

ditionary documents, and adhere in preference to the faithful evidence of monuments and coins. In the present case, I have shewn how these confirm one another in a remarkable and unexpected manner in regard to the names on the Allahábád pillar inscription No. 2, all of which re-appear on these early Kanauj coins. In a subsequent paper, I shall produce equally convincing evidence that those of the Benáres and Dihlí inscriptions are reproduced upon a second series of Kanauj coins of a much more modern character.

All, then, that can be now attempted is to recapitulate the names that have been brought to light in the present investigation, names for which we are indebted to the joint contributions of not less than a dozen friends,¹ leaving the proper arrangement of them to a more advanced stage of our knowledge than we at present possess.

The following are the names and titles that appear on the coins of the two last plates :—

1. *Sri aparajita-dhvaja Kumdra-Gupta parákrama.*
2. *Sri Vikrama Chandra.*
3. *Apati-rurhak, or Bhúpati-rurha.*
4. *Kragipta paragu(pta).*
5. *Chandra-Gupta.*
6. *Mahárāja adhirāja Sri Sri pradyu Vikrama.*
7. *Sri Vikrama Narendra-Gupta.*
8. *Mahárāja adhirāja Sri Samudra-Gupta.*
9. *. . Sri bal vikrama Kumdra-Gupta.*
10. *Ajita Manatri-Gupta.*
11. *Asvamedha parákrama.*

To these may be added the

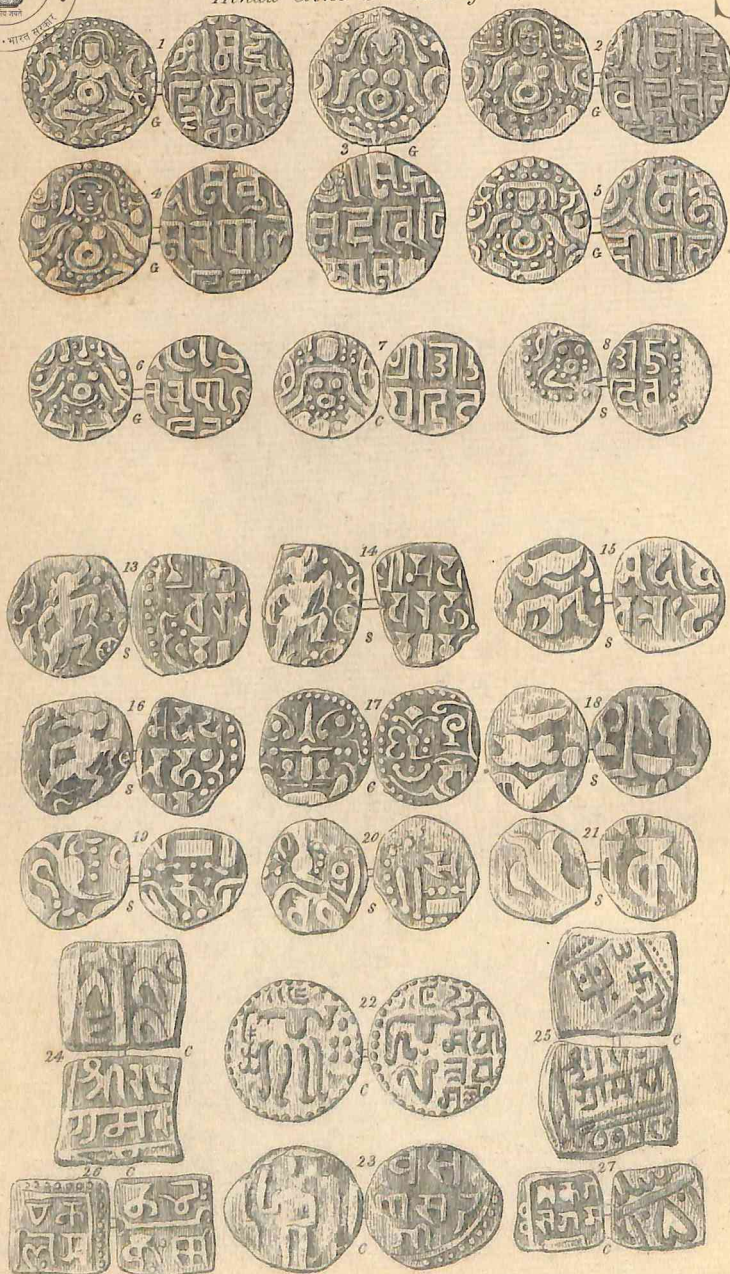
12. *Vikramáditya, of Marsden's collection, and the*
13. *Sasi-Gupta, of Wilson's plates.*

¹ Ventura, Karámat 'Alí, Wade, Tregear, Cunningham, Burt, Stacy, Watson, Smith, Swiney, Cracroft, and Conolly.



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Hindu Coins - 2nd Canouj Series.



Brass 10

XI.—NOTICES OF ANCIENT HINDU COINS.

(Continued.)

(plate xxiv.—HINDU COINS OF MID AGE.)

To whatever period it may be finally determined to adjudge the series of Gupta coins described in my last paper, there can be no hesitation in regard to the first group of the present plate; though here again, had it not been for inscriptions relating to the same period, the absence of credible history would have left us as much in the dark as ever.

These coins are found, like the former, in greatest abundance in the vicinity of Kanauj. Ten of them were picked out of a remittance from the Cawnpur Treasury. The Asiatic Society possesses some found at Allahábád by Dr. Tytler; I have several from Azimgarh and other places, besides four of gold in Karámat 'Alí's collection from the Panjáb; Col. Smith, Dr. Swiney, and Lieut. Cunningham, also possess specimens, and I have examined those in Col. Willoughby's cabinet; but the most plentiful supply—of gold, silver, and copper—exists in Col. Stacy's cabinet, whence I have selected most of the specimens now engraved.

It is rather singular that no mention of a species of coin comparatively so common, is to be found in Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia.' The only published drawings of them are, I believe, those accompanying

Wilson's notice in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., which were taken from coins in his and my own cabinets. This gentleman was the first to attribute them to their rightful place in history, although he had but one well-ascertained name (Govinda Chandra) to guide his judgment. Upon a careful examination of the several collections mentioned above, I have now succeeded in adding five new names to his list, so rapid is the progress and success of the efforts now directed to this line of research.

The figure on the obverse of all these coins is of precisely the same character;—a rudely-executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head, and some incomprehensible objects in her hands. Wilson names her Lakshmí, on the ground that the princes of the Rahtor dynasty were of the Vaishnava sect. In this case, we may recognise in her the female holding the cornucopia of the former Kanauj group, sadly altered for the worse in point of execution.

The inscriptions on the reverse are, with one exception, easily legible; they are in a much more modern style of Devanágari than the last, differing little from the present form, except as to the vowel inflection *e*, which falls behind the consonant to which it is attached, as in the Gaur or Bengálí alphabet. The same remark applies to the letter *j* (fig. 8), which assimilates to the Bengálí and Tibetan forms, and serves admirably to shew the transition of this letter from its original shape in the most ancient alphabet, where it closely resembles the Roman E, to its present modified form, ज.

The figures in my plate are not placed with any regard to chronological order, but rather according to their comparative frequency of occurrence: figs. 1 and 2 being by far the most numerous of the set.

On fig. 1, we make out the words श्री मदादेय देव ॥ *Srī mad Jádjeya deva*. This variety is comparatively common in gold. Lieut. Cunningham has one of silver.

On fig. 2, the most common of the class, are the very distinct words श्री मन्त्रोविदचन्द्रदेव; below the letters वि and च are dots, which supply the place of the *n* or *anusvára*, so that the full reading should doubtless be श्री मद् गोविन्द चन्द्रदेव, *Srī mad Govinda Chandra-deva*. The gold of some specimens of this variety is of inferior quality.

Fig. 3 is the one I have noted as being difficult to decypher. I have as yet only found one of the sort; it is of Col. Stacy's cabinet. The letters visible are श्री मद्रा महवचे णम, *Srī mad Rāma have che nam*. The *v* may possibly be an *r*, making the reading *Rāma Hari*; but we must wait the discovery of duplicates before we can complete or rectify this uncertain name.

Fig. 4 (Karāmat 'Alī) is more easily legible, श्री मत्कुमार पाल देव *Srī mat Kumara Pāla deva*.

Fig. 6, from the same collection, is a small coin of the same prince.

Fig. 5 is equally distinct—श्री मन्मही पाल देव *Srī man Mahī Pāla deva*. It is from a single coin in Col. Stacy's collection.

Figs. 7 and 8 (Stacy), one of copper, the other of silver, help to decypher one another. The complete legend is श्री अजय देव *Srī Ajaya deva*.

Lieut. Cunningham has sent me an impression of a copper coin of the same class, on which the name appears to be श्री मदल मी देव—probably *Srī mad Lakshmī (Pāla or Chandra?) deva*.

[I have examined the now somewhat comprehensive series of this class of money in the British Museum and East India House collections, with a view to confirm and extend Prinsep's readings from the limited number of specimens submitted to his scrutiny. I may summarize the results as follows:—

No. 1. श्री मन्त्राज्ञेय देव:

In this case I must confess that the new rendering is nearly as open to objection as the original transcript. However, I am forced, for consistency's sake, to reject the previous assignment of

the compound suffix as **ज**, when a seemingly identical form is made to do duty in No. 3 for **ग**; even if the palæographic necessities did not otherwise imperatively demand the concession! (See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 23.)

(2) श्री मन्त्रोविंदचंद्र देव ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 22.)

(3) श्री महमद वेने साम ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xxi. 25.)

This type of Muhammad bin Sám's local coins is comparatively rare. There are five specimens in the East India House.

(4 and 6) श्री मत्कुमर पाल देव ॥

(Also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 24.)

There are no less than sixteen of these coins in the East India House.

I have no new specimens of No. 5, wherewith to check the first decipherment.

In addition to the above, I may cite a sufficiently common coin, hitherto unpublished, bearing the epigraph of

श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव

as well as the following variety of Muhammad bin Sám's mintages, of which there are no less than twenty-one examples in the East India Company's cabinet.

श्री हमीर महमद साम

(See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx. 25, 26.)

No. 27 of 'Ariana Antiqua,' xx., is proved by the original coin to bear the same inscription.]

It was, as I have said above, the occurrence of the name of Govinda Chandra-deva which led Mr. Wilson to ascribe this group to the Rahtor princes of Kanauj, who held the sceptre of that ancient city for a century prior to the overthrow of their last and best known Rája, Jychand (Jaya-Chandra), by Shaháb-ud-dín. One of

our coins undoubtedly belongs to the former prince, and it may perhaps be allowable to give the last two, figs. 7 and 8, to Jychand himself, whose proper name may have been Ajaya Chandra-deva; the family name Chandra being frequently omitted both in writings and in inscriptions. But the remaining coins of our series, two of them having the family name Pála, cannot be reconciled with any of the princes in the short Rahtor line, of which every individual, from the first conqueror, Chandra-deva, in A.D. 1072, is known to us through the concurrent testimony of several inscriptions. What was the antecedent dynasty? has been a question hitherto imperfectly answered; the traditions cited by Tod being, as stated in my last paper, at total variance with inscriptions. The latter, indeed, only record two names, Yasovigraha (or Srípála?) and Mahichandra, prior to the conquest of Chandra-deva. The latter of these should probably have been Mahipála, of whose reign in the early part of the eleventh century, the inscriptions at Sárnáth, Dinájpur, and Ámgáchí supply ample evidence, now indeed confirmed by the superscription of his coin in fig. 5. Yasovigraha, in like manner, may be referred to the Vigraha-pála-deva of the Dinájpur inscription, and thus the surname of Pála may be restored to both these princes.

Although Gaur in Bengal was the original seat of the Pála family, there is no reason to doubt that they had acquired the paramount sovereignty of India, and that the seat of their government was fixed, for a time at least, in Kanauj. Indeed, branches of the same family may be traced to the westward—to the Pálas of Málwa, one of whom (Ananga-pála) rebuilt Dihlí, or re-established it as



his capital ; and perhaps even to Gujarát, where we find the occurrence of a Kumára-pála in 1100, who may probably be the owner of our coin, fig. 4, especially as his son is named Ajaya Pála, who may be the Ajaya-deva of figs. 7, 8. In evidence of the identity of this family, it may be sufficient to note a few facts, referring to the elaborate observations of Wilford, and the subsequent notices of Colebrooke, and those of Fell and Wilson, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xv.

The list of the kings of Gwáliár, noticed by Wilford, consists of eighty-five names, all having the affix of Pála, 'in accordance with the prediction of Guapála the hermit, their progenitor.'¹ Now the founder of the Gaur family of Bengal is equally a Go-pála, though some authorities call him Bhú-pála, a name of much the same import, and denoting his rustic extraction.

Again, the grandson of Ananga-pála, the Tuár conqueror of Dihlí, is stated to have returned to Gaur, 'his native country,' after the defeat and death of Prithiví Pála, or Pithaura. Thus, Ananga-pála too was of the Bengal family: moreover, he was either the grandson or the fifth in descent from Chandra Pála,² or Chitra Pála (Wilford) of Málwa, 'who swayed all India,' after Jayananda; and the Musalmán writers affirm that 'after Gebál (or Chait Pála), the Balhára kings of Gujarát became paramount emperors of India.'³ It is not, however, absolutely necessary to travel so far to the west for a Kumára Pála, since in Abú-'l-Fazl's list we find a prince of this name immediately following Ananga-pála in Málwa; and Ferishta also makes a Kunwer Ray (Rája

¹ 'As. Res.', ix, 154.² 'Ayín-i Akbarí.'³ 'As. Res.', ix, 164.

Kumára-pála) reigning at Kanauj on the invasion of Mahmúd. There is evidently some connection between all these different dynasties, and although the subject is now involved in almost inextricable confusion, from the discrepancy of the several lists in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' in Raghunáth's 'Rájávalí,' and in the 'Agni Purána,' we may hope, through the fortunate discovery of the present coins, and others that we may now confidently expect will succeed them, to arrange the names in a satisfactory and coherent manner. It is evident that the Kanauj mint produced this series continuously, as the alphabetic type is preserved through the whole unaltered. It will be seen presently that the same distinctive characters appear at a particular point, both in the coinage of Gujarát, and in that of Chitor or Mewár; and in both cases sufficient of the name remains visible to shew that it terminates in Pála-deva; and therefore, that it marks the spread and paramount sovereignty of the Gaur family across the whole continent of India.

Figs. 13 to 16 are silver coins found in abundance in many parts of India, but chiefly towards the desert to the west of Dihlí. Stacy's cabinet is rich in them. Wilson's plates exhibit others from Col. Mackenzie's and my own collection. They weigh on an average fifty grains, or three máshas.

On the obverse is a figure of the Boar, or Varáha Avatár of Vishnu, and the *chakra* or 'discus' of this god is visible on many of the specimens. The character on the reverse is, again, of quite a new form. Instead of the square-built Gaur alphabet, or the Gujarátí letters, we have here the nail-headed letter common to the inscriptions (of the Takshac, Jit, and Mori princes of Haravatí and Málwá, described in Tod's 'Rájasthán,' App. vol. i.) which belong chiefly to the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries. This vague coincidence may help in assigning the place and period of their coinage, which otherwise there are no data to trace. The full legend of the coins, made out from collation of the engraved figures and from many others in Stacy's cabinet, is

them to be other than signs and symbols. The name and date on most of these coins are distinct enough, and in the present type of Nāgarī—**श्री संग्राम सिंह १५८०** *Srī Sangrāma Sinha*, 1580 (Samvat). Sometimes the name is written **संग्राम** *Sangrama*, and at others **संगम** *Sangama*, variations to be expected in such imperfect samples of the engraver's art.

Fig. 27 is of the latter description, having the name Sangama preceded by the letters **भकग**. The reverse of this coin has the figure of a heart, which is very common on copper money, dug up in the Sāgar district, of the Muhammadan princes of the Berar provinces. Arabic letters are clearly distinguishable above the heart.

From the date of these coins, we recognise them as belonging to the celebrated Sangrāma Sinh, or Sinha, of the Mughal historians, who for a short period successfully resisted the victorious Baber at Biāna.

A romantic account of the chivalrous adventures of his youth is given by Tod.¹ He succeeded to the throne of Mewār, in s. 1565 (A.D. 1508), and is accounted by the Rājput bards the *kalsa* or 'pinnacle' of its glory. His encounter with Baber at Kanūa occurred on the 5th Kārtik, s. 1584, (=15th Oct. 1527 A.D.) four years subsequent to the striking of these coins; which, by the way, are no very convincing evidence of the flourishing state of the arts in Chitor at the summit of its splendour and glory.

Fig. 26 is a small square copper coin in Stacy's cabinet, also of modern fabrication; on one side, inclosed in a marginal frame—which proves that the whole inscription is before us—are the Nāgarī letters **एक लिस** *ek lis*. It may be that *lis* is the name of a coin of which the specimen represents the unit; or possibly it should be read **एकालिस** *ekālis*, the fortieth or rather forty-first of the current silver coin of the place (?). The division of the field, on the reverse, into upper and lower compartments, so far resembles a gold coin from Kanauj, described by Wilson as fig. 52, pl. iii. The letters are **कम केली**, an unintelligible compound.

¹ 'Rājasthān,' i. 295.

Fig. 28 is another rude Hindú paisá of a late period. A human figure, on the obverse, holds a staff in his right hand; on the reverse are the letters व स ण स र जी *basan sar jí*, an unknown and doubtful name.

RÁJPUT COINS.

(plates xxv., xxvi.)

In the two following plates, I am again indebted to Col. Stacy's numismatic zeal for the greater part of a very curious series of Hindú coins, on the one hand linked, by the subject of their impression, with the Indo-Scythic series; and, on the other, gradually mixed with, and transfused into, the Arabic currency of the first Muhammadan conquerors of Central India.

Now that I am myself in possession of nearly one hundred of these coins in silver, it appears strange that they should hitherto have escaped so completely the notice of our Indian numismatologists; neither Marsden, Wilson, nor Tod, having published a single engraving of them. When, therefore, I first received a sealing-wax impression of one from Dr. Swiney, in August, 1833,¹ it is not surprising that I should have announced it as *unique*. Col. Stacy's letters soon taught me to consider it in a very contrary light; and now, on reference to Tod's personal narrative, I find that they had not escaped him in his travels, although he has not favoured the public with any drawings of them, or any comments on their age and locality.

Munshí Mohan Lál's collection of coins made at Kábul, afforded me a favourable opportunity of ascertaining the accurate names and readings of the silver group,

¹ See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' ii. 416, and fig. 11, pl. xiv. [iii.] of the same volume. I then supposed the coin to be of gold; it was of silver.

श्री महादिवराहः *Srī mahādī Varāha*, which is nothing more than the title of the incarnation, and affords no clue to its appropriation. Below the legend is, in general, visible, a square or oblong central ornament, with two balusters on the sides: their intent is beyond my apprehension.

Fig. 17 differs from the preceding in the reverse, although its general similarity, and its being found in company, shew it to belong to the same family. The two baluster-looking ornaments again meet the eye. On the reverse, is the initial word श्री *srī*, and below it यो *yo* or पो *po*. The flourish on the left hand is evidently intended for a human face viewed in profile.

In 18 the word *Srī* is again very distinct, but the head of the Boar-god is also apparent. In the Society's plate, I was the cause of Wilson's mistaking the word श्री for the letter ढ reversed, from my having engraved the figure upside down.

In 19 and 20 the human profile is better defined than in 17. The contour of the ear, cheek, and shoulder may be distinguished; the eye, nose, and lips, are represented by dots. In 20, the word *Srī* is still discernible. On the reverse is a single letter, either *k*, *s*, or *m*, amidst flourishes.

In 21 the boar again appears, with the letters वह *vaha*, or perhaps एक *ek*. Of this sort, a quantity were dug up while I was at Benáres. Mr. Gubbins found several at Gurgáon to the south-west of Dihlí.

It seems impossible that coins so plentifully found in Upper India should have been struck in the peninsula, or we might, from the device and superscription, attribute them to the Vijayanagar sovereignty; for Col. Wilks inform us, that 'Varāha,' 'the boar,' one of the incarnations of Vishnu, was the emblem which these rājas adopted as the impression on their gold coins, and the coin was and is named 'Varāha' in consequence, in the Hindú languages of the south. The restriction, however, of this name to the small gold coin or hūns of the south, is against this hypothesis. One of the Vijayanagar Varāhas (of Deva Raya?) is depicted as fig. 80 of Mr. Wilson's plates; and, though the attitude of the Avatár is a rude imitation of ours, the form of the Nágari

character is there essentially different, and much more modern.

Similarity of name might tempt us to assign them to the Varáhas, a powerful Indo-Scythic tribe to the west of Jesalmer, who were frequently in collision with the Bhattis in the eighth century, at the foundation of Tunnote.¹ But it does not appear from Col. Pottinger's description of them under the name of Brahuís, that these were ever of the Hindú faith, whereas the emblem and inscription could have proceeded only from an authority strictly Vaishnava.

Fig. 22, from the Stacy collection, would appear to be an inter-loper in the Upper Provinces; since the majority of this type have hitherto been found in Ceylon, some in the palace at Kandy, others by Col. McKenzie at Dipaldinna. They all, however, belong to the genuine Hindú rajas of that island, judging from the alphabet and the name.

The rude outline on the obverse is intended, probably, for a rája holding some mace or warlike weapon in his right hand. On the reverse, he is seated in a lounging position, with a view to make room for the inscription on the side. This, in the specimen before us, is श्री मया त्रय मल्ल *Srī mayá traya malla*. The second word is read by Marsden, in a specimen very like it, दय *daya*. And, on another coin, he finds the name of Vijaya विजय (मल्ल?) well known in the history of Ceylon. Wilson does not attempt to read the names on his coins, which are badly drawn; but, on comparing them, they appear not essentially to differ from Col. Stacy's. No family of the name of Malla occurs in the Indian genealogies except in Nipál, where, from the thirteenth century to the Gorkhá conquest, the reigning prince almost always bore the affix of Malla. In Turnour's catalogue of the Ceylon monarchs I do not find any such name.

Figs. 24 and 25 are two more modern copper pieces, selected from many of a similar nature in Stacy's cabinet as forming a good landmark in judging of the antiquity of other Hindú coins. The rude attempts at a human figure in 24 are far inferior to any thing we have yet seen; unless in its companion 25, where we can hardly pronounce

¹ Tod's 'Rájasthán,' ii. 229.

but, unfortunately, these do not embrace so much variety as the copper coins. The reason for this may be, that the Munshi's collection was discovered in a foreign country. A treasure accidentally dug up, however numerous, would naturally consist of the money then current, with a small admixture of that of preceding reigns : in fact, out of one hundred coins, sixty-five belong to one type (figs. 3, 4, 5), twenty-five to another (figs. 1, 2), and only three or four to a third (figs. 6, 7). Col. Stacy, on the other hand, had the advantage of exploring the very field in which they must have been at one period current, and his series is, therefore, much more complete, though rarely so numerous in any particular species. A letter from this gentleman to my address, dated 2nd August, 1834, suggests that "as the figures, both on the obverse and reverse of these coins, are evidently made up of letters, of either Sanskrit or some other Hindú character, they should be submitted to the kind attention of the professors of the Hindú College. The great variety, and the general distinctness of the characters on them, holds out fair hopes of our becoming acquainted with the dynasty they belong to, as well as with many of the individuals of that dynasty. The names placed against each by pandits, to whom they have been shewn, are worthy of no reliance. The natives possess neither enterprise nor invention; when they find a letter or letters wanting, they will not attempt to fill up the blank."

The opinion here broached, that the outline figures were made up of letters, is supported by the authority of Tod, who remarks, in the only passage I can find on

the subject (i. 698): "My envoys brought, from Nadolaye, a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the Chohān princes. One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have given the above term; on some there was a bull; while others, retaining the original reverse, have, on the obverse, the titles of the first Islamite conquerors; in the same manner as the currency of France bore the effigies of Louis XVI. and the emblems of the Republic. Whoever will pay a visit to Nadolaye, will find his labour amply rewarded; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest."

When the singular contour of the horseman and bull is traced back to its original type in figures 1, 2—where the whole substance of the figure is filled up—there does not seem to be much reason for imagining any intention of mystifying the device, the defects of which seem due to ignorance alone, the engraver retaining only sufficient knowledge of his craft to cut the outline of his device in relief, and latterly even seeming himself to have lost sight of its meaning altogether, as in figs. 48, *cum multis aliis*. Certain it is, that the title of hieroglyphic has been earned and won for this coin even from the antiquarians of the west: witness the following highly curious passage, brought to my notice by Dr. Swiney, in an American work on Scripture Geography,¹ applied to a woodcut of a coin in all respects the counterpart of our figure 3, which may have found its way to Egypt, in the course of commercial dealings, eight or ten centuries ago:—

¹ Smiley's 'Scripture Geography: ' Philadelphia, 1835, p. 151.

'This is an extremely curious medal, of silver, struck in Egypt before the reigns of the Ptolemies. It represents on one side, a man on horseback, and on the other, an ox of the humped kind, lying down: between his horns is the lunar crescent, and within that is a globe. These symbols clearly refer this ox to Egypt. The man on horseback is the most singular part of this medal; none of the countries adjacent having adopted the type of a horseman. There is every reason to believe that the letters on this medal are Persian, and that the person represented is Aryandes, governor of Egypt under Darius, the last king of Persia, who then possessed this country, and who caused the governor to be put to death for coining money in his own name'!!

It can hardly be believed that the nature of the characters should have been unknown to any but Trans-atlantic antiquaries, for they are in a very obvious form of Devanágari, and may be easily read where the letters are not cut off, or otherwise obliterated.

At the commencement of the foregoing essay, I alluded to this series as one of the four palpable imitations of a Grecian or Indo-Scythic model: I had in my eye the coins of Azos and Azilisos in particular,¹ which have a horseman with spear for the obverse, and a humped bull for the reverse. On being Indianised, the bull has become the Nandí of Hindú mythology, with its ornamental *jhúl* or 'saddle-cloth,' and the trident of Siva impressed on its haunch. The horse has in like manner received the trappings peculiar to the country, the *zírband* and *dumchí*. The rider has still some traces of a flowing fillet from his cap (see fig. 5), but his dress is not otherwise open to criticism. I would not pretend to insist upon the direct filiation of the Hindú coin to what I have assumed as its prototype: but the adoption of the same elements for the device, it may be surely contended,

¹ See pl. xxii., xxiii. [xvi., xvii.] of the June No., figs. 9 and 28.

argues some connection or descent; it is like the preservation of armorial insignia in a family: and on these grounds, we have presumptive evidence either of the Indo-Scythic descent of the reigning dynasty (an hypothesis borne out by the traditions of many of the Rájput states), or of a mere imitation of the coin of a neighbouring nation, in consequence of a poverty of native invention.

Before we proceed to canvass the epoch and country of this our third division of Hindú coins, which are matters entirely open at present (except so far that they have been called Chohán by Tod, and Rájput by Stacy), it will be convenient to take a view of all the specimens that have been collected.

The whole series may be conveniently classed under three heads, namely: I. Such as have genuine Hindú names and the oldest form of character; for the alphabet evidently undergoes modification as we advance. II. Those with Nágari characters only, but expressive of Muhammadan names, either alone or conjointly with those of Hindú princes. III. Those retaining the equestrian device of the obverse, with also the name of the rája; but having the reverse occupied by a pure Arabic inscription.

I may premise that the average weight of the whole series of silver coins a little exceeds fifty grains, and that therefore they may be regarded as tankas of three máshas, as was remarked of the oldest group and of the Varáhas.

Figs. 1, 2. These have been placed at the top of the list, because the relief in them is not confined to the mere outline. The device has already been described. There are letters on both sides of all the

series, leaving us somewhat at a loss to know which side contains the *rāja's* name, or whether the longer legend over the bull may not be merely his titles; the frequent occurrence of the second formula, on coins of various forms, is in favor of this view, but the actual name in the third is against it. On the present coin, the most obvious reading of the longer epigraph is श्री खालपति देव *Śrī Syālapati-deva*. Unfortunately the letters on the other side are cut off.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. The selection here was from sixty-five specimens, the collation of which left no doubt as to the context, unless in regard to the value of the fourth letter. Of the two readings suggested in my first notice of this coin—श्री सामग्र देव *Śrī Sāmagra-deva*, or श्री सामन्त देव *Śrī Sāmanta-deva*—the latter is the most plausible, because *Sāmanta* is a common Hindú name, a 'leader, captain, or champion'; and although the *nt* is more like गु गु, in the best specimens; there are other cases, such as figs. 19 and 21, where it more nearly resembles the Bengálí শু nt.

On the reverse, are the letters श्री and उ, on either side of the head. These are ancient forms of भी *bhī* and त *t*. On fig. 4, the latter is replaced by a nondescript flourish, [Kufic عدل] so that the two are probably independent of each other in the reading.

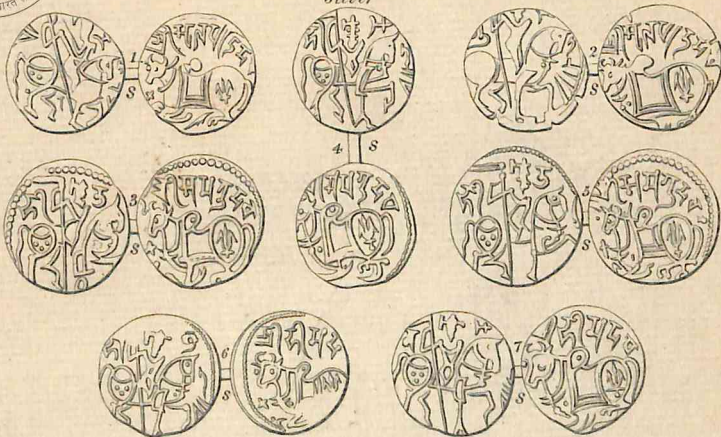
Figs. 6 and 7, the last of the silver specimens, exhibit the cognate name of श्री भीम देव *Śrī Bhīma-deva*; and on the obverse, the श्री of the foregoing example. [No. 7, عدل]

Of the copper series, we may specify figs. 14, 15, 19½, 21, [Prithví Rāja] 27 [Madanapāla], and 30 [Prithví Rāja], as having the 'Sāmanta-deva' legend over the bull, with other additions, or variations of style, on account of which they have been introduced into the plates.

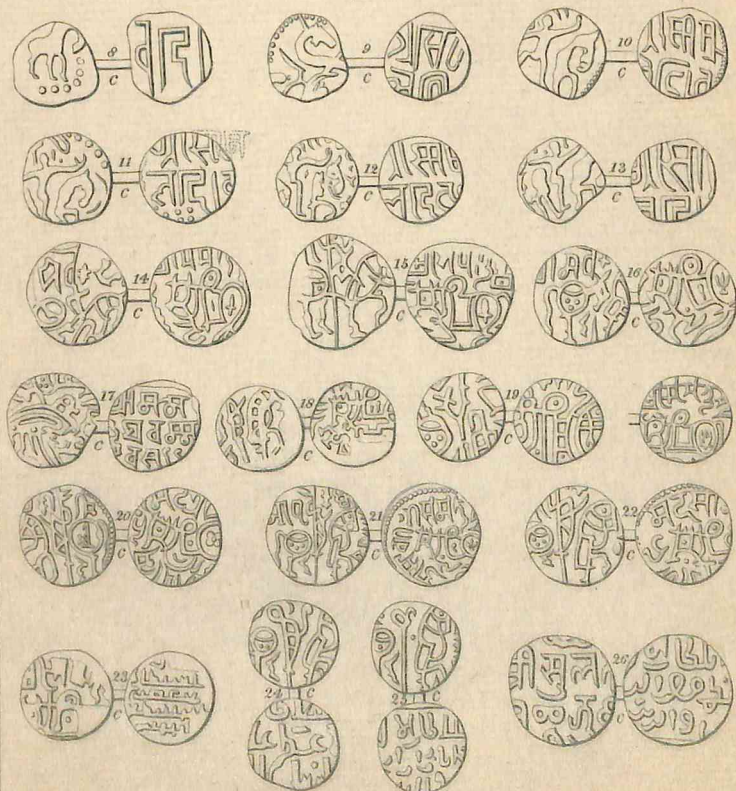
But first in order should be noticed the six small copper coins, figs. 8-13 of Stacy's cabinet, which are connected with the present group by the effigy of the horseman; while on the opposite surface we recognise the later Kanauj form of letter, and the usual termination of the coins described in the preceding plate. A scrutiny of the whole series (some not included in the plate) has elicited the letters श्री साम . . . ल देव; the blank may be filled up with the letters न्त पा, making the whole title *Śrī Sāmanta Pāla-deva*; or if it be thought that there is not room for other letters, it may stand as *Śrī Sāmāla-deva*.

Fig. 17. Of this curious variety we have two or three samples: the bull is omitted, and the field occupied entirely by the legend. In the engraved figure, the commencement of the second line is cut off. Stacy's has a letter there, and his pandits read the whole—*Śrī man Kṛipa bamm bas*; but from the resemblance of the two final strokes to numerals, the appendage to the second *m*, and the analogy of the ordinary legend, I should prefer the reading श्री मन्म . . यवर्म देव सं० . .

Ancient Hindu Coins.
Silver



Copper



Srī man m... thavarmma-deva, *Samvat 1...*, the name and the date unfortunately remaining doubtful. [श्री मन्त्रं च वर्म देव सं ११...?]

Figs. 21 and 30 are duplicates, one completing the missing portion of the other; but owing to the strange form of two or three letters, some doubt remains as to the correct reading. On the obverse, we find अपृक्क राजदेव *Aprichha Rāja-deva*, [श्री पृथ्वीराजदेव] and on the reverse, श्री समन्त देव *Srī Samanta-deva*, with the addition of असावरी *Asāvarī*; the last syllables, वरी, might almost be read मी *mī* or वग *vaga*.

Fig. 27, with the *Srī Sāmanta-deva* very much perverted on the 'bull' side, has a new name on the right of the horseman, श्री दन पाल देव *Srī Dana* (or *data*) *Pāla-deva*. [Madana-pāla :—
 OBV. माधव श्री समन्तदेव. REV. श्री मदनपाल देव.]

Fig. 28 has an illegible name on the 'bull' side: the letters visible are... श्री वदासुर... *Srī Vaddāsura*. [श्री कुवाचहासुरितां—
Kubāchah of *Sind*.]

In fig. 29 the outline of the sacred bull is somewhat difficult to be traced. The name below it begins with the letters श्री कुषा... *Srī kupā*, or सा कुषा *Sā kushā*. [same as 28]

Fig. 31 bears on the obverse the name of श्री हर देव *Srī Hara-deva*. The reverse seems to begin with the same letters as fig. 30, viz. असा *Asā*; after which follow, at a short interval, ... मसाण देव... *Masāṇa-deva*. [*Srī Chahād-deva* and *Asāvarī Srī Samasoral-deva*. See further remarks, p. 326, *infra*].

It may be hereafter found that some of the above belong to what may be called the transition period, when attempts were made to express Musalmānī names and titles in the vernacular character of India, of which I will now endeavour to produce such instances as Stacy's rich collection offers.

The name of the *rāja* on the obverse of all the transition or link-coins is श्री हमीर: *Srī Hamirah*; this important and well-known name may be found, either in full or in part, on figs. 20 (in this the engraver has reversed the whole die) 22, 36-40. The same name also occurs on figs. 44, 47, and 49, with an Arabic accompaniment, as will be presently noticed. [20, 22, 36-38, *Muhammad bin Sām*.]

The first example of a Moslem title in its simplest form occurs in figs. 32 and 35, in the Nāgarī word सुरिताण *Suritāṇ*; this has no meaning in Hindī, and I conjecture that it is intended for the Arabic title, *Sultān*: the remainder of the sentence is, in these two instances, wanting.

Figs. 34, 39-41. In these four we find a more complete paraphrase of the high-sounding titles of the Dihlī sovereigns; at least I conjecture that

सुरिताण सा समसदीण (or as in 34, देण) is nothing more than Sultán Sháh Shams-ud-dín.

Figs. 36-38 are equally capable, and only capable, of an interpretation on the same principle: the Devanágari letters on the reverse run thus: सा महमद सामे *Sá Mahamad Sáme*, which I would convert into Sháh Muhammad Sáme. The initial word will admit of being read *Sri*; but the rest of the legend is quite clear and satisfactory.

The name of Hamíra, as before stated, is repeated on the obverse of all these curious coins. We have now to trace it into a field one step farther removed from the primitive standard.

Figs. 48 and 49. In these, the first of the succeeding group in point of date, the horse and his rider are transformed into singular symbols, which only our prior acquaintance with the original could enable us to decypher: the word श्री *Sri* on the first, and the termination of Hamírah—मीर—on the other, are still discernible in their usual position. On the reverse, the characteristic style of the Afghán coinage is adopted, and the Arabic version, were it completely visible, would evidently be السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين التمش *Ul-Sultán Shams-ud-dunyá wa ud-dín Altamsh*. The reading commences from below.

Figs. 42 and 44, again, exhibit, to the right of the horse's head, the name of श्री हमीर: *Sri Hamírah*, as usual. On fig. 43 it escapes detection only by want of room on the field. In all three, the hieroglyphic which has hitherto passed for the helmeted head of the horseman, has been, either designedly or unintentionally, removed, and the Arabic word محمود *Mahmúd* substituted. On the other face, the full titles of this sovereign, who was the son of Altamsh, may be recognized without much trouble, thus: السلطان الا *Ul-Sultán-ul-a-*

عظم ناصر الد *'aẓam Nāṣir-ul-ḍu-*

نيا والدين *nyá wa ul-dín*

the inscription terminating in the 'Mahmúd' of the opposite face.

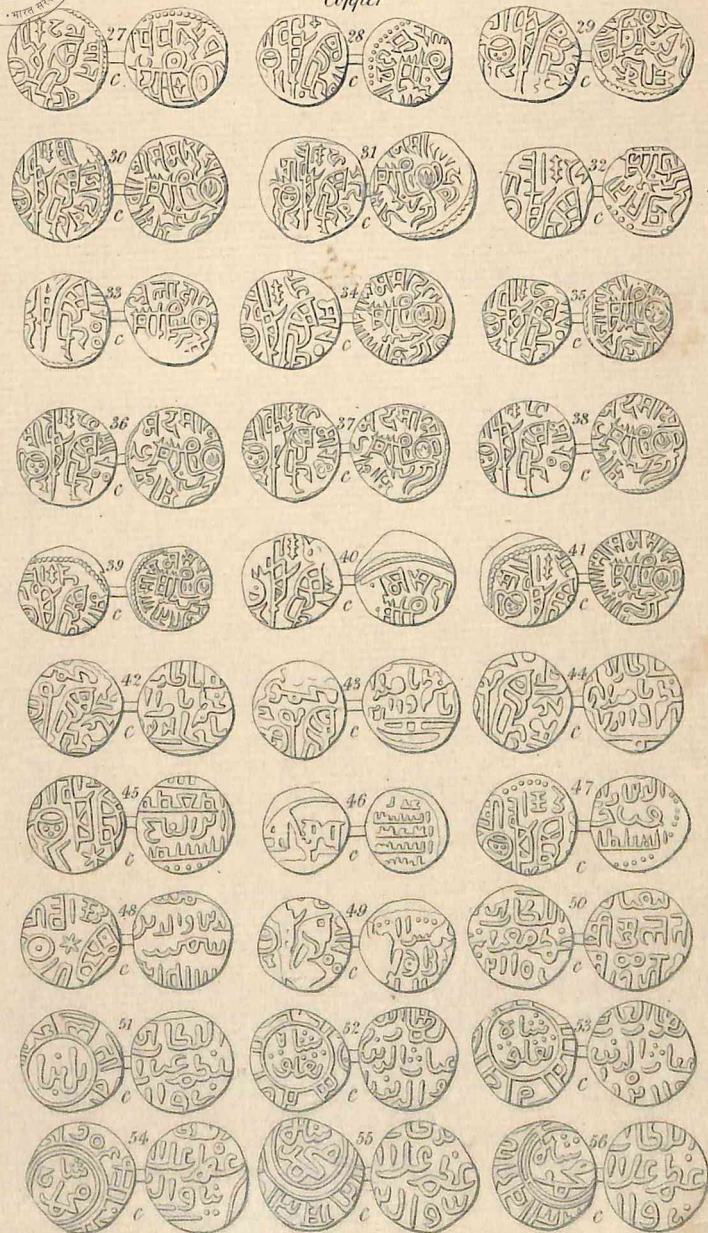
Fig. 25 of the preceding plate is another coin of the same name and nature.

Fig. 47. On this variety of the Hamíra group, the Arabic titles are, apparently, السلطان فتاح الدنيا والدين *Ul-Sultán Fatáh-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín*. I only perceive one specimen of this reading in Stacy's collection. [ناصر الدنيا والدين قباچه السلطان *Kubáchah!*]

Fig. 45. The next variety of the mixed impression retains the horseman, with the Hindú name, but the Arabic titles are now السلطان ابو الفتح المعظم *Ul-Sultán Abū'l-fataḥ-ul-Mu'azzam*.

Fig. 24 is the last on the list exhibiting the semblance of a horse-

Hindu-Muhammedan Coins.
Copper



man. The small portion of the Arabic legend included on the reverse is, fortunately, sufficient to point out the owner, and enable us to complete it, *السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين* *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam 'Alá-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín* (Muhammad Sháh). [Masa'úd]

Figs. 23 and 46. There still remains undescribed a curious variety of the 'bull and horseman' coin, in which the 'bull' is retained with the *Sri Samanta-deva*; while, contrary to usage, the horse is omitted, or replaced by an Arabic legend in the connected or flowing character. The whole purport of it is not well ascertained, but the legible portion of the two middle lines is thus read by some:—*السلطان الاعظم السلطان* *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam-ul-Sultán-i 'adl*. Others find in it the name of Sabaktagín; and I am inclined to adjudge it rather to an earlier period than the Ghorí dynasty, both from the Arabic style, and from the retention of the name of *Samanta-deva* on the reverse. [The following is the restored legend:—*السلطان المعظم ابو المظفر ابراهيم عدل*. These are Láhor coins of Ibrahím of Ghazní—A.H. 451 to 492.]

Figs. 26 and 50. We now pass to a new form of coin, allied to the foregoing, indeed, by the retention of Hindí on one side, but differing from them in the total rejection of the pictorial emblems. That the proper orthography of the word *Sultán* was now attained is evident in the initial letters श्री सुलता . . *Srī Sultá*. . The lower line presents three letters—मवज *mavaj*—which may be intended for *Mu'azz*; thus agreeing with the Arabic of the opposite face:—*السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين* *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam mi'azz-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín* (either *Bairám Sháh*, 1239; or *Kai Kubád*, 1286 (?) the only two emperors which bore the appellation of *Mu'azz-ul-dín*. [The full and complete legends on the reverse of these coins of *Kai Kubád* are as follows:—*كيقباد श्रीसुलतां मुहजुदी*.]

From the last coin, the passage is easy to those of purely Muhammadan aspect, such as are described in Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia,' vol. ii.; but this author does not appear to have had an opportunity of examining an intermediate group of coins, on which, in deference to the conquered people, a *Nágarí* inscription was retained on the margin.

They are by no means uncommon; yet it is rare to

find the marginal legend perfect. Marsden's decxiii., of Tughlak Sháh, is of this species; but in it the Nágari falls beyond the limits of the disc.

I have therefore thought that a few examples of this group might form a proper appendage to the present series, and have accordingly introduced three varieties from Stacy's and my own collections to fill up the plate.

Fig 51, the earliest in date, must be read from the reverse *السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين بلىن* *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam Ghíás ul-dunyá wa ul-dín*, and, in the centre of the obverse, *Balban*; the latter is encircled by a Nágari sentence, of which श्री सुलतान .. is visible.

Figs. 54-56 are coins of the celebrated 'Alá-ud-dín:¹ the disposition of titles and name as before:—*السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين محمد شاه* *Ul-Sultán-ul-a'azam 'Alá-ul-dunyá wa ul-dín Muḥammad Sháh*. On the margin, श्री सुलतान शा ७०६ *Srī Sultán Sháh (A.H.) 706*. [श्री सुलता अलावदी.]

Figs. 52, 53, close our present series; they bear the titular designations of Tughlak Sháh: *السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين تغلق شاه* *Ul-Sultán ul-a'azam Ghíás ul-dunyá wa ul-dín, Tughlak Sháh*. The Nágari of the margin is similar to the last, but imperfect, as if cut by one ignorant of the language. [श्री सुलता गयासुदी.]

After the complete and satisfactory evidence we have just examined, little need be said as to the epoch to which at least the mixed or Hindú-Muhammadan portion of the 'bull and horseman' group belongs: for, from the names inscribed in Nágari or Arabic, or from the titles or cognomina—which are, in fact, as frequently the names by which the Musalmán sovereigns are known—we can nearly fill up the first century of the Patán monarchs of Diblí, thus:

¹ At the time of engraving the plate, I mistook the Muhammad Sháh for the son of Tughlak: the date corrects me.

Sri Muhammad Sáme is, I presume, Muhammad bin Sám-ul-Ghorí, the first of the dynasty, commonly known by his cognomen Shaháb-ud-dín, who possessed himself of the throne of Dihlí, A.H. 588 A.D. 1192 Shams-ud-dín, in Nágari and Arabic, is Altamsh... „ 607 „ 1210 Mu'az-ud-dín, must be Bairám Sháh, his son [Kai Kubád] 637 „ 1239 'Alá-ud-dín, may be Masa'úd, the son of Fíroz „ 640 „ 1242 Násir-ud-dín, denotes Mahmúd, son of Altamsh..... „ 643 „ 1245 Ghíás-ud-dín, Balban, has the full name also..... „ 664 „ 1265 'Alá-ud-dín, Muhammad Sháh, bears its own date... „ 695 „ 1295 Ghíás-ud-dín, Tughlak Sháh, cannot be mistaken... „ 721 „ 1321

It is not from these names, however, but rather from the Hindú ones, that we must seek to fix the locality of the 'bull and horseman' insignia, and the readiest mode of arriving at the truth is to proceed backwards, the best chance of verifying the names of rájas being through their preservation, even in a corrupt form, in the pages of Moslem history. Hamíra, the name common to so many of the series, is admirably adapted for our purpose. He can be no other than the Hamír¹ of the Mewár chronicles, who, born and nurtured in the forests of Ondwa, was destined to revive the glory of Chitor, even after it had succumbed to two successive assaults under the unsparing 'Alá. We find it recorded in Ferishta's history (A.D. 1304), that 'at length finding it of no use to retain Chitor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khán to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the rája. This Hindú prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chitor as tributary to 'Alá-ud-dín, during the rest of his reign.'² According to Tod,³

¹ 'Humberdew' of Briggs' Translation of Ferishta; 'Amir deo' of Dow, when speaking of the siege of Rintimpore: he is not mentioned afterwards by name, nor as of Mewár.

² Briggs' Ferishta, i. 363.

³ 'Rájasthan,' i. 269.



'Hamir succeeded to the throne in Samvat 1357 (A.D. 1300), and had sixty-four years to redeem his country from the ruins of the past century, which period had elapsed since India ceased to own the paramount sway of her native princes.' These sixty-four years would include nearly the whole reign of 'Alá I. and that of his successors, Omar, Mubárik, Khosrú, Tughlak, his son Muhammad, and Fíroz. On the coins themselves, we have found the obverse of Hamíra, coupled with the stamp of Muhammad Sáme, Shams-ud-dín, 'Alá-ud-dín, Násir-ud-dín, and Fatáh-ud-dín; three of whom are clearly anterior to the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín; as Altamsh alone bore the cognomen of Shams-ud-dín; his son that of Násir-ud-dín; and Muhammad Ghorí that of Sáme. We might indeed read the latter word 'Šání,' and so apply it, and the title of Násir-ud-dín, to Muhammad II., the son of Tughlak, whose cognomen is not recorded. But still Shams-ud-dín remains unexplained, and the apparent anachronism cannot be accounted for. It should be noted that the name of Hamír is not mentioned in Ferishta; but only the 'nephew of the rája, Ratan Sinh.' The cognomen Fatáh-ud-dín is not to be found in the whole line of the Patán Sultáns.

Mewár had been in subjection to the Dihlí monarchs since the invasions of Muhammad Ghorí; Altamsh also invaded it in 1210: hence there can be the less doubt that the barbarised names, Srí Mahamad Sáme and Srí Samasoden, on the indigenous coinage, applied to these two sovereigns, notwithstanding the difficulty above alluded to.

The fortunate preservation of Hamíra's name, in con-

junction with those of his allies, upon these coins, proves at any rate the identical place of their coinage, and fixes it at Chitor, the seat of the dynasty founded by Bappa, in A.D. 727, after the destruction of the Balhára monarchy of Sauráshtra. This information also limits our search, for the names previous to Hamíra, to the descendants of Bappa Ráwel, of whom two or three genealogical lists have been preserved in various inscriptions, some decyphered and explained by Wilson, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' xv., and others by Tod. The latter authority enjoyed the advantage of filling up the history of Mewár from the national poems and traditions of the place; but it must be confessed as strangely perplexing, that the names of the immediate predecessors of Hamíra should be at total variance in the Hindú and the Muhammadan accounts. Thus, Ferishta makes Ray Ratan Sen the Rája of Chitor who was taken prisoner at the sack of the fort, and who escaped through a romantic stratagem of his daughter, and continued to ravage the country until his nephew was installed, as above stated, in the masnad. Tod makes the name of the imprisoned rája, Bhímsi, and that of his daughter, Padmaní. The circumstances which led to the admission of the fair heroine into the hostile camp with her 700 litters, each freighted like the Trojan horse, are also differently related by the two authors. It will be a strong motive for the preference of the Hindú account, if the Bhíma-deva of our coins can be identified with this Bhímsi (Bhíma-sinha): but the short interval from his return to Chitor to the death of himself and his family in the sack which followed, would hardly allow the issue of a

regular coinage in his name at such a turbulent period. The style also of the Nāgarī alphabet (the भ especially) differs materially from that of Hamīra's name. Yet there is no other Bhīma in the Mewār list. Ferishta mentions one (Bhīm-dev) as the brother of Shunkul-dev, the prince of Deogīr, contemporaneous with 'Alā; but he does not seem to have attained the throne. In the collateral line of the Gujarāt rājas, the same name occurs thrice, the last in 1209, of whom the Moslem histories make frequent mention; but the insignia of this Rāj are of a distinct character, and will not admit of our transferring the 'bull and horseman' device thither for an owner.¹

It provokingly happens that the nine rājas immediately preceding Bhīmsi, in Tod's list, are omitted as an uninteresting string of names; thus shutting out a chance of recognizing many of the petty names of our coin list. We must in consequence pass over Danapāla-deva, Kripā, Vadāsūr, etc., and retrograde to Samanta-deva. This name is one of those on the inscriptions from Mount Abū (Arbuda),² the eighteenth of the Guhila family, to whom an actual date is also assigned, namely, A.D. 1209. The objection to this is, like that to Bhīma, that the date is too modern for the alphabetical type; moreover, from Tod, we learn that it was Rahup of Mewār who was attacked by Shams-ud-din (Altamsh), in 1210-20, and this name we have recognised in the more modern Nāgarī on several of the 'horseman' coins.

There are other Samanta-(Sinha)-devas in the Anhul-

¹ Bhīma-deva of Gujarāt was defeated by Muhammad Ghori (or Sāme?) in A.D. 1178.

² 'As. Res.', xvi., 322.

wára line of Gujarát of an earlier period, both in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' and in the native chronicles; indeed, Banarāja himself, the founder of the Chohán race at Anulpur, was the son of a Samanta Sinha, fixed by Tod in A.D. 745; and it is worthy of particular note, that the first prince restored to the Gujarát throne, near two centuries after the overthrow of the Balháras by the Parthians, is called in the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' Saila-deva, who was previously living in retirement at Ujjáyini in A.D. 696.' Now the name on the coin which I have assumed as the most ancient of the series, and therefore placed at the top of pl. xxv., is Syálapati-deva, a name apparently taken from the country where he ruled;¹ but which might easily be converted, either with or without intention, into Saila-deva, a title denoting dominion or birth among the mountains.

In conclusion, it should be borne in mind, that both the Mewár and the Gujarát lines are of one family, that of the Gehlote or Sesodia tribe, to which, though arrogating to itself a descent from the Sun, the Persian historians uniformly ascribe a Parthian origin. May not this be received as a good foundation for the Indo-Scythic device on their coinage; or, on the other hand, does not the latter fact, supported by historical tradition, go far towards the corroboration of the extra-Indian origin of the Mewár dynasty?

[Since Prinsep wrote these remarks upon the Samanta-deva series of coins, a considerable advance has been made towards their due attribution, consequent upon M. Reinaud's publication

¹ Syálakoth, 'the fort of Syála,' near the Indus, was once attacked by the armies of Mewár.

of some highly-interesting selections from the Arabic text of Albirúní,¹ whose original work, entitled 'Tárikh-i Hind,' was compiled in India in about A.D. 1030-33. The leading passage illustrative of the section of Indian history more immediately under review is to the following effect:—

وكان اخرهم لکتوزمان ووزيره من البراهمة کلر قد ساعده الزمان
فوجد بالاتفاق دفائن استظهر بها و قوي و بحسب ذلك اعرضت
الدولة عن صاحبه لتقام عهدا مع اهل بيت فساد ادب لکتورزمان
وقبحت افعاله حتي كثرت الشكايات الي وزيره فقیده و حبسه
للتاديب ثم استحلي الخلو بالملك و معه الة ذلك من الاموال
فاستولي عليه و ملك بعده البراهمة سامند ثم كملوا ثم بهيم ثم
حمپال ثم اندپال ثم نردجنپال² قُتل في سنة اثني عشرة واربعمائة
للتجرة وابنه بهيمپال بعده بخمس سنين و انتقضت الشاهية الهندية

M. Reinaud's translation is reproduced in his own words:—

'Le dernier roi de cette dynastie³ fut Laktouzman. Ce prince avait pour vizir un Brahmane nommé Kaller. Ce vizir était favorisé par la fortune, et il trouva dans la terre des trésors qui lui donnèrent de la force et accrurent sa puissance. D'un autre côté, la fortune tourna le dos à son maître. En effet, il y avait bien longtemps que cette famille était maîtresse du pouvoir. Laktouzman prit une direction mauvaise; il se livra à une conduite honteuse; et, comme les plaintes arrivaient de tout côté au vizir, celui-ci fit charger le prince de chaînes et l'enferma pour le corriger. Ensuite le vizir se laissa aller à la tentation d'être le maître unique: il avait des richesses suffisantes pour lever tous les obstacles. Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le Brahme Sâmanda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavâ, puis vinrent successivement Bheema, Djayapâla, Anandapâla, et Nardajanpâla. Celui-ci monta,⁴ dit on, sur le trône l'an 412 de l'Hegire (1021 de J.C.) Son fils, Bheemapâla, lui succéda au bout de cinq ans. La souveraineté Indienne s'éteignit dans la personne de ce dernier, et il ne resta plus d'individu de cette famille pour souffler le feu.'⁵

¹ ['Fragments, Arabes et Persans, relatifs à l'Inde: ' Paris, 1846.]

² [تروجنپال Constantinople copy.]

³ [The Turk kings of Kâbul. The previous relation closes with the history of the reign of Kank.]

⁴ [The substitution of the word قُتل for the قيل of M. Reinaud's original transcript alters the sense of this passage. The amended version shews that Nardajanpâla "was killed" in 412 A.H.]

⁵ ['La nouvelle dynastie me paraît avoir remplacé le Bouddhisme par le Brahmanisme, et j'attribue à ces princes la série de médailles que M. Wilson a crue d'origine Rajepout.'—Reinaud.]

Shortly after the appearance of M. Reinaud's collection of extracts, I had occasion to submit to the Royal Asiatic Society some remarks upon the accuracy of the text of the then solitary copy of the Arabic original of Albirúni, in connection with a more specific endeavour to illustrate the coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.¹ Without entering into any recapitulation of the arguments adduced, I may state briefly that I relied upon the following counterpart passages, obviously derived from the 'Tárikh-i Hind,'² and preserved in the double texts of the 'Jám'ai-al-Tawárikh,' to prove that the name of 'Laktouzemán' was nothing more than an incorrect rendering of the designation of the tribe of Katúr.³

و رَجَعَ كَنْكَ إِلَى وِلَايَتِهِ وَ هُوَ آخِرُ مُلُوكِ كَتُورْمَانَ كَانَ
 وَسَاعِدَهُ الزَّمَانُ وَ ارْفَدَهُ الْبَخْتُ وَ وَقَفَ عَلَيْهِ أَكْثَرُ دِفَائِنِ الْمُلُوكِ
 الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ فَقَوِيَ بِهَا وَ اسْتَظْهَرَ بِتِلْكَ الْأَمْوَالِ وَ الذُّخَائِرِ حَتَّى اغْتَرَّ
 بِهَا وَ نَسِيَ الْوَاجِبَ وَ رَكِبَ قَبِيحَةً مِنَ الْقَبَاحِ فَشَكَتِ الْخَلِيقُ
 إِلَى الْوَزِيرِ مِنْ سُوءِ فِعْلِهِ وَ حَبَسَهُ لِلتَّائِبِ ثُمَّ اسْتَوْلَى عَلَى الْمَلِكِ
 مَرَّةً ثَانِيَةً وَ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ مَلَكَ عَلَيْهِمُ مِنَ الْبَرَاهِمَةِ سَامُنْدُ وَ مِنْ بَعْدِ
 سَامُنْدٍ كَمَلُو وَ بَعْدَهُ بَهِيمُ

'And Kank returned to his country, and he was the last of the Kutarman kings. And it happened that the times were prosperous for him, and fortune exalted him; and he lighted upon many of the treasures of former kings, and grew strong in consequence; and he shone with these sources of wealth and treasure until he grew proud, and forgot his duty, and committed some great wickedness; and the people turned from him in complaint towards his vizir, because of his wicked deeds, and confined him for correction. Then he acquired dominion again, and after his death there reigned over them of Bráhmans, Sámund, and after Sámund, Kumlá, and after him Bhím:' etc.

¹ ['Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul.' *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, ix., 177.]

² [Rashid-al-din, A.H. 710.]

³ [Elphinstone's 'Caulbul,' ii., 376. Burnes' 'Bokhárá,' ii., 209. Burnes' 'Cabool,' pp. 206, 218, 281. See also 'Memoirs of Báber,' p. 140. Baihaki (451 A.H.) mentions the race in connexion with the celebrated Tilak, under Mahmúd and Masa'úd, as همده هندوان كُتُور و بعضي را از بيرونيان.]

The parallel Persian passage from the 'Jám'ai-al-Tawárikh,' in the British Museum, is subjoined:—

و کنک با ولایت خود معاودت کرد و آخرین بادشاهان
کتورمان بود زمانه چنان اورا مساعدت و مرافدت نمود که همه
دفائن مقتدایان بیافت و بران متظهر و مغرور شد ناگاه ارتکاب
قیحہ نمود قبیلہ خلایق سکایت او بوزیر می کردند وزیر اورا
جہۃ تادیب بگرفت و حبس کرد و دیگر بار بر ملک مستولی شد و
بعد از وفات او از برای همه سامند بادشاه شد و بعد از او کملا و
بعد از او بیہم

'And Kank returned to his own country, and was the last of the Kutarman kings. Fortune so favoured him, that he found many treasures of (former) chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted: at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account the people complained of him to his vizir. The vizir took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death, Sámund, from among the Bráhmans, became king, and after him Kumlúá, and after him Bhím:' etc.

The Persian sentence, corresponding with the commencement of the above, from two copies of the 'Tárikh-i Binákítí' (an abridgement of the other work) reads thus:—

و بعد ازو کنک و او آخرین بادشاهان کتورمان بود
'and after him [came] Kank, and he was the last of the Kutarman kings.'

A similar extract, from another less perfect copy, runs—
و بعد ازو کنک و او آخرین بادشاه کتورمان بود و بعد ازو از
برہہ سامند بادشاه شد

The better class of the Indian copies of this MS. give the name more correctly, as *کتوران*.

Thus much for the historical information contributed by Albirúní. That there are difficulties associated with its full and unreserved acceptance is not to be denied, but the most striking defect seems to consist in his making a continuous succession of the line of kings from Samanta to Bhím-pál, without either the needful break in point of time, or change of locality of dominion, from Bhíma-deva to Ananga-pál. I am bound, too, to allow his testimony, as to the epoch of the earlier princes of

Kábul, to be subjected to the criticism supplied by a passage in the 'Jám'ai-al-Hikáyát,' which brings in Kumlú (written Kulmú in some MSS.) as a cotemporary of 'Amrúlais, A.H. 265 to 289 = A.D. 878 to 901. It is true that the compiler of a succession of Tales does not ordinarily carry the weight that belongs to the writer of history; and favourite oriental legends, as is well known, are suited, from time to time, with many and various heroes; but the author of the 'Jám'ai-al-Hikáyát' is something better than a mere story-teller, and his residence at Dihlí under Altamsh—A.H. 607, A.D. 1211—gave him advantages, in sifting Indian legends, of no mean order. However, as I have more than once had occasion to remark, I am not in a position at this moment to enter into any general re-consideration of the various questions which, from time to time, present themselves among these papers, but content myself with laying before my readers all readily-accessible documents calculated to illustrate the particular subject under notice.¹

I annex the Persian text of the tale concerning Kumlú, from an old MS. of Mr. H. T. Prinsep's:—

از جوامع الحكايات

حكایت بیستم در باب دوازدهم

(از قسم اول در فوائد رائه‌ای صائب که ملوک جهان زده‌اند)
 چنین آورده‌اند که عمرو لیث شکنجی زابلستان بفردغان داد
 و با چهار هزار سوارش بدان جانب فرستاد در آن وقت معبد
 بزرگتر هندوان سکاوند بود و در اقصاء هندوستان زیارت بُنان آن
 موضع تنزل کردندي فردغانه چون بزابلستان رسید لشکر کشید و
 سکاوندرا بکشاکش و بُنانرا بشکست و بت پرستانرا بر انداخت

¹ [See also M. Reinaud: 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' Paris, 1849, pp. 76, 209, 246; Sir H. M. Elliot: 'Historians of India,' Calcutta, 1850, p. 73, etc.; and 'The coins of the Kings of Ghazni,' by E. T., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., 282. A reference to the 'Kataur's' is also to be found in the Persian MS. 'Zafar-Namah,' of Sharaf-al-din Ali Yazdi,—A.H. 328; and in its translation, 'Histoire de Tímúr-Bec': Petit de la Croix. Paris, 1722.]

و بعضی از غنائیم بلشکریان داد و باقی بعمرولیث فرستاد و فتح نامه نوشت و از روی مدد خواست چون خبر فتح سکاوند بکلمو رسید که او رای هندوستان بود لشکری بی حد جمع کرد و سپاهی فراهم آورد و روی بزابُلستان نهاد و فردغانه چون خبر آمدن سپاه هند بشنید هندوئی چندرا بدست آورد و تا روی بهندوستان نهادند و در لشکرگاه کلمو رفتند و گفتند فردغانه چون سکاوندرا گرفت در حال باطراف ولایت کس فرستاد و لشکرها بخواست و دانست که هندوان هر آئینه آنرا انتقام می کنند و این ساعت چندان لشکر مسلمانان بروی جمع شده است که اقصائی زمین ازیشان تنگ آید و در عقب لشکر عمرو لیث بخواهد رسید و ایشان عزم کرده اند که شمارا در تنگ نائی آرند و جمله را بکشند رای کلمو چون این خبر بشنید هم آنجا مقام کرد و در لشکر کشی اهستکی پیش آورد تا فردغانرا از خراسان مدد رسید و پیش آن جماعت را امکان نبود که باوی مقاومت کردند و بدین حیلۀ لطیف بر مراد خود فیروز آمد

Like many other instances of Oriental transcriptions, the different MS. copies of the original work vary materially in the formation of the sentences and the interchange of optional verbs, while the substance of the narrative is, however, fully preserved. A good MS. in my own possession, one of the few that Ranjít Singh's library boasted of, develops this contrast in a remarkable degree. The name of the Hindú prince is there correctly given as کلمو. Sakáwand is noted in Albirúní's unpublished قانون مسعودی, under Kábul, as—¹ قلعه سکاوند فی رستاق لکوکر صد ل لچ م.

I do not like to omit, while I hardly know where most properly to insert, the translation of the inscription on the Iron Lát at Dihlí. It will be seen that the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local

¹ [Baihakí mentions it as a place of some importance in Mase'úd's time. See also Abú'l-fedá, text, p. 464. Idrisi, p. 460, and 'Memoirs of Báber,' 'Sejawend,' in Loghar, p. 148.]



annals or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations.

In reproducing this translation in connexion with the Mediæval Hindú dynasties, I must remark that I consider that Prinsep has assigned too high an antiquity to the style of writing employed on the monument :—]

LITHOGRAPHS AND TRANSLATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS
TAKEN IN ECTYPE BY CAPT. T. S. BURT.

In June, 1838, I commenced the agreeable task of laying before my readers that portion of Capt. Burt's budget of inscriptions which was couched in the old Páli character. I now take up the second division, containing those in what has been designated by himself 'the No. 2 character of the Allahábád pillar:' to which series belong three very interesting inscriptions, two entirely new from Central India; and one, known far and wide certainly, as far as its existence and its supposed illegibility are concerned, but hitherto never placed before the learned in its true condition, so as to allow a fair trial at its decipherment. I allude to the short inscription on the celebrated iron pillar at Dihlí, of which I published in 1834, an attempted copy taken by the late Lieut. Wm. Elliot at the express request of Dr. Mill; but it was so ingeniously mismanaged, that not a single word could be made out! and there can be no wonder at this, if the reader will take the trouble to compare Lieut. Elliot's plate (pl. xxx., vol. iv.) with the reduced lithograph of Capt. Burt's facsimile! I should perhaps remark that I lithographed the plate [xxxiii., vol. vii.] *before* transcribing it for the pandit, so that there could be no partial bias towards a desired construction of any doubtful letter. Nothing of the kind, however, was necessary: the letters are well-formed and well-preserved, notwithstanding the hard knocks which the iron shaft has encountered from the ruthless invaders of successive centuries. I need not enter upon the history of the Dihlí iron pillar,¹ but shall confine myself to the restoration and explanation of the record it contains.

The language is Sanskrit; the character is of that form of Nágari which I have assigned to the third or fourth century after Christ, the curves of the letters being merely squared off: perhaps on account of their having been punched upon the surface of the iron shaft with a short *cheni* of steel.

¹ [There is no trustworthy tradition, that I am aware of, concerning the original location of this monument.]

The composition is poetical, consisting of six lines, or three *slokas*, in the *Sárdula-vikrídita* measure :—it is observable that the first line is written in a much smaller hand than the remainder.

The purport of the record is just what we might have calculated to find, but by no means what was fondly anticipated, or what will satisfy the curiosity so long directed to this unusual and curious remnant of antiquity. It merely tells us that a prince, whom nobody ever heard of before, of the name of Dhava, erected it in commemoration of his victorious prowess. He was of the Vaishnava faith, and he occupied the throne he had acquired (at Hastinápura?) for many years; but he seems to have died before the monument was completed. As there is no mention of royal ancestry we may conclude that he was an usurper.

The only interesting piece of information it contains, is that Dhava's arms were employed against the Váhlíkas of Sindhu, who were combining their forces to invade his territories.

The Báhlikas are generally admitted by the learned to be the Bactrians, or people of Balkh; but here the expression *sindhōr jítá váhliká*, the 'conquered Váhlikas of the Sindhu' proves that, at the time of Dhava, the Bactrian principalities extended into the valley of the Indus,—and it further proves, what we have been led to suspect from the numerous coins with unknown Greek names in the Pánjab, that, instead of being totally annihilated by the Scythians 120 years before Christ, the descendants of the Greeks continued to rule, perhaps for a century or two after Christ, in the regions south of the Paropamisian range. If the authority of a graven monument of high antiquity be received as preferable to the variable readings of books, we should correct the **वाल्हीका** and **बल्हीका** of the 'Rámáyana' and of Hemachandra's lexicon, to **वाल्हिका**.

As in the Allahábád inscriptions, the pillar is called 'his arm of fame,' and the letters engraved thereon are the typical cuts and wounds inflicted on his enemies by his sword writing his immortal fame! Rája Dhava has left behind him, at any rate, a monument of his skill in forging iron, for the pillar is a well-wrought circular shaft of iron of considerable magnitude.¹

(TRANSLATION.)

'1. By him who, learning the warlike preparations and entrenchments of his enemies with their good soldiers and allies, a monument (or arm) of fame engraved by his sword on their limbs,—who, a master of the seven advantages,² crossing over

¹ [22½ feet above ground, by 5 ft. 3 in. in circumference.]

² The *sapta-sukhdni* are the same as the *saptángani* or 'seven limbs' of government explained in the last inscription.

(the Indus ?), so subdued the Váhlikás of Sindhu, that even at this day his disciplined force¹ and defences on the south (of the river) are sacredly respected by them.

2. Who, as a lion seizes one animal on quitting hold of another, secured possession of the next world when he abandoned this,—whose personal existence still remains on the earth through the fame of his (former) deeds; the might of whose arm,—even though (he be) now at rest (deceased)—and some portion too of the energy of him who was the destroyer of his foes,—still cleave to the earth.

3. By him, who obtained with his own arm an undivided sovereignty on the earth for a long period, who (united in himself the qualities of) the sun and moon, who had beauty of countenance like the full moon :—by this same Rája Dhava, having bowed his head to the feet of Vishnu, and fixed his mind on him,—was this very lofty arm of the adored Vishnu (the pillar) caused to be erected.'

[This will probably prove to be the most convenient opportunity to dispose of the Kuṭila Inscription from Barelí, which, although it affords little or no information of historical moment, is yet entitled to have its substance recorded in conjunction with the other local registers of a proximate period, on account of the importance attaching to its text, in a palaeographic point of view, combined with the positive date of its endorsement, which will be seen to have constituted one of the cardinal points of Prinsep's system of alphabetical developments !—]

ACCOUNT OF AN INSCRIPTION FOUND BY MR. H. S. BOULDERSON, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BARELÍ.

The original copy of this inscription was taken in 1829 or 1830 from a stone dug up near a village called Illahabás, about fifteen miles N.E. from Visalapur, in the Barelí district.

[Prinsep proceeds to add :—]

Col. Stacy's pandit has furnished a modern version of the inscription; but, on comparing it with the original facsimile, so many deviations were found, that I preferred going through the whole with Kamalákánta Pandit; and I may safely say that the transcript now given is hardly doubtful in a single letter. It is no small compliment to Mr. Boulderson's transcriber, that in but one place is a letter omitted, and in one only a letter in excess added.

Kamalákánta asserts that the language and poetry of this inscription is superior to anything he has yet seen of the sort. This is partially visible in the translation, where, although, to our taste, hyperbole superabounds, the elegance and applicability of the eulogistic metaphors is very perceptible. This translation is again the work

¹ *Janavidhi* the pandit thinks to be 'a military post.'—I prefer simply 'disciplined body of men,' or 'disipline.'

of my youthful assistant, Śārodāprasād Chakravartti, merely idiomatized a little by myself. It is nearly literal throughout.

The facts made known to us by the text are altogether new. We have heard neither of the Chhindu race nor of Rājā Lalla. He was, it seems, the son of Malhana, the younger brother (*chargé d'affaires*, and probably an usurper), of **माँसचण्ड प्रताप**, *Mānschaṇḍa-pratāpa* a name which the pandit insists upon converting to Mārtanda Pratāpa, ('powerful as the Sun,') as more consonant with Hindú nomenclature. Mānschaṇḍa's father was Viravarma, who is simply stated to be of the race of Chyavan, a *mahdrishi* of mythologic fame, who captivated and married the daughter of one Rāja Sarjati; but as she disapproved of his venerable age, he interceded with Aswini-kumāra, dipped himself in a pond, and was rejuvenilized in the shape of that god. On the celebration of his nuptials, the gods being present, Indra, astonished at his new disguise, levelled his thunder at the Muni, who then petrified the god with his frown, as is stated in the text.

The temples thus appear to have been built by a petty rāja and his wife, in the Samvat year 1049, at a village called Mayuta, in the district of Bhushana. Enjoying the advantage of proximity to Kanauj, they procured good poets and artists to sing and record their praises.

This is the first time I have remarked the name of the alphabetical character mentioned. It is called the Kuṭila, by which denomination we must in future describe all documents written in the same hand, mid-way between the modern Devanāgarī and the Gaurī type. A specimen of the alphabet is given in pl. xxxviii. It is a peculiarity that the vowels or diphthongs *ai* and *au*, are always written like *e* and *o* with a single mark above the line. The long *i*, *ū*, and *ai* initial, do not occur.

(EXTRACTS FROM THE TRANSLATION BY ŚĀRODĀPRASĀD CHAKRAVARTI.)

Verse 3. May the royal race of Chhindu, erst the scene of Lakshmi's pastime and dalliance, the field of war and exercises of well-disciplined soldiery, the sea of delight of famous princes, the lake wherein Lakshmi disported as a swan, the moon of repose of those who had completed the career of heroes and a consuming fire to their enemies, be honourable!

4. A Mahā-rishi named Chyavan, he whose frown restrained the pride of the chief of gods (Indra) when he had committed the well-known crime:—who by his fame was celebrated in all quarters of the world—was the founder of this race.

5. Of this family, famed for many good actions, was born Viravarma, who was the ornament of the world, and the crown-jewel of kings; in whose house Lakshmi took up her abode, foreseeing in it the birth place of many future eminent persons who would be her protectors.

6. He, Viravarma, in noble qualities well resembled the kings of the Solar line; he was powerful, pious, beautiful, famous, pure, serious, venerable, veracious, moral, surrounded by the educated, attended by virtuous men; his court was the seat of heroism, integrity, patience, and other virtues.

7. From him descended Mānschaṇḍa-pratāpa, a man of warm spirit, who annihilated his foes as mud dried up by his rays; who was the ornament of all people, nay of the whole world; before whose armies, the multitude of heroic enemies depressing

the earth with their heavy tread, retreated gasping into the abode of serpents (Pátála) and bore it down with their weight. . . .

9. His footstool was worn by the crowns of the numerous princes crowding to do him homage. He was the lord of the earth whom the three great oceans encircle as a waistband (*rashond*). He dried up the ocean by the continual intercourse of foreign princes, as Ráma of old. He occupied the ocean like the mountain on the sea-shore. . . .

13. His wife Chulukí, adorned with shining qualities, was the nonpareil of her day, and was like the new moon to the lotus faces of his other wives; she was descended from the royal line of Iswara.

14. From her was born a moon-like heroic prince named Lalla, who soon mastered the world. On all sides shone the purity of his virtues as the white kumuda flower, the moon, or ivory. He was the Sumeru among the circle of the mountains of his military officers. On his arm Lakshmi cast a fond glance as she quitted the house of his enemies. He was the root of the Chhindu line.

15. Strange was it that at his birth flowers were strewed from heaven on the palace of Malhana, and bees swarmed to sip their honey; seeming by their hum to announce his future greatness.¹ . . .

20. On his advent, although the earth now groans under the Kali-yuga, the golden age (Satya-yuga) again visited this town, a town adorned with wells, lakes, tanks, and neighbouring parks stocked with various animals, whose inhabitants are always rejoicing, and which is borne on the crest of the earth.

21. He presented these sacred villages, inhabited by the wealthy and the civilized, shaded by pleasant trees and watered by pellucid streams, in a chartered gift to the bráhmans.

22. He caused to be dug up a beautiful and holy canal² near his own palace, himself a director of the right course to his subjects, as Bhágiratha was to Gangá.

23. His wife named Lakshmi . . .

27. In this way the minds of the husband and wife being sensible of the instability of earthly possessions; and the stain of the Kali-yuga having been removed by their growing virtues, the one (or rája) has caused this temple to be established in honour of the god who wears a crescent in his brow; while the other (or queen) did as much in honour of Párbatí. . . .

30. May prosperity always attend him and his equally-endowed lady, Lakshmi—him, the chief hero of the Chhindu line—who with sword besmeared with the mud formed by the exudation of his enemies' elephants' temples has carved out his praise on all sides.

31. May Deví, who dwelleth among mankind to promote their prosperity and avert evil, destroy the sins of Lalla, of his family, children, and inmates.

32. The villages of Mayuta in Bhushana with its adjacent lands were consecrated to the above-mentioned god and goddess, under the denomination of Devapallí.

33. The famous Lalla granted by charter one-fourth of his revenues to the same deities for their worship and other ceremonies.

34. This inscription was composed by the poet Nehál, son of Siva Rudra, of the race of Vatsyamuni, an attendant at the court of the rája, whose character was worthy of his name.

¹ So Cicero of Plato: 'Dum in cunis apes in labellis consediscent.'

² *Katha-nama*, 'called Kátha; ' probably the vulgar term applied to it as an artificial canal, *Anglicè* 'cut.'

35. May Nehál's wreath of mellifluous verses shine on the bosom of the learned like a string of pearls, the source of general delight, ornamented with flowery metaphor and tied with the string of Lalla's virtues!

36. This composition was copied by the son of Vishnu-hari, an inhabitant of Gaur, a proficient in the Kuṭīla character.

37. It was engraved by Somanátha, the son of Kámadeva, who came over from Kanyakubja, well skilled in the use of the instruments of engraving.

In the Samvat year 1049, on the 7th of the dark half of the month of Mārga (Agrahana), Thursday. (Corresponding with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 992.)

[The second inscription on the Golden¹ Lát at Dihlí (Fírozábád) takes its appropriate place in illustration of the proximate close of the Hindú power in Hindústán.

The monolith whereon this memorial is traced—like the kindred pillar at Allahábád—was, in the first instance, exclusively devoted to the exhibition of a counterpart text of the Edicts of Asoka; and here, again, succeeding generations are seen to have taken advantage of the ready-prepared monument to supplement a record of their own prowess.

It is necessary to note that the original site of this Lát was near Khizrábád, immediately west of the Jamná, at the foot of the Sewálik mountains, whence the column was removed to Dihlí by Feroz Sháh (A.H. 752 to 790).²

¹ [So called from the gilt कलश *kalāṣa* 'pinnacle or ball,' placed on its summit by Feroz Sháh,—its size is given by Shams-i Seráj as 32 *gaz*, eight of which were sunk in the masonry of its foundation!]

² [The authority for this statement is Shams-i Seráj, a cotemporary of Feroz Sháh. The annexed passages give the account in his own words:—

يكي مناره در حدّ موضع نويرة شقّ سالوره و خضرآباد دامن
كوه و مناره دوم در حوالي قصبه ميرته و اين منارها از وقت
پندوان درين مقامات داشته بودند

The text goes on to say that they were transported to Dihlí, and

يكي را درون كوشك فيروزآباد متصل مسجد جمعه داشت و آنرا
مناره زرّين نام نهاد دوم را در كوشك شكار بكوشش بيشمار و
حكمتها بسيار داشته

It is subsequently intimated that it is the Khizrábád lát, which still bears on its surface the Edicts of Asoka, and the more modern inscription of Visala-deva. The smaller column, which is inscribed exclusively with the same Edicts of Asoka, came from Meerut.]

The following is Colebrooke's rendering ('As. Res.' viii., 130) of the Sanskrit text, which has been verified by Prof. Wilson from an independent copy of the original made by myself:—

'In the year 1220 [A.D. 1164], on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisákh (this monument) of the fortunate Visala Deva, son of the fortunate Vella Deva, King of Sákambhari :

As far as the Vindhya, as far as the Himádri, having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to holy places; resentful to haughty kings, and indulgent to those whose necks are humbled; making Áryavarta once more what its name signifies, by causing the barbarians to be exterminated; Visala-Deva, supreme ruler of Sákambhari and sovereign of the earth, is victorious in the world.

This conqueror, the fortunate Vighraha Rája, King of Sákambhari, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms (of Brahmá), now addresses his own descendants: By us the region of the earth between Himavat and Vindhya has been made tributary; let not your minds be void of exertion to subdue the remainder.

Tears are evident in the eyes of thy enemy's consort; blades of grass are perceived between thy adversaries' teeth; thy fame is predominant throughout space; the minds of thy foes are void (of hope); their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing; O Vighraha Rája Deva, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march. May thy abode, O Vighraha, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eye-brows, who were married to thy enemies! There is no doubt of thy being the highest of embodied souls. Didst thou not sleep in the lap of Sri, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?

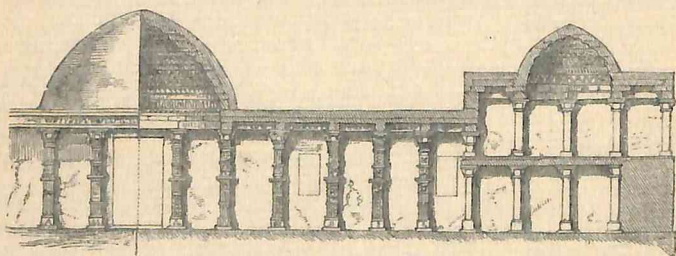
In the year, from the fortunate Vikramáditya, 1220, on Thursday the 15th day of the bright half of the month Vaisákh. This was written in the presence of . . . by Sri-pati, the son of Máhava, a Káyastha of a family in Gauda: at this time the fortunate Lakshana Pála, a Rája-putra, is prime minister.

Siva the Terrible, and the universal monarch!'

I have only one objection to make to the transliteration upon which this rendering is based, and that is to the conversion of the minister's name into श्रीमल्लक्ष्णपाल in lieu of the श्री सल्लक्ष्णपाल, which is obvious on the column. My eye is not likely to have deceived me in the mere transcription of the original, especially as my attention was necessarily directed to the opening letter of the name in reference to the occurrence of the self-same designation on one of the coins published by me in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.'; and I am the more confirmed in the accuracy of my reading by finding that Said Ahmad's artist,¹ who, clearly, well understood the character, has equally given this letter the form of स.

¹ [آثار الصناديد — 'Asár-oos-Sunnádeed.' by Syud Ahmed Khán. Dihli, 1854.]

To conclude this broken series of documentary illustrations, and to mark authoritatively the eclipse of the Imperial sway of the Hindús in their own land, I annex the earliest extant boast of the conquering Moslems, preserved in the inscription—in the official language and character of Central Asia—which records the capture of the ancient city of Dihlí (Sírí) in A.H. 587¹ = A.D. 1191, and the erection of the Muhammadan Mosque, whose gateway it adorns, and whose very walls and cloisters, it needed scarcely to tell us, were constructed out of the materials obtained from the demolition of the existing temples of the idolaters; the original cost of the twenty-seven edifices of this nature specified in the text is pretentiously estimated at countless sums of Dillíáls.²



SECTION OF PART OF THE EAST COLONNADE AT THE KUTB.
 (Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' p. 418.)

¹ [This date is by no means unimportant in itself; as, if it be as true in its intention as it is in its expression, it anticipates the epoch ordinarily assigned to the Muhammadan conquest of India by two years.]

² [The sum absolutely expressed is 20,00,000 of this representative of value, for each temple—or 540,00,000 in all. The specific name of the coin, as found in this inscription, is read by Said Ahmad as *دلیوال*—a more exact examination of the original proves the word to be *دلی ال* but the orthography is a matter of minor importance, as the derivation of the term is palpable, and we know from the *Tāj-al-Maāsir* that the coin in question must have been the ordinary standard of the country in A.H. 614. The author of the latter work writes the word *دھلیوال*. I suppose the original currency to correspond with the billon money of Prithví Rāja and others, which was imitatively adopted by the Muhammadans in the early days of their occupation of Hindústán.]

The conqueror's name here emblazoned, will be seen to be that of Kutb-ud-dín 'Aī-beg, though the humble dignities he assumes, and the insertion of his feudal Sultáns' titles and designations on the tablet on the northern entrance (dated in A.H. [5]92), must relieve him of any charge of doubtful allegiance.¹

CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE INSCRIPTION UNDER THE ARCH OF THE EASTERN GATE OF THE KUTB MOSQUE, DIHLÍ.

این حصار را فتح کرد و این مسجد جامع را به ساخت بتاریخ فی
 شهر سنه سبع و ثمانین و خمسمایه امیر اسفہسالار اجل کبیر قطب
 الدوله و الدین امیر الامرا ای بک سلطانی اعز الله انصاره و بیست و
 هفت آله بتخانه کی در هر بتخانه دو بار هزار بار هزار دلی ال صرف
 شده بود درین مسجد بکار بسته شده است

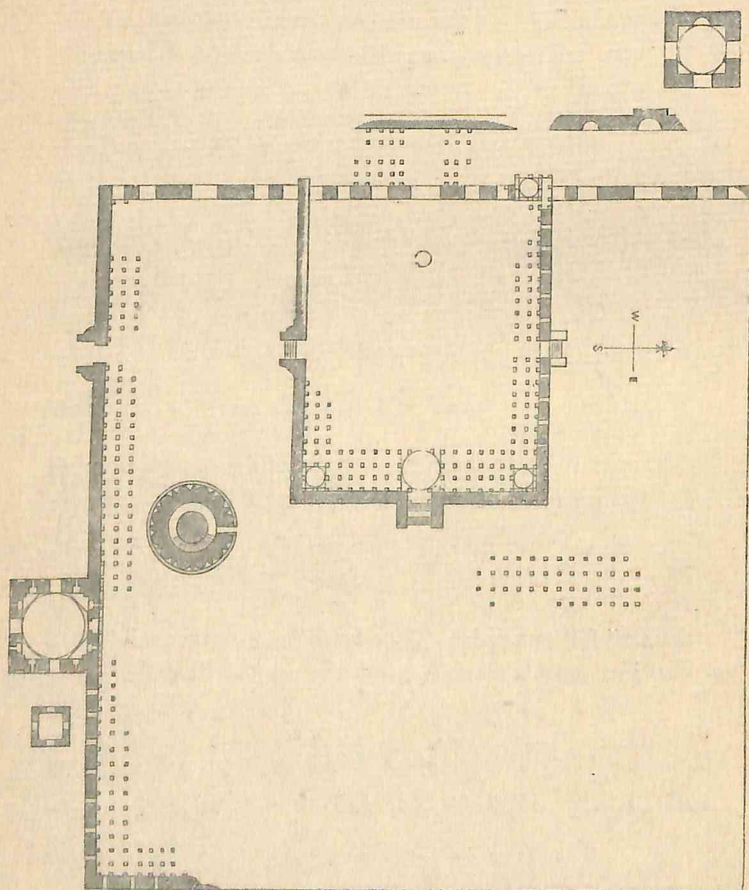
The epigraph over the outer archway of the eastern entrance also embodies Kutb-ud-dín's name in the following terms:—
 این مسجد را بنیاد کرد قطب الدین ای بک خدای بر آن بنده
 رحمت کناد

For the full exhibition of the localities, I again avail myself of Mr. Fergusson's kindness, and the wonted liberality of his

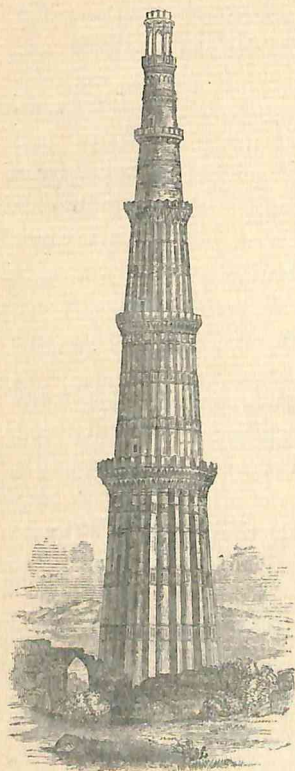
بسم الله... فی شهر: [I may as well append the substance of this brief record :
 سنه اثنی و تسع... جرت هذه العمارة بعالي امر السلطان المعظم
 معز الدنيا و الدين محمد بن سام ناصر امير المؤمنين

A few of the inscriptions at the Kutb were first published by Walter Ewer in the 'Asiatic Researches,' xiv., p. 480. Said Ahmad's work, above quoted, gives elaborate facsimiles, and transcriptions into modern Arabic, of all the important legends. Indeed, the آثار الصنادید, *Aṣār-us-Sannādīd*, as a publication, would do credit to our best archaeological associations. I am glad to learn that M. Garcin de Tassy has promised us a full and complete translation from the original Urdū in which it is written.—See 'Journal Asiatique,' viii., p. 536. 1857.]

publisher, Mr. Murray, and reproduce the ground-plan of the ruins in old Dihlī, prepared for the 'Handbook of Architecture'¹:—



¹ [Mr. Fergusson remarks :—"To understand the ground-plan (of the ruins in old Dihlī), it is necessary to bear in mind that all the pillars are of Hindu, and all the walls of Mahometan, architecture. It is by no means easy to determine whether the pillars now stand as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether they have been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors." The inscription above quoted conclusively determines the architectural history of the building.]



And to complete the pictorial illustration of this section of the subject, I further borrow from the same source a sketch of the Kutb Minár itself, whose position in the ground-plan is marked by the dark double circle to the south of the square.

'The minár is 48 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and, when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, the capital was ruined, so that ten or perhaps twenty feet must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly projecting balconies; one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower story the projecting flutes are alternately angular and circular, in the second circular, and in the third angular only; above this the minár is plain, but principally of white marble, with belts of the red sandstone, of which the three lower stories are composed.'—Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' i. 421.

This celebrated monument bears on its walls memorials of the following Sultáns :—

1. On the engraved circlets of the lower story, the name and titles of Muhammad-bin-Sám, and traces of those of his 'Sipah-sálár,' Kutb-ud-dín.

2. Over the doorway of the second story, the designation and honorific titles of Shams-ud-dín Altamsh, which are reiterated on the circlets of that division of the building itself, and are repeated on the walls of the third and fourth stories.

3. The name of Fíroz Sháh figures on the fifth story, in connexion with its restoration, under date 770 A.H.

4. And the lower entrance is superscribed with a record of repairs executed under Sikandar-bin-Bahlol, and dated 909 A.H.

Having disposed of the inscriptions, I now proceed to summarize the more remarkable coins of this 'Chohán,' or 'bull and horseman' series, that have been published since Prinsep wrote. The copper money of Varka-deva has already been alluded to (p. 42). Passing over Syalapati and Samanta, whose issues are sufficiently described in Prinsep's text, I come to the third king on the list, the Kumlúá of the Arabic version, and श्री खुदवयक: of the coins. ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., figs. 5, 6, 7.)

A specimen of Bhíma-deva's mintage appears conspicuously in Prinsep's plates. Of Jaya-pál, we have no monetary record, and are able only doubtfully to identify his successor, Anung-pál, with the potentate who put forth the not uncommon coins bearing on the obverse (the 'bull' side) the title श्री समन्त देव, with the name of श्री अणंग पाल देव [रा]जा on the reverse.¹ The variants of the Arabic and Persian name of نردجنپال may possibly find a correct definition in the Sanskrit form of the name of श्री सन्नवण पालदेव, a monarch whose coins² assimilate to those of Anung-pál, and whose designation under this orthography is seen to have been in current acceptance in the nomenclature of the period!³ The money of Madana-pála-deva became early known to us;⁴ and his date of 1096 A.D. has been satisfactorily made out. Prithví Rája scarcely needed to have his prominent place in history verified by his mintages, which, however, in their abundance⁵ and sites of discovery, conclusively confirm the extent of his sway.

I can now definitively assign to Someswara-deva of Ajmír, the coins bearing on the obverse असावरी with the usual

¹ ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xix. 15; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., figs. 9, 10. I have new coins which authorise the additions here made!]

² ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., figs. 11, 12.]

³ [Visala-deva Inscription, p. 325.]

⁴ [Pl. xxvi. 27.]

⁵ [See plates xxv. 21; xxvi. 30; also 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 18; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' ix., pl. i., 14.]

श्री समन्त देव—and on the reverse the name श्री सोमेश्वर देव.¹ Though I have a new coin of the prince in question, I can add nothing to my previous rendering of the name of श्री कीर्त्ति... देव ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., figs. 17, 18; Tod, i. 258?) Other unpublished coins of this series afford a fragmentary reading of a new designation, which appears to run श्री पीपलराज देव, the obverse being inscribed, as in Someswara's coins, with असावरी श्री समन्त देव.

I do not know that there are any more exclusively Hindú novelties in this section of numismatics that I can usefully refer to; but, before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the श्री हमीर: on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalíf of Baghdád. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Captain Cunningham, has contested this inference.² I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad-bin-Sám uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the names of the early Sultáns of Dihlí in the Pálam Inscription³ (1333 Vikramáditya);

¹ ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', ix., pl. i., fig. 16; 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix., 28; Tod, i. 225; ii. 451.]

² [Elliot's 'Muhammadan Historians of India,' 152.]

³ ['Asár-oos-Sunnádeed,' p. 128. The curious orthography of these names may be appropriately noted in this place. My readings will not, however, be found to correspond with those given by Said Ahmad's pandit; hence it may be necessary to state that my transliterations are derived independently from a corrected copy of the original inscription :—

1. शहाबुद्दीन
2. कुतबुद्दीन
3. शमशुद्दीन
4. फ़ैरोज़ शाह
5. जलालुद्दीन

6. मौजदीन
7. अलाबुद्दीन
8. नसीरुद्दीन
9. श्रीहमीरगयासदीन]

but, on the other hand, I can claim a still more definitive support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the **हमीरः** is replaced by the word **बलीफ**—Khalifa. As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition *first* takes place on the money of 'Alá-ud-dín Masa'úd (639-644 A.H.): and here again, I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of श्री बलीफ is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of अमीरलिम which, being interpreted to stand for the أمير المؤمنين of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character,¹ or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultáns of Dihlí; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the श्री समन्त देव of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognise the linguistic value of the word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the Srí Samanta-deva—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate upon whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of Srí Hamíra and Khalifa just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of Srí Samanta-deva, on the local coins of Cháhaḍ-deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain to whom that rája had eventually to concede allegiance.

The two classes of coins to which I allude, may, for the

¹ ['Pathán Sultáns of Dihlí,' by Ed. Thomas : Wertheimer, London, 1847; p. 17.

moment, be exemplified, the one in the type given in ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ xix., 16; the other in pl. xxvi. 31, of the present volume.

The former, when corrected up and amplified from more perfect specimens, will be found to bear the legends:—OBV. **असावरी श्री समन्त देव.** REV. **श्री चाहड देव**—while the latter will be seen to display an obverse epigraph of **असावरी श्री समसोरख देवे** with a reverse similar to the last.¹

I understand this obverse legend to convey, in imperfect orthography, the name of Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh—whose other coins, of but little varied type, have a similarly outlined name, with the Moslem **श्री हमीर:** on the reverse.²

My space does not permit me to enter into any more full detail of the subordinate varieties of this class of money, which extends itself over many geographical ramifications, and leaves traces of the original type among the local currencies for centuries after this epoch. But I may properly advert to two offshoots of the family of earlier development.

First—the coin, of which the annexed woodcut is a correct representation:—evinced in its typical treatment approximate alliance with the introductory mintages of Syāla and Samanta—having indeed the very title of the latter monarch in Sanskrit on its obverse, with the name of Masa’ūd (مسعود) of Ghaznī (421 to 432 A.H.) in the Kufic character on its reverse. A similar piece—also from the cabinet of Mr. Bayley—exhibits less clearly, but with little room for controversy, the Arabic letters of the name of Muhammad, another son of the great Mahmūd!



And finally, to demonstrate by a more modern example the favor which this stamp obtained with foreign conquerors, even as it was held in honour among the indigenous races, I may

¹ [See also ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ xix. 31, 37; ‘Pathān Kings,’ p. 15.]

² [Unpublished.]

exhibit the accompanying sketch of a coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Kh'árizmí (569 to 617 A.H.)



OBV. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

REV. محمد بن السلطان

Below the horse, in a line with the spear: باميان *Bámíán*.¹—E.T.]

SAURÁSHTRA COINS.

(pl. xxvii.)

In antiquity, the present series doubtless should take precedence of those depicted in the last three plates; perhaps it should rank next to the Behát or Buddhist group, for it has an important symbol in common with them. My only reason for delaying to notice it until the last, has been the hope of receiving a further accession of specimens from Lieut. Burnes, who lately forwarded me several coins, and afterwards wrote me that he had come on a further treasure of them in the course of some excavations in Cutch.

A few specimens of the new accessions, selected by Wathen at Bombay, did not add much to the variety with which I had already become acquainted, from the collections of Karámat 'Alí and Mohan Lál, of Lieut. Conolly, and especially of Col. Stacy. Some of these I have before made known; other varieties have been long since published in Col. Tod's plate of coins in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; but there are many

¹ ['Kings of Ghazní,' by Ed. Thomas; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', p. 116, 1848.]

entirely new, in the plate I am now about to introduce to my readers.

In the first place, however, I am pledged to prove that the type of this series of Indian coins is a fourth example of imitation of a Grecian original. The very style and beauty of the profile on some of the earlier specimens (figs. 1, 3, 10,) might be enough to convince an artist or a sculptor of the fact, for we might in vain seek such accurate delineations of the human features on any genuine Hindú coin: witness the degradation to which the very same device soon arrives under its Hindú adoption. But a comparison with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin, may go farther to satisfy a sceptic on this point. The mode of dressing the hair belongs exclusively to Parthia: none of the genuine Bactrians even have it; and in the whole of our Indo-Scythic acquaintance, it will only be seen on the medals of Kodos, engraved as figs. 11-13, of pl. xiii. In him the likeness is perfect, and him, therefore, I would deem the progenitor of this Sauráshtra group, so similar in size, weight, metal, and contour of the head. The marked distinction between the two is confined to the reverse. Here, a long Devanágari inscription, encircling a curious monogram, is substituted for the standing figure with his hitherto uninterpreted motto, ΜΑΚΑΡ . . . ΠΑΘΟΡ.

À-propos of this seemingly impossible Greek combination; even while I am writing this passage, the explanation starts to my imagination—like an enigma or puzzle laid aside for an interval, and taken up by chance in a position in which its solution strikes palpably

on the eye—and the wonder arises how it could have escaped detection at the first! It may be remembered that, in describing the various mottos on the reverses of the Kanerki and Kadphises group, in my last notice, I remarked a curious instance of the word *OKPO*, 'the Sun,' being changed into *APAOKPO*, 'the great Sun.'¹

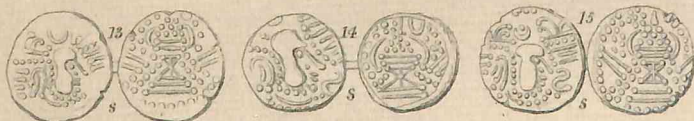
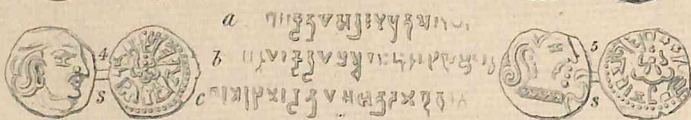
Now *AΘPO* was also one of the original simple denominations of the same class, supposed to be of a like import with Mithra. By the rule of mutations, the addition of *APΔA* or *APTA*, 'great,' would lengthen the initial vowel of this word, or change it into an *H*, and produce the compound form, *APΔHΘPO*, 'the great Athra.' Giving a Greek termination, and putting it as usual, in the genitive case, we shall have *MAKAPΘΣ APΔHΘPOT*, 'of the blessed ard-Athra.' This is the very expression existing on the coin, supplying only a single letter, *A*, which is cut off through the imperfection of the die. Here we have a happy illustration, as well of the connection between the several groups and their respective objects of worship, as of the gradual and necessary development which these interesting researches are calculated to produce. Further, on conversing, this moment, with a pandit from the Panjāb, I learn that the Sun is called in the Pushtú language *आरत* or *आयत*, a corruption, he says, from the pure Sanskrit *आदित्य* *āditya*, whence may be derived, in a similar manner, *Ait-wár* or *Ēt-wár*, the common Hindú expression for 'Sunday.' To all of these forms, the simi-

¹ Mr. Tregear writes to me, that he has just met with a duplicate of the gold *APAOKPO* coin, pl. xxiv., fig. 6. It was stated to have been dug up by a peasant in the Jaunpur district, along with fifty others, which were immediately committed to the melting-pot. I may here take occasion to notice, that the pilgrim who sold the three coins of Kadphises in the bázár of Benáres was not a Maráthí, but a native of the Panjāb.



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Hindu Coins - Saurashtra Series



larity of the Zend word *Athro* is obvious, and we need therefore seek no refined subtlety in admitting it to worship as the etherial essence of the sun, since it can with so much more simplicity be understood as a common denomination of the solar orb itself. It should be remarked that the effigy of *ΑΡΔΗΘΡΟ*, like that of *ΑΘΡΟ*, has flames on his shoulders.

I will not stop to inquire, whether the change from the Sanskrit *οκρο* (*Arka*), to the Pushtú or Zend *ΑΘΡΟ* (*Aita*), has any possible connection with a parallel change in the family designation of the Sauráshtra princes who were, in the first centuries of the Christian era, marked by the affix '*Bhatárka*,' ('cherished by *Arka*,') but afterwards, for a long succession of reigns, were known by the surname of *Áditya*; but will proceed to describe the immediate contents of the plate now under review.

Figs. 1-3 are placed at the head of the series, because in them the head bears the nearest analogy to its prototype. In fig. 1, indeed, the letters behind the head may be almost conceived to belong to *ΚΥΔΑΟΡ*. 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. The marginal writing may with certainty be pronounced to be an ancient form of Sanskrit; but I cannot attempt to read it. In figures *a*, *b*, *c*, I have copied the lines from three other coins, and have thus ascertained that a portion of the legend is the same in all, while the remainder varies. The former doubtless comprehends the regal titles; but in it there is no approach to the ordinary Indian terms of *Rája*, *Rao*, etc. The six parallel letters may be read **परव्रतपस**.

Figs. 4 and 5 differ from the preceding in the central device, which now bears a rude resemblance to the human figure. The letters and general execution are very imperfect.

Figs. 6-9 are one step further removed from perfection. The legend, where best preserved, as in fig. 9, appears a mere repetition of the letter *p*, with the suffix *r*, *ri*, and *y*. There are three letters behind

the head in fig. 7, which may be taken either for corrupted Greek, or for the Pehlvi of the Sassanian coins, $\text{O}\Lambda\text{O}$. The central symbol has the form of a trident. Lieut. Burnes informs me that several hundred of these three species of coins were found in Katch in 1830 in a copper vessel buried in the ruins of Puṛagarh, twenty miles west of Bhoj, a place of great antiquity, and yet marked by the ruins of a palace and a mint.

Figs. 10-12 are of a different type, though nearly allied to the former; they are not only found in Gujarāt, but at Kanauj, Ujjain, and generally in Upper India. Lieut. Cunningham has just sent me impressions of five very well-preserved specimens procured at Benāres, on which, in front of the face, are seen some letters, very like the Pehlvi character, $\alpha\epsilon\omega$. The Sanskrit, too, is not of the elongated form of the upper group, but exactly like that of Wathen's Gujarāt inscriptions. Not having yet succeeded in deciphering them, it is needless to copy out the mere letters at present. The symbol in the centre will be recognised as the peacock, sacred to Kumāra, the Mars of the Rājputs, alluded to in the preceding observations.

[I extract from the 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', (vi. of 1855, N.S., No. lxxvi.), my decipherment of these legends, together with some further observations on the coins and their local associations:—

CL. 1. KUMĀRA GUPTA, xxvii., figs. 10-12.

LEGEND—**देव जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमार गुप्तो**

Dev(o) jayati vijitāvanir avanipati(h) Kumāra Gupto.

'His Majesty, Kumāra Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.'

CL. 2. SKANDA GUPTA, 'J.R.A.S.', xii., pl. ii., figs. 52, 53.

LEGEND—**विजितावनिरवनिपति जयति देव स्कन्द गुप्त य**

Vijitāvanir avanipati(r) jayati deva(h) Skanda Gupta-y.

CL. 3. BUDHA GUPTA, 'J.R.A.S.', xii., pl. ii., figs. 55, 57.

LEGEND—**देव जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति श्री बुध गुप्तो**

Dev(o) jayati vijitāvanir avanipati(h) Śrī Budha Gupto.

When once fairly deciphered, these legends will be seen to present but few difficulties. The lapidary inscriptions have already proved that the Gupta artists indulged in faulty Sanskrit orthography as well as in grammatical errors, so I need not detain my readers by any comments upon minor imperfections, while the general sense of the legend is sufficiently clear. I must mention that, in my Devanāgarī transcripts, I have adhered servilely to the original legends impressed upon the coins; the version in the Roman type is corrected up to Sanskrit requirements.

There is a superfluous **य** (or possibly an **म**) after the **गुप्त** on Skanda Gupta's coins,



the use of which is not apparent, but which clearly takes the place of the final *o* in Kumára's legends.

I may note that Kumára Gupta's coins display both the old form of **म** and the more specially Gupta outline of that character. ('J.A.S.B.', iv., pl. xlix., figs. 10 and 12.) The **च** is also seen in its transition state from the triple-lined letter of early days to the almost modern form; while, at times, it appears on Skanda's money as a character not easily distinguishable from the later Kumára **म** just adverted to. This extensive modification of the **च**, in the numismatic alphabet, is the more curious, as the corresponding lapidary character retains all the essentials of its ancient outline throughout the Gupta inscriptions, from the Allahábád pillar to Budha Gupta's record at Eran; and even on to Toramána's inscription at the same place.

The weights of these coins run as follows:—

Nine fair specimens of Kumára's mintages average 30.1 grains: highest weight, 33 grains.

Eight fair specimens of Skanda's coinage average 31.7 grains: highest weight, 35 grains.

Dr. Swiney's coin of Budha (No. 55, pl. ii., 'J.R.A.S.', xii.) weighs 32 grains.

Their relative rarity may be approximately inferred by the numbers of the coins of each prince in Col. Stacy's, my own, and Mr. Freeling's collections.

	Stacy.	Thomas.	Freeling.
Kumára's	6	6	7
Skanda's	4	4	1
Budha's	0	0	0
Doubtful	2	1	1
Total	12	11	9

These coins of the 'peacock' type would seem to have formed the recognised silver currency of the central and eastern provinces of the Gupta dominions; for, though they are found in limited numbers amid the hoards of the local coinage of the western states, the relative proportions seem to be reversed in the 'finds' of the eastern districts of the Gupta empire. Those in my own collection have chiefly been obtained from Kanauj itself, while Mr. Freeling's centre of operations is Hamirpur on the Jamná; but all his nine pieces were obtained from the eastward of that river.

It may be useful to summarize the proved dates, discovered on the various specimens of the 'peacock' coins; the consideration of the grounds whereon these determinations are based is to be found at p. 551, 'J.A.S.B.', No. vii., 1856.

Of Kumára's coins, some bear ciphers for *one hundred, twenty*, and *one* = 121; others display figures for 124; one piece discloses a unit for 5, and another a sign which I doubtfully class as a 9, but in both these instances the decimal cipher is obliterated.

Skanda Gupta's money continues the series in the use of the same figures for *one hundred*, with the addition of two new symbols in the decimal place.

Budha Gupta, in like manner, dates in the first century of the given era, but the value of his second cipher is undetermined.

His inscription at Sanchi, it will be remembered, bears date 165.

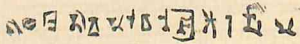

CL. 4.—TORAMÁNA.

Silver: wt. 32 grains: unique and unpublished.

OBVERSE.—The usual Sáh type of profile, but with the artistic merits still further diminished. The head is turned the reverse way and looks to the left.

In front of the profile are seen the figures for *eighty* with an indeterminate symbol in the unit place.

REVERSE.—Device: Peacock greatly debased and facing more to the left.

LEGEND:—(facsimile)—  (DATE) 

व नीवयकवर्द्ध श्री तोरमान

Toramána, it will be remembered, is thus adverted to in the inscription on the Varáha image at Eran in Bhopál: "When the great rája, Toramána, the very famous and beautiful, the king of kings, governed the earth; in the first year of his reign, on the 10th day of Phálguna:" etc. (p. 249.)

Prinsep, in noticing this monument, in connexion with the Budha Gupta record on the associate pillar, prefaces his translations with a summary of the relative dates of each inscription as illustrated by their respective contexts. He observes, "The temple was built by Dhanya Vishnu, the confidential minister of Rája Mátri Vishnu, the son of Hari Vishnu, grandson of Varuna Vishnu, and great grandson of Indra Vishnu; in the first year of the reign of Toramána of Suráshtra (?): and—

'The pillar was erected by Vaidala Vishnu, the son of Hasti Vishnu, also grandson of Varuna Vishnu; and at the cost of Dhanya Vishnu, on the 14th of Asarh in the year 165, in the reign of Budha Gupta in Suráshtra, comprehending the country between . . . the Kalindi or Jamná and the Narmada, or 'Nerbudda.'" (p. 248.)

Prinsep was clearly disposed to infer that the temple was built prior to the erection of the pillar, and in this supposition I myself was formerly inclined to concur; but the degradation of the type of Toramána's imitation of the Gupta 'peacock' coins places the matter beyond a question, and would leave me no alternative but to conclude that Toramána followed Budha Gupta after some inconsiderable interval; but my late admission of Budha Gupta into the direct succession of the Gupta kings, which has been freely conceded on the absolute identity of the style of his silver money with that of the newly-deciphered pieces of Kumára and Skanda Gupta, has already sanctioned the result claimed by the present discovery.

But this unique specimen of Toramána's mintage furnishes us with further matter of speculation, in such portion of the date as still remains on its surface. The cipher for *hundreds*, which should appear opposite the forehead of the profile, seems to have been worn away in the course of the ordinary currency of the piece. The decimal figure is sufficiently well preserved; and though it would be possible to read it as the 7 for *one hundred*, yet both its position and its outline alike claim for it the value of *eighty*: lowest in order appears a symbol which equally suggests a remote doubt, and, were there any figure, or portion of a figure, in the space below, it might be taken for a 8; except that, not only is there no cross-bar to complete that sign, but there is a semblance of an up-stroke beyond the second vertical line, which assimilates it with the Gupta unit entered last in the line in the plate of fac-similes. [pl. xl. A.]

If these interpretations be correct, we have Budha Gupta dating up to 165, and Toramána issuing coin in what we may fairly conclude to be *one hundred and eighty odd*, or about the very period that might have been selected for his epoch upon other grounds.

The style of the coin legend also demands brief notice. It will be seen that the Gupta numismatic practice of arranging both the short and long vowel *i* above the line of matrás (or more frequently omitting them altogether), is here so far modern—

ized that the short *f* is brought down before, and the long *f* after, the consonant to which it is attached. The Budha Gupta inscription at Eran, like the Skanda Gupta writing at Kuháon, still continues to use the old form of the long vowel, while the Toramána record symbolizes the sound by a character similar to that on the coin.

The short vowel, on the other hand, is already fully subjected to the modified mode of expression in the Budha Gupta inscription.

The Gujarát copper-plates of later days do not, however, accept these new forms, but adhere to the general outline of the ancient superposed vowel.¹—E.T.]

Figs. 13-15. The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and of copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarát, 'Gadhia-ká paisá', 'Ass-money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramáditya, whose father Jayanta, one of the Gandharbas, or heavenly choristers, is reputed to have been cursed by Indra, and converted into an ass. Wilford, in his Essay on the Era of Vikramáditya, ('As. Res.', ix. 155) endeavours to trace, in this story, the Persian fable of Bahrám-Gôr's amours with an Indian princess, whence were descended the Gardabhina dynasty of Western India (*gardabha* being the Sanskrit equivalent for *gor*, 'an ass.'). The story is admitted into the prophetic chapters of the 'Agni-Purána,' and is supported by traditions all over the country. Remains of the palace of this Vikrama are shewn in Gujarát, in Ujjain, and even at Benáres! The Hindús insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambát or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of those parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed the confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots on figs. 13, 16, will prove. The distortion of the face has proceeded from an undue relief being given by the die-cutter to the forehead and cheek: and this has by degrees apparently deceived the engraver himself, who at last contents himself with a deeply projecting oblong button, encircled by dots, (figs. 16-18)! Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Sauráshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Bahrám-Gor; supported by the concurrent testimony of the 'Agni-Purána, that Vikrama,' the son of Gadhárúpa,

¹ [Wathen, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', iv., pl. xl.]

should ascend the throne of Málavá (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chánakya, or A.D. 441.

Fig. 17 is one of several very curious coins in Stacy's cabinet. The obverse shews it to be a direct descendant of 15 or 16, the 'Choukadúka' of Stacy; while the Nágari inscription of the reverse is at once perceived to agree with the second, or Gaur, series of the Kanauj coins. I adverted to this fact before, and stated that it seemed to point to the paramount influence of the Pála family of Kanauj from Gaur in Bengal to Gujarát. The inscription has the letters श्री सा . . . लदेव probably *Śrī Sámanta* or *Sámara Pála-deva*.

Fig. 18 is a more modern variety of the 'Choukadúka,' on which the fire-altar is replaced by Nágari letters of the eleventh or twelfth century. The reading appears श्री कौज *Śrī Kauja* (?) but it is more probably श्री काल *Śrī Kāla*, for we find a Kāla-deva in the Gujarát list towards the close of the eleventh century, whom Wilford would identify with Vísala-deva of Dihlí.

Figs. 19, 20. I have placed these two novelties from Stacy's cabinet in juxtaposition with the Saurāshtra group, because we see in them the evident remains of the 'fire-altar' device of figs. 13, 15. The body of the altar only is removed and replaced by the Sanskrit श्री *Śrī*; the opposite face has the very legible letters—हासस ४० or ४१ *Hāsas*, 40 or 41. The explanation of हासस in Wilson's Dictionary is—'the moon (in the language of the Vedas)'; but it would be hazardous to interpret *Śrī Hāsas* as indicative of a lunar worship, or an adoption of a lunar motto, in contrast with the solar effigy and the fire emblems that preceded it. श्री *Śrī*, by itself, is still impressed upon the Sháh-'Alam coin of Málwá, which is denominated from this circumstance the *Śrī-sáhi* rupee.¹ It is an epithet of the goddess Lakshmí, and denotes pure Hindúism in the reigning dynasty.

Hās, taken separately, may be a contraction of Hastinápur or Hānsí, the place of coinage, and सं ४० may be 'Samvat 40' or 41, the year of reign.

Figs. 21 and 22 should rather have found a place among the Pála coins of Kanauj; for on the reverse of both, sufficient of the Gaur alphabetic characters are seen to enable us to fill up the whole reading as श्री अजय देव *Śrī Ajaya-deva*. The obverse seems to be a rude outline of a horse or a bull.

At the foot of this plate I have inserted a few miscellaneous coins, which I was doubtful where to place with propriety, or which have reached me since the foregoing plates went to press.

¹ See vol. ii.—'Useful Tables,' p. 68.

Fig. 23 is in Stacy's collection, a brass coin of unique appearance; on the obverse, a seated figure, adorned with a 'glory'; on the reverse, an urn containing flowers; and, across the field, in the ancient form of Sanskrit, वगुपति *vagupati*: around the margin, on both sides, is a garland of roses.

Fig. 24 is a recent accession to Stacy's collection; on one side a bull and staff, with the unknown word सतमत; on the other side, the peacock of Kumára and a palm-tree(?) This coin is evidently allied to those found by Mr. Spiers, in the Allahábád district, and figured in pl. viii.; two of them are here re-engraved as being more in place. Lieut. Cunningham has a duplicate of 25, with a fuller inscription in the Allahábád form of Nágari; I shall take a future opportunity of engraving it.

Fig. 27 is a copper coin found in the parcel lately received from Karámat 'Alí. It is remarkable for containing the motto of the Rajpút series—श्री समय देव *Srī Samagra-* (or *Samanta-*)-*deva*, with an elephant instead of a bull; while, on the reverse, the rude outline of a horse without a rider seems encircled by a Pehlvi legend: a coin nearly similar was engraved in the plate of Burnes' coins, pl. xi. [ii.], fig. 17, p. 318 of vol. ii. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'

[The connecting bands joining the obverse and reverse of these coins in the engraving seem to have been erroneously inserted. The ligatures should have been perpendicular, instead of horizontal. Thus the obverse halves of the two coins resolve themselves into a single piece of Kutlugh (p. 37), while the remaining reverses represent the two surfaces of a coin of Samanta-deva.]

Fig. 28, from the same source as the last, is also nearly a duplicate of fig. 14 of the above plate, except that it has the *sinha*, 'lion,' for reverse, instead of the horse; the letters correspond exactly, but, though individually distinct enough, I can make nothing of the context.

EXTRACTS FROM THE 'SECOND MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT COINS
 FOUND AT BEGHRAM, IN THE KOHISTAN OF KABUL. BY C.
 MASSON.' (Jan., 1836.)

I had the pleasure last year to submit a Memoir [see p. 80] on the coins discovered at Beghrām, and now beg to offer a second, containing the results of my collection of the present year from the same place: the observations which these coins suggest I shall preface by a few remarks, tending to illustrate the locality of the spot where they are found, as well as some other points connected with it.

I shall also submit, in this Memoir, the results of discoveries in other places, made during the year, so far as they refer to numismatology; in the hope of contributing to the farther elucidation of the history of the countries from which I write.

The *dasht* or 'plain' of Beghrām bears N. 15 E. from the modern city of Kābul, distant by computation eighteen ordinary *kos*; and as the line of road has few sinuosities or deflections, the direct distance may probably be about twenty-five British miles. It is situated at the south-east point of the level country of the Kohistán, in an angle formed by the approach of a lofty and extensive mountain range, radiating from the superior line of the Caucasus on the one side, and by the inferior range of the Sīáh Koh on the other. The former range separates the Kohistán from the populous valley of Nijrow; and the latter, commencing about fifteen miles east of Kābul, gradually sinks into the plain of Beghrām. East of the Sīáh Koh is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, called Koh Safi, which intervenes between it and the extensive valleys of Taghow. Through the open space, extending from west to east, between these two hill ranges, flows the river formed by the junction of the streams of Ghorband and Panjshir, which forms the northern boundary of the site of Beghrām. Through this space also wends the high road from the Kohistán to Nijrow, Taghow, Laghmān, and Jalālābād. The *dasht* of Beghrām is comprised in an extensive district of the Kohistán called Khwājah Keddri; to the north, the plain has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the Baltú Khel and Karindat Khān Khel families, which at the north-western point interpose between it and the river for the extent of, perhaps, a mile, or until the river leaves the base of a singular eminence called Abdullah Būrij, which, from the vast mounds on its summit, was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. East of this eminence, another small space of cultivated lands, with two or three castles, called Kārāhichī, interposes, between a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the *dasht*, and the direct course of the river; east of Kārāhichī rises a low detached hill, called Koh Bachah, which has an extent eastward of about a mile and a half, intruding for that distance between the level *dasht* and the river; at the eastern extremity of Koh Bachah is one of those remarkable structures we call Topes. Parallel to Koh Bachah, on the opposite side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands called Muḥammad Rākhi, and, beyond them, a sterile sandy tract gradually ascending to a celebrated hill and *zīdrat*, named Khwājah Raig Rawān, and thence to the superior hill range before mentioned; east of Koh Bachah, the level plain extends for about a mile, until the same character of abrupt termination sinks it into the low lands of Júlghar, where we find numerous castles, much cultivated land, and, as the name Júlghar implies, a large extent of *chaman* or 'pasture.' The lands of Júlghar, to the east, from the boundary of the *dasht* of Beghrām; to the south, its boundary may be con-

sidered the stream called the river of Koh Damán, which, after flowing along the eastern portion of Koh Damán, and receiving what may be spared after the irrigation of the lands from the streams of Shahr Darrah, Beydak, Tugah, Istalif, etc., falls into the joint river of Ghorband and Panjshír at a point below Júlghar. Beyond the river of Koh Damán, a barren sandy soil ascends to the skirts to the Síáh Koh and Koh Safi. Among the topographical features of the *dasht* of Beghrám may be noted three small black hills or eminences, detached from each other, which in a line, and contiguous to each other, arise from the surface of the soil a little north of the river of Koh Damán. To the west of Beghrám are the level lands of Mahígír; at the north west angle of the plain is the small village of Killah Buland, where reside about seven Hindú traders, some of them men of large capital; and at the south-west angle are three castles called Killah Yezbáshí, distant from Killah Buland about four miles. From Killah Buland to Júlghar a distance occurs of four-and-a-half to five miles; from Júlghar to the skirts of the Síáh Koh, about six miles; from the termination of Koh Síáh to Killah Yezbáshí, may be also about six miles; and from Killah Yezbáshí to Killah Buland, about four miles, as just noted. The whole of the intermediate space between these points—and even beyond them to the south-east and south-west—is covered with fragments of pottery, lumps of dross iron, etc.; and here are found the coins, seals, rings, etc., which so much excite our curiosity. Notwithstanding the vast numbers of such reliques discovered on this extent of plain, we have hardly any other evidence that a city once stood on it—so complete and universal has been the destruction of its buildings. But in many places, we may discover, on digging about the depth of a yard, lines of cement, which seem to denote the outlines of structures, and their apartments: on the edge of the plain, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of Baltá Khel, from Killah Buland to Káráhíhí, is a line of artificial mounds; on the summit of the eminence called Abdullah Búrj are also some extraordinary mounds, as before noted; and, contiguous to the south, is a large square described by alike surprising mounds; on one side of this square, last year, a portion sank or subsided, disclosing that these mounds were formed or constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span in thickness. This circumstance also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls—for such we must conclude them to have been—could not have been less than sixty feet; probably much more. Among the mounds near Killah Buland is a large tumulus, probably a sepulchre, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Muhammadans call Sang-Rustam, (or the stone of Rustam), and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence, so far as to pay occasional visits to it, light lamps, and daub it with *sindúr*, or 'red lead.' . . . The traditions of the country assert the city of Beghrám to have been overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe; and while we vouch not for the fact, the entire demolition of the place, with the circumstance of the outlines of buildings discoverable beneath the surface, seem not to discountenance the tradition. It is not, however, improbable, that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable rage of the barbarous and ruthless Genghiz, who, like Attila, described himself as the Ghazb-i Khudá, or 'Scourge of God.' That it existed for some time after the Muhammadan invasion of these countries is evidenced by the numerous coins of the Khalifs found on its site. That it ceased to exist at the period of Timúr's expedition into India, we have negative proof furnished by his historian, Sharif-ud-dín, who informs us that Timúr, in his progress from Anderab to Kábul, encamped on the plain of Bārán (the modern Báyán, certainly); and that while there, he directed a canal to be cut, which was called Mahígír, by which means the country, before

desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of Mahígr exists at this day, with the same name it received in the time of Timúr. A considerable village, about one mile west of Beghrám, has a similar appellation. This canal, derived from the river of Ghorband, at the point where it issues from the hills into the level country, irrigates the lands of Báyán and Mahígr, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of Beghrám then existed, these lands immediately to the west of it would not have been waste and neglected, neither would Timúr have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city when existing must have been supplied with water from the same source—that is, from the river of Ghorband; and from the same point—that is, at its exit from the hills into the level country; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of Báyán and Mahígr, which Timúr found waste and desolate. The courses of the ancient canals of Beghrám are now very evident, from the parallel lines of embankments still to be traced. The site of Beghrám has, to the north, the river formed by the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshír streams; and to the south, the river of Koh Damán; but neither of these rivers are applicable to the irrigation of the circumjacent soil, the former flowing in low lands, perhaps one hundred and fifty feet below the level of the plain, and the latter scantily furnished with water flowing in a sunken bed. It may be further noted, with reference to Timúr's colonization of Mahígr, that the inhabitants of the district of Khwájah Keddrí, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their Turkí descent, and alone, of all the inhabitants of the Kohistán, speak the Turkí language. We might expect to detect a notice of Beghrám in the Arabian records of the early Khalífs, in the histories of the Ghaznaví emperors, and in those of Genghiz Khán.

That Beghrám was once a capital city, is evidenced by its Tope, a sepulchral monument of departed royalty; while a second, situated in Tope Darah, about nine miles west, may probably be referred to it, as may perhaps a third found at 'Alísahí, at the gorge of the valley of Nijrow, distant about twelve miles east. The appellation Beghrám must also be considered indicative of the pre-eminence of the city it characterizes; undoubtedly signifying the chief city or metropolis. About three miles east of Kábul, we have a village and extensive pasture retaining this name, which indicates the site of the capital in which Kadphises and his lineage ruled, and whose topes we behold on the skirts of the neighbouring hills. Near Jalálábád, a spot called Beghrám, about a mile and a half west of the present town, denotes the site of the ancient Nysa; or, if the position of that city admit of controversy, of Nagara, its successor in rank and consequence. Near Pesháwar we have a spot called Beghrám, pointing out the site of the original city; and that this epithet of eminence and distinction was continued, up to a recent date, to the city of Pesháwar, we learn from Báber and Abú'l-Fazl.

We have indications in the Kohistán of Kábul of two other ancient cities, which were undoubtedly considerable ones, but which we cannot suppose to have rivalled Beghrám in extent or importance. The principal of these is found in Perwan, about eight miles N., nineteen W., of Beghrám, and consequently that distance nearer to the grand range of Caucasus, under whose inferior hills it is in fact situated. The second is found at Korahtass, a little east of the famed hill; and Zíárat Khwájah, Raig Rawan, distant from Beghrám about six miles N., forty-eight E. There are also many other spots in various parts of the Kohistán which exhibit sufficient evidences of their ancient population and importance; but these must be considered to

have been towns, not cities. In the valley of Panjshír we have more considerable indications, and we are enabled to identify three very extensive sites of ancient cities; but which, from the character of the country, and the limited extent of its resources, we can hardly suppose to have flourished at the same epoch. In the Koh Damán of Kábul, or the country intervening between that city and the Kohistán, we discover two very important sites, which unquestionably refer to once capital cities; both occur in a direct line from Beghrám to Kábul, under the low hill ranges which bound Koh Damán to the east, and contiguously also east to the river of Koh Damán; the first commences about eight miles from Beghrám, and is known by the name of Tartrung-Zar; the second is about the same distance farther on, and has no particular name, but is east of the seignorial castles of Luchú Khán and the village of Korinder; at this site we find a tope, an indubitable evidence of royalty; and connected with it is a stupendous artificial mound on the west bank of the river, constructed with elaborate care: the base appears originally to have been surrounded with a magnificent trench, supplied by the stream with water. Here, no doubt, was some important structure, a palace or citadel. At this day the summit is crowned with dilapidated mud walls of modern construction, and the spot is known by the name of Killah Rájput. In the district of Ghorband, west of the great hill range, which, radiating from the Hindú Kosh, or Caucasus, forms the western boundary of Koh Damán, we have very many important vestiges of antiquity, both in the principal valley and in its dependencies, particularly in one of them named Fendúkistán; we have reasons to believe that coins are found there in considerable numbers, and that there are some interesting mounds; but as we have not seen this spot, we refrain from speculating upon its character.

We have thus enumerated the principal ancient sites of cities in Koh Damán and Kohistán, both as shewing the former importance and illustrating the capabilities of these fine countries, and as exhibiting the fluctuations, in ancient times, of the seat of royalty in them. Beghrám, Perwán, Tartrung-Zar, and Killah Rájput have no doubt in succession been the abodes of sovereigns, as have most probably Panjshír and Korahtás. Our minuteness may moreover be excused, because in this part of the country we expect to detect the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum or Ad calcem Caucasi. It may be remarked, with reference to the sites of Beghrám and Perwán, that the former is called by the Hindús of the country 'Balarám,' and is asserted by them to have been the residence of Rája Bal; the latter they call Milwán, and assert to have been the capital of Rája Milwán. Milwán may be a Hindú appellation, but it has been also assumed by Muhammadans.

It had been my intention this year to have secured every coin of every description that should be picked up from the *dasht* of Beghrám, and this purpose would probably have been effected, had I not been compelled to be absent at Jalálábád. A young man was however despatched thither, with recommendatory letters to my friends in the Kohistán, and to him was confided the collection of all he might be able to procure. On my eventually reaching Kábul, the young man joined with 1320 coins, from the appearance of which it was evident he had selected, and not, as ordered, taken all that were offered. It also appeared, that in consequence of the distracted political state of the Kohistán in the spring, the Afghán pastoral families had not as usual visited the plains of Beghrám at an early season. In the autumn, moreover, from apprehensions of a rising in this part of the country, the Afgháns sent their flocks to the Safi hills, the persons tending which are the principal finders of these coins. Under these unfavourable circumstances, I twice repaired to Beghrám, and at various intervals despatched my young men, and the total result of our collection this

year was five silver and 1900 copper coins. These are, of course, generally of the same description and types as those previously referred to (p. 80) . . . My stay at Jalálábád was, during the season of the year, unfavourable for the collection of coins; yet, independently of those extracted from topes, were procured 248 copper coins, among which two or three are novel ones, to be noted in their place.

Subsequent to my arrival in Kábul, I purchased in the bázár there, six gold, 176 silver, and 142 copper coins: some of these are important ones. I had also the fortune to secure a large parcel of silver Bactrians, a deposit discovered in the Hazárehjât: among these are coins of a type likely to excite some interest. . . .

The coins of Eueratides I., so numerous found at Beghrám, are not to be discovered at Jalálábád any more than those of Apollodotus and Menander, considering always a single specimen no evidence that coins of that species were once current there, but rather that they were not. . . .

It may be noted that these two coins of Demetrius, the only ones, we believe, hitherto discovered,¹ have been elicited at Bukhárá. Among the coins obtained by M. Honigberger at Bukhárá, and which he thought worthy of enumeration, probably as being both Greek and silver ones, are transcribed in his memorandum,

- 1 Vasileos Antiochu.
- 1 Vasileos Dimitriu.
- 1 Vasileos Megalu Hiokraksu.
- 3 Vasileos Euthidimu.
- 5 Eueratides.

I have mentioned the discovery of a parcel of Bactrian drachmas and hemi-drachmas in the Hazárehjât, which we purchased from a Hindú at Charrakár, who some three years since received them from a Hazárah. I have not yet been able to ascertain the spot, or under what circumstances these coins were found. The parcel, 120 in number, comprised seven quadrangular silver coins of Apollodotus, 108 silver coins of Menander, and five silver coins of Antimachus. The day preceding that on which this parcel of coins came into my possession, I received from the dashts of Beghrám, a silver coin of the last-named prince, Antimachus. The beauty of the coins of Antimachus, the excellence of their execution and designs, with the purity of the Greek characters of the legend, allow us not to place this prince subsequent to Eueratides, whose coins in these particulars they surpass. Among 5000 or more copper coins, procured from the dasht of Beghrám, we have not discovered one of Antimachus; and the detection of a single silver coin does not seem to afford evidence that he ruled there, when the absence of his copper coins seemed to prove that he did not.

EXTRACTS FROM THE 'THIRD MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT COINS
 DISCOVERED AT THE SITE CALLED BEGHRAM, IN THE
 KOHISTAN OF KABUL. BY C. MASSON.'

Two notices on the site of Beghrám, and of the nature of the coins found at it, have already been given. The collection of its antique treasures having been continued for three successive seasons, the results may be worthy of being presented in one view, both for exhibiting the exact state of discovery up to this time, and for

¹ There is a beautiful little Demetrius in the Ventura collection; see vol. iv.—J.P.

providing data on which to found inferences or to hazard conjectures on the curious and intricate subject of Bactrian history and antiquities.

It is not the object of this memoir to convey a full account of the present state of knowledge on these and other points, upon which, in truth, light is only beginning to dawn; but simply to narrate the fruits of our own labors, happy if they prove useful to those who, with superior advantages, and when sufficient materials are collected, will, no doubt, favor the world with some important work. We have, therefore, only to descant upon the coins found at Behgrám, and such, allied or connected with them, which may have been procured by ourselves in Afghánistán; and refrain, in the same spirit, from the delineation of any coins not actually found by us; and if such are alluded to, it is from necessity, and to direct attention to them.

The site of Beghrám, whatever its original name may have been, and whoever may have been its founder, yields evidence, from the coins found at it, of its existence as a city, which must, at least, have flourished from the epoch of Euthydemus, the king of Bactria, to that of the Muhammadan Khalifs—or for a period of nine hundred years. We have speculated on the probability of its pointing out the situation of Alexandria ad Caucasum, or Ad calcem Caucasi, and see no reason to change the opinion, viz., that the honor of being considered such, must be assigned to it, or to Níláb of Ghorband. The detection of a coin of one of the Antiochi may prove that it flourished prior to the age of Euthydemus, as it undoubtedly will have done; and certain Hindú Bráhmañical coins¹ described as Class Bráhmañical, may, perhaps, verify that it existed subsequently to the Muhammadan Khalifs, or to the duration of their sway in Afghánistán,—at all events, it would appear to have been destroyed, in whatever manner, before the era when coins with Persian legends became current in these regions; as our aggregate collection of nearly seven thousand coins from its site has not been contaminated with a single Persian coin, unless fig. 9 of the just noted Hindú series have a Persian legend, which may seem to intimate that the city's extinction was about the period of the introduction of the language, which may have been contemporaneous with the rise of the Muhammadan sovereignty of Ghazní. The coins of its princes have Persian legends, to prove which, we have inserted a silver coin of the celebrated Sultán Mahmúd: none of his coins or of his father, Sabaktagín, have been found at Beghrám, where those of the Khalifs so numerously occur.

Although Beghrám, inferring from the presence of topes or sepulchral monuments on its site and in its vicinity, may be supposed at some period to have been a capital, which its name testifies, it will generally have been only a provincial capital; and this is worthy of note, because there may be reason to suspect that many of the former rulers in these countries, particularly the Greek-Bactrian princes, had distinct provincial coinages. Certain coins of Apollodotus, Antilakides, Ermaios, and Euclidés seem to countenance the suspicion.

It is presumed that coins constantly found, and in number, on any known spot, afford proofs of their having once been current there, and that the princes whom they commemorate, whether as paramount or tributary sovereigns, held also authority at that spot. The numbers in which coins may be found, may, perhaps, furnish a criterion upon which we may calculate,—first, generally, the duration of the dynasties denoted by the various types of coins; and next, particularly, that of the reign of each individual prince. A collection of one year would not furnish this criterion; a

¹ Of the Rájput, or 'bull and horseman' group.—J.P.

collection of many years might,—a statement is therefore annexed of the numbers in which the several descriptions of coins found at Beghrām have, during three years, been obtained;—and if it be seen that they are found annually in due numerical proportion, it may be of service in our speculations, assisted by the coins themselves. Indeed, of the recorded kings of Bactria, the coins are found in just the numbers we might expect, and confirm what we know as to the length of their reigns; and in some other instances of unrecorded princes, their coins and the frequency or rarity of their occurrence corroborate the conjectures as to the extent of their reigns, which other accidental discoveries seem to authorise.

The coins of Beghrām fortunately admit of ready classification, and may be reduced to five grand classes—I. Greek-Bactrian; II. Indo-Scythic or Mithraic; III. Ancient Persian, whether Parthian or Sassanian; IV. Hindū or Brāhmanical; V. Kufic or Muhammadan. The last class may chronologically be entitled to stand before its predecessor, the Brāhmanical one.

ENUMERATION OF COINS COLLECTED FROM BEGHRĀM DURING THE YEARS 1833, 1834, AND 1835.

	1833.	1834.	1835.
<i>Greek Syro-Bactrian.</i>			
Antiochus			1
<i>Recorded Greek Bactrian.</i>			
Euthydemus	1	2	3
Apollodotus	19	31	23
Menander	39	56	58
Eueratides	70	92	107
<i>Unrecorded Greek Bactrian.</i>			
Pantaleon	2	2	3
Agathocles	10	19	14
Lysius	6	5	3
Antilakides	8	16	13
Ermaios the Elder	34	31	27
Ermaios the Younger (?)	10	5	13
Ermaios	1		
Dika (?)	6	14	13
Lion and Elephant coins	20	23	24
Chaitya Symbol coins			11
Unadpheros	19	16	20
BAEIAEVC BACIAEΛΩN CMTHP MEIAC	171	267	257
Analogous coins, fig. 104 to fig. 106	1	1	
Ditto fig. 107 to fig. 110	8	24	20
Ditto fig. 111	1	1	
Ermaios of Nysa, and his family	136	179	278
Archelios			1
Diomedes		1	
Ipalirisus	1	1	1
Antimachus		1	1
Adelphortos. (Spalyrius, J.P.)	1		1
Azilisos		1	
Azos ¹			

¹ It is a very remarkable circumstance that none of the coins of Azos, which were so numerous in the Ventura collection from the Panjāb, should have been met with at Beghrām.—J.P.



Indo-Scythic or Mithraic.

	1833.	1834.	1835.
Kadphises	37	Numbers not preserved.	62
Kanerkos	24		4
Kanerki family	44		67
Series 3. Obverse, figure seated in native fashion	10		19
Series 4. 'Couch-lounger,' one foot up	56		175
Series 5. 'Elephant-rider'	56		73
Series 6. Reverse, bull and priest: Okro.....	254		492
Series 7. Very rude—reverse, female with cornucopia	113		161

Parthian (?) and Sassanian.

As fig. 1 to fig. 6. ¹ } Small, head and fire-altar: }	161	}	278
As fig. 44 to fig. 51. } and large, of all types. }	122		171
Kufic and Brāhmanical.....			

Beghrām has not yielded one coin of the Arsacidæ, or one coin that we dare positively to affirm to be Parthian.² Coins with the Sassanian symbols on the reverse, or the distinguishing fire-altar, are very numerous; but it may be questioned whether they are coins of the Sassanidæ of Persia, and whether they may not rather refer to distinct princes, that we believe Persian authentic history attests to have flourished in these countries, as at Zabulistān, etc.

¹ [Pl. iii., vol. v., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'; 'Ariana Antiqua.' xvi., 18, 19, 20.]

² [One doubtful one is noticed at p. 546, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. v.]

XII.—NEW VARIETIES OF BACTRIAN COINS, ENGRAVED AS PL. XXVIII., FROM MASSON'S DRAWINGS AND OTHER SOURCES.

(SEPTEMBER, 1836.)

Instead of pursuing Masson's recapitulation of all the coins hitherto found by himself at Beghrám, we have preferred selecting those only which were new in name or type, for illustration; on the present occasion confining ourselves to those bearing Greek inscriptions of the earlier class, and leaving the Mithraic, of which our author produces some highly interesting novelties, for a subsequent plate.

Fig. 1. A silver coin of Archelius, similar in character to the coins of Menander and Apollodotus.¹

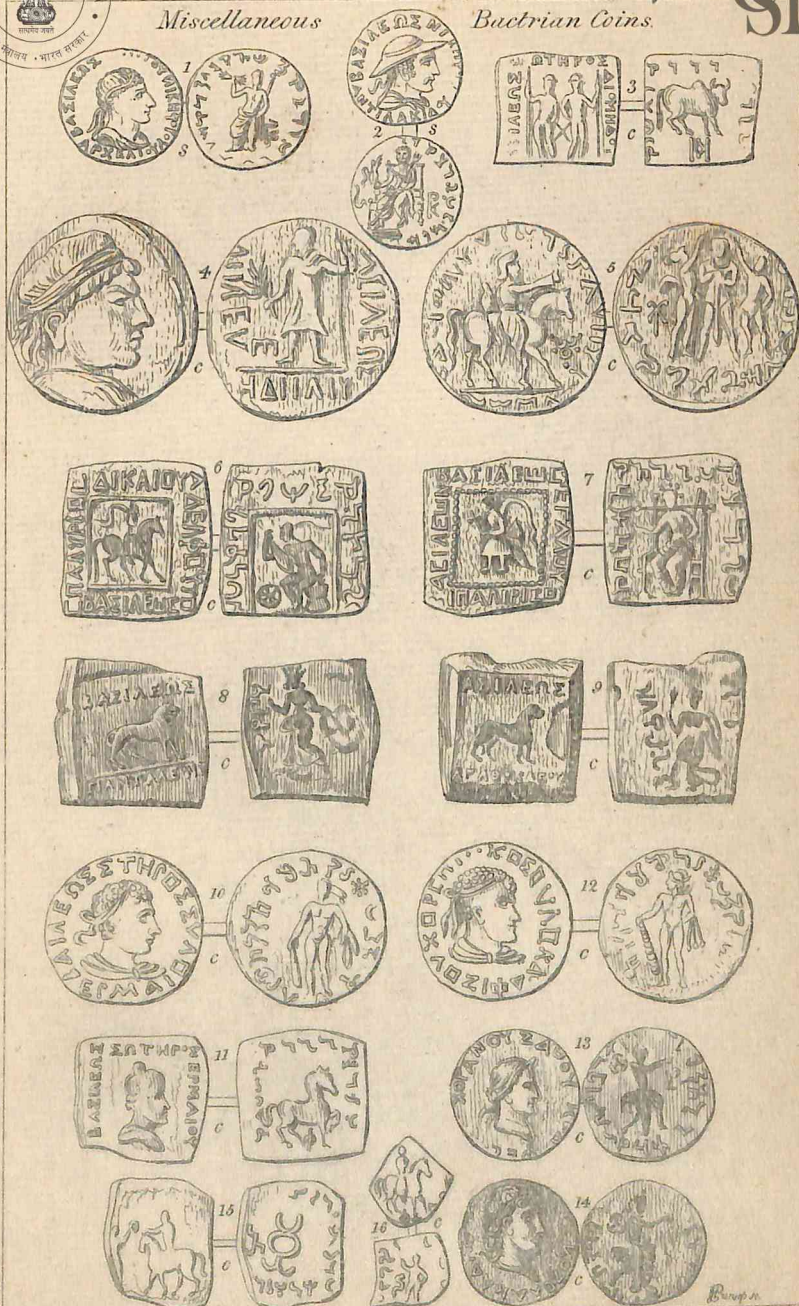
OBVERSE.—Bust of king; head bound with fillet or diadem; legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (δika) ΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΙΟΥ. [ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.]

REVERSE.—Jupiter Tonans, seated, holding sceptre in left hand. Compound monogram: legend in the Bactro-Pehlvi character. The name is faint in the drawing, but is read with confidence by Masson from the coin itself. It may be read *A'lakiyo* (or *jo*); but if the second and third letters can be made *kali*, the word will represent very tolerably the pronunciation of the Greek name, *Akaliyo*. The equivalent for *Νικηφορον* is an old acquaintance, *Ajalado*; but the middle letter is altered in form. The remaining epithet *δικαιος*, which I have supposed to be represented in the Greek by *δικαιος*, is, in fact, found standing for this title, 'the just,' [Dhamikasa] in a coin of

¹ Col. Stacy writes, while we are correcting this proof, that he has just added another name to this group, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΤΝΤ. . . . but of this we are promised casts in a day or two: it is too late for the present plate.

Miscellaneous

Bactrian Coins



the Ventura collection, figured as No. 9, of pl. xxi. [xv.] vol. iv. A more perfect and legible specimen will be noticed below in Masson's series (fig. 6), in which the second syllabic letter, *mi*, decides the identity; but the initial is more like *n*; and the penultimate is ? *a*, instead of *h k*; but as the vowel *a*, according to our former observation, never occurs in the middle of a word, it should probably be read *h d*, and we should thus have additional evidence of *h* being the same letter affected with some vowel-mark.

Masson remarks on this coin: 'This silver drachma is an unique specimen found at Beghrám in 1835. It is evident that king Archelios must stand high in the list, but there is difficulty in locating his empire: if it be extended to Beghrám, why do we not meet with his copper coins?'

The same epithet, as Masson points out, may be observed on one of the Azos group of coins having the 'horseman' obverse (fig. 22) of pl. xvii. In our coin the legend was indistinct at the top, but in his drawing it is clearly $\text{ΡΑΝΙΩΤΑΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΚΤΟΝΩΝ}$.

In this the thirteenth letter should probably be *ρ*, unless by some rule of orthography the epithet 'just' is combined by a permutation of its final, and duplicated with the commencing consonant of the following word, which may be recognised without difficulty as the representative of *μεγαλου*, 'the great.' We are indebted to Masson for the restoration of the inscription, which we have introduced in this place, because no other opportunity may occur of noticing this Azos coin.

Fig. 2. A silver drachma of Antilakides, discovered by Masson in 1835.

Obv.—Head of the monarch, with the peculiar hat or helmet common on coins of Eueratides, Philoxenus, Menander, etc., but rather flatter: mustachios on the upper lip (?); legend—as in the copper coins of the same prince— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΑΑΚΙΑΤΩΤ}$.

REV.—Jupiter seated, holding a small 'Victory' in his right hand : in his left a sceptre or trident : monogram compounded of the Greek letters P and K : native legend—... 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹—as on the copper coins.

Dr. Swiney possesses in the collection lately purchased by him from Karámat 'Alí a duplicate of this coin, which shews the completed Pehlvi legend to agree with that given in my former notice. The device on the reverse of the square copper pieces of this prince—two beehives and palm branches, denoting, as Masson conjectures, Plenty and Peace—has been met with on a similar coin of Eucratides ; in whose near association, therefore, it is probable the unknown Antilakides should be classed.

Fig. 3. An unique coin of Diomedes, found by Masson in 1834, and described by him in vol. v., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', p. 24. In the memoir now before us he applies our system to the reading of the native name, which he makes out 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎡𐎹 *ajamido*, and argues thence that the Sanskrit equivalent for Diomed may be Aja-medha, a prince of the lunar race, who reigned at Kanyá-kubja. 'The remark,' he writes, 'is elicited from an observation in Mill's historical note on the Allahábád pillar ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', July, 1834), that the Chronicles of Marwar represent Nayana Pál as having conquered Kanauj in the year 470 A.D. from king Aji-pála, a descendant of Aja-medha. We here find a dynasty bearing the common name of Aja (identical with the Greek Azos), and suspected by Tod to have been of Scythic origin.'

We may remark, however, in opposition to this ingenious conjecture, that the Sanskrit name Aja is but a corruption of Ajaya, 'the unconquered,' and therefore might more appropriately represent the Greek *ανικητος* than Azos, which latter I have, indeed, elsewhere conjectured might be found in the Yavana-aso of Hindú tradition.¹ Moreover, the first letter of the present legend

¹ In the Kashmir list of the 'Rája-taranginí,' there is a prince named *Aja* (transcribed *Aj* in the Persian of the 'Ayn-i Akbari'), whose date by Wilson is 100 B.C.,

may probably be Γ , which would give the reading $\Gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\iota\delta\omicron$ *daya-mido*, in exact accordance, as to pronunciation, with the Greek.

Fig. 4 is taken from a drawing by M. Court, who has been fortunate in finding a new type of this curious copper coin, the reverse of which usually presents the figure of a naked horse. (See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. iv., p. 343).

The present reverse exhibits the prince holding an olive-branch and spear, implying peace or war, in either hand. From the collation of many specimens of the 'horse' variety, and one small one like the above, Masson makes out the full inscription to be $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΑΙΡ}$ the Η apparent at the commencement of the lower line being the missing Σ of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ . This reading is confirmed by more than a dozen examples, but still it leaves us with a most unpronounceable appellation. It may possibly be only a preservation of the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ . In Masson's small coin the monogram Π appears to be the triple blade of a trident reversed, which the figure is holding.

Fig. 5—an unique—is also extracted from Court's collection. It assimilates with the numerous class of Azos coins having on the obverse a horseman with extended arm. The inscription has much the appearance of Pehlvi, but this may proceed from the indistinctness of the Greek letters. The monogram is very peculiar and curious, from the circumstance of its constant occurrence on the degenerate gold coins of the Kadphises group.

The reverse is quite in the Roman taste. Two soldiers seem to be crowning their successful chief, who rests on a kind of club. The name in the legend below is, happily, most distinct, ΥΠΑΤΑΡΧΗΣ ; the fourth letter is doubtful, but if read Λ the combination may be hesitatingly transcribed Yatilariko.

Of fig. 6 three examples are known; one in the Ventura collection was depicted in pl. [xv.] It was copied hastily, and I have now reason to think I must have omitted a letter, having then engraved the name ΑΔΕΛΦΟΡΟΥ . The two new drawings, one by Court, the other by Masson, (both agreeing perfectly) from which the present engraving has been taken, leave no doubt of the correct reading being $\text{ΣΠΑΛΤΡΙΟΥΤ [ΣΠΑΤΡΙΟΣ] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$, 'Spalyrius the just, brother of the king.' The first letter may possibly be an Ε , or it may be superfluous,

but when corrected for the epoch of Asoka, about A.D. 180. He, too, may be one of our Azos family;—but if we go by resemblance of name only, we shall be liable to lay hands on the great Asoka himself as the founder of the line!



Figs. 8 and 9. These two coins, made known in Masson's first memoir, I have now had an opportunity of engraving from specimens in Swiney's purchased cabinet. The Pantaleon of fig. 8 is quite legible, and the curious and unknown letters of the reverse are distinct, and perfectly accordant with Masson's original drawing. The word

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΑΕΟΤΣ however, is only partially visible on fig. 9, and is completed on his authority. In other respects the two coins are identical, having a dog or panther on the obverse, and a clothed female on the reverse, with a flower in the right hand. The similarity of the native character to the alphabet of the Indian láts has been before noticed, as well as the frequent occurrence of the Swastika and Chaitya symbols on coins of this group (see pl. [xx]).

Fig. 10 is introduced from Masson's plates as a more perfect specimen of the Hercules-reverse type than any in my former plate [xviii.], as regards at least the Greek legend, which is here evidently ΒΑΙΑΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ. This Ermæus differs from his namesake in the reverse, and in the great corruption of the Greek; but it is possible that the piece may have been contemporaneously struck at a provincial mint; and in such case, if cities may be recognised—as among the Greek coins—by their tutelary deities, we shall find a clue to the appearance of Ermæus' name on the following coin, fig. 11, which bears the reverse of the naked horse. It might, perhaps, be allowable to assign this horse as the armorial symbol of Bucephalia, while the Hercules might be attributed to some town conspicuous for his worship: the 'Victory' to Nicea; and Jupiter to one of the Alexandrias (being the general reverse of the Alexandrine coins.)

The native legend on fig. 11 is the genuine Pehlvi one of Ermæus; but that on fig. 10 is of the modified character so puzzling to the decipherer. It passes unaltered through a succession of princes, and may perhaps therefore embrace only their titles.

Fig. 12. It was from dubious authority that I added the name of ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ to this group. Masson's researches have now given authentic evidence that I did so justly. He has, this year, fallen upon two coins in which the name is quite distinct. It is remarkable, however, that the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is here for the first time omitted, and the foreign expression ΧΟΡΑΝΟΪ introduced. This, it will be remembered, is precisely the transition that is traced in the Indo-Scythic or Mithraic series of Kanerkos; and thus we have pretty strong grounds for inferring that the change was simultaneously effected in various provinces of the empire of the foreign (or domestic) usurpers who supplanted the dynasty of Bactrian descent.

There is, however, another very curious circumstance to be noted in regard to fig. 12. The Greek legend is ΚΩΣΩΑΩ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΩ ΧΩΡΑΝΟΪ. Now, as good luck would have it, Mr. Neave, of the Civil Service, has just favored me with a few old coins picked up in the Mofussil, among which is one, in excellent preservation and well executed, of the ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ. . . . kind described in my former paper [pl. xviii.] The name

on this coin (which I have engraved as fig. 14), is very clearly ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦ... which is just such a deviation from the orthography of Masson's coin, ΚΟΖΟΤΑΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΤ, as a provincial dialect, added to the difficulty of expressing native names in a foreign alphabet, would justify and explain. The name on two of the coins of pl. xviii. may be also read ΚΟΖΟΛΑ.

Among several coins of the same class in the collections of Cunningham and Swiney, as well as in Masson's plates, other variations of the spelling occur, ΚΟΖΥΤΑΟ, ΚΟΖΟΥΑΟ, etc., until at last the word becomes utterly illegible.

In a private letter from M. Jacquet, of the Paris Asiatic Society, that gentleman expresses his conviction, after seeing Dr. Martin Honigberger's coin, that the name we have called ΚΑΔΦΙΖΗΣ should be written ΜΟΚΑΔΦΙΖΗΣ, which he supposes equivalent to the Sanskrit Mahatrishī; but I think we have abundant evidence against such a conclusion, since we can now produce at least three individuals of the family name of Kadphises. Thus—

Fig. 13, copied from a drawing in Court's memoir, has the legend ΖΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ(ΟΥ) ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ; while, on the gold coins, we have already adduced numerous instances of ΜΟ, ΟΟΗΜΟ or ΟΟΚΜΟ, attached to the same. We shall take some future occasion to place all these varieties under review together; meantime the French ships¹ of the season will, it is hoped, enable us to profit by the disquisitions of the learned of Paris on this highly interesting question.

Figs. 15, 16. Small coins found by Masson in 1835, at Beghrām. The execution is neat, and evidently Bactrian, but the names are defaced. The caduceus of fig. 15 is to be met with on the coins of Menander, and particularly on those of Mayos.

It must not be supposed that Masson's labours during the past year have been productive of no other novel results than those above-mentioned. He has brought to light many new types of the Mithraic series, which I shall reserve for a future plate; besides a very numerous series of what he has correctly designated Indo-Sassanian coins, to which, hitherto, we have paid too little attention. To make their study useful would involve the necessity

¹ [These were the days when India was dependent on sailing vessels for news as well as merchandise. The ninety days' passage at a given period of the year is now exchanged for a fortnightly communication seldom exceeding forty days.]



of reviewing carefully the well-known Sassanian coins of Persia proper; a task, unfortunately, rendered almost hopeless by the great indistinctness and perplexity of the Sassanian alphabet. I must not, however, on this account keep back the new and curious coins with Nágari characters of which the Beghrám collection boasts.

In conclusion, I must once more offer a tribute of admiration for the indefatigable and successful exertions of the collector of these Bactrian relics; and express a hope that his extensive collection, now consisting of 7000 coins, may be deposited in our national museum by the East India Company, to whom it is presumed they have been annually consigned.

XIII.—NEW VARIETIES OF THE MITHRAIC, OR INDO-SCYTHIC SERIES OF COINS, AND THEIR IMITATIONS.

From the variety of the Mithraic reverses already made known, it might have been imagined that the series was nearly exhausted. Every year, however, adds a few new types to our previous list, or produces finer samples of those hitherto considered indistinct. So multiplied, indeed, are our resources at the present time, that we can afford to be fastidious, and not only reject coins of the baser metals, but limit the admission even of golden novelties to those of one size, weight, and value!

My object in pl. xxix. is to develop more fully the transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coinage to the Hindú series, for which my numerous friends have furnished even more unequivocal links than those engraved in my former plate, xxvi. (xxxviii, of vol. iv). I must begin, however, with a few novelties of the true Mithra type.

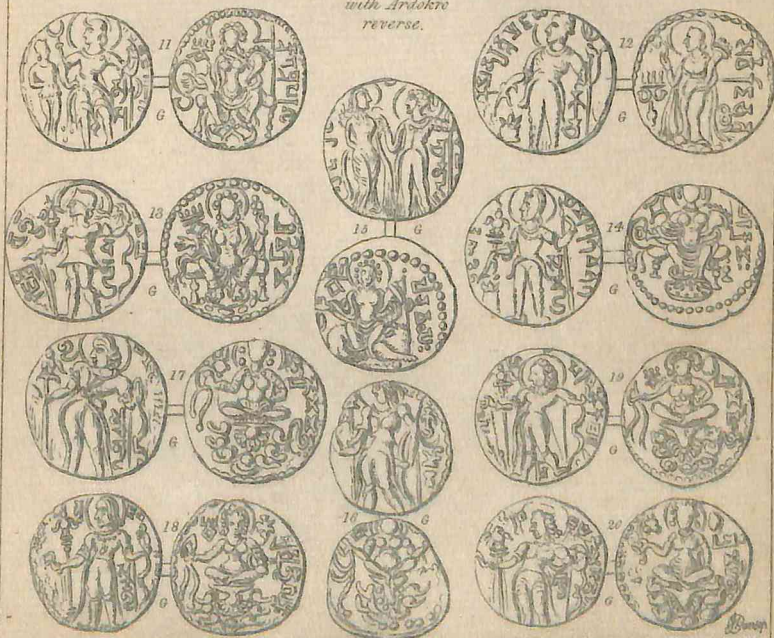
Fig. 1 is the first to rivet our attention and curiosity. It is an unique of Masson's discovery. The obverse has the usual standing figure of the Rája sacrificing, with the legend PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO. The reverse has an armed figure, nearly the counterpart of the other, but without any altar, and with the usual monogram: the legend being, in Masson's drawing, OPAAFNO. Not having the coin

MITHRAIC & HINDU COINS.

36
 PL. XXIX.
 SL



*Hindu Coins. Canouj Series.
 with Ardokro
 reverse.*



itself before me, the reading I venture to substitute for this is, of course, liable to correction; but the strong similitude between the commencement of this legend and of the two curious ones formerly noticed, namely, APAOXPO and APAHOPPO , leave little doubt in my mind that the one before us should be read APAAΓNO ; the word ARNO representing the Sanskrit अग्नि *agni*, the god of fire; whom we may reasonably suppose to be substituted for Athra, as the Sanskrit अर्क *arka* has been for Mithra, in the Indianized designation, OKPO . The Pehlvi affix APA arda (generally written APTA by the Greeks), implying 'the great,' has an evident connection with आर्य *arya*, a common Sanskrit epithet of the same signification, 'excellent'; or आर्य *arya*, 'holy, venerable'; as आर्यमन् *aryaman*, 'the sun,' आर्यवर्त *aryavarta*, 'the holy land,' (India) etc. 'Aria' also occurs, in combination, in Persian names beginning with consonants, as Ariobarzanes, king of Armenia,—a derivative from Berzin, the planet Jupiter of the Mithraic system.¹

Further search, should these conjectures be well grounded, will probably bring to light coins with the single appellation ARNO , which has not hitherto been observed.

Fig. 2 is misplaced: for the imperfection of the Greek legend on the obverse ought to condemn it to a lower grade in chronological order. All those legends which have the family name of KANHPKI are clear and better formed than those of OHPKI , to which this coin belongs. The latter, too, have generally the bust of the sovereign substituted for the full-length sacrificer. The name on the reverse of fig. 2, PAPO , is new; nor is it at first very obvious what meaning it may be intended to convey. It cannot well be a corruption of AOPPO , because the standing figure faces the opposite way, holds a spear, and wants the flames on his shoulders. Masson observes, on this coin: 'Here is another peculiar legend, but evidently signifying the Sun as source of light and majesty. *Pharos* was the term applied to the Alexandrian light-house, and Pharoah is the well-known scriptural title of the old Kings of Egypt. The bust on this coin affords a remarkable contrast to other coins of the family.' It is certainly probable that the word has some affinity to the Greek phaos , *lumen*, *dies*, *solis ortus*, but no more than is naturally found between languages of a common origin. The word *Phraa*, or something like it, certainly existed in the ancient language of Persia, as the personification of light or heat, analogous to Mithra, the sun.² In compounds it is frequently found, as in Phraates, Phraortes, Farnaces, and Phradates; the latter

¹ Vaillant, 'Ars. Imp.' i. 183.

² *Phre*, in Egyptian, has precisely the same meaning as *mīhr* in Persian, 'king, prince.'

being altogether congenerous with Mithradates, or, as the Greeks translated the name, Apollodotos. From the same root are descended the modern Persian verb افروختن 'to inflame,' whence افروز 'illuminating,' so often employed in compounds. Perhaps the uncouth name of Unad-Pherrou, on a numerous class of the deteriorated Bactrian coins, may spring from the same root.

Vaillant, however, gives a different, and, I think, a less satisfactory etymology of the above class of names in his history of the Arsacidæ. 'Phriapates seu et Phrapates, idem ac Aphra Pates, seu et Papatius; nam apud Persas idem Aphra est, ac Pa apud Turcas Scythasque, scilicet elevatus, supremus, maximus, quæ nominibus propriis ut et *art* præponuntur.' ('Arsac. Imp.' i. 2). Now, if the word Aphra be merely an intensive preposition, like the Sanskrit पर *para*, the Persian بر *bar*, the Greek *παρα*, and the Latin *præ* or *per*; the word to which it is affixed should be a significant adjectival noun, as पराक्रमः *parākrama* 'the very heroic'; اردشیر *Ardashir* (Artaxerxes) 'the great lion' or 'very valiant,' etc. The participial nouns Mithradates (*quasi* ميثرادات *the given of Mithra*), and Phradates (افراداد *the given of Phra*), require the first member of the compound to be a noun.

Fig. 3. A type familiar to us, in copper; and known before in gold of a smaller size. It was, in fact, one of the two coins first extracted by Ventura from the Manikyāla tope. In Masson's coin, the spelling accords with the vernacular pronunciation МИРО, and the solar glory is irradiated on its edge, to shew more plainly its reference.

Figs. 4 and 5. Two more gold coins of Masson's collection, having the legend of the reverse respectively NANO PAO and NANA, both proved to be equivalent to NANAIA by the peculiar attitude of the allegorical image. The introduction of PAO in the first of the two would almost seem a mistake of the engraver, who had in his mind the PAO NANO PAO of the obverse. I have nothing to add to my former remarks on the word itself, except to draw attention to an extract from the Armenian Chronicles with which Mr. Avdall has favored us, proving that NANAIA and the Persian Anahid were not positively identical, each having her separate temples and votaries, even in Armenia. 'Anahid was the tutelary goddess of our country, and was known equally by the names of Artemis and Aphrodite in our mythological works. She was always considered identical with the planet Venus, though possessing all the attributes of Diana.' As *nanea*, on Mr. Avdall's authority, means 'maternal' or 'motherly,' it would hardly be proper to ascribe such a designation to the moon, the chaste Diana; neither has her effigy on our coins the lunar emblem, so distinctly portrayed on the MAO and some other types. Rather, then, let her be constituted the

Venus of the group, who plays an equally conspicuous part in the Mithraic system.¹

Fig. 6 is a gold coin, from Court's drawing, of the AΘPO reverse. The obverse legend is PAO NANO PAO OOHPI KOPANO.

Fig. 7 is likewise from Court's collection. In it I was struck by the strong resemblance of the head-dress to that of the Parthian or Sassanian coins. The legend is wanting, and that of the reverse is quite illegible, though the monogram and device are in a perfect state.

Fig. 8 has been already engraved in my plate of the Manikyála relics; but as one of the most interesting of the Mithraic series, it could not be denied admission in a plate exclusively devoted to them. I wished, further, to place it in juxtaposition with the sitting figure of the ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ reverse, because it might be conceived to be the parallel Hindú lunar coin to that form of the Hindú solar effigy, OKPO.

Like OKPO, this figure has four arms, and is therefore Indian: further, it is a male divinity; and thirdly, it is identified with MAO, 'the moon,' by the crescents of that luminary arising from its shoulders. It must therefore be the Soma or Chandra of the Hindú Pantheon, who is represented with all these characters in Moor, though the later work of Coleman makes him to be a two-handed divinity.

The appellation MANAOBARO, which so puzzled me on the former occasion, has at length, I think, found a satisfactory explanation. مانگ *máng*, in Persian, is an ancient name of the moon; and भग *bhaga*, in Sanskrit, means 'splendour, glory'; and is given as a synonym of the moon as well as of the sun. In the Zend, then—the link between the Persian and the Sanskrit—we may naturally look for a compound of these two terms, such as *manao-bago*. It is well known that the mythology of the Saxons was derived from a Scythic or Central-Asiatic source, and their male deity Mona (whence our modern term, moon²), has been, by the learned, referred to the Persian *máng*. I have, however, found a much more convincing proof than these analogies afforded, that such is the correct explanation, in the Baron Von Hammer's Prize Memoir 'Sur le culte de Mithra, son origine, sa nature, et ses mystères,' Paris, 1833; for a copy of which I am indebted to the learned author's perusal of my observations on the curious relics from the Panjáb.

¹ The Baron von Hammer says that the word *neith* of the Egyptians is evidently the same as the Persian *nahid*—whence also may be traced the German *nacht* and the English *night*.

² In like manner I feel strongly disposed to connect the strange OΑΔΟ of our coins with Odin or Wodin of the Saxon mythos, an acknowledged derivative from the Sanskrit बुद्ध *Buddha*, Mercury. It is not a little curious that the verbal root of two of our present days of the week, Monday and Wednesday, should thus be discovered among a parcel of old coins dug up in the Panjáb!

In the catalogue of Mithraic inscriptions discovered in various parts of Europe, the Baron points attention to one in particular among Gruter's collection, in which the word *MENOTYRANNUS* denotes the deified moon :

'Cette inscription est une des plus intéressantes, à cause des deux mots de *Menotyrannus* et de *Persidicus* : le dernier indique l'origine persane du culte de *Mithra* : le *Menotyrannus* peut se traduire par 'seigneur du mois' ; mais malgré les objections de M. Rolle contre l'existence du dieu *Lunus*, je crois que cette existence peut très-bien être prouvée, non seulement par tous les monumens astronomiques des orientaux modernes, dans lesquels la lune est représentée sous la figure d'un jeune garçon de quatorze ans ; mais, encore par la coïncidence de la mythologie Egyptienne, dans laquelle la lune, d'après les découvertes de M. Champollion, est une divinité mâle. Enfin, le mot *MHN*, dans lequel M. Rolle ne voit que le nom d'un mois, est effectivement un nom persan de la lune, qui s'appelle *mâh* et *mâng* ; c'est le *moon* des Anglais et le *mond* des Allemands, lesquels lui ont conservé son genre oriental.'

After this we can have little hesitation in translating *MANAOBARO* 'lord of the months' :—indeed, if we derive *BARO* from the Persian or Scythic *بیگ beg*, 'lord or prince,' we shall have precisely the corresponding term to *tyrannus*.

Fig. 9. A gold coin of Kanerkos from a drawing by M. Court. The *rao* in this seems to have a case for his bow strung behind his back. The reverse is similar to that of a fine coin of *OOHPKI* in Ventura's series (fig. 9, pl. [xxii.] xxxviii., vol. iv.), which, however, differs in having the bust in lieu of the full-length of the prince. The legend *ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ* has been before explained as 'the great sun.'¹ One of his attributes, it may be presumed, rather than the god himself, is intended, by the female holding the cornucopia—typifying the fertility he bestows on the earth.

Fig. 10 is a most important acquisition to our Mithraic series, as being the very link of connection between them and the Kanauj coins. Immediately after the publication of my former plate, Lieut. Cunningham wrote to me from Benâres, pointing out a coin in his cabinet of the class I had designated 'links,' having the seated female with the cornucopia, but more perfect than those I had engraved, inasmuch as the legend to the left was preserved and legible as *ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ*, the same as that of the standing figure. A duplicate of the same coin was also in Stacy's cabinet, and on reference to the 'Asiatic Researches,' pl. i., the letters of *ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ* were clearly legible on the reverse of fig. 6, a gold coin procured by Wilson from the bed of a tank in the Húglí district.

The cornucopia, as a device, seems to have been copied from the

¹ The *ΟΡΟΟΚΡΟ* of the copper coins may be deemed a still closer imitation of the Sanskrit *आर्यक dryarka*. *ΑΡΑ* is the Persian orthography.



Roman coins of the Emperors. It is seldom or never to be seen on the genuine Greek coins; nor is it found on our Bactrian series until the age of Azos (with the exception of the copper coins of Antimachus and Philoxenus, the date of which is uncertain). Whether it bears any direct allusion to the legend may be doubted,—at least such allusion is entirely lost sight of the moment we pass the boundary into the Indian series.

HINDU COINS IMITATED FROM THE 'ARDOKRO' TYPE.

Since my former paper on the Gupta coins of Kanauj appeared, very important acquisitions have been made to our knowledge of this before unknown dynasty, through the medium of coins and of inscriptions; for both of which we are almost entirely beholden to the researches of Lieut. Cunningham and Mr. Tregear in the neighbourhood of Benáres.

The inscription, in an ancient character, upon the column at Allahábád, interpreted by Captain Troyer and Dr. Mill in vol. iii., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' had made us acquainted with the four first of the family;¹ namely, 1, Gupta, a Rája of the solar race; 2, Ghatot Kacha, his son; 3, Chandra-gupta, his son; 4, Samudra-gupta, the fourth in descent;—and there the Allahábád record broke off with an intimation that a son was expected.

The Bhitári Lát brought to notice by Messrs. Tregear and Cunningham, fills up the line of succession for three generations further (see pl. xxx., vol. v. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', October, 1836). We may so far anticipate the translation of this highly important record promised to us by Mill [see p. 240], for the illustration of our sub-

¹ See vol. iii., p. 344. [Prinsep's revised translation of this inscription is to be found at p. 233, *ante*.]



ject, as to state that the infant of Samudra was named Chandra-gupta II. His son was, 6, Kumára-gupta; after whom followed, 7, Skanda-gupta—and there again this new authority breaks off.

Now, to all of these (excepting, perhaps, the first), we can at present assign their respective coins from undoubted and numerous specimens; and the succession of the devices on the obverse and reverse will be seen to follow just so much of modification from the original Mithraic model of the Ardokro coin as would be expected when the normal source was nearly forgotten, and Hindú ideas ruled predominant. Moreover, we can, from our coins, add the name of Mahendra-gupta, and perhaps of Assa-gupta, to the list, and there is presumptive evidence of a second Samudra as of a second Chandra. Altogether we may reckon upon nine or ten generations, which, at an average of eighteen years, will fill a space in Indian history of nearly two centuries, of which no written account can be met with;—unless the passage in the 'Vishnu Purána,'¹ that the Guptas, a Sudra family, reigned over a part of Magadha, at the time of its compilation, be regarded as alluding to our dynasty. The sites whence their coins have been most frequently obtained, certainly agree with this description; but the date assigned to the Purána must in this case be carried back a few centuries;² and,

¹ See Wilson's analysis of the Vishnu Purána, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', i. 440.

² [I annex Prof. Wilson's full opinion on the probable date of the Puránas:—
'The Puránas are also works of evidently different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence, and from what we know of the history of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable, that of the present popular forms of the Hindú religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Śankara Achárya, the great Śaiva reformer, who flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Rámánuja dates in the twelfth century, Madhwáchárya in the thirteenth, and Vallabha in the sixteenth; and the Puránas

by the Mlechchhas of the Indus, must be understood the Indo-Scythians rather than the Musalmáns. But I had intended to confine myself to an enumeration of the new coins, and to postpone speculation until we are thoroughly acquainted with them. To proceed therefore:—

Fig. 11. One of two gold coins of Cunningham's cabinet (the first procured at Benáres, the second in Calcutta, now with Dr. Swiney). It is a duplicate of my own (from Conolly) with the unintelligible legend engraved as fig. 23 of pl. xxiii. It was then alluded to as having the letters a little different from mine, and was read *Krag'iṭṭa Paragu(ṭṭa)*. Upon full consideration of each individual letter as compared with those of other coins, I do not think the second letter a *g*; it is rather a *bh*, and the reading altogether **कुभावुपरगुज**, *Kubhāvu paraguja* (adding the *ja* from the obverse of my own coin, where it is quite distinct). Now, we have gained experience enough from our reading of this class of coins to expect that the legend, where it does not merely embrace the titles of sovereignty, will express some extravagant epithet. The final *ja* also (implying 'born of,') shews that the said epithet belongs to his father; and this will account for the omission of *ja* on one side of the coin, which would have the effect of making the epithet apply to the son also. The present compound may thus be made up of **कु** *ku*, a diminutive particle; **भाव** *bhāva*, 'the mind'; **उप** *upa*, a particle implying similitude; **रगु** *Ragu* (for Raghu) the grandfather of Rāma, and **ज** *ja* 'born of' or, united by,—*Kubhāv-uparagu-ja* 'of the humble-minded, resembling-Raghu-born.' The name is unfortunately cut off from the margin. Two letters of it are visible under the rāja's arm on the obverse, and look like **अस** *asa*: but on reference

seem to have accompanied or followed their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught. This is to assign to some of them a very modern date, it is true; but I cannot think that a higher can with justice be ascribed to them.—Wilson's 'Vishnu Purāna,' preface, ix. x.: London, 1840.—'Another evidence of a comparatively modern date must be admitted in those chapters of the Purānas which, assuming a prophetic tone, foretell what dynasties of kings will reign in the Kali age. These chapters, it is true, are found but in four of the Purānas, but they are conclusive in bringing down the date of those four to a period considerably subsequent to Christianity. It is also to be remarked, that the Vāyu, Vishnu, Bhāgavata, and Matsya Purānas, in which these particulars are foretold, have in all other respects the character of as great antiquity as any works of their class.' p. x.—'A very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarial interpolation or embellishment is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside, without injury to the more authentic and primitive material.' p. vi.]

¹ I have worked out this solution, dictionary in hand; for the pandits could not aid me in the least: it is therefore quite open to criticism.

to my own coin, I have there no hesitation in reading it समुद्र *Samudra*. The coin is in this case wrongfully placed at the head of the group in the plate; but, as there are two coins to one in favor of the reading *Asa*, I still hesitate to remove it; for Assa-gupta is a known name in the Kashmir list; and it is, moreover, so like our Azos, that one feels inclined to discover in it a coin of Yavanaso himself, the supposed founder of this Kanauj dynasty.

Fig. 12. This beautiful coin is an unique in Tregear's possession. It is valuable on every account: as giving an additional link with the Mithraic coins (fig. 9), in the standing 'cornucopia' female; as adding a new and much desired name to the coin list; and as teaching a good lesson, in the most unequivocal and well-formed Nāgarī, of the style of legend adopted by these sovereigns; to whom—whether from their extra-Indian, or their low origin, or their limited sway—the panegyrist seems to have avoided applying the usual epithets of royalty, Mahārājādhirāja.

On the reverse, the reading seems to commence सर्वराजोच्छ *sarva-rājochchhatra*, 'the chhatra or overshadower of all the rājas'—then, on the right of the obverse, कामनरुत्तमज घ . . . *Kāmanaruttama-ja Gha(ṭot?)*; and, under the left arm, written perpendicularly in the Chinese fashion कू *Kacha*, 'Son-of-an-excellent-man-resembling-Kāma, Gha(ṭot) Kacha.' The only portion of this inscription missing is the second syllable of Ghatot, which may be replaced with confidence. The rāja is sacrificing on the small Mithraic altar, and is dressed much in the Kanerkos style, though more fashionably.

Fig. 13. Next in succession to Kacha comes Chandra. Of his coins I have already supplied several examples (see pl. xxii. fig. 18, also Marsden *MLVII.*), but to keep up the comparison of the reverses, I here insert a very perfect sample from Cunningham's cabinet, procured at Mirzāpur. Legend, on the obverse—राजश्रीचन्द्र *Rāja Sri Chandra* (the rest only partially visible), and, under the arm again, च् *Chandra*; on the reverse—श्री विक्रम *Sri Vikrama*. I do not find any instance of the name on this form of coin being written Chandra-gupta, although it is distinctly so on the Pillar Inscriptions. He is the first to change the 'trident' standard of ॐHPKI for the quasi Roman eagle. He also prefers the bow to the spear.

Fig. 14. Cunningham's, from Gaya, similar to my own (Capt. Wade's) of fig. 16, pl. [xxii.] xxxviii. vol. iv. Fig. 17 of that plate is another; and seven are now known of the same type, dispersed among us: but few, if any, have the marginal inscription so well developed. As all the coins bearing simply 'Vikrama' on them may be set down to Chandra-gupta, so all having पराक्रम: *parākrama* may be

assigned to his son Samudra-gupta I. This legend is attached to the same sitting female as before on the reverse. The *rāja* on the opposite face is just like his predecessors in costume and attitude, with 'spear and eagle' standard.

By means of Messrs. Cunningham's and Tregear's coins, added to my former specimen, the long legend on the obverse can be nearly all restored; it appears to be **समर शत मतग . . . विजयजतर . . .** *Samara śata mataga(ja) . . .* which may be translated 'having the strength of 100 *mat* elephants,' and on the opposite margin *vijaya-jatara . . .* In my former specimen, however, the final portion read *aparajita-davaja*.

Under the arm, the word **समुद्र** *Samudra* is written in the perpendicular form, the *u* being apparently placed above the *m*, because the *d* had taken its proper position below.

Fig. 15 is another Chandra-gupta, from Stacy's box, of which Tregear has a duplicate. Another is engraved in Marsden, fig. MLVIII. From the alteration of the device, and particularly the omission of the fire-altar on this coin, we might with plausibility set it down to Chandra-gupta II., but, on the same authority, we might make two Samudras; for these princes seem to have imitated one another so closely, that we find the device of the *rāja* and his wife (?)—like that of the 'rāja and eagle' standard—repeated on the Samudra coin (fig. 12) and, at a later period, on a coin of Skanda-gupta (fig. 24 of pl. [xxiii] xxxix. vol. iv.) with a change of costume. The *rāja*'s name on this coin is disposed in two perpendicular lines, one on each side of the spear—**चगु** *Chandra-gupta*: the second line, not very clear in

Stacy's coin, is quite distinct in Tregear's, which reached me just too late to be substituted in the engraving. On the reverse, the 'cornucopia' lady is seated on a sleeping lion, as if to express 'all will go on prosperously if ye rouse not the wrath of your ruler.' On the left hand are the words **पञ्चवयः** in the ancient character. The upper prolongation of the *p* perhaps indicates an *anuswāra*, and thus the reading may be **पञ्चवयः** *panch-chhavaya*, 'the five excellences' to wit, of a king. There is a fault in orthography, however, here, as in the legend of Ghatot-kacha: the words should be written **पञ्च कवयः** *pancha chhavayas*. Whether the word *chhavaya*, 'light,' may have any allusion to the five luminaries of the Mithraic worship—the Sun, the Moon, Fire, Jupiter, and Venus—it is impossible to say; but that a king should possess five virtues we learn from various Hindú authorities.

Fig. 16. An unique in Cunningham's collection from Gaya. The female of the reverse having, in the last, quitted her Grecian seat, has been here installed in one of a more genuine Hindú character—the

lotus-flower. There is a peculiarity also in her attitude, both hands being turned up, and the elbows resting on the knees. The legend is unfortunately cut off. On the obverse, however, to the left of the usual *rāja*, we have, in very conspicuous letters, superposed in the usual style, कुमारः *Kumāra*—proving that this is a coin of *Kumāra-gupta*, the successor of *Chandra-gupta II.*, and thus far in accordance with the *Bhitāri* monument. Lieut. Cunningham has another of the same prince, of quite a different type (described in vol. iv. p. 637) [p. 280, see fig. 28, pl. xxiii.]; but what confirms *Kumāra*'s succession to *Chandra II.* is, that there are devices common to the two, which belong, as far as our researches yet go, to no others; as if, on the accession of the new prince, the mint had continued the preceding device, *mutato nomine*, until another was subsequently selected by the rising monarch. (See figs. 27 and 28, pl. [xxiii.] xxxix. vol. iv., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.')

Figs. 17 and 18. For our acquaintance with the owner of the next coin in our series we are entirely indebted to Lieut. Cunningham. He first extracted his name from the *Bhitāri* *lāt* inscription, and subsequently traced it on these two unique coins in his own, and on one of my collection, already published (fig. 24 of pl. [xxiii.] xxxix. vol. iv.). Fig. 17 is from *Gaya*, and fig. 18 was dug up near a village four *kos* from *Ghazīpur*.

On the obverse, the general attitude of the *rāja* is the same as usual, the waist a little more fashionable, the gaiters absolutely those of the last century! and the hair or wig commencing to be curled in parallel rolls, as will be more fully developed hereafter. The name, perpendicularly disposed under the arm of both figures, is quite clear, स्कन्द *Skanda*; while on the reverse of fig. 18 it is as decidedly (in the old character) श्री स्कन्द गुप्त *Srī Skanda-gupta*, the very name of the *Bhitāri* *lāt* successor to *Kumāra*.

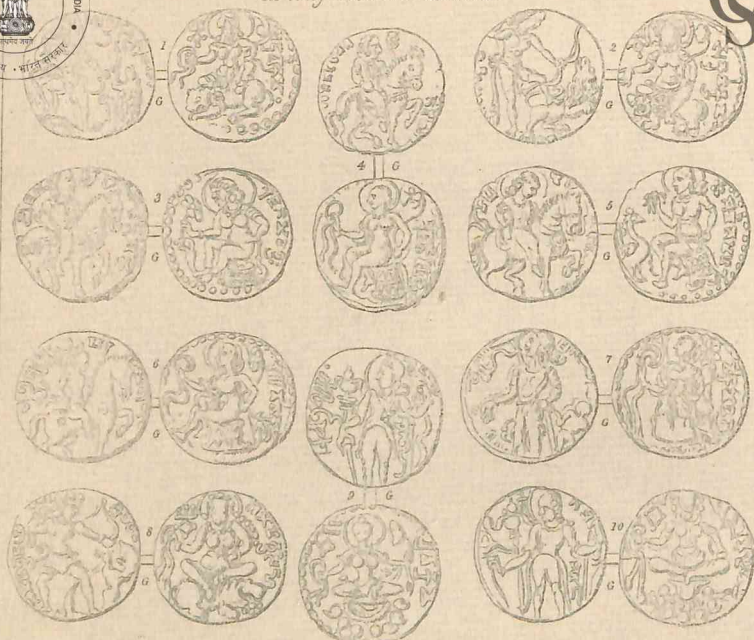
On comparing the plates—in the 'Asiatic Researches' and the 'Journal'—of the coin given me by Mr. Bacon, many years ago, and then thought rather suspicious, Lieut. Cunningham soon found its legend to be identical with his own,—a fact fully confirmed by re-examination of the coin itself. These three, however, are the only coins yet known of this name. One of them, 17, exhibits a new name on the reverse, for, unlike 18, it is certainly not *Skanda-gupta*, but क्रममन्दः *Kramamanda*, which may be looked upon as a rhyming epithet—'equal to (or surpassing) *Manda*' (*Saturn* or *Yama*). Mr. Tregear has lately got a duplicate of this coin, in which the reading is rather क्रमवान्दः—one and both may possibly be intended for श्री महेन्द्रः *Srī Mahendra*.

Figs. 19, 20. We now pass to another new acquaintance made out



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Canopy Coins. Continued.



Copper Coins of Chandragupta.



Second Series of imitations from the 'Ardscha' type



jointly by Cunningham and myself on a general inspection of the Gupta coins. Fig. 19 is in the Society's collection, and is engraved as 14 of the plates in the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii., unread by Wilson. Upon recognizing the final letter, **न्द्र** *ndra*, we soon perceived the preceding letter—which I had before mistaken for a *ph* or *n̄*—to be the old **ह** *h*; and thus, with the vowel above it, the name was immediately cleared up as **श्री महेन्द्रः** *Srī Mahendra*. Another coin from Gaya, belonging to Cunningham, turned out to be of the same individual as to the reverse, with some variations in the legend of the obverse. Under the arm of the latter, the letter **कु** *ku* seems to denote a *Kumára*; but, on the margin, are evidently the words **जयते महेन्द्र** *jayate Mahendra*. On the Society's coin, fig. 9, the marginal inscription is more complex—**परमरजतर**, as yet unintelligible; then, between the feet, **श्री** *Srī*; and, near the hand, the letter **गु** *gu* of 'Gupta,' the intervening name being cut off.

Pursuing the examination, we found the coins 29 and 30 of pl. [xxiii.] xxxix. vol. iv.—with the *rāja* on horseback, and the seated female feeding the peacock—to belong also to Mahendra-gupta. 'Ajita Mahendra' on the reverse, and 'Mahendra-gupta' on the obverse of 30, are quite clear. I was before only misled by the letter *h*, which I read as the nasal *n* of the *lāt* alphahet.

I shall have occasion to recur to this name in the next plate, which contains those new forms of the Kanauij coin that are without the 'cornucopia' female, and have not such direct analogy to their Mithraic prototype as is palpable in the whole of the reverses included in the lower half of the present plate.

(pl. xxx.)

Figs. 1, 2. These two coins, from Tregear's cabinet, are variations only of the original coin given to me by Conolly, now become celebrated as having opened the door to the understanding of the whole group. In that coin, however, the archer holds his bow in the wrong hand, whereas in the two present coins, and the one following, the position is rectified and the lion is better developed, particularly in fig. 2. Besides adding these fine specimens to our series, Tregear has made out the true reading of the legend on the reverse. Instead of *sacha* or *pradya* the word is **सिंहविक्रमः** *Sinha-vikrama*, 'the lion-hero,' which is consistent with the device, for it may be also understood as 'conqueror of the lion.'¹ To whom, however, this title is to be applied,

¹ It is remarkable that in most cases the word *sinha* (or more properly *simha*) is written with an unknown letter superposed to the **ह**. This must be the nasal *m*, for

would still have remained doubtful, but for the fortunate discovery of another coin, by the same indefatigable collector, in the prolific neighbourhood of Jaunpur, even while I was engraving the present plate.

Fig. 8, the coin here alluded to, bears precisely the same device, with variation only of the attitude of the warrior. The legend is different, the part visible being, on the obverse, श्री . . त महेन्द्र जय *Srī . . ta Mahendra jaya*; and, on the reverse, श्री महेन्द्रसिंह *Srī Mahendra Sinha*. Whether the Mahendra here designed be distinct from the Mahendra-gupta of the 'cornucopia' reverse, remains to be ascertained.

Figs. 3, 4, 5. From Tregear's collection. These three coins—bearing the rája on horseback on the obverse, and a female seated sideways on a *morhá* or wicker 'stool' on the reverse—are essentially the same as were lately published, (figs. 29, 30, pl. [xxiii.], from Burt's and my own coins) which I was then, however, unable to read satisfactorily, from misapprehension of the letter *h*. The legend is in all exactly the same on the reverse, अजित महेन्द्र *ajita Mahendra*: 'the unconquered Mahendra.' The female holds, in her right hand, variously, a flower, a noose, or food for an attendant peacock, like that of the Kumára coins.

On the obverse the legend is more variable.

In 3, we have the letters अजित पुव तविक्र

In 4, not legible . . तवि

In 5, हय . . not legible.

Fig. 6. (Tregear). This coin resembles in all respects the foregoing, excepting as to the legend, which is, on the obverse, beginning at the top, परमेश द्रगुप्त: *parames(vara? Cha- or Mahe-ndra-gupta*. On the reverse (the second letter being very clear on a duplicate coin in Cunningham's cabinet) अजित विक्रम: *ajita Vikrama*. This name so closely resembles the common pronunciation of Vikramajit (correctly written Vikramáditya), that, although it may not belong to that celebrated sovereign, it is very possible that matters appertaining to the history of the one may have been transferred to the other, and hence some of the confusion, so perplexing to the historian, have originated.

Fig. 7. An unique lately procured by Tregear. The rája on the obverse is of a peaceful character, with hand extended, but no altar. A diminutive attendant holds a *chhata* over his head. The letters on the margin are not legible. On the reverse is the standing 'cornucopia'

which the anuswára is now substituted. In fig. 2 the letter is palpably an **X** *m*, to which is subjoined the ङ *h*; but in figs. 1 and 8, and in my coin, the letter has the form of **C**.

female holding a well-depicted lotus-flower, with a lateral inscription which may be read **विक्रमादित्यः** *Vikramāditya*; but although the length of the subjoined *y* exceeds that usually found in the *d*, and the *di* is not much like the *ch*, it is probable that the word is, after all, only **विक्रम चन्द्रः** *Vikrama Chandra*: and we must not allow our sanguine imagination to rejoice in having at length hit upon a veritable coin of the author of the Samvat era; against which there is also a cogent chronological obstacle, in the date hitherto assigned to our dynasty of Guptas.¹

Fig. 9 (Tr.) is introduced as a new variety of the Chandra-gupta coinage: only differing from the numerous class before described, in the legends, which are, very clearly, on the obverse **श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः** *Srī Chandra-gupta*, (the titles not legible) and, on the reverse, **श्री विक्रमः** *Srī Vikrama*.

Fig. 10, of Tregear's collection, was engraved as a doubtful name, but I think it may be set down as belonging to Skanda-gupta.

Figs. 11 to 15. This curious class of copper coins has not yet been brought to notice. They are, indeed, much more scarce than the gold coins of the same age, and hitherto only those of one individual of the family have been met with. It was not until Tregear's highly-curious specimen, fig. 11, had furnished us with the style of Chandra's copper coins, that we were led to re-examine our several collections, in which were found, and became legible, a few rare specimens of the same character.

Fig. 11 has the portrait of the *rāja* on one side, with a smaller, perhaps female, figure on his left hand. On the reverse [a peacock]: below which, in very well defined characters, **हाराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः** (*Srī ma*) *hārāja Srī Chandra-gupta*.

Fig. 12 is a demi-coin of similar stamp, one of two belonging also to Tregear; but, on the reverse of this, as in all that follow, the device is a bird, the same that figures on the military standard of the gold coins, and which, Wilson says, 'looks more like a goose than a Roman eagle.' The inscription is very well preserved, **श्री चन्द्र गुप्त** *Srī Chandra-gupta*.

Fig. 13 is from Stacy's cabinet: the obverse, well executed, represents the bust of the *rāja* holding a flower; beneath **श्री विक्रमः** . . . *Srī Vikrama*; the next letter may be **च** or **म**; but on the reverse are distinguishable the initial letters **श्री च** . . . *Srī Cha* . . . proving that the coin belongs to Chandra-gupta.

Fig. 14 is from Swiney's cabinet, in all respects a duplicate of the

¹ Mr. Tregear has since written that, on re-examination, the word is, palpably 'Vikramāditya.'

last, but the reverse legend is even more distinctly चन्द्रगुप्त
 the lower part of the *ndra* only is effaced.

Fig. 15 had escaped notice in my own cabinet. The head is more
 highly finished than in the other specimens, but the legend could not
 have been understood without their aid: it is चन्द्रगुप्त
ndra-gupta.

Before quitting this very interesting group of coins, I must not
 omit to notice the only silver specimen which has yet come under my
 observation; it belongs to Swiney, and is . . . a forgery!—not a
 modern one, but an actual false coin of the period when it was struck.
 It is of copper thickly plated, but the silver plate is worn through in
 several places, exposing the interior nucleus. I have depicted it in
 pl. xxxi. fig. 21.

OBVERSE.—The *rāja* in the original sacrificing attitude; under his
 left arm, the letters अजय *ajaya* or राजय *Rāja y* . . .

REVERSE.—Goddess (Durgá?) seated in the native fashion with cor-
 nucopia (or flower) and 'glory'—a small elephant with trunk uplifted
 for protection, on her right shoulder. The marginal inscription
 श्री प्रकाणौ *Srī prakāṇau* the last letter may be double *n*,
 but in neither manner does it present an intelligible word.

SECOND SERIES OF IMITATIONS.

We now pass to another series of coins evidently de-
 scended from the same 'Ardokro' type coin to which the
 early Kanauj group has been so satisfactorily traced. In
 the latter case, we have seen that the Hindú artists soon
 quitted their original, and exercised a fertile invention
 in varying the device during several generations of
 princes: but in the coins we have now to notice, no
 claims to ingenuity can be advanced, unless it be for
 gradually barbarizing and disguising the original type,
 so that it would have been absolutely impossible to recog-
 nize the character of the extraordinary symbols on the
 later pieces, had we not a numerous train of specimens
 to produce, in evidence of the gradual deterioration. I
 had already more than once engraved specimens of this

curious series, thinking them to be merely the link coins between the *rao nano rao* and the early Kanauj series. Among the Manikyāla coins was the only silver coin of the set on which I had particularly remarked legible Sanskrit characters; which were of a form and age differing essentially from the Kanauj coin alphabet (so called). But now, through Cunningham's careful scrutiny of all our available collections, I am enabled to produce a host of variable legends, which may be the means of developing by-and-bye a second royal dynasty of some other Indian locality, as successfully as has been the case with the Gupta family.

Henceforward my readers should understand, and they will, doubtless, soon perceive the fact, that my coin essays are joint productions, and that I have an auxiliary at my elbow, far better acquainted with the contents of, I may say, all the collections of coins in India, than I have leisure to become. With his zealous aid in hunting out the unpublished varieties of every class, I hope to make these notices complete as far as discovery has yet proceeded, and to do fuller justice to the numerous contributions I continue to receive from my numismatic co-adjutors in the interior.

That the present class is totally distinct from the last, may be argued on many grounds: those are discovered in greatest quantity at Kanauj, Jaunpur, Gaya, and even occasionally in Bengal:—these are chiefly met with in Upper India, and in the Panjáb. Cautley has sent me one dug up in the foundations of his residence near Sāhāranpur; Mr. Dean dug up some at Samehana, near Dhlí: but the most important fact in their history is

the extraction of one of the lowest members of the group from the Manikyála tope by Ventura. Masson's large collection in Afghánistán does not contain one of this type, nor any of the first or Kanauj series. They are, therefore, purely of Indian growth. To Upper India, the Panjáb or Kashmír, then, we must turn our view in seeking the *nídus* whence they issued, and fortunately we have authentic lists of the sovereigns of some of these places to consult.

But first, to enumerate the coins:—

Fig 18. A gold coin (Stacy), weight 120 grs.,¹ deserves to be mentioned first, because the workmanship is nearest in perfection—in imperfection we might rather say—to the *nano rao*, or *Ardokro* original. The legs of the couch, cornucopia, and drapery, are well defined. The *rāja* on the obverse has his 'trident' standard, and his right hand outstretched as over the fire-altar, but the altar is omitted. Under the right hand of the *rāja*, both in this coin and in figs. 16 and 20, occur the letters पश *paśa*, either side by side, as in 16, or superposed, as in 20. Under the left arm, which is elevated to hold a spear, is another perpendicular combination of two or three consonants, apparently स क and द with the vowel ए *e*. The same monogram (or rather polygram) continues through the whole series. I formerly took it for a sword-handle, which it exactly resembles when the lowermost letter is hid.

Fig. 20. (Stacy), the next best in execution, has the letters श्री क *Srī Kṛi* . . . visible on the left of the female.

Fig. 19. (Tregear: duplicate, Cunningham), continues the word; कृगोधाय *Kṛigodhāya* (?) or *Kṛibhodhāya*.

Figs. 16 and 17 of my cabinet have the letters श्री विश्व . . . *Srī Viśva* . . . or *Vikha* on the former; and पसल . . . *Pasala* . . . (or perhaps *Visala*?) on the latter.

Numerous other specimens in gold might be enumerated, but they generally contain even less satisfactory fragments of names than the above. All that can be

¹ The weight of all these coins is nearly the same, being in fact the didrachma of the Greeks.

positively asserted is that the letters are Sanskrit, and—on these, at least—of the same alphabet as that we have designated No. 2 of the Allahábád Lāt.

The silver coins of this second series are much more scarce than the gold and copper ones. The three I possess—represented in figs. 1, 2, and 3—appear also to be of a very debased standard, and to belong to a much later period. None of them retain more than the rudest semblance of the rája figure, and still less of the goddess: the latter has even been taken for a dagger, the former for a scorpion! The letters also are of a more modern formation, not differing much from those of the tenth century, found at Sárnáth and other places. Capt. Cunningham first pointed out to me the words श्री प्रताप *Srī Pratāpa* . . . on figs. 1 and 2.

[As proposed at page 232, I now avail myself of the opportunity of supplementing a revised catalogue of the Gupta gold coinage, prefixing in each case the references to the plates in the present volume, and inserting notes of any other examples of the different specimens to be found in the works of Marsden and Wilson. In regard to the plan adopted for the serial classification of types, I may premise that the alphabetical letters determine the leading characteristics of the coin devices peculiar to each class. Modifications from the standard exemplar are defined by distinguishing italics suffixed to the indicative letter; and mere varieties are marked by numerals prefixed to the literal denomination of the mint series to which they belong.

GHATOTKACHA.

CLASS A. Pl. xxix. 12. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 14.

OVERSE:—Full-length figure of the king, clothed somewhat after the fashion of the Indo-Scythians: the right hand is extended towards

a small Mithraic altar, the left clasps a standard emblematic of the full moon.¹

The marginal inscriptions on these coins are still imperfectly determined. The six coins I have had an opportunity of examining contribute the following letters :—

कमभिर्त्तमेर्जय कचोभूमवजित्य द्र or द.²

Prof. Wilson suggests the following reading :—

कर्मभिर्त्तमेर्जय[ति] कचोभूमिमवजित्य

‘Kacha, having subdued the earth, secures victory by excellent deeds.’

LEGEND : (under the left arm)—क
चा

REVERSE :—Female figure erect, holding a flower in the right hand, and supporting a cornucopia on the left arm. The latter is supposed to identify the figure with the Párvatī of the ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ reverse of No. 9, pl. xxix., and No. 9 of pl. xxii. Monogram, variant of 155, ‘Ariana Antiqua.’

LEGEND :—सर्वराजोच्छेत्त ‘The exterminator of all rājās.’

CHANDRA GUPTA I.

CLASS B. Pl. xxx. 7. ‘Ariana Antiqua’ xviii. 1. Freeling³
B.M. Eden.⁴

OBVERSE :—The king standing erect, his left hand rests upon his *khaṇḍā*, or straight ‘sword,’ while his right is advanced in the act of casting incense on the usual miniature Scythic altar. A *chhata*, the Indian emblem of sovereignty, overshadows his head. The attendant introduced below his left arm grasps the staff of the umbrella.

LEGEND :—व. क. मादित्य च्छितिमवजित्य सुचरत

Proposed modification :—

विक्रमादित्यः च्छितिमवजित्य सुचरति

‘Vikramāditya, having conquered the earth, prospers.’ (H.H.W.)

¹ [‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, iv. 375. Inscription from the Temple of Harsha in Shekavati, par. xviii. ‘By whom was placed on the top of the house of Siva, his own appropriate emblem, the golden figure of a full moon.’]

² [There is one letter, which I have been unable to identify, after the concluding द्वा of the above transcript, which, as far as mere forms go, represents द्वा or ह्वा. The name of Kacha in the field has an आ over the upper consonant.]

³ [Mr. G. H. Freeling, of the Bengal Civil Service—one of our most devoted numismatists—has liberally placed his entire cabinet at my disposal for publication.]

⁴ [The citations thus noted refer to a collection made some years ago by Lieut. Cunningham, from whose hands it passed into the possession of the late Lord Auckland. It is now in the British Museum.]

REVERSE :—Female figure, similar to that in Class A., with the exception that the left hand holds the flower, while the right extends a regal fillet. Monogram, No. 159, 'Ariana Antiqua.'

LEGEND :—**विक्रमादित्यः** *Vikramāditya*.

2 B. A second coin, also in the possession of Mr. Freeling, contributes the concluding portion of the obverse legend inserted above.

The reverse device, though identical in character with that of coin B, offers a modification in the attitude of the figure, which is here exhibited in full front view, and draped with the transparent garments of Mao and others of the Kadphises group (pl. xxii. 10). Otherwise, it is far more Indian in its treatment than the copy, from the Græco-Scythic models, to be found on the other coin. The monogram also differs from that in coin B, and assimilates to those found on the Ghaṭot Kacha pieces (pl. xxix. 12), except that it has the second cross-bar as in No. 160, 'Ariana Antiqua.' The *Vikramāditya* has but one क instead of the double letter (क्क) in B.

These coins have been attributed by Major Cunningham to Chandra Gupta II.; but, on typical grounds alone, they must clearly be assigned to the first prince of that name; and I further draw the distinction, in regard to the titles, that the full *Vikramāditya* seems to belong to the third monarch of the family, while the *Sri Vikrama* remains special with the fifth of the race.

CLASS C. Pl. xxix. 15. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 3. Marsden, No. MLVIII.

OBVERSE :—Device : King leaning on his spear; facing him is a female figure.

LEGEND :—Marginal writing imperfect. (Under the arm) चगु
 क्नम

REVERSE :—Pārvatī, with cornucopia, seated on a recumbent lion.

LEGEND :—**पञ्चवयः** 'The five excellences.'

I assign the coins classed under C. to Chandra Gupta I., but with some hesitation; my chief ground for the attribution being the title on the reverse: there are, however, some minor typical indications that give strength to the assignment, especially the appearance on Masson's coin of the standard of the full-moon otherwise peculiar to Ghaṭot Kacha: or even supposing the staff, upon which the King's left hand rests, to be an ordinary spear or javelin, it is to be remembered that these weapons have definitively been superseded, in this position, on the coins on the Chandra Gupta II., by the bow, which he adopts from his predecessor, Samudra Gupta. In Marsden's coin, the family name of Gupta is inscribed in a line with the Chandra on the opposite side of the standard-shaft, a practice which seems to have been discontinued after the introduction of the bow into the coinage devices by Samudra Gupta.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

CLASS D. Pl. xxii. figs. 16 and 17, xxix. fig. 14. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 6 and 9.

OVERSE:—The usual standing figure of the king: to the left of the field is seen the small altar of the Scythian prototype, associated now, for the first time, with the 'peacock' standard (fashioned like a Roman eagle). The king's left hand rests upon a javelin.

Legends restored (margin):—

समरशतवततवजयजितरेपरजतदेवज

Proposed modification:—

समर शतवर्त्ततविजये जित्वरे पराजितदेवज

'Overcoming hostile kings in triumphant victory (over those) opposing in a hundred battles.' (H.H.W.)

LEGEND: (under the arm)—
 स
 मु
 द्र

REVERSE:—Pārvatī seated on a raised throne, with cornucopia and regal fillet.

LEGEND:—पराक्रम: 'The powerful.'

2 D. British Museum.

Obverse device as usual, but the marginal legend is inserted in a direct line parallel to the javelin, instead of following the circle formed by the edge of the piece. The characters may be transcribed thus:—ततविजयोजितरे.

3 D. Major Bush.¹

OBVERSE:—Device as in class D.

LEGEND:—As in class D. (On the sides of the javelin)—स गु सु प

स गु
सु प
द्र

REVERSE:—As usual in class D.

CLASS E. Pl. xxxiii. fig. 19. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 7 and 8.

OBVERSE:—The general outline of the device is the same as in class D, except that the 'peacock' standard is now adorned with pennons—and a further modification occurs, in the substitution of a bow for the previously current javelin, while the arrow in the right hand of the king supersedes the Indo-Scythic altar, which is henceforth usually discarded.

The legends are, ordinarily, defective, but a well preserved specimen in the Eden collection, B.M., supplies the following letters: वत . . वजयतः य अग्रतिरथ वजत्यजितमव.

REVERSE:—Pārvatī, as in class D.

LEGEND:—अग्रतिरथ: 'The invincible in his war-chariot.'

This term is applied to Samudra in the Allahābād Lāt inscription—पृथिव्यामग्रतिरथस्य—'whom in his war-chariot none in the world can rival or withstand.' ('J.A.S.B.,' vol. vi., 975; *suprà*, p. 234.)

CLASS F. Pl. xxxiii. 23, xxix. 11. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 10. Major Bush, etc.

OBVERSE:—Figure of the king, in a slightly varied attitude; the right hand rests on the hip-joint, the left is placed on the head of the battle-axe, which now appears for the first time: to the front of the

¹ [To Major J. T. Bush, of the Bengal Army, it will be seen that I am indebted for many of my illustrative specimens of this class of money.]

monarch is a standard surmounted by the device of a new moon, below or beyond which is the figure of a youth.¹

(The 'Ariana Antiqua' coin reverses the position of the two figures.)

LEGENDS: (Margin)—**कृतान्त परशु राजाधिराज**. 'Sovereign of kings, whose battle-axe is like Yama's.'

(Under the arm) **समुद्र**

REVERSE:—The ordinary Párvatí figure, but her feet rest on either 'seeming flame,' according to the 'Ariana Antiqua' coin, or more usually on 'the leaves of the lotus,' in the Prinsep specimens.

LEGEND:—**कृतान्त परशु** 'The battle-axe of Yama.'

2 F. B.M. Eden.

OBVERSE:—Type as usual.

LEGENDS: (left margin)—. **जजतज**.

(right „)—**कृतान्तप**.

(Under the arm)—**क**.

REVERSE:—As usual.

CLASS G. Pl. xxiii. fig. 26.

OBVERSE:—The king is seated on a species of couch, or chair, and is engaged in playing on the *viná*, or Indian 'lyre.'²

LEGENDS: (Margin)—**महाराजधिराज श्री समुद्र गुप्त**: On the footstool are the letters **सि**.

REVERSE:—Párvatí, with cornucopia and regal fillet, seated on an Indian *morhá*.

LEGEND:—**समुद्र गुप्त**: (A coin in the Eden collection expresses the name **समुद्र**).

CLASS H. Eden collection. Unique.

OBVERSE:—The king, to the left, encountering a lion, against whom he is in the act of discharging his arrow.

LEGEND: (Margin, right)—**वज्रपराक्रम** . . 'The tiger hero.'

REVERSE:—Párvatí standing on a fish, or some marine monster; on her right, a 'crescent' standard (as on the obverse of F.); on her left, a flower.

LEGEND:—**राजा समुद्र गुप्त**:

¹ ['Of him (Samudra Gupta), when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of Devī, daughter of Mahādaitya—' Bhitāri Lāt Inscription, p. 243.]

² [Samudra's 'accomplishments in singing and playing' are adverted to in the 24th verse of the Allahābād Inscription.]

CLASS I. Pl. xxiii. 31, 32. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xxiii. 2. Freeling.

OBVERSE :—A richly bedecked horse standing before an altar.

LEGEND :—नवजमधः राजधिराज पृथिवी विजयत्य पु; below the horse, सी.

REVERSE :—Female holding a *chauri*; the figure is draped in the light garments of the Chandra Gupta I. style.

LEGEND :—अश्वमेध पराक्रमः 'The hero of the Aśwamedha.'¹

I have but little hesitation in attributing this coin definitively to Samudra Gupta. The 'Parákrama' title on the reverse would, in itself, go far to justify such an assignment, but the obverse title of Prithiví Vijayatya distinctly associates the identity of the monarch with Samudra, who has applied to him a similar style of eulogy in the Allahábád Pillar Inscription, where we read, श्री समुद्र गुप्तस्य सर्वपृथिवी विजयनितोदय etc.²

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

CLASS E. Pl. xxiii. 18, xxix. 13, xxx. 9. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 4. Marsden, No. ML.

OBVERSE :—Figure as above, E.

LEGENDS, imperfect. The following is a restored reading obtained from Col. Stacy's coins. (Margin) देव श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्त.

'His Majesty, the auspicious sovereign of great kings, Chandra Gupta.'

(Under the arm) च

REVERSE :—Párvatí seated on an elevated throne with cornucopia and regal fillet (in No. 18). The cornucopia is replaced by a flower in the later specimens (No. 13), and the throne is superseded by the 'lotus' seat (No. 9.)

LEGEND :—श्री विक्रमः 'The illustrious hero.'

2 E. No MLVII. Marsden.

The obverse device presents a modification in the arrange-

¹ [Wilson observes in regard to this type of coin :—'That the steed represents one dedicated to the Aśwamedha, or solemn sacrifice of a horse, performed only by paramount sovereigns, cannot be doubted, from the inscription 'Aśwamedha-parakrama,' 'he who has the power of the Aśwamedha rites' ('Ariana Antiqua' 421.) See also Tod, i., 63, 76, 583, etc.]

² ['J.A.S.B.' vi. 978, ante, p. 235.]

ment of the bow, which is turned inwards and touches the side of the figure, while the चन्द्र is inscribed in the field outside of the bow-string. Legend, to the left, श्री चन्द्र गुप्त.

CLASS E a. B.M.

OBVERSE :—Figure seated somewhat as in class G, but the *vinā* is wanting, and the left-hand rests on the couch, while the right is upraised.

LEGEND : (Margin)—देव श्री राजाधिराज श्री चन्द्र गुप्तस्व.

REVERSE :—Pārvatī, as in Class D.

LEGEND : श्री विक्रमः

CLASS J. Pl. xxx. 6.

OBVERSE :—King, on horseback, proceeding to the right, with lance at the charge.

LEGEND :—परम भग . . . जा श्री चन्द्र गुप्तः¹

REVERSE :—Pārvatī, to the left, seated on an Indian *morhā*, with fillet and flower.

LEGEND :—अजित विक्रम 'The unconquered hero.'

KUMĀRA GUPTA.

CLASS D a. B.M.

OBVERSE :—Device similar to that in class D, with the exception that the king has the *khaṇḍā* as in class B, in lieu of the javelin.

LEGEND : (Margin)—गमव जित्य सुचरत कुमारः²

(Outside the arm)—कु

REVERSE :—Pārvatī, as in the modified form of F (xxx. 9).

LEGEND :—श्री कुमार गुप्त.

CLASS E b. Freeling.³

OBVERSE :—Device as is usual in class E.

LEGEND : (Margin)—महाराजधिराज . . .

(Below the arm) म
के
र

¹ [परम भगवतो] appears as one of the prefixes to Chandra Gupta II.'s name in the Bhitārī Lāt inscription : 'J.A.S.B.' vi. 4, ante, p. 240.]

² [The first and third letters conjecturally transcribed in the above legend are not to be absolutely relied on !]

³ [This coin, though a cast, and in so far a forgery—appears to have been reproduced from a genuine original.]

REVERSE:—Párvatí, seated cross-legged on a lotus: the right hand holds a fillet, or at times, a flower: the left rests either upon the knee or on the side of the figure.

LEGEND:—श्री महेन्द्र *Srī Mahendra*.

5 E b. Pl. xxix. 20. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 12.

OBVERSE:—Device, as usual.

LEGEND:—... जयति महेन्द्र (under the arm)—कु.

6 E b. Freeling.

OBVERSE:—Device, as in No. 3 E b.

LEGEND:—... व विजितावनिरवनिपति.

The full legend on the silver coins gives:—

देव जयति विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमार गुप्तो

Dev(o) jayati vijitāvanir avanipati(h) Kumāra Gupto

'His Majesty Kumāra Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules.'

7 E b. Col. Stacy.

OBVERSE:—Device, as usual. The name of कुमार गुप्त occupies the left margin. There is no name or initial under the arm.

E c. Pl. xxix. 16. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii. 11. The name of the king is given, in this coin, as above, but it offers the peculiarity of being placed in a line with the bow-string outside the arm of the figure, as in 2 E of Chandra Gupta II.

CLASS K. Type, similar to pl. xxx. 1.

(Unpublished coin of Col. Stacy's cabinet.)¹

OBVERSE:—King, facing to the right, armed with a bow, shooting a lion.

LEGEND:—सिंहविक्रमकुमार [गुप्तपरिधि] सिंह महेन्द्र, 'Kumāra Gupta, of might like a lion's, most prosperous.'

REVERSE:—Párvatí, seated on a lion; her right hand extends the fillet; the left, which rests upon her knee, holds a flower.

LEGEND:—सिंह महेन्द्र *Sinha Mahendra*.

¹ [This coin is also a cast from a genuine original.]

K a. Pl. xxx. 8.

OBVERSE: LEGEND—... न महेन्द्र जय ... श्री ...

REVERSE: LEGEND—महेन्द्र सिंह

CLASS L. Pl. xxiii. 25.

OBVERSE:—The king, facing to the left, armed with bow and arrow, attacking a lion.

LEGEND:—महाराजाधिराज श्री ...

REVERSE:—Párvatī, with fillet and flower, seated on a lion.

LEGEND:—श्री सिंह विक्रमः *Sri Sinha Vikramah.*

CLASS K b. Pl. xxx. 1, 2.

OBVERSE, as above, class K.

LEGEND:—?

REVERSE, as above, class K.

LEGEND:—सिंह विक्रमः

CLASS H a. Pl. xxiii. 28.

OBVERSE:—Erect figure of the king, discharging his arrow at a lion.

LEGEND: (Under the arm)—कु.

REVERSE:—Female figure standing, with flower in the left hand; the right is extended towards a peacock.

LEGEND:—कुमारगुप्त ... *Kumāra Gupta* ...

SKANDA GUPTA.

CLASS E b. Pl. xxiii. 22; xxix. 17; xxx. 10 (?) Marsden MLV.

OBVERSE, as in class E a.

LEGENDS:—Imperfect. (Under the arm)—कु

REVERSE:—Párvatī, seated, cross-legged, on lotus flowers.

LEGENDS: (on 22 and 17)—क्रमादित्यः *Kramādityah.*

„ (on 10 and 18)—श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः *Sri Skanda Gupta.*

CLASS M. Pl. xxiii. 24.

OBVERSE:—King, to the left of the field, holding a bow: the 'peacock' standard occupies the centre, and a female figure fills up the space on the right.

LEGEND:—Illegible.

REVERSE:—Párvatī, on lotus leaves, with flower and fillet.

LEGEND:—श्री स्कन्द गुप्त *Sri Skanda Gupta.*

MAHENDRA GUPTA(?)

CLASS J a. Pl. xxiii. 30. Marsden, MLIX.

OBVERSE:—Horsemen as in class J, but without the lance.

LEGEND:—... त महेन्द्र गुप्त.

REVERSE:—Female seated on a *moṛhā*, feeding a peacock.

LEGEND:—अजित महेन्द्र *ajita Mahendra*.

VARIANTS. Pl. xxx. figs. 3, 4, 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' xviii.
 16, 17.

CLASS J b. Unpublished. Freeling.

OBVERSE:—Device, as is usual in this class, with the exception that the horseman is proceeding to the left instead of to the right.

LEGENDS:—Undeciphered.

REVERSE:—Pārvatī, with peacock.

LEGEND:—अजित महेन्द्र.

—E. T.]

(PLATE XXXI.)

On fig 3, on a former occasion I had already read श्री यग . . . *Srī yag* . . . but, as there are traces of a cross-line to the loop of the third letter, I am inclined to adopt rather the reading यश . . . *yasa* . . . 'glory', forming, in composition, many Indian names, as Yasa Vighraha, Yaso Varma, Yaso Pāla, Yaswant, etc.

The two earliest specimens of the copper series, figs. 4 and 5, are from Stacy's and Cunningham's cabinets respectively. The first has several letters in the old character: under the left arm, perpendicularly, सयध . . . *sayadha*; and, on the exterior, मक . . . *maka*.

Fig. 5 is, in reality, a forgery of a gold coin: the remains of the ancient gilding are still perceptible in the angles. The monogram is the same as in fig. 18 of the last plate.

Figs 8 and 9 are selected from Stacy's box as examples of the name of श्री प्रताप *Srī Pratāpa* in the two forms of alphabet. Probably they belong to different individuals of the same family name.

Fig. 8 is a valuable unique in Dr. Swiney's drawers, with a multitude of letters that have usurped the natural position of arms, cornu-

copia, throne, and all such appurtenances! On the obverse are the letters जय *jaya*: on the opposite face, श्री विनद *Srī Vinada* or विरव *Virava*. . and, to the right, म(?)न्द *mande*. . .

Fig. 9. The word *Srī* is still perceptible.

Fig. 10 is introduced (from my collection) merely to shew the complete barbarism that finally prevailed. Such rude pieces are to be had in plenty, for one that contains a trace of writing. 'Pratāpa' is the commonest name on those that are by any means legible.

THIRD SERIES OF IMITATIONS.

The next five coins of my plate represent a very numerous class of Hindú coins, grotesque but very bold in execution, and attempting refinement in the position of the right hand of the *rāja*, and in the sitting posture of the reverse. Having pointed out the prototype—of the European coat, pantaloons, gaiter and wig—on one series, I must not pass unheeding the epaulette so faithfully and curiously portrayed on the obverses of this series! I am induced to consider them a third instance of imitation of the 'Ardokro' type, from their general aspect and attitudes:—moreover, the cornucopia is traceable in the earlier pieces, as figs. 13 (Stacy) and 14 (J.P.) As they deteriorate, the limbs are lopped off, as usual, to make way for Nāgarī characters! This is well exemplified in fig. 11 (Cunningham) and 12 (Stacy). Fig. 17 (Swiney) may be regarded as the ultimate degradation of the type.

Of legends, we have, in fig. 15, on the margin . . यो . . यो . . On fig 16, reverse, the letter ज *j*. On fig. 11, on either arm of the sitting figure, श्री दि *Srī dī* (?) and on fig. 12, several uncertain letters scattered about, म य त य. In the last of the set, the letter ग stands alone.



It would be vain to attempt any explanation of such vague symbols. Of this series of coins, M. Court's drawings contained many good samples. They are plentiful in the Panjáb, less so in Upper India, and comparatively rare in Afghánistán. Masson has only given one, and that very degraded.

[Lieut. A. Cunningham, whose name is so frequently cited in laudatory and thankful acknowledgment by Prinsep, has since achieved a *spécialité* in this department of numismatics, by his comprehensive article attributing the third series of imitations from the ΑΡΔΟΚΡΟ type to their legitimate domain, the kingdom of the Rájas of Kashmír.¹ I insert an abstract of the decipherments published in that paper, leaving the modifications in the chronology of Kashmír, proposed by the author, for notice in their proper place in the 'Useful Tables.'

LIST OF COINS PUBLISHED BY LIEUT. CUNNINGHAM.

1. TORAMÁNA.... (common) Obv. *Sri Toramā(na)*
Rev. *Jaya*. [pl. xxxi. 13, 14.]
2. SANKARA VERMMA (very rare) Obv. *Sanka(ra)*
Rev. *Vermma*.
3. GOPÁLA..... (very rare) Obv. *Gopála*
Rev. *Vermma*.
4. SUGANDHÁ.. (very rare) Obv. *Sri Sugandhá*
Rev. *Devá*.
5. CHAKRA VERMMA .. (unique) Obv. *Cha(kra)*
Rev. *Vermma*.
6. YASASKARA..... (unique) Obv. *Yaskara*
Rev. *Devá*.
7. KSHEMA GUPTA..... (rare) Obv. ... *di Kshema*
Rev. *Gupta Deva*.

¹ ['Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. vi. p. 1, (1843)]

8. ABHIMANA GUPTA... (unique) Obv. *Abhima(na)*
Rev. *Gupta*.
 9. NANDI GUPTA.....(very rare) Obv. *Nandi Gu*
Rev. *pta*.
 10. DIDDÁ RÁNI (very common) Obv. *Sri diddā*
Rev. *Devá*. [pl. xxxi. 11.]
 11. SANGRÁMA... (very common) Obv. *Sangráma Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva*. [pl. xxxi. 12.]
 12. ANANTA..... (rare) Obv. *Ananta Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva*.
 13. KALASA..... (common) Obv. *Kalasa Ra-*
Rev. *ja Deva*.
- This coin was called Pádaka during this reign. A.C.
14. HARSHA..... (very common) Obv. *Harsha Raja*
Rev. *Deva*.
 15. SUSSALA..... (very rare) Obv. *Sri Sussa(la)*
Rev. *Deva*.
 16. JAYA SINHA.....(rare) Obv. *Sri Jaya Sinha*
Rev. *Deva*. [Sinha
Variant (very rare) Obv. *Sri Mesuta (?) Jaya*
Rev. *Deva*.
 17. JAGA DEVA..... (very rare) Obv. *Jaga* [pl. xxxi. 15.]

MUHAMMADANS.

1. ZAIN AL 'ABIDIN, A.H. 841, A.D. 1437.
Obv. السلطان الاعظم زين العابدين
Rev. ضرب كشمير في شهر سنه احد واربعين و ثمانماية
2. HAIDAR SHÁH.
3. HASAN SHÁH, dated A.H. 874.
4. MUHAMMAD SHÁH.
5. FATEH SHÁH.

I myself have had but few opportunities of improving the list of published illustrations of the coinage of Kashmír, but I



may mention the acquisition, some years ago, of a novelty, in a piece bearing the name of Bhíma Gupta. Mr. E. C. Bayley, whose cabinet is peculiarly rich in this series, has favoured me with the following note on 'The new names recently discovered on the coins of Kashmír:'—

'In the British Museum is a coin of Avanti Deva, who is placed by Major Cunningham in 1159 A.D.

'In my cabinet are several coins yet undescribed: of these one bears the name of Harya, a reading confirmed by a similar but less perfect coin in the cabinet of Sir H. M. Elliot. It is of an execution more nearly approaching to the Indo-Scythic coins than any yet discovered, and may, perhaps, therefore belong to Árya Rája, whose date, by Major Cunningham's calculation, ranges from 360 to 383 A.D.

'Another coin, reading *Sri U* . . , can, from its execution, be only assigned to Unmatti Varmma, who, in Major Cunningham's table, is placed between 936 and 938 A.D.

'A third reads, apparently, Galhana, but is possibly Salhana, who is, perhaps, the Salha or Sahla of the lists, and whose date is 1110-11 A.D.

'Besides these, there is a coin of similar type and execution to the last, and of about the same period, which reads, clearly, *Pratápa*. No such name appears, however, so low down in the Kashmír lists, and it must belong, therefore, to some petty usurper; or is, perhaps, an indication that the type of the Kashmír coinage was adopted also by some of the small neighbouring kingdoms.

'In addition, moreover, to the coins of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmír enumerated by Major Cunningham, my cabinet contains specimens of Sikander Butshikán, Bahrám (an usurper during the time of Hasan Sháh), Názuk Sháh, Ibráhím, Ismáíl, and Yúsuf Sháh Chukk.'

To dispose of an interesting series of coins of proximate locality, though of more modern epoch, I further avail myself of

Mr. Bayley's aid, and insert an original memorandum of his on the Coinage of the Kings of Kangra :—

Amongst the coins most abundant in the neighbourhood of the Upper Jalandhar Doab, may be cited a series in copper and billon, which is evidently descended from the 'bull and horseman' type.

The earlier examples are, in fact, merely coarsely-executed imitations of this original, and bear, in appropriate identity, the common superscription of 'Sri Samanta Deva.'¹

Later and more degraded examples bear also, in various positions, other proper names, and at last one side is exclusively occupied by the legend.

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta for February and April, 1853 (Nos. 2 and 3 'J. A. S. B.' for 1853, vol. xxii.) will be found two notices of mine, identifying this series as the coinage of the Hindú rajas of Nagarkot, or Kangra, the Trigarta of the ancient Hindús.

These kings were Rájputs of the Kutoch tribe; and the last sovereign of any note among them was the Sansar Chand, of whom honorable mention is made by the traveller Moorcroft.

I then reported that I had been able, by the aid of the local Bansávalis, or 'genealogies,' to decypher seven of the names which occur on the coins, viz. :—Rúp Chand, Prithí Chand, Hari Chand, Sringár Chand, Trilok Chand, Mégh Chand, Apúrvva Chand.

In the latter number of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' there was likewise printed a communication from Major Alexander Cunningham,² from which it appeared that he had previously been working in the same track, and that his identifications had, some years before, been forwarded to the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, though their publication had, for various reasons, been deferred.

Major Cunningham further stated that he was able to extend the list of names occurring on the coins, to fourteen; and it is understood that he is in a position to illustrate much of the ancient history of the dynasty, by inscriptions (of which there are several in the Kangra valley,) and by notices extracted from various Sanskrit and Mahomedan authors.

His memoir will doubtless be of much value;—the chief interest, however, which these discoveries possess, is the general fact they establish that, in the isolated locality of Kangra, the old conventional type of Hindú coinage maintained its ground long after it had fallen into disuse on the plains of India.

There, even as modified by the Mahomedan emperors, it probably did not survive beyond the reign of Naṣir-ud-din Mahmúd, which closed in 1266, A.D.

On the other hand, the kings of Kangra impressed their name on coinage of this type as early, at least, as the reign of the Sultán Fíroz Tughlak of Dihlí, which monarch reigned from 1351 to 1388, A.D. Some of the anonymous coins are probably of a considerably earlier date.

Again, on the coins of Trilok Chand may still be traced the rude outline of the horseman's figure.

Now, Trilok Chand is stated by the local chroniclers to have revolted against Aurangzéb, and to have paid the penalty of his revolt by defeat and death. This

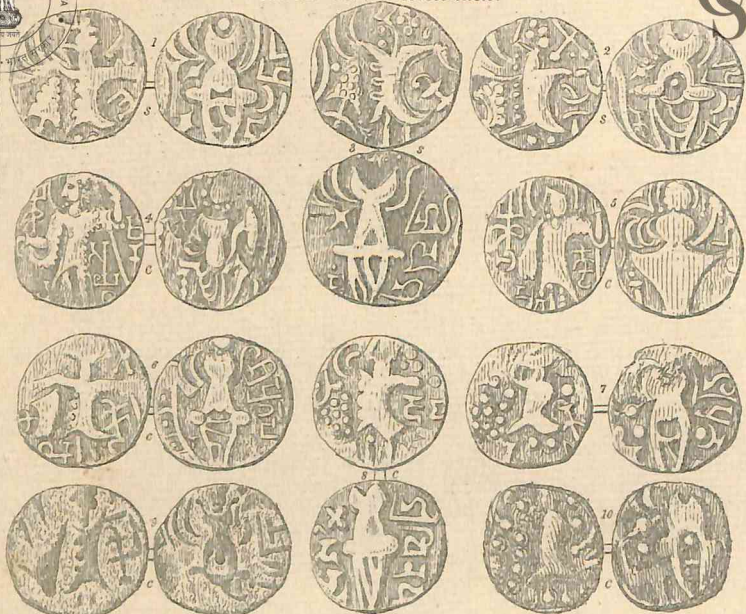
¹ [Cf. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xix., figs. 17, 22, 30.—E.C.B.]

² [Vol. xxii. pp. 310-681.]



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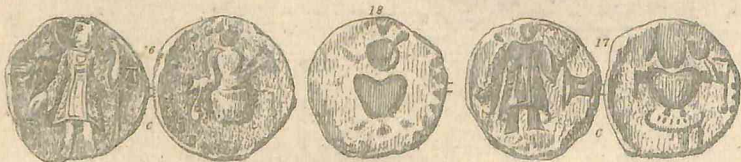
Second Series Continued.



Third Series, of imitations.

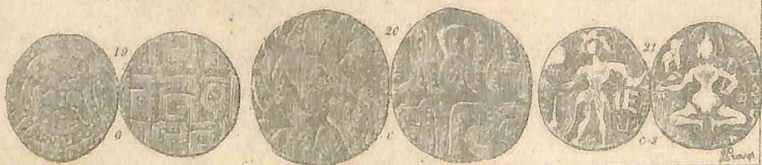


Fourth Series, of imitations



Deva dynasty of Canouj

See 1st Series.



probably occurred early in Aurangzéb's reign, say about 1660 A.D., for there is abundant evidence to show that during the latter part of his reign, his power was supreme in the Kangra hills.

This extreme date, however, is very possibly somewhat lower than that to which the *continuous* use of the derivatives from the 'bull and horseman' type can be traced.

Trilok Chand's coinage was most probably a mere revival, in assertion of his attempted independence; at least, it would appear, from the account given by Ferishta, that Akbar established his authority completely throughout the Kangra Hills, almost immediately after his accession. Indeed, the then Rāja of Kangra (Dharm Chand) fell at the battle of Pānipat, which gave to Akbar the empire of Hindústān, and it was not improbably his adhesion to the cause of the Afghān dynasty, which induced Akbar to carry his arms into the mountains.

Neither is it probable that, having rendered himself paramount in this ancient kingdom, and in the flush of his recent success, that Akbar would have left to the Rāja the coveted privilege of coining; and his immediate successors were not likely to have relaxed their authority.

Probably, therefore, the consecutive use of the old type ended about A.D. 1556; but even this date brings us to a period of nearly three centuries subsequent to the time when it had become obsolete on the plains of Hindústān.]

FOURTH SERIES.

These shadows of the Kanerkan king are like Duncan's issue:—‘A fourth?—start eyes! what, will the line stretch out to the crack of doom? another yet?’ Such is, however, the singular fact; whether they ‘reigned in this kingdom’ consecutively, or in subdivided portions of it, there can be no doubt of the common source whence this numerous progeny have borrowed their family features. Amid the hundreds of each kind, now open to our examination and selection, the progress of deviation can readily be followed: and it is not a little curious to see the different results of corruption arrived at by different engravers or moneyers, in the course, perhaps, of a few generations. In one case, we come to a kind of dagger; in another, to a few dots and strokes; and, in the present instance, to a kind of heart, formed of the knees and petticoat of the seated female! The best of the three coins depicted in the

engraving are from Mohan Lál's collection ; the worst from Cautley's disinterred Behat relics, where a large proportion of these 'heart' coins was found in association with the supposed Buddhist coins described in Art. X. I can find but one approach to a letter on any of them, viz., the *वि* to the left of the well-formed 'rája' in fig. 16. It is hardly sufficient to confirm their Indian origin : and it must be noted that this species is found in abundance farther to the north-west than any of the others.

Thus, Masson says of them : 'This series is very extensively found in Western Afghánistán. The obverse has a rude figure of the prince, clad in mail, with the accompaniment of the fire-altar,' (not visible in ours, but clearly so in Masson's drawings) 'and, on the reverse, a figure seated on a throne with her foot on a footstool. On no one coin of the class have I been able to detect the legend, although they appear in some instances to have had characters intended for such. Figs. 61 to 63,' (those that shew the chair, the cornucopia and noose) 'are generally found at Beghrám : figs. 64 to 65,' (those having only the outline of a heart) 'are the types prevalent on the banks of the Indus and in the Panjáb,'—and, as we have stated above, near Saháranpur in India proper. This series has, undoubtedly, a better claim to be considered the genuine descendant of the 'Ardokro' coin *in situ* than any of the three preceding series.

To sum up my review of these coins, I cannot help remarking how great an analogy exists between the circumstance of these several adoptions, by subordinate imitators, of a prominent form of coinage that had pre-

veiled for centuries under a paramount rule; and the nearly parallel case of the Sháh 'Álam coinage of the last century, the very words and form of which were copied by the numerous rájas and nuwábs who assumed the privilege of coinage upon the dismemberment of the Dihlí monarchy. In many places, a few years only have sufficed so to disfigure the Persian letters as to render them quite illegible and barbarous.

PÁLA OR DEVA DYNASTY OF KANAUJ.

By way of filling the plate, I have engraved at foot two new specimens of this dynasty, brought to light since the publication of pl. xxvi.

Fig. 19 is taken from a cast of a gold coin in Col. T. P. Smith's possession. Some of the letters are new in form, but they may possibly be read श्री मद् विग्रह पालदेव *Śrī mad Vīgrahapāla deva*.

Fig. 20 is an unique copper coin of Cunningham's. On the obverse, the four-handed god is crushing a demon, instead of being seated in the usual serene attitude. The legend on the other side may be read, श्री मत्प्रथ्वी देव *Śrī mat Prithvī deva*, a name occurring in the Dihlí list as having reigned at Lāhor A.D. 1176-1192: but not to be found among the many names which inscriptions have given us of the Bhūpāla family of Kanauj and Benáres. [At the time my note on these coins (page 292) was set up, I was unaware that Prinsep had already published in this article a decyphrement of the coins of Prithvī Deva.]

Masson has figured a third new name of the same group, which I have inadvertently neglected to introduce in this plate, as I had intended. The letters that are visible are श्री म . . . मीरमरस . . . देव *Śrī ma . . . mīramaras . . . deva*. The first and last letters are half cut off, and the vowel may be an *ā*, so that the reading may possibly be *Śrī m(at Ku)māra mah(ā Rāja) deva*. Masson says

that 'at Kábul, coins of this peculiar type are met with occasionally in the bázár, generally of gold. A large parcel was dug out of the soil, three or four years ago, near Korinder, a village of Koh-damán.' He places them as the last of the Indo-Scythic series, not having, at the time of writing, seen what had been made of them here. If the sitting female be indeed a far descendant from the Mithraic goddess, the long interval of six or eight centuries will fully account for the magnitude of her transformation.

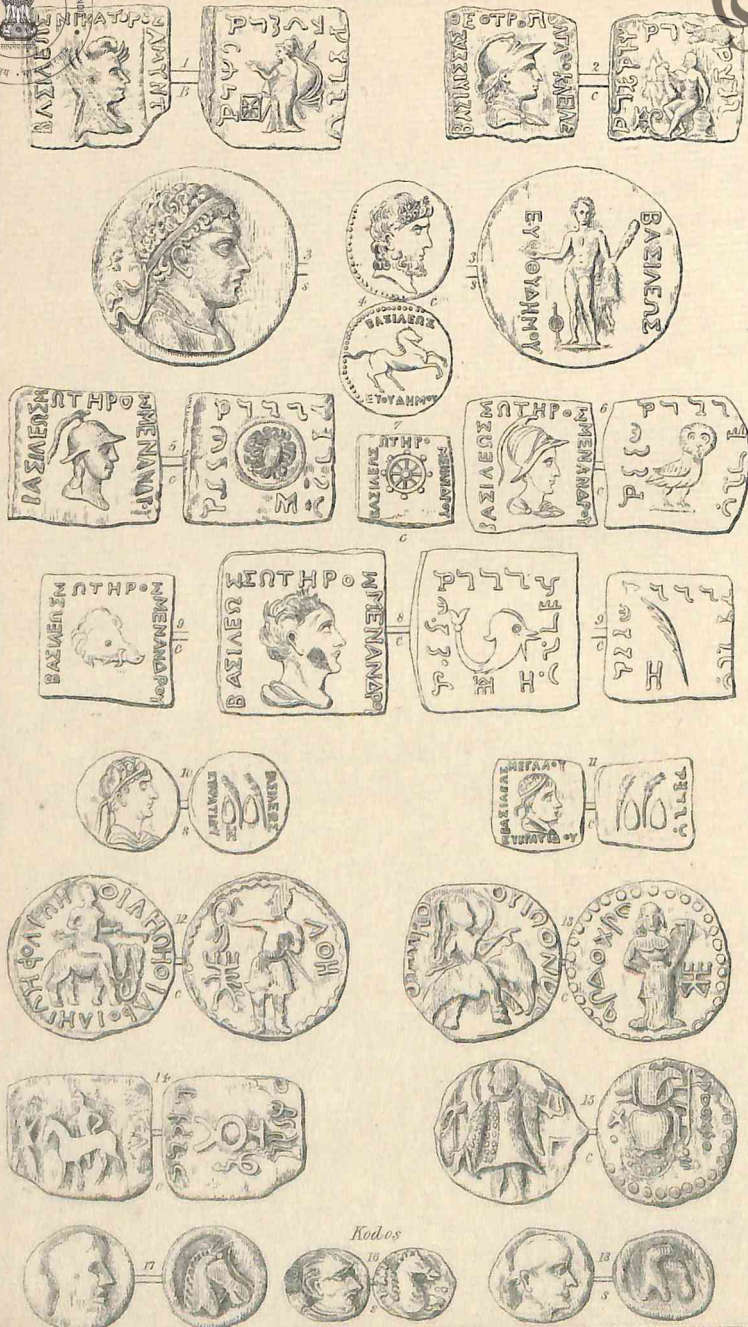
It is a great pity that the hoard discovered at Korinder was not secured at once. It might have contributed very materially to our classification of this second Kanauj dynasty. A great many specimens of the same sort must also be scattered about in the cabinets of retired Indians at home; and we may hope, now that Prof. Wilson has commenced upon the task of examining the coins in the Royal Asiatic Society and India House collections, that specimens will flow in to him from all quarters to be deciphered and described.



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Bactrian Coins.

CSL





REVERSE :—A standing figure of Minerva, with helmet, shield and spear; her right hand extended in token of peace. Square monogram. Legend, in Bactro-Pehlvi — 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭤𐭱𐭫𐭲 ; (quasi) *malaḳdo djalade amido* [Máharájasa Jayádharasa A'mitasa]. It will be at once perceived that the native epithet corresponding to *νικατορον* is the same as that for *νικηφορον* on the coins of Archelius (page 352), and, before, on the coins of Antialkides and Antimachus, with the exception only of the first letter. The word was there read 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡 ; the initial 𐭠 being substituted for the 𐭢 of the Archelius and Amyntas coins. The third letter in those cases is also rather 𐭬 than 𐭪 , of which the value is as yet unknown. I have called it *l*, *ad interim*.

Fig. 2 is, if possible, a more valuable acquisition than the above, being the first queen of Bactria yet discovered. Dr. Swiney obtained the coin among Karámat 'Alí's collection. It was thickly coated with the rust of ages, and, from the helmeted head on the obverse, was looked upon as a Menander, until the Doctor set about cleaning it carefully with a hard brush, and, perceiving a variation of the legend, showed it to Capt. Cunningham, who immediately recognized, with a feeling of intense delight, the undoubted title of a female sovereign—*ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠ(ης) [ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ] ΑΓΑΘΟΚΑΕΙΑΣ*, 'of the queen Agathoelea, the god-nourisher.' This very curious epithet, *θεοτροπη*—a word not to be found in the lexicon—must have been coined on purpose for the queen-mother, after the Oriental style of flattery, in allusion to her royal offspring.

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock (or a *morhá*), resting his club on his right knee. The Pehlvi legend is, most unfortunately, so indistinct in one or two places, as to preclude the possibility of our making out the true reading. The first word seems to differ in no way from the ordinary *𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮 malakáo*, 'king': and the second would appear to be *𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭮 radako*, *σωτηρος*: then follow two short words which I am totally at a loss to expound, though the individual letters are clear enough. [Máhárājasa Tradatasa Dhamikasa Stratasa.¹]

To these two uniques I have subjoined some new types of Euthydemus, Menander, and Eucratides, which have not yet been engraved, though some have appeared in the lithographs of Masson's drawings.

Fig. 3. A silver tetradrachm of Euthydemus, now in Dr. Swiney's cabinet, having a standing Hercules on the reverse, in lieu of the seated figure. The coin must have been originally very beautiful, but we learn from the memorandum of Karámat 'Alí, who purchased it at Kábul, that it was taken to Dr. Gerard, who deemed it spurious or not silver;² this induced the vendor to put it in the fire (cased in clay) to ascertain the fact, and the smoothness of surface and clearness of outline were thus destroyed. The *beaux restes* are still sufficient to excite admiration.

Fig. 4 is from Masson's drawing of a small copper piece of Euthy-

¹ [We are now able to cite several new specimens of this interesting type of coin; I may quote one in the possession of E. C. Bayley, Esq., Bengal Civil Service; and a second in the collection of Capt. Robertson, Bengal Engineers. Wilson, in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi. fig. 10, reproduces Dr. Swiney's coin!]

² Probably it was covered with a coat of muriate, like my Euthydemus.



¹ This name has hitherto always been written (on Masson's authority) Antilakides. M. Jaquet corrected it from the Ventura coins and on re-examination of the silver coin in Dr. Swiney's possession, his reading is corroborated. It also corresponds better with the Pehlvi, which is—𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥 (quasi) *ati-atikude*.

On the reverse, the standing figure of AΘPO is depicted, with the common monogram, but the legend differs; being AOH, or, inverted, HOV. The same is met with on one of the 'couch-lounger' coins extracted from the Manikyāla tope (see fig. 29, pl. vi.) It may possibly be a perversion of the tri-literal MAO. But the horns of the moon do not appear on the shoulders.

Fig. 13. A rare and valuable variety of the Kenranos coin in Dr. Swiney's cabinet, of which Cunningham has a less perfect duplicate; the obverse legend, hardly legible, must be PAO NANO PAO, etc. The reverse has the standing female figure with the horn of plenty, and legend AΠOXPO, as on the gold coins of the same device.

Fig. 14 should have been introduced in my last plate, among what I have supposed the fourth series of AΠOKPO imitations. This coin, of which Swiney possesses several equally legible, has the legend, AΠOXPO, quite distinct, proving that this group must be regarded, not as an imitation, but as the direct descendant of the Mithraic series in the Kanerkan line. The appearance of Nāgarī on one of my coins must be regarded therefore as Greek. It is curious that Masson should not have detected a single letter on all the specimens he amassed. Some faint remains of characters are traceable on those from Behat.

Fig. 15 is a duplicate of Masson's coin—fig. 15 of my last Bactrian plate—in Swiney's possession. A few of the Pehlvi characters are better made out, but the proprietor of this coin still eludes us.

Fig. 16, 17, 18. I terminate this plate with three coins of Kodes—in Cunningham's cabinet, purchased from the late Gen. Arnold's collection—of an entirely new reverse. They are all of silver, deeply indented, to throw the head out. The letters KWA . . are visible on the smallest of the three, which is, otherwise, of the best execution. The horse's head of the reverse gradually deteriorates until it can be no longer recognised (as in 18) without the earlier coins as objects of comparison. On cleaning one of my Kodes coins, it was found likewise to have 'the horse's head' reverse; and the horse has been since traced to the Chauka-Dūka, or degraded Saurāshtra series, in some specimens also purchased from the estate of the late Gen. Arnold.

POSTSCRIPT.—I cannot delay one moment announcing a very successful reading by Prof. Lassen of Bonn, of the native legend on the coin of Agathocles, depicted in pl. ii., fig. 17, by Masson, and again engraved as fig. 9, of pl. xxvii. The following is an extract from the Professor's



letter, this moment received: 'The legend on the coin of Agathocles is, in my opinion, in another character, and I think we may recognise in it the letters **अगथुक्लराज** *Agathukla rāja* [Agathuklayesa], reading from the left to the right. The first two letters are self-evident; the third is similar enough to the Tibetan and Pāli forms of *th* with *u* below; the fourth letter expresses *kl* quite in the Indian manner. If I am right in this, it will be necessary to give to Agathocles a very different position from that assigned to him by M. Raoul Rochette.'

The principal objection to this highly plausible solution of the Agathoclean legend is, that nearly the same characters also appear on the coins of Pantaleon. There are differences to be sure, and it might be possible to assimilate the word to the Greek, on the supposition of the first syllable being wanting:—thus **Α Ι Ο** will form *.. talava* or *.. talao*... the next letter, on Masson's coins, is **Ξ**, and on Dr. Swiney's a *t* or *n* [Pantalevasa], but on both coins there are three letters to the left of the female which still remain an enigma.

I have also just had the opportunity of perusing M. Jacquet's first paper on the Ventura coins,¹ but as this merely enumerates their Greek legends, postponing the consideration of the Bactro-Pehlvī, there is nothing in alteration or correction of my own list excepting the termination of some of the names, Kodes, Lysias, Venomes (?), for Nonus, Azes, etc. M. Jacquet had remarked the connection of the Hindú coins with their Indo-Scythic prototype when examining Tod's collection, but had not published his sentiments.

¹ [Jacquet, 'Journal Asiatique,' Feb. 1836. Gen. Ventura's collection, by a strange misadventure, has been placed, by the Paris officials, to the credit of M. Allard.]

XV.—SPECIMENS OF HINDÚ COINS DESCENDED FROM THE PARTHIAN TYPE, AND OF THE ANCIENT COINS OF CEYLON.

Among the coins extracted from the Manikyála tope were two that excited more than ordinary curiosity, from their having marginal inscriptions in Sanskrit characters around a device in all other respects of the Sassanian type. The inscription (which will be found in pl. v., pp. 94, 123, *ante*) baffled all attempts to decipher it. The repetition of the word *Srī* left little doubt of its language being Sanskrit, but neither with the aid of modern nor ancient alphabets could the sentence be made out. The individual letters seemed to be

श्रीहितिविरधेरभवद्वरपविर श्रीयहितिणचद्वजारि :

Shortly afterwards, among the coins procured for me by Karámat 'Alí, another instance of the mixture of legends was discovered [pl. vii. fig. 6, p. 123]; and here the name was, clearly, श्री वसुदेव *Srī Vasudeva*, either denoting the god Krishna, or the Indian monarch of that name alluded to in the Persian histories. Masson's last memoir, containing one or two coins of the same class, led to a fresh scrutiny of our respective cabinets, whence, with Cunningham's aid, I have now assembled

a tolerable group of Indo-Sassanian specimens; for inspection at least, though it will be difficult to say much about them.

The distinctive characters of the Sassanian or Parthian coins are, the 'fire-altar' reverse, the peculiar head-dress of the king with flowing fillets,—the latter sometimes attached to the shoulders,—and a legend in the Pehlvi character. There is, however, as Masson has pointed out in a memoir ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol v., p. 711), a marked difference between our coins (called by Tod 'of a Parthian dynasty unknown to history') and the genuine series of Persia proper.

Sassanian coins, of the type common to Persia, are never found at Beghrám, according to Masson, although they are brought for sale in abundance to the bázár of Kábul. Two exceptions, however, are noted—one, an extensive series of small copper coins having a crowned head on the obverse, with a name in the same character as that on fig. 3, greatly resembling the corrupted Greek of the deteriorated *nano rao* group:—the commonest inscription can be exactly represented by the English type **po8opo**. One of this group, supposed by Masson to bear the 'Bámián' name, was depicted in his note on the antiquities of that place in vol. v. On the reverse of all these is the fire-altar without supporters, 'demonstrating, at least,' as Masson writes, 'that they were adorers of Mithra; while from the numbers in which these coins occur at Beghrám, it may be further inferred that they were current there, and that the sovereigns they commemorate ruled there: although the difficulty then presents itself to determine at what period to introduce their

sway, with the mass of Greek and Indo-Scythic coins before us. The coins themselves, however numerous, may be reduced into three series with reference to the nature of the head-dress: the first class bearing a helmet; the second a crown with a ball above it; and the third a tripartite crown surmounted by an arch of jewels.' All these head-dresses, it must be remarked, are met with in the regular Sassanians of Persia, and it may therefore be possible that they were but a provincial coinage of the same dynasty. It was under this impression that I omitted to engrave the figures of these coins, reserving them for a Sassanian series; although some of them would have served remarkably well as the precursors or prototypes of the copper coins about to be described in pl. xxxiv.

The second exception noted by our countryman at Kábul is the Indo-Sassanian group, figs. 3, 5, and 6,¹ of pl. xxxiii.: 'The strongly-marked Indian features of the busts, and their plentiful occurrence at Beghrám, especially of their copper money, prove these princes to have ruled here. The heads are remarkable for the bulls' (or buffaloes') skulls around them, some having four or five of these ornaments, but in general one only surmounts the cap. The legend is in a peculiar and unknown type. The reverse is distinguished by the wheel over the heads of the altar-defenders.' A great many of the type No. 5 were extracted from the principal tope of Hiddah near Jalálábád. (See vol. v. p. 28, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.')

¹ [See also 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii. fig. 8, p. 399, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', xii., pl. iii. and p. 345.]

Masson ('*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*,' v., 711, and '*Ariana Antiqua*,' xvi., 18, 19, 20,) refers them to the Kaiáníán dynasty of Persian historians, to whom he would also attribute the Bámián antiquities. He cannot of course here allude to the early branch, which includes Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius Hystaspes, for it is very evident that the coins before us cannot equal, much less surpass, in antiquity the celebrated Daric archers of Spartan notoriety. He must rather speak of their far descendants, to whom the present independent chiefs of Saístan still proudly trace their origin. This race, under the name of Tajik, claims proprietary right to the soil, though encroached upon by the Afgháns on all sides; and at Bámián they are found inhabiting the very caves and temples constructed by their infidel progenitors.

As to the probable date of these coins, then, little more can be conjectured than that they were contemporaneous with the Sassanian dynasty in Persia, viz., between the third and sixth centuries. Their frequent discovery in the Panjáb topes, accompanied by the Indo-Scythics having Greek legends, should give them a claim to the earlier period; but, as far as the fire-worship is concerned, we learn from Price's Muhammadan history, that 'as late as the reign of Masa'úd, son of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní (A.D. 1034), a race, supposed to be the remnant of the ancient Persian stock, submitted to his arms,' who had doubtless maintained their national faith to that time unchanged.

The intimate relation between the worshippers of Mithra and the followers of the Vedas, is established by the affinity of the language in which the books of

Zoroaster is recorded, with the Sanskrit. The learned restorer of this ancient text, indeed, cites some reasons for giving priority to the Zend as a language, and he finds many occasions of interpreting the verbal obscurities of the Vedas from analogies in the latter. I cannot refrain in this place from noticing—in allusion to Masson's location of the Kaiánians—a passage in Burnouf's most elaborate 'Commentaire sur le Yaçna,' just received from Paris, bearing upon this point, and leading to the unexpected conclusion that the Kaiánians of Persia, and the Súrya-vansas of India, are the same, or have a common origin; the word *kai*—prefixed to so many names (as Kai-umar, Kai-kubád, Kai-kaous, Kai-khusrau, etc.)—having the same signification as the Sanskrit कवि *kavi*, 'the Sun.' Against such a hypothesis, however, M. Burnouf confesses that the Gujarátí translator of the 'Yaçna,' Neriosingha, renders the word کي *kai* simply by the Sanskrit equivalent for 'king.' I give the passage at length, as of first importance in a discussion on a mixed Indo-Sassanian coinage:—

'Je n'ai pu, jusqu'à présent, déterminer si les Kaïaniens, ou les rois dont le nom est précédé de *ké* (en Zend, *kavi*), sont les rois *soleil* ou des rois *descendant du soleil*: en d'autres termes, si le titre de *soleil* a été joint au nom du chacun de ces rois, uniquement pour indiquer la splendeur de leur puissance; ou bien, si le chef de cette dynastie a passé pour descendre du soleil, et s'il a laissé ce titre à ses successeurs, comme cela a eu lieu dans l'Inde pour les 'Suryavança.' Je ne veux pas ajouter une hypothèse étymologique aux traditions fabuleuses, dont les Parses ont mêlé l'histoire de ces rois; mais il serait intéressant de retrouver la forme Zende du nom du premier des Kaïaniens, de Kobád قباد, nom dans lequel on découvrirait, peut-être, le mot *kavi* (nom. *kavd* et *kava*), 'soleil.' Si 'Kobád' pouvait signifier 'le soleil' ou 'fils du soleil,' la question que nous posions tout-à-l'heure serait résolue, et les autres Kaïaniens n'auraient reçu le titre de *kavi* (*ké*) que parceque la tradition



CSL

Indo-Sassanian Coins



Prinsep sculp.

les regardait comme issus d'un fils du soleil. Je remarquerai encore, sans attacher toutefois beaucoup d'importance à ce rapprochement, qu'on trouve, dans l'histoire héroïque de l'Inde, plusieurs rois du nom de *kavi*, et notamment un fils de Priyavrata, roi d'Antarvêdî. Hamilton, dans l'index de ses 'Genealogies of the Hindûs' cite quatre personnages de ce nom, sans parler de deux autres rois, dans le nom desquels figure ce même titre de *kavi*.¹ Enfin M. Rosen a cité un vers, extrait d'un hymne du Rîgvêda, dans lequel le mots *viśâm kavim*, voisins du composé *viçpatim*, doivent peut-être se traduire plutôt par *hominum regem* que par *agricolarum vatem*.—'Commentaire sur le Yagna,' chap. i. p. 455.

I now proceed to particularize the coins inserted in my plate.

INDO-SASSANIAN COINS, Pl. xxxiii.

Fig. 1, a silver coin in my cabinet of an unique type: OBYVERSE:—the prince on horseback, head disproportionate in dimensions. On the horse's neck is a flower-vase,² which is probably supported by the man's left arm; on the margin are some indistinct Pehlvi characters, and on the field a monogram, resembling the Nâgarî letter ञ. The device on the reverse is nearly obliterated.

Fig. 2, a copper coin, also unique: it escaped my detection among a number of old Bukhâra Musalmân coins, or it should have appeared along with the 'bull and horseman,' or Râjput series, of December, 1835. It seems to link this curious outline group with the full-faced Sassanians of Vasudeva, etc.; for on the border of the obverse are Pehlvi letters. The features of the supposed face are barely admissible as such, even to the lowest estimate of native art. The horse on the reverse is more palpable, but it seems more like a *tughrâ*, or flourish of Persian letters, than ever. It is also reversed in position, and has no Nâgarî legend.

The coins of this genus, although we have found them connected with Dihlî sovereigns and Mâlwa râjas

¹ "Genealogies of the Hindûs,' p. 77. On trouve dans le Rik- et dans le Yadjourvêda, un roi nommé Cavasha (Colebrooke, 'Asiatic Researches,' viii. 399), et ce qui peut faire penser à quelque monarque Bactrien, c'est que ce Kavacha est père de Tura, dont le nom rappelle le Touran. Mais je ne crois pas, pour cela, que Kavacha puisse être identifié avec le mot Zend et Sanskrit *kavi*."

² Perhaps the *Kdmakumbha*, or 'vase of abundance,' of Tod, 'Annals of Râjasthan,' i. 603.

at one end of the series, evidently reach at the other to the bráhmanical rulers of the Panjáb, and probably Kábul. They are procured much more abundantly at the latter place (and on the site of Taxila, according to M. Court) than in any part of India. Some of them exhibit on their reverse the style of Arabic now known to belong to the Ghaznaví Sultáns, while others agree rather with the Ghorí type, and contain known names of that dynasty.


[In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor and language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *kalimah* of **الله رسول محمد**, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic **محمد** is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the **الله رسول** may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the **الله** may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final **له**, which appears over the horse's hind-quarters.¹

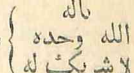
[¹ While on the subject of Tughrás, I may claim excuse for noticing a most interesting example of the numismatic employment of early Kufic characters in the construction of a Sassanian device, which, though possibly emanating from a different site, and due to another period, connects itself not inappropriately with the

The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with Sámání mint-masters;¹ and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhárá empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the South. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznaví (Láhor) currency, with the recumbent bull in Tughrá on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindú device, may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs—محمد.²]

outlines of some of the figures in the present plate (xxxiii. 7, etc.) The coin to which I allude is in the cabinet of the late Col. Stacy: it is of copper, and imperfect striking or extended circulation has rendered its epigraph illegible in some of its most important details.

The obverse device consists of a mutilated Sassanian head, looking to the right, obviously composed of the words— arranged in three lines.

A dot in the open portion of the الله suffices for the eye, the س serves for the chin, and the initial ال symbolises the eyebrow and the lower line of the tiara. Of the exterior legends the only word I am able to read with certainty is the الاسود in the front of the profile.

On the reverse, expressed in jumbled letters, may be traced the words 

while the margin supplies the opening term, العدل, and, doubtfully, the introductory portion of the central legend, لا اله الا, and the remaining two sides are occupied by the date—سنة اربع و مئة = 104 A.H.

Although I am unable to discover any similitude between this reverse device and the conventional fire-altar and supporters, I cannot but infer that some such notion was intended to be conveyed; otherwise, it is difficult to account for the needless transposition of the legends, and the sacrifice of the normal forms of the Kufic letters in the centre of the piece, while the side portions of the design, which have nothing to do with the main device, are expressed in excellently-fashioned characters. (See also Frähn, ‘Die Münzen,’ pl. xvi. figs. 8 and 9; ‘Novæ Symbolæ,’ tab. ii. 14; ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, 1840, Capt. Hay’s coins, figs. 6, 7)]

¹ [Frähn’s ‘Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum.’ Emiri Samanidæ. Petropli, 1826.]

² [Ex. gr., see ‘Kings of Ghazni.’ Jour. Roy. As. Soc., pl. iii. 153.]

Fig. 3, a silver coin in my cabinet (Karāmat 'Alī). Several of the same nature are depicted by Masson, as noticed above. The execution is very bold, and the preservation equally good. A double blow has, however, confused the impression on the reverse.

The head-dress or helmet is surmounted by the head of a buffalo, in imitation, perhaps, of Menander's elephant trophy. The two wings common on the Sassanian cap are still preserved. The prince wears a profusion of pearls and handsome earrings. In front of his face is a legend in an unknown character, which can, however, be almost exactly represented by Nāgarī numerals, thus : ३ १४ ०३ ∞ २. None of the pure Pehlvi is to be seen on either face, but on the shoulder in the corner is something like a Nāgarī भ, which is probably an *m*, not a *bh*. The fire-altar of the reverse is remarkable from the two 'wheels' or *chakras* over the officiating priests. We shall see more of these as we descend.

Fig. 4 is a silver coin in Swiney's possession : it is of inferior workmanship, the features beginning to be cut in outline. A diminutive figure (female) in front of the face holds a flower or cornucopia : just above can be discerned two small Sanskrit letters—प्रति *prati* (or *pratā*)—which suffice to ally the coin with our present group.

[The interesting collection of coins made by Col. Abbott of the Bengal Artillery, chiefly gathered from the Hazārah country, of which he was once in political charge, enables me to add some novelties to Prinsep's solitary specimen of the Indo-Sassanian coinage, having legends exclusively in Sanskrit characters.

The bilingual and trilingual mintages of associated types will be reserved for consideration under Art. XX., in which Prinsep records his latest advances towards their definitive explication.

Fig. 1 represents the small figure in front of the profile, as it occurs on a coin in the British Museum, which is almost identical in its other typical details with the example delineated as No. 4, pl. xxxiii. The concluding letters of the name—... दिव्य—are all that remain visible on this piece.



(No. 1.)

The woodcut No. 2 is taken from a coin of Col. Abbott's. I read the name, subject to correction, as **पुर्मदित्य** *Purmaditya*.

In regard to Nos. 3 and 4, I may note that the former is copied, by Mr. Austin's artist, from a coin of Col. Abbott's; while the latter was engraved by myself some years ago from a piece in the possession of Col. Nuthall, Bengal Army. The name of the monarch is here indubitable, and reads, satisfactorily, on either piece, **उदयादित्य** *Udayāditya*. The opening title of **राजा** *Rājā* is equally clear; but the succeeding three letters present a difficulty—not so much in the definition of the isolated characters, as in the purport and meaning that should be assigned to the combination. They may be transcribed in modern type by **क्षमत**, which, it is just possible, may refer to the kingdom of Lumghán, though I hardly like to suggest the association.

Of Udayādityas, there is a choice in the annals of the land; and one individual thus entitled even gave his name to an era.¹

No. 5, in its device, exhibits an altered style of art. It is chiefly interesting as displaying on its field an umbrella—one of the Indian attributes of royalty—surmounted by the figure of Siva's bull, Nandi.² The trident behind the head connects the piece with the Indo-Scythian branch of local



(No. 2.)



(No. 3.)



(No. 4.)



(No. 5.)

¹ [A.D. 614. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', p. 548.]

² [This emblem is noteworthy to a degree that it would not otherwise be, as furnishing us with an explanation of the meaning of its imitations on subsequent specimens of the coinage, where the umbrella appears under the similitude of an

numismatics. The legend is imperfect, and seems to commence with जयतु, which is succeeded by the letters पिह-ड or ड.

Mr. Bayley has two specimens of later examples of this class of coinage—the one bearing the symbol of a full-blown flower (possibly the Sun), and an imperfect legend which I doubtfully transcribe as श्री स्मः रजय.

The second, which adds to its device the 'trident' emblem of No. 5, has a legend commencing जयतु . . .

Other coins in Col. Abbott's collection have the letters जय षहः and of coins containing the latter title, I can quote numerous examples.¹]

The two succeeding figures are from Masson's drawings, some of which have already appeared in lithography. Fig. 5 represents rather a numerous class of the same type as fig. 3. The letter of the legend is sometimes omitted, and the ∞ becomes a ∞; but without examining the coins themselves, it would be unsafe to argue on such differences. No. 4 represents a variation of the monogram, it may be an old form of श.

Fig. 6 is an interesting coin, similar to my Vasudeva and the Manikyāla coins, in some respects; but hardly so far advanced towards Hinduism, inasmuch as the fire-altar is retained, and the full marginal legend on both sides is in the unknown character, while the Nāgarī occupies only a secondary place on the field. This name, too, is, as it stands in Masson's drawing, wholly uncertain, with the exception of the initial *Srī Va* . . . It may be श्रीवहरवख् . ख.²

ordinary club—at first retaining the pennons, but eventually losing nearly all trace of its nominal derivation.]

¹ ['Jeur. Roy. As. Soc.' xii. 341. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvi. 18, xvii. 611, xvi. 20, etc. In reference to this term, I may observe that Major Cunningham has announced the discovery of the name of Shāpur on a coin of this series. If, however, the piece from which he professes to read this name be the one which has lately passed from his cabinet into the British Museum, I regret to be unable to confirm his decipherment; the षहि is clear enough, but the rest of the designation is certainly not sufficiently palpable to justify the rendering proposed.]

² [See 'Jeur. Roy. As. Soc.,' xii. 345.]



We now arrive at a class of coins of considerable interest, as well to the history of India as to the science of numismatics; for the gradual manner in which the nature of their device has been developed is as much a matter of curiosity, as the unexpected conclusion to which they lead respecting the immediate prevalence of the same Sassanian (or igni-colist) rule in Upper India, while the foregoing coins only prove the mixture of Hindúism with the religion of Bactria.

Tod has repeated an observation of Dr. Clarke the traveller, that 'by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change.' In some respects the converse of this proposition would be better suited to the circumstances of India, where we have long had irrefragable proof of the alternate predominance of the Buddhist and Bráhmaical faith among people using the same language; and now we are obtaining equally strong testimony of the engrafting of the fire-worship upon the same local stock. The extensive spread of this worship in the North-west is supported by the traditionary origin of the Agni-kula or fire-worshipping races, whence were derived some of the principal families of the Rájputs. Indeed, some have imagined the whole of the Súra-vansís, or 'sun-descended,' to have been of Mithraic origin, and the Indu-vansís to have been essentially Buddhists.¹ Numismatology will

¹ 'Annals of Rájasthán,' i. 63. See also preceding remarks.

gradually throw light upon all these speculations, but at present all we can attempt to elucidate is the important fact of another large series of Hindú coins, (namely, that bearing the legend श्री मदादिवराह *Srīmad ādi varāha*) having directly emanated from a Sassanian source. I say another, because the Saurāshtra coins, and the Chauka-dúkas their descendants, have been already proved to possess the Sassanian fire-altar for their reverse. The sects of the Súrya-panthís, and the Mors who are known as fire-worshippers at Benáres, have not perhaps received the attention they merit from the antiquarian; but even now the solar worship has a predominance in the Hindú Pantheon of most of the Márwár principalities. Tod thus describes the observances sacred to this luminary at Udayapur 'the city of the rising sun:' — 'The sun has here universal precedence; his portal (Súrya-pol) is the chief entrance to the city; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (Súrya-mahal) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (Súrya-gokra) the descendant of Ráma shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum, in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changí*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed a *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape like a ray (*karna*¹) of the orb.' Many other quotations from the same

¹ Can this have any connection with the title *karano* of our coins?

author might be adduced in proof of the strong Mithraic tinge of Hindúism in modern Rájputána; and, in fact, the Muhammadan historians tell us that the fire-worship in Gujárat was only finally uprooted in the time of 'Alá-ud-dín's incursions into the Dakhan.

Fifteen years ago, Col. Caulfeild sent me two coins dug up at Koṭá, where he was then Resident, which were engraved in pl. iii. (fig. 65) of the 'Asiatic Researches,' xvii. It seemed then perfectly hopeless to attempt a guess at their nature; but now we can pronounce precisely the meaning of every rude mark they contain—the fire-altar and its attendant priests, and the bust of the prince on the obverse. Stacy's collection has furnished the chief links of this investigation, but it is to Cunningham's examination of it, and careful analysis of the numerous small silver Varáhas of our several cabinets, that we are indebted for the knowledge of the balusters, parallelograms and dots being all resolvable into the same fire-altar and its attendants. Indeed, so long ago as January, 1836, he wrote me from Benáres his conjectures that this series was descended from the Parthian coins.

From the selection he had assorted to trace out and illustrate this curious fact, I have been obliged to restrict myself to such as my plate would contain; giving the preference to those that exhibit well-defined letters on some part of the field.

Fig. 7 (Silver), Stacy. OBERSE:—The Sassanian head in its degenerated state, or cut in outline: the hair is represented by a mere ball, the ear by a curve, etc.; the two stiffened muslin lappets rise from each shoulder as in figs. 3 and 5, and would be utterly unintelligible but for the light thus afforded. Above the head is the Sanskrit श्री (resembling the Gaur or Bengálí form), and in front of the mouth

the letter **रु** which is most probably **भ bh**. On the reverse of this coin the fire-altar is very discernible; and it is instructive to study the configuration of the two supporters, the flame, and the altar itself, so as to be able to follow out the subsequent barbarization they were doomed to undergo. Thus in fig. 8 (Stacy) they lose a little more;—in 9 (ditto) the two breast dots and the curve of the arm separating them from the body, are barely traceable. In Stacy's copper coins 11 and 12, the engraver has collocated the various dots and lines without any regard to their intent or symmetry. Then in 13, 14—which are precisely similar to the class engraved in figs. 17, 19, 20, pl. xxvi.—the fire-altar is transformed into a kind of spear-head, or the central shaft taken out and supplanted by the old Nāgarī letter **म m**; but the side figures, where the die permits of it, can still be readily made out. These general remarks will save the necessity of describing the reverse of each coin in detail. There are equally grotesque varieties in the contour of the face on the obverse, which none but an experienced eye could trace; for instance, in figs. 11, 13, and 14, where the eye, nose, lip, and chin resolve themselves into elementary dots, very like those on the Saurāshtra coins.

Fig. 9 has the letters **श्री लध** *Srī Ladha*. . .

Fig. 10, a small copper coin belonging to Dr. Swiney, is in a far superior style, with the exception perhaps of an unaccountable substitution of the *chakra* for the head of the attendant at the altar! Can it thus denote the Sun himself? There are letters in front of the face, **श्री दट** *Srī Daṭ* . . . or some such name.

In figs 11 and 12 (which latter gives the lower portion of the same die), there are more letters than usual: enclosed in a circle, on the cap or crown, the letter **स s**: then, in front of the nose, the usual **श्री**, and below it, the **ह h** of the same alphabet.

In the lower series (13, 14) the shoulders and hand are generally replaced by letters. On some the context seems to make **श्री विग्र** . . *Srī Vīgra(ha)*; on others **श्री यो** . . *Srī Yo*, and **श्री पि** . . *Srī Pi* . . . None are complete enough to give us a cognate name.

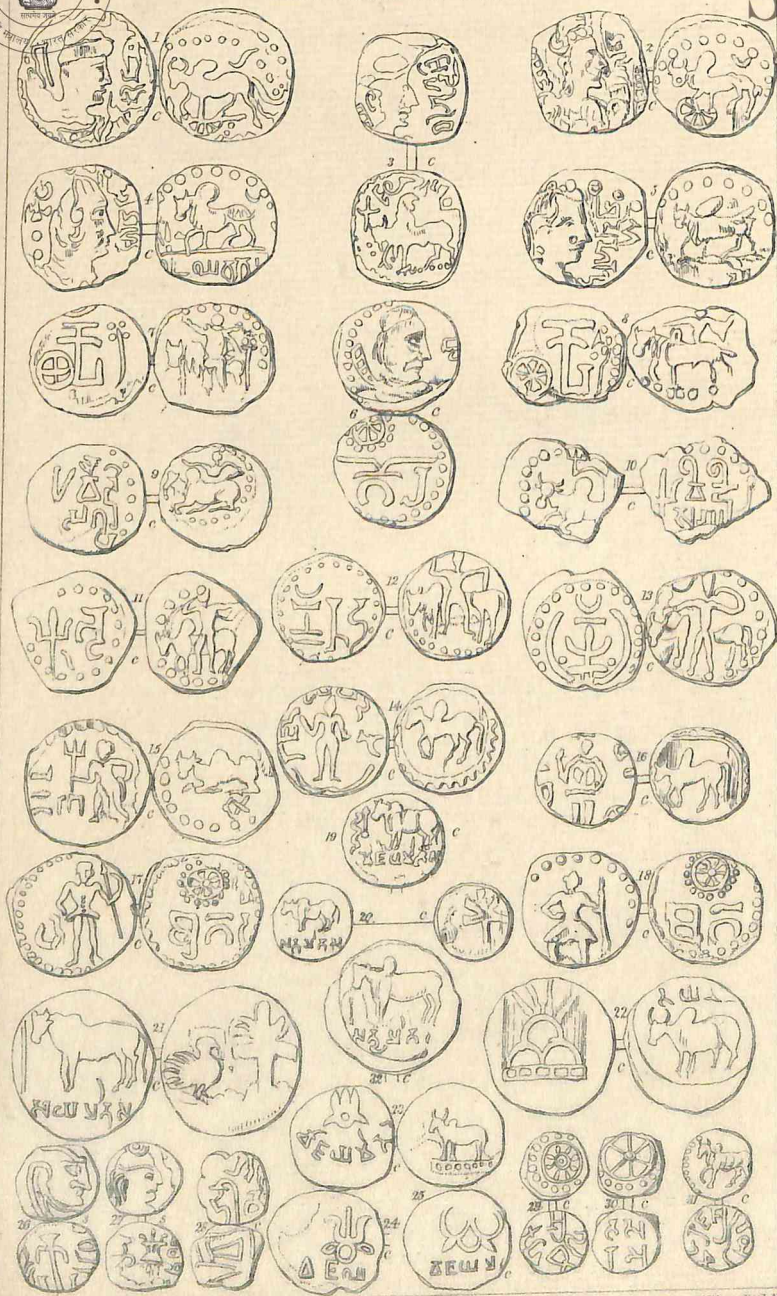
Having conducted this line of Indo-Sassanians down to its amalgamation in the Varāha series of my former plate, we may recede, once more, back to the period when the Indian artists could execute a less imperfect copy of the Grecian or Sassanian portrait-die.

Figs. 15 and 16 of this plate, and 6 of the ensuing one, are types of a distinct group of copper coins, plentiful in the Swiney and Stacy cabinets. The appendage to the shoulder decides the Sassanian origin, and the wheel on the reverse seems to be borrowed from the emblem above the fire-altar. I incline to think it the solar effigy, rather than



CSL

Indo-Sassanian Coins.



the symbol of a Chakravartti, or ruler of universal dominion. It is probable that this common emblem is still preserved in the sun of the Ujjain and Indor coins of the present day. There is the appearance of a letter in front of the face, but it is ill-defined. On the opposite side, however, the two large letters under the wheel are, most distinctly, **तोर** *tora*, the meaning of which remains a mystery. They are not in the same alphabet as that of the preceding coins, but of the more ancient lāt character, which accords, so far, with the comparative superiority of the engraving.

(pl. xxxiv.)

Figs. 1, 2, 3, from Stacy's drawings, and 4, 5, from Swiney's coins, are closely allied to the series just described; the Indian bull only being brought on the reverse, generally with the retention of the *chakra* under his feet or on his haunches. The name in front of the rāja's face in figs. 3 and 4 contains several recognisable letters; on fig. 5 they are still more distinct, **श्री ग्रहेर कु**. It may possibly be intended for **श्री महाराजा** *Srī mahārājā*, leaving us still in the dark for a name. [**श्री महारकुस** ?]

On the reverse of fig. 4, under the bull, are the letters **विजयवग** *vijaya vag*. . . a form that will be found more developed in another branch of this curious series below. [**जयनुवष** or **वृष** ?]

In the next variety, figs. 7 and 8, of which Swiney boasts the largest supply, the Sassanian head is no longer retained, but the *chakra* remains, coupled with a kind of cross, which may be read as the syllable *ku* of the old alphabet. The bull of the reverse is now accompanied by an attendant, exactly in the fashion of the inferior Kadphises or OKPO group of the Mithraic coins.

In the succeeding variety, figs. 9 and 10 (Swiney), the *chakra* gives place to the trident (of Siva?) and the bull takes an attitude of repose à la Nandi. The letters **वीदीसगु** *Vīdī sagu* or *Vedesagu* are bounded by the marginal dots, and must therefore be complete, however unintelligible. Were there room for a final **न** we might conjecturally read **विदेशगुप्त** *Videśagupta*, 'cherished by foreigners;' which would tally with the notion of a Parthian interloper.

In fig. 11 (which I also engraved in the Kadphises pl. [viii. 8] of vol. iii.) the trident has the letters **तृ** *tri*, as if for *trisula*.

In figs. 12 and 13 the symbol is more like the original fire-altar: to the former are adjoined the letters **रुह**, or perhaps **रुद्र** *Rudra*, a name of Siva.

In figs. 14 and 15 (Stacy), and 16 (Swiney), the standing figure has quitted the bull to take the chief post on the obverse—the marginal inscription of 14 commences with **राज** and the last letter is **स**.

In figs. 17 and 18 (Swiney), the bull is again replaced by the *chakra*, with two Sanskrit letters **षत** or **सुत**—sense unknown.

And now we advance, or perhaps it would be more correct to say retrograde, to a much more satisfactory group, forming, as it were, a link between these Indo-Sassanians, and what have been called the Buddhist coins.

The specimens of this series, christened the 'cock and bull' by Stacy, and first made known by him, were deficient in preservation; but Mr. Tregear, of Jaunpur, has since been fortunate enough to procure a considerable quantity of various sizes, with the epigraph beautifully distinct. They were found in company with copper coins of the Gupta series, which are in the same style, both as to the letters and their horizontal situation in what is called the exergue of Western numismatics. As pointed out by Mr. Tregear, there are three variations in the reading. On 20, and the coin below it; **सत्यमितस** *Satya mitasa*. On the fine coins, figs. 21, 22; **सयमितस** *Saya mitasa*. And on Nos. 19, 23, 24 and 25: **विजयमितस** *Vijaya mitasa*. The variable portion of these, *satya*, *saya*, and *vijaya*, are evidently epithets, 'the perfect,' 'the true,' 'the victorious,'—but the name to which they are applied, *mitasa*, whether of a person or thing, is, unfortunately, only open to conjecture. From the analogy of the OKPO bull, and the evident descent that has been traced in these plates to a Mithraic origin, I feel strongly inclined to read the word **मित्रस्य** *mitrasya*, 'of the true, the victorious sun,' the Mithras. *Mitra* has also the signification 'ally,' if it be preferred to confine the title to a mundane ruler.

If the possessive termination be not made out, the terminal *s* may possibly be used in place of the *visarga*.

In fig. 22, the trilingual symbol brings us directly to the most extensive and oldest of our Hindú series. Of these we have, thanks to Mr. Tregear and Colonel Stacy, enough to fill another plate or two, but they must be kept distinct; while, to close the present plate more consistently, I have inserted, in figs. 26, 27, two small silver coins found by Capt. Burnes, at old Mandivi, or Raipúr in Katch, having Sassanian heads, and reverses respectively corresponding to figs. 7 and 12.

The little copper piece 28, from the same place, has the Nágari letters **श्री भीम** *Srī Bhīma*; the last letter uncertain.

To balance these, I have selected three copper coins of Swiney's store, on account of their having the *chakra*, or the bull, for obverse. On No. 31 we can read the titles **श्री . . . महाराज** *Srī . . . mahārāja*; the name, as usual, provokingly obscure! Swiney reads it *ganapati*.



CEYLON COINS, pl. xxxv.

After wading through the doubtful maze of obscurity exemplified by the foregoing coins, where we have almost in vain sought a feeble landmark to guide us, even as to the race or the country whence they sprung; it is quite a relief to fall upon a series of coins possessed of true and legitimate value as unequivocal evidence of the truth of history.

The peculiar coins of ancient Ceylon have been long known to collectors: they have been frequently described and depicted in books, and the characters they bear identified as the Devanāgarī, but little more. Marsden and Wilson, as will be seen below, are quite at fault in regard to them, and so might we all have remained had not the Hon. Mr. G. Turnour published his *Epitome of the Ceylon History*, from the *Buddhist Chronicles*. Upon my publishing, in pl. xxiv. fig. 22, a sketch of the coin which ranks first in the present plate, and suggesting the reading *Srī Mayātraya Malla*, I remarked that, although princes of this family name were common in Nipāl, I could find none in the Ceylon list to correspond. This observation elicited the following note from Mr. Turnour, which, in justice to his sagacious and correct prediction, ought to have been published long ago.

‘NOTE ON HINDU’ COIN, fig. 22, of pl. 1. [xxiv.] vol. iv.—In your valuable paper on Hindú coins, you say that the name of Malla does not appear in my Catalogue. He is, doubtless, identical with the Sahassa Mallowa of my ‘*Epitome*,’ published in the *Almanac* of 1833. In the translation No. 6 of the *Inscription* published in 1834, you will also find him called Sahasa Malla. That inscription contains a date, which

led to an important correction in my chronological table, explained at page 176. He commenced his reign in A.D. 1200. His being a member of the Kalinga royal family—his boastful visits to India—and Dambodinia (which you have called Dīpaldīna) becoming the capital in about thirty years after his reign, where the former similar coins were found—all tend to shew that the coin in question may be safely given to him. You will observe also by the inscription that his title was 'Sirri Sangaba Kālinga Wijaya bahu,' surnamed 'Sahasa Malla.'

Kandy, 17th March, 1836.

GEORGE TURNOUR.

There was no other Malla in the list, and therefore the assignment was probable; but I laid little stress on it from the total variance of the rest of the name. In August, 1836, Capt. Ord, of Kandy, sent me impressions of the coins he had met with, and pointed out that the first letter of the third line was not formed like त्र, but open, like द. To pursue the train of small causes leading to an important result, when lithographing the Dihlī Inscription of the 10th century in vol. v. page 726, the very first letter, स, struck me as resembling, in the squareness of its form (□) the Ceylonese letter I had before mistaken for च. The enigma was thus in a moment solved, and every subsequent reading (for coins of this prince are exceedingly common, compared with others) has confirmed the reading श्री मत्साहसमल्ल *Srī mat Sāhasa Malla*, in accordance with Turnour's conjecture. In some few specimens the *t* of *mat* is either omitted through ignorance, or worn away; but in general it is quite distinct. Marsden's reading was मया दया मल्ल *Mayā dayā malla*.

The ice once broken, it became comparatively easy to find owners for all the other specimens either published in former notices, or existing unpublished in cabinets in the Island.



CSL²⁰

Legends on the obverse.

Central symbol of the Reverse.

<i>Similarity between the Greek and Sanscrit Alphabets</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Sanscrit</i>
Α Α	Η Η	अ
Β Β	Θ Θ	व
Γ Γ	Ι Ι	
Δ Δ	Κ Κ	क
Ε Ε	Λ Λ	ख
Ζ Ζ	Μ Μ	ग
Η Η	Ν Ν	घ
Θ Θ	Ξ Ξ	ङ
Ι Ι	Ο Ο	च
Κ Κ	Π Π	ज
Λ Λ	Ρ Ρ	झ
Μ Μ	Σ Σ	ञ
Ν Ν	Τ Τ	ट
Ο Ο	Υ Υ	ड
Π Π	Φ Φ	ढ
Ρ Ρ	Χ Χ	ण
Σ Σ	Ψ Ψ	श
Τ Τ	Ω Ω	स
Υ Υ		ह
Φ Φ		ळ
Χ Χ		व

Capt. Ord, not content with sending me drawings of those in his possession, kindly transmitted the coins themselves, allowing me to retain the duplicates. Mr. Turnour also generously presented to me some coins lately dug up in the ruins of the old city of Montollee by Mr. Gifford, Assist. Surveyor General. So that, including the gold coin sent me six years ago by Sir W. Horton himself, and the coins in the Society's Cabinet from Dipaldinna (which are of the same class precisely) I am now in a condition to issue a full plate of this type, preserving a degree of chronological order in their arrangement.

The device on all these coins is the same—a rude standing figure, or *rāja*, on the obverse, holding a flower in the left hand, and an instrument of warfare in the right. The skirts of the dress are rudely depicted on either side of the body, and the fold of the *dhoti* falls between his legs, which being taken for a tail, has led some to call him *Hanumán*, but I think without reason: there are five dots and a flower to the right. On the reverse the same figure is more rudely depicted in a sitting attitude. The mode of expressing the face is altogether unique in the history of perverted art.

Fig. 1, the gold coin sent me by Sir W. Horton, has the inscription, श्री लक्षेश्वर *Srī Lankeṣwara*, on the side of the seated *rāja*.

This name I presume to be the minister *Lokaṣwara* of Mr. Turnour's table, who usurped the throne during the Sholian subjection in the eleventh century (A.D. 1060); but he is not included among the regular sovereigns, and the coin may therefore belong to another usurper of the same name who drove out the queen *Lilāvati* in A.D. 1215, and reigned for a year. The Ceylon ministers seem partial to the name: one is called *Lankanāth*.

Fig. 2, a copper coin, copied from Marsden, but found also in Mr.

Lizars' drawings, though I have not seen the actual coin. The name is श्री विजय बाहु *Srī Vijaya bāhu*. (Marsden makes the last word गद् *gada*, erroneously.)

There are several princes in the list of this name: the first and most celebrated was proclaimed in his infancy in the interregnum above alluded to, A.D. 1071, and reigned for fifty years. He expelled the Sholians from the island, and re-established the Buddhist supremacy.

Fig. 3, a copper coin given to me by Capt. Ord. One is engraved in the 'Asiatic Researches,' and is doubtfully interpreted *Srī Rāma nāth*, by Wilson. From many examples, however, it is clearly श्री पराक्रमबाहु *Srī Parākrama bāhu*. The first of this name was crowned at Pollonnarowe, A.D. 1153, and sustained for thirty-three years the most martial, enterprising, and glorious reign in Singhalese history.

Fig. 4. Among the coins dug up at Montollee were several small ones of the same prince. *Srī Parākrama bāhu* fills the field of the reverse.

Fig. 5. This coin, one of the new acquisitions, has the name श्री राजलीलावती *Srī Rāja Lilāvati*, another celebrated person in Singhalese history. She was the widow of the Parākrama just named; married Kīrti, the minister of one of his successors, not of the royal line, who was put aside, and the kingdom governed in her name from A.D. 1202 until she was deposed by Sāhasa Malla. She was twice afterwards restored.

Fig. 6, of *Srī mat Sāhasa Malla*, has already been described. The date assigned to this prince in the table is 1205 A.D. or 1748 A.B.; a date confirmed by a rock inscription at Pollonnarowe, translated and published in the Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 190. He again was deposed by his minister Nikanga.

Fig. 7, श्री धर्माशोकदेव *Srī Dharma Aśoka-deva*, a prince of a very imposing Buddhist name, who was placed on the throne at the age of three months, but of whom nothing further is said. The portrait would lead us to suppose him of mature age.

Fig. 8. We here pass over a period of turbulence and continual invasions from Chola, Pandia and Kalinga, and arrive at a coin of श्रीभवानेक बाहु *Srī Bhavāneka bāhu*, who seized the throne, on his brother's assassination by a minister, in A.D., 1303. In his reign, the Pandian general, Ariya Chakravartti, took Yapahu, the capital, and carried off the Dalada relic, so much prized by the Buddhists of Ceylon.

Fig. 9. We now come to a name of less certainty than the foregoing, and possibly not belonging to the Island, for it is one of a large quantity of coins found by Col. Mackenzie, at Dīpaldinna or

Amarávatí, on the continent of India,—a name so similar to the Dambadīnī, where many of the Ceylon coins were discovered, that, seeing the coins were identical, I supposed at first the places must be so likewise. The uppermost letter is cut off. The next two below are decidedly **ज**, and under the arm we find **श्री** and **रा**. The most legitimate context would be **श्री (ग)ज राजा Sri Gaja Rājā** (A.D. 1127), but the **ग** is hardly allowable.

There are many small coins (10 and 11) from the same place, reading, like it, the same indefinite title **राज rāja**, to which no better place can be assigned.

Fig. 12. Here again is a common variety of the Dīpaldīnī series, which was thought utterly hopeless, until Mr. Turnour favoured me with drawings of Mr. Lizars' collection. Two of these (figs. 13 and 14), exhibit a new type of reverse, the Indian bull Nandi, which may possibly betoken a temporary change in the national religion. The legend beneath I immediately recognized as identical with the flourish on fig. 12, turning the latter sideways to read it. What it may be, is a more difficult question. The first letter bears a striking analogy to the vowel *e* of the Southern alphabets; but if so, by what alphabet is the remainder to be interpreted? for it may be equivocally read *betya*, *benya*, *chetya*, and perhaps *Chanda* or *Nanda*. The last alone is the name of a great conqueror in the Cholian and other Southern annals, but it would be wrong to build upon so vague an assumption. It is, at any rate, probable that the 'bull' device is a subsequent introduction, because we find it continued into the Hala Kanara coins below.

Fig. 15, of the Society's cabinet, a thick well-preserved coin, has a device one step less recognizable as a human figure on the obverse, but the bull very neatly executed on the reverse, and in front of him the Nāgarī letters **वी vī**, as if of *Vira bāhu*, 1398?

Figs. 20 and 21. In these the upright figure has quite disappeared, or is dwindled to a mere sceptre: leaving space around for the insertion of a legend in the old Kanarese character, of which an alphabet was given in my last number. It is, unluckily, not complete, but the Kanara letters *.. da cha ... rāya* are very distinct.

But before touching such modern specimens, I should perhaps have noticed a few other genuine old coins; some, as fig. 16, having a bull and two fish; others, as fig. 24, having a *sinha* and four dots. They were all dug up at Montollee with the rest.

These symbolical coins without names agree in every respect with the numerous class of Buddhist coins found in India, and fellows to them may be pointed out among the Amarávatī coins, as figs. 17, 19,

of the bull kind, the reverse plain or uncertain; one much resembling a ship; and fig. 25, a prettily-executed brass coin of a horse.

One fragment, fig. 18, of the sitting bull, from Montollee, has the letters श्रीवी . . कच in the Nāgarī character on the reverse.

The two very small coins, 22, 23, retain some of the Ceylon symbols, the anchor-shaped weapon (of Hanumān?) in particular; but to show how cautious we must be in receiving as equally old all the coins found buried together in the same locality, I have given as the finale to this plate, one of the Montollee specimens (fig. 26) which, however mystified by the ignorance of the die-engraver, I cannot interpret otherwise than as an old Dutch paisá, stamped on both sides $\frac{1}{8}$ St., or one-eighth of a stiver! A Seringapatam paisá with 'XX. CASH' (written invertedly, 'HSAC XX.') has often puzzled amateur collectors in the same manner.

XVI.—THE LEGENDS OF THE SAURÁSHTRA GROUP OF COINS DECYPHERED.

[I have reprinted this article without alteration or amendment. Prinsep himself will be seen to have greatly improved upon it, in a subsequent paper (Art. xix).]

Those who would deprecate the study of old coins as a useless and uninteresting waste of time and ingenuity, frequently mistake the means for the end, and suppose us to be enamoured of the very defects of the barbarous specimens of ancient art we seek out with such ardour, rather than give us credit for being impelled by the desire of looking, through them, at the history of the times they faintly but certainly portray. Twice has our small band of collectors been enabled to oppose a triumphant reply to such sceptics even with the unpromising materials of purely Indian relics, without counting the splendid but more natural harvest in ancient Bactria. The dynasty of the Guptas in Central and Eastern India, and that of the Buddhist rajas of Ceylon, form two unequivocal lines of history developed, or confirmed, by the unlying evidence of coins. I am now happy in being able to produce a third series for the west of India, equally well filled as to names, and of greater interest than either of the previous discoveries, on several accounts, as will presently be manifest.

I have given the name of Sauráshtra series to the coins depicted in pl. xxviii., because they have principally been found at Mandivi, Puragarh, Bhoj, and other ancient towns in Katch, Kattiwár, and Gujarát, the 'Surastrene' of the Greeks, which comprehended from the Sindh or Indus to Barugaza (Baroch) on the confines of Ariake, or India proper, and which cannot but be identical with the Sauráshtra of Sanskrit authorities.¹ The specimens before me when engraving the plate alluded to, were not very distinct, and I could not then make out more than a few of the letters, which were seen at once to belong to a peculiar form of ancient Nágari.

Success in other quarters brought me back to the promising field of Sauráshtra, made more promising by the accession of some fresh coins from Mr. Wathen of Bombay, and Capt. Burnes, whereon the legends were more complete.

While thus engaged, I received from Capt. Harkness, along with a copy of the Society's 'Journal,' No. vi.² (which also contains a notice by Prof. Wilson of one coin of this group, but without decipherment³) a couple of beautifully-executed

¹ See preceding note on the birth-place of Ikshwáku, p. 349.

² ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. iv. pp. 273-397.]

³ Prof. Wilson has inadvertently assumed in his note, on my authority, that these coins are known by the name of *Gadhia-ká paisá*, or 'ass-money.' It was not to this description, but to a very degenerate descendant of the Indo-Parthian coinage, generally of copper, that Capt. Burnes stated the name to be applied.

plates of a fine collection of these same coins in the possession of Mr. Steuart, who made a tour through India a few years since. The plates appear to have been executed in Italy; and as no explanation occurs, I presume they have been circulated to the various Oriental Societies in the hope of getting the legends deciphered. Encouraged and aided by this accession of materials, I proceeded, according to the plan that succeeded so well with the Bactro-Pehlvi inscriptions, to separate and analyse the conformable portion, or the titles common to all the coins, and afterwards to classify the unconformable portion, which of course would include the proper names.

In this manner I was soon fortunate enough to discover a key to the whole in the value of one or two anomalous-looking letters which had hitherto deceived me by their resemblance to members of other ancient Sanskrit alphabets. I must acknowledge some assistance from Wathen's Sindhī Grammar, from which I found that there was an absence of vowel-marks in the modern alphabet of the country, and hence I was not unprepared to find the same omission in the more ancient one. Another preparatory step was derived from the Tregear legends of last month's plate, ending in *mitasa*, which I ventured to construe as the corrupted or Pāli mode of expressing the Sanskrit possessive case, *mitrasya*. A similar **स** was perceived following *putra*, which left little doubt that the word was **पुत्रस**, for **पुत्रस** 'of the son,' which, by the idiom of the language, would be the final word of the sentence, and would require all the preceding members of it to be in the genitive case.

The letter **ज** occurred in the body of one or two of the legends in its simple state, whereas in the initial word, which could not but be *rāja*, it was prolonged below, shewing that another letter was subjoined, while, sometimes, the *visarga* followed it. This could be in no wise explained but by supposing it the possessive case of **राजा** (**राजः** *rājah*) the double letter being not at that early date replaced by a compound symbol.

The same observation will apply to all the other double letters, *mn*, *tr*, *dr*, *sv*, *sv*, which are, in this alphabet, made by the subjunction of the second letter without diminution. Hence the peculiar elongation of many of the letters, which was at first thought characteristic of the whole alphabet; it turns out, however, to belong only to the letter *r*, which is thus distinguished from the *n*, *i*, and *h*.

The second word of the title I read **कृत्रिमस**, for **कृत्रिमस्य** *kṛtrimasya*, genitive of *kṛtrima*; which is translated in Wilson's Dictionary 'made, factitious, an adopted son (for *kṛtrima-putra*).' The latter sense was inadmissible, because it so happened that the name of the actual father was, in every case, inserted, and the same title was also applied to him. The only manner, therefore, in which the term could be rendered was by 'elected' 'adopted'—(by the people, or by the feudal chiefs of the country)—a designation entirely new in Indian numismatics, and leading to a highly interesting train of reflection, to which I must presently recur. Sometimes the epithet *mahā* is affixed—not to *rāja*, but to *kṛtrima*, as *rāja mahā kṛtrima*, the 'great or special elected king'—as if in these cases he had been the unanimous choice of his people, while in the others he was installed merely by the stronger party in the state.

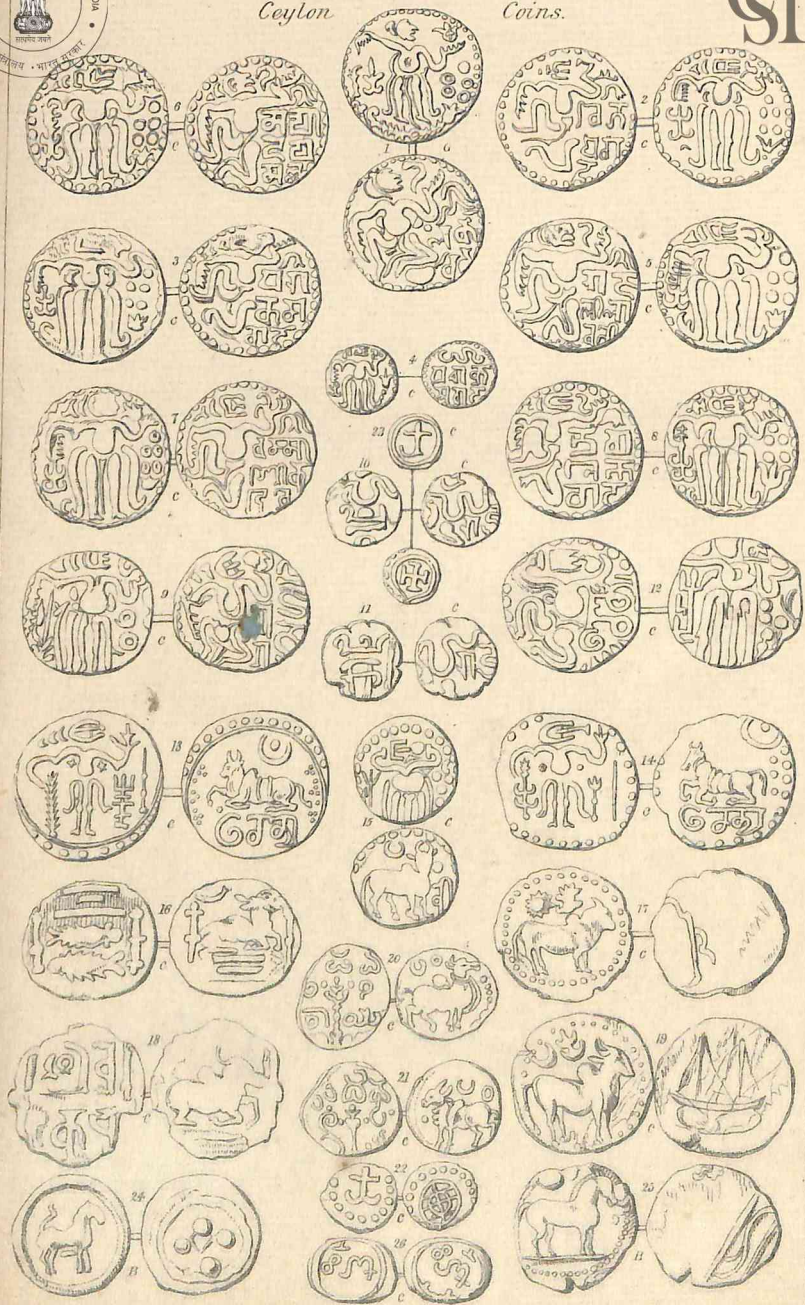
In every instance but one the *rāja* is stated to be the son of a *rāja*; and it is quite natural to expect that a prince, unless he were very unpopular, would have influence to secure the succession in his own family. In the case forming the exception to this rule, the *rāja* is the son of a *Swāmin* or *Swāmi*, a general term for *brāhman* or religious person. I have therefore placed him at the head of this line, although it does not follow that in an elective government the regular succession may not have been set aside in favor of an influential commoner.



CSL

Ceylon

Coins.



Among all the coins hitherto examined, nine varieties only have been discovered. Of these, several can be traced from father to son in regular succession. Others again spring from the same father, as if brothers had succeeded, in fault of heirs direct, or from voluntary supersession; but we know that in Indian families the same names frequently occur in the same order of filiation; so that, unless accompanied by a date, it is quite impossible to decide whether the individuals are the same in every case of similar names.

The features on the obverse might serve as a guide in many cases, for they (as I have before remarked) are executed with a skill and delicacy quite Grecian; but it will be seen below that I doubt their representing the individual named on the reverse.

I have lithographed in pl. xxxvi. the several varieties of legend, as corrected and classified, after careful examination of Steuart's plates, with all the coins in our respective cabinets, as well as the sketches I have been favored with of others by Wathen. I have not time to engrave the coins themselves, of which indeed the former plate will give a clear idea, for they are all the same in size and appearance, varying a little in the countenance of the prince. Their average weight is about thirty grains, agreeing in this respect with the *korecs* mentioned by Hamilton as struck 'in Cutch, four to a rupee, by the Raos and Jāms of Noanagar, with Hindu characters.'¹

Legend No. 1. Of this there are four examples in Steuart's plate. I had one from Wathen,² which passed into Capt. Cunningham's possession by exchange. Adding the *mātras* or vowels, and correcting the possessive termination, the legend will be, in modern characters:—

राज्ञ कृत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाहस्य स्वामी जनदमपुत्रस्य

Rājna kṛtrimasya Rudra Sāhasya, Svāmi Janadama-putrasya.

in English, '(Coin) of the elected king Rudra Sāh, son of Swāmi Janadama.' The letter beginning the words *svāmi*, in the majority of Mr. Steuart's figures, is स्ख, in lieu of श्व. In one of his, and in mine (or rather Capt. Prescott's coin), the orthography is correct. There may be a little doubt about the *n* in *Janadama*, which is rather indistinct, but I think the dot at the foot of the line decisive.

Legend No. 2. Of this there are likewise four coins engraved. We have none in Calcutta. The words run:—

राज्ञ कृत्रिमस्य आगदम्न राज्ञ कृत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

Rājna kṛtrimasya Agadamna, rājna kṛtrimasya Rudra Sāh putrasya.

'Of the elected king Agadama, son of the elected king Rudra Sāh.'

The simple title, *rāja*, of the father, makes it probable that he is the preceding prince, whose son therefore succeeded him under the same system of election.

Legend No. 3. Two coins in the Steuart collection:—

राज्ञः कृत्रिमस्य वीरदम्नः राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य दमसाहस्य पुत्रस्य

Rājñah kṛtrimasya Viradamna, rājna mahā kṛtrimasya Dama Sāhasya putrasya.

'Of the elected king Viradamna, son of the great elected king Dama Sāh.'

In these examples we have the correct orthography of the genitives, with one superfluous स्य attached to the penultimate, *Saha*, which, being connected with the word *putrasya*, did not grammatically require the affix. Dama Sāh, the father, is most probably a different person from the Agadamna of the last coin. His title is more important, though that of his son again falls to the former level. We have as yet

¹ Hamilton's 'Hindustan,' i. 654.

² Found by Capt. Prescott in Gujarāt.

no coins of Dama Sáh himself, though, by this happy insertion of the fathers, we obtain two names with each specimen.

Legend No. 4. Four coins in Steuart's plates—none in Calcutta :—

राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाहस्य राज्ञः कृत्रिमस्य वीरदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Rudra Sáh, son of the elected king Viradama.'

Nothing invites remark in the orthography of this legend, but the insertion of the visarga in one place, and its omission in another. Rudra Sáh is a direct descendant of the last rája.

Legend No. 5. Two coins in the Steuart list—two in my cabinet, one in Capt. Cunningham's :—

राज्ञः कृत्रिमस्य विश्वसाहस्य राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the elected king Viṣwa Sáh, son of the great elected king Rudra Sáh.'

Another regular succession. It is curious that the visarga is not inserted at random, but where it has been once given the engraver seems to have considered it necessary to repeat it, as he does also to conform to the modification of the letter *j* in *rája*.

Legend No. 6. Three Steuart coins, one Prinsep (from Burnes' collection), and one in Swiney's cabinet :—

राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य अत्रिदम राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य रुद्रसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Atridamna, son of the great elected king Rudra Sáh.'

Here we have, in all probability, a second son of Rudra Sáh, through failure of heirs male to Viṣwa Sáh. I write Atri for euphony, as the most likely disposition of the vowels, none being expressed but the initial *a*, which, as in the modern Sindhi, serves for all vowels equally well.

Legend No. 7. Including Nos. 9 to 12 of the Steuart plate: two in my cabinet, one in Capt. Cunningham's, and one in Dr. Swiney's :—

राज्ञ कृत्रिमस्य विश्वसाहस्य राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य अत्रिदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the elected king Viṣwa Sáh, son of the great elected king Atridama.'

This second Viṣwa is shorn of his father's distinction, *mahá*. He does not appear to have left a son to take his place, being in the same predicament (as far as our information goes) as his namesake, the son of Rudra.

Legend No. 8. Three coins, 25, 26, and 27 of Steuart, and two in my series—one lately received from Wathen, and perfect in its circle of letters :—

राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य विजय साहस्य राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य दमसाह पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Vijaya Sáh, son of the great elected king Dama Sáh.'

This rája is evidently out of place; being a son of Dama Sáh, he should have come before Viradama, who had a son. I did not perceive the mistake until after the plate was lithographed.

Legend No. 9. Of this there is only one specimen in the Steuart collection, to which I am able to add two. Tod's plate in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, contains one. The inscription exceeds all the rest in length :—

राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य स्वामिरुद्रसाहस्य राज्ञ महाकृत्रिमस्य स्वामिरुद्रदम पुत्रस्य

'Of the great elected king Swámi Rudra Sáh, son of the great elected king Swámi Rudra Dama.'

These two names stand insulated from all the rest, and the only test by which we can attempt to supply them with a fit position in the list, is the form of the letter **ज्ञ**

which is decidedly of the earlier model. These two kings may, therefore, come conveniently into the break after Agadama, the second on our list.

We may now proceed to sum them up in the order thus conjecturally determined.

ELECTED SOVEREIGNS OF KATCH (SAURÁSHTRA?)

1. Rudra Sáh, son of a private individual, Swámi Janadama.
2. Agadama, his son.
(Here the connection is broken).
3. Swámi Rudra Dama.
4. Swámi Rudra Sáh, his son.
(Here the connection is again broken).
5. Dama Sáh, of whom no coins are extant.
6. Vijaya Sáh, his son.
7. Vira Dama, another son of Dama Sáh.
8. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira.
9. Viṣwa Sáh, son of Rudra.
10. Atridama, also son of Rudra.
11. Viṣwa Sáh, son of Atridama.

Thus we have eleven kings, with only two breaks in the succession, developed by this very interesting series of minute silver coins. Eleven kings, at the usual average of eighteen years per reign, will run through a space of just two centuries. Yet where need we seek for a single trace of such a dynasty in any of the works of the Hindús, when of the Guptas reigning in the Central provinces the memory is but faintly shadowed in some of the spurious Puránas? It would be more unnatural to hope for any allusion to a remote kingdom of the West, like Katch, in the books of the Bráhmans; and unless we can find something to the purpose in the numerous inscriptions from Girnár and Junagarh, we may, as far as the Hindús are concerned, but have added a barren list of names to the numerous pedigrees already collected by Tod and others, with the advantage, however, always considerable, of their being entitled to perfect confidence.

From the Persian historians, here and there, may be picked up an incidental notice of great value, regarding the internal affairs of India; but the names are so changed and confounded with titles, that it is sometimes hard to recognize them. One of these notices, quoted by Col. Pottinger in his history of Sindé,¹ seems to throw an important light upon the point before us. After noticing the utter absence of any information on the dark age between the Macedonian expedition and the incursions of the Musalmáns, this author says—'The native princes are not mentioned by name in all the manuscripts I have perused, until the time of the celebrated Khoosroo (Nour-sherwan) king of Persia,² who has sent a large army and ravaged the western frontier of Sasee Rája's dominions; which are described, *including* his tributaries, to have extended on the north to the present provinces of Kashmeer and Kabool; southward to Súrat and the island now called Diu; westward along the sea coast to Mukran, and eastward to the provinces of Márwár, Bikanir, etc.'

Col. Pottinger states that the rájá's name was Subeer Singh; but this may be the learned mode of expanding the original 'Sa-See' into a genuine Sanskrit name. He was killed and his country plundered, but after the enemy had retired with their spoil, two princes of the same dynasty succeeded and reigned with great vigour and equity,

¹ Pottinger's 'Travels in Beloochistan,' p. 386.

² Nāshirvān flourished about the middle of the sixth century. He was contemporary with the Roman emperors, Justinian and Justin.

repairing the forts of Sehván, Moo, Ucha, Náráyan-kot, etc., which had fallen to decay under their peaceful progenitors. The second prince, resigning himself to sensual pleasures, left the conduct of affairs to his minister, during whose illness a young bráhmaṇ of his office, named Chuch, having occasion to visit the king in the seraglio, was seen and loved by the queen, and on the death of the king they married and brought about a revolution which placed him on the throne. 'Such,' says the historian, 'was the close of the race of Rája Sasee, which had governed the kingdoms of Sinde for upwards of two thousand years; whose princes at one period received tribute from eleven dependent kingdoms, and who had set the threats of the greatest monarchs of the world at defiance.'

Now the word Sasee, the general name of the royal line, has a much greater affinity with Saha (genitive Sáhasa) than with Subeer Singh—and this name we find borne by seven out of the eleven princes whose names have been thus fortunately preserved. Many other considerations might be adduced in favor of their identity. A commercial maritime kingdom situated in Sauráshtra and at the mouth of the Indus, would naturally extend its sway up the valley of that river and its branches. From its wealth and liberal form of government, it would be stable and powerful, especially under a tributary treaty (in general punctually performed) with the great monarch of Persia, the chief enemy capable of doing it injury. The antiquity assigned to this Sindian, or early Indian kingdom, further agrees with the tradition of Ikswáku's residence, and the migration of his sons eastward, and with all we have remarked (in a previous paper) regarding the origin of the commercial classes throughout modern India.

But, if the dynasty of the Saha or Sasí rajas, of which we may now fix the termination towards the close of the sixth century, extended backwards for two thousand years or even a quarter of that period, we should find some mention of it by Alexander's historian, or by his namesake the commercial Arrian, who visited this very kingdom in the second century of our era. The elder Arrian affords but little to aid us. In the descent of the Indus, some petty chiefs, as Musicanus, Oxykanus and Sambus are encountered and overthrown; but we hear of no paramount sovereign in Patalene. Indeed, from the pains taken in rendering Pattala more habitable, by digging wells and inviting back the fleeing population, it might be argued that it could not have been a place of much importance prior to Alexander's visit.

The capital of the province had changed in the second Arrian's time, to Minágara, 'the residence of a sovereign, whose power extended as far as Barugaza in Gujarát. The government was in the hands of a tribe of Parthians divided into two parties; each party as it prevailed chose a king out of its own body, and drove out the king of the opposite faction: *συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐκδικόντων.*'¹

Dr. Vincent, the learned commentator on the Periplus, seems to hesitate in believing this assertion of Arrian that the government of the Sindh, Katch, and Gujarát province, was in the hands of a tribe of the Parthians, '*Βασιλευνται δὲ ὑπὸ Παρθῶν.*' 'If,' says this author, 'the governing power were Parthians, the distance is very great for them to arrive at the Indus; may we not, by the assistance of imagination, suppose them to have been Affghans, whose inroads into India have been frequent in all ages. That the government was not Hindú is manifest, and any tribe from the west might be confounded with Parthians. If we suppose them to be Affghans, this is a primary conquest of that nation, extending from the Indus to Gujarát, very similar to the invasions of Mahmúd the Ghaznivite.'² If for 'Affghans' in this pas-

¹ Vincent, 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' ii. 385.

² Ibid., ii. 585.

sage, we substitute the Mithraic races of Seistán and Ghazní, by whatever name they were known at the time, we find confirmation of such a line of invasion both in Masson's remarks; in our Indo-Sassanian coins; and in Arrian: for the fire-worship would be quite ground enough for his classing the ruling race under the general term of Parthian.¹

At any rate, as our author says, the ruling power was not then Hindú; and therefore the dynasty of the Sáhas, in which we find the genuine Hindú names of Rudra, Viṣwa, Vira, and Vijaya could not yet have sprung up. Thus we have a limit on either side, between the third and the seventh century, to assign to them, and we have names enough to occupy one-half of that space. The family name of Sáh, or Sāhu, is not Sanskrit,² but it is very extensively used in the vernacular dialects. Half of the mahājans of Benáres are named Sáh,³ and the epithet evidently implies 'merchants,' for we find the same root in the *sāhukār* (*saukār*) 'agent;' *saudā*, *saudāgar*, 'trade,' 'trader;' and perhaps in the Persian word *šād*, 'interest.' One branch of this western tribe, Sáh,⁴ has been elevated to royalty in the present occupants of the throne of Nipál, the Garkhális, who overturned the Malla line in 1768, having confessedly migrated from Udayapur close upon the borders of our supposed Sindian kingdom, and settled in the hilly district of Kemáon about two centuries anterior to their conquest of Nipál proper.

The learned memoir of Prof. Lassen on the Pentapotamia furnishes us with a proof that the Sāhs of Sinde and Gujarát were well known at the time the seventh chapter of the 'Mahābhārata' was written; for, when describing with all the acrimony of those who had suffered from their aggressions, the origin and habits of the Bahlics, or Bactrians of the Panjáb, or Panchanada, in the 44th verse; we find the following words put into the mouth of Karna:

प्रस्थला मद्रगान्धारा आरट्टा नाम तस्कराः।

वशाति सिन्धुसौवीरा इति प्रायो विकुत्सिताः ॥

which Lassen translates:

"Prasthali, Madri, Gándhári, Aratti profecto latrones;

Neenon Basates et Sauviri Sindhuidæ: ita in universum vituperantur."

And, in a note, he alludes to a variation in the manuscript whence Wilson thus

¹ By Parthians, according to Moses of Chorene, should be understood the Palhavis, or Balhavis, or people of Pahla, Balha or Balcha, the Balika or Bahika of the Sanskrit, and the Bactria of the Greeks: whence were derived the Pehlvi dynasty and Pehlvi writing of Persia; and the Palhawans of their more ancient poetry:—an explanation so comprehensive and simple, that it seems curious it should ever have been disputed by the learned. Is it not also highly probable that the Balabhí kings, and their capital, the Balabhí-pura of Gujarát, should originally have referred to a Pahlavi dynasty holding or re-establishing their sway in this province? The Sanskrit name of the town, according to Tod, is Balika-pura, and of the kings, Balika-rai. We must find their coins and decipher their inscriptions ere we shall be competent to enter more fully on the subject.

² सह *Saha* or सहदेव *Saha-deva* is, however, the youngest of the five Pándava princes, and might be accepted by some etymologists as the original of a patronymic, Sāhu. सह also signifies 'increase, addition;' but साधु is generally looked upon as the root of Sāhu, the mercantile name.

³ Gopal Das Sáh, Goal Das Sáh, etc.

⁴ I perceive also, in a manuscript just received from Capt. Sleeman, that the Sāhs frequently reigned at Garha Mandela.

translated the same passage : "The Prasthalas (perhaps borderers) Madras, Gándhāras, Arattas, Khosas, Bāsas, Atisindhus (or those beyond the Sindhu), Sauvīras, are all equally infamous."—"Legit igitur नामतःखशा; Sed præstantiorem præbet lectionem Codex Parisiensis; et Chasi huc non pertinent; a Pentapotamia enim sunt alieni. Basorum et Atisindhuidarum nomina ignota mihi sunt, et in errorem h.l. induci sese passus est doctissimus Anglus. Compositum non ex tribus, sed ex duobus tantum nominibus constat, Basāti et Sindhusauvira. Posteriores laudantur Rām., I. xii. 25: ed. Schl., et alio nomine appellati sunt *Cumālaca* (Hem., ch. iv. 26.) Prius nomen sæpius in Bhāratea reperi, ex. c. in hoc versu, ex libro sexto descripto :

गान्धाराः श्वलि प्रच्य पार्वतीया चशातयः।

'Gándhāri, Śaddhales, orientales montium incolæ atque Baśātes.'

The Professor's reading so entirely accords with the conditions of our Sāh or Sau fraternity, that no doubt can be entertained of its being correct; and we gain a very important step by learning the Sanskrit mode of spelling the term, **सौ**, since we may thence hazard a new interpretation of the word Saurāshtra, as Sau-rāshtra, 'the country of the Sau tribe, a more close and plausible one than that hitherto accepted of Saurya-rāshtra, 'the country of the sun-worshippers.'

The 72nd couplet confirms such an interpretation, by ascribing precisely the same iniquities (theft, or perhaps commercial usury) to the Saurāshtrians, the vowel being only shortened for the sake of the verse.

प्राच्या दासा वृषला दक्षिणात्याःस्तेना बाह्वीकास्तस्कराःसुराष्ट्राः

'Orientales servi sunt, meridionales turpes, Bāhīci latrones, Surashtri prādatōres.'

Commentators have uniformly supposed Surāshtra to denote the modern Sūrat, but this is an error : the name applies only to the Surastrē of Ptolemy; and Sūrat, as I am assured by Mr. Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil Service, is comparatively a modern town; and its name, now Persianized into **سورت** *Sūrat*, was originally Sūryapur, 'the town of the Sun.'

I waive all discussion here on the important bearing the above theory has on the age of the 'Mahābhārata,' and of the 'Rāmāyana': either the Sāhs or Sīnde must be very old, or the passages of abuse and praise in these poems must yield their claim to high antiquity. At any rate, a departure from strict orthodoxy is established against the tribe.

There are some other points in the reverse legend of the coins before us that call for further explanation—first, of the word *kritrima*. The expression quoted above from Arrian indicates something of an elective government, even while the Parthians ruled at Minagara; each party, as it acquired the ascendancy in the politics of the state, 'choosing a king out of its own body.'

Dr. Vincent supposes that the contending parties (the Whigs and Tories of their day) were not both Parthians, but more probably Parthian and Indian. This view is not a little supported by the coin evidence, and it is only necessary to imagine that the native influence of a rich mercantile aristocracy at length prevailed, and excluded the Parthians altogether. Of these Parthians we see the remnant in the Pārsis, so numerous located in Gujarāt and Sūrat, and can easily imagine, from their numbers and commercial enterprize, that they must have been formidable rivals to the indigent merchant kings.

Something of this feudal system of government is visible to this day, in the fraternity of the *jardjahs* or chiefs of Kattiwar and Katch. The name *jardjah* might, without any unwarrantable license, be deduced from *sah-rāja*, Persianized to *ja-rāja*, or local chieftain. In 1809 there were twenty or more of these chiefs in Katch



alone, able to furnish a contingent of from two hundred to one thousand men.¹ In the Gujārat peninsula the number must be much greater, since, in 1807 there were estimated to be five thousand two hundred families in which the inhuman custom of female infanticide was regarded as a dignified distinction of their caste!

In the names of these modern chieftains we can trace a few of our list *atra*, *viṣa*, and *vira*: and a town called Damanagar may have owed its foundation to our prince of that name. The Jah-rājās and Kattis call themselves Hindús, but are very superficially acquainted with the doctrines of their faith: the real objects of their worship are the Sun and the 'Matha Assapuri'² 'the goddess of nature,'—doubtless the Nanaia of more classical Bactria. They are said to impress the solar image on every written document. We are accordingly prepared to find it on their ancient coinage, where it is seen on the right hand side, the moon (*matha* for *mds* or *mdh*) being always in company on the left.

The central symbol I have had to explain so often and with so many modifications, that I really feel it becomes more of an enigma the more that is said of it! It 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 opposite extremity of India. It is the Buddhist Chaitya, the Mithraic flame—Mount Meru, Mount Abū! In fact, it is as yet unintelligible; and the less said of it the sooner unsaid when the enigma shall be happily solved!

LEGEND OF THE OBTVERSE.

Having satisfactorily made out the contents of the inscription on the reverse of the Saurāshtra coins, I might have hoped to be equally successful with the obverse; but here I must confess myself quite foiled. From the obverse die being somewhat larger than the other, it seldom happens that a perfect legend can be met with; and by placing together all the scraps from different samples, enough only can be restored to shew—first, its general character; second, to prove that it is not Sanskrit; and third, that it contains two distinct styles of letter on the opposite sides of the head; that on the right having a strong resemblance to Greek, the other a fainter to Pehlvi; but both written by an ignorant hand. The three or four Pehlvi letters are variable and quite illegible; but the others, by combining the two first examples in the plate (No. 5, from my coin; 8, from Mr. Steuart), might be read *vonones vasileus*, allowing sufficient latitude for the corruption of a century or two. Should my conjecture be admitted, even to the extent that the letters are Greek, we may safely attribute their presence to the supremacy of the Arsacidan king of Persia; or, looking further back, to the offsets of the Bactrian kingdom in the valley of the Indus, where the Greek characters were still retained, as proved by the coins of Kodes and Nones (or Vonones), Azes, etc.; and we may conclude that his portrait, and not that of the tributary rāja, was allowed to grace the coinage of Saurāshtra.

The sway of Demetrius, we know from Strabo, to have extended over the delta of the Indus, and the retrenchment of a single particle from his text would make it include Saurāshtra also. Speaking of Menander's Indian possessions, he says:—

“Εἶπε καὶ τὸν Ὑπτανιν (Ὑπασιν) διέβη πρὸς ἔω καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσάμου (Ἰωάννου) προήλθε. ταμὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς, ταδε Δημήτριος Ἐυθυδήμου υἱὸς τοῦ Βακτρῶν βασιλέως οὐ μόνον δε Πατταλὴν κατεσχόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας τήντε Τεσσαρίστου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Σιγέρτιδος βασιλείαν.”

¹ Hamilton's 'Hindustan,' i. 587.

² Ibid. i. 637.

On this important passage many have been the opinions expressed by the learned. Bayer refers the third name (the first two being fixed as the Hyphasis and Jamná) to the mouths of the Ganges: 'quam Strabo, alteram oram maritimam nomine *Τεσσαριόστου* dicit? nempe nullam potuit, nisi quæ ad Gangis fluminis ostia ubi et *Σιγέρτιδος* regnum.' Lassen, from whose 'Pentapotamia' I have cited the above extract, thinks that the word merely alludes to the coasts in the neighbourhood of Pattalene; and he identifies Sigertis with the Sanskrit **त्रिगता** *trigatā*, in the province of Lāhor. Mannert places the former in Gujarāt: 'ad oram maritimam, quæ hodie Gujarāt, olim nomine Sanskrit **गुजार्** *Gurjāra*, appellata est *τεσσαριόστου* regionem refert Mannertus, quod ad veritatem haud dubie proxime accedit, sed nil certius de hoc nomine invenio.'¹

Now, by abstracting, as I said before, the twice repeated particle *τε*, or by changing *τες* to the article *του* or *της*, the whole obscurity of the text disappears, and the *Βασιλεία της Σαριστου καλουμένη* stands forth as the maritime kingdom of Sauráshtra. This interpretation is surely more natural than the extension of Menander's rule to the extreme east of India, merely to find another maritime delta and port for the Græco-Latinized corruption of a name *quasi* Tessariostia!

But we dare not venture on any speculations in regard to Greek names or affairs, lest we undergo castigation from the Hellenic critics of Paris, who are surprised at our ignorance of authors, ancient and modern, Greek and German, whose works we regret to say have never yet visited the banks of the Ganges! We 'Indianistes' must then leave this investigation to M. Raoul Rochette as being altogether, to use his own words, 'hors du département de nos études!'

There are still two series of Sauráshtra coins to be examined, but I have not yet wholly succeeded in decyphering them, and my readers will doubtless rejoice at such an excuse for postponing their discussion. I cannot, however, let pass the present opportunity of mentioning, as a highly curious circumstance, the very great similarity between the old Sanskrit and the Greek character. Their striking uniformity becomes more palpable the farther we retire into antiquity, the older the monuments we have to decypher; so that even now, while we are quite green in the study, we might almost dare to advance (with the fear of M. Raoul Rochette before us), that the oldest Greek (that written like the Phœnician from right to left) was nothing more than Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy! A startling proposition this for those who have so long implicitly believed in Cadmus, and the introduction from Egypt of what, perchance, never existed there. Yet there is nothing very new nor very unnatural in the hypothesis; since the connection of the Greek with the Phœnician and Samaritan alphabets, has been admitted as a strong evidence that 'the use of letters travelled progressively from Chaldea to Phœnicia, and thence along the coasts of the Mediterranean';² and the Greek language is now so indisputably proved to be but a branch of the Sanskrit stem, that it is not likely it should have separated from its parent without carrying away some germs of the art of writing, already perhaps brought to perfection by the followers of Brahmá. But my arguments are not those of books, or learning, or even tradition, but solely of graphic similitude and ocular evidence.

The Greek letters are dressed by a line at the foot, in most cases, as Α Δ Λ Μ Ω Ξ, etc.;—the Devanágari are made even along the upper surface of the letters, and in later ages a straight line has been introduced at the top, from which the grammatic

¹ 'De Pentapotamia Indica Commentatio' C. Lassenii, 51.

² 'Pantographia,' p. 107.

elements are suspended. The Greek alphabet is devoid of all system, and has had additions made to it at various times. Some of these, as Φ χ Ψ Ω , are precisely those which present the least resemblance to the Sanskrit forms.

I have placed my evidence at the bottom of pl. xxiv., taking my Greek type from the well-formed letters on coins, and from the Boustrophedon tablet of Sigeum.

Of the vowels, A I O and T, present a striking conformity with the vowels अ इ, and the semivowels व and य of the oldest Sanskrit alphabets inverted. The vowel E is unconformable, and resembles more the short ϵ of the Zend. The long H is a later introduction, and appears to be merely the iteration of the short vowel I, as α is of OO.

In the consonants, we find B Γ Δ Z Θ K Λ M N Π P Σ T, in fact every one of the letters, excepting those of after invention, are represented with considerable exactness, by the व (or double ख), ग घ स थ क ल म न प र ज त of the oldest Sanskrit alphabet, although there is hardly a shadow of resemblance between any pair in their modern forms. The same precision cannot be expected in every case; the B Δ Θ Λ M N Π P T require, like the vowels, to be viewed in an inverted position: the Γ and Σ remain unturned: the Z and K require to be partially turned. The Λ and N may be deemed a little far-fetched; the B taken from the double v, and the Δ from the aspirated ध, may also be objected to; but taking a comprehensive view of the whole, it seems to me impossible that so constant and so close a conformity of the alphabetical symbols of two distant nations should exist without affording demonstration of a common origin. Whether the priority is to be conceded to the Greeks, the Pelasgians, or the Hindús, is a question requiring great research, and not less impartiality, to determine. The palæography of India is now becoming daily a more interesting and important study, and it cannot fail to elicit disclosures hitherto unexpected on the connection between the European and Asiatic alphabets.¹

¹ [A paper by Dr. Weber, 'Ueber den Semitischen Ursprung des indischen Alphabetes,' is to be found in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutsche,' etc. for 1856, p. 389. I may have occasion to notice this more in detail hereafter.]

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part of the gods and brāhmans by whom it was heretofore possessed. To give land, (Here follows the usual quotation in favor of donors, and in execration of resumers of grants.)

This grant is executed by order of Dhruva Sena, son of the king Siladitya, by his faithful servant for peace or war, keeper of his treasury, Madana Hila, son of Skanda Bhatta, in the year Samvat 365¹ (=A.D. 309) on the first day of the light half of the month of Vaisākh.

(On the seal, Sri Bhatarka under a bull, as in Wathen's grant.)

[To complete the records from Western India, I introduce the notice of Dr. Burns' Tamba-Patra, No. 4, put forth, like the last extract, by the editors of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.',—who, for the time being, conducted that publication immediately after James Prinsep's return to England;—though I must fairly warn my readers that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand, even in a greater degree, an exact and formal definition.]

DR. BURNS' KAIRA TAMBA-PATRA No. 4.

The next abstract translation is of a very old copper grant—made by a rāja, of the Gajjara race, named Prasanga-rāja, grandson of Samanta Datta—and which bears the date of the full moon of Kārtik, in the Samvat year 380=A.D. 323. The seal of copper has the grandfather's name.

This very ancient and curious grant is one of several communicated by Dr. A. Burns from Kaira in Gujarāt. Dr. Burns gives the following account of the manner in which the Tamba-patras were found. 'The plates, of which I enclose a copy,' (he subsequently sent also fac-similes) 'were found in the town of Kaira, about ten years ago. The river Watrua runs close to the walls on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth. They had been handed about the country among the natives for translation, it being supposed they were connected with some deposit of treasure. At last they were brought to me by a fakir, of whom I purchased them.' Dr. Burns has sent transcripts and facsimiles of four plates, all of the beginning of the fourth century. That we now give is No. 4,² and not the most ancient; but it was first decyphered by Prinsep, and transcribed by him in Devanāgarī. The original is in the character of the fourth line of the alphabet [plate xxxi.] corresponding with that ascertained, from inscriptions and coins, to have been in use in Gujarāt at the period of the date of these grants. Their antiquity is thus assured; but part of the singularity of this particular one consists in

¹ [The Editors of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' have so jumbled the numbers of, and references to, these Sanads, and so boldly assigned values to ciphers that Prinsep himself hesitated to do more than guess at, that it is difficult to identify which set of figures they design to render as 365.]

² [The copper-plate, dated 380, of this series, is given in Prinsep's plate xx., vol. vii., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'; as No. 2 of Dr. Burns' contributions.]

the style of the eulogium of the *rāja* (and his ancestors) who made the grant, every word of which has a double meaning. The grant is in Sanskrit prose—upon the model of the *Kadamvari* by Bana Bhatta—and has been explained and commented upon at length by the *pandit* Kamalākānta, who regards it as a wonderful composition. It is impossible to give this explanation in these pages, for the eulogistic part of the grant, being in this double-meaning style, cannot be translated, the English language not admitting of the same amphibologies.

The play upon words commences from the first sentence, which, plainly translated, implies, 'There was a person named Samanta Datta, born with fortunate auspices in the royal race of Gajjara;' but these words admit also of the translation: 'There was a boundless ocean named Gajjara,' and this original double meaning has led to the use of epithets and qualities for the *rāja*, which will hold equally, with different meanings, as applicable to the Gajjara ocean. After wearing out the 'ocean' amphibology; serpents, elephants, and women are pressed into the service by the ingenious conveyancer who drew this deed; and it is a pity that such a happy device for multiplying mystifying words cannot be more fully explained for the benefit of the practitioners in Chancery-lane, who might find their advantage in imitating it.

Our business, however, is with the matter of the grant, and the historical facts deducible from this very ancient record. Dismissing, therefore, the prefatory eulogy to Samanta Datta of the Gajjara line, who will be admitted to be a *rāja* without such proof, the grant proceeds:—

'His son was Vijaya Bhatta, whose other name was Vita-*rāja*, who was beautiful like burnt gold,' etc.

Then follow his praises in the same florid amphibological style: the close is peculiar:

'His personal beauty prevented not the maturity of his good dispositions, nor his youth the practice of strict morality, nor his wealth its generous distribution, nor his *triwarga* (i. e. his enjoyment of love, morality, and wealth), the practice of austere devotion; his exercise of sovereignty prevented not his delighting to show mercy; nor his living in the Kali-yug the possession of all virtue.'

We now come to another historical fact:—

'His prosperous son named Prasanga-*rāja* Datta, who covered the airy sphere with the canopy of his fame, like water-lilies blown to fulness by the beams of the full moon,' etc., 'and who proved his possession of winning grace by bringing angry women to love him through the force of his bowing and sweet words,' etc., 'announces to all possessors of estates in their own right, and to all managers of the royal lands, and to the village proprietors—Be it known to all of you,' (a conveyancer of the present day would write 'Now know ye,') 'that we (the said *rāja*, Prasanga-*rāja* Datta) in the full moon of Kārtik, out of respect for those who are versed in the four Vedas, and consecrated with (holy) water, have presented to' (A. B. the names are not legible) 'inhabitants of Girishapadraka in the district of Angkureswara, and to B. C., the village named Sirishapadrakanlash, for worship of the five Jagnas, Bali, Charu, Baiswadeva, and Agnihotra, and for increase of the virtue and fame of our father, our mother, and ourself; that the said village, with all the rich produce it affords, may be enjoyed by the said grantees, their sons, grandsons, and posterity, as long as the sun and moon, and the ocean and the earth, shall endure.