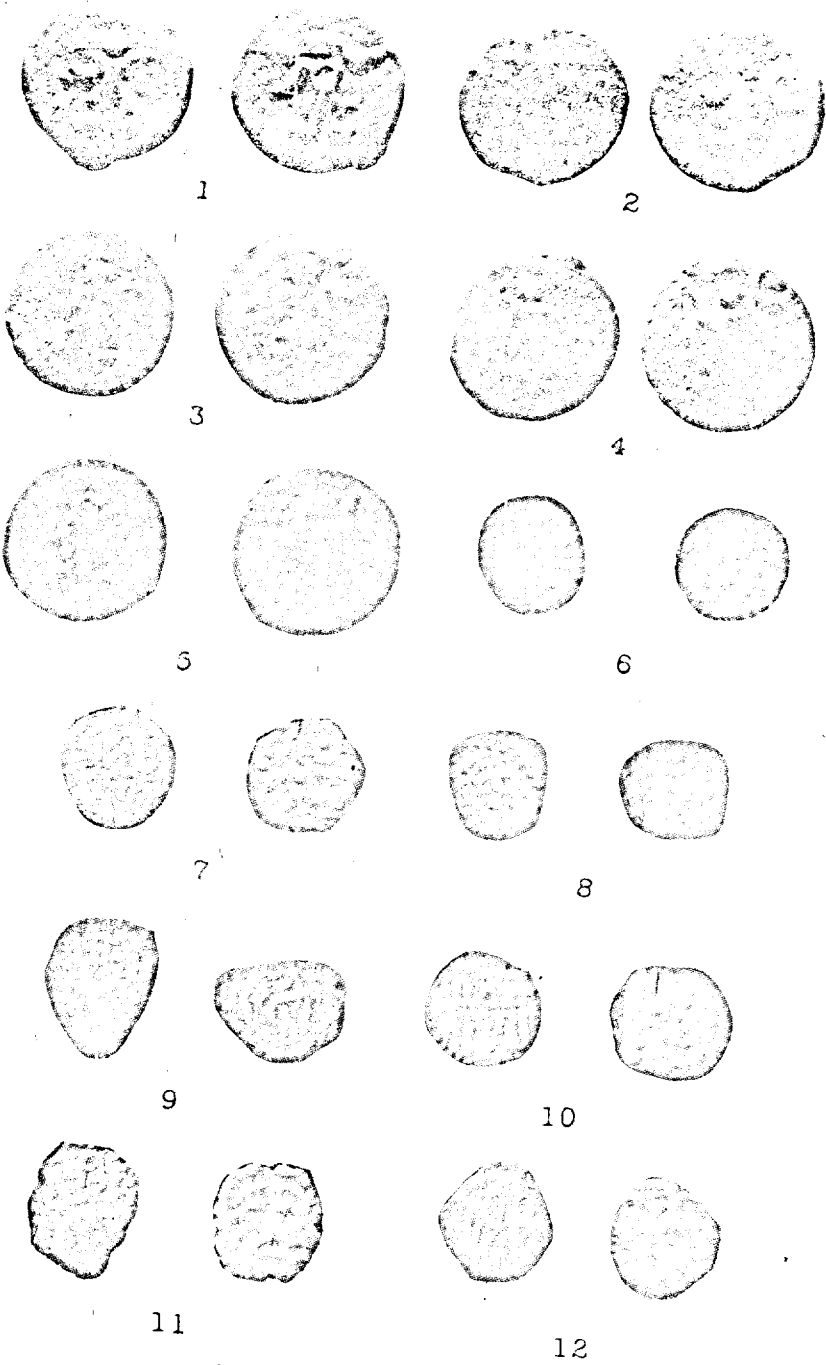
		1970 - 1971 1971 - 1972.											
S. N.	Name and Designation	: Actuals of 1969-70 'Salary' D. A. HRA CCA Salary	ESTIMATES FOR				ESTIMATES FOR						
			D.A.	HRA	CCA Salary	D.A.	HRA	CCA Salary	D.A.	HRA	CCA		
1	Asstt. Secretary	—	—	—	3,600	1,752	360	120	3,840	1,752	384	120	
2.	" Editor	—	—	—	3,600	1,752	360	120	3,840	1,752	384	120	
3.	Research Asstt.	—	—	—	2,520	1,752	352	120	2,640	1,752	264	120	
		—	—	—	9,720	5,256	972	360	10,320	5,256	1032	360	
4.	Sri Krishna Kumar Srivastava	2,820	840	—	—	1,752	282	120	3,060	1,752	294	120	
5.	Typist-cumclerk	—	—	—	—	1,560	156	78	1,620	1,176	162	80	
6.	Library Asstt.	—	—	—	—	1,800	180	90	1,920	1,464	192	96	
		2,820	840	—	—	6,300	618	288	6,600	4,392	648	296	
7.	Sri mohan Lal Peon	900	240	—	—	912	852	180	60	924	852	180	60
8.	Sri Office Peon	—	—	—	—	840	852	180	60	852	852	180	60
9.	Sri Library Peon	—	—	—	—	840	852	180	60	852	852	180	60
10.	Sri Buddhu Ram Gardner	852	240	—	—	864	852	180	60	876	852	180	60
11.	Sri Chaukidar	140	—	—	—	840	852	180	60	852	852	180	60
12.	SriRam Autar Sweeper	120	—	—	—	840	852	180	60	852	852	180	60
		2,012	480	—	—	5,136	5,112	1080	360	5,196	5,112	1080	360
		1,320	14,760 2670 1,008 14,760 2760 1016										

Sd. A. K. Narain
Chairman.

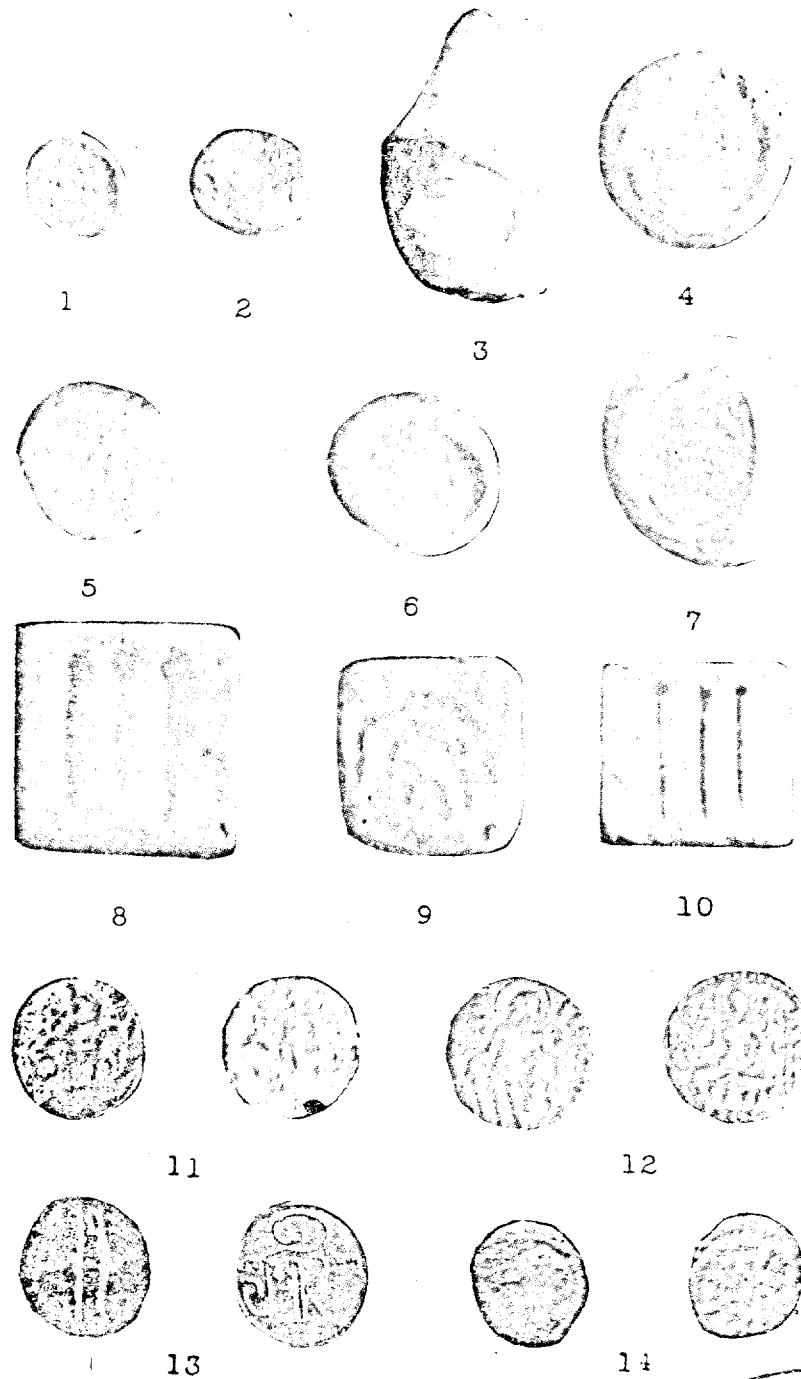
Sd. Krishna Kumar Srivastava
Accountant,



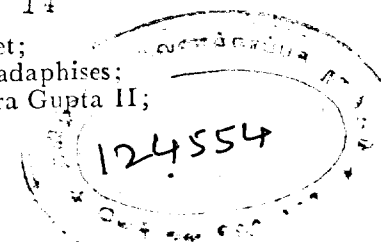
1-3. Coins of Śaka King Māna.
4-5. Coins of Early Ujjayinī Rulers.



1-5. Puri Kushāṇa Coins.
6-12. Coins of a new monarch of the Gupta Period.



- 1-10. Some Antiquities from Sunet;
 11. A Biga Type Coin of Vima Kadaphises;
 12. A Archer Type Coin of Chandra Gupta II;
 13. A Coin of Sri Varaguna;
 14. A Coin of Achyuta.



THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF INDIA

Published twice a year, in June and December, each part containing approximately 100 pages with five or more plates and is sent post-free to all members of the Society. Its price to others is Rs. 20.00 per part. It may be obtained direct from the Society.

Article on Indian coins, medals, seals of all kinds are invited by the Editors. Shorter communications, such as records of discovery of coins or notes on numismatic subjects, are also considered for publication in suitable form.

The papers and communications intended for publication in Part I should reach the Editor by the beginning of January and for Part II by the beginning of July.

All the matter for publication should be neatly typed on one side of the paper, with proper diacritical marks.

All papers should be accompanied with good neat photographs or white casts of coins, meant for illustration. Where difficulty is felt, the Editors will be pleased to help.

Contributors will be supplied with 25 copies of off-print free of cost.

All contributions and literature intended for review in the Journal may kindly be sent to—

Prof. A. K. Narain
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5

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