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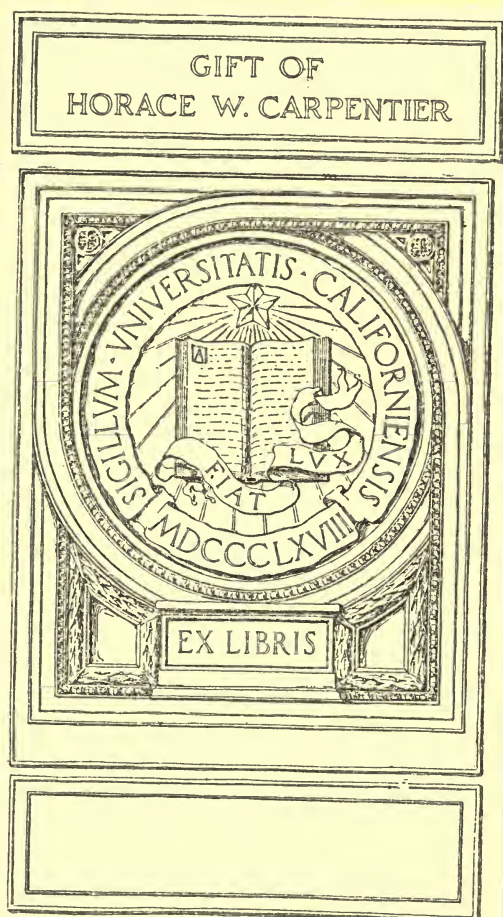
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1863.



W. Butterworth Brayley Esq.  
With the Author's best respects -

London 1849.

at Cal

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183  
L'appellation Lah a été abandonnée  
On appelle en moment m. des Satrapes indépendants  
du Saurashtra. Ils ont régné beaucoup  
plus tard, le dernier a été dépossédé en 116  
de J.C. V. Arch. Surv. X p. 127.

Les caractères sont indiens  
et non baotriens.

S n a  
214 Leurs noms sont Jena et Sinha suiv. le règne  
234 v. le Mem. de Bhagvāntāl Indrajī en  
Sinha Raport de J R A S. 1890

les Sak Kings sont  
les mêmes

Saurashtra

Satrapes indépendants  
de  
à

Le plus dernier est Svâmi Satya Sena  
le dernier est Svâmi Rudra Sena

247 de J.C

Conquête du Saurashtra  
par Chandragupta II (de la  
famille des guptas) vers 247  
v. Cunningham X p 127.

nommes de ces Satrapes :

~~J B A Soc I N. S (187)~~  
~~1158~~

v. Thomas Sak Kings.

~~X~~

les caract. sont indiens  
et non bactriens.

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THE  
EPOCH

OF

THE SAH KINGS OF SURASHTRA,  
*out régné de 157 à 50 avant J.-C (p. 48)*  
ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR COINS,  
&c., &c.

*A Paper presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, 15 April, 1848.*

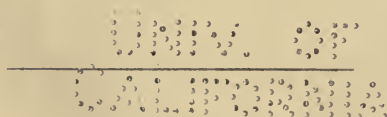
BY

EDWARD THOMAS,

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MEM. NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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*Argentine*

TO VIND  
ABROGLAO



ON

## THE DYNASTY

OF

## THE SAH KINGS OF SURASHTRA.

AMONG the many objects of Indian antiquarian research which possess general claims upon the attention of the Royal Asiatic Society, none perhaps can be cited as more peculiarly entitled to its fostering care than the History of the Suráshtran Kings, as illustrated by their Coins. The pages of the Journal of this Society contain the earliest systematic notice of these beautiful medals<sup>1</sup>; and though much has been written, and much additional information gained in other places, little or nothing has since been done by our Association to forward this particular enquiry. Having presided over the first introduction of this investigation into the world of literature, it is but fit the Society should watch over its accepted offspring; and if as yet unable to conduct it to a safe and satisfactory resting-place, it may at the least prove useful in advancing it some stages on its way.

The subject itself, at the present moment, is invested with some slight additional interest consequent upon a recent discovery of a considerable number of Suráshtran coins at Junír<sup>2</sup>, which has contributed two

<sup>1</sup> Journ. R. As. Soc., No. XII.

<sup>2</sup> The Junír *find* (August, 1846) consisted of some four hundred coins, comprising specimens of the mintages of most of the early monarchs of the list at present adopted, the series concluding with those of Viswa, the son of Atri, the twelfth king. Of the entire number of medals thus brought to light, a selection of ten has been forwarded by the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. These have been unreservedly placed at my disposal for publication. About a moiety of the whole Junír collection, in the possession of Dr. Bird, has been brought to England since the body of the present paper was presented to the Royal Asiatic Society; I am indebted to the owner's kindness for an opportunity of inspecting many of these specimens, and am permitted to cite the extra dates inserted—each duly acknowledged—at the close of the detail of these records, to be found under the description of the obverse surface of the medals of the several kings. As Dr. Bird proposes, at some future period, to

new names to the list of the previously-known Sáh Kings. A review of the entire question is likewise specially called for on other grounds, inasmuch as it yet remains no slight reproach to Indian archæologists that their best authorities differ in respect to the æra to which it is proposed to assign these medals, to the strange extent of many centuries<sup>1</sup>. Fortunately there is less doubt regarding the locality whence these coins chiefly come, and it is a most important point in the enquiry, freely conceded by all, that Suráshtra—of which the peninsula of Guzerát may be taken as the metropolitan province—is the nidus to which their origin must be traced. It does not often occur in Numismatic investigations that this point is so clearly and unexceptionably made out, and emphasis is laid upon the fact thus early in the present notice, as the singularly local character attaching to these coins affords a sure light amid the somewhat misty atmosphere in which the general subject is enveloped. Other salutary checks are indeed offered to any

give to the world his ideas of the history of the series—for which, indeed, he has for some time past been making preparation—I am the more particular in thus expressing my obligation to him for the amount of courtesy just noticed. To this I have now to add, that, since the foregoing sentence has been in type, I have been favoured by Dr. Bird himself not only with a close verification of the dates to which I at first proposed to limit my quotations, but also with a very full detail of many incidental peculiarities attaching to his collection, which, in my own very cursory examination, fairly escaped observation. Most important among these is to be noted the first recognition of the name of Dámá Sáh (the 3rd king) on his own proper coins, and the information attendant upon the discovery that he also was the son of Rudra Sáh, he having hitherto been known only as being named on the coins of the 5th, 6th, and 7th kings as their common father. To Colonel Sykes I have to tender my thanks for the liberal way in which the whole of his extensive collection of Guzerát coins—chiefly found at Kaira—was made over, to add to the materials already at command, and to test the value of the information previously made patent through the numismatic contributions of Steuart and Prinsep.

It will be seen that the Cabinets of the Royal Asiatic Society and that of my friend Dr. Swiney have each furnished their quota to the general illustrations.

A few valuable coins, part of a hoard of some hundreds found at Kamptf (Nagpúr), for the communication of which I am indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Wynch, Madras Artillery, have afforded important additional data.

I have also to add my recognition of the obliging manner in which access to the Prinsep Collection has at all times been accorded by the officers of the Medal Room in the British Museum. And, lastly, I must acknowledge the free reference conceded by C. Steuart, Esq., to the cabinet of his late brother, when necessary to decide any doubts left by the imperfection of the outlines of the Italian engraver who executed the original plates published in No. XII. J. R. A. S.

<sup>1</sup> "Anterior to the fourth century, A.D." Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 410.

"Fourth" or "seventh" century, A.D. Sykes, *J. R. A. S.*, No. XII. 477.

About "153 B.C." Prinsep, *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vii. 354.

extensive wandering from the truth, in the co-existence of three distinct collateral channels through which the examination of the details of this question may be conducted; and though it must be conceded that the insufficient, and at times inaccurate, evidence supplied by one species of testimony, may be difficult to be reconciled with the apparent facts, yet, on the other hand, anything like combined attestation derived from such diverse sources must bear a proportionately conclusive weight, and carry conviction in defiance of isolated obstacles. The tests to which these observations refer consist of,—1st, Coins; 2nd, Inscriptions; and 3rd, Written History, or rather the incidental contributions of Eastern and Western Authors<sup>1</sup>, which must here supply its place. It is not proposed to enter into the unnecessary detail involved in the invariable application of these tests under their separate heads; it will be sufficient that they be severally kept in view throughout the examination of the various branches into which the entire subject divides itself. They have been brought thus prominently into notice, in order to show explicitly the *whole* means available for arriving at a correct judgment on a somewhat intricate question; as it will be seen hereafter that the present paper is illustrated by little if any new *matériel*, and that its value must depend solely upon the correct combination of previously known facts.

As the subject, in its different bearings and ramifications, is spread over some centuries, and refers to many distinct races, it may simplify its due demonstration to premise the various heads into which it seems divisible, subsequently examining these in detail. It is to be noted, in introducing this preliminary outline, that it has been found advisable, for the more satisfactory exposition of the whole case, to reverse the usual course of tracing successions downwards in the order of time, and, in lieu thereof, to work upwards from almost the only given and *admitted* local date we possess, the Valabhi Æra.

The following are the different divisions of the enquiry, placed in the order in which it is proposed to advert to them:—

- I. The Valabhi Æra.
- II. The *Local* supercession of the Guptas by the Valabhi Family.
- III. The identity between the Guzerát Guptas and the Guptas of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The last ground has been so thoroughly explored by fully competent scholars that it would be almost impertinent to attempt to add to what has already been cited on the subjects embraced, by modern writers both English and Continental; hence I have limited my task in this respect to the simple adoption of materials ready prepared to my hand, without any needless question of the accuracy of the translations or tedious reproduction of original texts.

IV. The verification of these Guptas as the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians.

V. The interval between the rule of the Guptas and that of the Sáh Kings, and the traces of the intermediate possessors of the peninsula of Guzerát.

VI. The inherent title of the Sáh Kings to date in and before the century before Christ.

I. The Valabhi æra is fixed by undoubted evidence to have commenced in 319 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The exact epoch, however, in the lengthened sway of the dynasty whence the cycle takes its name, to which the initial date is to be referred, still remains undetermined. Mr. Wathen supposes that the reign of Sri Dhara Sena I. (the seventh in the Valabhi list<sup>2</sup>), witnessed the introduction of the new æra<sup>3</sup>, but from the prominent manner in which (his father) Griha Sena's name is recorded in Dr. Burns' No. I. Kaira Copper-plate Grant, it would seem that *his* accession, or some striking event of his reign, might well contest the honour of having originated *the* family cycle. This, however, is a matter which demands but slight discussion in this place, as it is sufficient for the purposes of the present enquiry to say that the æra of the Valabhis begins 319 A.D.<sup>4</sup>, and that—as is now to be shown—the Gupta rule preceded it.

+ <sup>1</sup> Albíróni, Reinaud, 142, 143; Tod's Annals, i. 801; Inscription at Puttun Somnath, dated in corresponding epochs of different æras, 662 A.H., Vikrama 1320, Balabhi 945; consequently, An. Valabhi 1 = 318-19 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The following is Wathen's list of the early members of the Valabhi Family:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| I. <i>Senápati</i> Bhatarca; 144 or 190 A.D. | IX. Maharája Charagriha I., or<br>Iswara Guha (Burns).                            |
| II. <i>Senápati</i> Dhara Sena.              | X. Maharája Sri Dhara Sena II.  |
| III. <i>Maharája</i> Drona Sinha.            | XI. Maharája Dhruva Sena II.  |
| IV. Maharája Dhruva Sena I.                  | XII. Maharája Sri Dhara Sena III.<br>Maharája Dhruva Sena III.<br>(Burns' Grant). |
| V. Maharája Dharapattah.                     | XIII. Maharája Siladitya II.  |
| VI. Maharája Griha Sena.                     |   |
| VII. Maharája Sri Dhara Sena I. 300.         |   |
| VIII. Maharája Siladitya I.                  |   |

The order of succession in Burns' plate passes directly from No. I. to No. VI., omitting the intermediate names.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., iv. 481.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. S. B., vii. 966.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Wathen, at the time of the first publication of his Valabhi *Tamba patra* decipherments (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), was disposed to render the date of the earliest of these records as संवत् ९ Samvat 9 of the Valabhi Æra: subsequently (J. A. S. B., vii. 963) he found reason to distrust this reading, and without attempting to fix the value of the figures employed, to decide that the date

II. It must be admitted that the direct and independent evidence to prove this point, is somewhat incomplete, being confined to a con-

inscribed referred to the Vikramáditya Æra. Prinsep, in one of his latest papers on these subjects (J. A. S. B., vii. 354), had also expressed his conviction that, whatever cycle might be understood as applicable to certain other dates then under consideration, the Vikramáditya Æra alone "must" be held to have been in use in the Valabhi Copper-plate Grants.

A reference to the numerous Indian Inscriptions published in Vols. IV. and V. J. R. A. S., by Messrs. Wathen and Elliot, shows most distinctly the general prevalence of the official use of the Saliváhana or *Saka* Æra (79 A.D.), and amid the ample series of the grants thus made known, some are dated as early as Saka 411 = 490 A.D. (iv. 5, v. 343), and an inscription is quoted, bearing date Saka 488 = 567 A.D. (iv. 9). The extensive diffusion of the practice of expressing dates in the years of this cycle is also confirmed by its repeated employment in the Rája Taringini (Troyer, ii. 376, 378), by the frequent appearance of the words *Sál Saka* among the epochal references in the Mackenzie MSS. (Wilson, i. 163, 264, &c.; Taylor, J. A. S. B., vii. 389, 469, 496, &c.); and, finally, Tod distinctly asserts that the æra of Saliváhana "set aside that of the Tuar in the Dekhan"—a practice which may well have extended westward as well as southward.

These facts are perhaps sufficient to authorize an inference that the *Saliváhana* Cycle was used in many of the earlier instances wherein modern Commentators have heretofore supposed that the *Vikramáditya* was the æra employed; and hence, in the absence of any designation of the æra intended to be understood, it may be held as more than probable that both the early Gupta and Valabhi Inscriptions had their dates recorded in this cycle.

Adapting the Saka Cycle to the various dates referring to these families, the several epochs recorded will correspond as follows with the years of our own æra:—

1st. The Chandra Gupta Inscription at Sanchí, No. 1 (J. A. S. B., vi. 455), dated in figures  $\text{सं० ३३३}$  or Saka *San 93* = 172 A.D.

2nd. The No. 1 Valabhi Grant of Wathen (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), dated thus  $\text{सं० ३००}$  Three hundred and odd Saka, corresponds with the early part of our fifth century.

3rd. The third Valabhi Copper-plate Grant (J. A. S. B., vii. 966) with the figured date  $\text{सं० ४५५}$  (Ibid., pl. XX.), assumed to refer to some period in the second half of the fourth century Saka, falls in with the middle of the fifth century A.D.

It may be necessary to explain briefly the reasons which justify the supposition that the first Valabhi Grant should be held to precede the third by a period of half a century, more or less; and this may be most satisfactorily done by quoting the independent evidence comprised in the following comments annexed to the original translation of the latter document:—"But though there were six successions to the Gadi [between the execution of the first and third Valabhi Grants], these must have been of less than the ordinary duration, for the minister who prepared the Grant in Srí Dhara Sena's reign was Skanna Bhatta; whereas the minister who prepared the present Grant is named as Madana Hila, son of Skanna Bhatta; thirty or forty years will therefore be the probable interval occupied by the reigns of all the princes named as having intervened between Srí Dhara Sena I. and Dhruva Sena III."

jectural assertion of Albírúni's, to the effect that "apparently *Balabha* followed immediately after the Guptas." Whatever value is to be attached to this inference in itself, which however seems fully justified by the facts, one most important item is derived from the preceding part of the sentence, which introduces the deduction in question<sup>1</sup>, viz., that a royal race of Guptas lived immediately *prior to*, and were exterminated *in* 319 A.D.

+ One of the main difficulties heretofore experienced in any attempt at a satisfactory allocation of these Guptas, so far as their dominion over the peninsula of Guzerát is concerned<sup>2</sup>, has arisen from a too implicitly received dogma—based chiefly upon conclusions drawn from the dubious context of the Vishnu Purána<sup>3</sup>—that the termination of the Gupta sway should be referred generally to the seventh or eighth century; and consequently any effort to locate the *earlier* portion of the dynasty—which is supposed to have been closely limited in the number of its members—in Guzerát at or about a correspondingly

<sup>1</sup> "Quant au Goutpa kâla (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot *goutpa* des gens qui, dit on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas; car l'ère des Gouptas commence aussi l'an 241 de l'ère de Saca." Albírúni, Reinaud, 143. Annexed is the Arabic text of the original.

واما كويت كال فكل كما قيل قوما الشرا اقباء فلما  
انقرضوا ارخ بهم وكان بلب كان اخيرهم فان اول تاريخهم  
ايضا متاخر عن شككال ١٤١٢

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 409; Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, vii. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Mill (*J. A. S. B.*, vi. 11), referring to the passage whence his inference regarding the age of the Guptas is drawn, designates it as an "enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs which caused the suspension of all the ancient records, and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be mis-stated as successive ones, and the sum of years readily palmed on the Hindu reader, to enhance the antiquity of the classical and heroic ages of the country" [yet he trusts *this* text sufficiently to add the enumeration] "is succeeded, in the last period immediately preceding the rise of the Guptas, by something more resembling the records of earlier time." The result of his examination of the whole question is thus stated:—"It is scarcely possible to fix the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age of Charlemagne in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the Guptas of the Purána." Page 12, *idem*.

So also Wilson (*Ar. Ant.*, 419):—"These considerations harmonize with the inference afforded by the coins, and restrict the most modern period of the Gupta Kings of Magadha to the seventh or eighth century."

Prinsep hesitated in his entire acquiescence in Mill's conclusions, and would have moved up the date of the Purána itself "a few centuries," with a view to placing the Guptas in the very age it is now proposed to assign them to. *J. A. S. B.*, v. 644.

anterior epoch, has been met by the insuperable obstacle of the admitted local domination of other races of kings, of whose *independent* rule there could be little doubt.

This perplexity is now removed, as we have direct authority for placing a family of Guptas, evidently extensively paramount as sovereigns of India, at an æra closely antecedent to the rise of the Valabhî monarchs<sup>1</sup>; a period in which neither history nor inscriptions claim for other sovereigns either local or suzerain supremacy over the peninsula of Surâshtra.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic word Balhara, as used in reference to the Valabhîs (Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, i. 24, 26, ii. 26; Masaudî, *O. T. F.*, i. 175, 193, 389; Gildemeister, *Script. Arab.*, pp. 13, 145, &c.), has been the subject of much and various speculation, in the hope of tracing through its derivative identification a connecting indication of the origin of those who, in later times, are seen to have borne it (Wilford, *As. Res.*, ix. 179). Tod (*Annals*, i. 801) endeavoured to show that as "Balnâth, the deity worshipped in Puttun Somnâth, *the City of the Lord of the Moon*, was the Sun-God *Bâl*, hence" came "the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, *Bâl-ca-Raé, the Princes of Bâl*, and hence the capital *Balicapur, the City of the Sun*," was "familiarly written Balabhî," and the word "Balicaræ" eventually "corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian Travellers into Balhara." Wathen (*J. A. S. B.*, iv. 481) was disposed to consider the term either as

a corruption of Bhatarca भटार्कः Cherishing Sun (a royal title), or as a titular distinction locally derived from the name of a district near "Ballabhipura," called "*Bhala*," which, with the addition of Rai, would have furnished the Arabs with the designation in question. More lately an attempt has been made to prove the connexion of the word with the *supposed* Palahra on the coins of Vonones (Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, vii. 650). Of all these, perhaps the only derivation upon which complete reliance can be placed is Tod's *concluding* identification, and that adopted by Gildemeister, whose notice on the subject may be best given in his

own words:—"Nomen quod بلهرا vel بلهري scribitur, Indopleusta et Masûdio auctoribus commune erat omnibus ejus familiæ regibus; secundum Hauqaliden desumptum est de regionis, quam tenebant, nomine. Utraque sententia recte se habet. Quinam Indicus rex Balharâ ille fuerit, diu latuit, nunc autem certo dici potest, postquam ea dynastia tum ex inscriptionibus, tum ex indigenarum annalibus, tum ex Sinensium relationibus nobis innotuit. Ea in urbe Valabhî, Guzeratæ peninsulae olim capite, hodie Balbhi vocata, decem milliaria Anglica septentrionem versus et occidentem a Bhowmnugger sita, inde a quarto sæculo exstitit, et ab urbe vel regione Valabhî denominata est. Itaque vocabulum بلهرا ortum

est ex prâkrita forma बलहिरात्र pro बलभीराज. Quum eorum regnum Gurg'arum et Saurâsh'tram complecteretur, omnino recte Arabes ejus finium descriptionem tradiderunt; postea tamen multa in Balharam transtulerunt, quæ in alios Indiæ reges valent. \* \* Posteriores deinde omnia conturbant, et Balharæ ascribunt Kanog'æ regnum vel alia." Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis, pp. 42, 43, 44.

Moreover, an intimation of scarcely less importance is conveyed in the general tenor of Albíruni's expressions<sup>1</sup>, which almost necessitate the conclusion that this particular race of Guptas were the *last* of the name who held any prominent place among the monarchs of India prior to the invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní<sup>2</sup>. Beyond this it is distinctly to be borne in mind that, with the exception of the deceptive epoch assumed from the Puránas, there is *no* date of any kind<sup>3</sup> to interfere with the free decision of the question at issue, on the evidence here adduced.

From the various inscriptions left by the Valabhí monarchs, some casual indications might have been anticipated as throwing light upon the history of the race they succeeded. To speak generally, this expectation is not realized; the information on this head, to be gained from these sources, being confined to the not altogether unimportant fact that the immediate predecessors of the Valabhís were of the Hindú faith<sup>4</sup>. Allusion is indeed made in one place to the suzerain under whom the family first rose into notice, and from whom the title of Mahárája was first received by the third Senápatí; nothing, however, is to be gathered from this reference beyond the proof of the widely-spread paramount power of the sovereign thus alluded to<sup>5</sup>.

It would also be satisfactory, as affording an important connecting link between these races, to have been able to trace the possible

<sup>1</sup> "Leur extermination," &c., note, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> It may be necessary to remind the reader that Albíruní lived under this monarch.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the Gupta Alphabet seems to have been ruled from the *assumed* date of the dynasty; and to show how little reliance can be placed on the inference, in itself, by which the use of the characters of the Gupta Lát Inscription is held to have originated at so modern a period as is claimed for it by some, it is to be remarked that James Prinsep himself, although he entered this alphabet in his comparative Palseographic Table as dating from the fifth century, had already admitted that its employment would apply equally well to the third century A.D. (J. A. S. B., vi. 556), an opinion indirectly confirmed by his own expressions at the moment of the publication of the Table itself (vii. 275), and distinctly repeated afterwards (vii. 348). In like manner, those who would follow the erroneous identification of the Phi che li (Vaisáli) of Fa Hian with the ancient Prayaga, the modern Allahabad (J. R. A. S., vi. 301), are to be warned against indulging in any inference, regarding the antiquity of the Guptas, based upon Fa Hian's omission to mention the Asoka and Gupta Lát, which he *might* possibly have seen had he visited the true Prayaga. (See Foe Koue Ki, p. 242; J. R. A. S., v. 128, &c.)

<sup>4</sup> J. A. S. B., November, 1838.

<sup>5</sup> "From the great Sovereign himself, the sole Monarch of the entire world." (J. A. S. B., Wathen, iv. 485.) Mr. Wathen adds—"This evidently refers to some one of the successors of Vikramaditya and Salivahana, the Pramara or Powar Kings of Ujain or Kanouj."

affinity as existing in their respective coins, which the general practice of Indian monarchs more or less distinctly developes in the early imitation by the succeeding family of the types of money found current in the dominions of their predecessors. As yet, however, no medals of the Valabhi dynasty have been definitively identified<sup>1</sup>, though a certain shadowy connexion might possibly be based upon the similitude between the device of the Valabhis, the Bull Nandí, as seen on their seals and inscriptions, and the self-same symbol to be found on the Suráshtran coins of the great Skanda Gupta<sup>2</sup>.

It may be unnecessary to pursue further this branch of the inquiry, as, however imperfect in itself, as it now stands, the concession of its most important bearing will be claimed hereafter under other proofs, which do not properly belong to this portion of the investigation.

III. The demonstration of the identity between the heretofore denominated Kanouj Guptas and the monarchs of the same name who were supreme in Guzerát, is perhaps not so easy as might at first sight be anticipated<sup>3</sup>, inasmuch as there is a necessary absence of the infallible proof offered by an uniformity of coinage, arising from the practice even then prevailing of retaining but slightly modified the forms of the existing currency of each kingdom that fell to the arms of a conqueror. Hence, though the Gupta *Guzerát* coins evince indubitable signs of derivation from the types of the money of the earlier Suráshtran Kings, they naturally offer few points of coincidence with the gold coins of the countries to the northward and eastward, whence the power of the Gupta race—whose identity it is now sought to establish—took its rise. Notwithstanding this, the number of miscellaneous

<sup>1</sup> The Táteríah Dirhems الدرهم الطاطري noticed as current in the ninth century, by Renaudot's Arabian Traveller, and subsequently adverted to by Ibn Khordadbah, Ibn Haukal, and Masaudí, convey too recent a reference to furnish any assistance in the recognition of the Valabhí currency; the money alluded to by the first of these authors may possibly be identifiable with the silver "Gadhia ká paisa," which must have been current about this time, and which agree sufficiently with the weight indicated by the Arab authority,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dirhems (which is proved to be equal to  $67\frac{1}{2}$  gr.; Marsden, xvii). Specimens of this Ass-money are extant, weighing over 66 gr., though the average weight of worn specimens is of course somewhat less. (See Renaudot, Reinaud, i. 25; Script. Arab., pp. 28, 166; Masaudí, O. T. F., p. 389; Prinsep, J. A. S. B., iv. 687; Wilson, Ar. Ant., 413.)

<sup>2</sup> It may indeed be a question whether these and other types of the ample Skanda Gupta coinage did not constitute the bulk of the entire currency under, if many of them were not actually struck by, the earlier members of the Valabhi Dynasty, while acting as *local* sovereigns, on behalf of the Gupta suzerain.

<sup>3</sup> Prinsep, indeed, assumed the fact as a matter of course (J. A. S. B., vii. 37). So also Wilson, in an uncertain way (Ar. Ant., 409).

indications of connexion between the two races about to be noticed, scarcely permit a doubt that the monarchs in question were of one and the same house.

The various links in the chain of evidence, at present within reach, tending to prove this connexion, may be briefly enumerated as follows:—1stly. The inference deducible from the knowledge gained by Prinsep's revised decipherment of the Allahabad Inscription<sup>1</sup>, that the Gupta family therein chronicled possessed Guzerát. 2ndly. The Third (undeciphered) Inscription on the Gírnár Rock, in the peninsula of Guzerát, records the name of Skanda Gupta. Prinsep, to whom alone the secrets of this monumental writing were known, does not hesitate to announce this prince as "one of *the* [then denominated Kanouj] Guptas<sup>2</sup>." 3rdly. The correspondence of the fact stated on the Bhitárá Lát, that Skanda was the immediate successor of Kumara, with the evidence to the same effect afforded by the Guzerát coins *per se*. 4thly. The identity of the title of Skanda Gupta

क्रमादित्य Kramáditya—as found both on his gold coins of the so-called Kanouj type<sup>3</sup>, and on his silver Suráshtran pieces<sup>4</sup>. 5thly. The curious coincidence noticeable in Skanda Gupta's alteration of the reverse symbol of his own Suráshtran coins, from the device originally adopted from his immediate predecessor, Kumára<sup>5</sup> Gupta, to the effigy of the Bull of Siva, Nandí,—which now appears for the first time on these pieces,—and the prominent fact explicitly dwelt upon in the Bhitárá Lát inscription, that Skanda Gupta was a firm adherent of the worshippers of Siva, as contradistinguished from the Vaishnaví leaning of those he succeeded<sup>6</sup>. 6thly, and lastly,

<sup>1</sup> "Magadha, Ujjayani, and Surasena are omitted; these, therefore, in all probability, were under his [Samudra's] immediate rule." Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vi. 975.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B., vii. 348. "I may here so far satisfy curiosity as to state that this third inscription, the longest and, in some respects, the best preserved, though, from the smallness and rudeness of the letters, it is very difficult to decipher, is in a more modern character—that allotted to the third century after Christ—or the Gupta alphabet; and that in the opening lines I find an allusion to Skanda Gupta, one of the Gupta family, whose name has also been found upon a new series of the Suráshtra coins." A facsimile of this inscription, taken with much care by Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, has been published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S. for April, 1842. No transcript or translation has been attempted.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., v. pl. 34, fig. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, vii. 356, pl. XII. figs. 18, 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Annexed* Plate II. figs. 39, 40, 41, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Mill, J. A. S. B., vi. 9. It may be useful to annex a detailed reference to the several Gupta Inscriptions at present known:—Allahabad, Mill, J. A. S. B.,

is to be cited the important reference (which more peculiarly belongs to the next division of the subject) conveyed in the superscription of the Indo-Scythic NANO, or PAO NANO<sup>1</sup>, on the obverse surface of the Suráshtran coins of Kumára and Skanda Gupta, and the appropriation of the exact types of the Indo-Scythian gold coinage by the earlier members of the Gupta family in their Eastern dominions, which are also duly retained by both Kumára and Skanda.

IV. The next point in the general inquiry—the identification of the Guptas as the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians—has, in so far as the numismatic coincidences extend, been fully and satisfactorily proved by Prinsep and Wilson: all that now remains to be done is to apply the already prepared arguments to the altered bearings of the question. So long ago as November, 1835, the first-named author demonstrated by conclusive comparisons “the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj [Gupta] coinage.” In October, 1836, a paper by the same writer appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which more distinctly and unequivocally developed “the transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coinage to the Hindú series,” at the head of which stands the currency of the Guptas. Professor Wilson also, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, in one place<sup>2</sup>, after enumerating other more obvious resemblances between the two classes of medals, goes on to notice the similarity which extends even to the monograms, which

iii. 257; Mill's *Bhitári Lát*, vi. 1; revised by Prinsep, vi. 969; Skanda Gupta, vii. 37; vii. 348; Chandra Gupta, at Sanchi, Bhopal, vi. 455; Budha Gupta, Ságor, vii. 634.

The following is an authoritative list of the Gupta Kings, as extracted from their Inscriptions:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| “ 1. Gupta.  | 6. Kumára Gupta.  |
| 2. Ghatot Kacha.   | 7. Skanda Gupta.  |
| 3. Chandra Gupta I. (1st Maharaja Adhiraja). ( <i>lit.</i> ) | 8. Mahendra Gupta (noticed as a minor only in the Inscriptions; the name is assumed from Coins).” |
| 4. Samudra Gupta.  | <i>v. B. vii. 38</i>  |
| 5. Chandra Gupta II.   | Mill, <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , vi. 8. <i>γυν</i> <sup>37</sup> .                                      |

<sup>1</sup> See *J. A. S. B.*, vii. 356. Prinsep, at the time he proposed this reading, did so with but small confidence. A comparison of an extended series of this class of Suráshtran coins with the Indo-Scythic pieces of the Kanerkí gold series, leaves no doubt of the accuracy of the identification. Indeed, if any additional faith is to be given to an independent though *subsequent* recognition of one and the same fact, it may be mentioned that my first detection of the real meaning of the corrupt Greek letters on the first-named coins was suggested by a transcript of the legend of a Kanerkí coin, to be found among Mionnet's fac-similes of Barbarous Greek (viii. pl. iv. fig. 28), before I became aware that Prinsep had already published a similar rendering.

<sup>2</sup> Page 418.

were copied by the Hindú imitators from the Indo-Scythic prototype<sup>1</sup>, all of which are mentioned as capable of being cited "as evidence that the coins of the Gupta princes succeeded *immediately* to those of the Mithraic princes, and that the former reigned from the second or third to the seventh century."

Prinsep does not seem to have insisted sufficiently upon the full force of the inference<sup>2</sup>, that the derivative which retained in such freshness the impress of its model, was in all probability immediate, and was extremely unlikely to be a deferred revival of a temporarily disused coin. Professor Wilson's perception of the real value of the evidence was more distinct, but his conclusion was deprived of much of its just weight by the indecision of his closing observation, which left a brief dynasty of eight kings<sup>3</sup> to find their own position in so undefined a period as five centuries<sup>4</sup>.

But little, perhaps, need be added to such authoritative testimony, further than again to point to the fact noted above, of the still more distinct evidence of association—of what precise character is not so clear—to be drawn from the discovery of the words PAO NANO—the almost uniform titular prefix of the Kanerkí Indo-Scythian gold series—on the Suráshtran coins of the Guptas.

The results deducible from the combined evidence of coins and monumental inscriptions, regarding the progress of the power of the Gupta dynasty, may be summed up in a few words. In the time of the full supremacy of the family, their empire clearly extended from

<sup>1</sup> See also the identity of reverses of Ghatot Kacha coin, J. A. S. B., v. 38, fig. 12 and of the Ardokro Indo-Scythic piece, J. A. S. B., 1845, p. 440, pl. 12, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B., v. 644.

<sup>3</sup> Prinsep remarks, "It does not appear who succeeded him [Skanda Gupta], or whether the Gupta Dynasty there terminated; but I think it is open to conjecture that the whole power was usurped by the Minister's family, because," &c. J. A. S. B., vii. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Since the above was read before the Royal Asiatic Society, Colonel Sykes has communicated to me the following observations, conveyed in a late letter from Captain Kittoe. The deductions in question, valuable in themselves, as derived from entirely new sources, and as the result of independent inductive reasoning, will be seen to corroborate in a remarkable manner the date of the rise of the Guptas already pointed at in the text.

"I have had four valuable copper-plates, from Nagode, in Bundulkund, of Sri Hastina, a cotemporary of Samudra Gupta, for he is named by the latter in the Allahabad Inscription (see J. A. S. B.), translated by Mill. These plates fix the number of years passed of the Gupta Dynasty at that time, viz., 163; this will prove the correctness of the Vansavalí, as given on the pillar, and will prove, I think, that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D."

the foot of the hills of Nipál<sup>1</sup> on the north-east, to the extremity of the peninsula of Guzerát on the south-west<sup>2</sup>; its southern boundary is not so well defined, but to the north-westward, suzerainty was claimed over the Punjáb to the banks of the Indus<sup>3</sup>. The same data seem to indicate that the possession of the more western portion of the empire was not obtained till a period subsequent to the consolidation of the kingdom on the Ganges. A possibly important point, also gained from these sources, is that *this* paramount Hindú race, who in later times, at all events, reigned *over*, if not *at* Ujein, is seen in two distinct instances to use the title of Vikramáditya<sup>4</sup>.

Having attained thus much of an apparent footing from information gained through other channels, it is necessary to examine whether the *written* testimony of the Hindús in any way corroborates the present conclusions. Without conceding the least faith to either the inductive or direct chronological data to be derived from the craftily-imagined and most inextricably-jumbled post facta prophecies of the Vishnu Purána, it may be sufficient to accept from its pages the bare position, and the partially confirmatory geographical information conveyed in the pretended prediction<sup>5</sup>:—"After these various races will reign" \* \* \* "and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayága."

The Rája Taranginí, the "*only*" Sanskrit Indian History extant, though avowedly local in its purpose, gives promise—could we but rely on its chronology—of unexpected illustration of the present subject of enquiry, inasmuch as it notices a Vikramáditya of Ujein, specified particularly as Emperor of India<sup>6</sup>, who nominated Matri Gupta (the only *Gupta*, be it remarked, in the list, within many centuries of the possible time in question) to the throne of Kashmír; moreover, to extend the coincidences, this Vikramáditya is cited as having previously expelled the Mléchchhas and destroyed the Sakas. The following are the dates of accession of Matri Gupta, as given in the original, and by the several commentators: Rája Taranginí, Wilson, 117 A.D.<sup>7</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Bhitári Lát (Ghazípur District), "Kosala" (Oude) of Allahabad Inscription, J. A. S. B., vi. 971. Nipál, idem, 973.

<sup>2</sup> Skanda Gupta Inscription at Girnár, J. A. S. B., vii. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Yaudheya, J. A. S. B., vi. 973.

<sup>4</sup> Chandra Gupta, J. A. S. B., v. 650; Skanda Gupta, *infra*, Pl. II. fig. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's Vishnu Purána, 479. The date of this Purána is fixed by Wilson about 954 A.D. Mill quotes the passage thus:—"And in Padmávatí, Kánti purí, Mathurá and on the Ganges from Prayága, shall the Magadhas and the Guptas rule over the people belonging to Magadha." J. A. S. B., vi. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Histoire des Rois du Kachmír, ii. 76 (Troyer); Wilson, As. Res., xv. 38.

<sup>7</sup> As. Res., xv. 81.

Troyer, 118. 11 A.D.<sup>1</sup>: Adjusted dates, Wilson, 471 A.D.; Troyer, 123. 3 A.D.; Cunningham, 430 A.D.<sup>2</sup> As it is manifest that the chief value of a determination of the identity of the individual, indicated as *Srī Harsha Vikramāditya* of Ujein, in the Sanskrit text, with any member of the family more immediately under consideration, would consist only in a possibility of thereby fixing with more exactness the epoch of the latter, it is useless to encumber the present essay with extended observations based upon such uncertain data. Neither under any circumstances should undue emphasis be laid on a catch identification of any one of the many *Vikramādityas*<sup>3</sup>; nor is much to be gained from a recognition of the possessor of the second title of *Sakári*, or even the more direct fact of a partial defeat of the Scythians<sup>4</sup>, as proved to have been effected by any given individual. The designation of *Vikramāditya* is shown, both by the Eastern and Western series of the Gupta coinage, to have been already in established use as a mere *title*, in contradistinction to its supposed retention as a distinct *name*<sup>5</sup>. As there were many *Vikramādityas*, so probably there were many *Sakáris*; every frontier encounter with the Scythians which did not result in absolute defeat of the Indian forces, would, under the usual terms of Oriental hyperbole, entitle the local monarch to the honorary appellation of "Foe of the Scythians;" and whatever may have been the real effect of the vaunted success of *Vikramāditya*'s arms against the *Sakas*—now conclusively dated—in 78 A.D.<sup>6</sup>, it is clear that, in some divisions of Northern India, the

<sup>1</sup> Histoire des Rois du Kachmír, ii. 365, 378.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, Num. Chron., vi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Wilford, As. Res., ix. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Taking the term *Saka* in its generic sense, as it was probably used, without entering into the divisional distinctions of *Tochari*, &c., noticed in *Ar. Ant.*, 138, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Pl. II. fig. 51; III. No. e; and Appendix, Pl. VII. fig. 7.

*Ère de Saka* <sup>6</sup> "L'ère de *Saca*, nommée par les Indiens *Sacakála*, est postérieure à celle de *Vikramaditya* de 135 ans. *Saca* est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire, dans la contrée nommée *Aryavarttha*. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des *Sakya*: quelques-uns prétendent qu'il était *Soudra* et originaire de la ville de *Mansoura*. Il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne, et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vînt du secours de l'Orient. *Vikramaditya* marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute, et le tua sur le territoire de *Korour*, situé entre *Moultan* et le château de *Louny*. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de *Saca*, et on la choisit pour ère, principalement chez les astronomes. D'un autre côté *Vikramaditya* reçut le titre de *sri* (grand), à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Du reste, l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de *Vikramaditya* et la mort de *Saca*, prouve que le vainqueur n'était pas le célèbre *Vikramaditya*, mais un autre prince du même nom." *Albírúni*, *Reinaud*, pp. 140, 141, 142.

Tochari, or Yuë-Chi, continued to furnish Scythic opponents for the occasional display of heroism on the part of the indigenous monarchs until at least the early portion of the third century of our æra<sup>1</sup>. The complete decay of the Indo-Scythic empire, whether due on the one hand to successive losses of frontier provinces, or to the less perceptible fusion<sup>2</sup> of the races of conquerors and conquered on the other, was manifestly a work of time, and apparent traces of the surviving power of the race were to be detected west of the Indus so late as the end of the fourth century<sup>3</sup>.

V. These considerations lead naturally to the next division of our theme, the interval between the sway of the Guptas and that of the Sáh kings, and the question whether the succession of the Guptas was immediate or deferred. In following out this enquiry, the principal point to be determined is, whether the Indo-Scythians—the predecessors of the Guptas in other parts—also possessed Suráshtra; a conclusion which is apparently affirmed by the appearance of their dynastic title on the local silver coinage issued by these Guptas.

<sup>1</sup> Note upon Ma-twan-lin, J. A. S. B., vi. 63; also Pauthier, "Thian-tchu," extract from the Journal Asiatique, 1839, note, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> M. Pauthier (Thian-tchu, Journal Asiatique, 1839) notices a curious enquiry, suggested by the similarity of meaning existing between the words Youë chi and Chandra Vansa: subjoined are M. Pauthier's translation of the Chinese text and his own notes on this head:—

"Dans la Relation des contrées occidentales (*Si-yu*), le royaume du *Thian-tchu* est nommé par quelques-uns *Chin-thou*; et on le dit situé au sud-est des Youë-chi<sup>a</sup> ou 'peuple de race lunaire' à la distance de quelque milliers de *k*. Les mœurs de ses habitants sont les mêmes que celles des Youë-chi<sup>b</sup>." Page 7.

<sup>a</sup> "Youë-chi, mots ethniques qui signifient de *race lunaire*, absolument comme le terme sanskrit चन्द्र वंश *tchandra vansa*. Voy. la notice sur ce peuple célèbre (que l'on croit être les Indo-Scythes des historiens occidentaux), que nous avons traduite du Pian-i-tian, liv. LII, art. 2."

<sup>b</sup> "Sou-yu youë-chi-thoung: mores cum (τοῦ) Youë-chi (moribus) iidem. Quelque extraordinaire que cette assertion paraisse, elle confirmerait le soupçon que nous avons déjà émis ailleurs, que les Youë Chi ou hommes de race lunaire pourraient bien avoir la même origine que les rois Indiens, aussi de race lunaire, *tchandra-vansa*."

May not these coincidences, conjoined to the curious verbal similarity to be detected between NANAIA and NANO, suggest the possibility of the meaning of the latter referring to the moon, and thus PAO NANO PAO being, the King, the Lunar King, or King of the Lunar Race?

See also remarks bearing upon the general subject in J. A. S. B., iv. 677, 684; and Tod, Trans. R. A. S., i. 207; also Annals of Rajpootana, i. 24, 563.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, quoting Foe kue ki, Ar. Ant., 307. See also Foë kouë ki, 83—"Les rois des Yuë ti continuèrent d'exercer l'autorité dans ces diverses contrées jusque dans le III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Au commencement du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, on parle encore de leurs incursions dans l'Inde." M. Rémusat.

*Tchandra gupta était-il d'orig. scythique comme les Youë-chi?*

Previous to seeking other evidence, it may be as well to examine the indications offered on this head by the respective coins of the Sáh and Gupta monarchs, in their simple relation to each other as a prior and subsequent series, and hence to determine whether the silver currency of the latter was a directly consecutive adaptation of the circulating medium of the former—a revival of a coinage whose issue had been suspended, but whose previously-uttered pieces still remained prevailing current and unsuperseded—or, lastly, whether the model of the Guzerát currency of the Guptas was taken from an intermediate modification, which may possibly have formed the connecting link between the moneys of the two races. The more obvious mechanical features displayed by the coins themselves go far to assist a definite selection from among these theories. In the first place, the fidelity with which the main characteristics of the Sáh head are reproduced on some of the earlier specimens of the Gupta coins, seems to negative the idea of the latter having been copied from any inferior model, and should suffice in itself to set aside the claims of the last-named *secondary* transition. The Greek legend on the obverse, on the other hand, shows signs of a material change from the unintelligible, though squarely-outlined and very Greek-looking, letters of the Sáh kings, to the ill-formed and straggling Hellenic alphabet in use among the Indo-Scythians, and points plainly to the occurrence of an interval—indefinite perhaps—between the fabrication of the one class and of the other. The variation also in the expression of the Sanskrit letters on the reverse, evidences extensive modification, such as could only have resulted from some considerable lapse of time<sup>1</sup>, and which it would be impossible satisfactorily to explain by any notion that the Gupta artists summarily introduced the form of writing current in the countries whence their masters came, to the permanent supercession of any characters in prevailing local use. The change from the old reverse device is of no import in its bearings upon the present enquiry, as it must have been effected from religious motives, entirely irrespective of any circumstances incident to direct or interrupted succession. The palpable modifications in both the Greek and Sanskrit alphabets now noticed, may be held to prove that the transition from one series of coins to the other was by no means immediate; an inference which is strongly corroborated by the recognition of a distinct group of medals also derived from the original Suráshtran

<sup>1</sup> Compare Nos. 1 to 12 with *a, b, c, d, e*, Pl. III. Prinsep had already remarked that "The Asoka alphabet (the Sanskrit one) agrees very closely with that of our Surashtra coins, which may thence be pronounced to be anterior to the Gupta Series." J. A. S. B., vii. 275.

stock, whose palæographic peculiarities, in associating them obviously and intimately with *the* Sáh exemplars, contrast broadly with the mutations observable in the Gupta series. (See 1st Sub-species, p. 56, Pl. II., figs. 35, 36, 37, 38.) Reviewing all these facts, and giving the requisite weight to the token of the intervening Scythic supremacy conveyed in the use of the title of their chiefs on the Gupta Guzeráti pieces, as well as to the valid presumption, hereafter to be noticed, that the Indo-Scythians themselves did not generally coin silver money, it appears necessary to conclude that the Guptas, on their conquest of the kingdom of Guzerát, contented themselves with remodelling the ancient Sáh coinage, which, from the numbers in which its representatives are still to be found, may reasonably be presumed to have continued to constitute the bulk of the currency of the province at that epoch.

Some objection might be taken to the apparent inconsistency of claiming for the Guptas a direct succession to the Indo-Scythians on the strength of similitude of coinage, when in a nearly parallel instance of imitation by the Guptas of the Suráshtran money, an interval of somewhere about one, or one and a half centuries is admitted to have occurred. If these several facts stood alone, and were to be tried only on their own internal merits, this objection might indeed be valid, but it is to be borne in mind that a very slow process of change would apply to the coinage of a country so nearly isolated in its natural boundaries as the peninsula of Guzerát: as, from the very nature of its geographical outline alone, it is probable that the purely local currency of the kingdom was, on the one hand, little liable to be exported, and, on the other, was but slightly affected by the admixture of foreign specie; so that any endeavour towards a revival of this indigenous currency would both find plentiful models of the old form of coin ready at hand, and, supposing such pieces still to constitute the bulk of the circulating medium, there would be a reasonable motive for imitation—even though remotely delayed—in the desirability of uniformity alone.

To the broad continent of Northern India a very different rule would apply, and amid the diverse series of imitations derived from the Indo-Scythic stock, now known to have existed in this region, the Guptas, had they succeeded at any *distant* epoch to the countries once belonging to the Indo-Scythians, and proposed to themselves to assimilate their own money to the later issues, would have been more likely to have *copied* the already existing imitations, rather than, as they are seen to have done, the best originals. Or, had they to choose a new mintage irrespective of successional associations, there must

have been other and *purere* models in the land, in the very perfect coins of the Bactrian Greeks, once largely concurrent, and necessarily to a late date co-existent, with the money of the Indo-Scythians, upon which the new types of coinage might advantageously have been based.

Again, in respect to the characters employed on the several series—a change from one language, the Greek, to a totally distinct tongue, the Sanskrit, in all medallie superscriptions emanating from the Eastern mints—accounted for as it is by a reasonable probability of the supersession of the former as a foreign tongue, in favour of the official language of the new ruling power, which was at the same time more assimilated to that of the people at large—would evidently require no lapse of time to accomplish; but a very different explanation is required for the numerous subsidiary modifications in the local alphabetical characters seen on the Gupta Suráshtran coins, as compared with the more ancient letters of the same class on the original money of the Sáh kings.

These pervading alterations could under no circumstances have been effected by any sudden process, or by any revolution which did not admit of a considerable interval between the use of the one form of writing and the other.

In the absence of either direct history or the more trustworthy record of monumental inscriptions, the next source of information to which it is requisite to apply, is the detached notices of classical writers, who in any way refer to the land and the people more immediately under review. Prominent among these is the reference to Mámbarus to be found in the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea<sup>1</sup>. This, however, when brought to the test of critical accuracy, is found to be useless for any present purpose, inasmuch as, in addition to the avowed difficulty attendant upon the satisfactory explanation of the text itself, as it has been handed down to us, there remains a nearly

<sup>1</sup> Vincent's Periplus, p. 98, and *note* on Mámbarus at the conclusion.

*Original Translation.*

"Next to the bay of Barákè succeeds the gulf of Barugáza, and on this gulf is the commencement of the whole [peninsula] of India, as well as the kingdom of Mámbarus, towards [the confines of] Ariákè."

*Vincent's Proposed Emendation.*

"Next to Barákè immediately succeeds the gulf of Barugáza, and the commencement of the province of Lár, [which is] the kingdom of Mámbarus, and the whole of this part of India has the same commencement."

"I have attributed the sovereignty of Ariake or Concan to Mámbarus, and I am now convinced that his dominion was Guzerát. \* \* I made the Parthian power at Minnagar, on the Indus, extend over Guzerát, whereas in reality it embraced only Scindi and Kutch."

equal degree of incertitude regarding the precise epoch<sup>1</sup> to which the amended textual reading—if received—should be held to apply. Hence, even admitting to the full that the original allusion to Larikc and Mámbarus is now correctly interpreted, the doubt still remains as to *when* this condition of things is to be made applicable to the kingdom more particularly in question. Thus the independence of Guzerát, at the moment of the visit of the Author of the Periplus, if acknowledged as a fact, does not under these circumstances possess any great historic value; nor would even the exact ascertainment of the epoch testified to, do more than prove the temporary existence of the kingdom of Mámbarus, or by any means demonstrate that the Indo-Scythians did not—either prior or subsequent to the given date—conquer the peninsula of Guzerát<sup>2</sup>.

Fortunately for the satisfactory decision of the present question, we have the evidence of a nearly contemporaneous writer, whose statement, though not in unison with the dubious reading of the text of the Periplus proposed by Vincent, is in itself clear and distinct to the point it is now sought to elucidate—the tenure of the peninsula of Guzerát during a portion at least of the time during which the Scythian monarchy at Minnagar was in effective force. From the testimony of Ptolemy it is amply manifest that Guzerát *once* formed a portion of the Indo-Scythian empire, the chief seat of which was on the banks of the Indus<sup>3</sup>.

Having determined the main question of fact, it is requisite to pro-

<sup>1</sup> Vincent, "about 63 A.D.," *Commerce of the Ancients*, ii. 57 and 635; Heeren, "during the first, or, at latest, during the second century A.D." *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 565, Lond., 1846.

<sup>2</sup> "Ozênè" is noticed in the Periplus "as *formerly* the seat of government" (p. 102). This would be by no means an unimportant piece of information, as showing that in the time of the second Arrian, Ujein was no longer an Imperial metropolis, were it not that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile this statement with the assertion of Ptolemy, who calls it "the capital of Tiástanus, and his royal residence." Vincent, *Commerce of the Ancients*, ii. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Lassen, quoting Ptolemy, *J. A. S. B.*, 1840, pp. 756, 757.

In support of the conclusion arrived at above respecting the Scythian conquest of Guzerát, it may be expedient to cite the decisive opinion expressed on this head by so able a Numismatist as Capt. Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineers, an Antiquary who has moreover devoted special attention to the subject of the geographical limits of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian monarchies:—"In the most flourishing period of their rule, the Indo-Scythians, under Kanerki and his immediate successors, must have possessed not only Kashmir itself, but also the whole of Gandhara on the Indus; and from Kabul on the west, as far as the Ganges on the east, down to Barygaza or Baroach on the south." *Num. Chron.*, vi. 2, *Article*, "The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir;" see also *Num. Chron.* viii. 175, "Chronological and Geographical Table of Alexander's Successors in the East."

ceed to that of degree, and to consider what was the nature of the tenure thus established. We learn from the Chinese, "That at the period when all these kingdoms belonged to the Yuë-Chi, the latter put the local kings to death and substituted military chiefs<sup>1</sup>." Hence it is but reasonable to infer that Guzerát, on its subjection, was put upon the same footing as the other countries which fell to the arms of the Indo-Scythians, and that the form of government previously prevailing in the peninsula was superseded by the usual military despotism of the conquerors. The application of this system to Guzerát in itself accounts for much that was inexplicable in the examination of the numismatic portion of the question, when confined to the results deducible from its own internal evidence, as developed solely by the medals themselves. Under a general scheme of provincial government by military chiefs, having in their own persons no pretence to the privileges or dignities of even dependant *kings*, it is probable that the local coinage was suspended in favour of *one* uniform imperial issue. The monetary standard of the Indo-Scythians was, without question, gold, as amid the multitude of their coins extant only *one* genuine *silver* piece is known<sup>2</sup>. It has already been remarked by Professor Wilson<sup>3</sup> that their silver currency consisted chiefly of the coins of their Bactrian predecessors, so also we may infer that, in like manner, in the province of Guzerát, the pre-existing silver currency was held to be sufficient for the wants of the community, especially when aided, as it now was, by the introduction of the more valuable and heretofore probably unknown gold coinage, at that period peculiar to these tribes.

If the data now cited, and the deductions drawn from them, are correct, it appears that the Indo-Scythians of Minnagar ruled over Guzerát—that during the time of their sway over this peninsula the issue of local silver money was not sustained; hence, admitting the obvious priority of date of the Sáh silver coins over those of the Guptas—for which indeed they are seen to have furnished the prototype—and rejecting all idea of the intervention between the Scythians and the Guptas of a dynasty whose united reigns can scarcely have

<sup>1</sup> Ma-twan-lin, *Pauthier*, *Asiatic Journal*, LXXIX. and LXXX., 1836; the same, *Stan. Julien*, *Journ. Asiatique*, X. 95 (1847); so also Thian Tchu, *Pauthier*, *Journ. Asiatique*, 1839. "A cette époque [159 A.D.] tous ces royaumes (Kaboul et les divers états de l'Hindoustan) appartenaient aux *Youë Chi*, ou peuple de race Lunaire. Les *Youë Chi* avaient fait mourir leurs rois, et établi à leur place des commandants militaires pour gouverner tous leurs sujets."

<sup>2</sup> *Ar. Ant.*, pl. xi. fig. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ar. Ant.*, 348. See also Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* vi. 7 (1843).

spread over less than a century and a half, it results that the Sáh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians.

It is now pretty generally conceded that the Yuë-Chi (Tochaes) conquest of Western India should be dated in or about 26 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, anterior to this epoch that the domination of the Sáh kings must be placed.

Having attained this approximate date from comparatively external and subsequent indications, the next step in advance leads to an examination into the intrinsic claims of the coins themselves to date prior to 26 B.C., as well as to a consideration of any testimony specifically applicable to the history of the Sáh kings, whose names are borne on the coins in question.

VI. It may be convenient to commence this section of the enquiry with "The Sáh Kings'" own account of themselves, as preserved in *their* inscription engraved on the rock at Gírnar<sup>2</sup>,—the monumental record stone of three several dynasties.

The amount of information derivable from this inscription<sup>3</sup> is less

<sup>1</sup> Ma-twan-lin, J. R. A. S., 1836; also Journ. Asiatique, 1839; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 765 (40 B.C.); Cunningham, Num. Chron., viii. 175; Ar. Ant., 301.

<sup>2</sup> "The rock containing the inscriptions is about a mile to the eastward of Junágad, and about four miles from the base of Gírnár, which is in the same direction." Rev. J. Wilson, J. A. S. B., vii. 337. See also a subsequent paper in the same volume (p. 865), by Lieut. Postans, giving a full account of the adjacent localities.

<sup>3</sup> On first arranging the materials of the present paper, I was prepared to rely implicitly upon Prinsep's translation of the Gírnar Bridge Inscription; but on its subsequently coming to my knowledge that a second more perfect facsimile of the original record had been taken by Major Jacob and Mr. Westergaard, and a lithograph copy of the same made public in the pages of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society, I was induced to apply to this transcript, with a view, at the least, of checking any possible errors in the more prominent names of men and countries that might have crept into the less perfect copy of the inscription furnished to Jas. Prinsep by Dr. Wilson, from which the original decipherment was obtained. In the progress of my examination, I was startled to find very extensive variation, both in the number and value of the letters as given in the two copies; indeed, the mere discovery that the opening name, read by Prinsep as *Ari Dámá*, was in the new transcript clearly and unquestionably *Rudra Dámá*—the identical designation that occurs in the concluding portion of both copies of the inscription—was enough to satisfy me that a complete revision of the entire document was now absolutely requisite. Under these circumstances, I at once applied to Professor Wilson, who readily undertook the task, permitting me, in the most liberal manner, to make full use of his new translation, which I am gratified in being able to announce will shortly be published in a separate form, illustrated by the needful notes and remarks. Such being the case, I have confined my notice of the inscription to such extracts and observations as were indispensable to elucidate the special subject of the coins of the Sáh kings.

complete than might have been anticipated, owing chiefly to the mutilated state of the face of the stone whereon the writing is cut, having created a succession of breaks in the context which it is at times difficult to supply. We learn however, generally, that the repair of the Girnar Bridge or Causeway, which the monumental writing is designed to commemorate, took place during the reign, and under the direct auspices of Rāja Mahā Kshatrapa Rudra Dámá, the son of Swámí Chandana. The structure itself would seem to have been originally undertaken by Pushpa Gupta [the son, or officer] of Chandra Gupta Maurya, and subsequently completed under the direction of Tushasya, the superintendent of Asoka Maurya. Thus erected, it may be supposed to have stood until carried away by the flood of the Palesini, which necessitated its reconstruction in the time of Rudra Dámá: what the extent of the interval between these given epochs may have been there is no means of determining, nor is any assistance in fixing the time of the later occurrences to be derived from what still remains of the defaced passage, which must once have conveyed the record of a date. However, from the separate mention of the names of Chandra Gupta, Pushpa Gupta, Asoka, and his subordinate Tushasya, as well as from the circumstantial reference to the progress of the work, as first undertaken, which marks this portion of the inscription, thus much may fairly be inferred, that the record itself cannot well have been endorsed at any period distantly removed from the time of the domination of the Maurya sovereigns therein alluded to.

Among the incidental notices of importance to be found in the inscription is to be cited the reference to the lands ruled over by Rudra Dámá. Of these, the names of Suráshtra and Anartta, as well as the designations of the countries of the Parántas and the Nishadas, are distinctly and unequivocally legible; and from among the doubtful readings, upon which less reliance can be placed, may be quoted Abhira, Khusmara<sup>1</sup>, Kukura, and the districts on the confines of Avanti (Ujein).

The sentence, "Having (twice?) conquered without deceit Sata-karni, sovereign of the South" (दक्षिणापथ), likewise offers matter for remark, as, from the distinct mention of the name and kingdom of the monarch in question, a legitimate expectation might arise of the

<sup>1</sup> This word is exceedingly doubtful in the Bombay facsimile, the initial letter occurring after a lengthened break in the context caused by the nearly entire loss of a number of letters on the edge of a fissure in the rock. The head lines of both the first and second letters of the word suggested are also only imperfectly visible.

possibility of checking the apparent date of the conqueror by the approximate identification of that of the individual conquered; in point of fact, however, even were it possible to select the king alluded to from among the rest of his race<sup>1</sup>, who are all supposed to have borne the dynastic title of Satakarni<sup>2</sup>, but little could be gained from this source, as the known history of the dynasty itself affords still less of *certain* epochal data than that of the race whose æra we would test by their contemporaneous existence. It has been remarked, both by Prinsep and Wilson, that perhaps the most trustworthy information we obtain of the probable date of these Southern kings is derived from Pliny, who mentions that the Andhra monarchs were very powerful in India in the beginning of the Christian æra. From the details given of the extent of this power, as evidenced in the numerical strength of their armies, &c.<sup>3</sup>, it might reasonably be concluded, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that such extensive supremacy must have taken some time to consolidate<sup>4</sup>, and hence that the family of the Satakarnis may well have been co-existent with our Suráshtran monarchs, at all events at some proximate period B.C.

For the purposes of chronological arrangement, it would also be highly desirable to have been able definitively to determine the position Rudra Dámá should occupy among the other members of the Sáh Dynasty. This might possibly have been done, but with the necessary reservation in regard to the additional prefix of Swámí, by identifying the Rája Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dámá of the inscription with the individual of the same title and name who figures on the coins as the father of the last monarch of the present list. There is, however, undoubtedly a difficulty<sup>5</sup> in the way of the unreserved ad-

<sup>1</sup> In number 30 kings, supposed to spread over 435 odd years. Wilson, Vishnu Purána.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 346; Wilson, Vishnu Purána, 474, note 63.

<sup>3</sup> Validior deinde gens Andaræ, plurimis vicis, xxx oppidis quæ muris turribusque muniuntur, regi præbet peditum cmm, equitum mm, elephantos m. Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, though he says, "According to the computation hazarded above from our text, the race of Andhra kings should not commence till about twenty years a.c., which would agree with Pliny's notice of them," adds the important admission, "but it is possible that they existed earlier in the south of India, although they established their authority in Magadha only in the first centuries of the Christian æra." Vishnu Purána, p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> This objection might certainly be overruled by supposing that Swámí Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Rudra Dámá, upon whose coins alone the latter name occurs, finding it advisable to distinguish, by some means or other, his own name—already so common in the family—from the analogous designations of his predecessors, adopted the expedient of carrying out this object by the introduction of

mission of this identity in the use of the extra title of Swámí on the coins, for the insertion of which there was clearly no want of room on the face of the rock whereon the inscription is engraved; and without such a convincing degree of certainty, it would of course be useless to raise up any arguments founded upon what may eventually prove a mere chance coincidence.

In concluding these summary observations on the Sáh Inscription, it will be useful to cite Prinsep's opinion of the internal evidence of the antiquity of the record, as shown by the form of the writing employed; an opinion, it is to be remarked, that possesses peculiar value, as having been adopted at a period, in his successful career of deciphering these monuments of antiquity, when his knowledge of the subject had arrived at its fullest maturity. "The character is only one remove from the Buddhist alphabet of *Girná*r. It has the same mode of applying the vowel marks e, a, and o, in particular to those excellent test letters n, ñ, and m. The vowel i is still formed of three dots: but I need not more fully dilate upon its peculiarities, as I have already inserted the whole alphabet as No. 3 of the comparative table," to which has been assigned the date of the third century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, it remains to be quoted, as a fact of some importance in the elucidation of the general subject of the comparative antiquity of Asiatic tongues, that the inscription is written in the Sanskrit language<sup>2</sup>.

It is now time to notice the more prominent characteristics of the coins themselves—viewed as a series—reserving the more extended examination of individual peculiarities for the Detail appended to this Memoir.

the extra title of Swámí, which, in appropriating to himself, he may have thought necessary to apply to his father, though his father himself, in rejoicing in a denomination hitherto unused by any monarch of the dynasty, found no occasion to employ the same distinctive word. This title is seen from the inscription to have pertained to Chandana, the father and grandfather of these Rudras (?)—a honorary prefix by no means necessarily or invariably bestowed upon the fathers of kings. (See Varsha, coin No. 1, Detail of Coins.)


<sup>1</sup> "The *Sanskrit* character of the third century B.C. differs only so much from the original form [the Buddhist alphabet of the fifth century B.C.] as the habits of a class of writers, distinct in religion [?] and more refined in language, might naturally introduce." Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 275.

<sup>2</sup> "All doubt as to the pre-existence of the Sanskrit in its purest state being set aside by the simultaneous production of a monument of Asoka's time, I need not trouble myself to prove the necessity of the existence of a higher and more remote model to account for the marked difference between the dialect of Guzerát and that of Cuttack. \* \* The dialect of *Girnar*, then [of the *Buddhist Edict*], is intermediate between Sanskrit and Páli." J. A. S. B., vii. 277.

As most readily to be disposed of, it may be convenient to commence with a description of the *Reverse*. The centre symbol of this surface of the coins uniformly consists of a base line surmounted by three semicircles, arranged in the form of a pyramid. This emblem is held—according to the circumstances under which it is employed—to typify indifferently the Buddhist Chaitya or the Mithraic flame<sup>1</sup>. Below this is to be seen a wavy line, which has been supposed to represent a bow<sup>2</sup>, but which more probably appears as the ancient type of *water*—a precisely similar line expressing that element in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Above the apex of the centre device is a crescent, generally carefully separated from the lines of the principal figure. On the right side of the upper surface of the field is to be noticed a seeming constellation, usually numbering seven stars, one of which performs the part of centre of the system; but at times this symbol takes the form of a single sun or star, the attendant satellites being transformed into rays<sup>3</sup>. On the corresponding space to the left there is a repetition of the half-moon which crowns the centre ornament. Around these, in finely cut and mostly uniformly fashioned Devanagari letters, are inscribed the name, title, and paternity of the sovereign who struck the piece. These letters assimilate in all needful respects with the corresponding alphabet of the Sáh Inscription at Girnár, though the general coincidence is less striking in consequence of the *die*-characters being so disposed as to make the head-line of the legend nearly touch the circle that forms the margin of the coin, which has led to a very constant omission of all those vowels which should be written *above* their associate consonants.

The necessity of compressing a lengthened inscription into a limited space has also tended to vary the apparent forms of some of the letters themselves, consequent upon an effort to give the requisite definition in less than the needful breadth. This will be seen to have been more particularly the case with the letter  $\text{ॠ}$ , which is at first

<sup>1</sup> This symbol “occurs on the Pantaleon Greek coins—on the Indo-Scythic group—on the Behat Buddhist group—on similar coins dug up in Ceylon—and here at the extremity of India. It is the Buddhist Chaitya, the Mithraic flame—Mount Meru, Mount Aboo!” Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vi. 389.

“In the centre of the reverse is the so-called *Chaitya* symbol ; which, had it only occurred on these descendants of a Mithraic coin, I should now be inclined to designate a symbol of the holy flame, trilingual and pyramidal, of the Sassanian fire-worship.” Prinsep, J. A. S. B., iv. 686.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart, J. R. A. S., xviii. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Ar. Aut., pl. xv. fig. 14; also J. A. S. B., vii. pl. xii. fig. 12; *infra*, pl. i. fig. 19.

sight scarcely recognisable as the possible equivalent of the  $\text{☉}$  of the Lapidary alphabet. Another notable difference existing between the two systems of writing is, that whereas the Inscription alphabet has no tops to the letters, except such as are incidentally added to express an annexed vowel, the coin characters, on the contrary, have invariably a head line, which, though it adds to the uniform appearance of the whole, debars the free definition of these useful distinctive signs.

Reviewing the whole of the symbolic indications to be found on the *reverse* of the medals of the Suráshtran kings, it is to be noticed that, taking the central emblem as neutral ground, common both to Buddhists and Mithraists, there is, with the single exception of the wavy line, a remarkable absence of *other* purely Buddhist signs, in the presence, *too*, of strange symbols. which have hitherto been seen on no acknowledged Buddhist coin: moreover, these identical devices<sup>1</sup>, the crescents, and, at times, a completely analogous form<sup>2</sup> of the star, figure as favourite devices on the avowed fire-worship coins of the Sassanians.

These considerations seem to authorise a supposition that—though already largely tintured with the prevailing and lately dominant religion of Buddha—the Sáh kings avowedly followed the ancient faith of “Sun Worshippers,” a creed of which their country to this day bears traces, not only in its name<sup>3</sup>, but in the still surviving temples<sup>4</sup> once devoted to the service of the Solar Deity.

<sup>1</sup> See Ar. Ant., pl. xvi. figs. 4, 6, 16, 17; pl. xvii. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c., and especially No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Longperier, Médailles Sassanides, obverse figs. 3, 4, pl. I.; reverse figs. 2, 3, Pl. IX.; see also X., XI., &c.

<sup>3</sup> “Saurashtra, or the region of the *worshippers of the sun*, comprised the whole of the peninsula at present called Kathiawar.” Wathen, J. A. S. B., iv. 482.

<sup>4</sup> “The earliest objects of adoration in these regions (Méwar, &c.) were the sun and moon,” Tod, ii. 301. “The only temples of the sun I have met with are in Saurashtra,” idem.

It is a prominent fact connected with the survival of this form of religion that Dharapattah, the fifth Valabhí, is noticed in the text of Wathen's first Copper-plate Grant as “*the great adorer of the sun*.” J. A. S. B., iv. 485. In corroboration of this also, we learn from Tod that “in the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the Sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle. \* \* Their highest heaven is accordingly the Bhan-t'han or Bhánuloca, the region of the sun; and like the Indu-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour, and dedicated to him the first day of the week.” (Annals, i. 563.) Hiuen-thsang found a temple of the sun at Multán in the seventh century, which was still in existence when the Arabs first entered India. (Reinaud, Analyse d'un Mémoire Géographique, 14.)

Prinsep's conjecture regarding the Buddhist faith of these monarchs was based upon three separate indications. 1st. The absence of all allusion to recognized Hindú mythology in the Girnár Inscription; 2nd, the reading of one of the names on the coins, as Jina Dámá ("Wearing Buddha as a necklace"); and, 3rd, the Buddhist leaning to be detected in the abstinence from destruction of life, laudatorily attributed to Rudra Dámá in the Bridge Inscription<sup>1</sup>.

The following observations are also illustrative of the general subject:—

"Nous en citons quelques traits dans une traduction fidèle, pour amener le tableau que nous devons faire des éléments qui ont constitué à l'origine le panthéon indien:—

"Le culte était simple [dit Goerres]: point de temples ou d'images. Les regards s'élevaient de la terre vers le ciel; là était véritablement l'empire du feu; là brûlait perpétuellement le soleil; là étincelaient les étoiles et les planètes comme autant de flammes au sein de l'obscurité; là resplendissaient dans leurs sources intarissables les feux, qui ne projetaient sur la terre que des clartés affaiblies. Le culte du feu est devenu l'adoration du soleil; le soleil, l'armée des cieux, les éléments qui leur obéissent, telles sont les puissances immortelles, et tels sont tout à-la-fois les prêtres du ciel; le monde est un reflet de la divinité; il existe par lui-même, il n'est limité par rien; en ce sens, la religion de cette époque est un panthéisme."

"Ces aperçus, qui sont pour l'histoire religieuse de l'Inde de la plus grande justesse, sont confirmés par les recherches entreprises dans les derniers temps sur les cultes dominans de l'Asie moyenne et antérieure; les débris des fables et des légendes populaires que les sources anciennes rapportent aux Chaldéens, aux Phéniciens, aux Babyloniens, aux Arméniens, aux Phrygiens, ont des caractères analogues et un fonds commun: 'Tout semble se rapporter au culte des astres ou au sabéisme, dans son sens le plus matériel. Le soleil, la lune, quelques planètes, certaines constellations, dans leurs mutuels rapports avec la terre, tels paraissent être les principaux objets d'adoration. \* \* \* La Perse, l'Égypte, la Grèce, et l'Italie même n'offrent dans leurs souvenirs antiques aucun fait qui contredise la portée de cette appréciation.'" M. Nève, *Mythe des Ribhavas*, p. 5.

"Les hommages des indigènes, à cette époque reculée, s'adressaient au soleil, à la lune, au feu, et à ce qui ordinairement frappe le plus vivement les sens et l'imagination. Tel est le culte qui paraît avoir dominé jadis, non-seulement dans l'Inde, mais dans la Perse." Reinaud, *Analyse d'un Mémoire Géographique*, 13 (1846).

See also the Vedic faith, as shown by Sir William Jones' *Essays*; Colebrooke, *As. Res.*, ix. 273; Wilson, *Introd. Vishnu Purána*, ii.

<sup>1</sup> "It is remarkable that, in the long string of epithets applied even to Rudra Dámá, the chosen *Satrap*, there is none which bears the slightest allusion to Hindu mythology; while, on the other hand, the coins of the whole dynasty bear an emblem we have hitherto considered either of Mithraic or of Buddhist import. The name of Jina Dámá ('Wearing Buddha as a necklace') is decidedly Buddhistic; and the epithet applied in the inscription to Rudra Dámá—who from right persuasion never put any living creature to death—proves that Rudra's opinions were at any rate influenced by the proximity of the important Buddhist establishment at Girnár."

As it is not proposed to show that the Sâhs were Brahmanical Hindus, the first point requires neither comment nor answer: in respect to the second, as the word Jina can now be proved to have been incorrectly read in the place of Jîwa, the argument founded on the previous interpretation at once falls to the ground: and for the third position, it also is equally based on error, arising from an inaccurate rendering of the original passage in the inscription; notwithstanding all this, there is some reason to concur in the idea itself, that the Sâh kings were "influenced" by the opinions of the Buddhists, though this by no means implies a complete desertion of the old faith.

This is scarcely the place to enter into any speculations on the connexion between these religions; but as illustrative of the subject more immediately under consideration, it may be mentioned that there are numerous instances of a strange association of Buddhistic invocations with the expression of the usual homage to the sun and moon, to be found in many of the Cave Inscriptions in Western India<sup>1</sup>.

Reverting to the *Obverse* of these medals, two prominent deficiencies have combined to obstruct any conclusive elucidation of the questions involved in the decipherment of the marginal legends—the one resulting from the use of a relatively broader die for this surface of the coin; the other, from the ignorance of the engravers of the language they endeavoured to imitate. The first of these causes has left us without a single complete *obverse* stamp; the latter has rendered that which has received a due impression—so to speak—illegible.

Before examining the legends, however, the more distinct and simple main device claims a passing notice. The head, which is seen to occupy nearly the entire surface of the coin, is remarkable in itself for a degree of perfection of outline and execution seldom attained by Indian die-cutters; and this superiority alone has been held to evidence either direct instruction in, or close imitation of, Grecian art; though the features of the face, the thin moustache, the ear-rings, and the head-dress, each and all bespeak the hand of a native artist, whose ideal of the form and apparel of a man (for whomsoever intended) was drawn from local associations. There does not seem to

<sup>1</sup> Sykes' Inscription, J. R. A. S., No. VIII., interpreted by Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 566. See also the same, with additional Inscriptions collected by Bird, (*Historical Researches, &c.*, pp. 51, 52, Bombay, 1847); also his notice of the derivation of the Buddhist religion itself, from the old form of Sabeian idolatry, *Bombay Branch J. A. S.*, May, 1844, p. 440; and *Hist. Res.*, p. 63, where he states, "I refer them rather to solar and elemental worship, out of which arose Buddhism, and with which it seems to have been intimately associated on its first propagation as a creed."

have been any intentional attempt to vary the profiles, such as under a higher style of art might have been aimed at, with a design of portraying each succeeding king; indeed, the original head is implicitly reproduced throughout, with the exception, of course, of occasional deterioration consequent upon inferiority of workmanship, which extends to the rest of the coin. The same remark applies generally to the entire execution of the die-arrangements, and it is a fact of perhaps more import than has as yet been assigned to it, that the coins of twelve kings should thus continue—throughout the period implied in the natural duration of so many reigns—to run so little changed in aught but the purport of the legends. The inscription that nearly surrounds the head, consists of two diverse, though undivided, legends, the more lengthened one being expressed in a singular imitation of Greek letters; the more brief record of three characters, which occupies the most roomy portion of the field, behind the neck of the figure, being understood to have an Indian origin. It will simplify the examination of these, to consider them each under their separate heads.

As introductory to the former, a few words seem called for on the form of the characters themselves: these have from the first been recognised as imperfect representations of Greek letters<sup>1</sup>, and each succeeding<sup>2</sup> observer has concurred in this attribution. Late acquisitions of more perfect materials fully confirm these early impressions; and though up to the present time we are still far removed from any definite and satisfactory solution of the purport the legends may have been intended to convey, nevertheless a few items may be cited as showing progress made towards the elucidation of the enigma.

Not the least in order among these is the fact of the specimens of the earlier coins displaying far more correctly formed Greek letters than the pieces which succeed them, justifying thereby, not only the inference that the higher we advance in point of antiquity, the nearer we approach the level of the intelligible alphabet in which the earliest legends must needs have been written; but also the more important deduction therefrom, that the errors of later copyists were beyond the reach of authoritative correction, and hence, that subsequent to the establishment of the Sáh dynasty, there was, in the one case, either a general absence of Greek interference with the provinces wherein these coins were current, and that the crude imitations of their characters were considered as evincing in themselves sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Stuart, J. R. A. S., Feb. 1837, p. 273; also Prinsep, May, 1837, J. A. S. B.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, J. R. A. S., 1837, p. 398; also Ar. Ant., 411; Stevenson, Bombay Asiatic Journal, 1847.

compliance with the demands implied in the recognition of Greek supremacy; or, on the other hand—supposing the complete independence of the Sâhs of Guzerât—we must conclude that a mere mechanical semblance of the original inscription was sufficient for the purposes of the later members of the family, who perpetuated it for uniformity sake, without thinking it necessary to render intelligible a record couched in a language at best but in partial use.

That these obverse legends were mainly the work of Indian artists might be held to be sufficiently established by the simple circumstance of the Devanâgari alphabet on the reverse retaining its fixed identity throughout the series, in the presence of a progressive debasement of the associate Greek characters on the opposite surface; but beyond this, the inference in question is strikingly confirmed by the detection—at an early period—of a tendency on the part of the engraver unduly to assimilate the general features of certain Greek letters to Devanâgari characters possessed of a somewhat analogous outline. This leaning towards the local model occurs in an unusually marked degree on certain specimens of the money of the second monarch of our list, many of his coins, at the same time, showing the Greek alphabet in its initial transition state between the more correctly shaped letters of his predecessor Iswara-datta's coins, and the less and less distinctly expressed characters to be found on the pieces of his successors. Aided by the hint derived from the latter fact, the former seems in itself to furnish a satisfactory clue to the explanation of the real history of the deteriorating process whereby the obverse legends of the major portion of the entire group of these medals have reached a state of imperfection amounting to a complete loss of the distinctive character of the Hellenic alphabet. A native die-sinker, who might happen to discover the similarity that may really be said to have existed between the occasional form of his own म and the Greek ϣ', would naturally—were the idea of their correspondence once adopted, and he himself left unchecked by needful correction—go on to endue each succeeding ϣ with more and more of the identity of his own Devanâgari letter, and less and less of the required features of the—to him—foreign character; the same course applied to the Α, Δ, and Λ, each of which might be made to coincide with an inverted म, would readily account for the number of such outlines to be found in these inscriptions. Erroneous forms once introduced, and subsequent imitators possessing in turn less and less knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. I. figs. 3 and 5.

the alphabet to be engraved, may well have produced the curious characters which now defy decipherment.

This may be a fit place to remark, that the earliest specimen of the coins of the Sáh kings at present known has one uniform Greek legend from beginning to end, and is entirely wanting in the Indian figures which are found on the pieces of the succeeding kings. The innovation of introducing *Sanskrit* numerals into the body of a Greek inscription seems to have originated with Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá. Another position is also gained from our latest numismatic contributions, resulting from the discovery, on a coin of Iswara datta, of a well-cut Greek sigma ( $\Sigma$ ) of the old form, which began to be locally barbarized in India, towards the commencement of the century before Christ<sup>1</sup>, and which is found in permanent use in its new shape (C) on the coins of Kadphises<sup>2</sup> and Kanerki. This, it is true, is but a small matter, but it should be sufficient to prove, even if there were no other evidence to the point, that the Sáh kings *preceded* the Kanerkis (Yuë Chi).

Regarding the intent and meaning of the legends, it is worse than useless to speculate upon probabilities founded upon such utterly insufficient materials as those now available<sup>3</sup>. It may be as well, therefore, to avoid all conjecture on the subject, confining the present remarks to what may be fairly affirmed as capable of obvious demonstration. Even the mutilated and clumsy attempts at Greek letters on these coins suffice to prove not only that the legends are *not* uniform, but that they vary *irregularly*; and allowing, even to the full, for incapacity and want of knowledge on the part of designers and engravers, this variation is *marked*, and apparently *purposed*. Thus, on the one hand, we find a certain given series of Greek letters reproduced on the coins of two different kings—as in the case of Vijaya Sáh, the son of Dámá Sáh, and Rudra Sáh, son of Víra Dámá<sup>4</sup>; on the other hand, again, are to be seen dissimilar Greek legends on different coins of one and the same Sah king<sup>5</sup>. These facts may be held to establish two distinct points:—1st. That the obverse inscription is *not* a Grecianized equivalent of the Indian name on the reverse,

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, p. 316, 318, &c.

<sup>2</sup> First century A.D.: Lassen, *J. A. S. B.*, 1840, p. 765; *Ar. Ant.*, 353; Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* viii. 175.

<sup>3</sup> As it may possibly contribute something towards the eventual elucidation of the purport of these legends, it will be useful to mention that the only coin I have yet seen with the Greek legend perfect at the termination has the concluding letters distinctly . . . . 1Y0 [Rudra, son of Víra, 8th king (Sykes)].

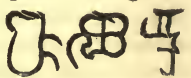
<sup>4</sup> See Detail of Coins.

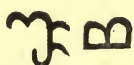


<sup>5</sup> Rudra Sáh, son of Jíwa Dámá. Pl. I. figs. 3, 5.

otherwise two kings of *different* Sanskrit appellations would not use the *same* Greek denomination<sup>1</sup>: 2nd. That a *given* set of Grecian characters being interchangeable for a *different* assortment on the coins of one king, and another set remaining unchanged on the coins of two kings in succession, it is clear that, supposing the Greek legends to purport the name of any existing being, the life of the individual so named must have been independent of the duration of the lives or reigns of the Sáh princes; and hence, that the name, if name it be—and its constituent letters do not designate a Greek equivalent of the title of any of the members of the Local Pantheon—should, under each alteration, refer to some one of a succession of potentates whom it was necessary or useful for the local princes of Guzerát to acknowledge.

It remains to notice the last and most important indication afforded by these coins, namely, the dates inserted near the commencement of the Greek legend. James Prinsep was indebted, for the original discovery of the fact of the characters in question being susceptible of interpretation as *dates*, to the identification of certain numerals similar to many of the figures of the coins, detected on some Guzerát Copper-plate Grants of the fourth century [Saka?], whereon the dates were written at length in words, and repeated in figures.

The ciphers supplied by these inscriptions were



= 394— = 380— = 15, and 

= 385<sup>2</sup>. Prinsep had, therefore, as he supposed, the decimal num-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stevenson, in his account of the late discovery of Suráshtan coins at Junír (Púnah Collectorate), published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society, July, 1847, acting upon the supposition that the Greek inscription might be a mere translate adaptation of the native name on the reverse surface of the coin, has endeavoured to show that, the obverse legend on a piece (infrá, Pl. I. 5) of Rudra Sáh, the son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá, is to be read as  $\Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\iota\varsigma$  for *Deva Rudra*. Setting aside the unsatisfactory nature of both reading and rendering in this particular case, the rule itself is shown to be entirely inapplicable in its details to the later coins, and equally inconsistent with the facts developed by the change of inscription on Rudra Sáh's own coins as above noticed. I transcribe Dr. S.'s words:—"The first eight of these letters I read  $\Delta\iota\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\iota\varsigma$ . The last with two fragments I suppose to belong to a new word, of which too little remains to found any conjecture upon. If I am right in reference to the first word, it will be a tolerable translation into Greek of *Rudra*, or even of Rudra Saha, supposing Dio, as in Dionysius, &c., to be the name of Jupiter, and the other element meaning, like Rudra, the causer of grief."

<sup>2</sup> The first, second, and fourth of these sets of numerals are facsimiles taken from the original copper-plates now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

bers 1, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9 represented by their equivalent figures. In the progress of his enquiry, he was enabled to collect no less than fifteen different symbols; the superfluous five, which remained over and above the requisite set of decimals, were imagined to be merely modifications of the correct form of the original ciphers. This excess, however, was felt and acknowledged to be a difficulty, for the solution of which it was imagined<sup>1</sup> there existed no sufficient data.

An extended collation of the old<sup>2</sup> and many newly acquired specimens<sup>3</sup> of the Sáh coins has now distinctly proved that there were a separate set of symbols used to denote units, tens, and hundreds, and hence that the figures employed were incapable of acquiring local value, or attaining any accession of power from relative position; so that each by itself expressed in full its own corresponding number, independent of any numerals that might precede or follow it. Of the hundreds, the coins show but one example  $\Upsilon = 300$ . Of the tens they disclose the  $\mathfrak{M} = 80$ , and  $\mathfrak{O}$  or  $\oplus = 90$ , whose values are verified by the copper-plates, and the unidentified forms of  $\theta^4$  or  $\eta$  also  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mathfrak{J}$  or  $\mathfrak{J}$  also  $\mathfrak{J}$ ,  $\gamma$  or  $\mathfrak{Y}$ , and  $\mathfrak{Z}$ . The  $\mathfrak{E} = 10$  has been found solely on the copper-plates.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's suspicions as to the possibility of these figures being independent symbolical numerals—each representing in itself a given number, irrespective of their relative collocation—were naturally excited at finding a character, differing obviously from his own assumed figure *one*, used—in combination with a distinct unit, possessing its own separate power—to represent the value of *ten* (J. A. S. B., vii. 353). Had he seen the original Copper-plate Grant dated 380, he would probably have been confirmed in the opinion that the series of figures in question must be wanting in local value, as the symbol which expresses 80 is here seen to stand without the succeeding dot, reproduced—we must infer—from the inaccurate facsimile furnished by Dr. Burns, as No. 2, Pl. XX., Vol. VII. If the symbol  $\mathfrak{M}$  stood merely for 8, and not for 80, and the “ $\mathfrak{J}$ ” in like manner represented 3 instead of 300, the want of this dot in the *figured* date would obviously have made the combined ciphers equivalent to 38, instead of the sum of 380, as required by the context of the *written* date.

An error that must also have seriously tended to mislead Prinsep's decision of the debated question, was his mistaken reading of the figured date on one of his own coins (J. A. S. B., vii. 350, and fig. 12, pl. xii. re-engraved in the accompanying plate I. as fig. 19), wherein the symbol  $\Upsilon$ , which is in effect never found except in the third or hundred place of the date, has been quoted as occupying the second or decimal place of the date, leading naturally to the supposition that the figure was moveable, and therefore, inferentially, that the other numerals were in like manner transferable, and, as such, capable of acquiring relative value.

<sup>2</sup> Steuart's collection, James Prinsep's Cabinet, British Museum, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Sykes, Colonel Wynch, Baron de Berh, &c.

<sup>4</sup> See also Wathen's Guzerát Copper-plate, *figured* date  $\Upsilon\theta$ . J. A. S. B., iv. pl. XL.

The unit numerals to be traced on the coins are nine in number—  
 —, =, ≡, 4 or ५ also ४ = 4, ५ = 5, ६, ७ or ८, ८ or ९,  
 and ५ or ६.

As it will be seen that there is no conclusive evidence whereby to determine the correct order of succession<sup>1</sup> of the several princes of the Sáh family, and as it is upon such data alone that the principal conclusions regarding the numerical value of the different figures would have to depend, it may be as well to reserve any attempt at a detail verification of the import of the more doubtful symbols, and to rest content with certain palpable general inferences, which, however, will be found fully sufficient for all purposes of Dynastical *emplacement*. An additional difficulty in the way of a comprehensive assignment of the order and powers of this series of figures is found in the circumstance, that, inasmuch as they are now shown to be symbolic numerals, not only is it incumbent to determine the value of the larger number of nineteen figures, at the least, instead of the anticipated ten; but in the recognition of the fact that a separate set of numerals stood for units, tens, and hundreds respectively, we are deprived of much of the advantage which might otherwise have been derived from the identification of the *ancient* as compared with the possibly assimilate *modern* form of the same ciphers, had the


<sup>1</sup> For instance, although the several kings are placed in a certain order, and numbered for facility of reference, there is but little authority for the distribution, which has been adopted simply as Prinsep's final arrangement (J. A. S. B., vii. 358), without any critical examination of the value of the arrangement itself, with the means of testing which we are still unprovided, as there exists neither any written list whereby to determine the relative precedence of each monarch, nor any scale completely applicable to the decision of the question of individual priority in the possibly imperfect order of succession conveyed by the coins themselves.




To show how arbitrary the collocation hitherto received may perchance prove to be, it may be noticed that, in addition to the uncertainty attendant upon the position each head of a family ought to hold in the general list, there is not only the difficulty attaching to the succession of several brothers, but the still greater obstruction existing in the fact that our list contains the names of no less than five individuals designated as sons of Rudra Sáh, and this last denomination recurs no less than three times as indicating a reigning king, each having a different progenitor. The information to be gathered from the Sanskrit superscriptions on the medals does not suffice to show to which of the three Rudras any one of the five sons of Rudra Sáh owed his birth.

It is true there are certain minor and incidental items which tend to satisfy us with portions of the entire distribution, such as the coincidence of the use of a given date on the money of father and son; but far more definite data are requisite before it would be safe to take the serial order of the monarchs as a basis for the determination of a complicated numerical system.

number of the former been confined to the ten decimal figures at present in use.



If these symbols are admitted to be figures importing dates—and in truth there is but little reason to say they are not—thirteen kings out of the entire fourteen in the present list reigned in the fourth century of a given era<sup>1</sup>. This assertion may be considered as some-

<sup>1</sup> A consideration that undoubtedly tends to cause distrust in the conclusiveness of the decision, which assigns the value of 300 to all the known forms of the symbol , arises from the circumstance of its appearing as the unvarying representative of the hundreds on both the coins and inscriptions [the Multye plates, J. A. S. B., vi. 370, may possibly prove an exception to this rule], and the singular coincidence which results from the facts that, among the many dated coins now capable of citation, and the fair proportion of *figure-dated* copper-plate grants at present known, not only must each and all, under this view of the case, be dated in 300 and odd; but likewise, strange to say, the same identical hundreds as found on these different monuments must of necessity be referred to totally distinct cycles, whose initial epochs are removed from each other by an interval of some centuries at the very least.

 These observations lead naturally to the inquiry, whether, in the early stages of progressive improvement in notation, it may not have been possible that, whereas we find a striking want of variety in the outlines, and a marked absence of ingenuity in the expression of the distinctive forms, of the decimal ciphers, that so, in like manner, the changes in the definition of the different hundreds may have been in part effected by minor and subsidiary additions to a fixed symbol, as is still practised in the entire Tibetan numerical system. It will be seen that there is a palpable variation in the form and numbers of the side *spur* strokes in different examples of the figure , passing from the occasional entire omission of the mark to the use of one or two of these lines, and in some instances (No. 6, Pl. XX., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.) the simple lower stroke is changed into a complete subjunctive curve, making in itself a second character, similar to the body of the old alphabetical letter  N. But, on the other hand, it will not fail to be remarked that there is much latitude discoverable in the expression of many of the unit figures, whose complete identity of value there is but little reason to discredit, and hence that it would be unsafe to assume a difference of power to be conveyed in the one case, by what is possibly a mere flourish, which could not be similarly claimed for a like modification in another.

In continuation of these remarks, this may be a fit place to examine—somewhat more at large than the patience of the general reader would probably have submitted to in the text—the various coincidences tending to throw light upon the powers of the different symbols we are at present in possession of.

Passing on from the single hundred as yet found, the decimal numbers next claim attention.

 The  is a fixed quantity, whose value is determined by its use in two distinct instances in the context of the Guzerát Copper-plate Inscriptions as the corresponding equivalent of the written number *ten* (Dr. Burns' Copper-plates, Nos. 2 and 3, J. A. S. B., vii. 349): no such complicated form, or any sign at all

what startling in referring to the well ascertained average of the length of Indian reigns<sup>1</sup>, thirteen of which should, under ordinary

approaching a Sanskrit double  $\text{६}''$  or  $\text{६}dd$ , with a vowel attached, has as yet been discovered among the series of numerals developed by the coins.

$\text{ॐ} \text{ॐ}$  The power of the sign  $\text{ॐ} = 80$  has also been settled definitively by the Copper-plates, on which it is seen to undergo certain alterations of outline (p. 32, *suprà*), though its integral character is subjected to no change sufficiently decided to authorize a supposition that the many similar, though slightly varied, symbols to be found on the medals, are only modifications of the regular form of the original numeral: hence, though it may be necessary to admit the sign  $\text{ॐ}$  as possibly a cursive delineation of the more formal  $\text{ॐ}$ , yet the figures  $\text{ॐ}$  and  $\text{ॐ}$  clearly claim a separate identity: it is a singular fact in regard to the shapes of the two former symbols, that on the leaden coins (27, 28, 30, 31) the sign almost invariably (29) takes the same squarely-based outline which it assumes on the Copper-plates, whereas, on the silver money, it never appears except as  $\text{ॐ}$ .

$\text{ॐ}$  To dispose of the proved numerals, before proceeding to the consideration of those whose value is as yet unascertained, it remains to refer to the form  $\text{ॐ} = 90$ , which, when analyzed, seems to offer nothing more than a duplication of the crude symbol used for the  $\text{ॐ} = 80$ ; in like manner, the improved  $\text{ॐ}$  is readily convertible into the higher number by the simple addition of a central cross-stroke.

$\text{ॐ} \text{ॐ}$  What the values of  $\text{ॐ}$  and  $\text{ॐ}$ , supposing them to be independent numbers, may chance to be, there are no present means of deciding. The former, as most clearly developed on the better preserved coins, assumes the appearance of a Greek  $\theta$ ; on some of the less perfect specimens, however, it takes the form of the old  $\text{ख} kh$  of the fifth century B.C., and at times that of the modern Tibetan  $\text{ॐ}$  one. Again, on Wathen's Guzerát Plate (J. A. S. B., iv. 481), what may be assumed to be an identical cipher also displays much of the likeness of a cursive  $\text{ख}$ —a letter which will be seen to have undergone but little change during the interval which elapsed between the epoch of the Sális and that of the Valabhis.

Were the sign  $\text{ॐ}$  written perpendicularly, instead of horizontally, there would be little hesitation in pointing to its identity with the oldest known form of the letter  $\text{म}$ : the fact of the  $\text{म}$  of the more modern legends on the coins themselves appearing in a different shape to that retained by the *figure* letter, would offer no obstacle to the admission of the original derivation of the symbol from the alphabets of earlier times, as this may well have kept its fixed integrity of

<sup>1</sup> Tod, i. 52, "Average rate of reigns of the chief dynasties of Rajast'han," extending over 119 kings, gives "an average of 22 years for each reign;" see also Wathen, J. R. A. S., v. 346, whose original documents show rather more than 25 years for the average reign of each prince during a period of 535 years; and Elliot's Inscriptions, J. R. A. S., iv. 5, prove an average length of reign of each sovereign, during the rule of two dynasties, numbering in all 21 kings, as 17.7 years.

circumstances, be represented by a sum of more than two centuries ( $13 \times 17 = 221$ ), instead of being compressed into less than one; but there are other circumstances that lend support to the deduction necessitated by the admission of the proposed purport of the coin dates. Among these may be classed the consideration—to which attention has already been drawn—of the almost unvarying similitude that pervades the entire suite of the Sáh coins, which, in its simple



outline quite independent of any progressive modifications the general Devanágari alphabet may in the mean time have undergone.



𑂔 Prinsep was inclined to consider this letter—the ancient 𑂔 *s*—as the repre-



sentative of the modern figure ७, the idea being advanced simply on the strength of the letter in question constituting the initial consonant of the word *sapta* (seven). The attribution is, however, clearly inadmissible, as the figure never appears in the unit place in the dates, the several series of figures composing which are now clearly seen to be wanting in local value. Its identification as the representative of 70 would be satisfactory enough were there any more certain grounds whereon to base a decisive assignment of this kind; but a degree of difficulty exists in the apparently anomalous position held by the 𑂔 on certain coins (No. 7, &c.), as compared with its seeming import on the copper-plates. If the relative priority of the coins, *inter se*, as at present arranged, is correct, and the 𑂔 is in all cases to be held to express 300, the symbol 𑂔, as it appears on these medals, must needs refer to some of the decimal numbers of the first half—if not to the earlier part of that moiety—of the century; whereas, when tested by the comparative dates on the two Guzerát *Valabhi* Plates (J. A. S. B., iv. 481, and vii. 966, and *ante* note, p. 5), and the period which it seems necessary to suppose to have elapsed between the execution of the one and the other, there is great reason to conclude that the 𑂔 in the later of these documents represents some of the higher decimals, or at least one of those that should fall into the second half of a century. Looking to these facts, I am induced to distrust the entire arrangement of the list of kings as heretofore adopted, though in the present insufficiency of materials to justify any new collocation, I hesitate to propose any alteration in the order of succession hitherto received, further than drawing attention to the principle involved in the explanation of the difficulties of the case, suggested in the text at p. 39.

The figure 𑂔, as seen on the less perfect coins, frequently assumes the appearance of the lower portion of a modern 𑂔. At first sight, this might possibly be looked upon as a different sign; but it will be seen that the mode of writing the 𑂔 in use on the coins occasionally admitted of the complete omission of the first down-stroke of the letter, though its place was in a measure supplied by the due expression of the mark which should otherwise have formed the head line of the missing stroke (See fig. 3, reverse). There is a single instance of an addition to the original type of the figure, in the continuation of the second perpendicular line of the 𑂔 in the shape of the lower limb of an 𑂔, similar to that




mechanical indication, implies a comparatively speedy sequence of fabrication, as well as the fact, also confirmatory of an inference admitting the brief duration of the series of reigns made known by our medals, developed in the occurrence, amid so limited a list of kings, of two distinct instances of a succession of three brothers. Moreover, in adverting to this last point, it is to be remembered that coins alone, in the absence of any full list of sovereigns, only prove their own case, and the medals now available by no means show that in this given

already noticed as occurring on the . Subjoined is a copy of the date containing this symbol, taken from a mutilated coin of one of the sons of Dámá Sáh—

J This symbol is seen to occupy the second place in the figured date on the leaden coins Nos. 33, 34; it occurs on the silver money of Dámá Sáh, and has also been found, in a slightly varied shape, in the same relative position, on the Bhilsa Inscription (J. A. S. B., vi. pl. XXVI.). In neither case, however, is any collateral assistance afforded in the ascertainment of the numerical value of the cipher itself. In one case, the figure may be likened to an inverted  8; in the other, it partakes more of the character of the  of the Gupta alphabet.

Y The accompanying figure is put forward without any degree of confidence in the accuracy of the form, owing to the imperfection of the date on the coins (fig. 9, and a coin of the E. I. C.), from whence the outline has had to be copied; the more perfect medals of Dr. Bird's, whence the extra references are cited, not being at hand to aid in correcting the type now adopted. On one of Dr. Bird's specimens this figure has the extra subjunctive curve already remarked upon as occasionally seen on the  and . It will be seen that this is the only figure in the series of tens that could by any possibility be confounded with any of the unit ciphers, which fact in itself adds to the already expressed distrust in the completeness of the prefixed facsimile.

Y I have also some misgivings as to the normal shape of the symbol represented as closely as circumstances will admit of in the type figure at the commencement of this sentence. The form occurs but seldom, and, when found, has hitherto happened to prove unusually indistinct. As now given, the outline closely approximates to the curious character employed in modern Guzeráti to represent the number six.

≡=— Having thus cursorily referred to the decimal numerals, it is time to detail the unit ciphers. It will be convenient to commence with the  or  (coins 33, 34, &c.; see also copper-plate date quoted p. 4), which, amid a set of seven, if not eight, symbols already known out of the required nine, and as the only figure of the series that displays any identity with the probably purely original form of a , can scarcely be objected to as the equivalent of that number, especially as the three simple lines thus arranged to this day constitute the regular representative of 3. To give consistency to this attribution, it would be necessary to prove that the same system of equivalent numbers of simple lines, applied equally well to the definition of

interval there were not many Kshatrapa kings over and above those whose names have been handed down by these metallic records.

The most obvious method of explaining the difficulty, as it now presents itself, would be to suppose the existence of a republican form of government as that under which the Sáh family held sway; and that in the history of the nation, there were, on certain occasions, either two or more rájas simultaneously invested with a share in the conduct of the state, or, if elected as sole rulers for the time being, the

the *one* and the *two*. This may probably be shown to have been the fact, inasmuch as there is one decided instance of the use of an isolated dot or short square line after the  $\mathbf{M}$  on one of the leaden coins, and there are several apparent examples of the occurrence of double lines in the requisite position on the silver coins, though these are not definitively quoted, as it is possible they may either be the remaining lines of a *three*, or the imperfectly defined representatives of the Greek I, or that portion of any initial letter of the succeeding legend. With all this evidence in favour of the proposed value of the double lines, it is to be noted, on the other hand, that they are frequently prefixed to the entire date, as in fig. 30, where, to all appearance, they could otherwise serve no possible purpose but that of an ornamental filling in of vacant space, unless, indeed, they are here to be understood as an imperfect rendering of the corresponding opening mark, which invariably precedes the date in the form of a Greek I on the silver coins, and that introduced originally upon the leaden pieces, in uniformity with the practice on the silver series, they were arbitrarily supplied or omitted at the will of the die-sinkers. There are no less than five very clear examples of the use of these prefix dots, and were it not for the knowledge gained from fig. 30, where it is impossible the sign could import *two*, a supposition might have arisen that, in the case of the *very* legible date  $=\mathfrak{M}$  on a leaden coin of Colonel Sykes', the figures employed might be intended to convey the number 382; but it will be seen in this, as in every other example of the use of these symbols, that, although wanting in local value, they are uniformly placed in the order in which they should be read.



Weighing the whole evidence on the subject, and the fact of the *one* and the *three* having been found in the needfully corresponding forms, there can be but little objection to adopting the *two* as designed by the two lines, when clearly defined, which succeed any decimal figure, notwithstanding the occasional appearance of a similar form as an, at present, inexplicable prefix to dates counting by hundreds.




4 The  $\mathcal{U}$ ,  $\mathfrak{Y}$ ,  $\mathfrak{Z}$  of the coins, or  $\mathfrak{F} = 4$  of the copper-plates, may be fairly admitted to a common identity, and, as such, may each and all be invested with the value assigned to the last by the formal testimony of the Copper-plate *Granti* in the body of which it occurs.


The coin characters are seen to vary in some of the subsidiary and minor details, such as has already formed the subject of remark in the cases of the  $\mathfrak{X}$  and  $\mathfrak{N}$ . In the present instance, the additions would seem to have been fanciful in the extreme, and to have been added or withheld in the most arbitrary and undetermined manner.




$\mathfrak{X}$  The  $\mathfrak{X}$  *five* of the copper-plates, which themselves prove its value, may




periods of retention of authority were limited directly and definitively by law, or terminable irregularly at the will of the majority: in either case it will be necessary to allow for the influence of a degree of prestige or direct power attaching to the particular family for the moment most prominent, which has led to the election of so many sons of rajas.



possibly be the more modern correspondent of the  of the coins: the latter symbol occurs but rarely, and the accuracy of its form, as at present given, cannot be altogether relied upon, as the only examples of its use within reach (two coins of Atri Dámá, severally the property of Colonel Sykes and Dr. Swiney) offer the figure in its probably incomplete shape, deprived of any upper line that may perchance have constituted an important portion of the integral form. The Guzeráti *four* of the present day bears a close resemblance to the coin figure; but as the Guzeráti modern numeral series does not tally with any possible assimilate system as applicable to the units of the more ancient epoch, it is but little use citing these coincidences, though as it is possible that literal identities may be of more import in their bearings upon the general inquiry, it may be noted that the same character as that now found on the coins is in current use as the  of the modern Sindhi alphabet.

 This sign offers an accurate model of the Bengáli  *d*. Among the earlier alphabets it might answer for a Gupta . The Tibetan 6 corresponds in many respects with the outline of this figure.

 These two symbols—the one from a silver, the other from a leaden coin—have been classed together for the present, owing to the uncertainty which of necessity remains of the true form of the single example that presents itself on the silver money, from its being apparently deficient in the upper part of the character.

 This symbol is an exact counterpart of the  *ng* of the Sáh Inscriptions; whether from its striking similitude to the common modern Sanskrit  8, it may be judged to have any claim to be considered as the ancient equivalent of that number must for the present remain an open question.

 This cipher may be likened to a  *t*, or possibly to a  *dh*. There is but one instance of its use (fig. 31, pl. II.), and this occurs on an extensively oxydised leaden coin; so that there may be some doubt about its correct outline, as well as whether it may not be a variety of the preceding symbol.

 There is no question as to the accuracy of these forms *per se*, as they are found clearly defined on several well-preserved coins. Whether they are correctly classed as varieties of the same figure may be permitted for the present to remain an open question, as the correct ascertainment of their shape can scarcely be said to assist in the identification of their value and import. The figure placed first in order is a very close counterpart of a Sanskrit  *ru* of the type in use in the Sáh alphabet; the second figure is also fairly recognisable as a crudely-shaped compound of similar value.

It must be admitted, however, that though there are numerous instances capable of citation<sup>1</sup> as proving generally the prevalence of republican systems of government among the people of India in these ancient days, there is at this moment but insufficient evidence<sup>2</sup> to authorise the application of any theory, implying popular government, to the peninsula of Guzerát during the time of the Sás.

It is now necessary to determine to what æra these dates should be held to refer. J. Prinsep, in his latest paper on the subject, after discussing the claims of several possible æras<sup>3</sup>, goes on to say—"If,

<sup>1</sup> There is evidence sufficient to the fact of the existence of republics in India in early times, though but few distinct details are extant as to their exact forms of constitution. The republic of which most frequent mention is made is that of Vais'ali, which is repeatedly referred to in the *Dulva*, and casual indications are afforded of the powers possessed by the citizens in the time of Shakya (Csoma de Koros, *As. Res.*, xx. 66, 72). Some curious information on the general subject is also conveyed in the following passage from Csoma de Koros' *Analysis* of this work (*As. Res.*, xx. 69):—

"The story of Dumbu, a Minister (of State), and his King, Hphags-skyes-po, in Lus-Hp'hags (*Sanskrit* Vidéha). Dumbu escapes to Yangs-pa-chan [Vais'ali], and settles there. He first declines to give his advice in the assembly of the people there, but afterwards renders them great service by his prudent counsel."  
\* \* \* "The before mentioned Dumbu is made chief tribune there, and after his death his second son. His elder son retires to Rájagriha, in Magadha."

Further notices of the republic of Vais'ali are to be found in "Foe Koue Ki," from which the following may be cited as throwing light on the interesting question of the government of these bodies—"Il s'agit ici des habitants de la ville de *Phi che li* (Vais'ali), lesquels formaient une république, et s'appelaient en Sanscrit *Litchchiwi*, ou *Litchhe* dans la transcription Chinoise. *Tchu Li tchhe* signifie donc tous les Litchteliwi, ou la réunion des Li tchhe" (Klaproth, p. 240). Again (Klaproth, note 8, *Les deux rois*, p. 251), "Il paraît que quoique les habitants de Vais'ali eussent une forme de gouvernement républicaine, ils avaient pourtant aussi un roi. Les deux rois de notre texte sont donc *A tche chi* de Magadha, et celui qui était le chef de l'état des Li tchhe ou *Litchteliwi* de Vais'ali."

Arrian may likewise be quoted to show that self-government was by no means unusual in India in his day, as the *Episcopi* are mentioned as bound to report "to the king in those places where the Indians are under regal rule; or to the *Magistrates*, where they govern themselves." (*Indicæ*, cap. xii., cited by Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, vii. 449).

<sup>2</sup> It may be requisite perhaps to notice that the following passage in Prinsep's *Translation of the Bridge Inscription* is not borne out by the more perfect copy of the original in the *Bombay Journal*:—" \* \* \* by him [Swami Rudra dama] who, being predestined from the womb to the unceasing and increasing possessions of the fortunes of royakty, was invited by all classes waiting upon him for the security of their property—to be their king."

<sup>3</sup> The claims of the Seleucidan Æra (1st Sept., 312 B.C.) to be considered as the cycle in use under the government of the Sáh kings, are by no means to be lightly passed over, if we bear in mind on the one hand the possible subjection to Greek supremacy implied by the superscription of that language on the local coins,

lastly, out of deference to Asoka's temporary supremacy in the Gu-

and on the other the care with which the recognition of this æra was enforced in the provinces more directly subject to the Seleucidan rule, as we learn that it was "used all over the East by the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews still style it the *Æra of Contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to express it in all their contracts and civil writings," Gough, *Selen.*, 3. "In *Maccabees*, i. 10, it is called the *Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks*," Gough, 4.

In connexion with this subject, some further items suggest themselves, bearing upon the interesting question, as to how much of the Indian system of cipher notation was derived from, or improved by communication with the Greeks. Although so debatable a point requires more examination and argument to serve to justify a definite opinion, than either the materials or the space at command will at present afford, still the subjoined remarks may not be inappropriate as introducing the matter to the attention of others.

In the first place, it has already been noticed as singular that these Indian dates should be found on the coins in direct conjunction with, perhaps absolute insertion in a Greek legend, instead of taking their place in their more natural position, among the Sanskrit legends and local devices, on the reverse surface of the pieces.

Next it is to be observed the complete absence of any previous example of the use of figures to express numbers on any known Indian inscription, or on any coins of that country which there is reason to assign to an earlier epoch.

And, lastly, there is the less negative argument, against the probability of any general anterior use of ciphers, in the fact, only lately brought to light, that whatever means of representing quantities by symbols may have been in associate use with the Indian Palí alphabet, the Bactrian Palí of Asoka's time, as seen on the Kapúr di Gíri Rock Inscription, possessed no figure equivalents of numbers, but the required sum was first *written*, and then numerically expressed by a corresponding succession of simple perpendicular strokes. It is true that this position may have to be somewhat qualified, inasmuch as up to this time we are able to cite only the early number *four*; and it is possible that the higher numerical equivalents may, in the necessity of the case, have been subjected to a more perfect system, as is seen to have occurred in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, where the low numbers were often defined by little more than rude combinations of the equivalent number of simple strokes, while the decimals and hundreds were far less crudely rendered. Rawlinson, *J. R. A. S.*, x. 172; Hincks, *idem*, ix. 423.

In addition to this, were any faith to be placed in similarity of characters, many of the numerical symbols might be identified as possibly of Greek derivation; for instance, the  $\oplus$  is the exact form of the Greek  $\Theta$  of the Sigeian (500 and odd B.C.) and Apollonian (a few years B.C.) alphabets; but so also is the Indian cipher  $\Theta$  recognizable as a Greek  $\Theta$ , as indeed the Palí  $\odot$  *th* itself is absolutely identical with the  $\Theta$  of the Nemean and Athenian forms of the same letter. The Indian  $\equiv$  approaches closely to the outline of the Greek  $\Xi$  of Cadmus, and of the Sigeian characters. The coin figure  $\Omega$  is likewise a perfect rendering of the Attic  $\Omega$  (400 B.C.). (See Fry's *Pantographia*.)

Amid all this, on the other hand it is amply manifest that whatever of enlarged ideas of arrangement and distribution of numerals the Indians may perchance have owed to the Greeks, they did not generally adopt their letters, or even their literal equivalent system, as modified to suit their own alphabet; and judging

zerát peninsula, we take the Buddhist æra, then 543 — 390<sup>1</sup> will leave 153 B.C., about a century after Asoka, and in every respect the period I should like to adopt, were it possible to establish any more certain grounds for its preference<sup>2</sup>." In addition to the limited confidence in the value of his theory expressed by the proposer himself, there are further objections to its reception that appear to have escaped his observation. In the first place, as regards any probable deference to Asoka's supremacy, Prinsep himself had already remarked, in his comments upon the Sáh Inscription, which formed the main subject of the article, whence the above extract is taken, that "the brahmanical population of the distant province of Suráshtra probably had but little affection for the Buddhist monarch, who is not even honoured in the inscription with the title of rája—being simply styled *Asoka the Maurya*<sup>3</sup>!" This passage in itself seems to refute sufficiently any notion which would imply needless adoption or continued use of a strange æra, introduced, as assumed, in the first instance, by a monarch whose memory is here seen to be treated with such scant respect. In the second place, whatever may have been the amount of actual currency of the Buddhist Æra itself, the probability of its *monumental* employment on the coins of the Sáh king is weightily controverted by the fact, that it was not *so* used on the monuments of the Buddhist kings themselves—(*Piyadasi*<sup>4</sup>) Asoka's own inscriptions being invariably dated in *the* years of *his* reign<sup>5</sup> (or "after *his* consecration").

The æra it is now proposed to apply to the coin dates, in supersession of the Buddhist cycle, is entitled the Srí Harsha, the very existence of which, as a cycle, has only lately been made known to Orientalists, through the medium of the publication of a portion

from the strictly Indian forms retained by some of the *literal* figures, now seen to have been in use under the Sáh of Guzerát, it is almost necessary to infer that the original outlines of the figures themselves were either drawn from an anterior Sanskrit or else from a more purely Páli alphabet than that concurrently employed in ordinary writing, the admission of which fact in itself goes far to demand a consequent concession that the Indians were not indebted to the Greeks for any assistance in the matter.

<sup>1</sup> Date on a coin of Swámí Rudra Sáh, the 14th prince in the *present* list.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. S. B., vii. 354.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., vii. 343.

<sup>4</sup> It is necessary to state that the identity of Piyadasi and Asoka has not remained unquestioned (see Wilson, J. R. A. S., viii. 309; Troyer, Radja Taran-gini, ii. 313), though the arguments as yet adduced to shake faith in the fact are scarcely sufficient to meet the various concurring proofs to which they are opposed (see, on the other hand, Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 751).

<sup>5</sup> J. A. S. B., vii. 220.

of the valuable works of Albírúni relating to India. The extracts appended below<sup>1</sup> sufficiently detail the history of the *Srí Harsha Æra*; all that need be said in this place is, that as its commencement dates 457 B.C., the epoch of the *Sáhs* at present constituting our list,

<sup>1</sup> "On emploie ordinairement les ères de *Srí Harscha*, de *Vikramaditya*, de *Saca*, de *Ballaba*, et des *Gouptas*."

"Les Indiens croient que *Srí-Harscha* faisait fouiller la terre, et cherchait ce qui pouvait se trouver dans le sol, en fait d'anciens trésors et de richesses enfouies; il faisait enlever ces richesses, et pouvait, par ce moyen, s'abstenir de fouler ses sujets. Son ère est mise en usage à *Mahourah*, et dans la province de *Canoge*. J'ai entendu dire à un homme du pays que, de cette ère à celle de *Vikramaditya*, on comptait quatre cents ans; mais j'ai vu, dans l'almanach de *Cachemire*, cette ère reculée après celle de *Vikramaditya* de 664 ans. Il m'est donc venu des doutes que je n'ai pas trouvé moyen de résoudre " " " " " *Albí-rúni*, *Reinaud*, p. 139.

Again—"L'ère des astronomes commence l'an 587 de l'ère de *Saca* (665 A.D.). C'est à cette ère qu'ont été rapportées les tables *Kanda khátaca*, de *Brahmagupta*. Cet ouvrage porte chez nous le titre de *Arcand*. D'après cela, en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de *Yezderjed*, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de *Srí-Harscha*" [457 B.C.]. *Ibid*, 143, 144.

The difficulty noticed in the first of these extracts seems capable of explanation by the fact that in the year 607 A.D., or 664 *Vikramaditya*, an important revolution occurred on the occasion of the death of *Harsha Vardhana*, of *Kanouj*, which may possibly have given rise to the *second* *Srí Harsha Æra* of the *Kashmír Almanack*. *M. Reinaud* has the following remarks upon the changes which took place on the decease of *Harsha Vardhana*:—

"L'an 607 de notre ère, une révolution fit déchoir la ville de *Canoge* du haut rang qu'elle occupait. Cette révolution eut lieu à la mort du roi *Harcha-Vardhana*, dont le père se nommait *Prakara-Vardhana*, et dont on avait jusqu'ici fait descendre le règne jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La population de l'*Hindostan* actuel se partageait en brahmanistes et bouddhistes. *Harcha*, partisan zélé des bouddhistes, suscita des embarras aux brahmanistes; en même temps il fut forcé, par suite de ses profusions, d'augmenter les impôts, ce qui mécontenta le reste de ses sujets. *Harcha*, étant mort, son fils aîné, *Karadja-Vardhana*, fut attaqué par un prince ami des brahmanistes, et tué par trahison. Le frère de *Karadja*, nommé *Siladitya*, eut beaucoup de peine à se mettre en possession du trône de ses ancêtres; les princes feudataires se soulevèrent; *Siladitya* fut obligé de renoncer au titre de *maha-radja* ou *grand-radja*, et l'unité politique fut à jamais rompue." Analyse d'un *Mem. Géog.*, p. 20; also *Géog. d'Aboulféda* (Traduction), i. 337.

This solution of the difficulty—in making a *second* *Srí Harsha Æra*—also removes an important objection to the application of the first *Srí Harsha Cycle*—as confounded in *Albí-rúni's* observations—to *Guzerát* dates: inasmuch as the local use of the æra noticed in the Arabic text must now be held to refer to the epoch derived from that one of the two *Harshas* who lived nearest to *Albí-rúni's* own time. This latter cycle would moreover possess peculiar claims to local currency in *Kanouj*, &c., which could hardly have been demanded for an æra, even then so much a matter of antiquity, and so little known its details, as the original *Srí Harsha*, commencing 457 B.C.

reduced by this test, may be broadly stated to fall from about 180 or 170 to 60 or 50 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond this evidence, there is little left but conjecture, though it is satisfactory to find that there is *no* direct testimony or admitted inference in any way adverse to the reception of the epoch now assigned to the Sáh princes.

It is known that Asoka's empire of Magadha did not survive in its pristine glory any very lengthened period beyond his decease<sup>2</sup>; and the tenor of the Sáh Inscription, while it clearly recognises Asoka's bygone supremacy in the province of Guzerát, claims for its own kings no very remote succession to this local power—with the requirements of this portion of the question the coin dates, explained as referring to Anno Harshæ, in all respects coincide.

It is generally held that Demetrius<sup>3</sup> invaded India some time closely anterior to, if not contemporaneously with, the date above suggested as that of the establishment of the Sáh Dynasty in Guzerát; but it is nowhere shown to what limit either his arms or his permanent dominion extended: the fact of his possession of supremacy on the lower Indus, if decided upon, would lead readily to the suspicion that the Greek upon the Sáh coins might in some measure be due to this influence, and that in attaining their leading position in the Western Peninsula, these princes affected a Greek alliance, and perhaps accepted subjection, nominal or real, as a set-off against the still considerable power of their former Indian masters. Be this as it may, the historical evidence bearing upon the point in question, if it will not explain any of our present difficulties, can in no way be said to augment them.

The trenching upon the limits of the sovereignty assigned to Menander<sup>4</sup>—who must now be viewed as contemporary with the earlier Sáh—*is* perhaps more open to objection, as Prinsep and Lassen both determine that he possessed Surashtra<sup>5</sup>; the appropriation, how-

<sup>1</sup> Dated coins of eleven princes, proving the existence of thirteen kings all within 300 to 400 Ann. Harshæ (= 157 to 57 B.C.), and one, if not more than one king preceding them.

<sup>2</sup> 219 B.C., Buddhist Annals; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 752; 232 B.C., Cunningham, Num. Chr., viii. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Lassen, 185 B.C., J. A. S. B., 1840; Wilson, 190 B.C., Ar. Ant., 227; H. T. Prinsep, 190 B.C., Historical Results, p. 54.


<sup>4</sup> Lassen, 160 B.C., J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 765; Wilson, 126 B.C., Ar. Ant., 280; Cunningham, 160 B.C. to 136 B.C., Num. Chr., viii. 175.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. S. B., vi. 290; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 733. Cunningham, (Num. Chr., viii. 193,) has the following observations on the subject of Apollodotus' possessions in these parts. It is to be premised that Capt. Cunningham places

ever, rests upon a doubtful text and an amended reading, and the inference has not been altogether concurred in by Professor Wilson'. The supposition of a recognition of Greek suzerainty by the local rulers of Guzerát perhaps sufficiently meets the wants of either one case or the other; but if we are to admit to the full the claims to Indian sovereignty advanced by Rudra Dámá, in his Gírnár Inscription, and to hold him to have reigned towards the conclusion of the third century Anno Harshā, he, or some of the preceding members of the Sáh family, must have shared with the *Su Sakas*<sup>2</sup> the succession to the dominions heretofore assigned to Menander, to an extent much beyond the bounds of the bare peninsula of Guzerát.

More importance than seems justly its due has been attributed to the fact of Menander's coins having been found current at Baroach<sup>3</sup> on the occasion of the visit of the second Arrian. Had the epoch spoken to been nearer the date of the rule of the Greek king, the locality, to which the observation refers, less remote from the seat<sup>4</sup> of his government, Baroach less important as the western emporium of the trade of Central India, or the produce of Menander's prolific mints less abundant in other quarters, more credit might have been conceded to the deduction attempted to be established from the circumstance. As it is, it proves nothing as to the local sovereignty of Guzerát of two centuries before<sup>5</sup>, more especially as its real origin has now been ex-

Apollodotus' accession in 165 B.C., and makes Menander succeed to certain portions of his dominions in 160 B.C.

"This monogram  I have found only upon a single coin of Apollodotus. It forms the syllable OYZ, possibly OYZHNH, the city of Ujain, which we know has existed from a very early period. I believe that Patalene and Syrastrène formed part of the dominions of Demetrius, which were wrested from him by Eucratides during his Indian campaign. It is possible also that some part of the province of Lariké was subdued by the Greeks; and I should certainly not be surprised to find this monogram on the coins of Demetrius and Eucratides. Apollodotus may very probably have succeeded to the possession of these southern conquests, but he could only have held them for a very short time."

<sup>1</sup> "Upon examining the coins, however, of this prince, we have every reason to believe that he never was king of Bactria, but that he reigned over an extensive tract, from the foot of the Paropamisian Mountains to the sea. How far he held sovereignty on the east of the Indus, or even in the delta of that river, is somewhat doubtful, as his coins have not been found in those directions." Ar. Ant., 281.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, Num. Chr., viii. (Table); Ar. Ant., 313; Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 765.

<sup>3</sup> Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 733; Wilson, Ar. Ant., 280.

<sup>4</sup> "Kabul, and here was in all probability the royal capital of Menander." Ar. Ant., 281.

<sup>5</sup> Vincent had already shown the real value of the fact in his observations to

plained by Professor Wilson<sup>1</sup>, viz., that the Greek silver money was [intentionally] retained in circulation by the Indo-Scythians, in concurrent association with their own gold coinage.

In bringing these observations to a close, it may be expedient to recapitulate in a tabular summary the principal dates proposed for adoption; and, while quoting definitively the more prominent fixed epochs, to avoid any aim at exactitude of subordinate detail, and rest content with indicating generally the relative position the various races, dominant in Guzerát during the several intervals, are supposed to have occupied.

the following effect:—"That the coins of these princes should pass current at Barugáza is no more uncommon than that the Venetian sequin and the Imperial dollar should be at this day current in Arabia, or that the Spanish piastre should pass in every part of India and the East; that is, round the world, from Mexico to Manilla, and in some instances, perhaps from Manilla to Mexico again." Vincent, Commerce, &c., ii. 204.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. Ant., p. 348.

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## LIST OF DATES REFERRING TO GUZERAT,

WITH THE DYNASTIES INTERVENING BETWEEN THE SEVERAL FIXED EPOCHS.

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 CHANDRA GUPTA MAURYA . . . 315 B.C.<sup>1</sup>
ASOKA . . . . . 247 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

One or more SAH KINGS.

Thirteen SAH KINGS. All	} {	from . . . 157 B.C.
date in the fourth century of		
what may be assumed to re-		
fer to the Śrī Harsha Æra,		
457 B.C.		to . . . 57 B.C.

INDO-SCYTHIC CONQUEST . . . 26 B.C.

GUPTAS.

VALABHI ÆRA commences . . . 319 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, Vishnu Purāna, pp. 468, 469, note 21; see also Introd., Hindu Theatre, iii.

<sup>2</sup> Turnour, "Mahawanso;" but taking Wilson's fixed date of 315 B.C. for Chandra Gupta's accession, and accepting the Purānic evidence of the length of Chandra Gupta's and Vindusara's reigns at 24 and 25 years respectively, Asoka's accession will fall in 266 B.C.: the Purānas give him a reign of 36 years.

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LIST OF KINGS.

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- 1 ISWARA DATTA, Son of Varsha.
  - 2 RUDRA SAH (SINHA?) I., Son of Śwámí Jíwa Dámá.
  - 3 AṢA DAMA, Son of Rudra Sáh. (No. 2.)
  - 4 DAMA SAH, Ditto.
  - 5 VIJAYA SAH, Son of Dámá Sáh.
  - 6 VIRA DAMA, Ditto.
  - 7 DAMA JATA SRIYAH, Ditto.
  - 8 RUDRA SAH II., Son of Vira Dámá. (No. 6.)
  - 9 VISWA SINHA, Son of Rudra Sáh. (No. 8.)
  - 10 RUDRA SAH III., Ditto.
  - 11 ATRI DAMA, Ditto.
  - 12 VISWA SAH, Son of Atri Dámá. (No. 11.)
  - 13 SWAMI RUDRA DAMA. (No Coins.)
  - 14 SWAMI RUDRA SAH IV., Son of Śwámí Rudra Dámá.
-

## DETAIL OF THE COINS.

v. pl III les caract. archaïques

1ST KING.

ISWARA-DATTA.

Figures—1 (E. I. C.), 2 (Wynch), Plate I.; and No. 1, Plate III

OBV. *Bust of a man, facing to the right, with a flat cap or helmet<sup>2</sup>; the hair is arranged in flowing curls over the back of the neck, a long thin mustache decorates the upper lip, and a curiously-formed ornament depends from the ear; around the neck is seen the border of the robe, and towards the margin of the piece, encircling the entire head, is inscribed a legend, which in the coins of this prince is exclusively composed of Greek letters. Prominent among those on fig. 1 is to be noticed the lower portion of a clear well-cut sigma.*

It will be seen, from the specimens of the coins of the succeeding rulers, that an innovation was almost immediately effected in the contents and arrangement of the obverse legend, as found on the money of Iswara-datta, inasmuch as towards the commencement of the Greek legend a set of three ciphers are hereafter invariably inserted, which are supposed to convey the record of an Indian date.

REV. The central symbol consists of a series of three semicircles arranged in the form of a pyramid; this emblem is recognisable either as the Buddhist Chaitya, or the Mithraic flame; below is a wavy line, which it is not unreasonable to identify with a similar Egyptian hieroglyphic symbol employed to denote *water*; above the central device is a figure, in the shape of a half moon, which is repeated on the left of the field, and in the corresponding space to the right is found a cluster of stars, usually seven in number, one of which occupies the centre of the constellation; at times this stellar assemblage is resolved into a single rayed star or sun. Nearly touching the marginal line, which forms the outer circle of the field—expressed in admirably designed Devanāgarī letters—is inscribed the following legend—




**राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस ईश्वर दत्तस वर्ष पुथ—**

*Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Iswara-dattasa Varsha putha\**

<sup>1</sup> The average weight obtained from forty-seven specimens of these silver coins, taken at random from the entire series, gives a return of 30·4 grains. There are several examples of a full weight of 35 grains.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly a native adaptation of the Macedonian *Kausia*, which is seen to have been a favourite head-dress among the Bactrian Greeks; but judging from the rest of the subsidiary indications, it is likely to have had a more local origin.

Dr. Stevenson proposed to read the name of the father of this prince as *Bala*—a guess that was hardly justified by the characters remaining on the piece he quotes in support of his assumption (fig. 2); but the clear letters on Colonel Wynch's coin completely set the question at rest that the true designation is *Varsha*.

Among the peculiarities to be noted in the legend is the use of the long vowel  in the initial or complete form of the letter; the initial long   has not been found on the associate Girnar Rock Inscription, or among any of the anterior Palí alphabets; but a letter identical with the coin character is seen in full currency both on the Gupta Girnar monument, and on the succeeding Guzerát dated plates; it would perhaps be inferred from these data, that a more modern epoch should be assigned to the coins bearing this letter than to the Bridge Inscription, which has hitherto been assumed as nearly contemporary. It would not, however, be safe to rely upon this argument, except as auxiliary to more distinct proofs, as at best it is but based on a negative fact, which may merely imply absence of occasion to use such a character in the Rock Records; moreover, there has already been reason to notice the general superiority and at times important changes that mark the mint letters in reference to their Lapidary equivalents—a distinction that has also been the subject of remark in respect to a sister alphabet—the Bactrian Palí'—wherein much greater perfection of outline was attained in the monumental writing in use on medals than in the corresponding engraving on Rocks.

But as the sovereign, by whose command the Girnar Bridge Inscription was executed, is still unidentified with any individual of whom we possess money, any detailed discussion of this subject would be comparatively useless, until it is determined whether it is desirable to place the king named in the inscription *before*, *among*, or *after* the series of princes known only from coins.

It will be observed that the word Putha differs from the term employed on the coins of the other monarchs, in the use of the Zend *th* instead of the usual Sanskrit *tr*.

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<sup>1</sup> Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, 363; Cunningham, J. A. S. B., 1840, 430.

## 2ND KING.

## RUDRA SAH, SON OF JIWA DAMA.

Figures—3 (Prinsep), 4 (R. A. S.), 5 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 2, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. No. 3, figures  $\Upsilon \Theta$  ?; imperfect legend  $\text{IA} \Upsilon \Theta \Upsilon \Lambda \text{I} \cdot$ . No. 4,  $\Upsilon \Lambda \Upsilon$ . No. 5, figures illegible; imperfect Greek legend  $\text{AIOAYIZIYH} \cdot$  (a possible corruption of  $\text{AIONYΣIOY}^1$ ).

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्र सहस स्वामी जीव दामा पुत्रस  
*Rājnah Kshatrapasa Rudra sahasa Swāmī Jiwa Dāmā putrasa.*

The initial letter of Swāmī is sometimes written श्व instead of स्व, and the short इ is used in both Swāmī and Jiwa in place of the long one, ई. This last name has hitherto been read as Jina जिन, but the more perfect coins now engraved prove clearly that the word is *Jiwa जीव*.

On one coin of this king (Prinsep) is to be seen a very distinct इ inscribed over the first स, of what has hitherto been read as साह Sāha, but which should probably now be received as सिंह Sinha.

## 3RD KING.

## AŚA DAMA.

Figures—6 (E. I. C.), 7 (Steuart), 8 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 3, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 6, legend illegible. Fig. 7,  $\Upsilon \Lambda$ . Dr. Bird has three of this king's coins with the decimal  $\Lambda$  after the  $\Upsilon$ .

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस आशा दान्नः राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्र साह पुत्रस  
*Rājnah Kshatrapasa Aśā Dānnah Rājnah Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāha putrasa.*

<sup>1</sup> There is a king of this name among the Bactrian Greeks, made known to us by his coins, which in their types seem to connect him with Apollodotus.

The name of this monarch has heretofore been rendered as **अग दामा** Aga Dámá, the small central stroke in the second letter of the king's name having escaped the eye of Mr. Steuart's Italian engraver, from whose plates alone Prinsep deciphered the legends on the coins of this prince. The reading now proposed—involving the acceptance of the character **𑀭** as the equivalent of the modern **श** §—may be readily justified by a reference to the current forms of the old letter, either on the coins, or on inscriptions of a closely subsequent date, though it is freely to be admitted that the outline of the letter itself was by no means fixed or immutable, inasmuch as it is seen to occur as **𑀭** (coins of 1st and 7th kings), **𑀮** (figs. 15, 16, and 23), and as **𑀯** (fig. 22, &c.) in the different combinations it enters into on the coins; and as **𑀭** (Sáh Inscription), **𑀮** (Gupta Girnar Inscription, Jour. Bombay Branch As. Soc.), and **𑀯** (Guzerát Plates) on the various inscriptions of a proximate æra.

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4TH KING.

DAMA SAH.

(Communicated by Dr. Bird.)

OBV. Head as usual. Legends and date **𑀮𑀭𑀯𑀭**. This date recurs on several coins of this prince.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

**राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस दामा साहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस  
रुद्र साहस पुत्रस**

*Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa  
Rudra Sáhasa putrasa.*

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VIJAYA SAH, SON OF DAMA SAH.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 9, legend illegible, date ३१ Other dates: East India Company's coin, ३१५; Dr. Bird's, ३५ ३५≡ and ३१५ Imperfect legend from a coin of Colonel Wynch's, commencing after the date, ११११११११११.

राज्ञो महा चत्रपस विजय साहस राज्ञो महा चत्रपस  
दामा साहस पुत्रस

In the coin No. 9, and uniformly in those of the 6th and 10th kings of the present list, is to be noticed the use of the superfluous genitive termination स affixed to the penultimate word साह, making साहस पुत्रस instead of साह पुत्रस, as it is expressed in the generality of instances. The name विजय is usually, though not invariably written with the long ई instead of the short इ required by correct orthography. It will be seen, on a reference to the various Sanskrit legends arranged in Plate III., that much license was admitted among the Suráshtrán die-cutters in the interchange of the long and short superscribed vowels ई इ (see स्वामी and जीव Pl. III. fig. 2; विश्व III. 8, 11; and सिंह III. 8, &c., &c.). Any rectification of these and such like errors will be accepted with the more confidence when it is borne in mind that the particular inaccuracy now noted has, in effect, been set right by the mint engravers themselves, in their occasional employment of the regular form of the short इ in the same word विजय.

## 6TH KING.

VIRA DAMA, SON OF DAMA SAH.

Figures—11 (Steuart), 12 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 5, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. No. 11, legend illegible; date, doubtful,

ॐ : ५.

REV. Symbols as usual.

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस वीर दाम्नः राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस दामा  
साहस पुत्रस


*Rājnah Kshatrapasa Vira Dāmnaḥ Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmā  
Sāhasa putrasa.*

## 7TH KING.

DAMA JATA SRIYAH, SON OF DAMA SAH.

Figures—13 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 6, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; date, illegible; imperfect legend . . YIIOH . .

Colonel Sykes's coin has the imperfect date  (the second figure is probably a ५), and the following portion of the legend, IYIOIC . . .

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस दामा जट श्रीयः राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस  
दामा साह पुत्रस

*Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmā Jata Sriyah Rājno Mahā Kshatra-  
pasa Dāmā Sāha putrasa.*

The facsimile of the reverse inscription, from whence the lithographed legend in Plate III. has been copied, was taken from the imperfect coin in the Library at the India House engraved as fig. 13, Pl. I. Dr. Stevenson had already given the above reading of the king's name from a second better-preserved coin also found at Junír, which did not form part of the collection sent to the Court of Directors. This interpretation has since received a degree of confirmation from a

coin of Colonel Sykes', which was placed in my hands after the completion of the plates which accompany this Memoir.

Subjoined is a correct copy of the letters of the king's name taken from the coin in question.

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𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓

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8TH KING.

RUDRA SAH, SON OF VIRA DAMA.

Figure—14 (E. I. C.), Plate I.; No. 7, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 14, date 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓; commencement of legend 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓— There are no less than three clear examples of this same date on different coins of Rudra, the son of Vira. Imperfect legend, after the date, 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀓 (Wynch).

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र साहस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस वीर  
दामा पुत्रस

*Rājño Mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāhasa Rājñah Kshatrapasa Vira Dāmā putrasa.*

---

9TH KING.

VISWA SINHA, SON OF RUDRA SAH.

Figures—15 (R. A. S.), 16 (Dr. Swiney), 17 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 8, Plate II.

OBV. Head as usual. Fig. 16, date 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓, possibly 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓. Fig. 17, date 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓. Legends illegible. Other dates—coin in British Museum, 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓. Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 351), 𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀺𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺𑀓.

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस विश्व सिंहस राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र  
साह पुत्रस

*Rājñah Kshatrapasa Viswa Sinhāsa Rājño Mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāha putrasa.*



The second name of this Rájá has hitherto been supposed to be the familiar Sâha; but the clear impressions of the legend on many of the coins now available disclose obviously the vowel *ī* ई (possibly used for *ī* इ) above the first down-stroke of the initial *s* स, and conclusively determine that Sīnha is the proper reading of the word. The inscrip-

Sah Kings p. 56 et seq.

aha, <sup>filz</sup> ~~filz~~ Duror Satrape Vira Dame

filz du roi grand satrape Rudrasaha

filz du roi gdt. Rudrasaha

filz du roi gdt. Rudra Saha

filz du roi gdt. Atudaman

filz du roi gdt. Souami Rudradaman

ant 1887

Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 355) proposed—with but a doubtful degree of confidence in his own suggestion—to read *from the coin* (J. A. S. B., Pl. XII. 12) the name of this prince's father as Rudra *Dámá* Sáh, the appellation of the Repairer of the Girnar Bridge, as then supposed to be recorded on the Rock Inscription near Junagarh. Prinsep's own coin, now in the British Museum (reproduced in Pl. I. as fig. 19), does not by any means bear out the identification in question; indeed, it definitively proves that it was erroneous, as the father's name is here distinctly seen to stand as रुद्र साहस, without any appearance of the additional name of *Dámá*.

## 11TH KING.

## ATRI DAMA.

Figures—20 (Sykes), 21 (Sykes), Plate I.; No. 10, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; date and inscription entirely wanting. Dr. Bird's coin, ॐ ॐ

REV. The usual symbols, but imperfectly executed. Legend—  
राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस अत्रि दाम्नः राज्ञो महा क्षत्रपस रुद्र  
साह पुत्रस

*Rājño Mahá Kshatrapasa Atri Dámnah Rājño Mahá Kshatrapasa  
Rudra Sáha putrasa.*

Dr. Stevenson has ventured to alter the old reading of the name of this prince, by substituting a भ for the initial अ, making the word Bhatri instead of Atri; in this he is merely following Prinsep, who had already applied a similar emendation to the same name, as found on the coins of the son, Viswa Sáh, the 12th of our list. (J. A. S. B., vii. 355.)

A collation of a number of specimens of the coins of both father and son, with a special view to the verification of the initial letter of the doubtful name—even allowing for a slight variation to be seen in the form of the present letter अ, distinguishing it from the earlier अ on the coins of Aśá *Dámá*—leaves no doubt but that Atri is the correct

interpretation. Dr. Stevenson has apparently been misled—as probably was Prinsep himself—by the imperfect expression given to the upper part of the first perpendicular line of the old form of the letter अ as seen on many of the coins. Now, as this additional upper stroke constitutes the only difference between the due form of the letter अ of the Sáh alphabet, and one of the accepted representatives of the भ on the *Gupta* Surashtran coins, the mistake may be said to have been very natural, though, subjected to a critical examination, there were from the very first, decided palæographic objections to the new reading, in the facts that the भ of the corresponding Sáh Inscription was obviously a very differently formed character, and the Gupta भ, which was to be assumed as a fixed exemplar of its predecessors, was in itself of a very unsettled and undetermined shape (Pl. III., a, b, c, d, e). In regard to Dr. Stevenson's case, in the very coin he publishes—it is to be supposed to prove his position—the upper stroke of the old अ, though certainly not so prominent as the other lines of the letter, is palpable enough to have decided the real value of the character in question. (Bombay Journal, 1847, Pl. XXIV. fig. 9.)

In the legends of the coins of Atri Dámá, the visarga is occasionally inserted after the दाम्.

## 12TH KING.

## VISWA SAH, SON OF ATRI DAMA.

Figures—22 (Sykes), 23 (Steuart), Plate I.; No. 11, Plate III.

OBV. Head as usual; fig. 22, 𑀭𑀢 fig. 23, 𑀭𑀢𑀓, 𑀭𑀢𑀓𑀭𑀢𑀓 . . . .

Dr. Bird's coins, 𑀭𑀢 and 𑀭𑀢𑀓

REV. Symbols as usual. Legend—

राज्ञः चक्रपस विश्व साहस राज्ञो महा चक्रपस अत्रि

दामा पुत्रस

*Rājnah Kshatrapasa Viswa Sáhasa Rājno Mahá Kshatrapasa Atri Dámá putrasa.*

The legends on these coins call for no remark beyond a reference to the irregular use of the visarga after the opening राज्ञ. It will be seen that the visarga has been uniformly added in these modern transcripts of the legends, according to the requirements of the language, without reference to its omission in the original superscriptions on the coins. A similar liberty has been taken in the rejection of the final vowel ō (ॐ) in the same word, where it appears to have been unduly inserted.

## 13TH KING.

SWAMI RUDRA DAMA.

(No Coins.)

## 14TH KING.

SWAMI RUDRA SAH, SON OF SWAMI RUDRA DAMA.

Figures—24 (Prinsep), 25 (Prinsep), Plate I.; No. 12, Plate III.

Obv. Head as usual. Fig. 24, date १०५ Fig. 25, date १०० Other dates:—two coins in the British Museum, and one of Dr. Bird's, १०३

Rev. Symbols as usual, but imperfectly expressed. Legend—  
राज्ञो महा चत्रपस स्वामी रुद्र साहस राज्ञो महा चत्रपस

स्वामी रुद्र दामा पुत्रस

*Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmī Rudra Sāhasa Rājno Mahā Kshatrapasa Swāmī Rudra Dāmā putrasa.*

The legends on the coins of this prince, which are usually expressed in very imperfect letters, vary in the occasional omission of the final स of साहस.

Figure 26 (Prinsep) is the obverse of an unidentified coin, the monarch's name on the reverse being completely obliterated, though the portion of the legend, which affirms that the king in question was the *Son of Rudra Sáh*, still remains.

The sketch of this piece has been introduced into the plate for the purpose of showing the curious form of the second numerical symbol  $\alpha$ , which occurs on no other coin in such entire distinctness of outline. Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 351) gave this piece to Atri Dámá, but the remaining letters of the legend scarcely authorize this or any definite assignment, though otherwise I am inclined to concur in the attribution itself, in consequence of the detection of traces of a similar figure, similarly placed, on an undoubted coin of Atri Dámá, and the confirmatory fact of such a symbol appearing in full distinctness on the money of the son [and successor?], Viswa, the 12th king.

### SQUARE LEADEN COINS.

The series of square leaden coins delineated in the commencement of Plate II. may be supposed, from identity of the principal emblems of the reverse device, and the general coincidence of the accompanying ciphers, to have formed the lower circulating medium, concurrently with the more valuable silver money just described. The obverse face of these coins displays the standing figure of the humped Bull, facing to the right, above which is seen a curiously elongated star, or diamond-shaped double arrow-head. The reverse bears the usual pyramidal emblem, surmounted, as in the associate series of silver money, by the crescents and stars. The accustomed wavy line is here, however, opened out towards the centre, and below this occur the figures it is proposed to accept as representing dates.

These pieces possess value, in the elucidation of the general inquiry, beyond the useful affirmation of the correct and complete outlines of many of the numerical symbols imperfectly retained by the silver coins, in the fact that the occurrence of the different sets of figures, as isolated impressions—here also varying in themselves irregularly as dates would do—lends support to the previous identification of the intention attending the use of the like figures as found in anomalous juxtaposition with the Greek legend on the obverse of the silver coins.

Fig. 27, Pl. II., date  $\text{𑀮𑀲}$ Fig. 31,  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭}$ Fig. 28,  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭}$ Fig. 32 is a *reversed* die,Fig. 29,  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭}$ 

which should properly

Fig. 30,  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭} [\text{𑀭}]$ express  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭𑀭}$ Extra dates from other coins— $[\text{𑀮}] \text{𑀲} - \text{𑀮𑀲𑀭}$ 

## ROUND LEADEN COINS.

OBV. An elephant, facing to the right.

REV. The usual pyramidal symbol, crescents, and stars. Figs. 33, 34, date  $\text{𑀮𑀲𑀭}$ These leaden coins are *all* from the Cabinet of Colonel Sykes.

Prinsep has published one of these coins (which he, however, notices as composed of *copper*), dated  $\text{𑀮𑀲}$  See No. 22, Pl. XII., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.

Before taking leave of the pure Sáh Suráshtran coins, it is necessary to mention that there are certain specimens of a copper coinage completely analogous with the silver series, and apparently running much about the same size and shape. (See Fig. 27, Pl. XII., J. A. S. B. vii.; the original coin weighs  $22\frac{1}{2}$  gr.)

But beyond this is to be noticed the unique copper coin engraved as No. 14, Pl. XII., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.<sup>1</sup>, which is remarkable—though assimilating in many respects with the silver money—in the rejection of the obverse Sáh head, which is replaced by a figure of a Bull, nearly identical with the animal on the square leaden pieces, around which is traced an unintelligible succession of the usual Greek-looking letters. The reverse legend appears, from the intervals between the letters, to have been more brief than the inscriptions on the silver coins, and the characters themselves are perhaps of a slightly modernized form. Of the entire legend, the words  $\text{राज्ञो महा चक्र}$  alone are visible.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 356) mentions that this coin had been presented to him by Lieutenant Conolly, who had obtained it at Ujein. I have not been able to find the piece in question in the Prinsep Cabinet in the British Museum.

## 1ST SUB-SPECIES. (SILVER.)

This group of coins—as yet unattributed—has been placed immediately after the identified Sáh series, on the strength chiefly of the forms of the Devanágari letters, which will be seen in the few legible characters traceable on the two best specimens (Figs. 35, 36), to approximate closely to the most correct outlines of the letters of the assumed prototypes, especially in the expression given to those admirable test letters which serve to form the word राज्ञो. *rādño*

Looking to the limited supply and the imperfect condition of the originally well-executed coins, the utter barbarization of the more plentiful imitations, as well as to the want of definite data for fixing the *locale* of their fabrication and circulation, it would be hazardous to speculate on the detail history of the series; and though their derivation from the Suráshtran stock may be admitted as palpably obvious, the general mechanical indications disclosed are insufficient to justify any decision either in the one case, as to their issue *contemporaneously* with their exemplars as money of a once subject but momentarily disjoined and independent monarchy; or, on the other hand, when viewed as the *sequent* imitation of the Sáh currency constituting the coinage of a distinct dynasty, it would be difficult to say whether that dynasty reigned in Guzerát or some proximate country once in subordination to or in intimate correspondence with the Suráshtran peninsula.

The obverse surface of these medals offers but little to remark upon beyond the general coincidence of the form of the head with the more perfectly executed representations to be seen in the preceding series. In the better finished specimens of the present class<sup>1</sup>, this face of the coin has suffered so much from the action of time and from oxidation, that the more exact details, which might have served the purposes of a close comparison, are altogether wanting; and in the later examples of the coinage—as has been before observed—there is such a striking absence of the *artist's* hand, that but slender faith can be placed in the evidences conveyed by the work. One single item seems safely deducible from the unoccupied margin, to be found around the bust in the broader coins, viz., that the use of Greek or its attempted representation was here discontinued.

<sup>1</sup> Figures 35, 36.

The reverse face displays a Sanskrit marginal legend, at first very similarly outlined to the inscriptions on the Sáh coins, and occupying, as of old, a considerable portion of the entire field; the central symbol is, however, altogether changed, and in place of the pyramid and stars, we have the unquestioned *Buddhist* device, the figure of a man—the appropriate sign of the Buddhist layman<sup>1</sup>, the counterpart of which is found on the Behat, and many other classes of early Buddhist Coins<sup>2</sup>.

Plate II. Figure—35 (Prinsep collection, to which it was contributed by the late Captain Conolly; found at Ujein), weight 28·5 gr.

Obv. Head, similar in character to those found on the Sah series of coins, but apparently unaccompanied by any legend.

Rev. The lower portion of a crude outline figure of a man. More entire specimens show that it usually has the right arm upraised. (See also engravings of a similar but less finely-finished coin, delineated as fig. 21, Pl. XVIII., Vol. III., and fig. 9, Pl. XLIX., Vol. IV., J. A. S. B.)

The major part of the legend is illegible, though many isolated letters are readily identifiable, and the entire word **राज्ञो** is plainly discernible, to which may fairly be added, on the confirmation afforded by other analogous coins, the highly important words **महा चक्रपस**<sup>3</sup>, which establish still more conclusively the connexion existing between this and the preceding class of pure Sáh money.

Plate II. Figures—36, weight 23 gr. ; 37, weight 28 gr. ; and 38, weight 31 gr. (Sykes).

Coins of similar type to the last, but of imperfect execution, arranged in the order of their comparative deterioration.

<sup>1</sup> Csoma De Koros, "Dulva," xx., As. Res., p. 86, sec. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ar. Ant., Pl. XV. figs. 23, 24, 25; also J. A. S. B., iv., Pl. X., fig. 16; Pl. XXXV., figs. 45, 47; and vii., Pl. XXXII., figs. 12, 13, 14, &c., &c.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. S. B., iv. Pl. XLIX., fig. 8.

## COINS OF KUMARA GUPTA.

Plate II. Figures—39 (R. A. S.), weight 33 gr. ; 40 (Prinsep), weight 33 gr. ; 41 (Prinsep), weight 33·3 gr. ; 42 (Prinsep), weight 32 gr. Legend, Pl. iii., a.

OBV. Head but little changed from the Sáh type; legend, at the back of the head, NANO, and at times २AO NANO. On some specimens of this class of coins the legend is placed in front of the profile.

REV. A symbol, the meaning of which has not been hitherto decided on by modern numismatists; it is not impossible that it may be intended for a peacock: the legends are at times doubtful in the second word, which has been also read भानुवीर Bhánuvíra<sup>1</sup>; but the generality of specimens disclose the following inscription:—

परम भगवत राजाधिराज श्री कुमार गुप्त महेन्द्रस्य

*Parama Bhagavata Rájádhirája Srí Kumára Gupta Mahendrasya.*

N.B. The facsimile legend, given as a, Pl. iii., has been taken from the original coins engraved as figs. 40, 41. The coins under notice are not always complete in the Sanskrit legends; as instances, an otherwise very perfect piece in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society has the word राजाधिराज abbreviated into राजाध; and No. 39 has the same word contracted to राजाधिर.

## COINS OF SKANDA GUPTA.

1st. Money having for the reverse device the same symbol as is found on the coins of Kumára Gupta.

Figures—43 (R. A. S.), weight 27 gr. ; 44 (Prinsep), weight 23 gr.

OBV. Head very much barbarized, but still retaining sufficient character to make it readily identifiable as a derivative from the old Sáh type. On some specimens is to be seen the word NANO to the front of the profile.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, J. A. S. B., vii. 356. See also variant a, Pl. III.

REV. A very debased imitation of the (Peacock?) symbol which characterises the silver coins of Skanda's predecessor, Kumára Gupta. Restored legend—

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.*

Prinsep, in his collated reading of the legends on these coins (J. A. S. B., vii. 356), adopted the letter म (for महा) as occurring after the word भगवत (or भगदत as he made it), which he found to be followed by the title of राज, which precedes the name of the monarch. This rendering he would seem to have drawn from fig. 29, Pl. II., Stuart (J. R. A. S., 1837); but as the like letters do not generally recur, I have marked this as the exception rather than the rule. Other specimens of this class of coin will be found engraved as figs. 18, 19, 20, and 21, pl. xii., Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.

2nd. Coins with the reverse device of a Bull.

Figures—45 (R. A. S.), weight 30 gr.; 46 (R. A. S.), weight 21 gr.

OBV. Coarsely designed head, with traces of the word NANO in front of the profile.

REV. Figure of a Bull (Nandí) recumbent, identical in every respect with the seal symbol of the Valabhi family, as found on their Copper-plate Grants. (See J. A. S. B., iv. pl. XL., and p. 487.) Restored legend—

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.*

These legends are often imperfect, and very constantly of unequal length, an irregularity resulting apparently from the amount of room the die-sinker happened to find himself possessed of as he proceeded with his engraving. Thus in one coin (Wilson, Ar. Ant., pl. XV. fig. 19) the second word appears to have been contracted into its initial letter, and the three letters that should have succeeded are replaced by the two letters serving to express the word राज. In

other instances, where there has been a superabundance of space, an र in one case, and an रज in another, have been inserted over and above the words and letters adopted in the detail above.

Plate II. Figures—47 (*Mihi*), weight 23 gr. ; 47 (*Mihi*), weight 29 gr.  
*Found in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna.*

Obv. Crudely executed head.

Rev. Bull *couchant*.

The inscriptions on these coins, though partially legible, do not afford any trustworthy reading of the purport designed to be conveyed, as the letters of the legends, though clear at different points, are in general much abraded, and have originally been but imperfectly defined. These sister coins have been placed in their present position as palpably connected with the Bull series of Skanda Gupta, and though the name inscribed may be for the present unrecognisable, enough remains of the different characters of the inscriptions to prove that they do *not* bear the name of that monarch: as such, they raise an important historical question as to who their producer, this imitator of Skanda Gupta, was. Their insertion among the present engravings may serve to introduce their claims to the notice of possessors of more perfect specimens of the same class of coins, through whose means light may possibly be thrown on this branch of the enquiry.

### 3rd. Coins having the *Túlsí* device.

Plate III. Figures—49 (Prinsep), weight 22·5 gr. ; 50 (Prinsep), weight 28 gr. ; 51 (Prinsep), weight 33 gr. ; and legends *d*, *e*, Pl. III.

Obv. The usual head, generally ill defined, but still identical in many respects with the original type on the obverse of the Sáh medals, occasionally accompanied also by distinct traces of the word NANO.

Rev. Central symbol in the form of an altar, which is taken to represent the common altar-shaped receptacle of the sacred *Túlsí* tree of the Hindús. Legends restored—

Fig. 49, II., and *d*, III.

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Srí Skanda Gupta Kramáditya.*

Fig. 50, II., and *d*, variant, III.

**परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त परमादित्य**

*Parama Bhagavata Srī Skanda Gupta Paramāditya.*

Fig. 51, II., and *e*, III.

**परम भगवत श्री विक्रमादित्य स्कन्द गुप्त**

*Parama Bhagavata Srī Vikramāditya Skanda Gupta.*

There are between seventy and eighty specimens of these various Tūlsī device Skanda Gupta coins in the Prinsep collection. They are commonly but carelessly fashioned, and unevenly struck. The letters of the legends, however, are in high relief, and unusually well preserved, though there is at the same time a decided absence of uniformity in the expression of many characters of analogous value, and their general outline is remarkable for a degree of rudeness, similar to that already noticed by Prinsep<sup>1</sup> as existing in the coeval alphabet of the 3rd or Skanda Gupta Inscription on the Girnar Rock.

The irregularity in the completion of the legend cited as occurring on Skanda Gupta's coins with the Bull reverse, appears in a still greater degree in those of the present class.

## PEACOCK COINS.

Plate II. Figures—52 (*Mihi*), weight 30 gr.; 53 (Swiney), weight 36 gr.; 54 (Swiney), weight 32 gr.; 55 (Swiney), weight 32 gr.; 56 (Prinsep), weight 35·8 gr.; 57, engraved from the cast of a coin—the original in the possession of Mr. Vincent Tregear—communicated by Dr. Swiney.

The facsimiles of these coins have been added to the engravings of the different series of medals which illustrate the more especial subject of the present memoir, with a view to show another—perhaps the final—ramification of the imitations of the old Sáh model. It is to be remarked that, judging from the localities in which they are now chiefly discovered, the point of their original issue should be referred

<sup>1</sup> See remarks quoted in note 2, page 10, *suprá*, and the facsimile of the inscription itself in the Journal Bombay Branch Asiatic Society for April, 1842.

to some spot in Central<sup>1</sup> rather than in Western India. This attribution—though claiming for these pieces a site somewhat removed from the more immediate *locale* of the circulation of their prototypes—does not in any way militate against the probabilities resulting from the previous history of the series, whence the standard of this money is supposed to have been derived. The possession of both the country upon the Ganges, and the entire land up to and including the peninsula of Guzerát, by one and the same supreme ruler—as is seen to have been the case under Kumára and Skanda, if not under others of the family of the Guptas—would naturally induce a more than usually free inter-circulation of the local currencies of each. The Eastern provinces being deficient—as the Indo-Scythic and Gupta coinages severally teach us—in any sustained silver currency, would unhesitatingly adopt the useful intermediate circulating medium of a Western state, which bore the impress of their mutual paramount sovereign. Having thus found its way into the bazars of the upper Gangetic districts, there would be little hesitation in a succeeding dynasty—even of so far purely Eastern origin—adopting it as its model type for a new coinage, in preference to the Greek silver pieces supposed to have been, to a certain extent, in associate circulation with the Indo-Scythic and Gupta gold, or the more crude specimens of the ancient local mintages that may still have kept their place among their more modern substitutes.

In regard to the superscriptions on the reverse of these coins, it will be seen that it is somewhat difficult to discriminate satisfactorily the true value of many of the letters, as there is not only a general want of due definition in the better outlined characters, and a confused agglomeration of the distinctive lines of each, but there is likewise, in the majority of instances, a palpable bungling and incomplete formation of the letters which leads to a necessary distrust in any mere tentative reading, unsupported by such leading hints or collateral evidence as might suggest or confirm any reasonably admissible decipherment.

A collation of the inscriptions on the best specimens at present procurable, leads to thus much of a definite conclusion, that the superscriptions vary on different coins, which may be taken to prove that the entire class represents the mintages of various members of a dynasty, in contradistinction to the coinage of a single king.

<sup>1</sup> "Figures 10, 11, 12 [Pl. XLIX., Vol. IV., J. A. S. B.] are of a different type, though nearly allied to the former [the Suráshtrans]: they are found not only in Gajerat, but at Kanouj, Ujjain, and generally in Upper India." Prinsep.

It will be seen that the average weight of the specimens cited is slightly over the usual weight of the Sáh and Gupta pieces; the difference is, however, by no means sufficient to invalidate the supposition of a derivation from the last named source.

The coins themselves demand but brief notice. The Head on the obverse will be found to have attained much of the marked character of Indian art, especially in the execution of the eye, which may almost be traced, in the accompanying engravings, step by step through its successive stages of *Indianization*, from the classical form communicated by the Suráshtran artists to the barbarous full front optic on the side face, which so disfigures the heads on these coins. The other details in the execution of the bust have pretty well kept pace in the general degradation of style; but among the minor objects, the attention is attracted to the retention, or rather reproduction, of the exact Sáh collar. In front of the profile are three letters, superposed after the manner of the legends on the Eastern Gupta medals.

The Indian designers make a better display on the reverse than the crudities that disgrace the opposite surface would have led us to anticipate. The central device—the Peacock—is here boldly conceived and creditably executed. The letters, too, to judge from the coin engraved as No. 52, must at times have been well modelled, though there is a failure in the working out of the details, and a confusedness of the inner lines of the characters, even while the external form appears to have been accurately rendered; and to do the engravers full justice, they seem to have proposed to themselves uniformly to express the requisite superscribed vowels, though these have naturally suffered from their exposed position on the edge of the piece, in addition to any faults they may have derived from the imperfection of the dies.

The style of writing employed appears to follow, at but a moderate distance, the alphabet of the Guptas, as in use in their Eastern states, and among the rest, the letters क ग ज घ त द प व र and न may be cited as nearly identical with the corresponding characters on the Gupta Láts. The व and त—and occasionally the न—on the coins are at times easily confounded, as they are often wanting in the several openings which should give each its distinctive value.

Without attempting to analyse the legends in detail, or to propose any reading for the introductory laudatory titles, supposed to precede the name, I may notice—though distrusting my materials—that the names on Nos. 55, 57, allowing for the obvious malformation of the letters, may readily be taken for श्री बुध गुप्त *Srī Budha Gupta*, the

very name that is found on the inscription on Bhím Sen's Pillar at Erun, near Ságor. Assuming this designation to be correctly read, the collateral evidence derived from the inscription coincides sufficiently with the indications offered by the coins themselves. From the former we gather that Budha Gupta held the country lying between the Nerbudda and a river it has been proposed to identify as the Jumna<sup>1</sup>; no information is however afforded as to the whereabouts of his seat of government, nor can the geographical boundaries, thus defined, be said to convey any very definite knowledge of the real extent of the dominions adverted to. Prinsep considered that Surashtra should be held to have constituted a portion of this king's possessions, but the expressions in his own translation of the inscription—even admitting it to be an accurate rendering—are far from implying any such condition; the occupation of land touching these two rivers, taking Ságor as anything like its centre, would encircle comparatively narrow limits, and would not by any means of necessity embrace the whole land to the western coast.

If Budha Gupta is to be looked upon as a scion of the ancient family of the Guptas, whose might is chronicled on the Láts of Allahabad and Bhitári, and on the Rock of Junagarh, it is clear by his subjects' own showing, that he possessed a sovereignty much reduced in extent from the empire originally ruled over by his predecessors in the palmy days of the race.

In addition to the Pillar record, there is also an inscription on the temple at Erun, near which the Pillar itself was erected. From the incidental notices to be found in these monumental writings, it would appear that their execution must have been very nearly contemporaneous; the one work having been undertaken "by," the other at the "cost of," a certain Dhanya Vishnu. In the temple inscription, which

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's translation of this inscription runs—"On Thursday, the 13th lunar day of the month of A'shadha of the year 165, when the King, Budha Gupta \* \* governed the beautiful country situated between the Kálindi (Jumna) and the Narmada \* \* in the aforesaid year of his dynasty." J. A. S. B., vii. 634.

The word transcribed as कालिन्दी, when tested by the facsimile of the inscription itself (Pl. XXXI., Vol. VII.), is by no means a satisfactory rendering, each letter of the entire word—with the single exception of the ई—being open to objection, besides which the very legible र over the concluding compound letter in the original remains altogether unaccounted for in the modern transcript.

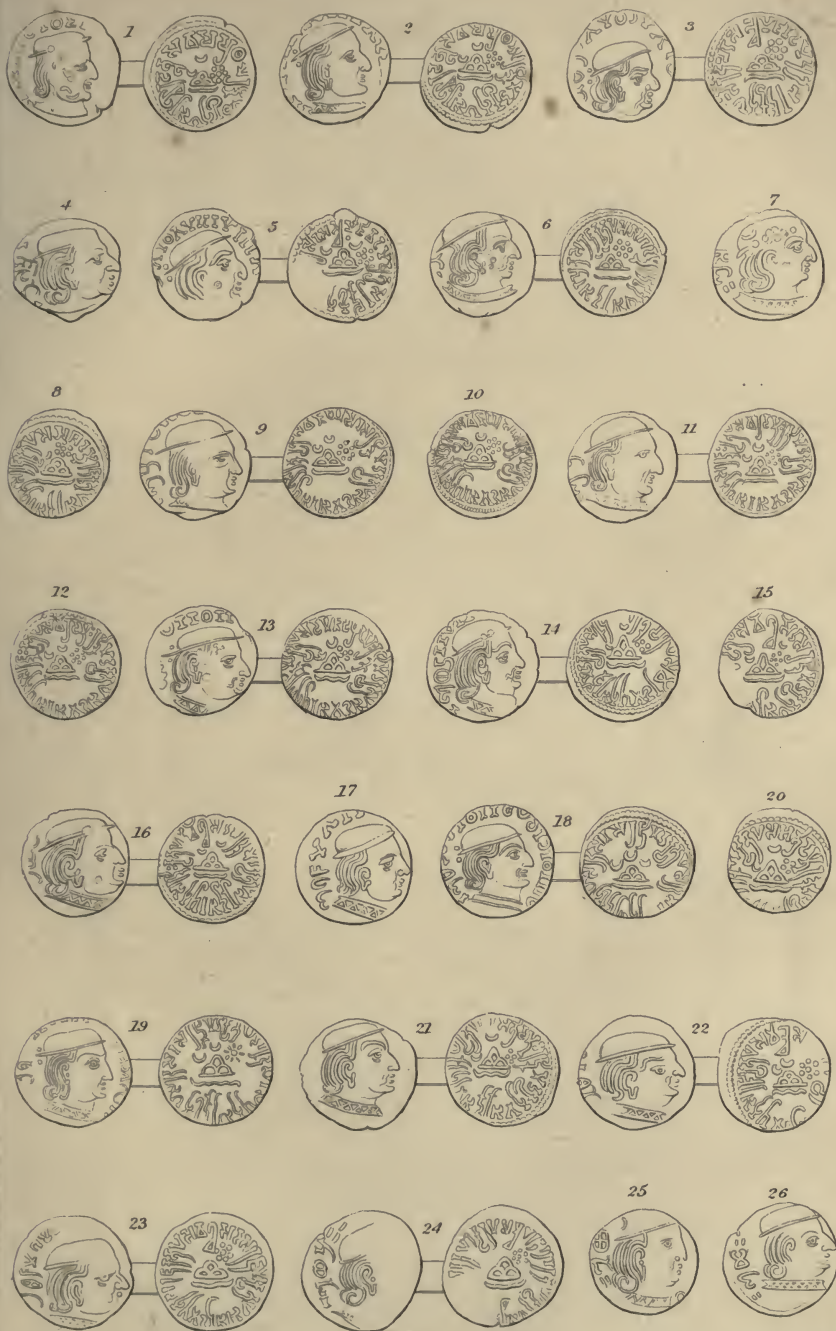
is probably the earliest of the two, it is stated that the edifice itself was built in the first year of the reign of Tárapáni, the suzerain then acknowledged in this part of the country<sup>1</sup>. The writing on the pillar, on the other hand, informs us, as has been already stated, that, at the time of its endorsement, Budha Gupta was the lord paramount.

This change in the *Suzeraineté*, at all events, suffices to show that Budha Gupta, though he may have obtained, or even regained, possession of the country about Ságor, was far from being sole unopposed inheritor of the lands once acknowledging *Gupta* sway; and as such, his title to the nearly entire north-west of India may well be questioned, and his dominions reduced to much more moderate bounds than Prinsep was inclined to award him.

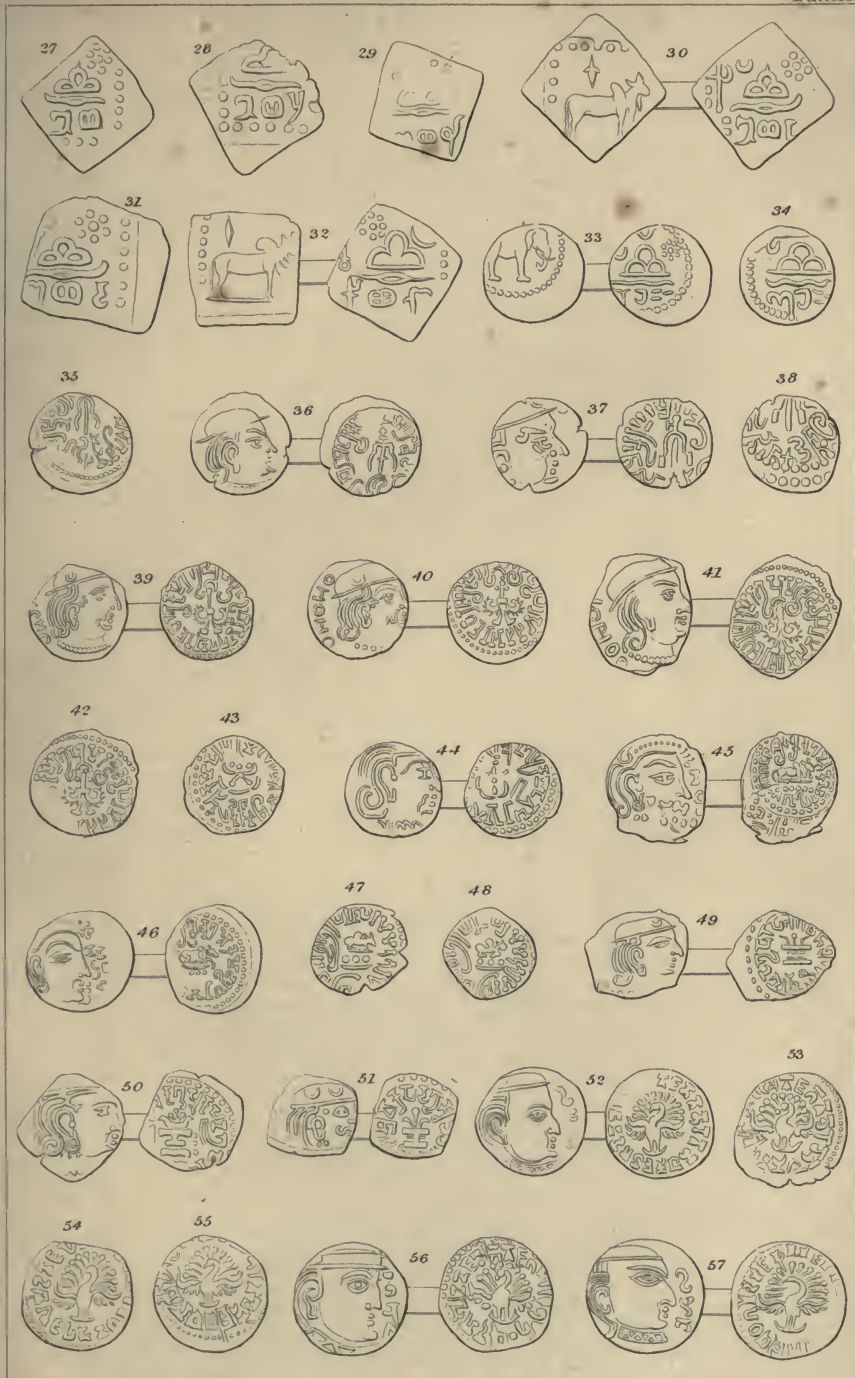
It need scarcely be noticed that in the present incomplete state of our information on the subject, the date of 163, as avowedly a dynastical date, adds nothing to our knowledge or power of determining the real corresponding epoch.

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<sup>1</sup> "When the great rája Tárapáni, the very famous and beautiful, the King of Kings, governed the earth; in the first year of his reign," &c., &c., J. A. S. B., vii. 633.









SAH'S

G U P T A S

E. Thomas, del

*J. Basire, lith.*



## APPENDIX.

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With a view to illustrate more fully and satisfactorily, by a direct reference to facsimiles of the medals themselves, the important connection existing between the Indo-Scythians and the Guptas, which forms a prominent point in the general question of the dates of Indian Dynasties, and in itself constitutes a subject of special reference in the above paper, advantage has been taken of the ready permission accorded by Mr. H. T. Prinsep to republish in this place the admirable engravings, prepared by the late Jas. Prinsep in the express design of establishing this particular fact, and originally inserted in the Fourth and Fifth Volumes of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Were these engravings less perfect in themselves, less exact in their rendering of the nice distinguishing shades in the forms of the old Devanágari, Bactrian Páli, and corrupt Greek letters, or less aptly conceived to prove the precise link upon which much of the argument of the preceding memoir has been based, more apology might be due for their republication in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; but, in addition to the value now claimed for them, the limited European circulation of the Bengal Journal renders it probable that they may still prove new to a large majority of Western Orientalists; and their intrinsic merits and ample comprehensiveness will doubtless overrule any remaining objection to their reappearance.

It is not proposed to enter into any lengthened description of the coins depicted in these plates; at the same time it may be necessary to indicate generally the class to which they severally belong, and to note the legends deciphered on the more important specimens.

## No. 1. KADPHISES.

OBV. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ.

REV. Ariano-Pálí legend, incomplete: the general legends on these coins have been given by Prinsep (J. A. S. B., vii. 646) as *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa sabatrahca ihacha Mahi harasa dhi Mokadphisasa Nandata*, "Of the great sovereign, the king of kings both here and everywhere seizing the earth, &c., Mokadphis the saviour." Cunningham's reading is an improvement upon this; it is as follows—*Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Sabatugahi-Surasahi-Mahi-Surasahi Hima Kaphisasa Tatasa*, "(Coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the everywhere-destroying-hero, the hero-of-the-world (of the tribe of) Hieu-mi Kadphis, the preserver." J. A. S. B., 1845, p. 434.

Nos. 2, 3. OBV. Greek legends, as No. 1.

REV. Ariano-Pálí legends, imperfect.

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Specimens of the Indo-Scythic Kanerki group, having usually the legend PAO NANO PAO OHPKI KOPANO on the Obverse, with various Reverse devices, and the several words OKPO, APAOKPO, MAO, &c., &c. *5. ces monnaies et légendes v. V. Sallet Nachfolger &c. p. 57 et 185.*

Figs. 11, 12, 14 offer slightly-changed devices, and show considerable deterioration in execution, which increases in a marked degree on Figs. 13 and 15.

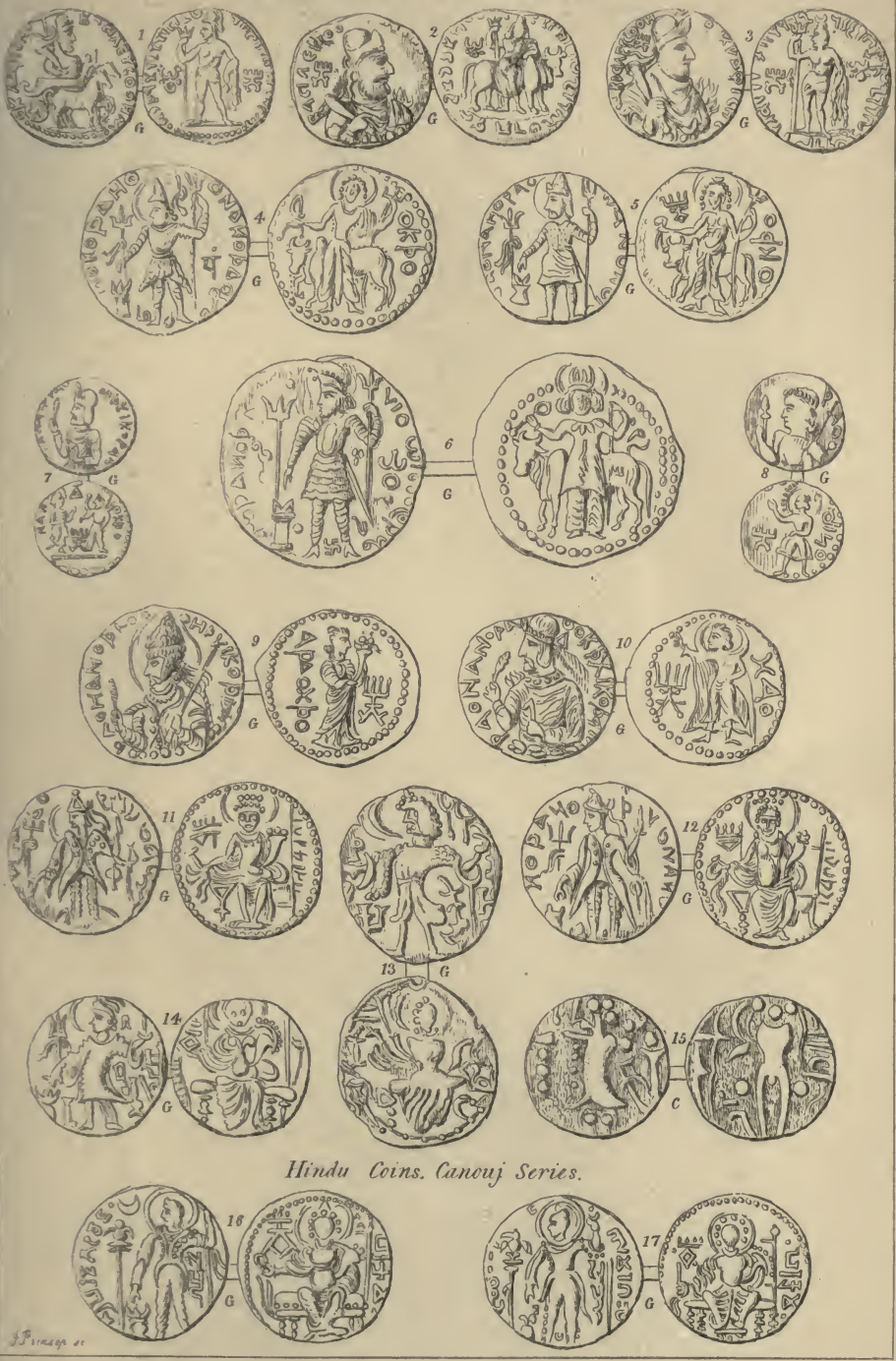
Fig. 16. A coin of Samudra Gupta, having on the Obverse margin the Sanskrit legend *Śrī Parajita dāvaja?* (Prinsep), and below the left arm, in a line with the spear, the letters being super-posed, as is usual in this series of coins, is to be seen the name *Samudra*. Reverse, Parakrama.

Fig. 17. OBV. Marginal legend doubtful, \* \* samaratapa? Below the arm, *Samudra*.

REV. As in No. 16.

*v. L. mémoire (que j'ai) de Ed. Thomas sur Asoka 1877.*

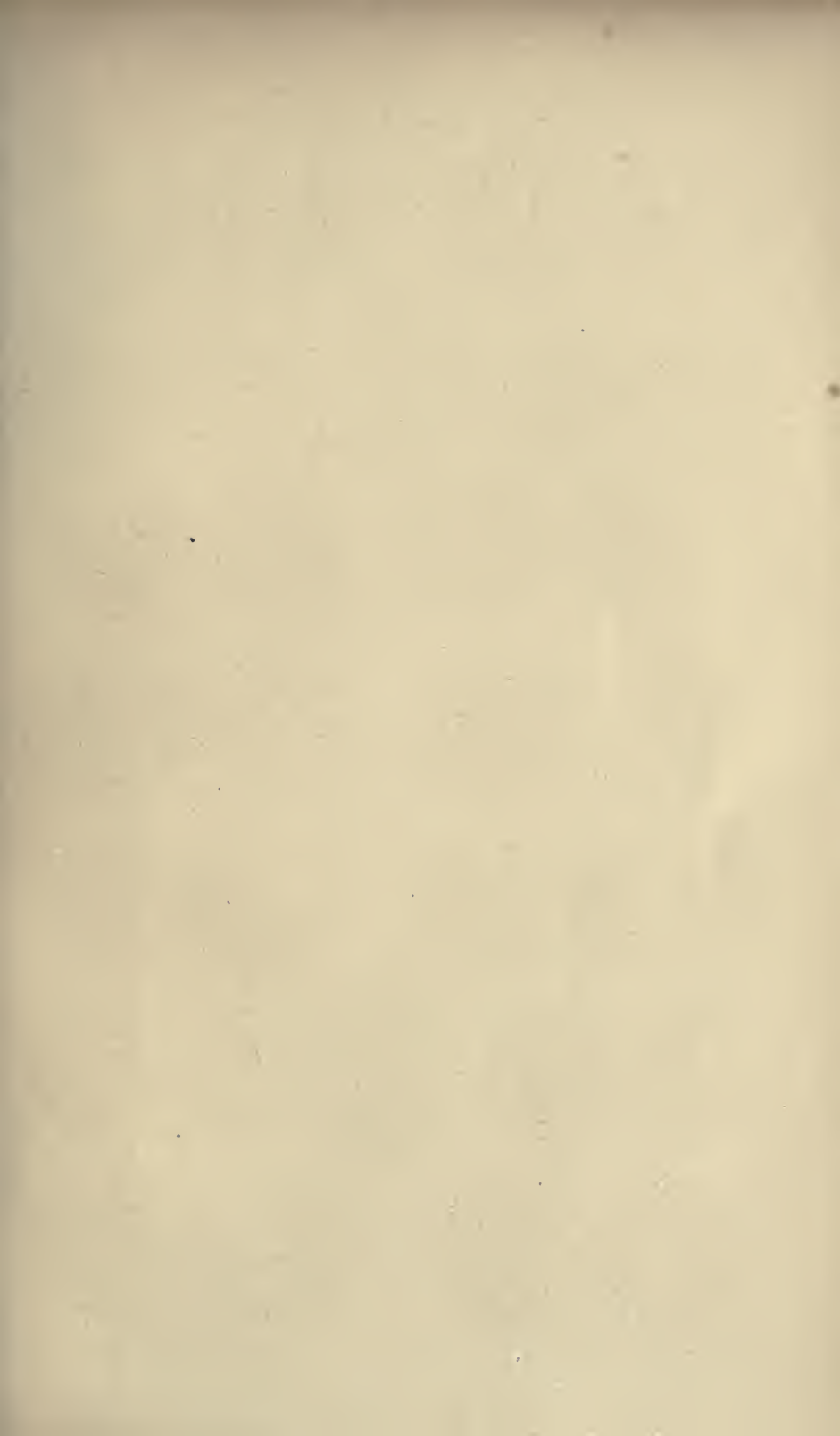
INDOSCYTHIC & CANOUJ COINS



Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.







Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.



- Fig. 18. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Chandra*.  
REV. *Srī Vikrama*.
- Fig. 19. OBV. *Samudra*?  
REV. *Apratiratha*, "The unsurpassed warrior."
- Fig. 20. Legends doubtful.
- Fig. 21. Marginal writing illegible. Under the arm, *Kra*.
- Fig. 22. OBV. *Skanda*?  
REV. *Kramaditya*.
- Fig. 23. OBV. Margin, *Kragipta paragu ja*? Under the arm, *Samudra*.  
REV. *Kragipta paragu*? This reading is very doubtful, the *gu* of the second word being invariably written *ṣu* in the best specimens.
- Fig. 24. OBV. No letters visible.  
REV. *Srī Skanda Gupta*.
- Fig. 25. OBV. *Mahā Rājādhirāja Srī*.  
REV. *Srī Sinha Vikrama*.
- Fig. 26. OBV. *Mahā rājādhirāja Srī Samudra Gupta*.  
REV. *Samudra Gupta*.
- Fig. 27. OBV. *Vikrama Narāma*?  
REV. *Sinha Vikrama*.
- Fig. 28. OBV. Legend doubtful.  
REV. *Kumara Gupta*.
- Fig. 29. OBV. } Illegible.  
REV. }
- Fig. 30. OBV. \* \* *Mahendra Gupta*.  
REV. *Ajita Mahendra*.
- Some of these Horseman Coins have—  
OBV. Parama \* \* *Srī Chandra Gupta*.  
REV. *Ajita Vikrama*<sup>1</sup>. See also fig. 6, Pl. VII.
- Figs. 31, 32. OBV. Under the horse, the letters *Se*.  
REV. *Asvamedha Parakrama*, The paramount hero of the *Asvamedha*.'
- Fig. 33. REV. *Mahā rāja Srī Ganpati*.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum.

Fig. 1. OBV. PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO.  
REV. APΔAΓNO.

Fig. 2. OBV. As above, but with OOHPKI in place of Kanerki.  
REV. ΦΑΡΟ.

Fig. 3. OBV. As No. 2. REV. MIIPO.

Fig. 4. OBV. Legend as in No. 1. REV. NANA PAO.

Fig. 5. OBV. As in No. 2. REV. NANA.

Fig. 6. OBV. As in No. 2.  
REV. ΑΘΡΟ. Atars, *Zend*, fire (Prinsep).

Fig. 7. OBV. No inscription. REV. Doubtful.

Fig. 8. OBV. As No. 2.  
REV. ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ, "Lord of the months" (Prinsep).

Fig. 9. OBV. As No. 1.

REV. ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ (आर्यर्क), "The great sun" (Prinsep,

J. A. S. B., v. 643). *Arđ*, "half;" *Okro*, "Siva:" hence, Wife of Siva (Lassen, J. A. S. B., 1840, p. 455).

Fig. 10. OBV. Corrupt Greek legend, similar in tenor to that on No. 1; below the right arm, between the small altar and the leg of the figure, is seen the compound Sanskrit letter **व** *rv*; between the legs is a second letter, which is not clearly identifiable; and on the left of the field is a character which may either be a Greek Φ, or, what is more probable, a compound Sanskrit **कु** *chhu*.

REV. ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ.

This coin is cited by Prinsep as the very "link of connection" between the two series of Indo-Scythic and Gupta coins.

Fig. 11. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Samudra*.

REV. *Kragipta paragu*, or, as Prinsep here proposes, *Kubhāvu paragu* (-ja being taken from the Obverse)? (See Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, p. 424 and fig. 23, pl. V., supra.)

Fig. 12. OBV. *Kāma-naruttama-ja* GHA(ΤΟΤ), and under the left arm KACHA, "Son-of-an-excellent-man resembling-KAMA GHATOT KACHA.

REV. *Sarvarājochhatra*, "The overshadower of all the Rājas."

Fig. 13. OBV. Margin, *Rāja Śrī Chandra* \* \* Under the arm, *Chandra*.  
REV. *Śrī Vikrama*.

Fig. 14. OBV. Margin, *Samara Satamataga(ja)*, "Having the strength of one hundred wild elephants" (Prinsep); and on the opposite portion of the margin, *Vijayajātara*. Under the arm, *Samudra*.

Fig. 15. OBV. Margin illegible. Below the arm, portions on each side of the spear, *Chandra* ↑ *Gupta*.

REV. *Panch Chhavayas*? "The five excellencies" (Prinsep); *Pach-chawaya* (Wilson).

Fig. 16. OBV. *Kumara*. REV. No letters visible.

Fig. 17. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda*.  
REV. *Kramaditya*.

Fig. 18. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda*.  
REV. *Śrī Skanda Gupta*.

Fig. 19. OBV. *Parama*, &c.? REV. *Śrī Mahendra*.

Fig. 20. OBV. *Jayatī Mahendra*. Under the arm, *Ku*?  
REV. *Śrī Mahendra*.

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Copper Coins of Chandragupta.



Second Series of imitations from the 'Ardokro' type.



- Fig. 1. OBV. Illegible.  
REV. *Sinha Vikrama*, "The lion hero."
- Fig. 2. OBV. Illegible.  
REV. As No. 1 Reverse.
- Figs. 3, 4, 5. OBV. Inscriptions doubtful.  
REV. *Ajita Mahendra*.
- Fig. 6. OBV. *Parama* \* \* \* (Chan)dra Gupta.  
REV. *Ajita Vikrama*. See extra notice under fig. 30, Pl. V.
- Fig. 7. OBV. Illegible.  
REV. *Vikramaditya*.
- Fig. 8. OBV. Margin, *Srī* \* \* \* *ta Mahendra jaya*.  
REV. (Sri) *Mahendra Sinha*.
- Fig. 9. OBV. Margin, *Srī Chandra Gupta* \* \*. Under the arm, *Chandra*.  
REV. *Srī Vikrama*.
- Fig. 10. OBV. Margin illegible. Under the arm, *Skanda*?  
REV. *Srī Ska(nda)*?
- Figs. 12 to 15. Copper Coins of Chandra Gupta.
- Figs. 16 to 20. Debased imitations from the Ardokro type. (link coins)

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