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Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta

Including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

Volume I

Part I. The Early Foreign Dynasties and the Guptas

Part II. Ancient Coins of Indian Types

Part III. Persian, Mediaeval, South Indian, and Miscellaneous Coins

By

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PREFACE

THE history of the two collections of coins, a portion of which is catalogued in this volume, and an account of the manner in which they passed under the control of the Trustees of the Indian Museum will be found in the General Introduction; but a brief explanation of the genesis of this catalogue is required to enable the reader to understand the plan of the work and the necessity for its preparation. The Asiatic Society of Bengal never succeeded in giving effect to a declared intention of printing a catalogue of the coins in the possession of the Society, which have in consequence remained almost unknown to students of numismatics. The 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum', prepared by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers and printed by order of the Trustees during the years 1893–6, was a rough list rather than a scientific catalogue, and since its appearance large accessions to the collection had been made, which remained unclassified and undescribed. The necessity for a new catalogue being thus apparent, the Trustees, acting on a suggestion made by Sir James Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., resolved to arrange for its preparation, and invited me to undertake the task in November, 1903. The invitation in its original form applied to the whole joint collection of the Asiatic Society and the Indian Museum, which exceeded 20,000 coins in number. On consideration I found that it would be impossible to deal with such a mass, the larger part of which consists of Muhammadan coins to which my studies had not been specially directed. Ultimately it was arranged that the work should be divided, Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., undertaking the Muhammadan coins, while my labours should be confined to the classes of coins treated in this volume.

A serious preliminary difficulty arose from the fact that the coins in the Indian Museum collection had never been arranged in classes. They had simply been put into the cabinets in the order of their receipt, and so presented an unmanageable jumble.

This fundamental defect had not been remedied by Mr. Rodgers when he prepared his catalogue, and it is difficult to imagine how he managed to describe the coins. But, during the course of the year 1904, Mr. H. Nelson Wright visited Calcutta, and succeeded in effecting a rough classification of the Indian Museum coins, with sufficient accuracy to allow the separation of the classes assigned to me. I received the first batch of coins on December 14, 1904, and the last batch on May 30, 1906. The coins received number about 5,000, out of which nearly 3,000 are described. The difference is accounted for by a multitude of duplicates, a large mass of worthless defaced specimens, a few forgeries, and some parcels which were not included in my commission, and were consequently returned without detailed examination.

The plan of this volume is as follows. The coins are treated in twenty-four sections, to each of which is prefixed a brief historical introduction with full bibliographical details. The sections have been grouped in three parts. The first part, dealing with the early foreign dynasties and the Guptas, includes almost all the coins which exhibit clear traces of Hellenic influence, and, consequently, with very few exceptions, all the coins possessed of artistic merit; because in Indian coinages the degree of artistic merit is directly proportioned to the amount of Hellenic influence. The aesthetic superiority and general interest of the coins treated in Part I entitle them to eighteen out of the thirty-one plates. Part II is devoted to the ancient coins of Indian types, some of which are earlier in date than the coinage derived from Greek models. All these ancient coins are so rude and inartistic that it has been found possible to give fairly adequate illustrations of them in five plates. Part III comprises all the other classes of coins specified in my instructions, and includes the mediaeval coins of Northern and Central India, the coinage of the south and west, and that of the frontier kingdoms up to the present day. The Sassanian coins of Persia, which served as the prototype of extensive Indian series, have been described in accordance with the wishes of the Trustees. The catalogue concludes with the coinage of Ceylon and a small set of miscellaneous coins from Arakan and other places.

The typographical arrangement is similar, in a general way, to that of the British Museum catalogues, but financial limitations have precluded the free use of facsimiles of legends and monograms in the text. The monograms have been grouped in separate plates, and the legends, as a rule, have been transliterated. In transliteration the consonants may be regarded as having the English values, *ch* and *j* severally representing the Sanskrit च and ज. The cerebral letters are indicated in the usual way by a dot below; *ṁ* is *anusvāra*, *ñ* the palatal, and *ṅ* the guttural nasal. The palatal sibilant is expressed by *ś* and the cerebral by *sh*; *ṣ* being used as the equivalent of the Arabic *ṣād*. The vowels and diphthongs generally are to be read as in Italian, but the short *a*, when with stress, is pronounced like *u* in *nut*, and, when without stress, like *A* in *America*. The marking of long and short vowels in the Kharōshṭhī script is so apparently irregular that the attempt to distinguish them in that character has been abandoned. In the translations of legends no rendering is given of the honorific prefix or suffix *Śrī*, which is commonly translated 'the fortunate'.

Although the superiority of the metric system for all scientific purposes is incontestable, I have thought it better to follow the British Museum precedent, and to state diameters in decimals of an English inch, and weights in Troy grains. The tables prefixed, which are reprinted from the catalogues of the British Museum, by kind permission of the Trustees of that institution, enable the reader to convert the figures into those of the decimal system without difficulty. Almost every coin has been weighed, excepting some poor copper specimens, for which it is waste of labour to record the weights.

A small impression of each of the three Parts separately has been printed, and will be sold for the convenience of collectors and others whose interest may be confined to limited portions of the vast field of Indian numismatics. Each of these Parts is provided with a short Index, sufficient to enable the reader to trace any required coin. A copious General Index is given in addition in this volume.

My obligations to books are fully recorded in the text and [illegible]s. I have much pleasure in offering hearty thanks to the

scholars who have helped me in certain details. Professor C. W. C. Oman gave me the benefit of his skilled judgement in the matter of the Kushān forgeries. Dr. Codrington kindly indicated and procured for me the literature of the Sassanian coinage. Professor Hultzsch was good enough to examine and decipher sundry coins of Western and Southern India which were unfamiliar to me; and Mr. H. Nelson Wright favoured me with his readings of the Persian legends on certain Assamese coins. Professor Rapson was always ready, so far as possible, to communicate his unrivalled knowledge of Indian numismatics, and I am indebted to him for invaluable assistance.

My acknowledgements to the Trustees of the Indian Museum are due for their liberality in granting me unfettered discretion in all matters concerning the arrangement and execution of the work; and, like all authors who have the good fortune to deal with the Clarendon Press, I am deeply indebted to the staff of that institution. If oversights should be found in this catalogue, as I fear they may be, the blame will not rest upon the Press. Every precaution that I could think of has been adopted to ensure correctness, but if criticism detects errors, the difficulty of securing absolute accuracy in a work dealing with nearly three thousand coins, which extend over a period of some twenty-five centuries, and bear legends in numerous languages and scripts, will, I trust, be recognized. The casts of the coins have been prepared by Mr. A. P. Ready of the British Museum with his usual skill.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE iii

LIST OF PLATES x

ABBREVIATIONS xii

TABLES FOR THE CONVERSION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES . . . xiii

GENERAL INTRODUCTION xv

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA xviii

PART I. THE EARLY FOREIGN DYNASTIES AND THE GUPTAS

SECTION I. BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS, INTRODUCTION . . 3
CATALOGUE . . . 7

„ II. THE INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTIES, INTRODUCTION . . . 35
CATALOGUE . . . 38

„ III. KUSHĀN COINS, INTRODUCTION 63
CATALOGUE 65

„ IV. THE GUPTA DYNASTY AND THE WESTERN SATRAPS, INTRODUCTION 95
CATALOGUE 99

ADDENDA TO PART I 127

INDEX OF RULERS, PART I 128

PART II. ANCIENT COINS OF INDIAN TYPES

SECTION V. PUNCH-MARKED COINS, INTRODUCTION 131
CATALOGUE 136

„ VI. LOCAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA, INTRODUCTION . . 143
CATALOGUE, AJODHYĀ . . . 148
„ AVANTI . . . 152
„ KŌSAM . . . 155
„ TAXILA . . . 156

„ VII. TRIBAL COINS, INTRODUCTION 160
CATALOGUE, ĀRJUṆĀYANA . . . 166
„ AUDUMBARA 166
„ KUṆINDA 167
„ MĀḶAVA 170
„ NĀGA OF NARWAR . . 178
„ RĀJAÑYA 179
„ YAUDHEYA 180

PAGE

SECTION VIII. KINGS OF N. PAÑCHĀLA (AHICHHATRĀ) AND KOSALA,
INTRODUCTION 184
CATALOGUE, THE SO-CALLED 'MITRA' DYNASTY OF PAÑCHĀLA AND KOSALA . . . 186
„ ACHYUTA, KING OF AHICHHATRĀ . 188

„ IX. THE RĀJĀS AND SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ; AND VĪRASENA,
INTRODUCTION 190
CATALOGUE, RĀJĀS OF MATHURĀ 192
„ SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ 195
„ VĪRASENA 197

„ X. UNASSIGNED MISCELLANEOUS COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA,
INTRODUCTION 198
CATALOGUE, RECTANGULAR CAST COINS . . 199
„ ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR CAST COINS 202
„ APPARENTLY DIE-STRUCK COINS, NOT INSCRIBED . . . 203
„ INSCRIBED CIRCULAR COINS, VARIOUS 205

„ XI. THE ĀNDHRA DYNASTY, INTRODUCTION 208
CATALOGUE 209

INDEX OF RULERS, &C., PART II 214

PART III. PERSIAN, MEDIAEVAL, SOUTH INDIAN, AND MISCELLANEOUS COINS

SECTION XII. THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY OF PERSIA, INTRODUCTION . 217
CATALOGUE, KINGS 220
„ ARAB GOVERNORS . . . 229
„ COINS OF BUKHĀRĀ . . . 230
„ POSTSCRIPT 231

„ XIII. MEDIAEVAL INDO-SASSANIAN COINS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE WHITE HUNS, INTRODUCTION . . . 232
CATALOGUE 234

„ XIV. THE HINDU KINGS OF OHIND, COMMONLY CALLED 'KINGS OF KĀBUL', FROM ABOUT 875 TO 1000 A. D.,
INTRODUCTION 243
CATALOGUE 246

„ XV. THE MEDIAEVAL DYNASTIES OF CENTRAL INDIA,
INTRODUCTION 250
CATALOGUE, W. CHEDI 252
„ CHANDĒLLA 253
„ E. CHEDI 254

„ XVI. THE MEDIAEVAL DYNASTIES OF NORTHERN INDIA,
INTRODUCTION 256
CATALOGUE, TOMARA DYNASTY OF AJMĪR AND DELHI 259
„ RĀṬHOR OR GAHARWĀR DYNASTY OF KANAUJ 260
„ CHAUHĀN DYNASTY OF DELHI AND AJMĪR 261
„ DYNASTY OF NARWAR 262
„ SUNDRY COINS 263

PAGE

SECTION XVII. THE HINDU COINAGE OF KASHMĪR, INTRODUCTION . . 265
CATALOGUE, EARLY KINGS 267
„ UTPALA DYNASTY 269
„ FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY . . . 271
„ SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY . . . 272

„ XVIII. THE COINS OF THE MAHĀRĀJĀS OF KĀNGṚĀ,
INTRODUCTION 274
CATALOGUE 275

„ XIX. NEPĀL AND CHAMPĀRAN, INTRODUCTION . . . 280
CATALOGUE, NEPĀL . . 283
„ CHAMPĀRAN . 293

„ XX. THE NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER KINGDOMS; ASSAM AND
MINOR STATES, INTRODUCTION 294
CATALOGUE, ASSAM 298
„ JAYANTĀPURA . . . 307
„ MANIPUR AND TIPPERAH . . 308
„ CHHOṬĀ UDAIPUR AND SIKIM . 309

„ XXI. WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA, EXCLUDING VIJAYA-
NAGAR AND MYSORE, INTRODUCTION . . . 310
CATALOGUE, EASTERN CHĀLUKYA DYNASTY OF
VENGĪ 312
„ WESTERN CHĀLUKYA DYNASTY OF
KALYĀṆI 313
„ KĀDAMBA CHIEFS OF GOA, AND
GĀNGA DYNASTY OF KALINGA . 314
„ TRAVANCORE STATE . . . 315
„ EARLY ANONYMOUS COINS OF
SOUTHERN INDIA . . . 317
„ INDO-EUROPEAN 318
„ SUNDRY COINS 321

„ XXII. THE KINGDOMS OF VIJAYANAGAR AND MYSORE,
INTRODUCTION 322
CATALOGUE, VIJAYANAGAR 323
„ MYSORE 325

„ XXIII. THE MEDIAEVAL COINAGE OF CEYLON, INTRODUCTION . 327
CATALOGUE . 329

„ XXIV. COINS OF ARAKAN AND OTHERS, INTRODUCTION . . 331
CATALOGUE, ARAKAN . . . 332
„ SUNDRY COINS . . 333

INDEX OF RULERS, &C., PART III 334

GENERAL INDEX 337

LIST OF PLATES

Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins.

I. Sophytes, Diodotos, Euthydemos, Demetrios.

II. Pantaleon, Agathokles, Antimachos Theos, and Eukratides.

III. Heliokles, Lysias, Antialkidas, Diomedes, and Archebios.

IV. Apollodotos, Agathokleia with Strato, and Strato alone.

V. Menander and Dionysios.

VI. Zoilos, Antimachos Nikephoros, Philoxenos, Hippostratos, Theophilos, Amyntas, Hermaios with Kalliope, Hermaios alone, Hermaios with Kadphises.

VII. Monograms and Marks—Bactrian and Indo-Greek: Kushān.

Indo-Parthian Coins.

VIII. Maues, Onones, Spalahora, Spalagadama, Spalirisha, Azes I.

IX. Azes I, Azilises, Azes II, Gondophares, Pakores, Zeionises, Soter Megas.

X. Monograms and Marks, Indo-Parthian.

Kushān Coins.

XI. Kadphises I, Kadphises II, Kanishka.

XII. Kanishka, Huvishka.

XIII. Huvishka, Vāsudeva, Vasu.

XIV. Kanēshko, Vāsudeva (later), Bhadra, Sayatha, Sīta, Saṇa, Bacharṇa, Chhu, Sarvvayaśa, Śrī Shāhi, Bazodeo, Hormazd, Kings of Kalinga, Hyrkodes, Heraios.

Gupta and W. Satrap Coins.

XV. Chandragupta I, Kacha, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II (Gold).

XVI. Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, Prakāśāditya, Śaśāṅka, Uncertain (Gold).

XVII. Gupta Silver and Copper Coins: Western Satrap, Silver: (?) Valabhī, Silver and Copper.

XVIII. Monogrammatic Marks, Gupta Gold Coins.

Ancient Coins of Indian Types.

XIX. Punch-marked Coins, Silver and Copper: Local Coins, Ajodhyā and Avanti.

XX. Local Coins, Avanti, Kōsam, Taxila: Tribal Coins, Ārjuṇāyana, Kuṇinda, Mālava.

XXI. Tribal Coins, Mālava, Nāga, Rājañya, Yaudheya.

XXII. Coins of N. Pañchāla and Mathurā: Miscellaneous Ancient, rectangular cast.

XXIII. Miscellaneous Ancient, Copper: Āndhra Coins, Copper (? Potin) and Lead.

Mediaeval, Persian, South Indian, and Miscellaneous Coins.

XXIV. Sassanian Coins.

XXV. Indo-Sassanian Coins.

XXVI. Coins of the Hindu Kings of Ohind: and of the Mediaeval Dynasties of Central and Northern India.

XXVII. Kashmīr and Kāngṛā.

XXVIII. Nepāl and Champāran.

XXIX. The North-Eastern Frontier Kingdoms; Assam, Jayantāpura, Manipur, Tipperah, Chhoṭā Udaipur, Sikim.

XXX. Western and Southern India, Vijayanagar, Mysore.

XXXI. Ceylon, Arakan and others.

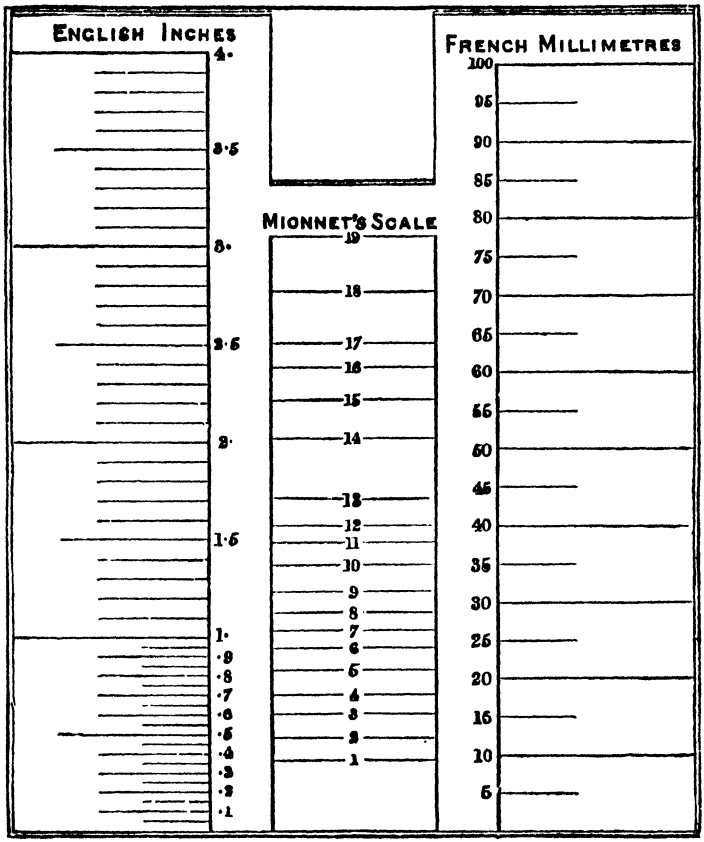
ABBREVIATIONS

Æ . . .	copper, including bronze.
Æ . . .	silver.
A. S. B. . .	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Æ . . .	gold.
B. M. . .	British Museum.
Br. . . .	Brāhmī script.
C. A. I. . .	Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India.*
C. M. I. . .	ditto, *Coins of Mediaeval India.*
C. S. I. . .	Elliot, *Coins of Southern India.*
diad. . .	wearing diadem.
Ep. Ind. . .	*Epigraphia Indica.*
I. C. . . .	Rapson, *Indian Coins.*
I. M. . . .	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Ind. Ant. . .	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
J. A. S. B. .	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J. R. A. S. . .	,, ,, *Royal Asiatic Society.*
Kh. . . .	Kharōshṭhī script.
l. . . .	left, of reader.
L . . .	lead.
mon. . . .	monogram or similar mark.
obv. . . .	obverse.
Proc. A. S. B. .	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
r. . . .	right, of reader.
R.-C. . . .	from cabinet of Col. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E.
Rep. or *Reports* .	*Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (old series).
rev. . . .	reverse.
sq. . . .	square.
Z. D. M. G. .	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

TABLE OF THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES

Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.	Grs.	Gms.
1	·064	47	3·045	93	6·026	139	9·007	185	11·988	231	14·968	277	17·949
2	·129	48	3·110	94	6·091	140	9·072	186	12·052	232	15·033	278	18·014
3	·194	49	3·175	95	6·156	141	9·136	187	12·117	233	15·098	279	18·079
4	·259	50	3·240	96	6·220	142	9·200	188	12·182	234	15·162	280	18·144
5	·324	51	3·304	97	6·285	143	9·265	189	12·247	235	15·227	290	18·79
6	·388	52	3·368	98	6·350	144	9·330	190	12·312	236	15·292	300	19·44
7	·453	53	3·434	99	6·415	145	9·395	191	12·376	237	15·357	310	20·08
8	·518	54	3·498	100	6·480	146	9·460	192	12·441	238	15·422	320	20·73
9	·583	55	3·564	101	6·544	147	9·525	193	12·506	239	15·487	330	21·38
10	·648	56	3·628	102	6·609	148	9·590	194	12·571	240	15·552	340	22·02
11	·712	57	3·693	103	6·674	149	9·655	195	12·636	241	15·616	350	22·67
12	·777	58	3·758	104	6·739	150	9·720	196	12·700	242	15·680	360	23·32
13	·842	59	3·823	105	6·804	151	9·784	197	12·765	243	15·745	370	23·97
14	·907	60	3·888	106	6·868	152	9·848	198	12·830	244	15·810	380	24·62
15	·972	61	3·952	107	6·933	153	9·914	199	12·895	245	15·875	390	25·27
16	1·036	62	4·017	108	6·998	154	9·978	200	12·960	246	15·940	400	25·92
17	1·101	63	4·082	109	7·063	155	10·044	201	13·024	247	16·005	410	26·56
18	1·166	64	4·146	110	7·128	156	10·108	202	13·089	248	16·070	420	27·20
19	1·231	65	4·211	111	7·192	157	10·173	203	13·154	249	16·135	430	27·85
20	1·296	66	4·276	112	7·257	158	10·238	204	13·219	250	16·200	440	28·50
21	1·360	67	4·341	113	7·322	159	10·303	205	13·284	251	16·264	450	29·15
22	1·425	68	4·406	114	7·387	160	10·368	206	13·348	252	16·328	460	29·80
23	1·490	69	4·471	115	7·452	161	10·432	207	13·413	253	16·394	470	30·45
24	1·555	70	4·536	116	7·516	162	10·497	208	13·478	254	16·458	480	31·10
25	1·620	71	4·600	117	7·581	163	10·562	209	13·543	255	16·524	490	31·75
26	1·684	72	4·665	118	7·646	164	10·626	210	13·608	256	16·588	500	32·40
27	1·749	73	4·729	119	7·711	165	10·691	211	13·672	257	16·653	510	33·04
28	1·814	74	4·794	120	7·776	166	10·756	212	13·737	258	16·718	520	33·68
29	1·879	75	4·859	121	7·840	167	10·821	213	13·802	259	16·783	530	34·34
30	1·944	76	4·924	122	7·905	168	10·886	214	13·867	260	16·848	540	34·98
31	2·008	77	4·989	123	7·970	169	10·951	215	13·932	261	16·912	550	35·64
32	2·073	78	5·054	124	8·035	170	11·016	216	13·996	262	16·977	560	36·28
33	2·138	79	5·119	125	8·100	171	11·080	217	14·061	263	17·042	570	36·93
34	2·202	80	5·184	126	8·164	172	11·145	218	14·126	264	17·106	580	37·58
35	2·267	81	5·248	127	8·229	173	11·209	219	14·191	265	17·171	590	38·23
36	2·332	82	5·312	128	8·294	174	11·274	220	14·256	266	17·236	600	38·88
37	2·397	83	5·378	129	8·359	175	11·339	221	14·320	267	17·301	700	45·36
38	2·462	84	5·442	130	8·424	176	11·404	222	14·385	268	17·366	800	51·84
39	2·527	85	5·508	131	8·488	177	11·469	223	14·450	269	17·431	900	58·32
40	2·592	86	5·572	132	8·553	178	11·534	224	14·515	270	17·496	1000	64·80
41	2·656	87	5·637	133	8·618	179	11·599	225	14·580	271	17·560	2000	129·60
42	2·720	88	5·702	134	8·682	180	11·664	226	14·644	272	17·625	3000	194·40
43	2·785	89	5·767	135	8·747	181	11·728	227	14·709	273	17·689	4000	259·20
44	2·850	90	5·832	136	8·812	182	11·792	228	14·774	274	17·754	5000	324·00
45	2·915	91	5·896	137	8·877	183	11·858	229	14·839	275	17·819		
46	2·980	92	5·961	138	8·942	184	11·922	230	14·904	276	17·884		

TABLE FOR CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES AND THE MEASURES OF MIONNET'S SCALE



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784, and twelve years later the proposal to establish a museum was mooted, but nothing was done to carry it into effect until 1814, when a beginning was made. The appointment of a paid Curator in 1835 and the allocation of a grant from public funds in 1839 placed the infant institution on a firmer basis, and the collections of the Society gradually increased in value.

A few coins had been presented in early days, but the first considerable numismatic acquisition was a set of duplicates from the cabinet of Colonel Mackenzie, presented by the Government of Bengal after his death in 1821. Professor H. H. Wilson published in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1832 a notice of the small collection of coins then in existence. During Prinsep's time many more specimens must have been received, but in 1843, when Dr. Roer printed an imperfect list in the *Proceedings*, the most important section of the cabinet was a set of Roman coins found in India; the Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Sassanian, and Gupta classes together numbering only one hundred and sixteen specimens. In the following year, 1844, all the more intrinsically valuable coins were stolen, and only a poor remnant was left, which was described by Mr. Freeling in the *Proceedings* for 1857. But early in 1859 the purchase of the Stacy collection for Rs. 4,000 made the cabinet of the Society comparatively rich in the coins of ancient India. Since that date the accessions have not been very numerous or important, consisting chiefly of treasure trove presented by the various Indian governments, supplemented by a few gifts from private donors.[1]

The Asiatic Society of Bengal not being able to maintain a museum worthy of the capital of the Indian empire, all parties interested agreed that such an institution should be organized by the Government of India. The consequent negotiations resulted in the enactment of Act XVII of 1866, which provided for 'the establishment of a Public Museum at Calcutta to be called the Indian Museum', under the control of a body corporate of Trustees. The building was finished and handed over to the Trustees in 1875, but the galleries were not opened to the public until three years later. Certain changes in the constitution of

[1] The history of the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is recorded in the *Centenary Review of the Researches of the Society*, 1784–1883 (Calcutta, 1885). Mr. Thomas published a rough list and valuation of the Stacy collection in the *Journal* for 1858.

the governing body were made by Act XXII of 1876, which repealed and re-enacted the earlier Act with the necessary amendments. The coins belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, although now deposited in the Indian Museum, are still the property of the Society, and the Act requires them to be 'kept and preserved' in the Museum with 'such marks and numbers' as may be necessary for their identification.

With the exception of the important purchase of the Rivett-Carnac collection about twenty years ago, the cabinet of the Indian Museum, as distinguished from that of the Asiatic Society, has been dependent almost wholly on presentations of treasure trove made by the central and provincial governments and the Calcutta mint. Very few coins have been acquired by means of exchange or private donation.

The cabinets of both the Asiatic Society and the Indian Museum having been formed in a haphazard fashion, starved in funds, and usually administered by officials untrained in numismatic science, are very far from being what they ought to be, when the richness of India in numismatic treasure is considered. The joint collection now catalogued must be pronounced to be, as a whole, lamentably defective; but a very moderate annual outlay on purchases judiciously made under competent direction would raise it in the course of a few years to a standard more worthy of an imperial museum.

Still, notwithstanding its conspicuous deficiencies, the collection described in this volume includes many valuable and interesting coins, and a few new to science. The contents of the catalogue are so multifarious that readers may find it convenient to have their attention drawn to some of its special features. With the remarkable exception of the group of Kushān forgeries noted in the Introduction to Section III (p. 65), the false coins met with have been few in number and easily detected. The doubtful cases included in the catalogue are probably less than a score, and all the others may be accepted as genuine with confidence. The set of Gupta gold coins is fine, but the silver series of the Gupta kings and Western Satraps is very defective. The ancient coins of Indian types described in Part II are varied and interesting. Many of the best specimens come from either the Stacy or the Rivett-Carnac cabinet. The present catalogue of one hundred and eight select punch-marked coins will be found, it is hoped, to give a more comprehensive and systematic view of the beginnings of Indian coinage than has previously appeared; and the series of Mālava tribal coins may be specially mentioned as one of exceptional interest. The various heterogeneous coins grouped together in Part III include a few good series. The Sassanian coins of Persia, which have been catalogued in accordance with the desire of the Trustees, are connected with the Indian coinage so closely that they deserve a place in a work on Indian numismatics.

The set described, although far from complete, is fairly representative. The catalogue of the coins of Nepāl (Section XIX) gives, for the first time, a tolerably adequate view of the numismatic history of that kingdom. The series of Assamese coins (Section XX) is extensive and fine. The recent publication of Mr. Gait's *History of Assam* has greatly facilitated the study of this series. The collection of coins of Western and Southern India (Sections XXI, XXII), regarded as a whole, is miserably poor. Extensive classes are unrepresented, and the collection is so fragmentary that it is impossible to gain a satisfactory notion of the peninsular coinages from the catalogue of the specimens in the Museum.

The collection preserved in the Indian Museum having now been weeded, arranged, and catalogued, I trust that I shall not be deemed to travel beyond my province if I venture respectfully to urge upon the responsible financial and executive authorities the necessity for taking measures to keep it up in a manner adapted to scientific requirements and befitting the dignity of a great empire. The practice of huddling together all sorts of coins without classification, and merely placing them in the order of receipt will presumably be abandoned, but this reform alone will not suffice. Apparently everything in the shape of a coin that came to hand used to be given a place, with the result that the cabinets were stuffed with multitudes of duplicates and a mass of worthless old metal. If the collection is to be maintained in a condition fit to serve scientific purposes, it will be needful to obtain expert examination of all proposed accessions before they are admitted, and to keep the printed catalogue up to date by means of manuscript additions. The performance of these indispensable duties requires the services of a skilled numismatist, and I hope that the Trustees will be able to arrange for the necessary additions to the staff of the Museum. If expert assistance is withheld, I fear that the collection will soon fall into disorder, and much of the labour and expense bestowed upon this catalogue will be wasted. It is also much to be desired that a moderate financial provision should be made for the filling up of the numerous gaps in the collection.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

Page 133 n. *For* 'xx' *read* 'xxi'.

Page 162, l. 35. *For* 'Samudragupta's conquest of Northern India about 330 A. D.' *read* 'the extension of the power of Chandragupta II about 380 A. D.'

Page 162, l. 43. *For* '330' *read* '380'.

Page 165, l. 29. *For* 'conquest of Northern India by Samudragupta about 330 A. D.' *read* 'completion of the conquest of Northern India by Chandragupta II about 380 A. D.'

Page 165, ll. 35, 36. *Dele* 'the early part of'.

Page 170, l. 15, heading. *For* '330' *read* '380'.

Page 185, l. 17. Add reference, *Progress Report of the Epigraphical Section, Archaeological Survey, N.W. Prov. and Oudh, for* 1901–2, printed at the Thomason College Press, Roorkee, No. 1939.

Page 191, l. 4. Add 'Recent discoveries at Sārnāth reveal the names of *Mahākshatrapa* Kharapallāna and *Kshatrapa* Vanaspara (or Vanashpara), contemporary with Kanishka, and probably local rulers of Mathura' (*Ep. Ind.*, viii. 173).

Page 191, l. 27. Add 'A supplement to that essay entitled "The Śakas in Northern India" will appear shortly in the *Z. D. M. G.*'

Page 214, Index. Insert 'Kosala, *co.*, pp. 184, 186'.

Page 251, l. 4. *For* 'Dāhāla' *read* 'Mahā-Kosala'.

Page 258, l. 21. *Dele* reference to Plate XXVI, 23.

Page 263, l. 35. *Dele* reference to Plate XXVI, 23.

PART I

THE EARLY FOREIGN DYNASTIES AND THE GUPTAS

Section I

BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK

INTRODUCTION

The coins of Sophytes, king of the Salt Range in the Panjāb, the contemporary of Alexander (Pl. I, 1), form a class by themselves, and are not connected with the subsequent development of coinage in India. The Bactrian issues, on the contrary, are intimately associated with the local Indian coinage, and a few words of historical explanation are needed to show how the association arose.

In or about the year 250 B.C., Diodotos, governor of Bactria, revolted against the authority of the Seleukidan sovereign, and succeeded in founding a new kingdom, the independence of which was formally recognized some forty years later by Antiochos the Great. If Justin may be believed, the founder of the Bactrian monarchy survived his success but a short time, and was succeeded by his son of the same name. The extant gold coins of Diodotos, one genuine specimen of which (Pl. I, 2) is in the Asiatic Society's cabinet, exhibit a rather youthful portrait, and it seems reasonable to accept Justin's statement, and attribute the coins to Diodotos II. After some years, say about 230 B.C., Euthydemos, a native of Magnesia, made himself master of Bactria. His coinage, which has high artistic merit, is well exemplified in Pl. I, 3, 4, 7, 8. The barbarous imitations, supposed to have been struck at Characene in Susiana (Pl. I, 5, 6), are excellent illustrations of the way in which a fine numismatic type can be degraded by uneducated copyists.

Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, and son-in-law of Antiochos the Great, brought the Bactrian power into contact with India by effecting considerable conquests in the border lands of the latter country about 190 B.C. Specimens of his coins, purely Hellenistic, are shown in Pl. I, 9–11.

The clumsy rectangular coins of the closely related princes Agathokles and Pantaleon (Pl. II, 1, 2), which belong to the same period, obviously are semi-Indian in character, and derive their peculiarities

from the native coinage of Taxila, which will be described in Part II of this work.[1]

The exact dynastic position of Antimachos Theos, who issued some fine coins (Pl. II, 3, 4), cannot be defined. The scanty data available are sufficient to prove that Eukratides (about 175–156 B. C.) was one of the most notable of the Bactrian kings. He defeated Demetrios, but was himself murdered by his own son, supposed to be Apollodotos, who became king of the whole or part of the Indian dominions; while Heliokles, apparently another son of Eukratides, ascended the throne of Bactria. The portraits on the coins of Eukratides are particularly realistic and well executed (Pl. II, 5, 7). Heliokles was the last independent Greek sovereign of the short-lived Bactrian kingdom, and about 140 B.C. was overwhelmed by the irruption of swarms of nomads from Central Asia. Specimens of his coinage, distinctly inferior in merit to that of Eukratides, are shown in Plate III. The coinage of Apollodotos (Pl. IV) is very abundant in some types. The square varieties are much more Indian than Greek. Although the Bactrian monarchy to the north of the Hindū Kush was overthrown by the nomad hordes, Greek princes continued to rule the country which we now call Afghanistan, as well as the Panjāb and Indus valley, for some time longer. The most famous of these Indo-Greek princes was Menander (Milinda or Milindra of Indian literary tradition[2]), who reigned from about 160 to 140 B.C., and effected an invasion of India, during the course of which he traversed Rājputāna and Oudh. His well-executed coinage (Pl. V) was issued in large quantities, and some varieties are quite common. Numerous other Greek princes ruled locally at various points on the Indian frontier, and specimens of their coinage will be found represented in Plates III–VI. The last of them was Hermaios, king of Kābul, who was subjugated by Kadphises I (Kujulakara, &c.), chief of the Kushān section of the Yueh-chi horde, about 45 A.D. For a time the Greek king and the barbarian chieftain shared the sovereignty of Kābul, but gradually the Greek power was wholly obliterated, and the Kushān attained undisputed dominion. The political changes are reflected in the coins (Pl. VI, 11–15, and Pl. XI).

The following alphabetical list of Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings and queens (reprinted with some slight corrections from *The Early History of India* by kind permission of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press) will be found useful for reference:—

[1] For decisive proof of this statement, see Cunningham, *Reports*, xiv, p. 18, Pl. X.

[2] 'Milindra' in the *Avadāna Kalpalata* of Kshemendra and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (*J. Buddh. Text and Res. Soc.*, Sept. 1904, vol. vii, part iii, pp. 1–6).

Alphabetical List of Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kings and Queens[1]

Serial No.	Name	Greek title or epithet	Remarks
1	Agathokleia .	Theotropos .	Mother of Strato I (see Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 164).
2	Agathokles .	Dikaios . .	Probably succeeded Pantaleon, No. 28, and contemporary with Euthydēmos I or Demetrios.
3	Amyntas . .	Nikator . .	A little earlier than Hermaios,
4	Antialkidas .	Nikēphoros .	Contemporary with early years of Eukratides, *cir.* 170 B.C.
5	Antimachos I	Theos . . .	Probably succeeded Diodotos II, No. 13, in Kābul.
6	Antimachos II	Nikēphoros .	Later than Eukratides, No. 17, or possibly contemporary.
7	Apollodotos .	Soter, Megas, Philopator[2]	Probably son of Eukratides, and king of entire Indian frontier.
8	Apollophanes	Soter . . .	Probably contemporary with Strato I or II.
9	Archebios . .	Dikaios, Nikēphoros	Probably connected with Heliokles.
10	Artemidoros .	Anikētos . .	Later than Menander.
11	Demetrios . .	Anikētos . .	Son of Euthydēmos I, No. 18.
12	Diodotos I .	——	No coins known.
13	Diodotos II .	Soter . . .	Son of No. 12.
14	Diomedes . .	Soter . . .	Apparently connected with Eukratides, No. 17.
15	Dionysios . .	Soter . . .	Later than Apollodotos.
16	Epander . .	Nikēphoros .	Probably later than Eukratides, No. 17.
17	Eukratides .	Megas . . .	Contemporary with Mithradates I.
18	Euthydēmos I	——	Subsequent to Diodotos II, No. 13.
19	Euthydēmos II	——	Probably son of No. 11.
20	Heliokles . .	Dikaios . .	Son of No. 17; last of Bactrian dynasty.
21	Hermaios . .	Soter . . .	Last Indo-Greek king.
22	Hippostratos .	Soter, Megas .	Probably succeeded Apollodotos.
23	Kalliopē . .	——	Queen of Hermaios.
24	Laodikē . .	——	Mother of Eukratides.[3]
25	Lysias . . .	Anikētos . .	Predecessor of Antialkidas, No. 4.
26	Menander . .	Soter, Dikaios	Later than Eukratides, invaded India about 155 B.C.
27	Nikias . . .	Soter . . .	Later than Eukratides.
28	Pantaleon . .	——	Contemporary with Euthydēmos I or Demetrios, probably preceded Agathokles, No. 2.
29	Peukelaos . .	Dikaios, Soter	Contemporary with Hippostratos (*J. A. S. B.*, 1898, part i, p. 131).

[1] Based on Von Sallet's lists, and brought up to date. The geographical and chronological position of many of the rulers named is so uncertain that an alphabetical list is the best.

[2] Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 81). Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 34) distinguishes A. Soter from A. Philopator, and Mr. Rapson is disposed to accept this view.

[3] Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 19). Heliokles seems to have been the name of the father, as well as of the son of Eukratides.

Serial No.	Name	Greek title or epithet	Remarks
30	Philoxenos .	Anikētos . .	Probably succeeded Antimachos II, No. 6.
31	Plato . . .	Epiphanēs .	165 B. C., contemporary with Eukratides, No. 17.[1]
32	(?) Polyxenos.	Epiphanēs, Soter	*Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 269: Mr. Rapson doubts the genuineness of the unique coin described.
33	Strato I . .	Soter, Epiphanēs, Dikaios	Contemporary with Heliokles.
34	Strato II . .	Soter . . .	Grandson of No. 33.
35	Telephos . .	Euergetes. .	*J. A. S. B.*, 1898, part i, p. 130.
36	Theophilos .	Dikaios . .	*J. A. S. B.*, 1897, part i, p. 1; connected with Lysias.
37	Zoilos . . .	Soter, Dikaios	Apparently later than Apollodotos.

Notwithstanding the numerous additions to knowledge made during the last twenty years, Professor Percy Gardner's catalogue of *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, published in 1886, is still the best guide to the student. The principal results of Von Sallet's work, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien* (Berlin, 1879), are incorporated in Professor Gardner's book. Sir Alexander Cunningham's essays entitled 'Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East, the Greeks and Indo-Scythians' (*Num. Chron.*, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873), although of great value, require to be read with caution, being disfigured by an excessive amount of fanciful conjecture. Additional references will be found in Professor Rapson's *Indian Coins* (1898); and since the publication of that work sundry scattered notices of particular coins have appeared in various periodicals.

The collection now catalogued, although it includes many fine, rare, and interesting specimens, is far from complete, and offers nothing absolutely unpublished. The two copper coins of Menander (Nos. 24 and 96), believed to be unique, have been published—the former by Mr. Rodgers in his catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, and the latter by Professor Gardner in the Supplement to the British Museum catalogue. The silver coin of Queen Agathokleia, apparently the only specimen known in silver, was figured by Mr. Rodgers. The deficiencies in the cabinets now described are deplorably great. The gold Bactrian coinage is represented by only a single specimen of Diodotos, and the coinages of Apollophanes, Artemidoros, Epander, Nikias, Peukelaos, Plato, Strato II, and Telephos are unrepresented.

[1] The letters on Plato's coin are interpreted as signifying the year 147 of the Seleukidan era, equivalent to 165 B. C.

Numerous types of the issues of the kings included in the catalogue are also wanting.

The marks supposed to indicate long vowels in the Kharōshṭhī script are applied in such an irregular fashion that I have thought it better to ignore them in transliteration, and to write simply *maharajasa*, *tratarasa*, and so forth.

The table of Bactrian and Indo-Greek monograms and marks in Plate VII has been reprinted, by kind permission of the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society, from that published by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.*, N. S., vol. viii, Pl. VII.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SOPHYTES (SAUBHŪTI), KING OF THE SALT RANGE: 305 B.C.[1]	
			Type; head of king, and cock; silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57 ·62	Head of king r., in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.	Cock standing r., caduceus in l. upper field. Legend to r. [ΣΩ]ΦΥΤΟΥ (Pl. I, 1).
2	„	Æ 48·5 ·58	As No. 1.	As No. 1. Legend complete.
3	„	Æ 48 ·56	Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.
			DIODOTOS II (?I), KING OF BACTRIA, ABOUT 245–230 B.C.[2]	
			Type; head of king; thundering Zeus rev.; gold and silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 130 ·75	Young portrait head of king r., diad.	Zeus naked, striding to l., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; aegis on l. arm; eagle l. at his l. foot; wreath in l. field. Legend, r. ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ (Pl. I, 2).

[1] These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophytes presumably submitted to him.

The portrait of Sophytes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jihlam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophytes. For another view, see Prof. Rapson's remarks in *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 328.

[2] I think that these coins should be attributed to the younger Diodotos of Justin. Von Sallet attributes certain coins of Antiochos (? II) of Syria, with the thundering Zeus, the special cognizance of Diodotos, to Bactria, but Gardner excludes them from the B.M. catalogue of Bactrian coins. Nos. *I.M.* 7616 Æ and *I.M.* 9304 Æ are examples. Nos. *A.S.B.* 5 Æ, and *I.M.* 7617 Æ, with a spear-head in r. field between the legend and Zeus, both from the one die, are forgeries, such as are found in most collections of Bactrian coins.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1, but in poor condition; eagle and wreath not distinct; a blurred mon. between legs of Zeus; only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legible.

EUTHYDEMOS, KING OF BACTRIA, ABOUT 230–200 B.C.

Type 1; *bust of king; seated Herakles rev.; silver*

Var. α; club resting on a slender stone

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 248 1·05	Bust or head of king r., diad., middle-aged portrait.	Herakles, naked, seated l. on rock, with club in r. hand resting on slender stone in front; mon. Pl. VII, 31. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (Pl. I, 3).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 254·2 ·95	As No. 1.	As No. 1; but mon. Pl. VII, 40, and condition not so good.
3	„	Æ 59·3 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; but no mon.; condition poor.

Var. β; club resting on knee

4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 46·5 ·6	As No. 1.	As No. 1; but club rests on knee, and mon. Pl. VII, 16 (Pl. I, 4).
5	„	Æ 155 1·0	Ditto; barbarous.	Ditto; barbarous. Legend meaningless; no mon. (Pl. I, 5).
6	„	Æ 139·5 1·05	Ditto; but still more barbarous.	Ditto; but much more barbarous (Pl. I, 6).

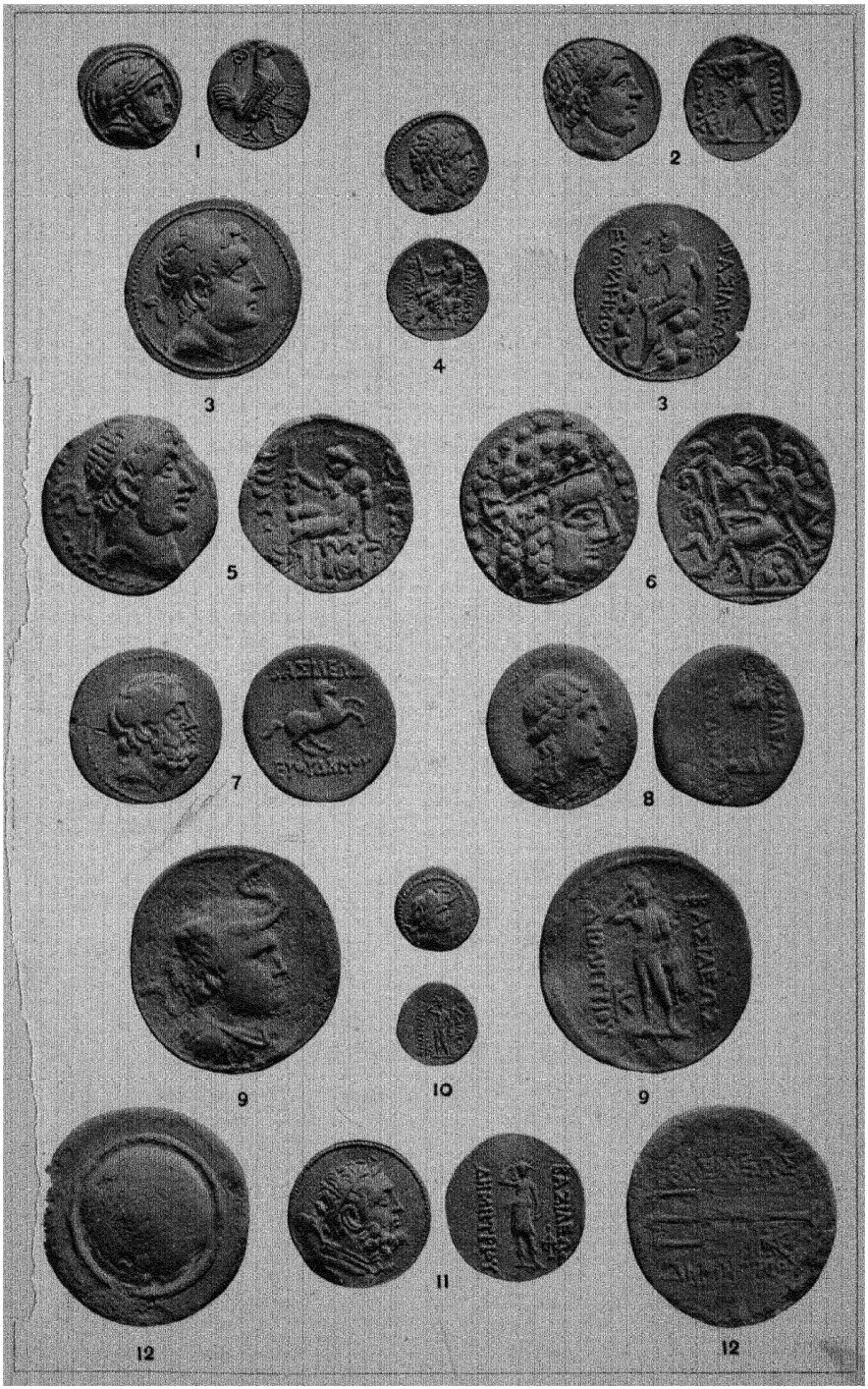
Type 2; *bearded Herakles; horse rev.; copper*

Var. α; broad, thin coins

7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119·9 ·95	Head of bearded Herakles r.	Horse galloping r.; no mon. Legend, above ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ, below ΕΥΘΥΔΗ-ΜΟΥ (Pl. I, 7).
8	„	Æ 101 ·95	As No. 7.	As No. 7; condition very poor: defaced.

Var. β; thick, convex coins

9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 124 ·8	As No. 7.	As No. 7; condition poor.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 134 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; but better.



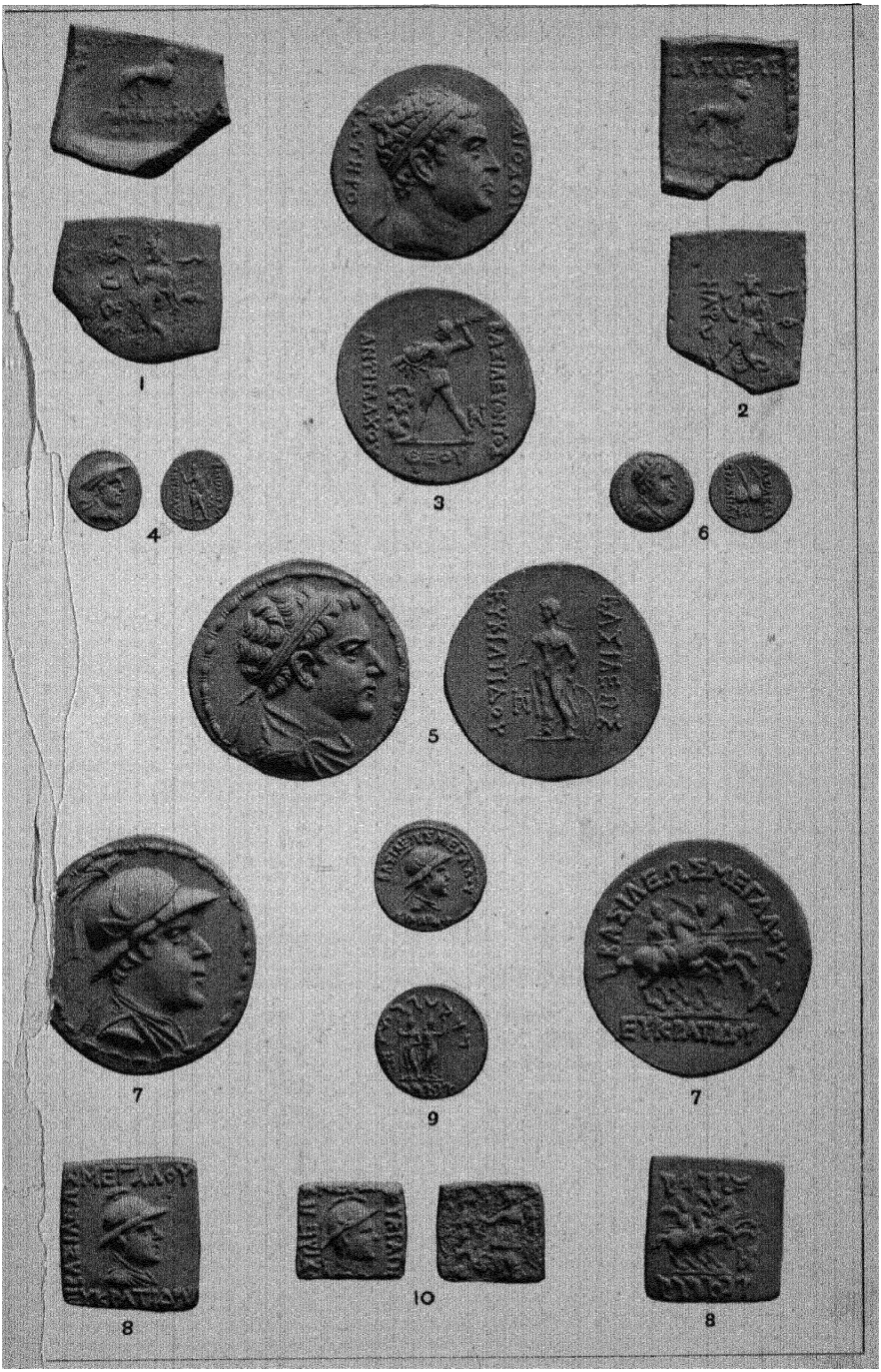
BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 3; *head of Apollo; tripod rev.; copper*		
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 113.5 ·95	Head of Apollo r.	Tripod-lebes; mon. (?) Pl. VII, 3. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ (Pl. I, 8).[1]
		DEMETRIOS, KING OF N.W. INDIAN FRONTIER, ABOUT 200 B.C.		
		Type 1; *obv. bust of king; standing Herakles rev.; silver*		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 230·5 1·28	Bust of king r., diad., wearing elephant's scalp.	Young Herakles standing, facing, crowning himself with r. hand, and holding club and lion's skin with l.; mon. Pl. VII, 16. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (Pl. I, 9).
2	„	Æ 9 ·35	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 16.
3	„	Æ 9 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; broken.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 9·2 ·47	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. I, 10).
		Type 2; *obv. bust of king; rev. Pallas standing*		
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 195 1·15	As in type 1.	Pallas facing, head l., wearing armour, grasping spear with r. hand; l. hand resting on shield; mon. indistinct; legend as in type 1. A poor and broken example of a rare type.
		Type 3; *obv. bust of Herakles; Artemis rev.; copper*		
6	*I.M.*	Æ 91·5 ·85	Bust of bearded Herakles r., crowned with ivy; lion's skin round neck; club over shoulder.	Artemis standing, facing, radiate, clad in short chiton; with bow in l. hand, and drawing arrow with r. hand from quiver on shoulder; mon. Pl. VII, 31. Legend, as No. 1 (Pl. I, 11).
		Type 4; *obv. shield; trident rev.; copper*		
7	*I.M.*	Æ 327 1·3	Circular shield, with rim; Gorgon's head in centre, nearly obliterated.	Trident; mon. Pl. VII, 62. Legend, as No. 1 (Pl. I, 12).

[1] Some specimens of type 8 contain nickel. I agree with Von Sallet in referring all the above coins to the one king. The origin of the barbarous coins, Nos. 5, 6, is uncertain. Thomas referred them to the Characene (in Susiana) series (*Num. Chron.*, 1862, p. 264). Nos. *A. S. B.* 15–20, 22–29, and 31–39 are of this class, and have not been catalogued in detail.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
PANTALEON, KING ON N.W. INDIAN FRONTIER, ABOUT 190 B.C.				
			Type; maneless lion; dancing girl rev.; copper	
1	*I.M.*	Æ oblong 159·2 1 × ·7	Maneless lion, standing r., in incuse square. Legend, above ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ], below ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.	Female l., dancing, clad in loose robe and trousers, with long ear-rings; flower in r. hand; no mon. Legend, in peculiar Br. characters, r. *rajane*, l. *Patalevasha*; broken (Pl. II, 1).
2	„	Æ oblong 171·2 1 × ·75	As No. 1.	As No. 1; name clearly legible.
AGATHOKLES, KING ON N.W. INDIAN FRONTIER, ABOUT 185 B.C.; PROBABLY SUCCESSOR OF PANTALEON				
			Type; same as that of Pantaleon; copper	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ oblong 175·5 ·95 × ·8	Obliterated.	Dancing girl, as on coins of Pantaleon. Br. legend, l. . . . *thuklayesha*.
2	*I.M.*	Æ oblong 192 ·95 × ·8	Maneless lion, standing r., in incuse square. Legend, above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, below ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[ΟΥΣ].	Dancing girl. Br. legend, r. *rajane*, l. *Agathuklaye*[*sha*] [1] (Pl. II, 2); broken.
3	„	Æ oblong 175·5 ·85 × ·8	As No. 2.	As No. 2; broken; legible, *rajane Agathukla*.
ANTIMACHOS (I) THEOS, KING OF (?) BACTRIA, ABOUT 190 B.C.				
			Type 1; *head of Diodotos; thundering Zeus rev.; silver*	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 239·2 1·15	Head of Diodotos, r. diad. Legend, r. ΔΙΟΔΟ-ΤΟ[Υ], l. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Naked Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; aegis on l. arm; eagle l. at his l. foot; wreath in l. field, as on coins of Diodotos; mon. Pl. VII, 14. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ, l. ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ, exergue ΘΕΟΥ. In fine condition (Pl. II, 3).

[1] Not *Agathukleyasa* as read by Von Sallet and Gardner; the form is a genitive in *-esha* from nom. *Agathuklaya*. (R. O. Franke, 'Zu Açoka's Felsen-Edikten,' in *Nachr. Königl. Gesellsch. W. zu Göttingen*, 1895, p. 529 n.; and same author, *Pali und Sanskrit*, Strassburg, 1902, pp. 84, 104.) The specimens catalogued read *rajane*, not *rajine*, which is usually given as the reading.



BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

NTALEON, AGATHOKLES, ANTIMACHOS THEOS, AND EUKRATIDES

PAI

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 2; portrait head of king; rev. Poseidon		
2	*I.M.*	Æ 10·7 ·48	Bust of king r., diad. and wearing *kausia*.	Poseidon facing, wearing himation and wreath; trident in r. hand; palm bound with fillet in l.; mon. Pl. VII, 16. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ, l. ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.
3	„	Æ 10·7 ·48	As No. 2.	As No. 2; same mon. (Pl. II, 4).
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ plated 58 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ? ditto. (A copper coin, plated, in bad condition; an ancient forgery.)
		EUKRATIDES, KING OF BACTRIA AND N.W. INDIA, ABOUT 175–156 B.C.		
		Type 1; rev. Apollo; Greek legends only; silver		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 262 1·25	Bust of king r., diad.; astragalus border.	Apollo standing l., wearing chlamys and boots; holding in l. hand bow, and in r. hand arrow; mon. Pl. VII, 90 nearly. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
2	*I.M.*	Æ 259 1·25	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. almost the same (Pl. II, 5).
		Type 2; rev. pilei of the Dioskouroi; Greek legends only; silver		
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 7 ·4	Bust of king r., diad.	The pilei of the Dioskouroi, laur., surmounted by stars; with two palms; mon. Η. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.
4	„	Æ 10 ·45	As No. 3.	As No. 3; but mon. Η, with an extra stroke (Pl. II, 6).
5	*I.M.*	Æ 9·7 ·4	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 30.
6	„	Æ 10 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 16.
		Type 3; rev. the Dioskouroi charging; silver and copper; some copper coins bilingual		
		A; silver, with title ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; *Greek legend only*		
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 256 1·25	Bust of king r., diad. and wearing helmet in shape of high crowned *kausia*, adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border.	The Dioskouroi charging r., holding long lances and palms; mon. Pl. VII, 28, lower form. Semicircular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, in exergue ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 256 1·35	As No. 7.	As No. 7; mon. Pl. VII, 15 (Pl. II, 7).
9	*I.M.*	Æ 245 1·35	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
10	„	Æ 257·3 1·15	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 62 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 16 nearly.
12	*I.M.*	Æ 52·5 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. a cross with circle in centre.
13	„	Æ 64·5 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. H.
		B; copper, circular; legends as in A, Greek only		
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 88 ·85	As No. 7,	As No. 7; no mon.
15	*I.M.*	Æ 95 ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
16	„	Æ 87·5 ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto. (These three coins are in rather poor condition.)
		C; copper, square; with title ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; *bilingual*		
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 123 ·85 × ·8	Bust of king r., diad. and helmeted. Legend, l. ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.	The Dioskouroi charging, holding long lances and palms; mon. Pl. VII, 28, lower figure. Kh. legend, above *maharajasa*, below *Evukratidasa* (Pl. II, 8).
18	„	Æ — ·8	As No. 17; A in r. field; perhaps a date, indicating the regnal year 1.	As No. 17; mon. Pl. VII, 58.
19	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; ditto; in bad condition.
20	„	Æ 156 ·9 × ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; no mon.
21	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 58 and E.
22	„	Æ — ·9 × ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
23	„	Æ — ·65 × ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
24	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto. (These two small coins, Nos. 23, 24, are in very poor condition.)
25	*I.M.*	Æ 137·2 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. as No. 21.
26	„	Æ 132 ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
27	*I.M.*	Æ 130 ·95 × ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. E in a half square.
28	„	Æ — ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; no mon. (A very rude coin.)
		Type 4; rev. the Dioskouroi standing; silver; bilingual		
29	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37 ·6	Bust of king r., diad. and with helmet, adorned as in type 3. Semicircular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.	The Dioskouroi standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; mon. E and Y combined. Kh. legend, above *rajasa mahatakasa*, below *Eükratida*[*sa*]. (A fine specimen of an extremely rare coin, Pl. II, 9.)
		Type 5; rev. Nikē standing; copper; bilingual		
30	*I.M.*	Æ sq. 69·8 ·6 × ·55	Bust of king r., diad. and helmeted, as in preceding types. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, r. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔ[ΟΥ].	Nikē l., bearing wreath and palm; no mon. Kh. legend, l. [*E*]*ükratida*[*sa*]. (Rare, in fair condition, Pl. II, 10.)

HELIOKLES, THE LAST GREEK KING OF BACTRIA, ABOUT 156–140 B.C.

Type 1; bust of king r., diad.; rev. standing Zeus; silver

A; Greek legends only

1	*I.M.*	Æ	261 1·22	Bust of king r., diad.; astragalus border.	Zeus standing, facing, wearing himation, holding thunderbolt in r. and long sceptre in l. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 58. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, exergue ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. (Well executed and preserved, Pl. III, 1.)
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	56 ·75	As No. 1, but degraded.	As No. 1, but degraded, and with corrupt legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΣ ΔΚΑΙΥ; no mon.
				B; bilingual	
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ	28 ·6	Bust of king r., diad. (? a different portrait). Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, and below ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.	Zeus, as on No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 67. Kh. legend, *maharajasa dhramikasa*, and below *Heliyakreyasa*. (Well executed and preserved, Pl. III, 2.)
4	*I.M.*	Æ	30 ·65	As No. 3.	As No. 3; same mon.; condition poor.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 2; horse rev.; copper, circular		
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·7	Bust of king r., diad., in degraded style.	Horse trotting l. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. (Very rude.)
		Type 3; elephant rev.; copper, square		
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 132 ·9 × ·8	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, r. ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.	Elephant standing l.; mon. Σ. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *dhramikasa*, l. *Heliyakreyasa*. (Fairly well executed and preserved, Pl. III, 3.)
7	*I.M.*	Æ 130 ·8	As No. 6.	As No. 6; but mon. illegible.

LYSIAS, KING OF (?) THE PAÑJĀB, COLLEAGUE AND PREDECESSOR OF ANTIALKIDAS, ABOUT (?) 150 B.C.

Type 1; bust of king; rev. Herakles crowning himself; silver

Var. 1; king helmeted

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31·5 62	Bust of king r., wearing helmet adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest, as on coins of Eukratides. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ, below ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.	Herakles standing, facing, holding in l. hand club, palm, and lion's skin, which he crowns himself with; hand; mon. Pl. VII, Kh. legend, *maharaja apadihatasa*, and below *Lisiasa* (Pl. III, 4).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 31·2 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1; same mon.
		Var. 2; king wearing elephant's scalp		
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32 ·65	Bust of king r., wearing elephant's scalp, as on coins of Demetrios. Legend, as No. 1.	As No. 1; same mon.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 33 ·65	As No. 3.	Ditto; ditto. (Pl. III, 5).
		Type 2; bust of bearded Herakles; rev. elephant; copper		
		Var. 1; square		
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 111 ·75	Bust of bearded Herakles; lion's skin on neck; club over shoulder. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ, r. ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.	Elephant, walking r.; mon. Pl. VII, 16. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *apadihatasa*, l. *Lisiasa* (Pl. III, 6).
6	„	Æ — ·75	As No. 5.	As No. 5; same mon.; but *Lisikasa*; condition poor.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*I.M.*	Æ 123 ·75	Ditto.	As No. 5; mon. Pl. VII, 16.
8	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto.	As No. 6; *Lisikasa*; mon. Pl. VII, 100.
			Var. 2; circular	
9	*I.M.*	Æ 39 ·8	Bust of bearded Herakles [club and palm over shoulder]. Legend, as No. 1, but mostly illegible.	Elephant walking r.; mon. illegible. Kh. legend, as either No. 5 or 6, but mostly illegible.

ANTIALKIDAS, COLLEAGUE AND SUCCESSOR OF LYSIAS, KING OF (?) THE PANJĀB, ABOUT (?) 145 B.C.

Type 1; *bust of king; rev. throned Zeus; silver*

Var. α; king diad.

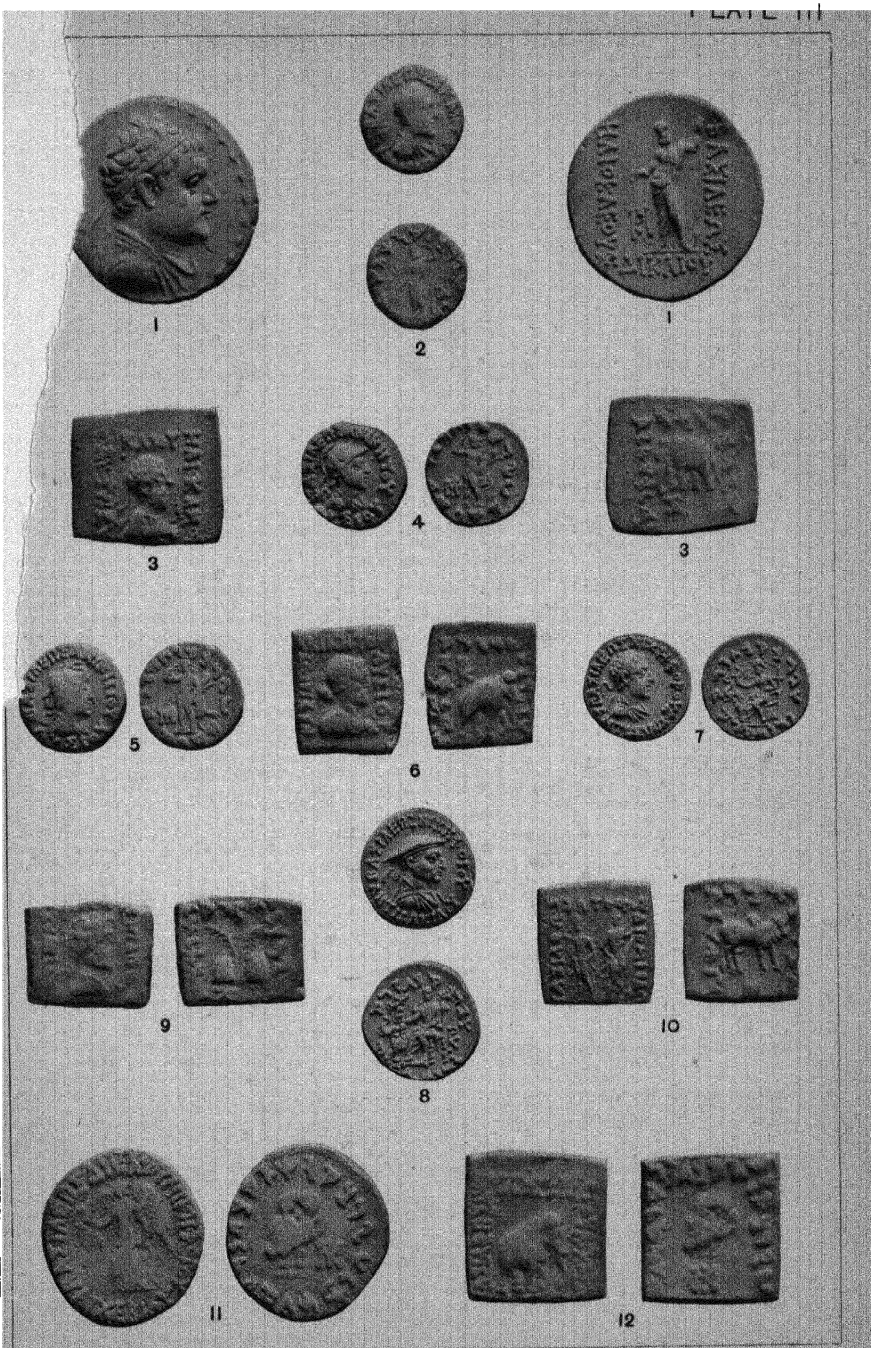
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	37·5 ·65	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.	Throned Zeus l., laur., holding long sceptre in l. hand; and, in r. hand, a small figure of Nikē, who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant l., with bell round neck, extends its trunk; mon. Pl. VII, 100. Kh. legend, *maharajasa jayadharasa*, below *Amtialikidasa*. (Well executed and preserved, Pl. III, 7.)
2	„	Æ	33 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 89.
3	*I.M.*	Æ	32 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
				Var. β; king wearing either kausia or helmet	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ	37·5 ·62	Bust of king r., wearing helmet like that of Eukratides. Legend, as No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. seems to be Pl. VII, 89.
5	„	Æ	38 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 100.
6	„	Æ	38 ·67	Bust of king r., wearing low-crowned, unadorned *kausia*. Legend, as No. 1.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 16 (Pl. III, 8).
7	„	Æ	37·5 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 100.
8	„	Æ	37·5 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 89.
9	„	Æ	37·5 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 17.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	*I.M.*	Æ 37 ·7	As No. 6.	As No. 6; mon. Pl. VII, 17.
11	„	Æ 35·4 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
12	„	Æ 37·8 ·65	Ditto; helmeted, as No. 4.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 17.
13	„	Æ 35·8 ·62	Ditto; plain *kausia*.	Ditto; mon. a peculiar curved mark.
14	„	Æ 35·7 ·65	King helmeted.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 89.
15	„	Æ 32·4 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
16	„	Æ 32·8 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
		Type 2; bust of Zeus; rev. the pilei of the Dioskouroi; copper		
		Var. α; circular		
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59·5 ·85	Bust of Zeus r., with r. hand holding thunderbolt. Legend, as on No. 1.	Laureate pilei of the Dioskouroi, surmounted by stars; palms between; mon. Pl. VII, 105. Kh. legend, as on No. 1. (In poor condition.)
		Var. β; square		
18	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·75	Bust of Zeus r., bareheaded; thunderbolt over l. shoulder. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, r. ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.	As No. 17; mon. Σ.
19	„	Æ 105·5 ·8 × ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. a horizontal line with two curves below (Pl. III, 9).
20	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Σ.
21	„	Æ — ·7 × ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; no mon.
22	*I.M.*	Æ 113·5 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
23	„	Æ 118 ·65 × ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

DIOMEDES, King of (?) the Panjāb, about (?) 140 B.C.

Type 1; bust of king; rev. Dioskouroi charging; silver

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33·5 ·64	Bust of king r., helmeted. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.	The Dioskouroi, carrying lances, charging r.; mon. Pl. VII, 139 or 140. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Diyamedasa*. (In poor condition.)



BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

HELIOKLES, LYSIAS, ANTIALKIDAS, DIOMEDES, AND ARCHEBIOS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 2; bust of king; rev. Dioskouroi standing; silver		
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36 ·63	As No. 1.	The Dioskouroi standing, facing, holding lances; mon. Pl. VII, 139 or 140. Kh. legend, as No. 1. (In poor condition.)
		Type 3; Dioskouroi standing; rev. humped bull; copper, square		
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 128·5 ·75	The Dioskouroi standing, facing, holding lances. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.	Humped bull, standing r.; mon. Pl. VII, 100. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Diyamedasa* (Pl. III, 10).
4	*I.M.*	Æ 120 ·8 × ·7	As No. 3.	As No. 3; same mon.
5	„	Æ 139 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
6	„	Æ 123 ·8 × ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

ARCHEBIOS, King of (?) Kābul, about (?) 140 B.C.

		Type 1; bust of king; rev. thundering Zeus; silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 29·4 ·65	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.	Zeus standing, facing, holding sceptre in l. and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon., l. Pl. VII, 16, r. indistinct. Kh. legend, *maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa*, below *Arkhebiyasa*. (In poor condition.)
		Type 2; Nikē; rev. owl; copper, circular		
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 140 1·0	Nikē standing l., holding wreath and palm. Legend, as No. 1.	Owl r., nearly facing; mon. M and N combined. Kh. legend, as No. 1 (Pl. III, 11).
3	*I.M.*	Æ 141·5 1·0	As No. 2.	As No. 2; same mon.
		Type 3; elephant; rev. owl; copper, square		
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 113 ·9	Elephant standing r. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙ, top ΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦ, r. ΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.	Owl r., nearly facing; mon. as No. 2. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa dhrami*, top *kasa jayadhara*, l. *sa Arkhebiyasa* (Pl. III, 12).

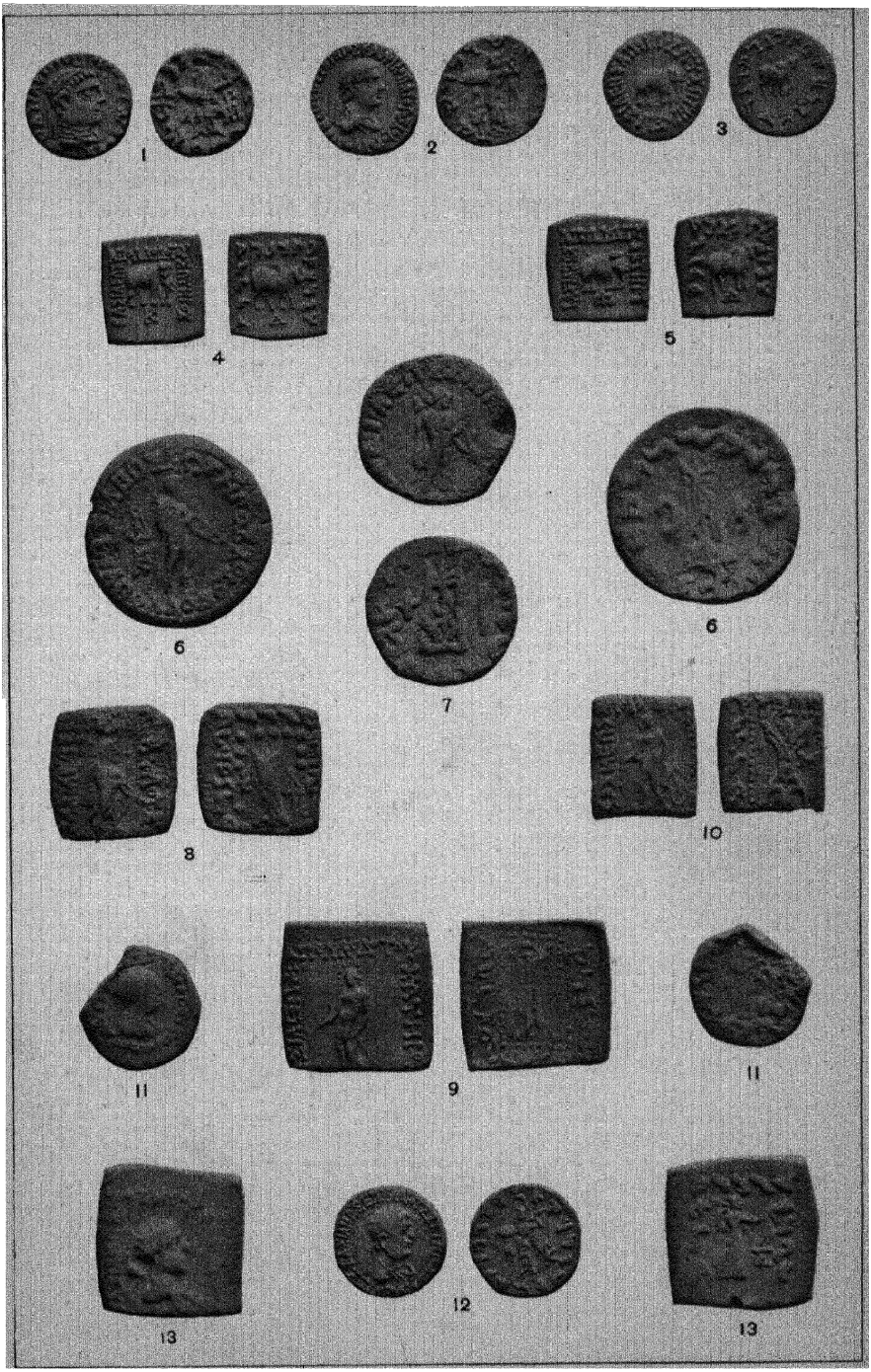
Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
APOLLODOTOS, PROBABLY SON OF EUKRATIDES, KING OF N.W. INDIAN FRONTIER, ABOUT 156–140 B.C.[1]				
Type 1; bust of king; rev. Pallas; silver, circular				
A; title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35 ·62	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l. hand and with r. hand hurling thunderbolt; mon. Pl. VII, 68 nearly. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Apaladatasa*. (Coarsely executed, in fair condition, Pl. IV, 1.)
2	*I.M.*	Æ 25·3 ·6	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 73. (In poor condition.)
B; title, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ				
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35·5 53	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, below ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.	Pallas, as No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 69. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Apaladatasa*.
4	„	Æ 32·5 ·65	As No. 3.	As No. 3; same mon.
5	„	Æ 35·4 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 31 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 35·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 51.
8	„	Æ 36·7 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 46 (Pl. IV, 2).
9	„	Æ 35 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
Type 2; elephant; rev. bull; silver				
A; circular				
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ 28·7 ·65	Elephant walking r. Legend, circular and continuous, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Humped bull, walking r.; no mon. Kh. circular legend, *maharajasa Apaladatasa tradarasa*[2] (Pl. IV, 3).
11	*I.M.*	Æ 30·2 ·57	As No. 10.	As No. 10.

[1] The coins of Apollodotos seem to me to be the issues of one king only.

[2] On many coins of Apollodotos the equivalent of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ is spelt *tradarasa*, instead of *tratarasa*. This peculiarity, which probably records an optional pronunciation, has given rise to the reading *tradatasa*, an impossible word.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			B; square	
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37·5 ·6	Elephant walking r.; below, mon. Pl. VII, 16. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, r. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Bull standing r.; mon. Δ with a cross-stroke. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *Apaladatasa*, l. *tratarasa*.
13	„	Æ 35·5 ·58	As No. 12; same mon.	As No. 12; same mon. (Pl. IV, 4).
14	*I.M.*	Æ 35·2 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36 ·55	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 14.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 10 (*tradarasa*).
16	*I.M.*	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 81.	Ditto; no mon.
17	„	Æ 36·7 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
18	„	Æ 36·4 ·58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
19	„	Æ 36·8 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
20	„	Æ 35 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
21	„	Æ 34·2 ·65	Ditto; mon.(not in plate) —a horizontal line with three legs, and a dot above.	Ditto; mon. as on obv. (*tradarasa*).
22	„	Æ 36·4 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
23	„	Æ 37·5 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
24	„	Æ 37 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
25	„	Æ 36·4 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
26	„	Æ 35·6 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto (Pl. IV, 5).
27	„	Æ 37·1 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
28	„	Æ 37·3 ·65	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 16.	Ditto: mon. C (*tratarasa*).
29	„	Æ 37·4 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
30	„	Æ 34·7 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
31	„	Æ 35 ·68	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
32	„	Æ 33·8 ·65	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 14.	Ditto; mon. A (*tradarasa*).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 3; Apollo with arrow and quiver; rev. tripod; copper		
		A; circular		
33	*A.S.B.*	Æ 246·9 1·15	Apollo standing r., holding out arrow with both hands, quiver at his back; mon. Pl. VII, 73. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.	Tripod on stand; mon. Pl. VII, 75, i. e. l. the Kh. character *a*; r. *di*. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Apaladatasa* (Pl. IV, 6).
34	„	Æ — 1·2	As No. 33.	As No. 33; same mon.
35	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
36	*I.M.*	Æ 255·5 ·9	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; l. Kh. figure 4; r. figure 1 (0·15 thick, Pl. IV, 7).
		B; square		
37	*A.S.B.*	Æ 109 ·75	Apollo, as No. 33; no mon. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.	Tripod on stand, with dots between it and legend; mon. Pl. VII, 74. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Apaladatasa* (Pl. IV, 8).
		Type 4; Apollo with bow and arrow; rev. tripod; copper, square		
38	*A.S.B.*	Æ 148·2 ·85	Apollo facing, holding arrow in r. and bow in l. hand. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ, top ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟ-ΤΟΥ, r. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Tripod on stand, in square of dots; no mon. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *Apaladatasa*, l. *tradarasa* (Pl. IV, 9; the rev. has been turned upside down).
39	„	Æ — ·85	As No. 38.	As No. 38; mon. Pl. VII, 82, nearly.
40	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (*tratarasa*).
41	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; no mon.; ditto.
42	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (*?tradarasa*).
43	*I.M.*	Æ 50 ·6 × ·65	Ditto.	Ditto, but tripod of peculiar form; mon. N (*tratarasa*, Pl. IV, 10).
44	„	Æ 141 ·90	Ditto; mon. Γ and A combined.	Ditto; mon. H and A combined (*tratarasa*).
45	„	Æ 83·5 ·85	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; mon. T and M combined.
46	„	Æ 89·5 ·9	Ditto; mon. EI.	Ditto; mon. E and A combined.
47	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; device in incuse square; no mon.



BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

APOLLODOTOS, AGATHOKLEIA WITH STRATO, AND STRATO ALONE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
48	*I.M.*	Æ — ·87	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. as No. 45.
49	„	Æ — ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. horizontal line with three legs and a dot above. (Rounded at upper corners.)
50	„	Æ 147·8 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 82, i.e. Τ, Ρ, and Μ combined. (Rounded at upper corners.)
51	„	Æ 131 ·87	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. as No. 45.
b.	„	Æ — ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible. (Rude, small coin.)
		Type 5; *bull; rev. tripod; copper, square*		
53	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30 ·55	Humped bull standing r.	Tripod in astragalus border. (Small thin coin, in poor condition, without legend; referred to Apollodotos on account of the devices.)

STRATO I WITH HIS MOTHER, THE QUEEN-REGENT, AGATHOKLEIA, CONTEMP. WITH HELIOKLES, SOVEREIGNS OF (?) THE EASTERN PANJĀB[1]

Type; bust of queen; rev. Herakles seated on rock; silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 29·2 ·7	Bust of queen r., bare-headed. Legend ΒΑ[ΣΙ-ΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ, below ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ. (Broken behind queen's head.)	Herakles seated l. on rock (defaced); mon., if any, illegible. Kh. legend, [*maharajasa tratar*]*asa dhramikasa*, below *Stra*]-*tasa*, preferably, *Thratasa*, as read by Hoernle (Pl. IV, 11).[2]

STRATO I, KING OF (?) THE EASTERN PANJĀB, ALONE

Type 1; *bust of king helmeted; rev. Pallas thundering; silver*

1	*I.M.*	Æ 27 ·6	Bust of king r., helmeted, youthful portrait. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Σ. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below [*Thratasa.*]

Type 2; *bust of king, diad.; rev. Pallas thundering; silver A; with title* ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32·5 ·65	Bust of king r., diad., older portrait. Legend, as No. 1.	Pallas, as No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 100. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* (?), below *Thratasa.*

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 164.

[2] The only specimen in silver known to me.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		B; with title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ		
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33·5 ·64	Bust of king, as No. 2. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙ-ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩ[ΤΗΡΟΣ], below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.	Pallas, as No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 17. Kh. legend, *mahara . . . . . sa*, below *Thratasa*.
4	„	Æ 37·5 ·63	Ditto.	Pallas, as No. 3; mon. Pl. VII, 16. Kh. legend, *maharajasa prachachhasa*[1] *Thratasa* (Fine. Pl. IV, 12).
		Type 3; *bust of Herakles; rev. Nikē; copper, square*		
5	*I.M.*	Æ 126 ·9	Bust of Herakles r. (? bearded); club, bound with *taenia*, over shoulder. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΣΤΡΑΤΩ-ΝΟΣ.	Nikē r. holding out fillet; mon. Σ. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Thratasa* (Pl. IV, 13).
		MENANDER, KING OF KĀBUL, THE INDUS VALLEY, AND SURASHTRA, ABOUT 160–140 B.C.		
		Type 1; *bust of king r., helmeted, with youthful portrait; rev. Pallas l. A; silver*		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 37·7 ·7	Bust of king r., helmeted. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩ-ΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΜΕΝΑΝ-ΔΡΟΥ.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 17. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Menadrasa*.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37·5 ·7	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 18.
3	„	Æ 37·5 ·67	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 39 ·66	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	„	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 33 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 37·5 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 58.
9	„	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
10	„	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

[1] *Prachachhasa* (not *pratichhasa* as in *B. M. Catal.*) = Sanskrit *pratyakshasya*, = ΕΠΙ-ΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

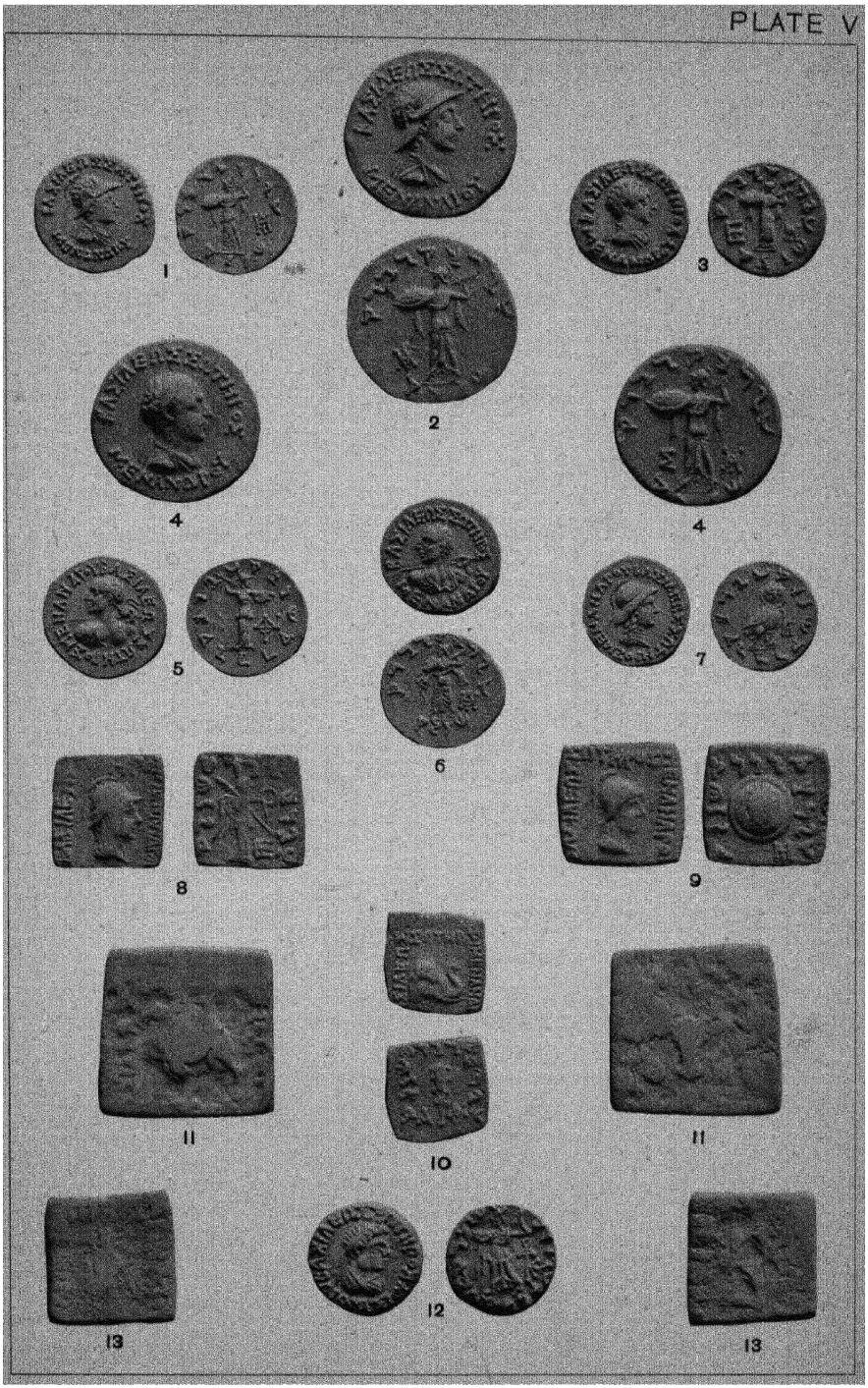
Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
12	,,	Æ 37·5 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
13	,,	Æ 34·7 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
14	,,	Æ 37 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
15	,,	Æ 37·5 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 38·3 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
17	,,	Æ 38 ·67	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
18	,,	Æ 38 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. V, 1).
19	,,	Æ 37·7 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
20	,,	Æ 35 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
21	,,	Æ 141 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 145·5 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. formed of two A's and P interlaced.
23	*I.M.*	Æ 145·2 ·97	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. V, 2).
			B; copper	
24	*I.M.*	Æ 37·2 ·67	As No. 1; much defaced.	As No. 1; mon. illegible. (Unique; found in excavations at Khokra Kōṭ near Rohtak, Panjāb; in very poor condition; a genuine copper coin, not merely an ancient forgery.)
			Type 2; bust of king r., diad.; rev. Pallas l.; silver	
25	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36·5 ·65	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 58. Kh. legend, *maharajasatratarasa*, below *Menadrasa*.
26	,,	Æ 38 ·7	As No. 25.	As No. 25; same mon.
27	,,	Æ 36·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
28	*I.M.*	Æ 35·5 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
29	*I.M.*	Æ 35·5 ·65	As No. 25.	As No. 25; same mon.
30	„	Æ 37·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
31	„	Æ 34·7 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 88.
32	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37·8 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 89.
33	„	Æ 34·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
34	*I.M.*	Æ 37 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
35	„	Æ 33·8 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
36	„	Æ 32·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto, l. and E, r.
37	„	Æ 38 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
38	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 94, l. Pl. VII, 89, r. (Pl. V, 3).
39	„	Æ 144·5 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Σ, l. Pl. VII, 89, r. (Pl. V, 4).
40	*I.M.*	Æ 124·5 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
41	„	Æ 34·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 91.
42	„	Æ 37 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
43	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 92.
44	„	Æ 37·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 104.
45	*I.M.*	Æ 37·3 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Type 3; *bust of king l., with javelin over shoulder; rev. Pallas, l. or r.; silver*

Var. α; continuous, circular obv. legend; Pallas r.

46	*A.S.B.*	Æ	38 ·7	Bust of king l., diad., with javelin over shoulder. Continuous, circular legend, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Pallas r., holding aegis with l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 18. Kh. legend, continuous, *Menadrasa maharajasa tratarasa* (Pl. V, 5).
47	„	Æ	27·5 6	As No. 46.	As No. 46; mon. Pl. VII, 87.
48	*I.M.*	Æ	38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
49	„	Æ	35 ·67	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 100. (A rare variety.)



BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

MENANDER AND DIONYSIOS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Var. β; obv. legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, *below* ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ; *Pallas l.*	
50	*A.S.B.*	Æ 39·5 ·65	Bust of king, as in var. α. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ below.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 18. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa* (or *? tradarasa*) *Menadrasa.*
51	„	Æ 34·5 ·65	As No. 50.	As No. 50; mon. Pl. VII, 58.
52	„	Æ 37·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
53	„	Æ 37·5 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. V, 6).
54	„	Æ 37·5 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
55	*I.M.*	Æ 38 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
56	„	Æ 34·6 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
57	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 86.
58	„	Æ 37 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
59	„	Æ 34 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
60	„	Æ 38 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
61	„	Æ 39·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
62	*I.M.*	Æ 38·9 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto (a small soldered addition).
63	„	Æ 37·2 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 87.
64	„	Æ 33·7 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
65	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35·5 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 88.
			Var. γ; obv. as in var. β; rev. Pallas r.	
66	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38 ·7	Bust of king l., diad.; javelin over shoulder. Legend as in var. β.	Pallas r.; mon. Pl. VII, 18. Kh. legend as in var. β.
67	„	Æ 38 ·7	As No. 66.	As No. 66; same mon.
68	„	Æ 38 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
69	„	Æ 38 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
70	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38 ·65	As No. 66.	As No. 66; same mon.
71	*I.M.*	Æ 38·5 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
72	„	Æ 37·9 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
73	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37·5 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 58.
74	„	Æ 38 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
75	*I.M.*	Æ 34·8 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 86.
76	„	Æ 37·8 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			Type 4; *helmeted bust of Pallas; rev. owl; silver*	
77	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37·5 ·6	Helmeted bust of Pallas r. Continuous, circular legend, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.	Owl facing; mon. Pl. VII, 58. Continuous, circular Kh. legend, *Menadrasa maharajasa tratarasa.* (A very rare type. Pl. V, 7.)
78	„	Æ 40 ·7	As No. 77.	As No. 77; mon. Pl. VII, 18.
			Type 5; *helmeted bust of Pallas; rev. Nikē; copper, square*	
79	*A.S.B.*	Æ 75·8 ·75	Helmeted bust of Pallas r. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.	Nikē r., holding palm and wreath; mon. Pl. VII, 20. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Menadrasa.*
80	*I.M.*	Æ — ·7	As No. 79.	As No. 79; mon. doubtful; rev. much defaced.
81	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
82	„	Æ 66·5 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 20 (Pl. V, 8).
			Type 6; *helmeted bust of Pallas; rev. buckler; copper, square*	
83	*A.S.B.*	Æ 79·8 ·75	Helmeted bust of Pallas, and legend, as in type 5.	Circular buckler, with ox-head in centre (not Gorgon's head, as stated in *B. M. Catal.*); mon. Pl. VII, 86. Kh. legend, as in type 5 (Pl. V, 9).
84	*I.M.*	Æ 136·5 ·9	As No. 83.	As No. 83; mon. illegible.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 7; elephant's head; rev. club; copper, square		
85	*A.S.B.*	Æ 46·1 ·55	Elephant's head r., bell hung from neck. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.	Club, with thick end up; mon. Pl. VII, 98. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Menadrasa*.
86	„	Æ — ·65	As No. 85.	As No. 85; mon. Pl. VII, 85.
87	„	Æ — ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
88	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
89	*I.M.*	Æ 47 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. l. Pl. VII, 58, r. A.
90	„	Æ 47 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. l. Pl. VII, 98, r. A.
91	„	Æ 26 ·5	Ditto; mon. A.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
92	„	Æ 38·7 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. l. A, r. Pl. VII, 18 (Pl. V, 10).
93	„	Æ 39·7 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. l. Pl. VII, 58, r. A.
		Type 8; ox-head; rev. tripod; massive, copper, square		
94	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9	Ox-head, facing. Legend, l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, r. ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (almost wholly defaced).	Tripod. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *tratarasa*, l. *Menadrasa* (almost wholly defaced).
95	„	Æ — ·95	As No. 94, in slightly better condition.	As No. 94, in slightly better condition.
95*a*	*I.M.*	Æ — ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
		Type 9; Bactrian camel; rev. ox-head; massive, copper, square		
96	*A.S.B.*	Æ 303·3 1·0	Two-humped Bactrian camel, walking l. Legend, l. [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top (?) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, r. [ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ].	Bull's head, facing; mon. Pl. VII, 58, and traces of other marks. Kh. legend, r. *mahara*[*jasa*], top (?), l. defaced. (Unique, in poor condition; Pl. V, 11; also figured in *B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXXI, 10, from a drawing.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
DIONYSIOS, KING OF (?) THE EASTERN PANJĀB,[1] ABOUT (?) 140 B.C.				
			Type 1; bust of king; rev. Pallas; silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35 ·6	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ below.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 73. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Dianisiyasa*, nearly complete (Pl. V, 12).
			Type 2; Apollo; rev. diadema; copper, square	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57·8 ·55	Apollo, in shallow incuse square, r., holding arrow with both hands; a quiver at his back.	Royal diadema, with ends hanging down; no mon. Kh. legend, as No. 1, but mostly illegible. (In poor condition.)
3	*I.M.*	Æ 54 ·55 × ·5	As No. 2.	As No. 2.
			Type 3; Apollo; rev. tripod; copper, square	
4	*I.M.*	Æ 250 ·75	Apollo, as in type 2, but no incuse square. Legend, l., top, and r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.	Tripod; Kh. legend, as in types 1 and 2, partly legible. (Massive coin, ·2 thick, coarsely executed. Pl. V, 13.)
ZOILOS, KING OF THE EASTERN PANJĀB (?), NEARLY CONTEMPORARY WITH DIONYSIOS				
			Type 1; with title Sōtēr, and rev. Pallas	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 31·3 ·6	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΖΩΙΛΟΥ below.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l., and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 74. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Jhoïlasa* (Pl. VI, 1).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 37 ·64	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 73.
			Type 2; with title Dikaios, and rev. Herakles	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 34 ·65	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, ΞΩΙΛΟΥ below. (Note the special form of Ζ.)	Herakles facing, with wreath in r., club in l. hand, and lion's skin; mon. Pl. VII, 91. Kh. legend, *maharajasa dhramikasa Jhoïlasa.*
4	„	Æ 37 ·55	As No. 3.	As No. 3 (Pl. VI, 2).

[1] Cunningham supposed that Zoilos, Dionysios, Strato II, and Apollophanes ruled in the Eastern Panjāb between 100 and 20 B.C. ('Coins of the Sakas,' p. 8, in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. x).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 3; *Apollo and tripod; copper, circular, thick*		
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·97	Apollo r., clad in chlamys and boots; holds in both hands an arrow; quiver at his back; small elephant in l. field (much defaced). Legend as No. 1, mostly illegible.	Tripod; Kh. letter *a* to r.; *r* or *t* to l. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Jhoïlasa* (much defaced).

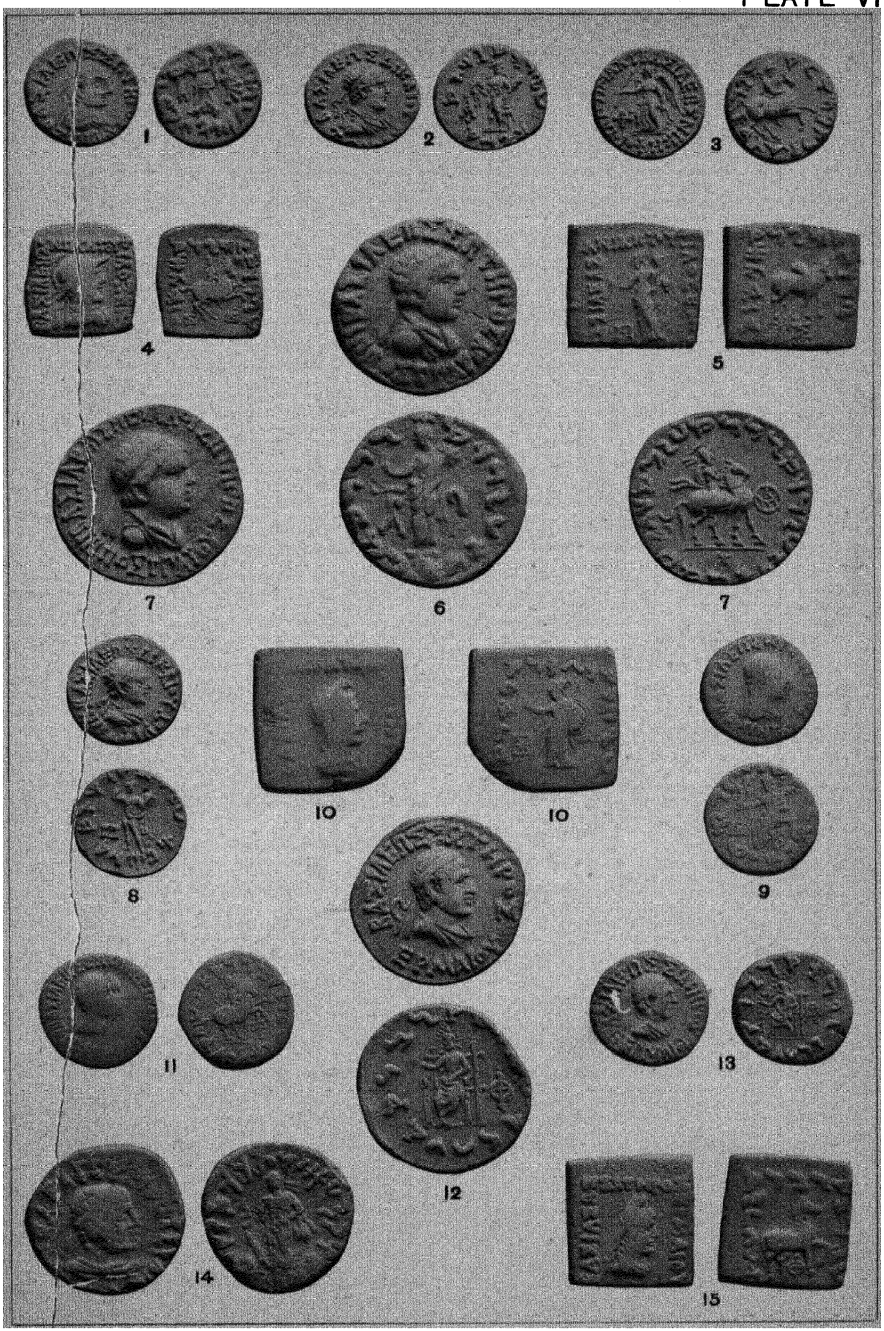
ANTIMACHOS NIKEPHOROS, King of (?) Kābul Valley, about 130 B.C. (?)

Nikē and horseman type; silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	37·1 ·65	Nikē l., holding palm in r., and fillet (*tænia*) in l. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 18. Circular, continuous legend, ANTIMAXOY ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.	King, wearing *kausia*, diadem, and chlamys, on horseback r. Circular, continuous legend, *Aṁtimakhasa maharajasa*[1] *jayadharasa*. (In fine condition, Pl. VI, 3.)
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	36·5 ·7	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 58.	As No. 1.
3	„	Æ	36·5 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	35 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	38 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ	36·5 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ	35 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ	36 ·67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ	36·8 ·62	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ	36·5 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ	36 ·75	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 86.	Ditto.
12	*I.M.*	Æ	39·8 ·68	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
13	*A.S.B.*	Æ	36 ·64	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 87.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ	38 ·66	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.

[1] The *j* of *maharajasa* has an extra stroke, differing from the ordinary *j* of *jayadharasa*; the termination of the former word should perhaps be read *-esa*, nearly as in *Agathuklayesha* (R. O. Franke, in *Nachr. Königl. Gesellsch. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1895, p. 529 n.).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
PHILOXENOS, KING OF (?) WESTERN PANJĀB, ABOUT 125 B.C. (?)				
			Type 1; bust and horseman; silver, square	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 34·5 ·6	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, l., top, and r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.	King, helmeted and diad., on prancing horse r.; mon. Σ and Pl. VII, 101. Kh. legend, *maharajasa apadihatasa Philasinasa.*
2	„	Æ 32 ·65	Bust of king r., helmeted. Legend, as No. 1.	As No. 1, but *Philusinasa*, and second mon. Pl. VII, 27 nearly (Pl. VI, 4).
			Type 2; city and bull; copper, square	
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·75	'City' (Gardner; 'Demeter or Tyche', v. Sallet) standing l., with r. hand advanced, and cornucopiae in l.; mon. uncertain. Legend, as No. 1.	Humped bull standing r.; no mon. Legend, as No. 1, but imperfect.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 127·8 ·75	As No. 3.	As No. 3; mon. Σ; *Philusinasa* (Pl. VI, 5).
5	„	Æ 123 ·75	Ditto; but mon. Pl. VII, 22 nearly.	Ditto; mon. uncertain.
6	„	Æ 128·3 ·75	Ditto; mon. (?).	Ditto; mon. Σ.
HIPPOSTRATOS, KING OF (?) WESTERN PANJĀB, ABOUT 120 B.C. (?)				
			Type 1; rev. city; silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 142 1·05	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ below.	City, wearing modius, l., with r. hand advanced, and holding cornucopiae in l.; mon. Pl. VII, 115 and the Kh. letter *a*. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa*, below *Hipathratasa* (Pl. VI, 6).
			Type 2; rev. horseman; silver	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 136·8 1·1	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, below ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.	King, diad. and helmeted, wearing chlamys, on horseback r.; horse prancing; mon. Kh. character *maṁ* and Pl. VII, 110. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayaṁtasa Hipathratasa.*
3	„	Æ 137 1·05	As No. 2.	As No. 2; but horse walking; the character *maṁ* in l. field and a compound character in exergue (Pl. VI, 7).



BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

ZOILOS, ANTIMACHOS NIKEPHOROS, PHILOXENOS, HIPPOSTRATOS, THEOPHILOS, AMYNTAS, HERMAIOS WITH KALLIOPE, HERMAIOS ALONE, HERMAIOS WITH KADPHISES

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ 141·5 1·25	Ditto.	Exactly as No. 3, but in inferior condition; the character in exergue seems to be *miṁ*.

THEOPHILOS, KING IN (?) THE PANJĀB, ABOUT 120 B.C. (?)

Type; bust of king; rev. Herakles crowning himself

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31·7 ·63	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, below ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ (square *theta*).	Herakles, crowning himself with r. hand, holding in l. hand club and lion's skin; mon. a square. Legend, *maharajasa dhramikasa*, below *Theüphilasa*. (A very rare coin, well executed, and in good condition; Pl. VI, 8.)

AMYNTAS, KING OF (?) KĀBUL VALLEY, ABOUT 100 B.C. (?) OR LATER

Type 1; *rev. Zeus Nikēphoros; silver*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33 ·65	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and below ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.	Throned Zeus l., holding Nikē in r. hand, and sceptre and palm in l.; mon. Pl. VII, 127, with an additional cross-bar. Kh. legend, *maharajasa jayadharasa*, below *Amitasa* (Pl. VI, 9).

Type 2; *rev. Pallas; copper, square*

2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 125·8 ·85	Bearded bust (? of deity) r., radiate, wearing Phrygian cap; sceptre over shoulder. Legend, l., top, and r. as No. 1.	Pallas standing l., with r. hand advanced, and in her l. spear and shield; mon. as in No. 1. Kh. legend, r., top, and l. as No. 1 (Pl. VI, 10).
3	*I.M.*	Æ 117 ·75	As No. 2.	As No. 2; but mon. illegible, and condition very poor.

HERMAIOS, THE LAST GREEK KING OF KĀBUL, WITH HIS QUEEN, KALLIOPE, ABOUT 20–45 A.D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 34·7 ·63	Busts of king and queen r., jugate, both diad. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, below ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ.	King, helmeted and diad., on prancing horse r., with bow and spear at his back; mon. Pl. VII, 139. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa*, below *Kaliyapaya*.
2	„	Æ 33·8 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1 (Pl. VI, 11).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			HERMAIOS, ALONE, SAME DATES	
			Type 1; *bust of king r., with throned Zeus rev.*	
			Var. α; king helmeted; silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 33·3 ·65	Bust of king r., helmeted. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and below [ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ].	Throned Zeus l., radiate, with r. hand advanced, sceptre in l.; mon. Pl. VII, 46, or 139. Kh. legend, [*maharajasa*] *tratarasa*, below [*He*]*ramayasa*. (Very rare var., in poor condition.)
			Var. β; king diademed; silver and copper	
			A; silver	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 134 1·0	Bust of king r., diad. Legend, as No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 5 with additional cross-stroke (Pl. VI, 12).
3	„	Æ 123 1·05	As No. 2.	As No. 2; mon. Pl. VII, 76 modified.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 132·5 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 29 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 128 (Pl. VI, 13).
6	„	Æ 28 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 130 modified.
7	„	Æ 33 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 132 modified.
8	„	Æ 35 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 82 modified.
9	*I.M.*	Æ 37·5 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. uncertain.
			B; copper	
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ 131·3 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 46; and, in r. field, Kh. character *t* or *r*.
11	*I.M.*	Æ 135·2 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character, illegible.
12	„	Æ — ·97	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character, Kh. *saṁ*.
13	„	Æ — ·87	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character, as No. 10.
14	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character, Kh. *ri*.
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; no character.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 28 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. doubtful; character, Kh. *a*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 127; character, Kh. *d*.
18	*I.M.*	Æ 141·3 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
19	„	Æ 131 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character, Kh. *jh*.
20	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible; character, Kh. *m*.
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character (?) Kh. *d*.
21*a*	„	Æ — ·75	Ditto (barbarous).	Ditto; thin coin; a barbarous imitation. (All these copper coins are in more or less poor condition, roughly executed, and with only fragments of the legends.)
			Type 2; *bust of king r.; rev. Nikē; copper*	
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·8 ·75	Bust of king r. Legend, [BAΣIΛE]ΩΣ ΣT[HPOΣ ΣY EPMAIOY]. (Defaced.)	Nikē l., holding wreath in r. and palm in l. hand; mon. Kh. character *ka* and Pl. VII, 132. Kh. legend, *[ma]harajasa rajarajasa* . . . . .
			Type 3; *bearded bust of deity; rev. horse; copper, square*	
23	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·75	Bearded bust of deity r., radiate, wearing Phrygian cap. Legend, l., top, and r. BAΣIΛEΩΣ ΣΩTHPOΣ EPMAIOY.	Horse r., trotting; mon. Pl. VII, 5, with cross-bar. Kh. legend, *maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa* (Pl. VI, 15).
24	*I.M.*	Æ 119·5 ·8×·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
25	„	Æ 113 ·8×·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible.
26	„	Æ 130·3 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. as No. 23.

HERMAIOS, LAST GREEK KING OF KĀBUL, WITH KADPHISES I (KUJULAKASA), KUSHĀN, ABOUT 45–50 A.D.[1]

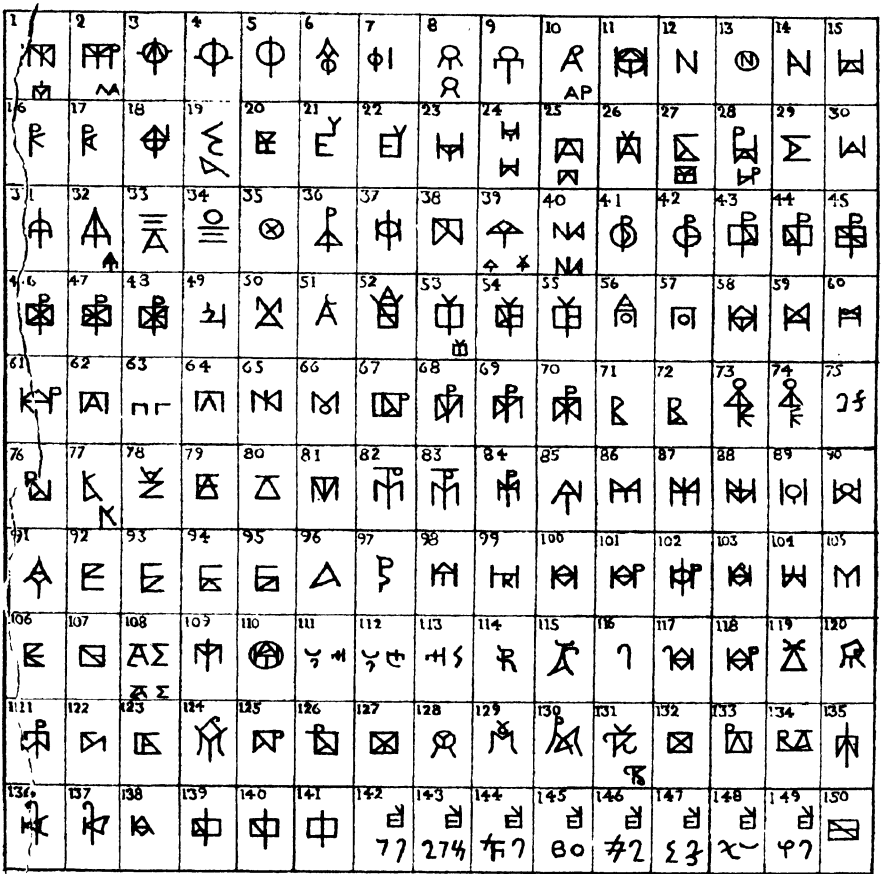
Type; obv. bust of Hermaios; rev. Herakles; copper, circular

1	*I.M.*	Æ 155·7 ·82	Bust of Hermaios r., diad. Legend (often corrupted), BAΣIΛEΩΣ [ΣTHPO]Σ ΣY EP[MAIOY].	Herakles facing, diad., with r. hand holds club resting on ground, and with l. lion's skin; no mon. Circular Kh. legend, *Kujula Kasasa [Kushana yavu]gasa dhramaṭhidasa* (Pl. VI, 14).

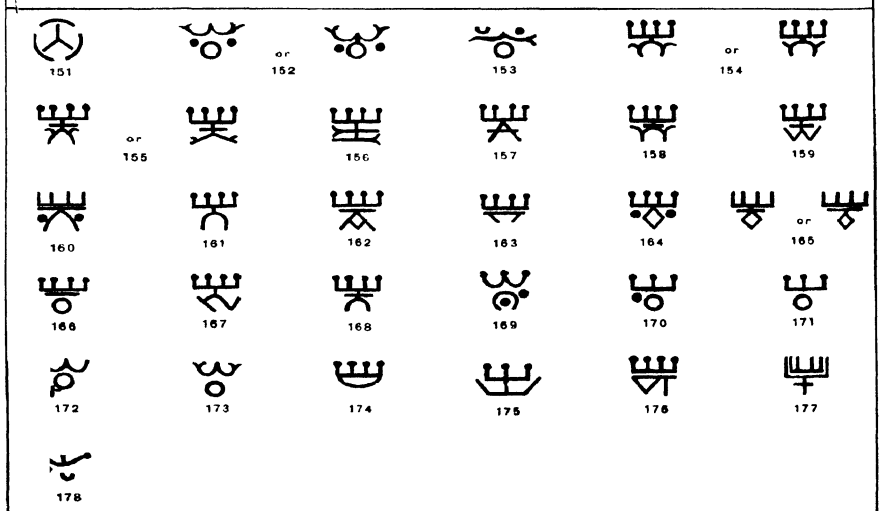
[1] For coins of Kadphises I alone, see *post*, sect. iii.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 105 ·85	As No. 1; fragments of legend.	As No. 1; legend, *Kujula . . . . . sa dhramaṭhida . .*
3	„	Æ 105 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, ... *sa Kushana yavu . . . . .*
4	„	Æ — ·82	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *Kujula Kasasa ka . . . . dasa.*
5	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ditto (barbarous).	Ditto; legend, *-jula ka . . . dhramaṭhidasa.*
6	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *Kujula kasa . . .*
7	„	Æ — ·83	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend . . . *kashanasa yavugasa . . . .*
8	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *Kujula . . . . . dramaṭhida . . .*
9	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, ... *yavugasa dhramaṭhi . . .* (All these coins are rudely executed, and in poor condition.)
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·82	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *[ya]vugasa dhramaṭhidasa.*
11	„	Æ — ·87	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *dhramaṭhidasa Kujula Kasasa.*
12	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *-gasa dhramaṭhidasa* [or ? *-tasa*] *Kujula Kasasa.*
13	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *[dhra]maṭhitasa Kuju[la].*
14	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *[Ku]shana yavugasa dhrama-.*
15	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend, *Kujula Kasasa [Kusha]na[yavu]-yasa dhramaṭhidasa.* (No one coin has the legend complete; the full text is *Kujulakasasa Kushanayavugasa dhramaṭhidasa* [or *-thitasa*], '[coin] of the pious Kushān chief Kujulakasa'.)

BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK



KUSHAN



Section II

THE COINS OF THE

INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTIES

FROM ABOUT 120 B.C. TO 70 A.D.

INTRODUCTION

The Indo-Parthian coins present many difficulties. My views on the historical relations of the kings and satraps whose coins we possess are explained at length in an article entitled 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, from about 120 B.C. to 100 A.D.', published in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (*Z. D. M. G.*), Jan. 1906, to which I beg to refer the reader desirous of studying the subject in detail. In this place only the results of the discussion can be given. The key to the chronology is to be found, I think, in the history of Parthia, that is to say the Arsakidan kingdom of Persia; and if that history had been more fully preserved than it has been, the position of the Indo-Parthian dynasties would no longer be obscure.

I accept the statement of Orosius that Mithradates I (Arsakes VI) of Parthia annexed the country between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jihlam), or, in other words, the kingdom of Taxila, towards the close of his reign, in or about 138 B.C. That kingdom, the Western Panjāb, seems to have formed an integral part of the Parthian dominion for a few years, but during the troubles which ensued upon the death of Mithradates I, about 136 B.C., the control of the central government over the outlying provinces was relaxed, and about 120 B.C. a chieftain named Maues (Moa) made himself king of Taxila, and enjoyed practical, if not nominal, independence.

About the same time, or a few years later, a Parthian chief named Vonones (Onōnēs) became king of Drangiana (Sīstān), and extended his authority over Arachosia (Kandahār) and the Indian border-land. These latter provinces were administered by relations of Vonones, first his brother Spalahora, and then his nephew, Spalagadama, son of Spalahora.[1] When Vonones died, he was succeeded by another brother named

[1] The names on the coins are spelt with the palatal sibilant, *Ś.* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 105, n. 2).

Spalirisha (Spalirises), who continued to administer Arachosia by a viceroy named Aya, or Azes, perhaps his son. But when Spalirisha died, he was not succeeded by Azes; and this fact may be explained on the supposition that Mithradates II, the Great, suppressed the independence, or quasi-independence, of Sistān with its appanages, and incorporated those provinces directly in the Parthian empire. Azes, however, although deprived of Arachosia, was permitted to succeed Maues at Taxila, and to establish a dynasty there. He was succeeded, after a long reign, by Azilises (Ayilisha), presumably his son, who was followed by Azes II. To him succeeded Gondophares, who reigned prosperously for many years, and about 40 A.D. extended his authority over Arachosia, Sīstān, and the valley of the Lower Indus; probably by taking advantage of the weakness of the central Parthian government at that period.

When Gondophares died, about 60 A.D., his extensive dominion broke up into smaller states. Orthagnes, perhaps his brother, succeeded to the Arachosian provinces, while Abdagases, son of an unnamed brother, obtained the kingdom of Taxila. At that time the Śakas, Yueh-chi, and other nomad hordes from the steppes of Central Asia were swarming down upon the north-western frontier of India. Abdagases reigned for a short time, and apparently had no successor of his lineage, his kingdom probably passing into the hands of the foreign invaders.[1] In Arachosia the Parthian power endured for a few years longer, and Orthagnes was succeeded by Pakores (Pakura) and Arsakes Dikaios. But about 90 A.D. the Kushān (Yueh-chi) monarch, Kadphises II (Ooemo) became master of the Panjāb, Arachosia, and Sind, the Parthian chiefs being restricted to a narrow territory in the Delta of the Indus, from which they were dislodged, probably by Kanishka, about 130 A.D.

The following tabular statement conveniently summarizes my views on Indo-Parthian chronology, and will serve as a guide to the arrangement of the coins in the catalogue:—

Parthia.

Mithradates I	acc.	about 171	B.C.
„	annexed kingdom of Taxila	„ 138	„
„	died	„ 136	„
Mithradates II	acc.	„ 123	„
„	died	„ 88	„

Indo-Parthian kingdom of Taxila.

Maues	acc.	„ 120	„
Azes I	(from Arachosia)	„ 90	„

[1] Mr. Rapson has lately discovered coins of a son of a chief named Bagapharna, which come from the Jihlam (Jhelum) District (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 790).

Azilises acc.	about	40 B.C.
Azes II acc.	„	15 „
Strategos Aspavarma and Satrap Jihunia (Zeionises) subordinate.		
Gondophares acc.	„	20 A. D.
„ conquered Arachosia and Sind	„	40 „
„ died	„	60 „
Abdagases (Avadagasha) acc. . .	„	„ „

Indo-Parthian kingdom of Arachosia.

Vonones (Onōnēs), king of Sīstān, acc. .	„	115 B. C.
Spalahora and Spalagadama subordinate.		
Spalirisha, king of Sīstān, acc. . .	„	100 „
Azes (Aya), subordinate.		
? Direct rule of Parthian central government	„	90 B.C to 40 A. D.
Conquest of Arachosia by Gondophares .	„	40 A. D.
Orthagnes acc.	„	60 „
Pakores (Pakura) acc. . . .	„	70 „
Arsakes Dikaios acc. . . .	„	? 75 „
Extinction of Parthian power, except in Delta	„	90 „
Final extinction of Parthian power by ? Kanishka	„	130 „

The following publications are the principal authorities on Indo-Parthian numismatics :—

1. Von Sallet, Alfred : — *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien* (Berlin, 1879).
2. Cunningham, Sir Alexander :—'The Coins of the Sakas' (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x).
3. Gardner, Percy : — *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (London, 1886). The author's attempt to arrange the kings historically is undoubtedly erroneous.
4. Rapson :—*Indian Coins.*

   For the Satraps, besides the above :—
5. Cunningham :—*Coins of Ancient India.*
6. Bühler, Rapson, and Bhagwān Lāl Indraji :—*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, pp. 525–54.
7. Rapson :—*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 97 ; 1905, pp. 783–814.
8. V. A. Smith : — *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 38, &c. ; *Early History of India*, pp. 187, 201, and, superseding these, 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1906).
9. Fleet :—*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 227.
10. Rodgers :—Catalogues of the Lahore and Calcutta Museums.

The collection described in this Catalogue, although very far from being complete, is fairly representative. The coins of Spalirises or Spalirisha as 'brother of the king' and those on which he is associated with Azes are wanting.

The attempt to distinguish the coins of Azes I from those of Azes II is now made for the first time. I am doubtful as to the proper attribution of the issue with the reverse device of Zeus holding out an image of Nikē, but am convinced that the coins of both Aspavarma and Zeionises or Jihunia belong to the period of Azes II. The proof that Thomas and Cunningham were mistaken in describing the coin No. 11 of Maues in the catalogue, formerly numbered as *A. S. B.* 256, as having been issued by Azes and Vonones is a matter of some importance. No. 87 (catal.) of Azes I does not seem to have been published before. No. 2 of Gondophares is remarkable because the king is turned to the l., and is given the title *apratihatachakra*. The word *sasasa*, which has been interpreted as the genitive of a proper name, 'Sasan,' is, I believe, a mere epithet, like *jayatasa*, which occupies the same position on the nearly contemporary coins of Aspavarma, but I cannot fix its meaning. The specimens of the coinage of Orthagnes and Pakores or Pakura are all extremely poor.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
MAUES (MOA), A PARTHIAN (?), KING OF TAXILA, ABOUT 120–90 B.C. *Type* 1; *obv. caduceus; rev. elephant's head; Greek legend only; copper*				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 137·5 1·12	Caduceus, boldly executed[1]; mon. Pl. X, 1. Legend, r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, l. ΜΑΥΟΥ.	Elephant's head r., with upturned trunk [and bell hung from neck]; astragalus border; in good condition.
2	,,	Æ — 1·07	As No. 1; same mon.	As No. 1; poor.
3	,,	Æ — ·96	Ditto; mon. uncertain.	Ditto; very poor.
4	*I.M.*	Æ — 1·02	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 1.	Ditto; fairly good.
5	,,	Æ 137 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; good (Pl. VIII, 1).

[1] The Greek legend indicates that the caduceus side should be considered the obv., and not the rev., as in *B. M. Catalogue*. The type is copied from one of Demetrios.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type 2; obv. Zeus; rev. Nikē; silver	
6	*I.M.*	Æ 149·8 1·07	Zeus standing l., clad in himation; grasping long sceptre with l. hand; r. arm extended. Circular legend in good script, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΜΑΥΟΥ.	Nikē standing r., holding out wreath in r. hand; palm bound with fillet in l. Kh. legend, *rajadirajasa mahatasa*, below *M[o]asa*. Mon. Pl. X, 3, in r. field. In very fine condition (Pl. VIII, 2).
6*a*	*A.S.B.*	Æ 150 1·0	As No. 6; in inferior style.	As No. 6; in poor flat style; same mon. (I have doubts as to the genuineness of this coin.)
			Type 3; obv. Artemis; rev. bull; copper	
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·0	Artemis running r., radiate, with veil floating round her head; clad in short chiton and boots. Legend, as in type 2.	Humped bull standing l.; mon. Pl. X, 4. Legend, as in type 2, imperfect; in fair condition.
8	,,	Æ — ·9	As No. 7.	As No. 7; same mon.; poor.
9	*I.M.*	Æ — ·98	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
10	,,	Æ 127·6 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; fair (Pl. VIII, 3).
			Type 4; obv. Herakles; rev. lion; copper	
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 93·5 1·0	Herakles standing facing, with club in l. hand, and (?) lion skin; r. hand on hip. Legend, as in types 2 and 3, much defaced; the part distinctly legible is merely Σ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ; the remains of the name are very shadowy.	Maneless lion standing l.; mon. Pl. X, 1. Kh. legend, as in types 2 and 3, imperfect; the characters *rajasa ma*, and in the name, *a* and *sa* only being distinctly legible.[1]

[1] This is the coin from the Stacy collection catalogued by Thomas as 'Vonones and Azas, unpublished type; obv. Hercules with club; rev. Panther as in *A. A.* vii. 8, but in the reverse direction, in fair order' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1858, p. 252). Cunningham, referring to the observation of Thomas, made the same attribution, and published a photograph of a far from faithful drawing, which represents the coin as being in much better condition than it really is in. The identity of the piece is established by the crack shown in Cunningham's plate ('Coins of the Sakas,' Pl. IV, 8, in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x). Prof. Rapson has kindly examined the coin and has no doubt that it is one of Maues, similar to *B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XVI, 5. I agree with him. The imaginary association of Azes I with Vonones thus disappears from history.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
Type 5; obv. elephant; rev. seated deity or king; copper, square or oblong				
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 149 ·93 × ·82	Elephant walking r., with upturned trunk, enclosed in a square. Legend, l. and top, damaged [ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑ], r. ΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.	Seated figure, deity or king, facing, cross-legged on high cushion, enclosed in a square; mon. Pl. X, 2, in r. field. Kh. legend, *rajadira[jasa mahatasa] Moasa*; in fair condition (Pl. VIII, 4).
13	„	Æ 145·6 ·8	As No. 12. Legend, ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓ.	As No. 12; mon. Pl. X, 3. Legend, *rajadira*; fair.
Type 6; obv. horseman; rev. Nikē; copper, square or oblong				
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9 × ·75	King r., on horseback, with whip over shoulder, and r. hand advanced, nearly as on coins of Azes, &c. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ].	Nikē standing l., holding out wreath in r. hand [and palm in l.]; mon. Pl. X, 3 in l. field. Kh. legend, *[rajadirajasa maha]tasa Moasa*; in very poor condition.

VONONES (ONONES), Indo-Parthian king of Drangiana and Arachosia, with his brother Spalahora or Spalyris, as Viceroy, about 115–105 B.C.

Type 1; horseman and Zeus with thunderbolt; silver				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35 ·6	King diad., on horseback, r., with couched lance. Legend, [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΩΣ [ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ], below [ΟΝ]ΩΝΟΥ.	Zeus standing l., wearing waistcloth, naked to the waist, holding thunderbolt in r. hand, and leaning on long sceptre with l. hand; mon. Pl. X, 13, l. Kh. legend, *maharaja bhr[ata dhramiasa]*, below *Śpalahorasa*[1].
2	*I.M.*	Æ 37·5 ·57	As No. 1; but legend illegible.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. X, 13, l.; legible, *bhrata dhramiasa.*
3	„	Æ 31·9 ·65	Ditto; legend nearly complete.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 18, l. Kh. legend, *maharaja bhrata dhramikasa*, below *Śpalahorasa*, almost complete (Pl. VIII, 5).

[1] For reading *Śpa-*, not *Spa*, see Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 105, n. 2.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type 2; standing Herakles and Pallas; square or oblong, copper	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·85 × ·8	Herakles, standing facing, crowning himself with r. hand, holding club and lion-skin in l. hand. Greek legend, as in type 1, in good script.	Pallas helmeted, standing l.; r. hand raised [holding wreath]; shield on l. arm; spear over shoulder; sword at waist; mon. Pl. X, 37, l. Kh. legend, as type 1, *Śpalahorasa* legible, l.
5	„	Æ — ·8	As No. 4; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ legible.	Ditto; same mon.; much worn.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 118 ·8	Ditto; -ΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩ-ΝΟΥ, r., legible.	Ditto; mon. ? Pl. X, 18, l.; *-mikasa*, top; *-lahora-*, l., legible.
7	„	Æ — ·85 × ·75	Ditto; -ΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩ-ΝΟΥ, r., legible.	Ditto; mon. lost; *dhramika . . Śpalahora* legible.
8	„	Æ — ·77	Ditto; -ΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩ-ΝΟΥ legible.	Ditto; mon. illegible; *-asa Śpalahora* legible.

SPALAHORA (SPALYRIS), VICEROY, BROTHER OF THE KING (*SCIL.* VONONES), WITH HIS SON SPALAGADAMA, ABOUT 110 B.C.

			Type; horseman and Herakles seated on rock; square, copper	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·85	King diad., on horseback r., in square. Legend, l. [ΣΠΑ]ΛΥΡΙΟ[Σ], top ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, r. ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ, below ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (with square *omikron and sigma*).	Herakles l., seated on rock, on which his l. hand rests; his r. hand supports club on knee; circular mon. Pl. X, 54, l. Kh. legend, r. [*Śpa*]*lahora putrasa*, top *dhramiasa*, l. *Śpalagadama*[*sa*] (Pl. VIII, 7).[1]
2	*I.M.*	Æ — ·87	Similar; much defaced.	Similar; mon. illegible; very poor.
3	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; legend nearly complete.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 13, l.; legible . . *horaputra* . . . . . *Śpalagadamasa*.

[1] Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 100) takes the name ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ, *Spalyrios*, as the gen. of a nom. *Spalyris*. But *Spalyrios* may possibly itself be a nom., not in concord with the predicate; cf. the ungrammatical legend on Kanishka's early coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ. Cunningham ('Coins of the Sakas,' *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x) is clearly right in identifying Spalyrios or Spalyris with Śpalahora. This prince describes himself as 'brother of the king', who must be understood to be Vonones.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

VONONES (ONONES), Indo-Parthian king of Drangiana and Arachosia, with his nephew Spalagadama as Viceroy, about 105 B.C.

Type; horseman and Zeus with thunderbolt; silver

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	36·4 ·65	King diad., on horseback r., with couched lance. Legend, in good script, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.	Zeus standing facing, wearing waistcloth, naked to waist, holding thunderbolt in r. hand, and leaning on long sceptre with l. hand; mon. Pl. X, 55, l. Kh. legend, *Śpalaho[ra-putrasa dhramiasa]*, below *Śpalagadamasa.*
2	*I.M.*	Æ	36·6 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. the same; legend nearly complete.
3	„	Æ	34·8 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; in fine condition; mon. Pl. X, 53, l. (Pl. VIII, 6).

SPALIRISHA or SPALIRISES, Indo-Parthian king of Arachosia, brother and successor of Vonones,[1] about 100–90 B.C.

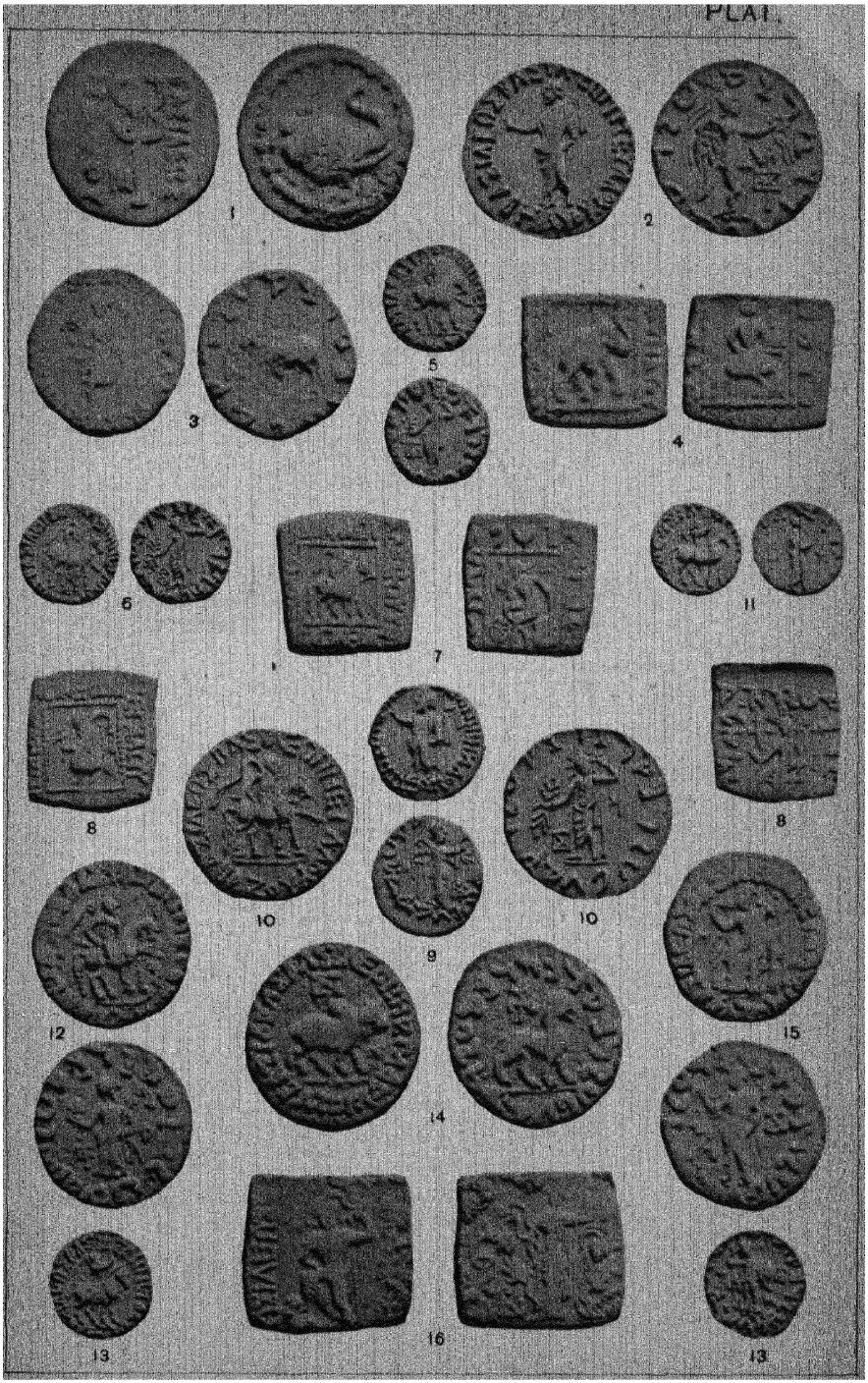
Type; king and throned Zeus; square, copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·85	King, wearing coat, standing l., in square, holding battle-axe before him, and bow at his back. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ,[2] below [ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ].	Zeus, radiate, seated l. on throne r.; mon. illegible. Kh. legend, r. *maharajasa*, top *mahatakasa*, l. *Śpalirishi[sa]*; in poor condition.
2	„	Æ	— ·95	Similar, but much defaced.	Similar; in bad condition.
3	*I.M.*	Æ	— ·88	Similar; legend complete except the name, which is lost.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 52, r.; legend complete except last letter (Pl. VIII, 8).[3]

[1] Silver coin (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 100), with legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ and *maharaja bhraha dhramiasa Śpalirishisa.*

[2] Note that ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ precedes.

[3] The *I. M.* and *A. S. B.* cabinets have no specimen of the coins with obv. legend ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ and rev. legend *Ayasa* (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 102; Cunningham, 'Coins of the Sakas,' p. 37, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x).



INDO-PARTHIAN COINS

MAUES. ONONES. SPALAHORA, SPALAGADAMA, SPALIRISHA, AZES I

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
AZES (AYA) I, KING OF TAXILA AND THE WESTERN PANJĀB, PERHAPS A SON OF SPALIRISHA, ABOUT 90–40 B. C.				
A; silver; circular				
Type 1; *obv. Zeus; rev. winged Nikē*				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31 ·7	Zeus standing l., r. hand extended, long sceptre with fillet in l. hand. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΑΖΟΥ (round *omikron*).	Winged Nikē standing r., holding out wreath in r. hand, and palm with fillet (imperfect) in l.; mon. Pl. X, 10, r. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayasa*; good (Pl. VIII, 9).
2	„	Æ 30·5 ·65	As No. 1.	As No. 1; same mon. worn.
Type 2; *obv. horseman with lance; rev. standing Zeus*				
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 150 1·05	King diad., on horseback r., carrying couched lance. Greek legend, in well-formed script (round *omikron*) as above.	Zeus, laureate or radiate, standing l., with long sceptre in l., and winged thunderbolt in r. hand; mon. Pl. X, 13, l.; Kh. *ji*, r. Kh. legend, as above; fine (Pl. VIII, 10).
4	„	Æ 144 1·02	As No. 3; but square *omikron*, and Kh. *pri* below horse in exergue.	As No. 3; mon. Pl. X, 5, l.; Kh. *a*, r.; fine.
5	„	Æ 34 ·65	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 8, l.; Kh. *di* (? *ti* or *ri*), r.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 149 1·02	Ditto; round *omikron*.	Ditto; same mon. l.; Kh. *dhrami*, r.; fine.
Type 3; *horseman carrying whip and bow; rev. Poseidon*				
7	*I.M.*	Æ 34·6 ·58	King diad., on horseback r., with whip in raised r. hand; bow behind his back; Kh. *he* in r. field. Greek legend, as above, imperfect.	Poseidon, wearing himation, standing r.; with trident in l. hand, and r. hand extended; mon. Pl. X, 9, l.; Kh. *do*, r. Kh. legend, as above (Pl. VIII, 11).
Type 4; *obv. horseman with lance; rev. a goddess*				
8	*I.M.*	Æ 145 1·0	King diad., on horseback r., carrying couched lance as in type 2; Kh. *dhra* in r. field. Greek legend, as above (round *omikron*).	Goddess standing l., holding a four-pronged object in extended r. hand, and a sceptre (? palm) bound with fillet in l.; mon. Pl. X, 20 *a*, l.; Kh. (?) *sa* r.; Kh. legend, as above (Pl. VIII, 12).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
Type 5; obv. horseman with either whip and bow or lance; rev. Pallas				
			Var. α; Pallas facing	
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 27 ·63	King diad. on horseback r., carrying whip and bow; Kh. *sa* in r. field. Greek legend, as above (round *omikron*).	Pallas, facing; crowning herself with r. hand; holding spear and shield in l.; a damaged mon. and Kh. *sphi* l.; mon. Pl. X, 14, r.
10	„	Æ 37·5 ·6	As No. 9; no Kh. character; round *omikron*.	As No. 9; mon. Pl. X, 5, r.; Kh. *sphi*, l.
11	„	Æ 39 ·63	As No. 10.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 14, r.; Kh. *sphi*, l. (Pl. VIII, 13).
			Var. β; Pallas standing l.	
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 146 1·05	King diad., on horseback r., carrying couched lance; Kh. conjunct (?) *modo*, in exergue. Greek legend, as above, well executed (square *omikron*).	Pallas standing l., hurling thunderbolt with r. hand, and holding aegis in l.; mon. Pl. X. 5, l.; Kh. *a*, r. Kh. legend, as in previous types, complete; fine.
13	„	Æ 36 ·6	As No. 12; a character in front of horse.	As No. 12; mon. Pl. X, 5, l.; Pl. X, 11, r.
14	*I.M.*	Æ 138·2 1·0	Ditto; Kh. *ga* before horse; round *omikron*.	Ditto; same mons.; good.
15	„	Æ 35·7 ·65	Ditto; no character; round *omikron*.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 5, l.; Kh. *a*, r.
16	„	Æ 35·1 ·62	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; same mons.
			Var. γ; Pallas standing r.	
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 117 ·95	King diad. on horseback r., carrying whip and bow; Kh. (?) *da* before horse. Greek legend, as above, square *omikron*.	Pallas standing r., with spear and shield in l. hand; r. hand raised; mon. Pl. X, 14, l.; Pl. X, 16, r. Kh. legend, as above; very good.
18	„	Æ 120 ·98	As No. 17; character before horse damaged; square *omikron*.	As No. 17; poor; same mons.
19	„	Æ 32 ·58	Ditto; before horse Kh. (?) *da*; square *omikron*.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 5, l.; Pl. X, 26, r.
20	„	Æ 36 ·58	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto; same mons.; worn.
21	„	Æ 34 ·63	Ditto; round *omikron*.	Ditto; mon. imperfect (?) Pl. X, 24, l.; Pl. X, 16, r.
22	*I.M.*	Æ 138 ·95	Ditto; square *omikron*; *ta* (or *ra*) before horse.	Ditto; mons. Pl. X, 29, and 25 *a*, l.; 30, r.; good.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			B; copper	
			Type 6*; elephant and bull; circular*	
23	*A.S.B.*	Æ 168 1·07	Elephant walking r. Legend, as on silver coins, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΑΖΟΥ (round *omikron*).	Humped bull walking r.; mons. Pl. X, 5 and 11, above. Kh. legend, *mahārajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayasa*.
24	„	Æ 193·8 1·12	As No. 23; square *omikron*.	As No. 23; mon. Pl. X, 5, and Kh. *sphi* above.
25	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *ba* above.	Ditto; same mon. and Kh. *ta* above.
26	„	Æ — 1·05	Ditto; Kh. *a* above.	Ditto; ditto; and a Kh. character above.
27	„	Æ — 1·02	Ditto; square *omikron*.	Ditto; defaced.
28	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a* above.	Ditto; ditto.
29	*I.M.*	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; square *omikron*.	Ditto; mon. indistinct.
30	„	Æ — 1·05	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 5 and uncertain above.
31	„	Æ 194·5 1·0	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a* above.	Ditto; mon. indistinct.
32	„	Æ — 1·05	Ditto.	Ditto; mons. Pl. X, 6 and 11, above.
33	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; square *omikron*; Kh. *phi* above.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 14 and Kh. *sphi* (or *saśi*) above. (No coin of this type in good condition. Sometimes restruck with Demeter and Hermes type, No. 8.)
			Type 7*; bull and lion; circular*	
34	*A.S.B.*	Æ 205·8 1·12	Humped bull walking r.; mon. Pl. X, 14, above. Greek legend, as in preceding types, in good script; square *omikron*.	Maneless lion standing r.; Kh. *saśi* (or *siśa*) above. Kh. legend, as in preceding types.
35	„	Æ — 1·07	As No. 34 in all details.	As No. 34; but condition inferior.
36	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
37	„	Æ — 1·05	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
38	„	Æ — 1·02	Ditto.	Ditto; very poor.
39	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; but mon. Pl. X, 25, above.	Ditto; but mon. Pl. X, 12, above.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
40	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·98	As No. 34; mon. damaged.	As No. 34; Kh. *shegasha* above.
41	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; Kh. *si* above.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 20, above.
42	*I.M.*	Æ 213 1·12	Ditto; square *omikron*; mon. Pl. X, 14, above.	Ditto; Kh. *saśi* above; fine (Pl. VIII, 14).
43	„	Æ 230·5 1·0	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a* above.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, above; poor.
44	„	Æ 203·2 1·12	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. X, 14, above.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 16, above; fair.
45	„	Æ 199·5 1·08	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. X, 31 *a*, above.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 57, above; good.
46	„	Æ — 1·08	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. X, 14, above.	Ditto; Kh. *saśi* above; fair.
47	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. X, 31, above; Kh. *śi* in front of bull.	Ditto; mon. indistinct; fair.
48	„	Æ — ·98	Ditto; legend imperfect; mon. Pl. X, 5, above; Kh. *pha* in front of bull.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 26, above; fair.
48*a*	„	Æ — ·78	Similar; mon. Pl. X, 13 or 14.	Similar; in poor condition; remarkable for its small size; mon. Pl. X, 57.

Type 8; *Demeter and Hermes; circular*

49	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·1	Throned goddess (? Demeter) l.; modius on head; r. hand raised; l. hand holding cornucopiae. Legend, as above, in good script, with square *omikron*, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΑΖΟΥ.	Hermes standing l., with r. hand raised, and caduceus in l. hand; chlamys flying behind him; indistinct mon., r.; Kh. *saśi*, l. Kh. legend, as above, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*; below *Ayasa*, fair.
50	„	Æ — 1·02	As No. 49.	As No. 49; mon. Pl. X, 14, r.; Kh. *saśi*, l.
51	„	Æ — ·98	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
52	„	Æ — ·98	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto; poor.
53	„	Æ — ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
54	„	Æ — 1·05	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
55	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; fair.
56	*I.M.*	Æ 170 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
57	„	Æ 175 1·12	Ditto; restruck, probably on an elephant and bull coin, type 6; half	Ditto; same mons.; restruck, with half the legend Kh. and half Greek (see

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			the legend Greek and half Kh.	Cunningham, 'Coins of the Sakas,' reprint, p. 45 = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x, p. 147).
58	*I.M.*	Æ 179 1·0	Ditto; as Nos. 49–56; Kh. *śi*, l.	Ditto; as Nos. 49–56; good (Pl. VIII, 15).
59	„	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; fairly good.
			Type 9; king seated; rev. Hermes; copper, circular	
60	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·05	King diad., facing, seated cross-legged on cushion; holding in r. hand whip (not '*ankus*', as in *B. M. Catal.*); and in l. sceptre (not 'sword', as in *B. M. Catal.*), which rests on his knees. Legend, in fairly good Greek characters, ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.	Hermes standing l., with r. hand raised, and caduceus in l.; mon. Pl. X, 3, l. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*; poor.
61	„	Æ — ·92	As No. 33.	As No. 33; mon. Pl. X, 34, l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.
62	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. l. damaged; Kh. (?) *he*, r.
63	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 28, l.; Kh. character as on No. 35.
64	„	Æ — ·87	Ditto; indistinct mon. l.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, l.; Kh. *bu*, r.
65	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; Kh. *ti* or *vi*, l.	Ditto; same mon. l.; Kh. *ra*, r.
66	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 44, l.; mere traces of apparently corrupt Greek legend.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 20, l.; mon. and Kh. *bu*, r.
67	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; Kh. *ba*, l.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 20, l.; mon. Pl. X, 38, and Kh. *sa*, r.
68	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; mon. l. illegible; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *ra*, r.
69	„	Æ — ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 16, l.; very poor.
70	*I.M.*	Æ 150 ·9	Ditto; Kh. *ti* or *vi*, l.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 48, l.; Kh. (?) *he*, r.
71	„	Æ 152 1·0	Ditto; no mon.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, l.; Kh. *ra*, r.
72	„	Æ 136·5 ·9	Ditto; Kh. *pra*, l.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, l.; Kh. *ra*, r.
73	„	Æ 98 ·85	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 44 (? = Kh. *li*), l.; merely traces of Greek legend.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 20, l.; mon. Pl. X, 38, and Kh. *bu*, r.
74	„	Æ 104 ·9	Ditto; a character l.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 34, l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type 9A; *king seated; rev. Pallas; copper*	
75	*I.M.*	Æ 125 ·9	Ditto; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ legible.	Pallas facing; r. arm extended; l. arm holding shield close to the body; *Ayasa* legible. (This rev. seems to be unique; the condition is very poor.)
			Type 10; *Poseidon and goddess; square or oblong*	
76	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·0	Poseidon, facing, trampling with r. foot on prostrate river-god; trident in l. hand. Greek legend, imperfect, as above, ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ-ΓΑΛΟΥ, below [ΑΖΟΥ].	Draped goddess, facing, holding in each hand a gracefully designed vine-branch; mon. Pl. X, 4, l.; traces of Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayasa*; poor.
77	„	Æ — 1·08 × ·95	Ditto; only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 10; condition better (Pl. VIII, 16).
77*a*	„	Æ — 1·0 × ·9	Ditto; much defaced.	Ditto; same mon.; poor condition.
			Type 11; *king on camel; rev. bull; square*	
78	*I.M.*	Æ 199·6 1·0	King riding two-humped camel r. Greek legend, as above, in coarse but correct script; round *omikron*.	Humped bull r., grazing; mon. Pl. X, 8, r. Kh. legend, as above, but continuous, nearly complete, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa* (Pl. IX, 1).
			Type 12; *horseman with couched lance; rev. bull; square or oblong*	
79	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·97	King on horseback r., with couched lance. Legend, as above; round *omikron*.	Humped bull standing r.; mon. Pl. X, 5, and Kh. *a* above. Kh. legend continuous, as in type 11; poor.
80	„	Æ — ·8 × ·85	Ditto; legend mostly defaced.	Ditto; same mons.; name below.
81	„	Æ 165·4 1·05	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto; much worn; bull l.
82	*I.M.*	Æ 187·9 ·88	Ditto; square *omikron*.	Ditto; mons. as in No. 79; bull r.; name *Ayasa* below; good (Pl. IX, 2).
83	„	Æ 150·3 ·85	Ditto; worn.	Ditto; same mons.; name below.
84	„	Æ — 1·02 × ·96	Ditto; much defaced.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 13; *king on horseback; rev. Herakles seated; square*		
85	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·85	King on horseback r. in square; (?) with lance. Legend, imperfect, ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΣ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ] ΜΕ[ΓΑΛΟΥ], below Α-ΖΟΥ; round *omikron*.	Herakles, in square, seated on rock, on which his l. hand rests; club in r. hand, supported on knee; mon. Pl. X, 20, l. Kh. legend, *maharajasa mahata[sa Ayasa]*; poor (see *Num. Chron.*, 3rd S., vol. x, p. 106, Pl. VI, 6).
86	*I.M.*	Æ — ·78	Ditto; much worn; name lost.	Ditto; much worn; name lost. (This coin may belong to either Azes I or Azilises.[1])
		Type 14; *king on horseback; rev. lion; square*		
87	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·7	King on horseback r., with whip; Kadaphes symbol (Pl. VII, 151) in front of horse; ΩΣ ΜΕΓΑ legible; name lost.	Lion r., Kh. *spa* above; a cross (?=4) in front of lion; Kh. legend illegible, but traces of *Ayasa* below; seems to be unpublished; in poor condition (Pl. IX, 3).

AZILISES (AYILISHA), SUCCESSOR AND (?) SON OF AZES I, ABOUT 40–15 B.C.

		Type 1; *horseman and Pallas; silver*		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 136 1·03	King on horseback r., with lance. Legend, ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΑΖΙ-ΛΙΣΟΥ.	Pallas l., thunderbolt in r., and aegis in l. hand; mon. Pl. X, 5, l.; Kh. *a* in right field. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayilishasa*; rev. fine.
2	„	Æ 36 ·6	As No. 1; name lost.	As No. 1; same mons.; legend nearly complete.
		Type 2; *horseman and goddess with palm; silver*		
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 143·5 1·0	King on horseback r., with couched lance; legend as before.	Goddess standing l., holding palm bound with fillet in l., and an object with four points (? brazier with fire) in r. hand; mon. Pl. X, 11, l.; Kh. *dhra* l., *mi* r. Legend, as in type 1; fine (Pl. IX, 4).
4	„	Æ 36·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 27, l.; Kh. *sam*, r.; good.

[1] For types tentatively assigned to Azes II, see *post*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*I.M.*	Æ 33·8 ·65	As No. 3.	As No. 3; mon. Pl. X, 15, l.; a character r.
6	„	Æ 140·1 1·03	Ditto; Kh. *dhra* before horse.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 15; a character r.; good.

Type 8; *horseman with lance and bull; square or oblong; copper*

7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 164 1 × ·9	Device and legend, as in preceding types; but imperfect, and rudely executed.	Humped bull walking r.; mon. Pl. X, 5, and Kh. *a* above; Kh. legend, as in preceding types; poor.
8	*I.M.*	Æ 155·7 1 × ·9	As No. 7; much defaced.	As No. 7, but bull l.; mon. Pl. X, 11, and Kh. *mi* above; poor.

AZES (AYA) II, King of Taxila and the Western Panjāb, about 15 B.C.–20 A.D.; probably grandson of Azes I

Type 1; *obv. horseman with whip and bow; rev. Zeus holding out Nikē; Greek script generally debased*

A; silver, generally base

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	135 ·9	King diad., holding up whip, with bow behind back, on horseback r.; Kh. *mi*, r. Greek legend, ΒΑ-ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ].	Zeus, standing r., holding Nikē bearing wreath in extended r. hand, and long sceptre in l. hand; mon. Pl. X, 45, l.; mon. Pl. X, 32, and Kh. *bu*, r. Kh. legend, *maha*[*rajasa raja-rajasa mahatasa*] *Ayasa.*
2	„	Æ	37·5 ·58	Ditto; Kh. *kaṁ*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 41, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, r., and Kh. *ti* (?).
3	„	Æ	35 ·58	Ditto; Kh. *mi*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 49, l.; Kh. *dhra* and *a*, r.
4	„	Æ	36 ·6	Ditto; Kh. (?) *mo*, r.	Ditto; same mon., l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.
5	„	Æ	34·5 ·55	Ditto; Kh. *bu*, r.	Ditto; same mon., l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.
6	„	Æ	37·5 ·55	Ditto; Kh. *ji*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. character not read.
7	„	Æ	36 ·6	Ditto; Kh. character not read.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 16, l.; Kh. *vaṁ*, r., and a mark above.
8	„	Æ	36 ·57	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 11, l.; Kh. character r., not read.
9	„	Æ	35 ·57	Ditto; Kh. *haṁ*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 49, and Kh. *saṁ*, r.
10	„	Æ	33 ·6	Ditto; Kh. (?) *pha*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, l.; Kh. *sata*, r.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33·5 ·53	Ditto; Kh. character not read.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 49, l.; mon. and Kh. *a*, r.
12	„	Æ 36 ·63	Ditto; Kh. *u*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, l.; Kh. *spa*, r.
13	„	Æ? ·9	Ditto; Kh. *sa*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 16, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *ba*, r. (This coin might be classed as copper; it is probably billon.)
14	„	Æ? ·88	Ditto; Kh. character not read.	Ditto; same mons.; and Kh. *baṁ*, r. (Metal similar to No. 13.)
15	„	Æ? ·93	Ditto; Kh. *ji* or *jiṁ*, r.	Ditto; Kh. *bu dhra*, l., *sa*, r. (Similar metal.)
16	*I.M.*	Æ — ·6	Ditto; Kh. *bu*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 49, l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.
17	„	Æ — ·55	Ditto; Kh. *saṁ*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 3, and Kh. *ra*, r.
18	„	Æ — ·56	Ditto; Kh. character worn.	Ditto; mon. Σ, l.; mon. Pl. X, 46, and Kh. *so*, r.
19	„	Æ —	Ditto; Kh. *he*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 58, l.; mon. Pl. X, 47, and Kh. *dhra*, r.
20	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; Kh. *lava* or *vala* (?), r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 16, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *ba*, r.
21	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto; Kh. *kṣha*, r.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 40, l.; character r., worn. (Of better silver and execution; this specimen and some others may belong to Azes I.)
21*a*	„	Æ — ·52	Ditto; Kh. *a*, r.; ΜΕ-ΓΑΛΟΥ legible.	Ditto; no mon.; *rajasa maha* legible; may belong to Azes I.

B; copper

22	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·6	As the silver coins; Kh. (?) *bu*, r.	As the silver coins; mon. Pl. X, 11, l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.; *Ayasa* clear.
23	„	Æ — ·52	Ditto; Kh. *mi*, r.	Ditto; mon. (?) l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r. (Pl. IX, 5).
24	„	Æ — ·5	Ditto; character illegible.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
25	„	Æ — ·48	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; indistinct.
26	*I.M.*	Æ — ·54	Ditto; AZΟΥ distinct.	Ditto; mon. (?) l.; Kh. *ti*, r.; the deity may be Pallas, and not Zeus.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
27	*I.M.*	Æ — ·52	As No. 22; very rude.	As No. 22; rude; the deity is apparently Zeus.
28	„	Æ — ·52	Ditto; Kh. *mi*, r.	Ditto; mon. (?) l.; Kh. *saṁ*, r.; Zeus and Nikē certain. (Although the name is generally wanting, all these little coins seem to belong to either Azes I or II; and all are copper or bronze.)
			Type 2; horseman with whip and bow; rev. Pallas r.; blundered Greek; metal apparently billon	
29	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·88	King on horseback r., with whip and bow; mon. Pl. X, 33, r.; corrupt Greek legend, apparently intended for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.	Pallas r., rudely designed; mon. Pl. X, 33 (characteristic of these late coins), l.; mon. Pl. X, 11, r. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa.*
30	*I.M.*	Æ 150·5 ·82	Ditto; Kh. mon., including *ti*, r.; mon. Pl. X, 59 between horse's legs.	Ditto; same mons. and legend. (Wrongly placed by Rodgers among coins of Aspavarma.)
31	„	Æ 152 ·85	Ditto; Kh. mon. *kheti*, r.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. IX, 6).
			Type 3; horseman with whip and bow; rev. goddess with cornucopiae; copper	
32	*I.M.*	Æ — ·85	King, as above; mon. illegible; corrupt Greek legend.	Goddess (? city) l., wearing chiton and peplum; Kh. mon. *shegasha*, r. Kh. legend, *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajati-[rajasa Ayasa]*.[1]

AZES (AYA) II, WITH HIS GOVERNOR OR SATRAP (STRATĒGOS), ASPAVARMA, IN WESTERN PANJĀB, ABOUT 10 A.D.

Type; horseman with whip and bow; rev. Pallas; Greek script debased, and often corrupt; circular; apparently billon

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·82	King on horseback r., carrying whip (Cunningham; not 'wreath', as von Sallet and Rodgers; or '*ankus*', as *B. M. Catal.*); bow behind his back.	Pallas r., rudely designed; r. hand advanced; spear and shield in l. hand; star and mon. Pl. X, 33, l.; mon. Pl. X, 11, r. Kh. legend, *Indravarmaputrasa*

[1] Coins of this class, evidently of late date, occur in the Afghan topes; four were found with the gold casket in No. 2 Bīmarān tope (*Ariana Ant.*, pp. 53, 330).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Greek legend, in debased, and often corrupt, script, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, below ΑΖΟΥ, with square *omikron*; below horse, mon. Pl. X, 59; to r. Kh. mon. *aga*.	*Aspavarmasa strategasa*, below *jayatasa*.[1]
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·8	Ditto; same mons.	Ditto; same mons.
3	,,	Æ — ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	,,	Æ — ·78	Ditto; mon. below horse obscure.	Ditto; ditto; and Kh. *saṁ*, l.
5	,,	Æ — ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.; Kh.? *ḍa*, l.
6	,,	Æ — ·8	Ditto; r. mon. lost.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *bu*, l.
7	,,	Æ — ·8	Ditto; mon. below horse obscure; Kh. *e*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *mi*, l. The word *strategasa* is written *stragasa* by mistake. (On omissions of letters, see von Sallet, p. 148.)
8	*I.M.*	Æ — ·8	Ditto; no distinct mon. below horse.	Ditto; same mons.; Kh. (?) *mau*, l.
9	,,	Æ 156·5 ·85	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 59, below horse.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a*, l.
10	,,	Æ 162·5 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *ṡi*, l.
11	,,	Æ 161·5 ·75	Ditto; no mon. below; Kh. *kheti* or *khevi*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. character (?), l.
12	,,	Æ 151 ·8	Ditto; indistinct mon. below; Kh. *aga*, r.	Ditto; ditto; ? Kh. *ḍa*, l.
13	,,	Æ 157 ·8	Ditto; mon. ? Pl. X, 59, below; Kh. *aga*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. character (?), l.
14	,,	Æ 157 ·75	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *sa*, l.
15	,,	Æ 155 ·75	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *mo*, l.
16	,,	Æ 145 ·8	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a* or *u*, l.
17	,,	Æ 153·5 ·8	Ditto; no mon. below; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a*, l.
18	,,	Æ 152 ·8	Ditto; uncertain mon. below; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ? Kh. *ḍa*, l.
19	,,	Æ 150·5 ·85	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *ṡi*, l.

[1] 'While "satrapy" continued to be the official name for the province, the governor in official documents is called by the Greek title of *stratēgos*. In popular language he was still spoken of as "satrap". See Polybius, xxi. 16 (18), 4. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1902, p. 152). *Jayatasa* = Pâli *jayaṁtassa*, gen. of *jayaṁta*, 'the victorious'.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	*I.M.*	Æ 151 ·75	As No. 1; mon. Pl. X, 60; ditto.	As No. 1; ditto; ditto.
21	„	Æ 157 ·8	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *pha*, l.
22	„	Æ 153·5 ·85	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 61; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; (?) ditto; l. (*Jayasa* by mistake for *jayatasa*).
23	„	Æ 152·5 ·75	Ditto; no distinct mon. below; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *a*, l.
24	„	Æ 155·5 ·8	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *kheti* or *khevi*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *na*, l. (Pl. IX, 7).
25	„	Æ 144·5 ·8	Ditto; uncertain mon. below; Kh. *aga*, r.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. character (?), l.
26	„	Æ 154·5 ·85	Ditto; no mon. below; Kh. *kheti* or *khevi*, r.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
27	„	Æ 153 ·85	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 61, below; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; Kh. *dra* (?), l.[1]

GONDOPHARES OR UNDOPHERRES (GUDUPHARNA, &C.), AN INDO-PARTHIAN KING OF THE INDUS VALLEY, ABOUT 20–60 A. D.

Type 1; *horseman and Pallas;* (?) *billon*

1	*I.M.*	Æ? 146 ·85	King diad., on horseback r.; the characteristic mon. Pl. X, 51, r.[2] Greek legend, BACIΛEΩ[C BACIΛEΩN ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ] ΥΝΔΟ-Φ[ΕΡΡΟΥ].	Pallas standing r., with spear and shield; mon. Pl. X, 20, r.; Kh. mon. reading *mi* and (?) *tram*, l. Kh. legend, *maharajarajatiraja [tratarasa devavratasa]*[3], below *G[u]dapharasa* (Pl. IX, 8).

Type 2; *horseman and Zeus with sceptre;* (?) *billon; with legend* SASASA *in exergue*[4]

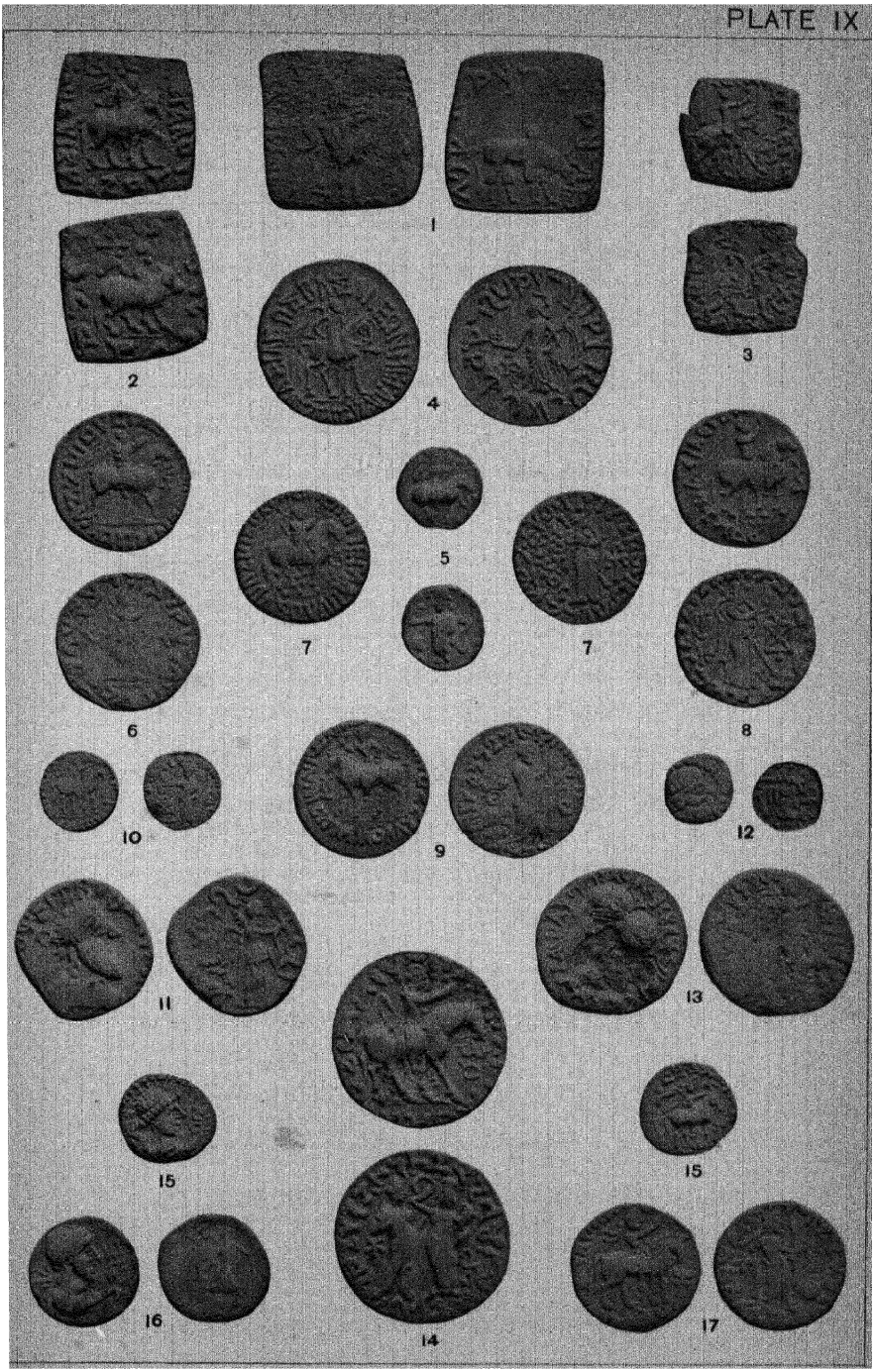
2	*I.M.*	Æ? 150·5 ·8	King diad., on horseback l., below horse mon. Pl. X, 33; the characteristic mon.	Bearded Zeus, naked to waist, standing r., with r. hand raised, and long scep-

[1] Twenty-two duplicates of this type not catalogued in detail.

[2] The same symbol is found on the neck of the king's bust on an *A. S. B.* coin ascribed to Orodes I of Parthia, 57–38 or 37 B. C.

[3] For reading *devavrata*, see Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 286.

[4] The meaning of the word *sasasa* is not known, but it has been supposed to be the genitive of a proper name *Sasa*, a colleague or subordinate of Gondophares. I do not believe this theory, and regard the word as an epithet or title, like *jayatasa*, which occupies the same position on the closely related and nearly contemporary coins of Azes II and his *strategos*, Aspavarma.



INDO-PARTHIAN COINS

AZES I, AZILISES, AZES II, GONDOPHARES, PAKORES, ZEIONISES, SOTER MEGAS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			51, l. Greek legend blundered and unintelligible.	tre in l.; mon. Pl. X, 11, r., and also Kh. *pra*; mon. 33, l., and also Kh. *śi* and *o* or *au*. Kh. legend [*rayara*]*yasa apratihatachakrasa devavradasa*; below, traces of *sasasa* (Pl. IX, 9; this coin is remarkable because the king is l., and the epithet *apratihatachakrasa* has hitherto been known only on coins of Rañjubula).
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ? — ·8	Similar to No. 2, but king r.; much worn.	Similar to No. 2, but only mon. Pl. X, 33, l. visible. Kh. legend, [*maha*]*tasa tradarasa devavradasa*; names lost.
4	*I.M.*	Æ? — ·8	As No. 3; mon. Pl. X, 51, r.; Kh. *pa* and *cha* between horse's legs; worn.	As No. 3; mon. Pl. X, 33, l., and Kh. *va*, r.; fragment of marginal legend, and *sasasa*.
5	„	Æ? 163 ·78	Ditto; mon. r.; a character between horse's legs.	Ditto; same mons.; *maharaja* legible.
6	„	Æ? 151·2 ·8	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; same mons.; *maharajasa* and *sasasa* legible.
Type 3; *horseman and Zeus holding Nikē*; (?) *billon*; *with legend* SASASA				
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ? — ·8	King diad., on horseback r.; mon. Pl. X, 51, r.; no character between horse's legs.	Zeus, standing l., holding out Nikē in r. hand; mon. Pl. X, 37, r., and Kh. *va*; mon. Pl. X, 21, l.; legend illegible.
8	*I.M.*	Æ? — ·8	Ditto; worn; mon. Pl. X, 32, between horse's legs.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 20, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *bu*, r.; legend illegible.
9	„	Æ? — ·77	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 51, r., and Kh. *si*; no character between horse's legs.	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 21, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *va*, r.; legend illegible.
10	„	Æ? — ·75	Similar; mon. Pl. X, 41, r., and Kh. ? *vra*.	As No. 9; but condition worse; legend illegible. (The B. M. spec. read *maharajasa rajadirajasa .... Gadapharasa*, and in exergue *sasasa*.)
11	„	Æ 33·6 ·48	Similar; mon. Pl. X, 51, r.; no other character or mon.; legend illegible.	Similar; mon. Pl. X, 21, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, and Kh. *va*, r.; traces of legend (Pl. IX, 10; uncommon in this size).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Type 4; bust of king, with winged Nikē rev.; copper		
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·82	Bearded bust of king diad. r. Greek legend, often blundered, [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ[ΟΣ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡ-ΡΟΥ], in characters of late type.	Winged Nikē, standing r., holding wreath and palm; rudely designed. Kh. legend in late, and sometimes cursive, characters, [*maha*]-*rajasa Guda*[*pharnasa tratarasa*]; in poor condition.
13	„	Æ — ·88	As No. 12.	As No. 12; poor.
14	„	Æ — ·85	Defaced.	Ditto; *maharajasa Gu* legible.
15	*I.M.*	Æ — ·85	As No. 12; ΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ legible; square *omikron*.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. IX, 11).
16	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; legible [ΣΩ]-ΤΗΡΣΟ ΥΝ.	Ditto; *maharajasa trata* legible.
17	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; ΣΩΤΗΡΟΡΟC ΥΝΔΟΦΕ].	Ditto; *maharajasa Gu*-[*dapha*]*rnasa tratarasa*.
18	„	Æ — ·93	Bearded bust of king l., which is unusual; much worn.	Ditto; *rajasa* and *Gudapharasa* legible.
		Type 5; minute copper coins with head of king in Arsakid style, and a rude representation of the thundering Pallas on the rev. (not in B. M. Catal.)		
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·42	Arsakid bearded head of king diad. r.	Rude device of the thundering Pallas l.; Kh. *stra* in l. field; traces of Kh. legend; poor.
19*a*	„	Æ — ·45	Similar.	Similar; no Kh. character.
20 (*two coins*)	*I.M.*	Æ 31·45 36·5 ·45	Similar; [Β]ΑCΙΛΙΩ Υ, for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΝΔΟ-ΦΕΡΡΟΥ, legible on one.	Similar, but one much worn; on the other Kh. [*ma*]*harajasa* legible.
21 (*two coins*)	„	Æ 33 and 38 ·4 and ·42	Similar; nothing legible.	Similar; Kh. *stra* on one; *a*, r., and *ta* (or *ra*), l., on another; marginal legends not read.
22	„	Æ — ·46	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; Kh. *o*, r.; *stra*, l.; and *maharajasa* legible.
23	„	Æ — ·46	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; but Pallas facing; *raja* legible.
24	„	Æ — ·42	Ditto.	Similar; Pallas l.; Kh. *stra* in l. field; marginal legend not read (Pl. IX, 12).[1]

[1] Twenty-six *I. M.* duplicates not catalogued in detail. It is difficult to distinguish these little coins from those of Rañjubula, but the form of the eye differs. The obverse legend probably was ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ?] ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ, and the reverse *maharajasa* [*rajasa*?] *Gadapharnasa*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

ABDAGASES (AVADAGASHA), King of Taxila, Nephew of Gondophares, about 60–65 A.D.

Type 1; *bust of king; rev. Nikē; copper*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·9	Bust of king diad. l. Legend illegible.	Winged Nikē standing l., holding out wreath and fillet. Kh. legend, l. seems to be *Avagadashasa*; very poor.
1*a*	„	Æ	— ·92	Similar; damaged; [ΑΒ-ΔΑΓΑ]COY BACIΛE legible.	Nikē r. Legend illegible; very poor.

Type 2; *horseman; rev. Zeus; (?) billon*

2	*I.M.*	Æ	151 ·8	King on horseback l.; the Gondophares symbol, Pl. X, 51, l. Corrupt Greek legend, [BACI]ΛEΩN, below AΓΛEOY (with square *omikron*) followed by I.	Zeus standing r., with r. hand advanced; Kh. mon., r. (?) *shegasha*; mon. Pl. X, 11, l. Kh. legend, *maharajasa* legible; traces of *Avadagashasa* below; poor. (The full legend is said to be *Gadaphara bhradaputrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagashasa.*[1])

Type 3; *horseman; rev. Zeus holding out Nikē; (?) billon*

3	*I.M.*	Æ	155·5 ·8	King on horseback r.; Gondophares symbol r. Legend illegible.	Zeus l., holding out Nikē; mon. Pl. X, 21, l.; mon. Pl. X, 37, r. Kh. legend, (?) *tratarasa Avagadasa* legible; poor.

ORTHAGNES, Successor and ?Brother of Gondophares, King of Sīstān and Arachosia, about 60–70 A.D.

Type; bust of king; rev. winged Nikē; copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·92	Bust of king diad. l., with hair arranged in *chignon* fashion. Greek legend, [BACIΛEYC BAC]I-ΛEωN [MEΓAC OPθAΓ-NHC].	Winged Nikē r., holding out wreath with fillet. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajatirajasa*; Kh. characters in field r. and l. not read.
2	„	Æ	— ·95	Similar; much worn; nothing legible.	Similar; much worn; *maharaja* legible.
3	„	Æ	— ·91	Similar; nothing legible.	Similar; in Kh. legend, *Guḍa* legible. Kh. *mi* in l. field.

[1] Dr. Franke reads *-bhradu-* or *-bhratu-* (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 123).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9	As No. 1; nothing legible.	As No. 1; nothing legible. (All the above in bad condition. The full legend is said to be *maharajasa rajadi* [or *-ti-*] *rajasa mahatasa Gudaphara sagabasa*; *B. M. Catal.*, p. 109.)

PAKURA OR PAKORĒS, INDO-PARTHIAN KING OF SĪSTĀN AND ARACHOSIA, ABOUT 70–5 A. D.

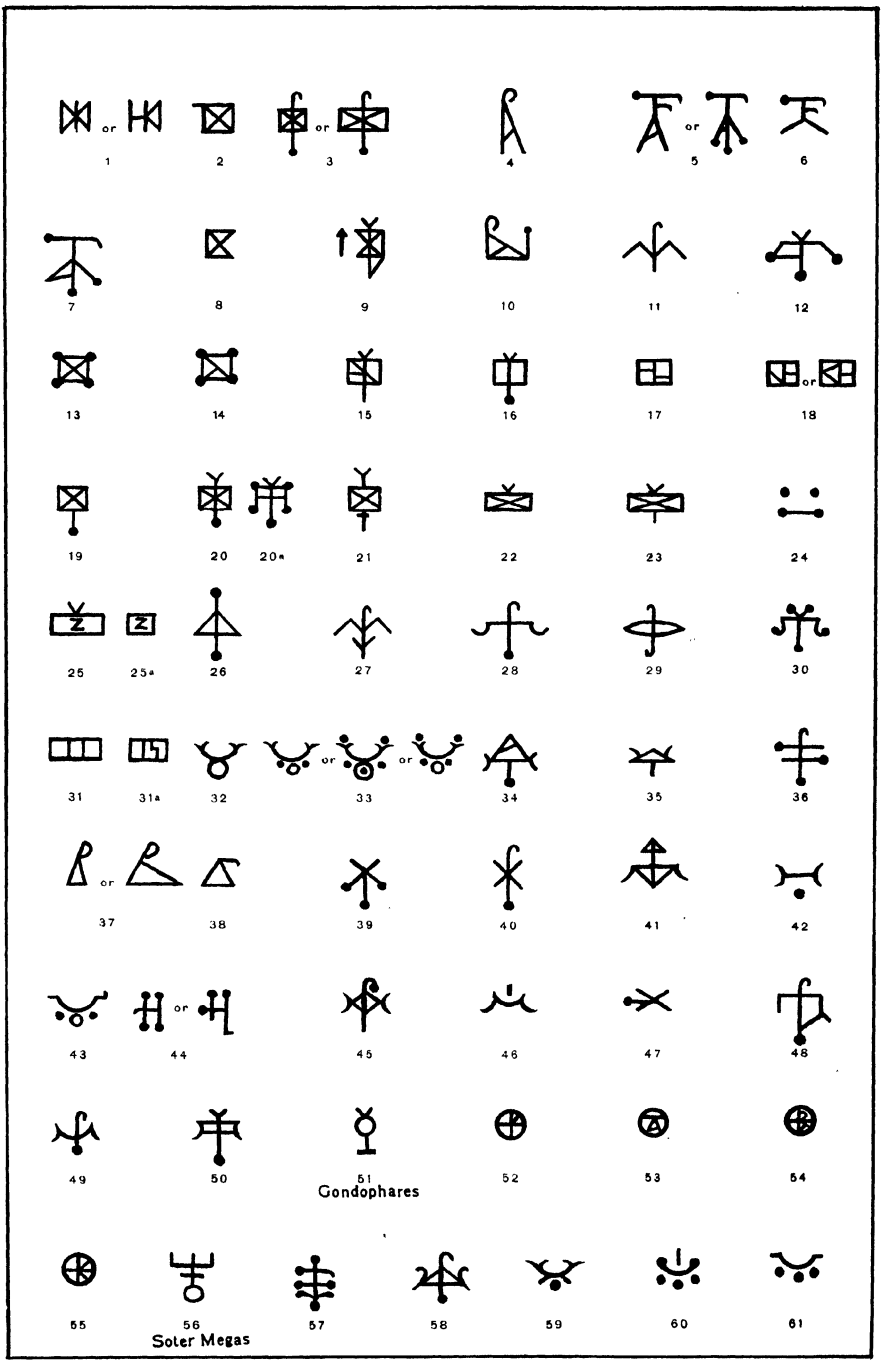
Type; bust of king and winged Nikē; copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·92	Bust of king diad. and bearded l., with chignon head-dress of late Parthian form; star behind head. Legend, in characters of late type, BACIΛEYC BACIΛEΩN MEΓAC ΠAKOPHC, nearly complete.	Winged Nikē, standing r., holding out wreath. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajatirajasa* [*mahatasa Pakurasa*]; mon. lost; poor, but better than the other spec. (Pl. IX, 13).
2	,,	Æ	— 1·0	Similar; very poor.	Similar; mere traces of legend.
3	,,	Æ	— 1·0	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	,,	Æ	— ·95	Ditto; a little better; star behind head.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*I.M.*	Æ	138 ·9	Ditto; very poor.	Ditto; *Pakurasa* legible.
6	,,	Æ	112 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; traces of legend.
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·9	Ditto; very poor; ΓAC ΠAK- legible.	Ditto; much defaced.
8	,,	Æ	— ·9	Ditto; ΠAKOPHC legible.	Ditto; ditto. (All the above coins are much worn.)

THE SATRAP JIHUNIA OR ZEIŌNISES OF TAXILA, PROBABLY CONTEMPORARY WITH AZES II, ABOUT 10 A. D.

Type 1; *horseman and city crowning the satrap; silver*

1	*I.M.*	Æ	149 1·1	Satrap on horseback r., with r. hand raised, and bow attached to saddle; mon. Pl. X, 33, r.; between horse's legs, three Kh. characters, *trai* (*tra* with two vertical strokes above), *a*, and *pa*, which may express a date. Greek legend quite corrupt; the legible	Male figure, the satrap, standing r., facing a goddess, who stands l. and is about to crown him with wreath. She wears the *modius* head-dress, and carries a *cornucopiae*; she probably represents the Fortune of a vanquished city. Kh. mon. r. seems to



INDO-PARTHIAN COINS: MONOGRAMS AND MARKS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			letters to l. look like ZIN-NIY, while traces of CAT-PAΠOY are discernible to r.	read *ura* (or *uta*); to l. mon. Pl. X, 39. Well preserved. Kh. legend, *Managulasa chhatrapasa putrasa chhatrapasa* [*Ji*]*huni*[*asa*] (Pl. IX, 14).[1]
			Type 2; *bull and lion; copper*	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·95	Humped bull standing r.; Kh. *sa*, r. Corrupt Greek legend including [C]ATPAΠOY; above bull, indistinct mon.	Lion standing r.; Kh. mon. ? *ura*, r. Kh. legend on margin illegible; below, *Jihuniasa*. (The first character is of peculiar form, like H.)
3	„	Æ — ·92	Ditto; mon. Pl. X, 33, above, and *sa*, r. Legend illegible.	Ditto; same Kh. mon.; mon. ? Pl. X, 6 above. Kh. legend almost wholly illegible.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 151 ·98	Bull l.; below, -ωN-ICA.	Similar; mostly defaced, but *Managula* legible.
5	„	Æ 137 ·92	Bull r.; Kh. *sa*, r. Legend illegible.	Similar; *Managulapu* legible.
6	„	Æ 151 1·0	As No. 5.	Ditto; [*pu*]*trasa chhatrapasa* and [*Jihu*]*niasa* legible; above lion, mon. Pl. X, 39.
7	„	Æ 111 ·92	Ditto.	Ditto; [*Ma*]*nagulaputra* legible; a character r. (All the above spec. are in poor or bad condition. The full legend is *Managulaputrasa chhatrapasa Jihuniasa* 'the satrap J., son of M.')

SOTER MEGAS, THE 'NAMELESS KING', AN ANONYMOUS RULER (OR RULERS), CONTEMPORARY WITH KADPHISES II, ABOUT 100 A.D., AND CONNECTED WITH INDO-PARTHIANS

Type 1; *obv. bust of king, radiate; rev. horseman, as on coins of Azes, &c.; copper or billon*

A; large size

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·8	Bust of king r., diad. and radiate, in Parthian style; his r. hand grasps a sceptre; *behind* head the characteristic mon. Pl. X, 56 (wanting on this spec.).	Horseman r. diad. and wearing hat, holding up a short weapon in r. hand; the symbol No. 56 in r. field in front of horse. Legend, more or less corrupt, BA-CIΛEYC BACIΛEYωN CωTHP MEГAC.

[1] The name, wherever legible, is certainly *Managulasa*, not *Mani-*, as read by Cunningham and others. Cunningham was anxious to connect it with Manikyala (*Rep.*, ii. 167; xiv. 6). For the types various Parthian coins may be compared.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·85	As No. 1, with mon.	As No. 1; but in better condition.
3	„	Æ — ·88	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.
4	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
5	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 125·1 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
9	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
10	„	Æ — ·83	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
11	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
12	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
13	*I.M.*	Æ 122·6 ·88	Ditto.	Ditto; fine.
14	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
15	„	Æ 133·5 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto; good.
16	„	Æ 129·1 ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
17	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
18	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
19	„	Æ — ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
20	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			B; small size	
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·57	As No. 1.	As No. 1; fair.
22	„	Æ — ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.
23	„	Æ — ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
24	*I.M.*	Æ 30 ·6	Ditto. (The 'sceptre' is pointed like an arrow.)	Ditto; good (Pl. IX, 15).
25	„	Æ — ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
26	*I.M.*	Æ — ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
27	„	Æ 26 ·54	Ditto.	Ditto; good.
28	„	Æ — ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.

Type 2; bust of king, with symbol in front; rev. Zeus standing, with Greek legend; copper; Mathurā type

29	*I.M.*	Æ	·58 ·7	Bust of king r., diad. with mon. Pl. X, 56 *in front*, not behind, as in type 1; not radiate. The portrait seems to be different.	Zeus standing, facing, with head r., grasping spear (or sceptre) with l. hand, and thunderbolt with r. hand. Legend, r. ΛΕΥ BACI, part of BACIΛEY[C] BACIΛEωN; in poor condition.
30	„	Æ	58·9 ·68	As No. 29.	As No. 29. Legend, BA-CIΛEY.
31	„	Æ	63·2 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto. Legend illegible; in rather better general condition (Pl. IX, 16).[1]

Type 3; obv. horseman, with Greek legend, as on rev. of type 1; rev. Zeus, standing r. holding long sceptre; a (?) plant in front of him; Kh. legend; apparently billon

32	*A.S.B.*	Æ	140 ·8	Horseman r., exactly as rev. of type 1, with mon. Pl. X, 56, in front, and legend BACIΛEYC BACI-ΛEYωN CωTHP ME-ΓAC, imperfect.	Zeus standing r., holding long sceptre, r. arm extended; in front of him a plant-like object springing from a ball. Kh. character *vi* (or *ti*) in l. field. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*, mostly illegible.
33	„	Æ	146·6 ·85	As No. 32.	As No. 32; in slightly better condition.
34	*I.M.*	Æ	151·3 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; in fairly good condition. Legend nearly complete (Pl. IX, 17). These coins are considerably heavier than type 1, but seem to be issued by the same prince.

[1] This distinct type is not clearly distinguished by Gardner (Pl. XXIV, 5) or Rodgers. I doubt if it was struck by the same person who issued type 1. Cunningham observes that these coins are commonly found at Mathurā, and that they must be regarded as a local coinage, which is not met with elsewhere. (*Coins of the Sakas*, repr. pp. 14, 55.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		MISCELLANEOUS COINS OF UNKNOWN ATTRIBUTION		
		Type; arrow and horse; silver		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 19 ·5	Feathered arrow, point downwards, and (?) bow to l., surrounded by a wreath.	Horse standing r.; Kh. *sa*, r.; in astragalus or fillet border. (Published by Cunningham in 'Coins of the Tochari, Kushans, or Yue-ti', *Num. Chron.*, 1889, p. 310, Pl. XIII, 12. Cf. the coins of 'Period of Mithridates I' and Phraates II in Wroth, *Coins of Parthia*, Pl. III, 6; IV, 10.)
		Type; horse and winged Nikē; square, silver		
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 21·5 ·45	Horse walking r., and looking back; arrow with point downwards faintly appears to r.	Rude sketch of winged Nikē r., holding out wreath. Greek mon. r., apparently TA. (In poor condition, not good enough for plate.)
		Type; king's head; barbarous imitation of Seleukidan coinage		
3	*I.M.*	Æ 12·2 ·4	King's head r.; quite barbarous.	Meaningless barbarous device. (Prof. Rapson compares the coins from Balūchistān, *Num. Chron.*, 1904, Pl. XVII.)
		Type; Roman emperor's head and horseman; brass		
4	*I.M.*	Æ 37·5 ·55	Head r., resembling that of (?) Augustus, in circle of dots. Traces of legend; seems to imitate some Roman coin.	Horseman r., with lance. (Too much worn for reproduction in plate.)
		Type; bust of king and Nikē		
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·1	Bust of king diad., l., wearing high tiara, like coin of Sanabares, *B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXIII, 12. Legend lost.	Rude figure of Nikē r., holding out wreath. Behind her on l. margin Kh. legend, *maharaja-rajadiraja.*
6	„	Æ — ·95	Similar.	Similar, but the legend behind Nikē is Greek . . ATENIB . . in characters of late form.
7	„	Æ — ·85	Similar. Legend on l. margin, apparently Kh., beginning *mi* (or *ma*) *ta* (or *ra*), followed by three characters.	Nikē r., holding out wreath. Legend, apparently Kh., of five or six characters, on l. margin, not read. (These three coins are in poor condition, and Prof. Rapson is unable to assign them.)

Section III

KUSHĀN COINS

FROM ABOUT 50 A. D. TO 550 A. D.

INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction to Section I we have seen how the last Greek prince of Kābul was overthrown, about the middle of the first century A. D., by the Kushān chief conveniently known as Kadphises I. Some thirty or forty years later, his son and successor, Wima (OOHMO) Kadphises, similarly designated for convenience as Kadphises II, extended the Kushān power into India Proper, and suppressed the Indo-Parthian chiefs who had inherited the dominions of the Indo-Greek princes in the Panjāb and Indus valley. Kadphises II established a gold coinage, suggested by the contemporary Roman *aurei*, with which it agrees in weight, and also issued an extensive copper (bronze) coinage, specimens of which are very common in the whole of North-Western India. Good examples of both the copper and gold coinage are represented in Plate XI.

So far, I believe, all scholars at present are agreed that my approximate chronology may be accepted, and that I am not far wrong in placing the accession of Kadphises I about 45 A. D., and that of his successor, Kadphises II, about 85 A. D. The dates used to be placed considerably earlier. But concerning the chronological position of the powerful monarch Kanishka, and his successors, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, the widest difference of opinion exists. Dr. Fleet holds that Kanishka established the era dating from 58 B. C., which subsequently became known as the Mālava or Vikrama era. On the other hand, not to mention rival theories, I hold that the balance of evidence favours the hypothesis that Kanishka came to the throne about 120 or 125 A. D. Dr. Fleet's view involves the assumption that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva all preceded the Kadphises kings. The reasons for this view not having been published, I can only say that to me it appears opposed to indisputable facts, numismatic and other; and that I still adhere to the ordinary current opinion that Kanishka succeeded

Kadphises II. This catalogue, therefore, is arranged on the assumption that the following chronology is *approximately* correct, namely:—

Kadphises I	acc. about	45 or 50	A. D.
Kadphises II	„ „	85	A. D.
Kanishka	„ „	120	„
Huvishka	„ „	150	„
Vāsudeva	„ „	180	„

The Vāsudeva coinage undoubtedly shades off into Indo-Sassanian types based on Persian originals struck subsequent to the establishment of the Sassanian monarchy in 226 A. D., and I have never been able to understand how this fact can be reconciled with Dr. Fleet's view of the Kushān chronology.

The southern frontier of the Indian dominions of Kanishka and Huvishka probably was the Narbadā (Narmadā, Nerbudda) river. Nothing is known about the political events of the reign of Vāsudeva, but it is evident from the coins that the Kushān empire broke up in his time. The third century A. D. may be regarded as the most obscure in the whole of the Indian historical period, and it is quite impossible at present to give any distinct account of what happened in India during that century.

I am inclined to date the *Vasu* coins (Pl. XIII, 11) in the first half of the third century. Some specimens come from Sīstān, and it is quite possible that Vasu may be distinct from Vāsudeva Kushān. The coins of Kanēshko (not Kanishka) and a Vāsudeva depicted in Plate XIV, 1, 2, 3, are probably a little later in date, but also struck in the third century.

The chiefs with various names, some Indian and some Tartar (?Turkī), who struck the coins illustrated in Plate XIV, 4–9, seem to have ruled in the Panjāb and neighbouring countries during the third and fourth centuries. Some of them must have been contemporary with the earlier Gupta kings of Pāṭaliputra (Patna) and Ajodhyā.

The debased *Kidara* coins (Pl. XIV, 10, 11) are later, and are believed to have been issued by chiefs of the Little Yueh-chi horde in the Panjāb and other parts of North-Western India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The coins of this class merge into the Kashmīr coinage, which endured for centuries, and will be described in Part III of this work.

The showy Kushāno-Sassanian coins (Pl. XIV, 12, 13) seem to have been struck in Sīstān in the fourth and fifth centuries.

It is impossible to fix the date of the excessively rude coins from Purī and Ganjām, of which an example is shown in Plate XIV, 14. They may have been issued by rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century, and it is possible that they may have been struck only for use as temple

offerings. All numismatists acknowledge that they exhibit a reminiscence of the characteristic Kushān type.

The local and chronological position of the chiefs named Hyrkodes, Heraios, and Sapadbizes is extremely doubtful; but all three were foreign to India. The coins of the Western Satraps (*post*, Section IV) resemble in the obverse the coins of Hyrkodes.

I do not propose to attempt any discussion of the rich and varied issues of the great Kushān kings, Kanishka and Huvishka, which may be studied in detail in the works cited in the Introduction to Section I; to which should be added Cunningham's valuable series of papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1892 and 1893, also published separately.

The collection of Kushān coins now described is immeasurably inferior to that in the British Museum, and multitudes of types and varieties are wanting. Certain very clever forgeries of rare gold coins, about twenty in number, have been excluded from the catalogue, after careful and prolonged examination, in which Professors Rapson and C. W. C. Oman kindly assisted. Nearly all these forgeries belong to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but no record of their history is traceable. They are so well executed that they may be ascribed with confidence to the skill of the late Chanda Mall of Rāwalpindi, who was able sometimes to deceive the very elect, including Sir Alexander Cunningham and Sir Wollaston Franks.[1] A few doubtful specimens have been admitted into the catalogue, as noted in each such case.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			KADPHISES I ALONE, KING OF BACTRIA AND KĀBUL, ABOUT 45 OR 50–85 A. D.[2]	
			Type 1; *with bust of Hermaios; copper*	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9	Bust of Hermaios diad. r. Corrupt Greek legend intended for KOPΣANO or KOPANO KOZOULO-KAΔΦIZOY, '[coin] of the Kushān Kozoulo-Kadphises.' This coin reads OPOΛO KOZOYΛO, with the square form of O.	Herakles standing, facing; r. hand resting on club, lion-skin over l. arm. Kh. legend, *-gasa dhramaṭhi-*, being part of the full legend, *Kujulá-kasasa Kushana-yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa*, '[coin] of Kujulakasa, the Kushān chief, the pious.' (Much worn.)

[1] Sir H. Howorth, 'Some Notes on Coins attributed to Parthia' (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 209).

[2] For the coins struck by Kadphises I and Hermaios jointly, see *ante*, Sect. I.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*A.S B.*	Æ — ·92	As No. 1. Legend very corrupt.	As No. 1, but in better condition. Kh. legend legible *-sa dhramaṭhidasa Kushana* (Pl. XI, 1).
3	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto, worn. I can read only *ga*; the other characters seem to be peculiar.
4	„	Æ — ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; a smaller size, in very bad condition; *sa Kujula* legible.

Type 2; Macedonian soldier; copper

5	*I.M.*	Æ — ·72	Head of king r., wearing a peculiar helmet with two recurved horns. Legend, ? ? Ε ? [peculiar form] ΚΟΡCΑΝΟ. The full legend seems to be nearly the same as that of type 1.	Armed soldier, wearing a *kausia*-like helmet, standing r., with spear and circular shield, after the fashion of Ajax. Kh. legend, *Kuyula-kaüsa-* (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 64, where Cunningham wrongly read *Kasasa*; *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1898, p. 134); the full legend is *Kuyula-kaüsa Kushanasa*, '[coin] of Kuyula-kaü, the Kushān' (Pl. XI, 2).

Type 3; with head of Augustus; copper

6	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·75	Head r. diad., closely resembling that of Augustus in his later years (*cir.* 12 A. D.). Legend in neat characters [ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ] ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ, '[coin] of the Kushān chief, Kozola-Kadaphes.'	King (or ? deity) seated r. on a seat resembling a curule chair, his r. hand extended, in l. field mon. Pl. VII, 151. Kh. legend, reading from l. of head, *Khushanasa yavüasa*, or *yaüasa* [= ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ], *Kuyula-kaphsasa* [= Kozola-Kadaphēs] *sa-[cha] dhrama[ṭhita]sa.* The figure is badly designed, but the script is good.
7	„	Æ — ·75	As No. 6. Legend, ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ.... ΕΣ.	As No. 6. *Khushana... kuyu .. kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhitasa.*
8	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto; ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑ..	Ditto; *Khushanasa yaüasa Kuyula [ka]phsasa sacha..... sa.*
9	„	Æ — ·67	Ditto; [ΚΑ]ΔΑΦΕΣ.	Ditto; *-nasa ya[üa]sa-Kuyula.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·7	Ditto; XOPANCY Z.	Ditto; *Khushanasa yaüasa.*
11	*I.M.*	Æ — ·7	Ditto; XOPA . . . . . OY . . . OLA KAΔAΦEΣ.	Ditto; *sa yaüasa Kuyulakaphsasa sachadhramaṭhitasa.*
12	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto. Legend illegible, except OOY.	Ditto; *Khushanasa yaüasa . . . . dhramaṭhitasa.*
13	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto; ZAOOY.	Ditto; *Khushanasa yaüasa . . sa . . . sa* (Pl. XI, 3).
14	„	Æ — ·68	Ditto; -Y ZAOOY.	Ditto; *yaüasa.*
15	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto; AKAΔAΦEΣ.	Ditto; [*ya*]*üasa Kuyulakaphsasa sachadhra.*
			Type 4; bull and camel; copper	
16	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9	Humped bull, standing r.; mon. illegible. Remains of debased Greek legend. In r. field Kh. letter *p.*	Two-humped camel, standing r. Remains of Kh. legend (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 65; *B. M. Catal.*, p. 112, Pl. XXIII, 7). In bad condition.
17	„	Æ — ·9	As No. 16; mon. Pl. VII, 152 above; a character in r. field, ? *śtha.*	As No. 16. Kh. legend, (?) *Kushana Ku*[*yula*] *karakaphsasa.* A conjunct Kh. character, *s* and ? in r. field (Pl. XI, 4).
18	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; illegible.	Ditto; illegible.
19	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 153; no legend.	Ditto. Kh. legend, *maharayasa rayati.*
20	„	Æ — ·87	Ditto; mon. ?; no legend.	Ditto; Kh. character ? *chhe* above; legend illegible.
21	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; mon. ? 2; traces of legend.	Ditto. Kh. legend, *kara maharayasa maha*[*tasa*].
22	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 152; traces of legend; a character in r. field, ? *ru.*	Ditto. Kh. legend illegible.
23	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto; no mon.; ? B legible.	Ditto; *maha* legible. In very bad state, but proves the existence of a small size of this type.
24	*I.M.*	Æ — ·95	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 152; traces of legend; Kh. character *ru* or *tu* in r. field.	Ditto; in r. field Kh. letters *pa* and *cha*; legible in legend, [*Ku*]*yula-karakaphasa.*[1]

[1] According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66) the full legends are :—
(1) *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula-kara-kaphsasa;*
(2) *Kuyula-kara-kapasa maharayasa rayatirayasa;*
(3) *Maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula-kaphasa;*
(4) *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula-kaphasa.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			KADPHISES II, KING OF KĀBUL AND NORTHERN INDIA, ABOUT 85–120 A. D.	
			Type 1; obv. bust of king; rev. two-armed Śiva; gold	
1	*A.S.B.*	*N* 120·6 ·75	Upper part of king diad. l., emerging from clouds, with high hat or helmet; flames arising from his shoulders; club in r., elephant-goad in l. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 154, behind head. Legend, BACIΛEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC.	Two-armed Śiva, facing, head to l., with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin (? tiger's) over l. arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in r. hand; mon. to r., Pl. VII, 152, and to l., Pl. VII, 154. Kh. legend, [*maha*]*rajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa* [*mahiśvarasa Wima kathphiśasa*[1] *tratarasa*].
2	*I.M.*	*N* 120·5 ·75	As No. 1, in all details.	As No. 1. Legend legible, *rajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa.*
3	*A.S.B.*	*N* 119·7 ·75	Ditto; but king r.	Ditto, worn. Legend legible, *rajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wimaka-.*
4	*I.M.*	*N* 122 ·8	Similar to No. 3, but king wears no cap or helmet; behind head, mon. Pl. VII, 154.	Similar. Legend legible, *dirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wimakathphiśasa* (fine; Pl. XI, 5).
			Type 2; obv. head of king in frame; rev. combined trident and battle-axe; gold	
5	*I.M.*	*N* 30·8 ·52	Head of king r., in raised square frame. Legend as No. 1, but imperfect.	Trident on stand, with battle-axe attached l., and club at r. foot; mon. to r., Pl. VII, 152, and to l., Pl. VII, 154. Kh. legend, *maharaja-rajadiraja Wimakathphiśasa* (Pl. XI, 6).
			Type 3; obv. standing king and altar; rev. Śiva and bull; copper A; large size	
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·05	King diad., wearing tall cap and long coat, standing l., with r. hand over altar; trident with battle-axe l. in l. field; club and mon. Pl. VII, 154 in r. field. Legend, OOHMO KAΔΦICHC BACIΛEYC BACIΛEΩN CΩTHP MEΓAC.	Śiva, two-armed, standing facing in front of bull standing r.; holds trident in r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 152, l. Kh. legend, *iśvara mahiśvarasa Wimakathphiśasa.*

[1] Rapson, 'On the Alphabet of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents' (*Actes du XIV*ème *Congrès des Or.*, tome I, p. 219).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·0	As No. 6; KAΔΦICHC legible.	As No. 6. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga išvarasa mahiš-varasa Wima.*
8	*I.M.*	Æ — 1·18	Ditto; legend, as on No. 6, almost complete.	Ditto; legend mostly illegible.
9	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto. Kh. legend, *ra-jasa raja . . . sarvaloga . .* legible.
10	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto; defaced.	Ditto; illegible.
11	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto; BACIΛEYC BA-CIΛEωN CωTHP legible.	Ditto. Kh. legend, *raja . . . . . ? . . . mahiśvarasa Wima ka* (Pl. XI, 7).
12	„	Æ — 1·1	Ditto; legend, as No. 6, nearly complete.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 173. Kh. legend, *maharajasa rajadirajasa . . . . . kath-phišasa . .*
			B; small size	
13	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·7	Ditto; OOHM and BA-CIΛEωN legible; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r.	Ditto; legend illegible; mon. Pl. VII, 152, l.
14	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto; OOHM and CωTHP MEΓAC legible; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r.	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 152, l.
15	„	Æ — ·7	Ditto; OOHM legible; mon. illegible.	Ditto; ditto; mon. il-legible.
16	*I.M.*	Æ — ·65	Ditto; no mon.; CωTHP legible.	Ditto; astragalus border; no mon. or legend.[1]

KANISHKA, King of Gandhāra and Northern India, about 120–50 A. D.

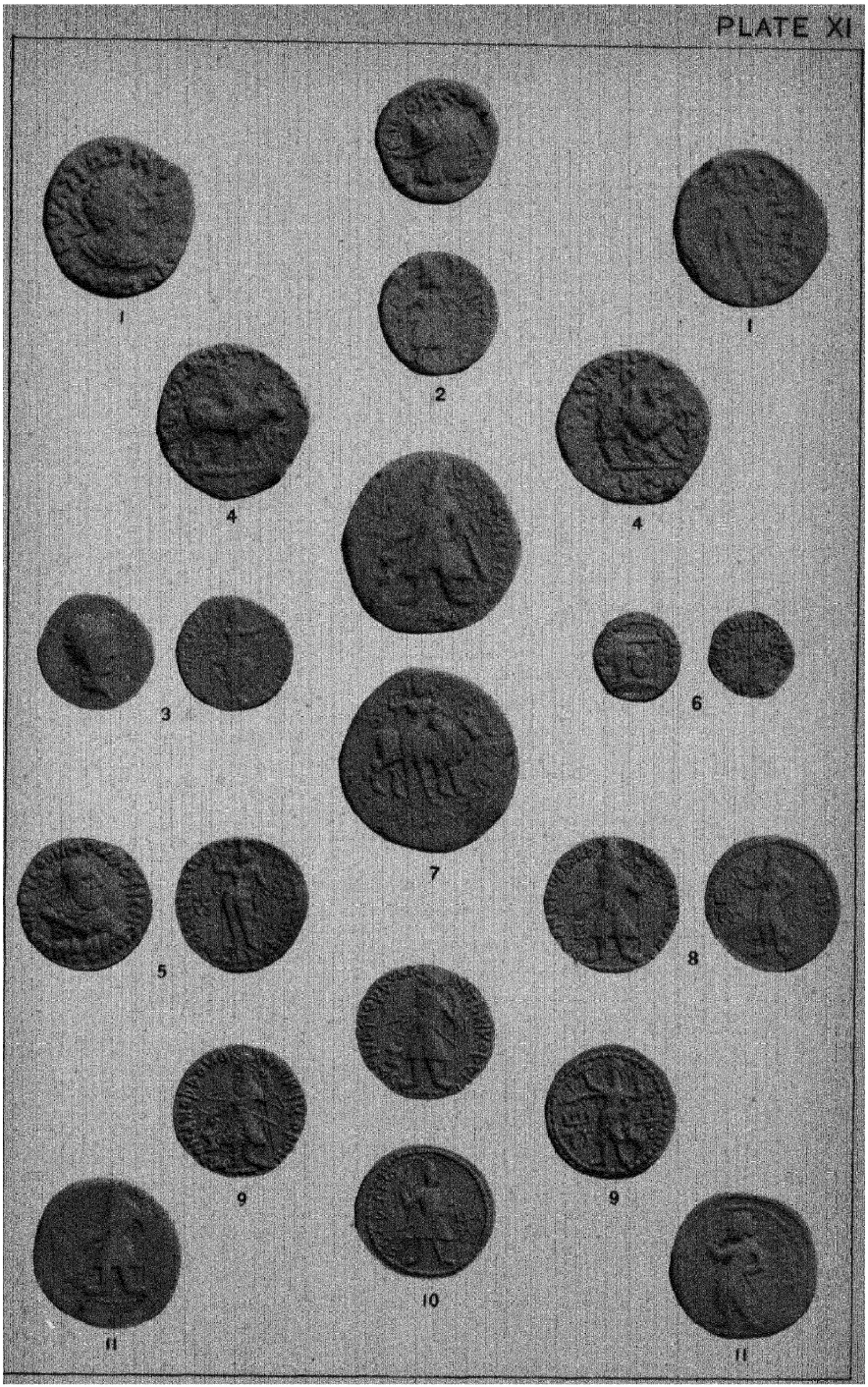
Gold

Type; obv. king standing at altar; rev. a deity

1	*A.S.B.*	*N* 120·7 ·8	King standing l., bearded, wearing peaked cap or helmet, coat, trousers, and cloak, with flames rising from his shoulders; grasping spear in l. hand, and holding in r. hand an elephant-goad over altar. Circular legend in modified Greek script and Old Persian language, PAONANO PAOKANHPKIKOPANO, *Shaonano-shao Kanēshki Koshano*, 'Kanishka the Kushān, king of kings.'	Bearded fire-god, standing l., diad., clad in long gown and robe; holding fillet in extended r. hand, and tongs in l. hand, which rests on hip; flames rising from his shoulders; mon. Pl. VII, 154, to l. Legend, r. AΘPO, *Athsho*, modern Persian *ātash*.

[1] I have failed to find the coin of Kadphises II, described by Dr. Hoernle in *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 82, which formed part of a hoard discovered in the Patiāla territory, and was supposed to read *maharajasa rajadirajasa tradatasa* [sic] *apratihatasa.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 122·5 ·8	Exactly as No. 1.	Exactly as No. 1 (Pl. XI, 8, rev.).
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 120·2 ·8	Ditto; except that king has sword at waist.	Male moon-god, standing l., diad., clad in tunic and robe (? chiton and himation); with r. hand extended, holding (?) callipers, and l. hand resting on hip; a crescent moon springs from his shoulders, and he wears a sword at his side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. MAO, *Mao.*
4	*I.M.*	Æ 112·5 ·77	As No. 3; legend imperfect.	As No. 3; except that a sceptre is held in l. hand. The coin is genuine, although of light weight.
†4*a*	*A.S.B.*	Æ 121·8 ·78	As No. 4; legend complete.	As No. 4. I doubt the genuineness of this coin.
5	„	Æ 120 ·8	Similar; legend complete.	Male sun-god, standing l., diad., nimbate, and radiate; clad in tunic and robe; r. hand extended; l. hand on hip; sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. MIIPO, *Miiro.*
6	„	Æ 118·5 ·78	As Nos. 1 and 2; king has no sword. Legend imperfect.	As No. 5.
7	*I.M.*	Æ 121·3 ·83	Similar; sword doubtful; legend complete.	Draped goddess, standing r., diad. and nimbate, holding in r. hand sceptre tipped with a (?) horse's head; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r. Legend, l. NANA, *Nana.*
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119·5 ·77	Similar; sword; legend nearly complete.	As No. 7; but goddess wears sword, and legend is NANAPAO, *Nana-shao.*
9	„	Æ 121·2 ·8	Similar; sword; legend complete.	Four-armed Śiva, standing facing with head l.; holding in upper r. hand *vajra* or thunderbolt ('small hand-drum,' Cunningham), in lower r. hand a water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand nothing, and with lower l. hand on hip. Antelope ('goat,' Gardner) on its hind-legs in r. field; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. OHPO, *Oēsho.*



KUSHĀN COINS

KADPHISES I, KADPHISES II, KANISHKA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	*I.M.*	Æ 122·8 ·8	As No. 9; in fine condition.	Similar; but elephant-goad in lower r. hand, and trident in upper l. hand (Pl. XI, 9).
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 121·5 ·77	Similar; sword; legend complete.	War-god (Bahrām), helmeted and diad., standing r., grasping spear in r. hand; sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r. Legend, l. ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ, *Orlagno.*
12	*I.M.*	Æ 122·2 ·78	As No. 11.	As No. 11 (Pl. XI, 10).
13	„	Æ 119·5 ·8	Ditto.	A fire-god, nimbate and diad., standing r., grasping spear with l. hand, and holding in r. hand an uncertain object; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r. Legend, l. ΦΑΡΡΟ, *Pharro.*
14	„	Æ 121·3 ·8	Ditto.	As No. 13 (Prof. Rapson doubts the genuineness of this coin, but I do not think that it is spurious).

Copper

Class I—*Legends in Greek language only*

Type; obv. king standing at altar; rev. a deity

15	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·88	King standing at altar, l., as on gold coins. Legend, ⌊ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙ⌋ΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ. (Note the false concord.)	Sun-god, standing l., defaced; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. ΗΛΙΟΣ, *Hēlios.*
16	„	Æ — ·85	As No. 15; legible ΒΑ-CΙΛΕΥC ΒΑC . .	As No. 15; but in better condition.
17	„	Æ 117·5 ·87	Ditto; legible, -ΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡ.	Ditto; the god wears chiton, himation, and sword; r. hand advanced, l. on sword; in fair condition (Pl. XI, 11).
18	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; legible, ΒΑCΙ-ΛΕΥC ΒΑC . . . . . ΡΚΟΥ.	Ditto.
19	„	Æ — ·88	Ditto; ΛΕΩΝΚΑ legible.	Ditto; in poor condition.
20	„	Æ — ·88	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Goddess, standing r., holding sceptre surmounted by (?) horse's head in r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r. Legend, r. almost defaced, ΝΑ[ΝΑΙΑ], *Nanaia.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·85	As No. 15; ΑΕϢΝ clearly legible, the rest indistinct.	As No. 20; in better condition; legend clear.
22	*I.M.*	Æ — ·86	Ditto; ΙΛΕΥϹ legible.	Ditto; ditto.
23	„	Æ 122 ·87	Ditto; legend complete.	Ditto; in good condition (Pl. XII, 1).

Class II—*Legends in Greek script, but old Persian language*

Type; as in Class I; obv. legend ΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ, *Shao Kanēshki*

24	*A.S.B.*	Æ	— ·98	King standing l. at altar, as usual; ΝΗΡΚΙ legible.	Fire-god, or god of metals, standing l., holding wreath or fillet in r. hand, and tongs in l., which rests on hip; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. ΑΘΡΟ, *Athsho.*
25	*I.M.*	Æ	264·5 ·98	As No. 24; ΡΑΟ ΚΑ, in bold characters, legible.	As No. 24; rev. in fairly good state. A very thick, massive coin.
26	„	Æ	— ·98	Ditto; legend illegible.	Ditto; but more worn, and less thick.
27	„	Æ	— 1·0	Ditto; only Ν legible.	As No. 26.
28	„	Æ	133·2 ·8	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto.
29	*A.S.B.*	Æ	261 1·0	King standing l. at altar, as usual; legend as above, only Ο ΚΑ legible.	Moon-god, standing l., r. hand extended; l. on sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l.; legend, r. ΜΑΟ, *Mao.*
30	„	Æ	— 1·0	Ditto; ΡΑΟ ΚΑ legible.	As No. 29.
31	*I.M.*	Æ	— 1·0	Ditto; ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ legible.	Ditto.
32	„	Æ	260 1·05	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto.
33	„	Æ	— 1·0	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
34	*A.S.B.*	Æ	77·5 ·73	Ditto; ΑΟ ΚΑ legible; rude.	Ditto.
35	„	Æ	75.8 ·7	Ditto; Κ[Ι] ΡΑΟ legible.	Ditto.
36	*I.M.*	Æ	71·5 ·68	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto.
37	„	Æ	65·7 ·7	Ditto; ΗΡΚΙ legible.	Ditto.
38	*A.S.B.*	Æ	64·3 ·74	Ditto; ΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚ legible.	Ditto.
39	*I.M.*	Æ	63·2 ·7	Ditto; ΝΗΡΚ legible; very rude.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
40	*I.M.*	Æ 58·5 ·7	Ditto; PAO KA legible.	Ditto.
41	*A.S.B.*	Æ 46·5 ·65	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto. (The weights prove that there are at least three denominations of the *Mao* coins.)
42	„	Æ 250 ·95	Ditto; nothing legible.	Sun-god, nimbate, and radiate, standing l., r. hand extended; l. hand on sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. MIOPO, *Mioro*; in bad condition.
43	„	Æ 241 1·05	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; in better condition; MIIPO, *Miiro*.
44	„	Æ 251·6 1·0	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; poor; MIIPO, *Miiro*.
45	„	Æ 245·5 1·0	Ditto. Legend, r. PAO KA, l. NHPK.	Ditto; ditto; MIIPO, *Miiro*.
46	„	Æ 66·9 ·75	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto; MIYPO, *Miuro*.
47	*I.M.*	Æ 72·2 ·7	Ditto; PKI legible.	Ditto; ditto.
48	„	Æ — ·65	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto; ditto.
49	„	Æ 61·1 ·65	Ditto; PAO KA legible.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XII, 2).
50	*A.S.B.*	Æ 250·7 1·02	King standing l. at altar, as usual. Legend, PAO KANHPKI, *Shao Kanērki*, not *Kanēshki*.	Goddess r., as on gold coins, holding sceptre surmounted by (?) horse's head; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r. Legend, l. NANA (Pl. XII, 3).
51	„	Æ — 1·0	Similar; PAO KA . . HPK legible.	As No. 50; in bad condition.
52	„	Æ — ·98	Ditto; defaced.	Ditto; in fair condition.
53	„	Æ — ·65	Ditto; PAO KA legible.	Ditto. Legend, NANA reversed.
54	„	Æ 67·4 ·7	Ditto; very rude; HPKI legible; Kh. characters *mo* and (?) *ta* in l. field.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 167, r.; legend as usual.
55	„	Æ — ·67	Ditto; HPKI legible; Kh. character (?) *jaṁ* in l. field.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r.; ditto.
56	*I.M.*	Æ 60 ·63	Ditto; PKI legible; Kh. character as on No. 54.	Ditto; worn; legend lost.
57	„	Æ 63 ·61	Ditto; PAO KA legible; a Kh. character in l. field.	Ditto; legend imperfect.
58	„	Æ 67·5 ·7	Ditto; KANHPK legible; Kh. character as on No. 55.	Ditto; fairly good.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
59	*I.M.*	Æ — ·68	As No. 58; PAOKA legible; Kh. character *ji*.	As No. 58; worn.
60	*A.S.B.*	Æ — 1·08	King, standing l. at altar, as usual; PKI legible.	Wind-god, running fast to l., with loose hair, and both hands raised, holding up his robe floating in the wind; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. OAΔO, *Oado*, or *Vado*, 'the wind.'
61	,,	Æ — ·98	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; poor.
62	*I.M.*	Æ 244 1·04	Ditto; O KA legible.	Ditto; in good condition; mon. wanting (Pl. XII, 4).
63	,,	Æ — 1·08	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Ditto; but god walking or running slowly; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l.
64	,,	Æ 266 1·0	Ditto; nothing legible.	As No. 63.
65	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52 ·68	Ditto; O legible; Kh. character *cha*.[1]	Ditto; god running fast (Pl. XII, 5; this small size is rare).
66	,,	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; NHP legible (the P is reversed).	Buddha, nimbate, facing, in preaching attitude; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. The letters are peculiar in form, beginning apparently with O, and the reading is uncertain (Pl. XII, 6, similar to *B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXVII, 2, and *Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. XVIII, 8).
67	,,	Æ — ·98	King, as usual. Legend, PAO KA.	Śiva, four-armed, standing l., holding in upper r. hand thunderbolt, in lower r. hand noose, in upper l. hand trident, and with lower l. arm hanging down; mon. Pl. VII, 155, l. Legend, . . PO.
68	*I.M.*	Æ — 1·0	Ditto; legible, l. NHPKI.	As No. 67. Legend, r. OHPO, *Oēsho*.
69	,,	Æ 261·4 1·0	Ditto. Legend, P . . . NHPKI.	Ditto; but lower l. hand on hip, holding water-vessel.
70	,,	Æ 257·3 1·0	Ditto; legend complete.	As No. 69.
71	*A.S.B.*	Æ 137 ·8	Ditto; same legend.	Ditto; lower l. hand hanging down, and holding water-vessel.

[1] The Kh. letters seem to be confined to the small coins.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
72	*A.S.B.*	Æ 70·7 ·7	Ditto; legible, r. PAO, l. KI; Kh. character (?) *ja* in l. field.	Śiva, two-armed, standing facing, grasping spear or staff with r. hand; l. hand, hanging down, holds club (?); indistinct mon. l. Legend, r. OHPO, *Oēsho.*
73	,,	Æ — ·68	Ditto; l. PAO legible, and a Kh. character in l. field.	As No. 72.
74	,,	Æ 59·8 ·68	Ditto; l. NHPKI; Kh. character uncertain.	Ditto; head l.
75	*I.M.*	Æ — ·65	Ditto; nothing legible.	Ditto; ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l.
76	,,	Æ 67·3 ·72	Ditto; legend practically complete; Kh. character *cha* in l. field.	Ditto; l. hand rests on club.
77	,,	Æ ·68	Ditto; nothing legible.	Similar; but in poor condition.
78	,,	Æ 22·6 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; figure apparently of *Mao*, but nothing legible; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Remarkable for its small size.

HUVISHKA, King of Gandhāra and Northern India, successor of Kanishka, about 150–80 A. D.

'The gold coins of Huvishka,' Cunningham observes (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 98), 'offer four different busts of the King,' which may be referred to conveniently as *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* respectively, and are described as follows:—

'*A* is a very rare large head [or bust, not showing the arms or hands] of the King, covered with a round jewelled helmet with spreading crest, and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind. A large ornamental ear-ring is in the ear, and flames spring from the shoulders. The legend [of all varieties], in badly [or peculiarly] formed Greek letters, [is] PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO, *Shaonano shao Hoveshki Koshano*, "The King of Kings, Huvishka the Kushān."

'*B*. Half-length figure of the King to left [rising from clouds], with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand, and club in right hand before the face.[1] On some coins the sceptre is changed for the *ankus*, or "elephant-goad", which refers to the King as an elephant-rider, as seen on his copper coins.

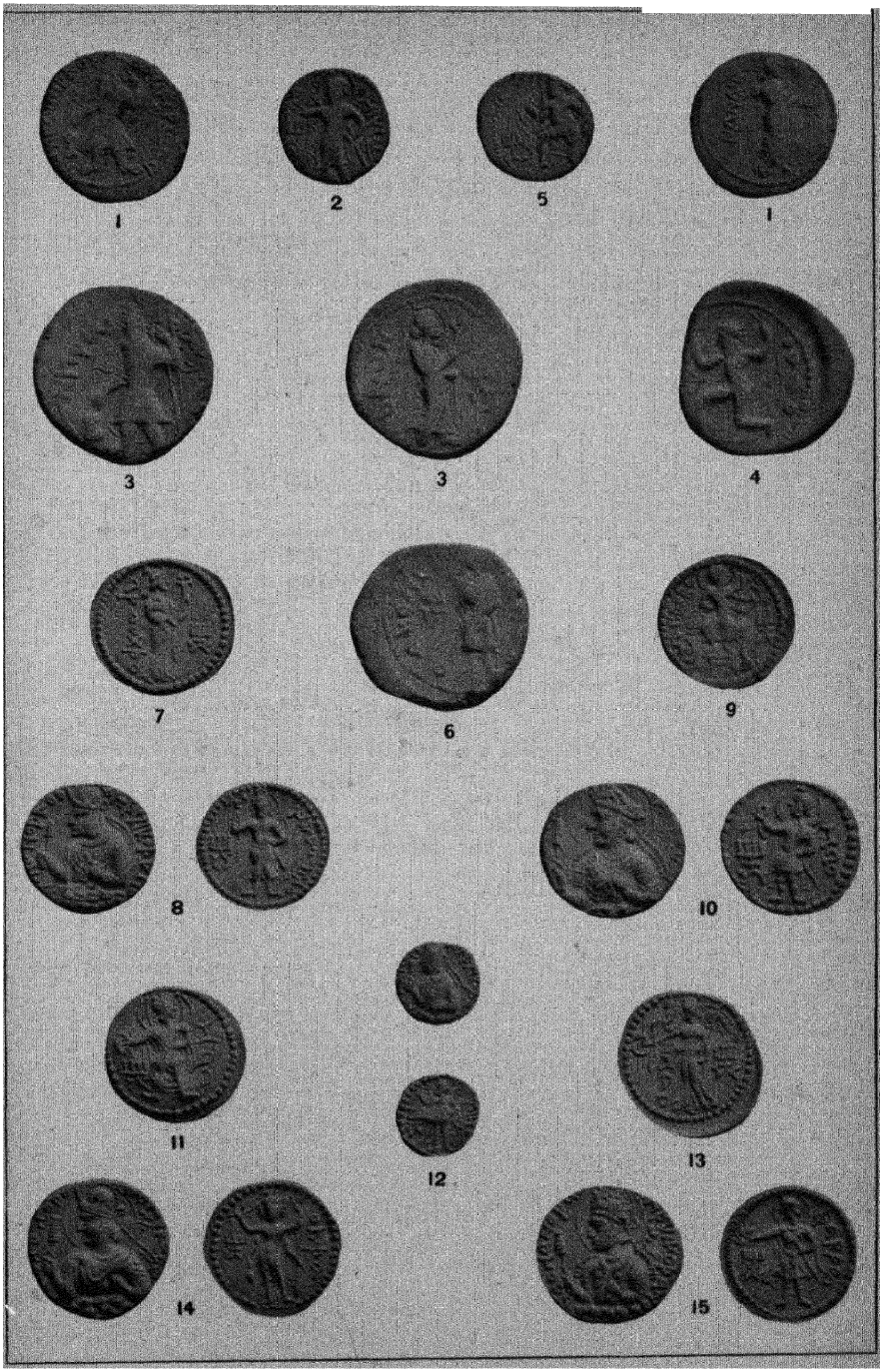
[1] 'Club'; or 'ear of corn', according to Gardner, who bases his interpretation on the 'double ear of corn' shown in *B. M. Catal.*, Pl. XXVIII, 9. But Cunningham, writing six years later, adhered to the 'club' notion, and I am disposed to agree with him.

'*C.* Half-length figure of the King [rising from clouds, richly dressed, sometimes with flames springing from his shoulders], with *round jewelled* helmet [or cap] to *left*, club and *ankus* [or sceptre] in hands. [This is the most common form; details of the King's costume vary.]

'*D.* The same half-length figure of King to the *right*.

'On some of the coins the King's name is OHOHPKI, "Huveshki."' Cunningham follows Stein in reading O in some cases as an aspirate, and in some cases as a semi-vowel.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Gold	
			Type; obv. bust of king; rev. a deity	
1	*I.M.*	*N* 122·9 ·83	Bust *C*, with sceptre. Legend, PAONANO PAO OOHPKI KO.	God of metals or fire (Hephaistos), wearing robe and cap or helmet, standing r., with hammer in r. and tongs in l. hand; flames rise from his shoulders; mon. Pl. VII, 159, r. Legend, l. AΘPO, *Athsho*; in fine condition.
2	,,	*N* 121·3 ·85	Ditto. Legend, PAONA-NO PAO O . . KI KOPA-.	Robed goddess, standing r., holding cornucopiae in l. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 159, r. Legend, l. APΔOXPO, *Ardochsho* (Pl. XII, 7).
3	,,	*N* 122·7 ·76	Ditto; legend complete.	War-god, standing facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys (not 'coat and chlamys', as in *B. M. Catal.*), holding in r. hand standard surmounted by a bird, and with l. hand resting on sword at his side; mon. Pl. VII, 154, l. Legend, r. MAACHNO, = *Mahāsena*, a synonym for Kārttikeya (Pl. XII, 8).
4	,,	*N* 117·5 ·8	Ditto; with elephant-goad.	Four-armed moon-god, seated on throne, head r., crescent behind shoulders, feet on footstool; holding in upper l. hand sceptre, and in lower l. hand (?) callipers; the only r. hand shown rests on his hip; mon. Pl. VII, 159, r. Legend, l. MANAO BA, r. ΓO, *Manao-bago*, or 'moon-god' (Pl. XII, 9).

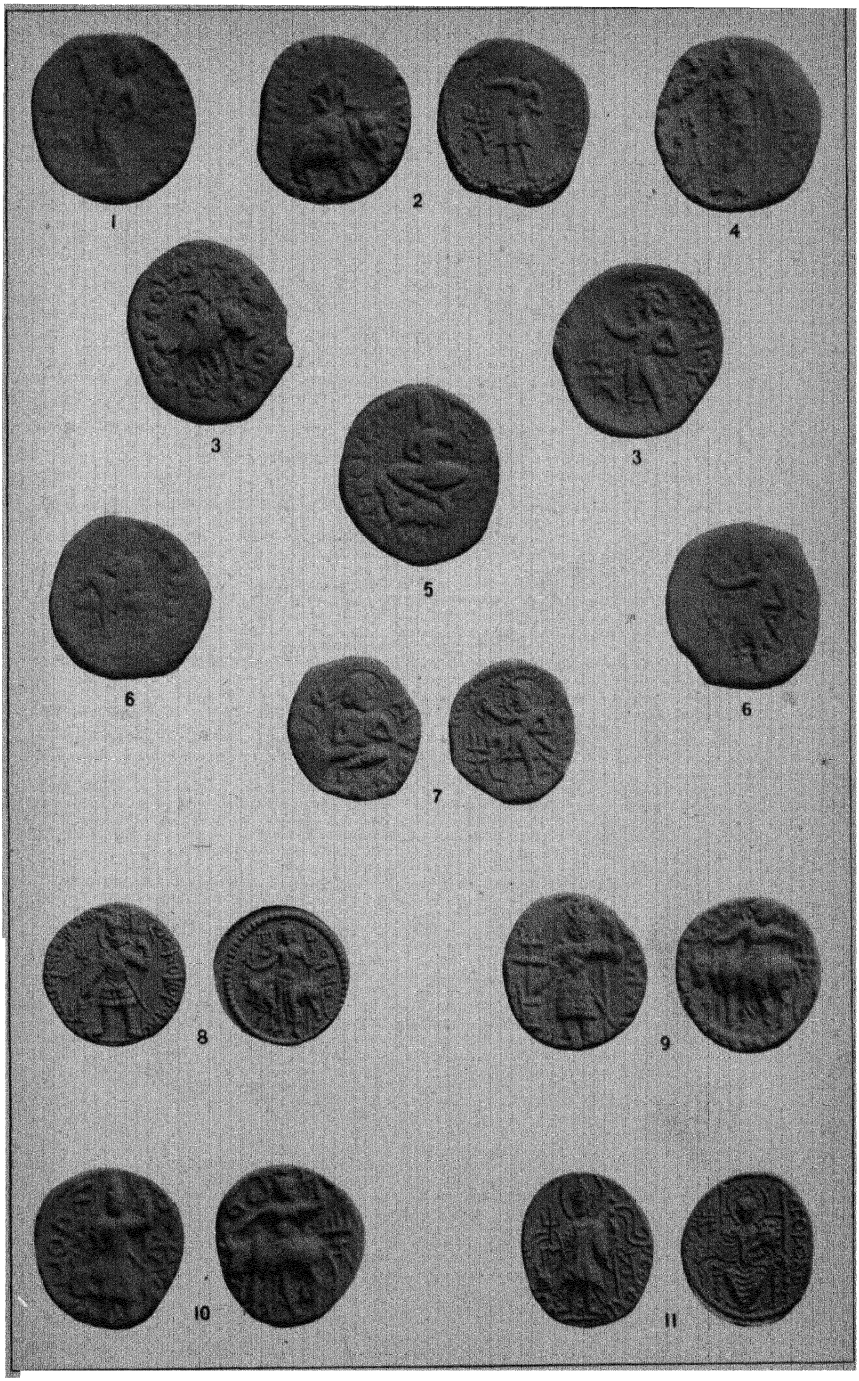


KUSHĀN COINS

KANISHKA, HUVISHKA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*I.M.*	Æ 121·2 ·77	Bust *B*; only traces of legend.	Two-armed moon-god, standing l., wearing tunic; crescent behind shoulders; wreath or fillet in r. hand, l. hand on sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 158, l. Legend, r. MAO, *Mao* (Pl. XII, 10).
6	,,	Æ 117·1 ·8	Ditto; KOPA legible.	As No. 5; same mon.
7	,,	Æ 120·7 ·8	Ditto; NANO PAO ... PKI KOPANO legible.	Draped god, standing r., holding (?) fillet in r. hand; mon. Pl. VII, 158, r. Legend, l. a corrupt word, looking like a pair of spectacles, apparently intended for MAO (*Mao*).
†8	,,	Æ 121·9 ·8	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad, executed in a degraded, stiff style. NANO PAO OOH . . I KOPA legible.	Squat-figured god, in voluminous drapery, standing facing, holding wreath in r. hand, and with l. hand on hip; mon. Pl. VII, 157, l. Legend, r. in coarse script, MAO, *Mao*. This coin looks like an ancient imitation (Pl. XII, 11).
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 117 ·77	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad, much worn. PAO OOHPKI KOP legible.	Draped sun-god, nimbate and radiate, standing l., r. hand extended, l. on sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 159, l. Legend, r. MIIPO, *Miiro*.
10	,,	Æ 30·2 ·48	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad; legend complete.	As No. 9; but in fine condition (Pl. XII, 12).
11	*I.M.*	Æ 120·2 ·8	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad, in stiff style, like No. 8. NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO legible.	As No. 9; but in peculiar, stiff style; mon. Pl. VII, 160, l. Legend, r. in coarse script, MIOPO, *Mioro*.
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 116 ·78	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad, much worn. PAO-NANO PAO OOHPKI legible.	Draped goddess, standing r., holding in r. hand sceptre surmounted by (?) horse's head; mon. Pl. VII, 159, r. Legend, l. dimly legible, NANAPAO, *Nana-shao*.
13	*I.M.*	Æ 121·5 ·8	Ditto; in fair condition; legend complete.	As No. 12; mon. Pl. VII, 154, r.; in good condition.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
14	*I.M.*	Æ 122 ·87	Bust *B*; legend complete.	Helmeted goddess (? Nikē), standing, holding out wreath or fillet in r. hand, and carrying a trophy (sceptre with ribbons) in l.; mon. Pl. VII, 159, r. Legend, l. read from outside, OANAO, *Oanao* = OANINΔA, *Oaninda*, of other specimens (Pl. XII, 13).
15	,,	Æ 123·4 ·78	Bust *C*, with sceptre. PAONANO PAO OO . . KI KOP- legible.	Śiva, four-armed and three-faced, standing facing, wearing Indian waist-cloth, and holding in upper r. hand thunderbolt, in lower r. hand water-vessel with mouth downwards, in upper l. hand trident, and with lower l. hand resting on club; mon. Pl. VII, 159, l. Legend, OHPA, *Oēsha* (Pl. XII, 14).
16	,,	Æ 122·3 ·76	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad; legend complete.	Śiva, four-armed, and with one face turned l., wearing Indian waist-cloth, and holding in upper r. hand thunderbolt, in lower r. hand elephant-goad and water-vessel turned downwards with liquid escaping, in upper l. hand trident, and with lower l. hand resting on horns of antelope ('goat', Gardner); mon. Pl. VII, 155, l. Legend, r. OHPO, *Oēsho*.
17	,,	Æ 121·7 ·8	Bust *C*, with elephant-goad; legend complete.	As No. 16; except that the elephant-goad is wanting; same mon.; in rather poor condition.
18	*A.S.B.*	Æ 29·9 ·53	Bust *C*, with sceptre; legend mostly defaced.	Sun-god, nimbate and radiate, standing l., with r. hand extended, l. hand on sword at side; mon. Pl. VII, 161, l. Legend, r. in peculiar script, ONIA, *Onia*, if read from outside; or ANIO, *Anio*, or ONIO, *Onio*, if read from inside.



KUSHĀN COINS

HUVISHKA, VĀSUDEVA, VASU

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 111 ·85	Similar; PAONONO PAO legible.	Ditto; mon. imperfect; traces of legend OHPO, *Oēsho.*
10	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; PAONANO legible, in coarser script.	Ditto; mon. imperfect; no legend.
11	„	Æ 133·5 ·95	Ditto; PAONONO PAO in bold letters.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
12	„	Æ — ·93	Ditto; NANO PAO indistinct.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 168, r. Legend, OHPO.
13	„	Æ — ·95	Ditto; PAONANO legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 165, r. Legend, OHPO.
14	„	Æ 132·3 ·9	Ditto; PAONANO legible.	Ditto; mon. lost; traces of legend, OHPO.
15	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; NANO PAO BA legible; mon. imperfect, r.	Ditto; no mon.; traces of OHPO.
16	„	Æ — ·85	O PAONANO PAO legible, in neat script.	Ditto; mon. imperfect; no legend.
17	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; defaced.	Ditto; no mon. Legend, OHPO, in neat script.
18	*I.M.*	Æ 123·3 ·9	Ditto; O PAO legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 165; legend illegible (Pl. XIII, 9). In excellent condition, except the legend.
19	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; PAONANO legible.	Ditto; same mon.; no legend.
20	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto; O NANO PAO legible.	Ditto; same mon.; no legend.
21	„	Æ 51·4 ·65	Ditto; PAO BAZOΔHO legible.	Ditto; same mon. r. Legend, OHPO.
22	„	Æ — ·88	Ditto; illegible.	Ditto; illegible.
23	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ONANO legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 165, r.; no legend.
24	„	Æ — ·85	Ditto; ONO PAO legible.	Ditto; no mon.; no legend.
25	„	Æ 51·5 ·75	Ditto; illegible.	Similar; illegible; in bad condition, but remarkable because the bull is to r. (The eighteen coins above, Nos. 8–25, may be assigned with confidence to Vāsudeva, the successor of Huvishka.)

The following coins, Nos. 26–34, of the same type, are ruder in execution, and appear to be imitations of Vāsudeva's coinage

26	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·9	Similar to preceding coins, but rough in execution and script; AO PAO seems legible.	Similar to preceding coins; mon. Pl. VII, 165, r. Legend, OΔ or OA.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
27	*A.S.B.*	Æ 136·7 ·91	Similar to No. 26, but barbarous; NO ϷO, in large characters, legible.	Similar to No. 26; mon. blundered, r.; no legend (Pl. XIII, 10).
28	„	Æ — ·95	Similar; corrupt legend, in large characters, VNO-AN.	Ditto; mon. imperfect; no legend.
29	„	Æ — ·95	Similar; corrupt legend, ABZ, in coarse script.	Ditto; no mon. Legend, AO.
30	*I.M.*	Æ — ·85	Similar; O ϷA legible.	Ditto; mon. imperfect; no legend.
31	„	Æ — ·9	Similar; illegible.	Ditto; illegible.
32	„	Æ — ·91	Similar; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 174, r.; no legend.
33	„	Æ 37·2 ·63	Similar, but small; ditto.	Ditto; no mon. or legend.
34	*A.S.B.*	Æ 68·7 ·68	Similar, but the metal is brass or pale bronze, and a mon., Pl. VII, 175, in place of altar; legend corrupt and illegible.	Ditto; no mon. Legend, OHϷO. A peculiar coin, in poor condition; resembles some of the N. Satrap coins.

Type; obv. as before; rev. throned goddess, Ardochsho

35	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·8	King as usual; NO ϷA legible.	Rude figure of throned goddess holding fillet in r., and cornucopiae in l. hand; no mon. or legend.
36	„	Æ — ·81	Ditto; rude; no legend.	Ditto; traces of legend, APΔOXϷO.
37	„	Æ — ·68	Ditto; small, thin coin; no legend.	Ditto; better executed, but in poor condition; no legend or mon.
38	„	Æ — ·81	Ditto; thicker; illegible.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
39	*I.M.*	Æ — ·8	Ditto; rude; illegible.	Ditto; no mon.; APΔO-XϷO in neat script. (The above five coins may be assigned to Vāsudeva.)
40	„	Æ — ·75	Similar; very rude; no legend.	Similar; very rude; no mon.; no legend.
41	„	Æ — ·74	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; mon. imperfect; ditto.
42	„	Æ — ·8	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; no mon.; trace of legend, APΔOXϷO.
43	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·75	Ditto; less rude; a character in l. field looks like Br. *Śi*.	Goddess as usual; no legend or mon. (These four coins are rude imitations of the money of Vāsudeva, of later date.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

VASU (? = VĀSUDEVA KUSHĀN), A KING IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA (? AND SĪSTĀN), ABOUT (?) 200 A. D.

Type; Kushān king at altar, and throned goddess; name Vasu in Brāhmī characters; gold

1	*I.M.*	AV 122·5 ·9	King l., at altar, wearing coat and pointed cap; long sceptre adorned with ribbons in his l. hand; trident with ribbons over altar. Br. legend, vertically under l. arm, *Vasu*; *vi* between king's feet.	Throned goddess, facing, holding cornucopiae; mon. Pl. VII, 165, l. Corrupt Greek legend, OΔOΔ for ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. (Fine coin, in ...rbaric style, from Sīstān; ...lgers' *Catal.*, p. 48.)
2	,,	AV 120 ·78	Similar; *vi* between feet; *bha*, l.	...milar; mon. (?) Pl. VII, 162. Legend, OΔO; from Sīstān.
3	,,	AV 119·1 ·87 × ·78	Similar; with traces of corrupt Greek on r. margin; *vi*, between feet; *sa*, l.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 165. Legend, OΔOΔOXO. (From Sīstān; Pl. XIII, 11.)
4	,,	AV 117·2 ·8	As No. 3; but no character between feet; (?) *bha*, l.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 162; no legend. (From Sīstān.)
5	,,	AV 121·8 ·8	Similar; no character between feet; *vi*, l.	Similar; same mon. Legend, OΔO.
6	,,	AV 120·4 ·8	Similar; no character between feet; *bha*, l.	Similar; same mon. Legend, ΔOΔOX.
7	,,	AV 120·4 ·9	Similar; *vi* between feet; *bha*, l.	Similar; same mon. Legend, OΔO.

KINGS OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA, USING NAMES OF KANĒSHKO AND VĀSUDEVA, IN THIRD CENTURY A. D.

Type; Kushān king at altar; rev. either Śiva with bull or throned goddess, Ardochsho; principal legends Greek, minor ones Brāhmī; gold

KANĒSHKO

1	*A.S.B.*	AV 121·7 ·87	King l., at altar as usual. Legend, [KANH]-PKO. Br. characters in field; r. *aum*; between feet, (?) *thā*; l. *ga*.	Śiva with bull; mon. Pl. VII, 165. Legend, OHPO.
2	*I.M.*	AV 119 ·85	Similar. Legend apparently PAONANO PAO KA. Br. characters, r. *hu*; between feet, *gho*; l. *ga*.	As No. 1; same mon.
3	,,	AV 119 ·85	Similar; [PAO]NANO PAO [KANH]PKO. Br. characters as on No. 2.	Ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ 121·4 ·83	Similar to No. 1; ϷAO-N[AN]O Ϸ[AO KANH]-ϷKO KOϷANO. Br. characters, r. *phṛi*; between feet, *gho*; l. *ga*.	As No. 1; ditto (Pl. XIV, 1).
5	,,	Æ 119·5 ·8 × ·75	Similar; traces of Greek legend; Br. characters, r. nil; between feet, *vi*; l. *ga*.	Throned goddess; mon. Pl. VII, 176; traces of legend. (Perhaps double struck; Rodgers, *Catal.*, p. 49.)
6	,,	Æ 120·5 ·88	Similar; but degraded; Br. characters illegible.	Throned goddess; mon. Pl. VII, 165. Legend, APΔOXϷ.
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 106·3 ·9 × ·8	Similar; Br. characters, r. *chhu*; between feet, *vi*; l. ?	Ditto; mon. blundered; legend illegible.
8	,,	Æ 30·5 ·53	Similar; Greek legend illegible; Br. characters, r. *chhu*; between feet, *vai*; l. *ga*.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 163 (Pl. XIV, 2).

VĀSUDEVA

9	*I.M.*	Æ 119·3 ·83	Similar to the Kanēshko coins, but inferior in execution; OAO legible; Br. characters, r. *aum*; between feet, *thā*; l. ?	Śiva and bull; Br. character, *bu*, in place of mon. Legend, OHϷO.
10	,,	Æ 119·8 ·85 × ·76	Similar; ϷAO KOϷANO legible; Br. characters, r. *rada*; between feet, *gho*; l. nil.	Śiva and bull; mon. imperfect. Legend, -AO KO- (Pl. XIV, 3). (Above ten coins assigned to Kanēshko and Vāsudeva respectively on the best indications available.)

SUNDRY CHIEFS RULING IN PANJĀB AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES DURING THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES A. D.

Type; obv. Kushān king at altar; rev. Ardochsho throned; Brāhmī names; traces of Greek on rev.; base gold (Cunningham, Class B, *Num. Chron.*, 1893)

I. BHADRA

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119 ·73	Kushān type of king at altar; Br. legends vertically arranged, r. *Shālada*; under arm *Bhadra*; l. wanting.	Throned Ardochsho; traces of her name in corrupt Greek script; no mon. (Pl. XIV, 4).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 120 ·75 × ·7	As No. 1.	As No. 1; mon. Pl. VII, 165, l.
2 *a*	,,	Æ 117·6 ·75 × ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			II. SAYATHA	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 120·2 ·75 × ·71	Similar; r. *Shāka*; under arm *Sayatha*; l. *bha.*	Similar; mon. lost (Pl. XIV, 5).
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 120·6 ·78 × ·7	Similar; r. *Shāka*; under arm *Saya*; l. *vi.*	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 165, l.
5	*I.M.*	Æ 120·6 ·77 × ·7	As No. 4 in all details.	As No. 4.
			III. SITA	
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119·8 ·8 × ·75	Similar; r. *Shāka*; under arm *Sita* (or *Sita*); l. *bha.*	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 162, l. (Pl. XIV, 6).
7	*I.M.*	Æ 119·3 ·75 × ·7	As No. 6 in all details.	As No. 6.
8	„	Æ 118·6 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; but mon. imperfect.
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 117·8 ·8	Similar; but l. *vi.*	Ditto; mon. lost.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 115·8 ·78	As No. 9.	Ditto; mon. nearly lost.
			IV. SAṆA	
11	*I.M.*	Æ 119 ·75	Similar; r. *Shāka*; under arm *Saṇa*; l. *vi.*	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 162 (Pl. XIV, 7).
			V. BACHARṆA	
12	*I.M.*	Æ 117 ·68	Similar; r. *Shala*[*da*]; under arm *Bacharṇa*; l.(?)	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 165. Rude, from Sīstān (Pl. XIV, 8).
			VI. CHHU	
13	*I.M.*	Æ 113 ·7	Similar, but quite barbarous; r. legend nil; under arm *Chhu*; l. *ga.*	Similar, but barbarous; mon. Pl. VII, 176; from Sīstān (Pl. XIV, 9).
			VII. PĀSAKA	
14	*I.M.*	Æ(?brass) 65 ·68	Similar to No. 12; r. *Shalada*; under arm *Pāsaka*; l. nil.	Similar to No. 12.

CHIEFS OF THE LITTLE YUEH-CHI (KIDARA) IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES A.D.

Type; Kushān king at altar, with legend Kidara, &c.; rev. throned Ardochsho; style and metal debased; gold

			I. KṚITAVĪRYA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 123·6 ·78 × ·7	Kushān king standing at altar, much debased; Br. legend, *Kida*, vertically, under his arm.	Throned Ardochsho, much debased; no mon.; marginal Br. legend, nearly complete, *Śrī Kṛitavīrya.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
1*a*	*I.M.*	Æ 122·8 ·78	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1; remains of mon.
2	„	Æ 120·5 ·85	Similar; but broad and thin; *Kida* under arm; illegible word l.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 177. Legend, *Śrī Kṛita-vīrya* in large bold characters.
			II. SARVVAYAŚA	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 112·6 ·85	Similar; but a four-pointed *mātra* on the head of the *k* of *Kida*, and to l., vertically, Br. *Baga* (='god' in Old Persian).	Similar; but Br. legend, *Sa*[*r*]*vvayaśa*[*sya*] (Pl. XIV, 10).
			III. VIŚVA	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119·7 ·88	Similar; but very rude.	Similar; mon. (?) Pl. VII, 177. Br. legend, *Śrī Viśva*, legible, although damaged.
			IV. NOT ASSIGNABLE	
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 121·9 ·73	Similar; rude.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 177; legend illegible.
6	„	Æ 123·3 ·9	Similar; in addition to *Kida*, the Br. words *Kasha*, r. and *Kapa*, l.	Similar; mon. doubtful.
7	„	Æ 122·7 ·9	Similar; *Kida* and *Kapa* legible.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 122·7 ·9	Similar; *Kidara* legible.	Ditto; ditto.
9	„	Æ 121 ·9	Similar; *Kida* and *Kapa* legible.	Similar; mon. Pl. VII, 165.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 121·8 ·88	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
11	„	Æ 122·8 ·88	Ditto; *Kida* and *Kasha* legible.	Ditto; mon. uncertain.
12	„	Æ 122·3 ·93	Ditto; only *Kida* legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. VII, 165.
13	„	Æ 123·4 ·88	Ditto; *Kida* and *Kapa* legible.	Ditto; no mon.
14	„	Æ 121·8 ·88	Ditto; *Kidara*, *Kapa*, and *Kasha* legible.	Ditto; to r. a mon., which looks like two Br. *l*'s, arranged vertically.
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ 115·2 ·95	Similar in type, but a broad coin executed in high, sharp relief; *Kida*, as usual, below arm; Br. *Śrī Vāhi*, in minute characters on lower l. margin.[1]	No mon. or legend (Pl. XIV, 11).

[1] Cunningham read *Shāhi* (*Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 202, Pl. VI, 14), but *Vāhi* seems to be right. Compare coin of Vāhi tigīn, *post* Sect. XII.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
15 *a*	*I.M.*	Æ 82 ·8	More or less similar, but excessively rude; some coarse and illegible characters.	Very rude; nothing legible.[1]
		Same type; copper		
16	*A.S.B.*	Æ 89 ·85	*Kidara, Kasha, Kapa* legible.	Mon. doubtful; Br. legend not read; condition good.
17	*I.M.*	Æ 116·6 ·85	*Kida* only legible.	Mon. Pl. VII, 165. Br. legend, *Śri Kṛitavīrya*; rude.

KUSHĀNO-SASSANIAN KINGS OF (?) SĪSTĀN, IN FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A. D. (*Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 167)

Type; Kushān king standing at altar, Persianized; rev. Śiva and bull; broad gold, often convex; corrupt Greek legends

1	*I.M.*	Æ 122·4 1·06	King, standing l. at altar, with trident in l. hand, wearing richly ornamented coat and conical cap; small trident over altar; *svastika* between king's legs. Below king's l. arm a mon. Corrupt Greek legend, which may be read OONONOPOO BPΔOHO KOPONO, intended for PAONANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO, *Shaonano shao Bazodeo Koshano.*	Śiva and bull, in degraded style; mon. Pl. VII, 165, l. Legend, r. OHPO. Slightly concave; gold apparently of good quality (Pl. XIV, 12).
2	„	Æ 122·1 1·1	Similar to No. 1; *svastika*; same mon. below king's l. arm. Legend, POONO(?)N POO BOOΔO KOBONO, which seems to indicate another name.	As No. 1; mon. indistinct.

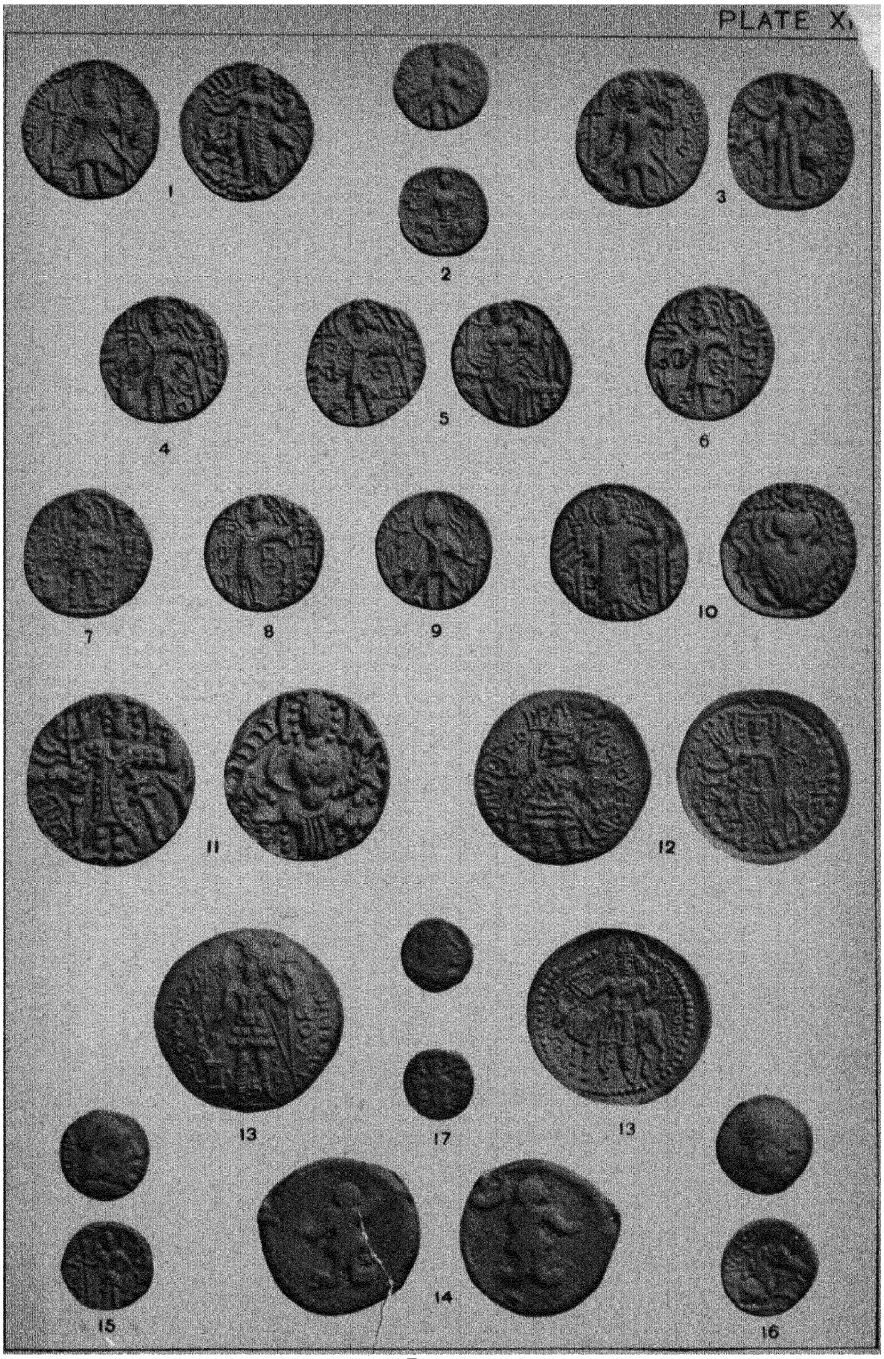
[1] *I. M.*, Nos. 7182, 7697, 9111-16, 9263, and 9264, in gold more or less base, resemble Nos. 5-14 above, and need not be catalogued in detail. The *Kidara* coins of Yaśovarman will be treated more conveniently with the Kashmīr coinage than in this place.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ 122 1·1	Generally similar to No. 2, but more convex and better executed; king's helmet with open lion's mouth in front; *svastika* between legs, and Br. character 𑀧, *pe* (or *pi*) to r. between sword and leg; mon. in r. field. Legend, in clear characters, KOPANO PA, l., and r. OѠOOOZOP[or P]O, apparently intended for OYPOMAZΔO, 'Hormazd.'	Concave; Śiva and bull; no mon. Legend, r. OOOOO. To. l. a date (?) in three characters, below bull's head (Pl. XIV, 13). From Sīstān.
4	,,	Æ 112·6 1·0	Flat, poorly executed; king wearing conical cap, as on Nos. 1 and 2; *svastika* between legs; mon. Pl. VII, 170, r. Legend, OONONOPOO BOZOΘHO KOPONO, i.e. PAONANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO. The Θ for Δ in BOZOΘHO is distinct. Below king's l. arm a mon.	Śiva and bull; mon. Pl. VII, 165, l. Legend, OHPO.
5	,,	Æ 121·5 1·0	Slightly convex, well executed; king wearing conical cap; flames spring from his r. arm; no *svastika*; a blurred mon. to r. Legend, P . . NONO POO BOΔHO KOPONO, i.e. PAONANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO.	Śiva and bull; mon. Pl. VII, 162, l. Legend, OOHPO.

(?) KINGS OF KALINGA (PURĪ AND GANJĀM), (?) OF FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

Type; obv. rude standing figure copied from the king of Kushān coins; rev. a standing deity; cast, copper

1	*I.M.*	Æ	129 ·9	Rude standing figure; r. arm down; l. arm raised.	Rude standing figure; r. arm extended.
2	,,	Æ	130 ·9	As No. 1.	Similar figure; l. arm extended; a crescent above to l. (Pl. XIV, 14).
3	,,	Æ	— ·9	Similar figure; r. arm raised; l. arm down.	Similar figure; l. arm raised; r. arm down; crescent above to l.



KUSHĀN COINS

KANESHKO, VĀSUDEVA (LATER), BHADRA, SAYATHA, SĪTA, SAṆA, BACHARṆA, CHHU, SARVAYAŚA, ŚRĪ SHĀHI, BAZODEO, HORMAZD, KINGS OF KALINGA, HYRKODES, HERAIOS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ — ·92	As No. 3.	As No. 3.
5	„	Æ 155·8 ·9	Ditto.	Similar figure; r. arm raised; l. arm down; crescent above to r.
6	„	Æ — ·9	Ditto.	As No. 5.
7	„	Æ — ·9	Similar figure; both arms extended; crescent above to l.	Similar figure; both arms extended; crescent above to r.
8	„	Æ — ·92	Similar figure; l. arm raised; r. arm down; crescent above to l.	Similar figure; l. arm raised; r. arm extended; crescent above to l.
9	„	Æ 138·2 ·9	Similar figure; r. arm raised; l. arm down; crescent above to r.	Similar figure; r. arm raised; l. arm down; crescent above to r.[1]

HYRKODES, A (?) KUSHĀN CHIEF, (?) IN BACTRIA, (?) IN FIRST OR SECOND CENTURY A. D.[2]

Type 1; *obv. bust of king; rev. armed deity; silver*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	21·5 ·5	Bust of king r., diad., with peaked beard. Corrupt remnant of legend, YRKωΔOY.	Deity standing facing; grasping spear in r. hand; flames on his shoulders. Corrupt remains of legend, which reads MAKAPOY APΔHΘPOY on B. M. coins (Pl. XIV, 15).
2	„	Æ	19·2 ·5	As No. 1.	As No. 1, in worse condition.
3	„	Æ	26·7 ·5	Ditto; no legend.	Ditto; legend quite corrupt.
4	„	Æ	23·8 ·5	Ditto; ω legible.	Ditto; poor.
5	„	Æ	30·8 ·55	Ditto; no legend.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ	26 ·55	Ditto; YPKωΔ legible.	Ditto; fair.
7	„	Æ	17 ·55	Ditto; ω legible.	Ditto; ditto.
8	*I.M.*	Æ	18 ·52	Ditto; no legend.	Ditto; barbarous.
9	„	Æ	25·5 ·58	Ditto; YPKωΔ legible.	Ditto; corrupt legend.

[1] Thirty duplicates have not been catalogued in detail. These coins all seem to be part of the hoard of more than 500 from the Purī district, fully described by Hoernle in *P. A. S. B.*, 1895, pp. 61–5, Pl. II. See also *I. C.*, sec. 54.

[2] Rapson places Hyrkodes between 50 and 1 B. C., but von Sallet considers him very late, and his coins are imitated by the Western Satraps.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Type 2; obv. bust of king; rev. forepart of bridled horse; silver	
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36·3 ·6	Bust as in type 1; no legend.	Forepart of bridled horse r.; deeply concave; traces of corrupt legend.
11	„	Æ 29·3 ·57	Ditto; ditto.	As No. 10; but only slightly concave, and YPKωΔ above horse's neck (Pl. XIV, 16).

(?) HERAIOS, A KUSHĀN KING OF W. AFGHANISTAN, EARLIER THAN HYRKODES

Type; obv. bust of king; rev. a standing deity; silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	9·8 ·4	Bust of king r., resembling that of the Satrap Rañjubula.	Standing deity r. Legend, r. •P(?)AIOY; l. [K]OPCANO. (The king's name is also read MIAIOΣ. See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, sec. 35, 36, and references there given. The word [K]OPCANO is a variant of KOPANO, 'Kushān.' Pl. XIV, 17.)

(?) SAPADBIZES, (?) A KUSHĀN KING[1]

Type; obv. helmeted bust of king; rev. standing lion, with legend NANAIA; *silver*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	21 ·6	Bust of king r., with helmet shaped like that of Eukratides; legend lost.	Lion, open-mouthed, standing r. Legend, both r. and l. NANAIA. (A poor specimen; see *B. M. Catal.*, p. 119; *I. C.*, sect. 36.)
2	„	Æ	28·5 ·55	Ditto; legend CAΠA.	Ditto; r. legend legible.

[1] Cunningham read the name Sapaleizes; Prof. Rapson reads Sapadbizes. The legend NANAIA suggests a connexion with the Kushān series.

Section IV

THE GUPTA DYNASTY AND THE WESTERN SATRAPS

INTRODUCTION

The history of the third century A. D. in India is wrapped in obscurity, at present impenetrable, and not likely to be dispelled. We know, however, that in the latter part of the century a Mahārājā, or petty chieftain, named Gupta, ruled in Magadha (Bihār), his capital probably being Pāṭaliputra (Patna). He was succeeded by his son Ghaṭotkacha, who enjoyed the same limited rank. So far as is known, neither of these chieftains coined money. Their subjects must have used the coinage of more powerful rulers, presumably that of the later Kushān kings, whose history has been lost. In the year 320 A. D. the throne of Ghaṭotkacha was occupied by his son Chandragupta I, who must be regarded as the real founder of the fortunes of his house. He married a lady belonging to the influential Lichchhavi clan of Vaisāli in Tirhūt, and showed such pride in the alliance that clearly he must have derived substantial benefit from it. Chandragupta I extended his dominions as far east as Prayāga (Allāhābād), and felt justified in issuing a gold coinage in the names of himself and the Lichchhavis jointly, bearing the image of his Lichchhavi consort (Pl. XV, 1). He also established a special era, known in after times as the Gupta Era, which presumably commemorated the date of his accession or coronation (*abhisheka*). The first year of the era was equivalent to 320–1 A. D. Many of the inscriptions and coins of the successors of Chandragupta I are dated in this era, which continued to be used in parts of northern and western India as late as the thirteenth century A. D. After a brief reign, Chandragupta I, in or about 326 A. D., transmitted the crown of his extended sovereignty to his son and chosen successor, Samudragupta, the offspring of the Lichchhavi queen. Samudragupta at once entered on a career of aggressive conquest. He first turned his arms against the princes of Upper India, and in due course reduced most

of the northern powers. When he had secured his base by the subjugation of his neighbours, he planned and executed a wonderful campaign in the south, in the course of which he overran nearly the whole of the peninsula. He returned laden with booty, and celebrated his attainment of the rank of paramount power by the performance of the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice. The medals which he struck to commemorate the occasion bear the figure of the sacrificial horse (Pl. XV, 3). Samudra did not limit his ambitions to the battle-field, but also sought distinction in the domain of literature and music. He is said to have been an accomplished poet, and his practical skill as a musician is certified by the curious 'Lyrist' coins (Pl. XV, 4, 5), which depict the monarch in the act of playing the lyre. The ferocity of his victorious warfare is indicated by the 'Battle-axe' coins, which exhibit the king as wielding the axe of Kṛitānta, or Yama, the god of death, 'who maketh an end' (Pl. XV, 9).

After a long and prosperous reign, during which the Narbadā became the southern frontier of the Gupta empire, Samudragupta passed away, and was followed on the throne by his son Chandragupta II, in or about 375 A. D.

But before we consider the eventful reign of this mighty monarch, who was probably the original of the Vikramāditya, or Bikram, of Indian tradition, we must pause to examine the attribution of certain gold coins purporting to have been struck by a mysterious king named Kacha or Kācha, otherwise unknown to history. In style and execution these coins (Pl. XV, 2) closely resemble those of Samudragupta, with which they are sometimes found associated; and it is clear that Kacha or Kācha, if not identical with Samudragupta, was closely connected and contemporaneous with that king. The only tenable hypotheses are two. Kacha must have been either the brother and predecessor of Samudragupta or identical with him. Arguments of weight may be adduced in favour of either proposition; but on the whole I am now disposed to accept the hypothesis of identity, which is strongly supported by the fact that the epithet *sarvarājochchhettā*, 'exterminator of all rājas,' applied in the inscriptions to Samudragupta alone, is also found on the coins of Kacha, and nowhere else. The term was strictly applicable to the successful conqueror Samudragupta, but would have been absurd as applied to an unsuccessful rival. Whatever may be the explanation of the use of a second name by Samudragupta, I agree with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson (*Bomb. Gazr.*, vol. i, part i, p. 62, note) in holding that the mysterious Kacha should be regarded as identical with Samudragupta.

Chandragupta II, who had been specially selected as heir-apparent, was equal to his father in ambition, and continued his career of conquest.

He carried his arms into Mālwa and Gujarāt, and even across the peninsula of Surāshṭra (Kāṭhiāwāṛ), which provinces were all incorporated as integral parts of the Gupta empire. About the year 390 A. D., Chandragupta II attacked, defeated, and slew the Satrap Rudrasiṁha, son of Satyasiṁha, lord of Western India, and so extinguished the foreign dynasty of the Western Satraps, which had lasted for fully three centuries. The gold coinage of the early Gupta kings was based on that of the Kushāns, and ultimately on the Roman money. When Chandragupta II annexed Gujarāt and Surāshṭra he recognized the convenience of the small silver currency of the Satraps, based on the Greek hemidrachmae, and imitated it closely. No specimen of the silver coinage of Chandragupta II is comprised in the cabinets described in this work; but examples of the coins issued by his successors are given in Plate XVII. The device of the peacock with expanded tail ('Fantail Peacock') characterizes the issues of the eastern mints, while that of the peacock with folded wings ('Winged Peacock') was used by the western moneyers. But both varieties alike are essentially hemidrachmae, and appear to have been suggested by the silver coinage of the Western Satraps, which was undoubtedly of Greek origin. The copper or billon coins of the Satraps with either a bull or elephant on the reverse (*C. M. I.*, Pl. I, 8–12), which are found in the Ujjain country, are improved copies of the common cast coins (*C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 25, 26), with *chaitya* and either bull or elephant. The catalogue includes only a single specimen of the elephant type of the Satraps.

The earliest Gupta copper coins also belong to the reign of Chandragupta II. Four of the known types are represented in this catalogue (see Pl. XVII). I see no reason to doubt that the 'Chandra' of the 'Vase' coins must be interpreted as meaning Chandragupta II. The copper coins of Chandragupta II were all struck in the northern or eastern provinces. Two of the mints evidently were at Ajodhyā in Oudh and Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar) in Pañchāla (Rohilkhaṇḍ).

About 413 A. D. the empire passed into the hands of Kumāragupta I, son and successor of Chandragupta II. This monarch during most of his long reign enjoyed undiminished power, but towards its close was troubled by an invasion of the White Huns, which was repelled by his son Skandagupta. Kumāragupta I coined in gold, silver, and copper; and in a general way, with many differences of detail, his coins resemble those of his father. His copper coins are very rare. One, in bad condition, is described in this catalogue (No. 55).

Skandagupta, who ascended the throne in the spring of 455 A. D., continued to reign until about 480. The incursions of nomad tribes from the north-west gradually shattered his power, and he was the last

of his family to enjoy imperial sovereignty on a large scale. His coinage in his latter years deteriorated. It is known only in gold and silver (Pls. XVI, 8, 9; XVII, 7).

The coins of the later Gupta princes are very inferior in style and execution to those of the earlier, but some of the types are interesting. The personal name of the king who assumed the title of Prakāśāditya is not known with certainty, but probably was Puragupta. The reading *vasudhām* (Rapson) on his coins is established by the specimens from Col. Rivett-Carnac's cabinet.

The coin connected with Nara's coinage (Pl. XVI, 11) seems to be unique; as is the copper coin (Pl. XVII, 9), which I attribute to Kumāragupta II, great-grandson of Kumāragupta I.

Śaśānka, King of Gauḍa or Karṇa-suvarṇa (Central Bengal), whose capital was near Murshīdābād (about 600–20 A. D.), is said to have been known as Narendragupta.[1] The 'Throned King' type (Pl. XVI, 13) may be assigned plausibly to him. The strange oval coin (Pl. XVI, 14), with the title *Kramāditya* on the reverse, is related to both the Gupta coinage proper and that of Śaśānka. Only three specimens of this type are known, and the abnormal weight, averaging 162·4 grains (10½ grammes), is not easy to explain. The coins may have been struck to the 100 *ratī* standard of about 182 grains (nearly 12 grammes).

The subject of the Gupta history and coinage is too large for further treatment in this place. The detailed political history, with full references to authorities, will be found in the author's *Early History of India*, chapters xi and xii; and for discussion of all numismatic details I must refer to the following papers:—

V. A. Smith, 'A Classified and Detailed Catalogue of the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India, with an Introductory Essay, five Plates and a Table of Weights' (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, part i (1884), pp. 119–206);

—— 'The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India', with five Plates (*J. R. A. S.*, 1889, pp. 1–158);

—— 'Observations on the Gupta Coinage', with three Plates and a Table of Legends (*J. R. A. S.*, 1893, pp. 77–148);

—— 'Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta Period', with a Plate, and Note by Dr. Hoernle (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiii, part i (1894), pp. 164–212);

—— 'Revised Chronology of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 257);

E. J. Rapson, 'Notes on Gupta Coins' (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, pp. 48–64, with Plate of Coins in the Bodleian cabinet).

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, i. 70.

The history and coinage of the Western Satraps are discussed at length in the following publications:—

P. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and E. J. Rapson, 'The Western Kshatrapas' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1890, pp. 639–62, with Plate of Coins and Table of Legends);

E. J. Rapson, 'The Coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava (Western Kṣatrapas); together with a Note on the order of succession, and Dynastic and Genealogical Tables, by Colonel T. Biddulph' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, pp. 357–407, with a Plate of Coins chiefly from the collection of Colonel Biddulph).

In this catalogue Colonel Biddulph's arrangement is followed.

Minor notices of individual Gupta and Satrap coins and sundry particulars are too numerous to detail.

Owing to the purchase of Colonel Rivett-Carnac's cabinet some twenty years ago, the set of Gupta gold coins in the Indian Museum collection is exceptionally rich. The collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal includes several remarkable coins.

CATALOGUE

THE GUPTAS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
CHANDRAGUPTA I, OF IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, 320–6 A. D. *Gold* *'King and Queen' type* *Var. a; rev. lion r.*				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 116·7 ·77	King, wearing close-fitting coat, l., facing queen, who stands r. His r. hand is raised, offering her a (?) flower or jewel; his l. arm rests on spear. Legend on l. margin behind queen illegible; under king's l. arm, vertically, *Chandra*, to l. of spear; *Gupta* to r. of it. Crescent at top of coin between heads.	Goddess facing, seated, with legs down, on couchant lion r. which lies on a lotus; holding noose (*pāśa*) in her r. hand, and cornucopiae in l. arm; mon. Pl. XVIII, 1, l. Legend on r. margin, *L[i]chchhavaya[ḥ]*, 'the Lichchhavis'.[1]

[1] All the legends on Gupta coins are in the Brāhmī character. This legend is to be interpreted as meaning that the coin was struck by the joint authority of Chandragupta and the Lichchhavis.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	*A* 117·3 ·8	Similar; obv. legends [*Kumā*]*ra d*[*e*]*v*[*ī*]*śrīḥ* and, vertically, *Chandra gupta.* Crescent between heads.	Similar; but the mon. Pl. XVIII, 3, has five uprights (R.-C.).[1]
3	„	*A* 109·5 ·84	Similar; queen's name imperfect; no crescent between heads.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 31. Legend perfect, *Lichchhavayaḥ* (R.-C.).
4	„	*A* 110·7 ·85	Similar; *Kumāra devīḥ*, 'Queen Kumāra'; no crescent; star of six dots between feet of king and queen.	As No. 3; same mon. Legend complete (R.-C., from Sītāpur, Oudh; Pl. XV, 1).
			Var. β; rev. lion l.	
5	*I.M.*	*A* 119·5 ·78	Similar; *Kumāra d*[*e*]-*v*[*ī*] *śrī*; crescent at top; three dots between feet of king and queen.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 2. Legend, *L*[*i*]*chchhavaya* (R.-C.).
6	„	*A* 117·9 ·73	Similar; in poor condition; crescent at top.	Similar; same mon.; in poor condition (R.-C.).

KACHA OR KĀCHA, A GUPTA KING, ABOUT 326 A.D.; PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH SAMUDRAGUPTA

Gold

'Standard' type

†1	*A.S.B.*	*A* .87·4 ·78	King at altar, as on coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta, l., grasping with l. arm a standard surmounted by rayed disk; under l. arm, vertically, *Kācha*; margin, *K*[*ā*]*ch*[*o*] *g*[*ā*]*m avaj*[*i*]*tya ka*[*r*]*ma-bhir-uttamairja*[*yati*], 'Kācha, having subdued the earth by excellent deeds, is victorious.'	Robed goddess, standing l., holding flower in extended r. hand, and cornucopiae in l. arm; mon. Pl. XVIII, 7, 1. Marginal legend, *sarvarājochchhettā*, 'the exterminator of all rājās' (? genuine).
2	*I.M.*	*A* 115·8 ·8	Similar; under arm, vertically, *Kacha*; margin, *Kacho gām avajitya* [*karma*]*bhir utta*[*mair jayati*].	Similar; same mon.; in good condition (R.-C.; Pl. XV, 2).[2]

[1] R.-C. refers to the collection purchased by the Trustees from Col. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., which was formed in Bihār and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

[2] No. 2, which is of normal weight for coins of this king, is unquestionably genuine, and the king's name in both places is spelled *Kacha*, with the first vowel short. No. 1, which is abnormally light, seems to be a forgery; but it looks more like an ancient than a modern imitation. The metal is debased, and the *g* of *gām* is wrongly formed. The spelling *Kācha* occurs on genuine coins.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

SAMUDRAGUPTA, OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, ABOUT 326–75 A.D.

Gold

'Aśvamedha' type

1	*I.M.*	*Æ* 116·6 ·88	Horse, unattended, standing l., nearly filling field, facing an altar surmounted by a bent pole (*yūpa*), with streamers curving above. The horse stands on a plain line. Below his belly the syllable *si*. Remains of marginal legend, *rājādhirāja pṛithivīm*.	Standing female, probably the chief queen, l., carrying a yak-tail fly-whisk (*chaurī*) over her r. shoulder, with l. hand hanging by her side, and holding an uncertain object. In front of her a staff or standard adorned with pennons. She stands on a lotus; no mon. Legend, near r. margin, *aśvamedha-pa*[*rākramaḥ*] (R.-C.).
2	„	*Æ* 117·5 ·84	As No. 1; but in better condition. Remains of marginal legend, [*rājā*]*dhirāja pṛithivīmava*[*jitya*], 'the sovereign, having subdued the earth.' A low pedestal on the line between horse's feet.	As No. 1; but in fine condition. Legend, *aśvamedhaparākrama*[*ḥ*] (R.-C., Pl. XV, 3).[1]

'Lyrist' type

Var. α; broad coins, with footstool marked Si

3	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 115·8 ·92	King, wearing waist-cloth, seated to front, with head l., on high-backed couch, over the edge of which his feet dangle. He is playing an Indian lyre (*vīṇā*), which rests on his lap. Below a massive footstool, with syllable *si* in front. Marginal legend, *mahārājādhirāja śrī Samudraguptaḥ*.	Goddess seated l. on wicker stool, holding noose (*pāśa*) in r. hand, and cornucopiae in l. arm; no mon. A vertical line between goddess and r. marginal legend, *Sarmudraguptaḥ*. (The reading *Sarmudra* also occurs on the B. M. Eden coin, Pl. XV, 4.)

[1] Prof. Rapson (*J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 102) interprets the pole as the sacrificial post. The chief queen had a function to perform in the ceremony, and the female figure may be intended for her. Prof. Rapson offers as alternative translations of the rev. legend, 'he whose might has been established by the *aśvamedha* sacrifice', or 'he who bears the title *Parākrama* as a result of his performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice'; and suggests that the full title may have been *Parākramāditya*, comparing the forms *Vikrama* and *Vikramāditya* as used by Chandragupta II.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	*Æ* — ·82	Similar to No. 3, but smaller, and in inferior condition. Legend, *mahārājādhirāja śrī* [*Samudra*]-*guptaḥ*. *Si* on footstool.	As No. 3, but legend, *Samudraguptaḥ* (R.-C., from Alwar, Rājputāna).
			Var. β; smaller coins, without footstool	
5	*I.M.*	*Æ* 120 ·74	As var. *α*, but ruder in style. Legend, *mahārājādhirāja śrī* [*Sa*]*mu*[*dra-gu*]*ptaḥ*.	As var. *α*, but mon. Pl. XVIII, 14, l. Legend, *Samudraguptaḥ* (R.-C., from Alwar, Pl. XV, 5).
			'Spearman' (formerly called 'Javelin') type	
			Var. α; SAMUDRA under l. arm	
6	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 115·5 ·82	King l., casting incense on altar, and grasping spear with l. arm; Garuḍa standard l. (in this coin and some others, without shaft). *Samudra*, vertically, under l. arm. Marginal legend, *samara śatavitata vij.* (The fullest form of this legend is *samaraśatavitata-vijayo jitāripuro-jito devo jayati*, 'victorious in a hundred mighty battles, the destroyer of the city [or "cities"] of his foes, the unconquered Lord triumphs.')	Throned goddess with feet on lotus. Legend, r. *parākrama*, 'power' or 'might'; mon. Pl. XVIII, 8; no line between legend and goddess.
7	„	*Æ* 113·3 ·83	Similar; crescent over Garuḍa standard; only traces of marginal legend.	Similar; same mon.; line between legend and goddess.
8	„	*Æ* 117·3 ·85	Similar; crescent over king's head; *samaraśata . . . . jitār*[*i*]*pur*[*a*]*ja*.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 3; line between legend and goddess.
9	„	*Æ* 114·3 ·87	Similar; marginal legend illegible.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 44; line between legend and goddess.
10	„	*Æ* 114·4 ·85	Similar; *samaraśata j*[*i*]*ta*.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 2; no line.
11	*I.M.*	*Æ* 114·3 ·8	Similar; traces of marginal legend.	A mark, Pl. XVIII, 45, above cornucopiae; mon. Pl. XVIII, 9; line between legend and goddess.
12	„	*Æ* 113 ·81	As No. 11.	Same mon. and nearly same mark as No. 11; line.
13	„	*Æ* 117·7 ·9	Similar; *samaraśata-v*[*i*]*tata*; crescent and dot over Garuḍa standard.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 14; triangular mark over cornucopiae; line.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
14	*I.M.*	*Æ* 114·9 ·85	Similar; *samaraśata-v[i]tatavijay[o]*.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 8; short line.
15	„	*Æ* 120 ·83	Similar; crescent above standard; *samaraśata.*	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 9; four dots above cornucopiæ (R.-C.).
16	„	*Æ* 113·7 ·8	Similar; *samaraśata . . . j[i]tār[i]pura.*	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 46; line (R.-C.).
17	„	*Æ* 117·5 ·84	Similar; legend as No. 16.	Details as No. 16 (R.-C.).
18	„	*Æ* 117·8 ·9	Similar; *samaraśata-v[i]ta.*	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 10; a small mark above cornucopiae; line (R.-C., Pl. XV, 6).
19	„	*Æ* 114·5 ·9	Similar; *[sa]maraśata-v[i]tata.*	Details as No. 18 (R.-C.).
20	„	*Æ* 114·7 ·86	Similar; traces of legend.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 11; mark, Pl. XVIII, 47, above cornucopiae; no line (R.-C.).
21	„	*Æ* 118·3 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 8; line (R.-C.).
			Var. β; SAMUDRAGUPTA under l. arm	
22	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 117·5 ·8	Similar; short staff to standard; *Samudra* inside, and *Gupta* outside the spear, vertically; *samaraśatavita-tavijay[o] jitāripur[o]*.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 7; mark above cornucopiae; no line (Pl. XV, 7).
23	„	*Æ* 116·5 ·75	Similar to No. 22; but legend less complete.	Same mon.; no mark above cornucopiae; no line.
24	*I.M.*	*Æ* 114·4 ·78	Similar; long staff to standard; *vijayo jitāripuro* traceable.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 4; legend lost (R.-C.).
			'Archer' type	
25	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 115·5 ·83	King standing l., supporting bow with l. arm, holding arrow in r. hand; Garuḍa standard, adorned with pennons, behind r. arm. Legend, *Samudra*, vertically, below l. arm. Marginal legend, imperfect, *d[e]v[o] v[iji]ta . . . apratiratho vijita . .* (The full legend, which is not complete on any coin, would be something like '*Samudra-gupto devo vijitāvanir* (?) *apratiratho vijita* (or *vijitya*) *kshitim avajitya*', a boast of world-conquest and invincibility.)	Throned goddess (Lakshmī = Ardochsho) with noose (or fillet) and cornucopiae; mon. Pl. XVIII, 5, l. Legend, *Apratirathaḥ*, 'invincible.'

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
26	*I.M.*	*Æ* 117·2 ·87	As No. 25; but in fine condition; with crescent above Garuḍa. Marginal legend, *apratiratho vijitya . .*	As No. 25; but mon. Pl. XVIII, 29 (R.-C., from Ajodhyā, Pl. XV, 8).
27	„	*Æ* 96·8 ·8	As No. 25; no crescent; marginal legend lost.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 32. Legend, *Apratira* (R.-C., pale gold and light weight, but genuine; much worn).
28	„	*Æ* 117·5 ·87	Similar. Marginal legend, *d[e]v[o] . . . apratirath[o] v[i]j[i]ta.*	Similar; same mon. Legend, *Apratirathaḥ.*
			'Battle-axe' type	
29	*I.M.*	*Æ* 113·6 ·77	King, facing, with head l., leaning with l. arm on battle-axe; r. hand on hip. An attendant in l. field supports a crescent-tipped standard. Legend under arm, vertically, *Samu[dra]*; marginal legend includes *tyāj[i]ta.*	Throned goddess, as usual; mon. Pl. XVIII, 2. Legend, *Kṛitāntaparaśu,* 'the axe of Kṛitānta,' or Yama, the god of death, represented by the king (Pl. XV, 9).

CHANDRAGUPTA II, VIKRAMĀDITYA, OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, ABOUT 375–413 A. D.

Gold

'Couch' type

1	*I.M.*	*Æ* 118 ·81	King, wearing waist-cloth, seated facing on couch, with head to l., l. hand resting on couch, r. hand raised, holding flower; r. leg tucked up, l. leg resting on footstool. Marginal legend, l. *Deva śrī mahārājādhirāja śrī Cha*; r. *[ndra guptasya? vi]kra[māditasya].*[1] In exergue, below couch, *rūpākṛitī,* probably meaning 'beauty and form' (dual, Rapson). A quiver seems to hang behind the king's back, and a lotus bud springs behind his l. arm.	Throned goddess, with noose and flower, as usual; damaged; mon. Pl. XVIII, 48. Marginal legend l., which is unusual, *Śrī vikkramaḥ* (Pl. XV, 10). (The B. M. specimen, the only other known, is not so good, and has not the legend *rūpākṛitī.* The mark read as *ā* is of unusual form, and Dr. Hoernle read *rūpakṛitī,* and interpreted differently.)

[1] The gen. termination is shown on the B. M. coin, and proves that *deva* (= His Majesty) must be read as the first word of the legend.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			'Archer' type	
			Class I—*Throned goddess*	
2	*A.S.B.*	*N* 123 ·83	King standing l., grasping with l. arm bow with string inwards, holding arrow in r. hand; Garuḍa standard behind r. arm; *Chandra*, vertically, below l. arm. Marginal legend, *deva śrī.*	Throned goddess, holding noose and cornucopiae; mon. Pl. XVIII, 49. Legend, r. *Śrī vikrama.*
3	*I.M.*	*N* 118·5 ·75	As No. 2; marginal legend lost.	As No. 2; same mon.; *Śrī vikramaḥ* (R.-C.).
4	„	*N* 121·2 ·85	Similar. Legend, *deva śrī mahārājādhirājā śrī Chandra[guptaḥ].*	Similar; but throned goddess holds flower in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 9. Legend, *Śrī vikrama*, without *visarga*; fine condition (R.-C., from Alwar, Pl. XV, 11).
			Class II—*Goddess on lotus-seat*	
			Var. a; the common var.; king l., bow in l. hand; CHANDRA vertically under arm; normal ut.	
5	*A.S.B.*	*N* 119·6 ·76	King standing l., grasping bow in l. hand, and holding arrow in r. hand; Garuḍa standard behind r. arm. *Chandra*, vertically, below l. arm. Marginal legend *ndra guptaḥ*, being part of *deva śrī mahārājādhirājā śrī Chandra-guptaḥ.*	Goddess (Lakshmī), facing front, seated on lotus, holding noose in r., and flower in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Legend, *Śrī vikramaḥ.*
6	„	*N* 120·5 ·75	Similar; *deva śrī mahārājādhirāja.*	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18. Legend, *Śrī vikkramaḥ.*
7	„	*N* 121·5 ·75	Ditto; marginal legend lost.	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 15; *Śrī vikrama[ḥ].*
8	„	*N* 121·4 ·69	Ditto; ditto.	As No. 7.
9	„	*N* 119·7 ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 30.
10	„	*N* 129·5 ·76 × ·67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 20.
11	„	*N* 119·9 ·76	Ditto; ditto.	As No. 7.
12	„	*N* 120·5 ·72 × ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. as No. 6; legend defaced.

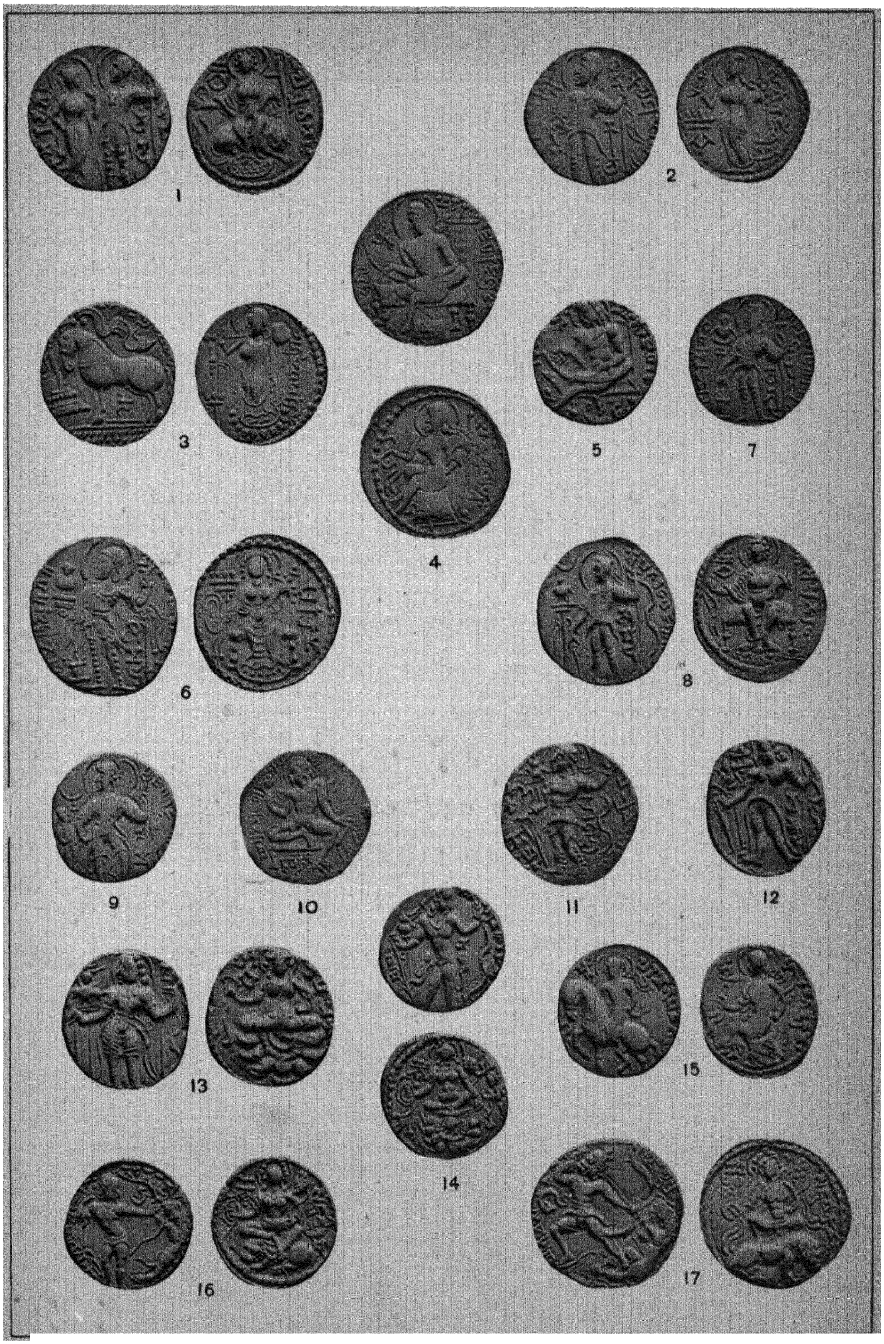
Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
13	*A.S.B.*	Æ 126·7 ·81 × ·73	As No. 5; as No. 7.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 35; *Śrī vikkramaḥ.*
14	„	Æ 127·5 ·77 × ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 6; legend imperfect.
15	„	Æ 121·5 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. as No. 6; legend defaced.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 127·8 ·87 × ·71	Similar; *deva śrī ma*	As No. 7.
17	„	Æ 125·4 ·83 × ·75	Ditto; marginal legend lost.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 50; *Śrī vikkramaḥ.*
18	„	Æ 118 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 14; ditto.
19	„	Æ ring attached ·75 × ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. as No. 7; legend defaced.
20	„	Æ 118·6 ·75	Ditto; *deva śrī ma.*	Mon. as No. 6; *Śrī vikrama[ḥ]* (R.-C., and to No. 15418).
21	„	Æ 116·7 ·81	Ditto; *deva śrī ma[hārā]j[ādhirāja śrī]Chandra-guptaḥ.*	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 17; *Śrī vikramaḥ.*
22	„	Æ 123·4 ·8 × ·68	Ditto; marginal legend lost.	Mon. as No. 6; ditto.
23	„	Æ 120·7 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
24	„	Æ 117·9 ·8 × ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. Pl. XVIII, 34; ditto.
25	„	Æ 120 ·77	Ditto; *deva śrī . . . . . śrī Chandra-guptaḥ.*	Mon. as No. 6; *Śrī vikkramaḥ.*
26	„	Æ 118·3 ·74	Ditto; marginal legend lost.	Mon. as No. 8; legend damaged.
27	„	Æ 125·4 ·85 × ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Mon. as No. 6; *Śrī vikkramaḥ.*
28	„	Æ 120 ·75	Ditto; *śrī Chandra-guptaḥ.*	Ditto; ditto.
29	„	Æ 120·3 ·75	Ditto; marginal legend illegible.	Ditto; ditto.

Var. β; type nearly the same as var. α, but wt. exceeding 140 *grains (suvarṇa)* [1]

Subvar. 1; *with name under l. arm*

30	*A.S.B.*	Æ 141·8 ·8	King, as in var. α, with *Chandra* vertically under arm; no marginal legend. Between head and Garuḍa standard a peculiar mark, Pl. XVIII, 43.	Goddess on lotus-seat, with noose and flower; peculiar mon. Pl. XVIII, 36. Legend apparently *Śrī vikramaḥ.* (The rev. seems to be double-struck. Pl. XV, 12.)

[1] The base metal coins of this variety may be posthumous; and the others, perhaps, a late, provincial issue.



GUPTA GOLD COINS

CHANDRAGUPTA I, KACHA, SAMUDRAGUPTA,

CHANDRAGUPTA II

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
31	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* broken ·8	Similar to usual type, but the standard head is an oval with cross inside, instead of Garuḍa.	Goddess as usual; remains of *Śrī vikramaḥ* (a broken, rude coin in very base metal).
32	*I.M.*	*Æ* 145·8 ·8	King and standard as usual; name under arm indistinct; traces of *śrī maharājādhirāja śrī Chandra.*	Goddess as usual; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14; *Śrī vikkramaḥ*; gold much alloyed (R.-C.).
			Subvar. 2; no name under arm	
33	*I.M.*	*Æ* 142·1 ·88	King perfectly upright; Garuḍa standard; a (?) branch in his l. hand; no name or legend.	Goddess as usual, with noose and flower; *Śrī vikrama*; no mon. (R.-C., fairly good gold, and fairly well executed).
34	„	*Æ* 146·2 ·83	Similar to No. 33, but king not quite so upright, and a lozenge-shaped object in his l. hand; no name or legend.	Goddess as usual; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14; traces of legend (R.-C., fairly good gold, Pl. XV, 13).
			Var. γ; king r., bow in l. hand; CHANDRA vertically under l. arm; normal wt.	
35	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 120 ·71	King r., with bow in l., and arrow in r. hand; *Chandra* vertically under l. arm; *Śrī mahārājādhi.*	Goddess as usual; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18; *Śrī vikkrama.*
36	*I.M.*	*Æ* 121 ·77	Similar; *Śrī mahārājā . . . . . gupta.*	Ditto; same mon. and legend (R.-C., Pl. XV, 14).[1]
			'Horseman to r.' type	
37	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 119·5 ·75	King on horseback, r. Marginal legend, *Paramabhāgavata [maharājā]dhirāja [śrī Cha]ndraguptaḥ.*	Goddess seated l. on round stool, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18. Legend, *Ajita vikkramaḥ*; good.
38	*I.M.*	*Æ* 118·4 ·75	Similar; horse prancing. Legend, *Paramabhāgava[ta mahārājādhirāja śrī Cha]ndraguptaḥ.*	Similar; fair; no mon.

[1] The details of the posture of both the king and goddess in Class II of the Archer coins vary considerably. The king is sometimes upright, and sometimes stooped, like his successor, Kumāragupta I; while the goddess may have her l. hand raised, or hanging down, and so forth. It would be tedious to note such minutiae fully.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			'Horseman to l.' type	
39	*I.M.*	*Æ* 118·3 ·73	King on horseback, l. Legend almost lost.	Goddess seated l. on round stool, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 15; legend lost; fair.
40	„	*Æ* 119 ·8	Similar; horse prancing. Legend, *Parama bhāgavata [mahārājādhirāja śrīCha]ndra[gu]ptaḥ.*	Similar; mon. damaged. Legend, *Ajita-vikramaḥ*, 'invincible in power'; good (R.-C., Pl. XV, 15).
41	„	*Æ* 120·3 ·8	Similar; horse walking; only *ndra[gu]ptaḥ* legible.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18; fair (R.-C.).
			'Combatant Lion' type	
42	*I.M.*	*Æ* 120·6 ·77	King standing upright to r., holding bow in l. hand, and shooting in mouth a lion, but not trampling on its body; the character *ha* sideways before king's face. Marginal legend, beginning with *Śrī*, is indistinct.	Goddess facing, seated on lion l., holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18. Legend *Siṅha-vikramaḥ*, 'with the power of (or "over") a lion'; good (R.-C., Pl. XV, 16).
43	„	*Æ* 118·5 ·74	Similar; no character in field; only traces of legend.	Similar; same mon.; legend as No. 42; fair (R.-C.).
44	„	*Æ* 118·5 ·75	Ditto; legend illegible.	Ditto; same mon.; fair (R.-C.).
45	„	*Æ* 125·1 ·72	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto (R.-C.).
46	„	*Æ* 119·1 ·72	King l., with bow in r. hand; legend illegible.	Ditto; mon. damaged; worn (R.-C.).
47	„	*Æ* 120 ·77	As No. 46; *vikrama* legible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 13; legend, as above; fairly good (R.-C.).
48	*A.S.B.*	ring attached ·8	King r.; legend illegible.	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14; very poor.
			'Lion-trampler' type	
49	*I.M.*	*Æ* 120·2 ·94	King r., in highly energetic attitude, trampling on lion with his l. foot, holding bow in l. hand, and shooting the animal in the mouth. Legend includes (? *ghṛi*) *tya vasa . . . narendra Chandra.*	Goddess facing, seated on lion r., noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 51. Legend, *Siṅha-vikramaḥ*; fine, broad coin (R.-C., Pl. XV, 17).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
50	*I.M.*	*Æ* 119·7 ·79	Similar, but attitude of king varied; *nare* legible.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 39; lion l.; fairly good (R.-C.).
51	„	*Æ* 117·2 ·75	King r.; legend lost.	As No. 50; mon. damaged; poor (R.-C.).
			'Umbrella' type	
52	*I.M.*	*Æ* 119 ·95 × ·8	King standing l., with r. hand casting incense on fire-altar (as on Kushān coins); a small attendant behind holds over his head an umbrella adorned with streamers; the king's l. hand rests on his sword-hilt. Legend, *Śrī Chandragupta mahārāja.*	Goddess, standing l., holding noose in r., and lotus-flower in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 9. Legend, *Vikramāditya*, 'sun of power'; fine, large, oval coin (R.-C., Pl. XVI, 1).
53	„	*Æ* 121·9 ·82	Similar; *parama* legible.	Similar; same mon.; worn (R.-C.).
54	„	*Æ* 122 ·75	Ditto; legend illegible.	Ditto; mon. lost; fair (R.-C.).
55	„	*Æ* ring attached ·73	Ditto. Legend, *Kshitim avajitya sucharati* [*Chandragupta*],'having subdued the earth, [Chandragupta] prospers.'	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 25; fair (R.-C.).
56	„	*Æ* 118·1 ·78	Ditto. Legend, *vijita vijayaḥ pa*, 'victoriously in victory.'	Goddess facing front, holding noose and lotus-flower; no mon.; obv. fine (R.-C.).
57	„	*Æ* 117·9 ·75	Ditto; the grains of incense falling are distinctly shown; only traces of legend.	As No. 56; mon. Pl. XVIII, 27; good (R.-C.).
			Copper	
			'Umbrella' type	
58	*I.M.*	*Æ* — ·85	King, bending to l., with r. hand raised; an attendant r. holds umbrella over him.	Above horizontal line, Garuḍa with wings spread; below line legend in single line, *Śrī rāja śrī Chandragupta*; poor.
			'Standing King' type	
59	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* — ·6	King, standing l., r. arm bent, l. hand raised.	Above horizontal line, *Rāja* [*śrī*], below *Chandragupta*; very poor.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
60	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·62	Similar to No. 59; defaced.	Above horizontal line, Garuḍa with wings spread; below, in one line, *Śrī Chandragup[taḥ]*; poor.
61	*I.M.*	Æ 48·3 ·65	Similar; l. hand on hip.	Similar. Legend, *Chandragupta*; fair (Pl. XVII, 1).
62	„	Æ — ·56	As No. 40.	Similar. Legend, *Śrī Chandragupta*; very poor.
63	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto.	Similar. Legend, *Chandragupta*; very poor.
			'Chandra Head' type	
64	*A.S.B.*	Æ 16·3 ·47	King's head, youthful, diad., l.	Above horizontal line, Garuḍa with wings outspread; below, *[Cha]ndragupta*; fair (Pl. XVII, 2).
65	„	Æ — ·5	Similar.	Similar; *Chandragup[ta]*; fair.
66	„	Æ — ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.
67	„	Æ — ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; *[Cha]ndragu[pta]*; poor.
68	*I.M.*	Æ — ·4	Ditto.	Ditto; *Chandragu[pta]*; fair.
69	„	Æ — ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; *[Cha]ndragupta*; poor.
70	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36·9 ·7	Ditto; middle-aged portrait.	Ditto; *Chandraguptasya*, in gen. case; fair (Pl. XVII, 3).
			'Vase' type	
71	*A.S.B.*	Æ 12 ·4	*Chandra*, with crescent above.	Vase (*loṭā*) on stand, with a flower in it, and streamers; good (Pl. XVII, 4).
72	„	Æ — ·42	Similar.	Similar; rather poor.
73	„	Æ — ·48	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
74	*I.M.*	Æ 10·3 ·33	Ditto.	Ditto; fairly good.
75	„	Æ — ·33	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
76	„	Æ — ·4	Ditto.	Ditto; fair.
77	„	Æ — ·35	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			KUMĀRAGUPTA I, MAHENDRA, OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, 413–55 A. D.	
			Gold	
			'Swordsman' type	
1	*I.M.*	Æ ring attached ·76	King standing with head to l., casting incense on altar with r. hand; l. hand on hip; sword at waist; Garuḍa standard behind r. arm; *Ku*, surmounted by crescent, below l. elbow. Marginal legend, *ǵām avajitya (sucharati) Ku[māragup]t[o ?devo] jayati*, 'Kumāragupta, having subdued the earth, prospers; his majesty (?) is victorious.'	Goddess, seated on lotus, as usual, with noose and flower; mon. Pl. XVII, 26. Legend, *Śrī Kumāraguptaḥ*. (The only other specimens known are B. M., Prinsep, wt. 124·2, and Bodl., wt. 124·5. Pl. XVI, 2.)
			'Archer' type	
			Class I—*Bow-string inwards*	
			Var. α; no name under king's arm	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 125·8 ·8	King standing l.; bow in l. hand, with string inwards; r. arm extended across Garuḍa standard; no name under arm. Marginal legend, *parama rājādhirājā śrī (Kumā)raguptaḥ*, 'the supreme sovereign, Śrī Kumāragupta.'	Goddess, seated on lotus, holding noose in r., and flower in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Legend, *Śrī Mahendra.*
3	„	Æ 126·4 ·7	Similar; *Kumāraguptaḥ*.	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 2.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 124·3 ·75	Ditto; *parama . . . . [Ku]māragupta.*	Ditto; mon. as No. 2.
			Var. β; Ku with crescent under king's arm	
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 126·3 ·73	Device as in var. α; but *Ku*, with crescent above, under king's l. arm. Marginal legend, *vijitāvaniravanipati*, 'lord of the earth, subduing the earth.'	As in var. α; mon. Pl. XVIII, 18.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 126·2 ·85	Similar; *vijaya. m . . . .*	Similar; unusual mon. Pl. XVIII, 38; the goddess drops grains from open r. hand instead of holding noose; *Śrī Mahendraḥ* (R.-C.).
7	„	Æ 125 ·78	As No. 6; *vijaya Kum.*	As No. 6 in all details (R.-C.).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Var. γ; Kumāra, vertically, under king's l. arm	
8	*I.M.*	*Æ* 123·1 ·8	Similar; *-ma parama-(rājādhirājā) Śrī (Ku).*	Similar; goddess with noose and flower; mon. as No. 5 (R.-C.).
9	„	*Æ* 123·3 ·8	Similar; *guptaḥ* on l. margin.	Ditto; mon. as No. 2 (R.-C., from Benares).
10	„	*Æ* 125·8 ·85 × ·75	Similar; *mahārājādh[i-rājā] śrī.*	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 21.
			Class II—*Bow-string outwards*	
11	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 122 ·78	King standing l., holding bow in l. hand, with string outwards; r. arm extended across Garuḍa standard. *Kumāra*, vertically, on r. edge, outside bow-string.	Goddess seated on lotus; r. hand open, dropping grains; flower in l. hand; mon. as No. 5. Legend, *Śrī Mahendra.*
12	*I.M.*	*Æ* 101·1 ·76 × ·7	Similar in all respects.	Similar; but goddess holds noose in r. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 15. Genuine, notwithstanding light weight (R.-C.).
13	„	*Æ* 120·6 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; same mon. (R.-C.).
14	„	*Æ* ring attached	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. lost; in poor condition (R.-C.).
15	„	*Æ* ·75 119 ·75 × ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. Pl. XVIII, 30 (R.-C.).
16	„	*Æ* 120 ·75 × ·68	Ditto.	Ditto; mon. as No. 11 (R.-C.).
			'Horseman to r.' type	
			Var. α; noose in r. hand of goddess	
17	*I.M.*	*Æ* 125·4 ·78	King, bareheaded, with curly hair, on high-stepping, caparisoned horse r. Marginal legend, *kshi(ti-patir)[ajito vijaya] (Ku)-māragupt[o] dev[o] jayati*, 'His invincible Majesty, Kumāragupta, lord of the earth, is victorious.'	Goddess, seated l. on wicker stool, holding noose in r. hand; l. hand, holding flower, rests on hip; no mon. Legend, *Ajita Mahendraḥ*, 'invincible Mahendra' (R.-C.).
18	„	*Æ* 125·7 ·77	Similar; *kshitipatir ajito (vijaya) Kumāragupt[o] dev[o] jayati.*	Similar (R.-C.).
19	„	*Æ* 125·3 ·75	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto (R.-C.).
20	„	*Æ* 123·8 ·76	Ditto; only *kshitipatir* legible.	Ditto (R.-C.).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Var. β; flower in r. hand of goddess	
21	*I.M.*	Æ 124·7 ·75	Similar; but legend differs, *pṛithivītalam v[ijitya]*, '[having conquered] the face of the earth.'	Similar; but goddess holds in r. hand a flower, the stem of which springs from an uncertain object (R.-C.).
			Var. γ; goddess with r. hand offering fruit to peacock	
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 125·1 ·88 × ·76	As variety α, with same legend; *kshitipatir ajito vijaya Kumāra[gupto devo] ja[yati]*.	Goddess seated l. on wicker stool, holding lotus behind her back with l. hand, and with r. hand offering fruit (? bananas) to peacock. Legend, *Ajita Mahendraḥ*.
23	„	Æ 127·5 ·8	Similar; legend illegible.	Similar.
24	*I.M.*	Æ 122·7 ·8	Ditto; *kshitipatir* legible.	Ditto (R,-C.).
25	„	Æ 126·7 ·75	Ditto; *kshitipatir ajito vi-*.	Ditto (R.-C.).
26	„	Æ 126·1 ·75	Ditto; only traces of legend.	Ditto; legend illegible (R.-C.).
27	„	Æ 124·3 ·78	Ditto; *kshitipatir* legible.	Ditto; legend nearly complete (R.-C.).[1]
			'Horseman to Left' type	
28	*A.S.B.*	Æ 126 ·8	King, bareheaded, with curly hair, on high-stepping, caparisoned horse l. Marginal legend, not fully read, includes *vijaya* and *gupta*.	Goddess feeding peacock, as in Horseman to Right type, var. γ, with same legend; mon. over her r. shoulder. (Said to come from Hūglī.)
29	„	Æ 109·5 ·71	Similar; in poor condition; legend illegible.	Ditto; same mon.
			'Peacock' type	
			Var. α; king upright; rev. goddess and peacock turned to l.	
30	*A.S.B.*	Æ 127·2 ·78	King standing, with l. hand on hip, turned to l., offering fruit (? bananas) with r. hand to peacock; marginal legend illegible.	Goddess (? Kumārīdevī) l., riding peacock l., which stands on a pedestal and faces an altar; her r. hand raised; a sceptre in her l. hand; no mon. Legend, damaged, *Mahendra Kumāra*.

[1] *A. S. B.* 4308, Æ seems to be a copy of a genuine gold coin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
31	*I.M.*	*Æ* 127·2 ·74	As No. 30; traces of *Mahendra Kumāra* and *jayati*.	As No. 30; details of design are skilfully executed (R.-C., from Allāhābād; Pl. XVI, 3).
32	„	*Æ* 126 ·75	Ditto; legend illegible.	Ditto; in poor condition (R.-C., from Ajodhyā).
			Var. β; obv. king stooping; rev. peacock and goddess facing	
33	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 127 ·8	King, with l. hand on hip, standing, stooping l., and with r. hand offering fruit to peacock with expanded tail. Legend includes *jayati śrī*.	Goddess, facing front, riding peacock also facing front, with expanded tail filling the field; her r. hand is open scattering grains; sceptre in her l. hand; legend as in var. *α*, but damaged.
34	*I.M.*	*Æ* 127·2 ·77 × ·7	As No. 33. Legend seems to include *jayati śrī Kumāro*.	As No. 33 (R.-C., from Benares).
			'Tiger' type	
35	*I.M.*	*Æ* 126·3 ·78	King facing, half-turned l., with bow in r. hand, shooting in mouth a tiger falling backwards; *Ku*, with crescent above, under l. arm; *Śrī [Mahendra ?] vyāghra bala parākkrama [? jayati]*, 'Śrī [? Mahendra] with the strength and might of a tiger [? is victorious].'	Goddess seated l., with l. hand on hip holding lotus; feeding peacock with r. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Marginal legend, *Kumāragupto=dhirājā*, 'Kumāragupta, the sovereign' (R.-C., from Ajodhyā; fine; Pl. XVI, 4).
			'Lion' type	
36	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 125 ·86	King facing, half-turned r., with bow in l. hand, shooting in mouth a lion falling backwards. Legend imperfect, *Kumāragupta (paradha?) [si]ñha vikrama*, 'Kumāragupta .... with a lion's might.'	Goddess facing, with one knee tucked up, seated on lion with head r.; her r. hand open, her l. on hip, holding lotus; mon. Pl. XVIII, 2. Legend, *Siñha Mahendra*, 'the lion Mahendra.' (Apparently unpublished var. The coin seems perfectly genuine, but curious protuberances on it suggest that it has been cast; Pl. XVI, 5.)
37	„	*Æ* 126 ·8	Device same as No. 36, but the legend is *kshitipati[r ajito vijaya] (Kumāragupto) devo [jaya]ti*, 'His invincible Majesty, Kumāragupta, lord of the earth, is victorious'; as on the Horseman to Right coins.	Device as No. 36; but goddess holds flower in r. hand, and legend is *Śrī Mahendrasiñha*; no mon. (Pl. XVI, 6).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			'Elephant-rider' type	
38	*A.S.B.*	Æ 124·1 ·77	King riding elephant, which is running l.; he carries a goad in his r. hand; his l. hand rests on hip; an attendant, riding behind, carries an umbrella over him. Remains of long marginal legend in early Gupta script, but only *ta . . ka* legible.	Goddess, nimbate, standing facing on lotus, holding in r. hand a lotus flower hanging down, and in l. hand (?) cornucopiae; in r. field a (?) vase or shell; no mon. Legend on r. margin seems to end in *-gaja* (Pl. XVI, 7).[1]
			Silver	
			'Winged Peacock' type	
39	*I.M.*	Æ 31·3 ·55	King's head, diad., r.; part of corrupt Greek legend NONO (*Shaonano*) before face.	Peacock standing front, with folded wings. Marginal legend, *Pa(rama bhā)-gavata rājādhirāja śrī Kumāragupta Mahendra*, not *Mahendrāditya* as on other coins (Pl. XVII, 5).
40	,,	Æ 31·5 ·57	Similar.	Similar; but *Mahendrāditya*.
41	,,	Æ 28 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
42	,,	Æ 29·7 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
43	,,	Æ 30·9 ·54	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
44	,,	Æ 28 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; rude.
44*a*	,,	Æ 30 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
45	,,	Æ 29 ·55	Ditto, but NONO behind head.	Ditto; but legend is, *Paramabhāgavata mahārājādhirāja śrī Kumāragupt[o] Mahendrāditya*, 'Śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya, supreme worshipper of Vishṇu, sovereign of mahārājās.' The higher title may denote a later date, but the portrait is youthful (Pl. XVII, 6).

[1] *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1882, pp. 91, 104, with woodcut. This coin was found at Mahanada in Bengal with an Archer coin of Kumāragupta I and an Archer coin of Skandagupta. The style and normal weight indicate that it should be assigned to Kumāragupta I. A Mr. Long had a duplicate.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			'Fantail Peacock' type	
46	*I.M.*	Æ 30·5 ·58	Head of king r., with date before face in ancient symbols, apparently [1]18 (Gupta era = 437–8 A.D.).	Peacock facing front, with expanded tail. Marginal legend, [*Vijitāvani*]*r avanipati Kumāragupto devo*[*jayati*],' His Majesty, Kumāragupta, lord of the earth, having subdued the earth, is victorious'; poor.
47	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·5	Similar; date [1] 2 [6 or 4].	Similar; legend imperfect; poor.
48	„	Æ — ·58	Ditto; no date.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
49	„	Æ — ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
50	*I.M.*	Æ 31·8 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto, nearly complete.
51	„	Æ — ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; very poor; nearly illegible.
52	„	Æ — ·58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.[1]
53	„	Æ 30·7 ·6	Ditto; date (?) 134.	Ditto. The whole usual legend legible, except the king's name, which consists of four characters, which look like *Ghara* (or ? *ta*) *kata*. The style and mode of dating seem to refer the coin to the reign of Kumāragupta I:[2] but *qu.*
			Same type; copper	
54	*A.S.B.*	Æ 25·2 ·57	Ditto; no date.	Ditto; legend as No. 46; worn.
			Copper	
			'Umbrella' type	
55	*I.M.*	Æ — ·81	King standing l., with both hands hanging down; an attendant holds an umbrella over him, as on similar coins of Chandragupta II.	Garuḍa with wings outspread. Below horizontal line, legend in two lines, *Śrī mahārāja śrī Ku*[*mā*]*ragu*(*ptasya*?). In very bad condition.[3]

[1] The specimens of this type are unworthy of the Museum, and not one is good enough for reproduction in a plate.

[2] This coin, too, is worn, and would not give a clear impression.

[3] Sir A. Cunningham had one specimen of this type; and Mr. Delmerick had three specimens, which he sold to Sir James Bourdillon. They were obtained at or near Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar), in the Barēli District, U. P., where a Gupta mint probably existed.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

SKANDAGUPTA, OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, 455–ABOUT 480 A. D.

Gold

'Archer' type; suvarṇa *wt.*

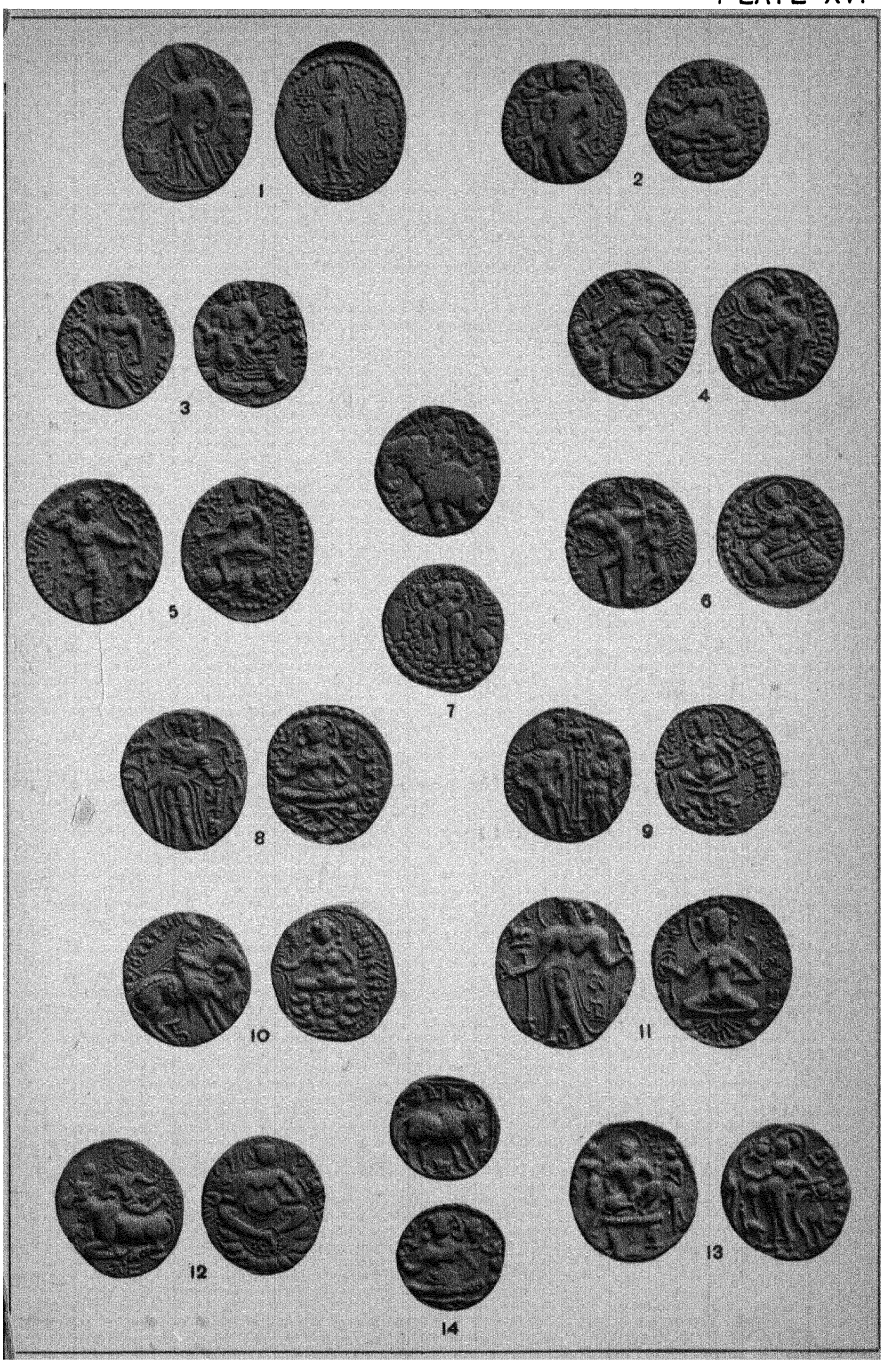
1	*I.M.*	*N*	141·5 ·8	King, standing l., grasping bow with l. hand; r. hand extended across Garuḍa standard; *Skanda*, vertically under l. arm, with crescent above; marginal legend wanting.	Goddess, as usual, on lotus-seat, with noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 41. Legend, *Kramāditya*, 'sun of strength.'
2	,,	*N*	141·2 ·81	As No. 1.	As No. 1 in all details (Pl. XVI, 8).
3	,,	*N*	135·5 ·9	Ditto; traces of marginal legend.	Ditto; but a broad coin of pale gold; mon. as No. 1.
4	,,	*N*	141·3 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; yellow gold.
5	,,	*N*	141·4 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; very broad, with rim and circle of dots; an illegible legend on l. margin.
6	,,	*N*	141·4 ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; normal size; traces of legend on l. margin (Nos. 1–6 R.-C., obtained at or near Benares).

'King and Queen' type

7	*A.S.B.*	*N*	131·3 ·8	Garuḍa standard in centre, with king and queen looking towards it. King on l. has r. hand on hip, and with l. hand grasps bow, the string of which is parallel to standard; the name [*Ska*]*nda*, vertically, above his head. Queen holds up a fruit or flower in her r., and a lotus in her l. hand; her name is lost. Both wear Indian dress. Traces of marginal legend.	Goddess, on lotus-seat, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Legend, *Śrī Skandaguptaḥ* (four or five specimens known; Pl. XVI, 9; see Addenda, p. 127)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Silver	
			'Fantail Peacock' type	
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 34·3 ·58	Head of king r.; traces of date before face.	Peacock facing front, with expanded tail. Marginal legend, *Vijitāvanir-avanipati jayati deva Skandaguptoyam*, 'This His Majesty, Skandagupta, lord of the earth, having subdued the earth, is victorious'; worn.
9	*I.M.*	Æ 31 ·6	Similar; no date.	Similar; worn (Pl. XVII, 7).
10	,,	Æ 28·5 ·61	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; very poor.
			UNCERTAIN	
			'Fantail Peacock' type	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 27·9 ·55	As the coins of Skandagupta.	As the coins of Skandagupta, but only *avanipati* legible; poor.
2	*I.M.*	Æ 35 ·52	Head of king l.; traces of date before face.	Peacock, as on coins of Skandagupta, well executed. Legend, *Vijitāvanir-avanipati śrī . . . devo jayati*; which formula is found on one variety of Skandagupta's coinage. Possibly a coin of either Bhīmasena or Iśānavarma.
3	,,	Æ 32·3 ·57	As No. 2.	As No. 2; same legend. The king's name consisted of four characters, but is not legible distinctly; it seems to be Iśānavarma (?) (Pl. XVII, 8).
			RĀṆĀ HASTIN, A CHIEF IN NORTHERN INDIA, ABOUT 500 A.D.	
			'Elephant' type; silver	
1–5	*A.S.B.*	Æ av. 6·6 av. 3·4	In two lines (1) *Śri* (*Śrī*) *Raṇa* (*Rāṇā*), (2) *Hasti*.	Elephant walking r. (*C. M. I.*, Pl. I, 17).[1]

[1] These coins are occasionally found in Rājputāna, at Kanauj, and, I think, at a few other places in the United Provinces. Nothing is known about the chief who struck them, and they are placed here merely for convenience.



GUPTA GOLD COINS

CHANDRAGUPTA II, KUMĀRAGUPTA I, SKANDAGUPTA,

PRAKĀŚĀDITYA, ŚAŚĀṄKA, UNCERTAIN

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

PRAKĀŚĀDITYA, probably Puragupta of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, about 480–5 A.D.

Gold

'Tiger and Horseman' type; suvarṇa *wt.; fine gold generally*

1	*I.M.*	*N*	145·8 ·8	King on horseback r., carrying bow slung behind; stooping forward, and thrusting weapon into open mouth of tiger; below horse the character *u*. Marginal legend, *vasudhāṁ devaṁ jayati*, '[having subdued] the earth, His Majesty is victorious.'	Seated goddess on lotus, as usual, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 16. Marginal legend, *Śrī Prakāśāditya*, 'the sun of splendour.' The best specimen known (R.-C., from Hardoī in Oudh; Pl. XVI, 10).
2	,,	*N*	139·7 ·75	Similar; character below horse damaged. Marginal legend, *vasudhāṁ devaṁ jayati* (with the vowel mark over the *ya*).	Similar; mon. Pl. XVIII, 28; only *Śrī Pra* legible (R.-C., from Rāmpur in Rohilkhaṇḍ).
3	,,	*N*	142·9 ·75	Ditto; character below horse *u*. Marginal legend, *deva jaya.*	Ditto; *Śrī Prakāśa* legible; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14 (R.-C.).
4	,,	*N*	143·2 ·74	Ditto; ditto; *dha deva* traceable.	Ditto; *Śrī Prakāśād* legible; same mon. as No. 3 (R.-C.).
5	,,	*N*	141·1 ·75	Ditto; ditto; *dhāṁ devo jaya* traceable.	Ditto; *Prakāśāditya* traceable; same mon. as No. 1 (R.-C.).[1]

NARA BĀLĀDITYA, probably Narasiṁhagupta of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, about 486–522 A.D.

Gold

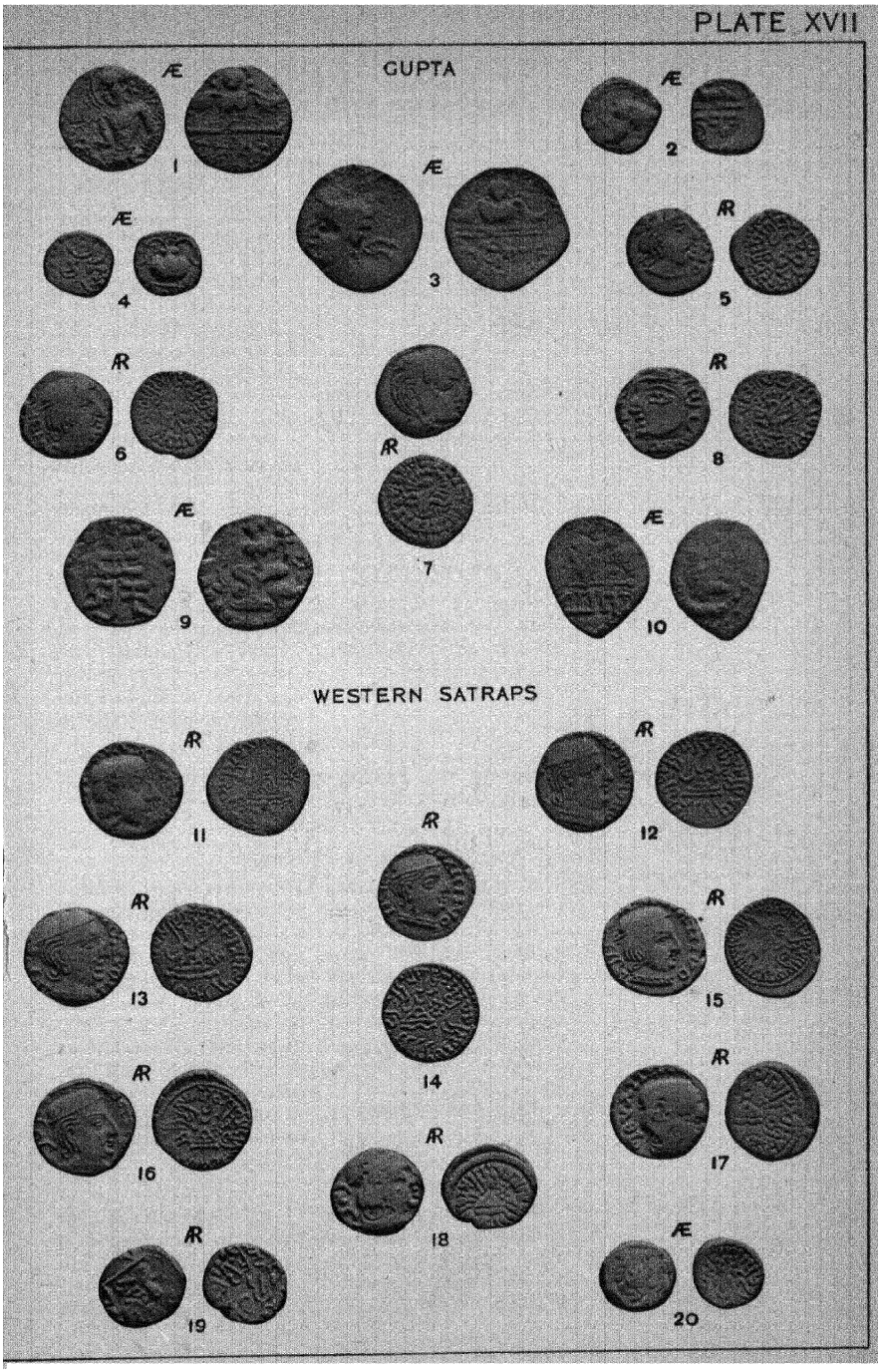
'Archer' type; suvarṇa *wt.*

1	*I.M.*	*N*	145·9 ·85	King standing l., grasping bow with l. hand; string of bow inwards; r. hand extended across Garuḍa standard, and holding arrow; *Nara*, vertically, under l. arm, with crescent above; between king's feet the syllable *gre*. Traces of marginal legend.	Goddess, as usual, seated on lotus, with noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 40. Legend, damaged, *Śrī Bālāditya*, 'the sun of power'; yellow gold.

[1] *Prakāśāditya* is a title, like *Vikramāditya*. The king's personal name is wanting on all specimens, but good reason exists for believing it to have been Puragupta. The animal seems to be a tiger rather than a lion. The accusative *vasudhāṁ*, 'the earth' (as read by Prof. Rapson), corresponds with the *gām* or *kshitim* of other types, and requires a word like *vijitya* to be supplied. *Devaṁ* is a Prākrit nominative substituted for the normal Sanskrit *devo*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	*Æ* 144·8 ·87	Similar in all details to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Legend, *Śrī Bālāditya* traceable; yellow gold (R.-C.).
3	„	*Æ* 144·2 ·87	Ditto.	Ditto; same mon. as No. 2; legend illegible; yellow gold (R.-C.).
4	„	*Æ* 143·4 ·82	Ditto; marginal legend wholly wanting.	Ditto; ditto; ditto; alloyed gold (R.-C.).
5	„	*Æ* 144 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. illegible; traces of legend; gold much alloyed.
6	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 145·8 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; mon. indistinct; *-lāditya* legible; gold much alloyed.
			UNCERTAIN	
1	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 148·2 ·9	King, as on coins of Nara; but name under arm different, reading doubtful; and between feet *cha*.	Goddess, as on coins of Nara; mon. Pl. XVIII, 42. Legend, apparently *Śrī Narendra*, followed by three characters, which look like *vinata*; gold much alloyed (Pl. XVI, 11).
			KUMĀRAGUPTA II, OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY, ABOUT 522–40 A. D.	
			Gold	
			'Archer' type; suvarṇa *wt.; debased*	
1	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* 147 ·8	King standing l., grasping bow with l. hand; string of bow inwards; r. hand extended across Garuḍa standard, and holding arrow; under arm *Ku*, with crescent above; between king's feet a damaged character; traces only of marginal legend.	Goddess seated on lotus, as usual, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. Pl. XVIII, 24. Legend, *Śrī Kramāditya*, 'sun of strength,' with much the same meaning as *Bālāditya* and *Vikramāditya*; coarsely designed and executed in much alloyed gold.
2	*I.M.*	*Æ* 151·4 ·8	Similar in all details.	Similar; mon. damaged; legend partly legible.
			Copper	
			'Garuḍa' type	
3	*A.S.B.*	*Æ* — ·66 hexagonal	Degraded representation of Garuḍa with outspread wings, standing on pedestal; below, in large letters of late form, *Śrī Ku*.	Degraded figure of goddess seated cross-legged on a pedestal, with lotus (?) in l. hand, and r. hand hanging down; in good condition (Pl. XVII, 9).[1]

[1] The style and script indicate that this unpublished, and apparently unique, coin should be assigned to Kumāragupta II.



GUPTA SILVER AND COPPER COINS

WESTERN SATRAP SILVER

? VALABHĪ, SILVER AND COPPER

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

VISHṆU, PROBABLY VISHṆUGUPTA, KING OF MAGADHA, ABOUT 700 A.D.[1]

Gold

'Archer' type; suvarṇa *wt.; debased*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	150·3 ·78	King l., holding bow in l. hand, with string inwards; r. hand, holding arrow, extended across Garuḍa standard; *Vishṇu*, vertically, under l. arm; a blurred character between king's feet; no marginal legend.	Goddess, seated on lotus as usual, holding noose in r., and lotus in l. hand; mon. uncertain. Legend, damaged, *Chandrāditya*, 'sun and moon' (see *C.M.I.*, p. 19, Pl. II, 4); metal and execution debased.
2	*I.M.*	Æ	148·6 ·8	Similar in all details.	Similar in all details.

(?) JAYAGUPTA, (?) A KING OF MAGADHA[2]

Copper

'Garuḍa' type

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	19·8 ·72 × ·62 irregular shape	Garuḍa, with outspread wings, standing on horizontal line; below in bold characters of about 600 A.D. [*? Ja*]*yagup*[*ta*].	Defaced and uncertain; a thin coin (Pl. XVII, 10). (See *C. M. I.*, Pl. II, 3 for a different coin of Jayagupta. This type is unpublished.)

ŚAŚĀṄKA, OR NARENDRAGUPTA, KING OF GAUḌA, OR KARṆA-SUVARṆA (MURSHĪDĀBĀD), ABOUT 600–20 A.D.

Gold

'Bull' type; suvarṇa *wt.*

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	139·7 ·8	King, half-turned to r., reclining on bull couchant l., with his r. elbow resting on the hump, and his l. hand raised; above bull's neck a disk (? the moon); in exergue, *jayaḥ*, 'victory'; on r. margin, vertically, *Śaśa*, 'hare.'	Goddess seated on lotus, which is faintly indicated; her r. hand empty, l. hand holding flower; traces of elephants at each side; no mon. Marginal legend, *Śrī Śaśāṅkaḥ*, 'the hare-marked,' *scil*, 'the moon'; metal and execution debased.

[1] Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 217; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lviii, part i, p. 105. table. For another and, as I think, improbable attribution, see Hoernle in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 549. A Vishṇugupta occurs in the Nepalese lists (Wright, *Hist. of Nepál*, p. 312).

[2] The name occurs in the Nepalese lists (Wright, loc. cit.).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*A.S.B.*	*N* 135 ·87 × ·77 oval	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1; on each side of goddess, a small elephant pouring water over her.
3	„	*N* 139·6 ·77	Ditto.	Similar; elephants recognizable.
4	„	*N* 127·8 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; in poor condition.
5	„	*N* 145·5 ·83	Ditto.	Ditto; legend lost.
6	„	*N* 145·6 ·8 × ·7 oval	Ditto; with *saja* (meaning?) below bull in place of *jayaḥ*.	Ditto; part of legend legible.
7	„	*N* 143·5 ·75	As No. 6.	Ditto; ditto.
8	*I.M.*	*N* 133 ·85 × ·77 oval	Ditto.	Ditto; legend nearly complete; elephants partly visible (Pl. XVI, 12).

UNCERTAIN, POSSIBLY ŚAŚĀṄKA

Gold

'Throned King' type; suvarṇa *wt.*

1	*A.S.B.*	*N* 149 ·86	King nimbate, facing, with head to l.; squatted, with l. knee raised, on throne, which has *dha* on front; his r. hand on knee; l. hand raised. On each side a standing female attendant. Above king's l. hand, in small characters of close of sixth century, vertically, *Yama*, 'the god of death.'	Goddess standing l., holding long-stalked lotus in r. hand; her l. hand rests on hip; a lotus springs from ground behind her, and a peacock l. stands in front of her; no mon. Legend on r. margin, *Śrī Narendrāditya*, nearly perfect (Pl. XVI, 13. See *J. A. S. B.*, Pl. XII, 12).

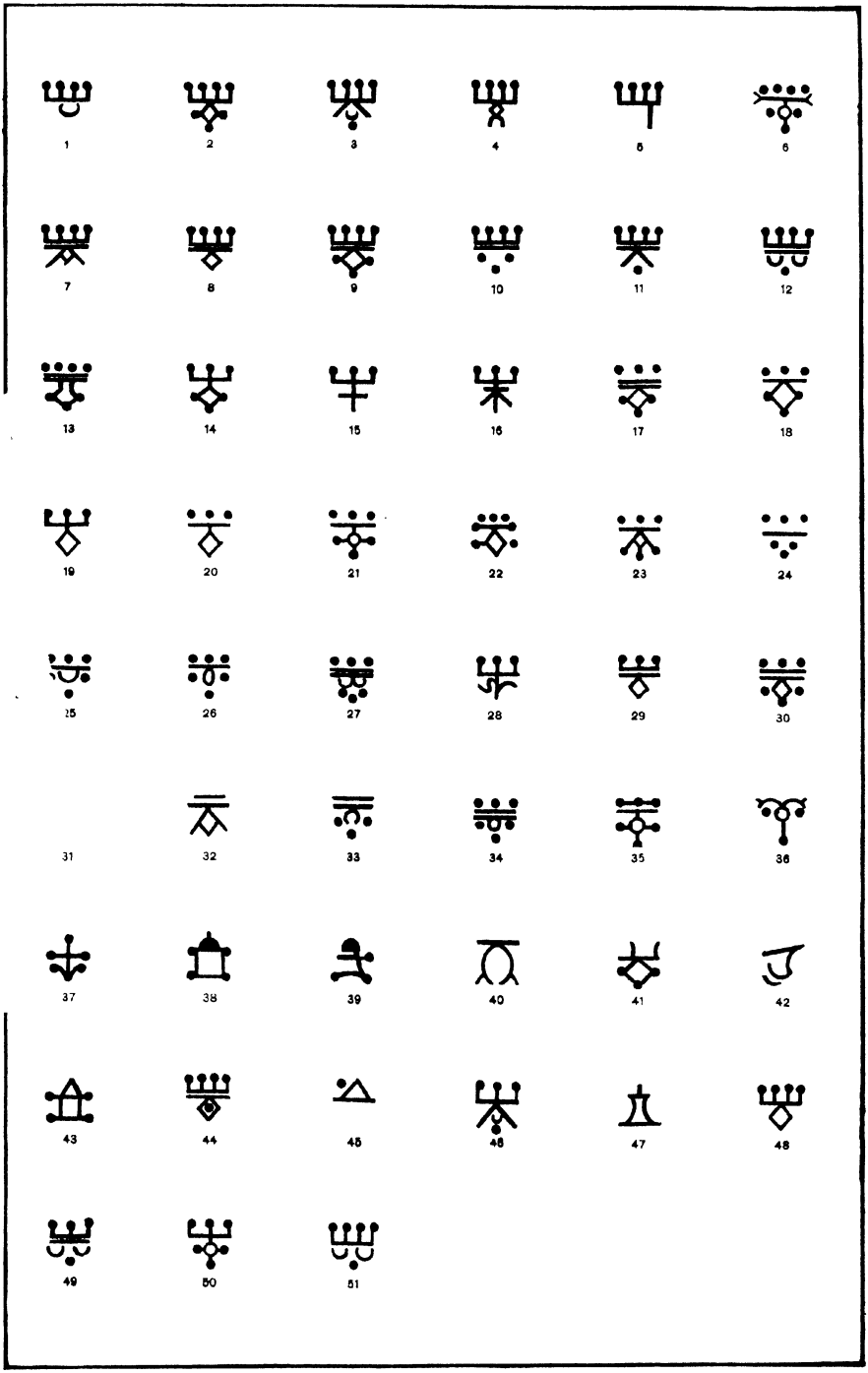
UNCERTAIN, (?) ŚRĪ VĪRA, A KING (?) OF GAUḌA

Gold

'Bull' type; abnormal wt.

1	*I.M.*	*N* 161·7 ·67 × ·64 oval, thick	Bull (? cow) standing r.; two blurred characters between the animal's feet. Legend above, apparently *Śrī Vīra*, and other characters which have been read as *Sena* or *Siṁha*, but?	Goddess seated on lotus, as usual, holding lotus in l. hand; the r. hand is not on the coin; mon. Pl. XVIII, 14. Legend, r. *Kramād*[*itya*] (R.-C.[1]; Pl. XVI, 14).

[1] One of three specimens obtained by Col. Rivett-Carnac at or near Benares; the others weigh respectively 162·5 and 169.



GUPTA GOLD COINS: MONOGRAMMATIC MARKS

THE WESTERN SATRAPS

MAHĀKSHATRAPAS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Silver	
			RUDRADĀMAN, SON OF JAYADĀMAN (No. III, B.; No. IV, R.)[1]; FLOR. 150 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32 ·6	King's head r.; corrupt Greek legend.	Three-arched *chaitya*; seven-rayed sun r.; crescent above and also l.; curved line (? snake or river) below. Legend, *Rājñaḥ kshatra[pasa Jayadāmaputrasa rājño ma[hākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa*,[2] '[Coin] of the Rāja and Mahākshatrapa, Rudradāman, son of the Rāja and Kshatrapa, Jayadāman'; fairly good (Pl. XVII, 11).
			RUDRASIṂHA, SON OF RUDRADĀMAN (No. V, B.; VII, R); FLOR. 181 A. D.	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31·8 ·6	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1. Legend complete, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudras[iṁ]hasa*; in good condition (Pl. XVII, 12).
			JĪVADĀMAN, SON OF DĀMAJAḌA (No. VI, B. and R.); FLOR. 180 A. D.	
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32·6 ·6	Similar; but with date 102 (CII) behind king's head in ancient symbols.[3]	Similar. Legend practically complete, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmajaḍasa putra[sa] rājño mahā[kshatrapasa Jī]vadāmasa*; well preserved (Pl. XVII, 13).

[1] 'B.', according to Col. Biddulph's list in *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 406; 'R.', according to Rapson, ibid., 1890, pp. 689-62.

[2] The vowel marks and *anusvāra*, although expressed in the transliteration, are often omitted on the coins.

[3] The only date hitherto recorded was 100 (C), *scil.* in Śaka era = 178 A. D. The Roman numerals are the best equivalent for the ancient Indian 'numerical symbols'.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			RUDRASENA, SON OF RUDRASIṂHA (No. VII, B.; VIII, R.); FLOR. 210 A. D.	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 26·9 ·6	Similar to No. 3; date . . 2 (. . II), = either 132 or 142 S., = 210 or 220 A. D.	Similar to No. 3; but the sun is made with dots, not rays. Legend almost complete, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa mahākshatra[pasa] Rudrasenasa*; good (Pl. XVII, 14).
4*a*	*I.M.*	Æ 28 ·6	Similar; date apparently 137.	Similar; rayed sun; legend wholly illegible; otherwise good.
			VIJAYASENA, SON OF DĀMASENA (No. XII, B.; XV, R.); FLOR. 245 A. D.	
5	*I.M.*	Æ 38·7 ·62	Similar; date 1 ? 61 (C ? LXI), or 1 ? 71.	Similar to No. 4. Legend perfect in every consonant, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa rājñaḥ mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa*; very good (Pl. XVII, 15).
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 25 ·55	Similar; date uncertain.	Similar; in poor condition; name of Dāmasena lost.
			RUDRASENA, SON OF VĪRADĀMAN (No. XIV, B.; XVIII, R.); FLOR. 260 A. D.	
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31·5 ·57	Similar; no date.	Similar; sun reduced to three dots. Legend complete, *Rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Vīradāmaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*
8	„	Æ 33·4 ·58	As No. 7; date?	As No. 7; sun of seven or eight dots; legend imperfect.
9	„	Æ 32 ·6	Ditto; no date.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 22 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto: ditto; ditto; name of Rudrasena obliterated.
			BHARṬIDĀMAN, SON OF RUDRASENA (No. XVI, B.; XIX, R.); FLOR. 280 A. D.	
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33 ·58	Similar; no date.	Similar. Legend nearly complete, *Rājño mahākshatra[pasa] Rudra[sena]putrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Bharṭridāmnaḥ.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33·7 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; both names legible.
13	*I.M.*	Æ 30·5 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; name of Rudrasena lost.
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; name of Bharṭridāman lost; the coin may belong to his brother Viśvasiṁha.
15	*I.M.*	Æ 30·0 ·56	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
SVĀMI RUDRASENA, SON OF SVĀMI RUDRADĀMAN (No. XVIII, B.; XXVI, R.); FLOR. 360 A.D.				
16	*I.M.*	Æ 29·9 ·6	Similar; no date.	Similar. Legend, imperfect and ill-formed, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa svāmi Rudradāmaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa svāmi Rudrasenasa.*
17	„	Æ 27·6 ·56	Similar; date 290 (CCXC), with doubtful trace of unit.	Ditto. The name of Rudradāman plainly legible.

KSHATRAPAS

Silver

DĀMAJADAŚRĪ, SON OF RUDRASENA (No. X, B.; XII, R.); FLOR. 232 A.D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 28·9 ·6	Similar to coins of the Mahākshatrapas; traces of date, probably 154.	Similar to coins of the Mahākshatrapas. Legend complete, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa rājño kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ*; worn.

VĪRADĀMAN, SON OF DĀMASENA (No. XI, B.; XIII, R.); FLOR. 240 A.D.

2	*I.M.*	Æ 30·5 ·6	Similar; traces of date.	Similar. Legend well preserved, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa rājño kshatrapasa Viradāmnaḥ* (Pl. XVII, 16).

VIŚVASIṂHA (AS KSHATRAPA), SON OF RUDRASENA (No. XIV, B.; XX, R.); FLOR. 280 A.D.

3	*I.M.*	Æ 32·4 ·58	Similar; no date.	Similar. Legend practically complete, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Viśvasimhasa.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
VIŚVASENA, SON OF BHARTṚIDĀMAN (No. XVI, B.; XXII, R.); FLOR. 300 A. D.				
4	*I.M.*	Æ 32 ·57	Similar to No. 3; date 220 (Śaka = 298 A.D.) perfect.	Similar to No. 3. Legend, *Rājño mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛi[dāmnaḥ putrasa rājñaḥ Vi]śvasenasa* (Pl. XVII, 17).
5	„	Æ 23 ·55	Similar; no date.	Ditto; legend almost complete.
6	„	Æ 28·6 ·53	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend mostly legible.
6*a*	„	Æ 27 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; difficult to read.
7	„	Æ 30·3 ·53	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend imperfect, but name Viśvasena clear.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32·4 ·55	Ditto; date 2 [? ?]	Ditto; ditto.
9	„	Æ 31·5 ·57	Ditto; traces of date.	Ditto; name of Viśvasena lost, but that of Bhartṛidāman clear.
10	„	Æ 29·9 ·6	Ditto; no date.	Ditto; name of Viśvasena clear; that of Bhartṛidāman lost.
RUDRASIṂHA, SON OF SVĀMI JĪVADĀMAN (No. XVII, B.; XXIII, R.); FLOR. 310 A. D.				
11	*I.M.*	Æ 32·3 ·55	Similar; no date.	Similar. Legend, *Svāmi Jivadāmaputrasa [rājñaḥ kshatrapa]sa Rudrasiṁhasa*; poor.
12	„	Æ 34·7 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend almost as on No. 11.
13	„	Æ 23·5 ·54	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; name of Rudrasiṁha lost; poor.
14	„	Æ 30·8 ·58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; name of Jīvadāman lost.
YAŚODĀMAN, SON OF RUDRASIṂHA (No. XVIII, B.; XXIV, R.); FLOR. 320 A. D.				
15	*I.M.*	Æ 29·5 ·55	Ditto; date 247 (Śaka = 325 A.D.).	Similar. Legend, *Rājñaḥ ksha[trapasa Rudra]siṁhasa putrasa Rājñaḥ kshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ* (Pl. XVII, 18).
ANONYMOUS *Copper* ('billon,' Cunningham)				
1	*I.M.*		Elephant standing r. in circle of dots.	Three-arched *chaitya* with crescent above; sun and moon; snake or river below; traces of date on lower edge; probably from Ujjain (*C.M.I.*, Pl. I, 10–12).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(?) KINGS OF VALABHĪ IN (?) FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES	
			Trident type	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 28·6 ·52	Rude head, as on the Western Satrap coins, debased; no date or legend.	Trident (defaced) and legend, not yet read by anybody.
2	„	Æ 29·3 ·52	Similar.	Similar; an axe r. on shaft of trident.
3	„	Æ 34 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 30 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	„	Æ 29·3 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto. (Mr. Rodgers read the word 'Gupta', but *qu.*; Pl. XVII, 19.)
6	„	Æ 29·8 ·49	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 29 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 30 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			Copper	
9	*I.M.*	Æ 28 ·42	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
10	„	Æ 23·5 ·4	Obliterated.	Ditto; ditto.
11	„	Æ 29·5 ·42	Vase; two characters.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XVII, 20).

ADDENDA TO PART I

Coins received May 30, 1906

KANISHKA

10 *a*	*I.M.*	Æ 122 ·8	As No. 9, p. 70; no sword; bow slung behind king's back; legend complete.	As No. 9; but trident in upper l. hand; antelope seems to be suspended from wrist of lower l. arm; fine.

VIII. PEYASA

15	*I.M.*	Æ — ·88	Similar to No. 14, p. 89; r. *Gaḍaha[ra]*; under arm *Peyasa* (not *Peraya* as in Cunn.); l. *Kapan.*	Similar to No. 14; *sha* on r. margin; mon. Pl.VII, 162 (*Num. Chron.*, 1893, Pl. IX, 9).

SKANDAGUPTA

'King and Queen' type

7 *a*	*I.M.*	Æ 130 ·77	As No. 7, p. 117; apparently *[Ska]nda* above king; *ja* and another character above queen.	As No. 7; legend nearly defaced; mon. Pl. XVIII. 19; from Midnāpur, Bengal. Note heavy weight of this type.

INDEX OF RULERS IN PART I

Abdagases (Avadagasha), pp. 36, 57.
Agathokleia, p. 21.
Agathokles, pp. 3, 10.
Amyntas, p. 31.
Antialkidas, p. 15.
Antimachos Nikephoros, p. 29.
Antimachos Theos, p. 10.
Apollodotos, pp. 4, 18.
Archebios, p. 17.
Aspavarma, p. 52.
Azes I (Aya), pp. 36, 63.
Azes II (Aya), pp. 36, 50.
Azilises (Ayilisha), pp. 36, 49.

Bacharṇa, p. 89.
Bālāditya, title of Nara, q. v.
Bazodeo, Kushāno-Sassanian, p. 91.
Bazodeo = Vāsudeva, q. v.
Bhadra, p. 88.
Bhartṛidāman, son of Rudrasena, p. 124.

Chandra = Chandragupta II, q. v.
Chandragupta I, pp. 95, 99.
Chandragupta II, pp. 96, 104.
Chhu, p. 89.

Dāmajaḍaśrī, son of Rudrasena, p. 125.
Demetrios, p. 9.
Diodotos, pp. 3, 7.
Diomedes, p. 16.
Dionysios, p. 28.

Eukratides, pp. 4, 11.
Euthydemos, pp. 3, 8.

Gondophares (Gudupharna, &c.), pp. 36, 54.

Hastin, Rāṇā, p. 118.
Heliokles, p. 13.
Heraios, pp. 65, 94.
Hermaios, pp. 4, 32.
Hippostratos, p. 30.
Hormazd, p. 92.
Huvishka (Hovēshki), pp. 64, 75.
Hyrkodes, pp. 65, 93.

Indravarma, p. 52.

Jayagupta, p. 121.
Jihunia = Zeiōnises, q. v.
Jīvadaman, son of Dāmajaḍa, p. 123.

Kacha (Kācha), pp. 96, 100.
Kadphises I, pp. 4, 63, 65.
Kadphises II, pp. 36, 63, 68.
Kalinga, kings of, pp. 64, 92.
Kalliopē, p. 31.
Kanēshko, p. 87.
Kanishka (Kanēshki), pp. 62, 69, 127.
Kidara, p. 90.
Kramāditya, a Gupta title, pp. 117, 122.
Kṛitavīrya, p. 89.
Kujulakasa = Kadphises I, q. v.
Kumāragupta I, pp. 97, 111.
Kumāragupta II, pp. 98, 120.
Kuyulakapha = Kadphises I, q. v.

Lichchhavis, pp. 95, 100.
Lysias, p. 14.

Mahendra, title of Kumāragupta I, q. v.
Managula, p. 59.
Maues, pp. 35, 38.
Menander, pp. 4, 22.
Miaios, *v. l.* for Heraios, q. v.
Moa (Moga) = Maues, q. v.

Nameless King = Soter Megas, q. v.
Nara Bālāditya, prob. = Narasiṁhagupta, p. 119.
Narendragupta = Śaśānka, q. v.

Onones = Vonones, q. v.
Orodes I, p. 54 *n.*
Orthagnes, pp. 36, 57.

Pakorēs (Pakura), pp. 36, 58.
Pantaleon, pp. 3, 10.
Pāsaka, p. 89.
Peyasa, p. 127.
Philoxenos, p. 30.
Prakāśāditya, title of a Gupta king, pp. 98, 119.
Puragupta, pp. 98, 119.

Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, p. 123.
Rudrasena, son of Rudrasiṁha, p. 124.
Rudrasena (Svāmi), son of Rudradāman (Svāmi), p. 125.
Rudrasena, son of Vīradāman, p. 124.
Rudrasiṁha, son of Jīvadāman (Svāmi), p. 126.
Rudrasiṁha, son of Rudradāman, p. 123.

Samudragupta, pp. 95, 101.
Saṇa, p. 89.
Sapadbizes (Sapaleizes), p. 94.
Sarvvayaśa, p. 90.
Śaśānka, pp. 98, 121.
Sayatha, p. 89.
Sita (Sīta), p. 89.
Skandagupta, pp. 97, 117, 127.
Sophytes, pp. 3, 7.
Soter Megas, p. 59.
Spalagadama, pp. 35, 42.
Spalahora, pp. 35, 41.
Spalirisha (Spalirises), pp. 36, 42.
Spalyris, p. 40.
Strato I, p. 21.

Theophilos, p. 31.

Undopherres = Gondophares, q. v.

Valabhī, kings of, p. 127.
Vasu, pp. 64, 87.
Vāsudeva, pp. 64, 84.
Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, p. 124.
Vikramāditya, title of Chandragupta II, pp. 96, 104, 109.
(?) Vīra, p. 122.
Vīradāman, son of Dāmasena, p. 125.
Vishṇu, prob. = Vishṇugupta, p. 121.
Viśva, p. 90.
Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛidāman, p. 126.
Visvasiṁha, son of Rudrasena, p. 125.
Vonones, pp. 35, 40.

Wima Kathphisa = Kadphises II, q. v.

Yaśodāman, son of Rudrasiṁha, p. 126.
Yaśovarman, p. 91 *n.*

Zeiōnises (Jihunia), p. 58.
Zoilos, p. 28.

PART II

ANCIENT COINS OF INDIAN TYPES

Section V

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

INTRODUCTION

Although the coins known as 'punch-marked' are rude and ugly, bear no legends, cannot be precisely dated, and, as a rule, are not assignable to any particular State or locality, they possess very special claims on the interest of the scientific numismatist, as documents in the early history of coinage. They also appeal to the anthropologist as authoritative records of the symbolism—religious, mythological, and astronomical—current throughout India for many centuries.

The term 'punch-marked' adopted by general consent means that the devices on the coins are impressed, not by means of a die covering the face (*flan*) of the coin, but by separate punches applied irregularly at various points on the surface. Naturally the impressions so effected often interfere with one another, and in cases where they are numerous the result is a confused jumble of symbols. Ordinarily, no difficulty is experienced in distinguishing the obverse from the reverse, the former being occupied by the larger symbols, commonly numerous, and the latter being sometimes blank, more often marked by a single minute device, and not infrequently marked by two or three comparatively inconspicuous devices. The cases in which both sides are crowded with symbols are rather rare. Examples will be found in Nos. 52–8 of this catalogue.

Mr. Theobald has been at the pains of enumerating more than three hundred different devices found on punch-marked coins. Examination of about one hundred and fifty specimens in detail resulted in proof that 'ninety-six symbols are confined to the obverse area, twenty-eight to the reverse, while fifteen symbols occur on both sides'. On the obverse the average number of symbols is about five, whereas on the reverse the average does not exceed two.

The devices are classified by Theobald under six heads, namely, (i) the human figure; (ii) implements, arms, and works of man, including the *stūpa* or *chaitya*, bow and arrow, &c.; (iii) animals; (iv) trees, branches, and fruit; (v) symbols connected with solar, planetary, or Sivite worship; (vi) miscellaneous and unknown.

The human figure rarely occurs, but the following catalogue offers good examples in Nos. 37–40 and 106 (Pl. XIX, 3, 12). The *chaitya* or *stūpa* is very common, and is one of the few symbols common to both obverse and reverse. Recent research has proved that the *stūpa* was used in ancient times by the Jains as freely as by the Buddhists; and it is no longer permissible to speak of this device as a 'Buddhist symbol'. Buddhism, however, was more widely diffused than Jainism during the period of the currency of punch-marked coins, and most of the *chaityas* on the coins probably were intended to have a Buddhist signification. The bow and arrow device is rare; as shown on No. 67 (Pl. XIX, 7) it is exactly the same as that seen on the Kolhāpur coins of the Āndhra dynasty issued between about 84 and 138 A.D. (Pl. XXIII). The punch-marked coin may be referred reasonably to the same period.

The animal devices are very curious and interesting. It is well known that up to comparatively recent times the rhinoceros was widely distributed in the Gangetic plain. The coins bear testimony to the fact that this great beast was a familiar object in ancient India. Three examples are recorded in the catalogue, Nos. 48, 58, and 59 (Pl. XIX, 5, 6). The last-mentioned coin was found in the Gayā District, Bihār. The elephant, of course, appears frequently. In most cases the representation is extremely crude, but the figure of the elephant saluting with uplifted trunk, as shown on a large oblong copper coin of very early date (No. 92, Pl. XIX, 10), is executed with considerable spirit.

The peacock, which performs a large part in Indian religious symbolism, is often seen, generally perched on a *stūpa* or *chaitya*. Nos. 24, 28, 31, 37 (Pl. XIX, 3), &c., offer illustrations. The long-necked crane or stork of No. 71 (Pl. XIX, 8) may be unique; the device is not included in Theobald's comprehensive list. The significance of the dog on the *stūpa* (No. 75) has been discussed by Thomas and Theobald. The representation of the sacred tank containing fish (No. 48, Pl. XIX, 5) is not very rare; and various fishes are often displayed independently, as on No. 10 (Pl. XIX, 1).

The collection now described does not seem to contain any example of the goat browsing on the vine, a device specially noted by Theobald; and the trees shown are usually conventional, as No. 18, &c. The palm-tree of No. 61 is rare, and seems to be intended to represent the coco-nut tree with its fruit (*Cocos nucifera*).

Solar symbols, including many varieties of wheel devices, as well as the *svastika* and *triskeles* or *triskelis*, are the most common of all, and, indeed, are seldom absent. The so-called 'taurine' symbol, a crescent on a circle, used in astrology to denote the zodiacal sign Taurus, is extremely common. Symbols of the astrological class rarely occur on the reverse, but examples are found in Nos. 21, 50, and 95. The figure resembling

the Greek *caduceus* is frequent on both obverse and reverse (Pl. XIX, 7, 11, 12).

The coinage of Europe, as is ll known, is derived through Greece from Lydia, where the earliest ns were made about 700 B.C. by impressing small punches or stamps on thick globules or buttons of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. Gradually the disk or flan was made flatter, and the ordinary modern coin was evolved. The Corinthians alone of the Greeks struck thin, flat coins from a very early time. The northern Indians evolved their coinage on different lines. The early standard of value was almost certainly copper, including alloys of that metal, and the most ancient Indian coins, I believe, are copper.[1]

I suspect that the square and oblong punch-marked copper coins with blank reverse, Nos. 80–5 and 92–4 (Pl. XIX, 10), should be ascribed to Taxila in the Panjāb, and that they were the predecessors of the heavy cast coins contemporary with Agathokles and Pantaleon about 200 B.C. These punch-marked coins may be dated 300 or 400 B.C. The 'twenty oblong rectangular-shaped copper punch-marked coins of the most ancient type' obtained by Carlleyle at Bairānt in the Benares District may be even older. Three of these are said to have had 'single letters of an archaic type—one of them being apparently S, another L, and another J—punched into them'. The silver punch-marked coins found at the same site, which also yielded a number of bronze, copper, and flint relics, were very few in number (Cunningham, *Reports*, xxii. 114–16).

But the earliest Indian coins made of impure metal, containing about 80 per cent. of silver, are also extremely old, and it is possible, or even probable, that in some parts of the country the use of silver preceded that of copper. The solid ingots (Nos. 1, 2, 3), merely marked with three dots, must be very ancient. Unfortunately there is no record of the locality where they were found. No. 95 is a similar copper piece, marked with the dim device of a star or sun. The heavy bent bars of silver (Nos. 4–6), marked with simple symbols on the concave side and blank on the convex side, have an extremely archaic appearance, and may well go back to 500 or 600 B.C. In the ordinary series of punch-marked coins the earliest place must be assigned to those with blank reverse, at least to those of thin fabric. It is clear that the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers. The numerous obverse punches seem to have been impressed by the different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed, and the reverse marks may be regarded as the signs of approval by controlling authority. But the paucity of

[1] On this point I follow Thomas in preference to Cunningham. For southern coins derived from globules see Introduction, Section xx.

records as to the actual *provenance* of the various types hinders the attainment of well-founded conclusions on the subject.[1]

In this place I cannot go into the theory of Indian coin weights, which has been very fully discussed by previous writers, and shall confine myself to the remarks necessary to explain the entries in the catalogue. The silver solid ingots range in weight from 21·5 to 26·7 grains, which may represent an original weight of about 30 grains (2 grammes). I do not see how to connect these figures with the standards commonly used.

The bent bars (Nos. 4–6) weigh from 165·8 to 174·1 grains. These may be 100 *rati* pieces (1 *rati* being taken as 1·825 grain).

It is well established that the ordinary silver punch-marked coins (*purāṇas* or *dharaṇas*) were struck to the scale of 32 *ratis*, and that the full normal weight consequently was about 58 grains, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ grammes. The heaviest in the catalogue is No. 31, 55·6 grains; and the lightest is No. 55, 35·7 grains. These coins remained in circulation for a long time, and stood wear well, the devices being incised, and not in relief. The rectangular and circular coins agree in weight. I believe that the rectangular coins, whether silver or copper, are, as a rule, earlier than the circular coins of similar style, the metal of which is more debased. The scale of weights of the copper coinage is quite distinct from that of the silver, and is based on the *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* of 80 *ratis*, equivalent to about 146 grains, or nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ grammes. The catalogue does not include any *paṇa* pieces, but $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$ *paṇas* may be recognized.

I now return to the subject of the mode of evolution of the Indian indigenous coinage. It is plain that the Indian moneyers started, not from a globule or button of fused metal, but from a hammered sheet, which was then cut into strips, and subdivided into lengths of approximately the desired weight, which was adjusted by clipping the corners when necessary. Nobody can examine a handful of rectangular silver punch-marked coins without seeing that this was the method of manufacture. The cutting of circular blanks from a metal sheet being a more troublesome process than snipping strips into short lengths, the circular coins are presumably a later invention than the rectangular ones. But the rectangular shape continued in use for centuries, and many individual circular coins must be earlier in date than many of the older form. Some of the copper pieces may have been made from cast blanks.

[1] Carlleyle's list of types found at Tambavatī Nāgarī, north of Chitor, in Mewār or Udaypur, and at Nāgar in Jaypur State, Rājputāna, is of special value as a record of *provenance*. The 'caduceus' symbol occurs on the reverse of several of the Tambavatī Nāgarī coins. Cunningham noticed it on coins from the eastern provinces in the neighbourhood of Benares.

A few definite facts help to fix the chronological position of the punch-marked silver coinage, which long served as the common currency of most of the States of ancient India, and was wonderfully uniform in weight and general style from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

Cunningham states on the authority of Sir E. C. Bayley that a few much worn punch-marked silver coins were found 'in company with hemi-drachms of Antimachus II, Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, and Menander' (*C. A. I.*, p. 54). This fact fixes the currency of the coins referred to in 200 B.C., or a little earlier; and it is quite consistent with the interpretation which recognizes punch-marked coins in the *signatum argentum* presented by Āmbhi (Omphis) to Alexander at Taxila in 326 B.C., as related by Quintus Curtius. A small punch-marked silver coin was found by Major Pearse in one of the very ancient earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Nandangarh (not Navandgarh) in the Champāran District, Tirhūt (Cunningham, *Reports*, i. 70). A copper punch-marked coin found by Carlleyle at Masaon Dih or Joharganj in the Ghāzīpur District bore a legend in characters ascribed by him to the Aśoka period, the third century B.C. (*ibid.*, xxii. 103). No doubt the copper coins were in circulation along with the silver, although they were much less numerous, the need for small change being supplied by cowries, and to some extent by other forms of coinage. Of the silver coins 'a large hoard was discovered in September, 1807, at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of *pandu-kúlis* near the village of Chavadi paleiyam in Coimbatore, thus identifying the employment of this kind of money with the aboriginal race whose places of sepulture are scattered over every part of Southern India. And about four years earlier a pot full of the same pieces was dug up at Pennar, also in the Coimbatore province, among which was found a silver denarius of Augustus, which proves that they were current at the commencement of the Christian Era'.[1]

Cunningham was disposed to date the most ancient coins of the class as early as 1000 B.C., but this estimate almost certainly is much in excess of the truth.

Mr. Loventhal was of opinion that in Southern India the use of punch-marked coins extended from the most remote times down to about 300 A.D. In Northern India, I doubt if they were much used after the Christian Era.

The coins now catalogued, 108 in number, are select specimens, picked out of about treble the number.

The literature on punch-marked coins and the associated subject of

[1] Letter from Mr. Garrow to Col. Mackenzie (1805) with coins of Augustus, *Mad. J. Lit. and Sc.*, vol. xix (N.S.), p. 227; as cited in *C. S. I.*, p. 45; Elliot, *Numismatic Gleanings* (reprint), p. 9.

Indian metrology is extensive. In addition to Rapson's *Indian Coins* and Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, the student should not fail to consult Mr. Theobald's essay on the symbols,[1] Thomas's *Ancient Indian Weights* (Intern. Num. Or.), and Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*. The proof of the independent origin of coinage in India has been summarized by Prof. Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 869.

CATALOGUE

	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Silver	
			A. Solid ingots	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 26·7 ·53 × ·23 × ·2	Three circular dots on one face.	Other faces blank.
2	,,	Æ 21·5 ·47 × ·27 × ·17	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	,,	Æ 26·7 ·53 × ·25 × ·2	Ditto.	Similar; but indistinct marks on reverse face.
			B. Bent bars	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 169 1·1 × ·55	Three tridents on concave side.	Convex; blank.
5	,,	Æ 165·8 1·12 × ·55	Dim symbols representing the sun, wheel, or lotus.	Ditto; ditto.
6	,,	Æ 174·1 1·22 × ·55	A trident, and two solar symbols, as on No. 5.	Ditto; ditto.
			C. Rectangular dominoes (PURĀṆAS or DHARAṆAS)	
			(1) *With blank reverse*	
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ nearly sq. 50·3 ·78 × ·73	Fish, sun, and other symbols.	Blank.
8	,,	Æ 51 ·8 sq.	Fish with spines, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.
9	*I.M.*	Æ 49 ·78 sq.	Elephant, humped bull, (?) hare, &c.	Ditto.
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ 48 ·85 triangular	Humped bull (or cow), fishes, sun, 'taurine' symbol, &c.	Ditto (Pl. XIX, 1).

[1] 'Notes on some of the Symbols found on the Punch-marked Coins of Hindustan, and on their relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands,' by W. Theobald, M.R.A.S. (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lix, part i, pp. 181-268, Pl. VIII-XI).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 50 1·25 × ·7 oblong	One-horned rhinoceros, solar symbols, square tank with fish, &c.	Ditto.
12	,,	Æ 51 1 × ·55 oblong	Elephant, (?) hare, (?) scorpion, &c.	Ditto.
13	,,	Æ 51 1·05 × ·25 oblong	Two animals, solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
14	,,	Æ 54 ·75 × ·55 oblong	Thicker type, with sharply cut edges; solar symbol, &c.	Ditto; from Gayā District, Bihār.
15	,,	Æ 51 ·75 × ·65 oblong	Similar in type to No. 14; fish with spines; solar symbol, &c.	Ditto; from Vizagapatam District, Madras.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 50·6 ·64 × ·6 nearly sq.	Similar in type to No. 14; elephant, caduceus symbol, solar symbol, tree.	Ditto, except for two very faint marks.
			(2) *With one mark on reverse*	
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54·9 ·65	An animal, solar symbol, &c.	Crescent, &c., in small incuse (Pl. XIX, 2).
18	,,	Æ 49 ·65	Sun, tree, &c.	Crescent in small incuse.
19	,,	Æ 53 ·77 × ·7	Sun, (?) tree, &c.	Ditto; from Gayā District.
20	*I.M.*	Æ 52·3 ·65	Taurine symbol, &c.	Bull's head in small incuse.
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54·8 ·6	Solar symbols, &c.	Sun or lotus.
22	*I.M.*	Æ 48·5 ·7 × ·52	Circles, &c.	Nearly the same.
23	,,	Æ 51 ·58	Square in four compartments with symbols enclosed, caduceus, &c.	Obscure.
24	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45 ·62	Solar symbols, &c.	Crested bird (peacock) with outspread tail perched r. on a *chaitya*.
25	*I.M.*	Æ 51 ·62	Solar and 'taurine' symbols, &c.	Similar, but *chaitya* lower.
26	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54 ·7 × ·52	*Chaitya*, tree, &c.	Obscure.
27	*I.M.*	Æ 52·7 ·65 × ·47	Solar symbol, *chaityas*, &c.	Peacock perched on *chaitya*, as No. 24.
28	,,	Æ 52 ·55 × ·47	Solar symbol, (?) steelyard, &c.	Peacock perched, as No. 25.
29	*A.S.B.*	Æ 41·3 ·56	Nearly identical with No. 28.	Ditto; very light.
30	,,	Æ 53·5 ·68 × ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; full weight.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
31	*A.S.B.*	Æ 55·6 ·75 × ·6	Solar symbol, *chaitya*, crested bird (peacock), as on rev., &c.	As No. 30.
32	*I.M.*	Æ 49·7 ·56 × ·5	Solar symbol, *chaitya*, &c.	*Chaitya* only.
33	*A.S.B.*	Æ 47·9 ·65 × ·6	Triskeles, caduceus, animal, &c.	Caduceus.
34	*I.M.*	Æ 48·8 ·68 × ·6	Caduceus, a solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
35	,,	Æ 37·5 ·67	Caduceus, solar symbols, *chaitya*, &c.	Ditto; very light weight, although in fairly good condition.
36	,,	Æ 52·2 ·75 × ·65	Caduceus, solar symbols, 'taurine.'	Ditto; normal weight.
37	,,	Æ 52·3 ·65 × ·5	Three human figures in a row;[1] above, *chaitya* with peacock perched on it, and a rectangular figure.	*Chaitya* only (Pl. XIX, 3).
38	,,	Æ 52·2 ·77 × ·5	Three human figures in a row; the symbols above are uncertain.	Peacock on *chaitya*, as No. 24.
39	*A.S.B.*	Æ 42 ·66 × ·55	Three human figures in a row; above, bird on *chaitya*, steelyard, &c.	Ditto.

(3) *With two marks on reverse*

40	*I.M.*	Æ 52·7 ·65 × ·55	Three human figures standing in a row; other obscure symbols.	Indescribable symbols (? plated).
41	,,	Æ plated 51·3 ·75 × ·7	*Chaitya*, a solar symbol, caduceus, &c.	A circle and obscure mark. (This coin is actually copper or bronze, with traces of plating.[2])
42	*A.S.B.*	Æ 49 ·75 × ·65	Elephant and other animals, sun.	A (?) man or (?) monkey, and (?) bird.
43	,,	Æ 51·2 ·67 × ·55	Solar symbols, elephant, &c.	Symbols obscure, and perhaps more than two.
44	,,	Æ 45·7 ·65 × ·6	Sun, tree, caduceus, antelope or gazelle.	*Chaitya* with peacock on top, animal, and perhaps another mark.
45	,,	Æ 53·4 ·6 × ·55	Standing monkey, caduceus, tree, &c.	Caduceus and obscure symbol (Pl. XIX, 4).
46	,,	Æ 51·8 ·55 × ·5	Sun, caduceus, &c.	Bird, and an obscure symbol.
47	,,	Æ 43·6 ·85 × ·65	Elephant, sun, &c.	Star or sun, and another obscure mark.

[1] A man and two women (Theobald).
[2] Plated punch-marked coins are not uncommon.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(4) *With three marks on reverse*	
48	*A.S.B.*	Æ 51·3 1·11 × ·7	Two different solar symbols[1], a one-horned rhinoceros, square tank with fishes, (?) lotus-bud[2], and tree.	Three obscure, ill-defined marks (Pl. XIX, 5).
49	*I.M.*	Æ 52·5 ·79 × ·65	Solar symbol, elephant, &c.	Two different suns, and a third obscure symbol.
50	„	Æ 51·5 ·73 × ·6	Triskeles in oval, &c.	*Chaitya*, fish, and sun or star.
51	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52·5 ·55 × ·5	Two different suns, caduceus, tree, &c.	Traces of bird, and two other dim marks.
			(5) *With numerous marks on reverse*	
52	*I.M.*	Æ 55 ·6	*Chaitya*, solar symbols, elephant, &c.	Sundry obscure symbols (plated).
53	„	Æ 52·8 ·8	*Chaitya*, solar symbols, humped bull or cow, (?) hare, &c.	Tree or branch; several obscure symbols, one perhaps being a form of *stūpa*.
54	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36 ·92 × ·6	Elephant, *chaitya*, solar symbols, &c.	Crowded with obscure symbols.
55	*I.M.*	Æ 35·7 ·8 × ·57	Four solar symbols, animal, &c.	Confused lines and dots.
56	„	Æ 40·2 ·87 × ·65	Lotus, and sundry confused symbols.	Ditto.
57	*A.S.B.*	Æ 48·3 ·83	Several solar or wheel symbols of different kinds, (?) lotus-bud, &c.	Several suns or wheels, a (?) *stūpa* in enclosure, &c.
58	„	Æ 45·7 ·93 × ·8	(?) Plan of *stūpa* in enclosure, *chaitya* of three arches, &c.	One-horned rhinoceros, sun, &c.
			D. Roughly circular or oval (PURĀṆAS or DHARAṆAS)	
			(1) *With blank reverse*	
59	*A.S.B.*	Æ 51·8 ·9	Rhinoceros (one-horned), solar symbols, &c.	Blank; from Gayā District, Bihār (Pl. XIX, 6).
60	„	Æ 48·6 ·95	Solar symbols, &c.	Blank.
61	„	Æ 50·3 ·8	Elephant, palm-tree, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.
62	*I.M.*	Æ 51·6 ·8 × ·7	*Chaitya*, tree in railing, solar symbols.	Ditto.
63	„	Æ 49·3 ·8	Bull or cow, (?) horse, solar symbol, &c.	Ditto.
64	„	Æ 53·7 ·75	Bull or cow, solar symbols, &c.	Ditto.

[1] One of these solar symbols is of the Taxilan type, crescents alternating with broad arrow-heads attached to a central boss.

[2] 'A siluroid fish, or skate (?)' (Theobald). I am doubtful as to the meaning of the symbol, which recurs on No. 57.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(2) *With one mark on reverse*	
65	*A.S.B.*	Æ 49·5 ·8 × ·75	Solar symbols, animal, *chaitya*, &c.	Uncertain; from Vizagapatam District, Madras.
66	,,	Æ 52 ·68	Solar symbol, four fish in a tank, &c.	(?) A fish; thicker fabric.
67	,,	Æ 47·3 ·71	Solar symbols, caduceus, square in four compartments, bow and arrow, as on Āndhra coins of Kolhāpur.	Uncertain; thick like No. 66 (Pl. XIX, 7).
68	,,	Æ 46 ·67	Solar symbols, 'taurines,' &c.	Caduceus; ditto.
69	,,	Æ 51·4 ·63	Solar symbols, caduceus, &c.	(?) 'Taurine'; ditto.
70	*I.M.*	Æ 51·9 ·68 × ·57	Ditto, ditto, animal.	*Chaitya*; ditto.
71	,,	Æ 50 ·62 × ·65	Long-necked bird (crane or stork) standing l., sun r.	Indistinct; ditto (Pl. XIX, 8).
			(3) *With two or more marks on the reverse*	
72	*I.M.*	Æ 52·5 ·95	Animal, tree, solar symbols, &c.	Two indistinct marks.
73	,,	Æ 47·8 ·9 × ·73	Solar symbol, bird, &c.	Elephant, (?) hare, star.
74	*A.S.B.*	Æ 46·2 ·93 × ·8	Elephant, bull or cow, solar symbol, *chaitya*, &c.	Tree in railing, &c.
75	,,	Æ 50·2 ·95 × ·85	*Chaitya* with dog on summit, snake, solar symbols.	*Chaitya*, tree, bird, &c.
76	,,	Æ 39·2 1·01 × ·78	Solar symbols, fish, &c.	Confused mass of symbols, including St. Andrew's cross in square.
77	,,	Æ 46·5 ·83 × ·78	Solar symbols, and an object like a sword-hilt, humped bull or cow.	*Chaitya*, tree, &c.
78	*I.M.*	Æ 51 ·83 × ·78	Head of elephant, (?) plan of *stupa* in square, solar symbols.	A curious pattern of three concentric curves, solar symbol, &c.
79	,,	Æ 48·3 ·65 × ·57	Two solar symbols, &c.	Fish, and indistinct mark; thicker fabric.
			Copper	
			A. Approximately square (? of Taxila)	
			(1) *With blank reverse*	
80	*I.M.*	Æ 81·4 ·7	Sun with many rays, and (?).	Blank; thick, massive fabric.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
81	*I.M.*	Æ 64·4 ·73	Bull or cow l., with symbol composed of circle surrounded by four crescents, nearly the Taxilan symbol of *C. A. I.*, Pl. II.	Blank; less thick.
82	,,	Æ 71·6 ·72	'Taurine' in incuse.	Ditto; ditto.
83	*A.S.B.*	Æ 78·6 ·7	Two objects shaped like 'merry-thought' bones, side by side, a form of (?) 'taurine'.	Ditto; massive (Pl. XIX, 9).
84	,,	Æ 41 ·6	Bird walking l., symbol as on No. 81.	Ditto; not so thick.
85	,,	Æ 36·4 ·57	Solar symbol, and (?).	Ditto; ditto.
			(2) *With a mark or marks on reverse*	
86	*I.M.*	Æ 38·2 ·62	Solar symbols, *chaitya*, and bull.	Two indistinct marks.
87	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45 ·67	Sun, and confused symbols.	*Chaitya*; worn, rounded at corners.
88	,,	Æ 30·7 ·58	Triskeles, &c., in incuse.	(?) Horse; worn.
89	,,	Æ 34·6 ·55	Uncertain.	An indistinct pear-shaped depression.
90	,,	Æ 44·2 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
91	*I.M.*	Æ 26·3 ·5	Ditto.	*Nandipada* symbol, &c., in incuse.
			B. Distinctly oblong	
			(1) *With blank reverse*	
92	*A.S.B.*	Æ 104·6 ·85 × ·75	Elephant with uplifted trunk, *svastika*, &c.	Blank (Pl. XIX, 10).
93	,,	Æ 95 ·9 × ·65	Two 'taurines'.	Ditto.
94	,,	Æ 42·5 ·6 × ·4	Sun, (?) animal.	Ditto.
			(2) *With a mark or marks on reverse*	
95	*A.S.B.*	Æ 72·5 ·8 × ·3 × ·1	A dim rayed sun or star.	'Taurine.' (This piece is an ingot.)
96	*I.M.*	Æ 107 ·9 × ·75	Quadruped moving to l.	'Ujjain' or 'Mālava' symbol, dim. (This looks like a coin of Eraṇ.)
97	,,	Æ 41·8 ·7 × ·5	Solar symbols, tree or branch, &c.	Two indistinct marks.
98	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30 ·5 × ·4	Horned animal r. (? *Ovis ammon*).	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
99	*I.M.*	Æ 49·6 ·5 × ·4	Sun, and (?) monkey.	Double 'taurine' or (?) thunderbolt, and (?) dagger; thick, neatly made.
100	„	Æ 110·7 ·6 × ·5 × ·2	Solar symbol of concentric rings with dots outside.	Obscure marks; a 'dumpy pice' with convex obv., which may be modern.

C. Circular

101	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57 ·55	Lion with tail upraised, solar symbol.	Caduceus, &c., dim; about ·1 thick (? of Taxila).
102	„	Æ 77 ·6	Sun lightly engraved on surface; tree, and two other symbols in three small incuses.	'Ujjain symbol', and a sinking; about ·1 thick. (Nos. 102–8 seem to come from Ujjain or the neighbourhood.)
103	*I.M.*	Æ 61·8 ·6	Solar symbols, tree in railing, &c.	Caduceus in one incuse, and 'Ujjain symbol' in another.
104	„	Æ 62·8 ·63	Similar.	Ditto (Pl. XIX, 11).
105	„	Æ 74·3 ·62	Similar.	Ditto.
106	„	Æ 28 ·55	Human figure with staff or sceptre, bird (peacock), and solar symbol, each in an incuse.	Ditto, but only the caduceus clear (Pl. XIX, 12).
107	„	Æ 19 ·5 × ·4	Convex, covered by a lotus or sun.	'Ujjain symbol.'
108	„	Æ 44·2 ·5	Tree in railing, and other symbols defaced.	Caduceus and 'Ujjain symbol'; thick.

Section VI

LOCAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

The four groups of coins described in this Part have been classed together as being severally assignable to fairly definite localities in Northern India. The coins of each group are found predominantly in the districts named, and are not common elsewhere. The first definite step in such localization of the ancient coinages was taken by the publication in 1891 of *Coins of Ancient India* by Sir Alexander Cunningham, the greatest Indian numismatist since James Prinsep. Sir Alexander's unique experience extending over considerably more than half a century enabled him to accumulate a mass of knowledge, both general and special, concerning all classes of Indian coins, which nobody can hope to rival. Although he published comparatively few details about the *provenance*, or find-spots, of individual coins, his general statements on the subject are of the highest value. His announcement, for instance, that all the coins figured in Plate IX of the work above referred to were obtained at Ajodhyā, furnishes a secure basis for the classification of many pieces which would otherwise embarrass the numismatist. In the same way the assignment of the other classes of coins treated in this section to Avanti, Kosam, and Taxila respectively rests primarily upon Sir Alexander Cunningham's unequalled personal knowledge of the distribution of Indian coins. As Professor Rapson has pointed out, the hope of further advance in our knowledge of the ancient currencies of India depends largely on recognition of the local limits of each class of coin. It is very unfortunate that the recorded information about the find-spots of coins is so scanty, but it is some satisfaction to be able to assign even a few groups to their proper local position. Coins of copper, including bronze of sorts, do not, as a rule, wander very far from their place of issue, and, inasmuch as nearly all the ancient Indian coins may be classed under the heading 'copper', evidence of their *provenance* goes a long way towards determining approximately the locality of their mints.

AJODHYĀ

The ancient city of Ajodhyā on the Ghāghrā (Gogra) river to the east of the province of Oudh is famous in Hindū legend as the capital of Rāma, but is now a comparatively unimportant town, except as a place of pilgrimage. It has been overshadowed, and, to a large extent, replaced by the modern city of Faizābād (Fyzabad), N. lat. 26° 46′ 45″, E. long. 82° 11′ 40″, a few miles distant, built in no small degree from the materials of Rāma's capital. Coins obtained at Fyzabad may be considered as coming mostly from Ajodhyā. The ancient history of Ajodhyā is lost, and the attempts of the local Brahmans to supply the loss are worthless. No independent record exists of any of the Rājās whose coins are described in the following pages, and we can only guess their age by considering the style of the coins and the script of the legends. Cunningham held that the most ancient coins, those of Dhanadeva and Visākhadeva, are 'certainly not older than the second century B.C.', and this determination may be accepted, so far as the inscribed coins are concerned. Of course many of the punch-marked and cast coins without legends may be much older. The coins of both Visākhadeva and Dhanadeva were simply cast in moulds, and evidently are of much the same date. Either prince may be regarded as the predecessor of the other. The coins, Nos. 8–11, doubtfully ascribed to Śiva-datta, are also cast; as are the curious little pieces, Nos. 12 and 13 (Pl. XIX, 14), exhibiting the fish, *svastika*, 'taurine,' and an object which seems to me to be intended for a steelyard balance, but is described by Cunningham as an axe.

The fine coins of Kumuda-sena (Nos. 14, 15, Pl. XIX, 15) were first collected and described by Colonel Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., as noted in the catalogue. Professor Rapson, when describing a third specimen belonging to Mr. H. Nelson Wright, now in the British Museum, erroneously supposed it to be unique and unpublished (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 287). The closely related coin of Aja-varma (No. 16 of catalogue) is at present unique, so far as I know.

I have ventured to use the designation 'cock and bull' series for the well known die-struck Mitra coins of Ajodhyā, because the name is exactly descriptive and convenient for citation. The specimens catalogued, unfortunately, are not very good. The name of Deva-mitra (No. 28, Pl. XIX, 18) is new. The reading on the coin itself is certain. I see no reason for believing that these 'cock and bull' Mitra coins of Ajodhyā were issued by the dynasty which struck the very different series with deep incuse on the obverse, assigned by Cunningham to Pañchāla. The mere fact that the Rājās who struck both series of coins had names ending in *-mitra* is no sufficient warrant for holding that they

all belonged to a single 'Mitra dynasty'. Nor is there any sound reason for identifying the Rājās who issued the incuse coins with the Śunga dynasty of the Purāṇas. The Pañchāla coins will be treated in Section VIII.

I regret that I am unable to agree with Professor Rapson in his reading of the name on the coins of Ayu-mitra of the 'cock and bull' type. 'The inscription on these coins,' he observes, 'seems not to be *Suya-*, *Saya-*, or *Āyu-mitasa*, each of which readings has been suggested, but almost certainly *Āyyamitrasa* (i.e. *Āryamitrasya*). The description of this coinage given in *Indian Coins* (Pl. IV, 3), should probably be corrected accordingly; but it must be borne in mind that the letters *a* and *su* at this period [*scil.*? 2nd or 1st century B.C.] are very easily confused' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 100). I have examined many of these coins in much better preservation than those now catalogued, and am convinced that the true reading is *Ayu* (or possibly *Ayū*). The form of initial *A* on these 'cock and bull' coins is quite distinct from *sa*. I doubt if *su* occurs. It seems to me absolutely impossible to read the first word in the legend of Pl. XIX, 17 as *Āyya*. The legend is  , and I do not see how the *y* with the long tail can be read as double *y*. The *u* is formed in the ordinary way by the prolongation downwards of the vertical stroke of the *y*. I do not see any reason for reading *Ā*. Of course there is a difficulty in accepting and explaining a non-Sanskrit word like *Ayu*, but we must take the legend as it stands. I am disposed to think that the 'cock and bull' coins of Ajodhyā are not of such early date as has been supposed, and that they may well be as late as the second century A.D. Mr. Carlleyle regarded Ayu-mitra as the latest of the dynasty, 'as the letters of the legend belong to the later Gupta period' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1880, part i, p. 27); but I do not think the coins are later than 150 A.D., and they may be earlier.

Avanti

These coins, described by Cunningham under the name of Ujjain, are better referred to the country Avanti, of which Ujjain (lat. 23°11′10″ N., long. 75°51′45″ E.) was the most notable city. They come not only from Ujjain itself, but from Eraṇ, Besnagar, and other towns of Avanti. Professor Rapson has suggested that the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' of the cross and balls would more accurately be named the 'Mālava symbol', and there is no doubt that the proposed term would be the more accurate, but I have thought it better to retain the more familiar expression.

The legend on No. 27 (Pl. XX, 3), which seems to read *Runamisa* or *Runamāsa*, is puzzling. The two-horned rhinoceros on No. 28 is interesting. It is very curious to notice how the devices used on the punch-marked coins are combined on the dies of the Ujjain coins,

the animals and symbols characteristic of the earlier series being repeated on the later. But the two-horned rhinoceros is represented only on No. 28. The animal depicted on the punch-marked coins and on an Ujjain coin in Mr. Theobald's cabinet (*J. A. S. B.*, 1890, part i, p. 218) is single-horned, either *R. indicus*, or the lesser species, *R. Sondaicus*, the range of which extended to the Panjāb as late as the time of Bābar.

Kōsam

The catalogue includes only four coins which can be referred with certainty to the ancient city of Kōsam on the Jumna, about thirty miles south of west from Allahabad, which is recognized by the Jains as Kauśāmbī, but undoubtedly is not the Buddhist Kauśāmbī of the Chinese pilgrims in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 503). The most ancient piece evidently is the circular cast coin No. 4, which has been known for a long time. Cunningham possessed seven specimens, six of which came from Kōsam, and the seventh from Bithā, not far distant. These coins may be assigned to the second or third century B. C.

Bahasati-mita (Bṛihaspati-mitra) is inaccurately called Bahasata by Cunningham. Fifteen of his coins are in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, of which nine were excavated at Kōsam in 1887, and six at Rāmnagar (Ahichhatrā) in Rohilkhaṇḍ in 1891. The genealogy given in an inscription at Pabhosā near Kōsam shows that the grandfather of Bahasati-mitra was King Bhāgavata, son of Vaṁgapāla, king of Adhichhatrā or Ahichhatrā. The dynasty at Kōsam is thus proved conclusively to have been a branch of that of Adhichhatrā, and the occurrence of Bahasati-mitra's coins at both Kōsam and Rāmnagar is explained (see *Ep. Ind.*, ii. 243). The late Mr. Rodgers had two small brass coins (diam. ·7 and ·55) of the Northern Satrap type with the imperfect legend *Baha-* in early characters, which possibly may have been another issue of the Bahasati-mitra of Kōsam and Ahichhatrā. The Kōsam coins of Jeṭha-mitra made known by Cunningham also are related to the Northern Satrap series. During one visit to Kōsam Cunningham obtained sixteen coins of Bahasati-mitra, one of Aśvaghosha, three of Jeṭha-mitra, and two of Deva-mitra (*Reports*, x. 4).

The coins of this Deva-mitra have not been published, so far as I know, and I cannot say whether or not he was identical with the Deva-mitra of the Ajodhyā 'cock and bull' type (Pl. XIX, 18). I doubt if the 'cock and bull' type coins ever occur as far west as Allahabad. They are frequently found in Oudh, Gorakhpur, and Bastī.

The coin of Pavata (Pārvata) is new. The only other known specimen, formerly in my cabinet, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Taxila

The coins of the great city of Taxila, the ruins of which are traceable at Shāhdheri and other villages near Hasan Abdāl, and not very far from Rāwalpindi, in the N.W. Panjāb, have been well described by Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, Pl. II, III. Few illustrations, therefore, are given in the plates of this work. The massive rectangular pieces with blank reverse manifestly are the most ancient. They must be earlier than the coins struck with a die on both obverse and reverse, while the latter must be prior to the coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon (about 190–180 B. C.) which are Hellenized imitations of the Taxilan double-die coins. The single-die pieces may be assumed to begin not later than 350 B. C. The varieties are numerous, so that they must have continued in use for a long time. The circular coins, both massive and thin, with blank reverse, may be a little later than the rectangular ones. The legend *Vaṭasvaka* on No. 13 has been well explained by Bühler as a tribal name, equivalent to Sanskrit *Vaṭāśvakāḥ*, meaning the Aśvaka tribe of the *vaṭa* or fig-tree clan. Similarly the Audumbara tribe was named after the *udumbara* fig-tree, *Ficus glomerata* (*Ind. Stud.*, No. III, Wien, 1895).

The coins with specially Buddhist symbols are probably not earlier than the time of Aśoka. It is not likely that Buddhism had taken root at Taxila before he began his missionary efforts about 259 B.C. I describe the *chaitya*, monastery, &c., on the Taxilan coins as 'specially Buddhist symbols', not because they are peculiar to Buddhism, but because Taxila was a famous Buddhist centre of learning, while it is not known to have been frequented by Jains.

CATALOGUE

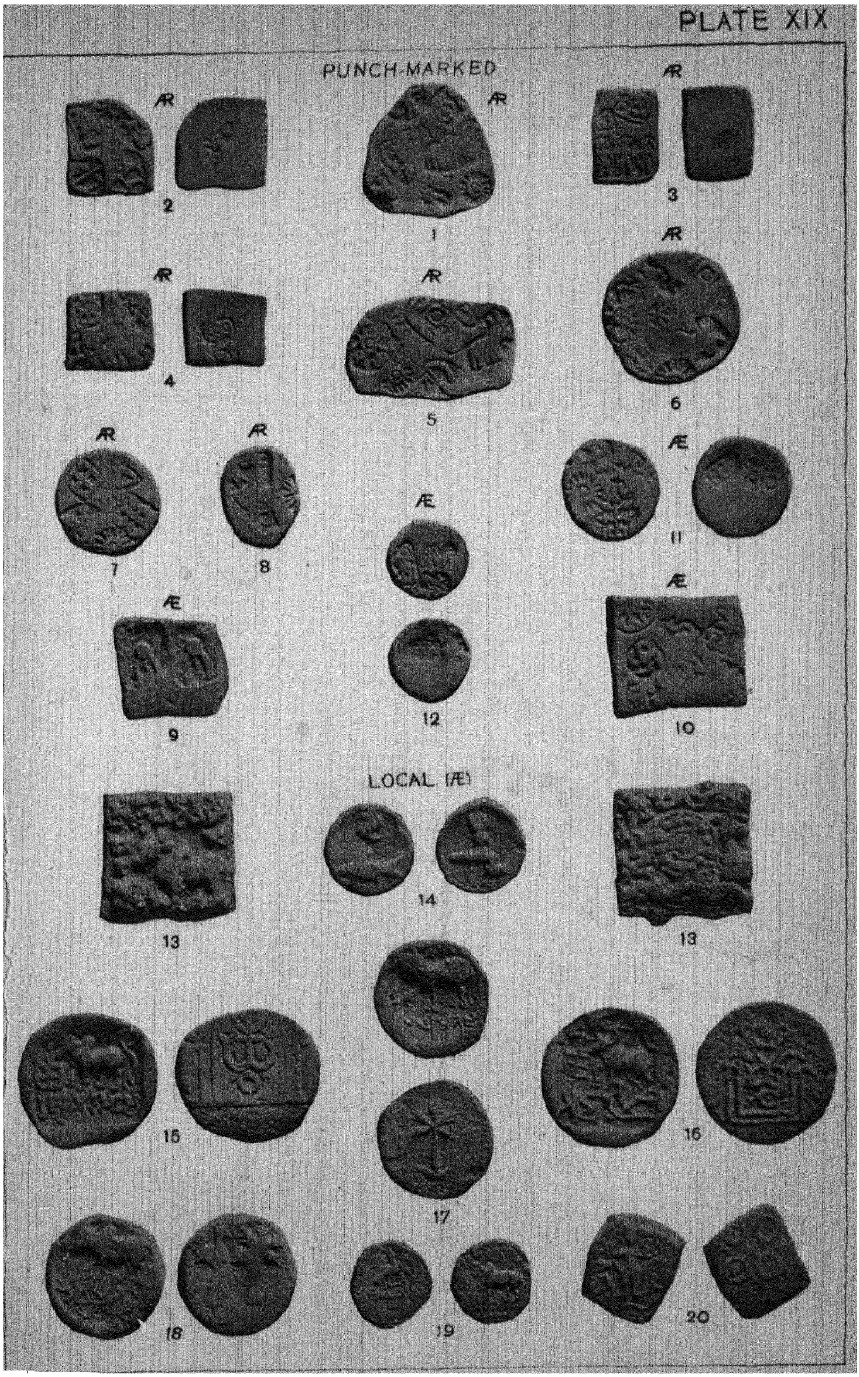
COINS OF AJODHYĀ, FROM ABOUT 150 B.C. TO 100 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper	
			KING VISĀKHA-DEVA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ rect. 92 ·85 × ·75	Bull (or cow) standing l., facing a peculiar column; a St. Andrew's cross above the animal's hind quarter. Legend at top in early Br characters, *Visākha-devasa.*	In centre a solar emblem, composed of central boss with circle of dots and outer rim; snake below; a tree in railing at each side; above, a *triśūl* symbol of *nandipada* form. The coin is wholly cast in high relief (R.-C.; obtained at Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); lith. in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlix, part i (1880), Pl. XVI, 1, 2; this coin is No. 1; photo. of drawing in *C. A. I.*, Pl. IX, 7; Pl. XIX, 13).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ rect. 53·5 ·8 × ·7	Similar; but smaller, and broken at top l. corner.	Similar; in inferior condition.
2*a*	„	Æ broken rect. ·75	Goddess (? Lakshmi with elephants); above, ? (*Visā*)*khade*(*vasa*).	'Ujjain symbol' in square frame; very poor condition; attribution not quite certain.
			KING DHANA-DEVA	
3	*I.M.*	Æ rect. 55·7 ·83 × ·72	Bull moving r. towards a column with triangular head, springing from a railing; above, in early Br. characters, *Dhanadevasa.*	In centre, female figure r., standing on snake; a tree in railing r. and l.; above, *svastika* and two other symbols; similar in fabric and style to coins of Visākha-deva (*C. A. I.*, Pl. IX, 8).
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass rectang. 47·7 ·85 × ·7	Similar; not so well preserved.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper rectang. 81·6 ·7	Generally similar; but bull l., and no object in front of him.	Tree in railing r.; a curved object rising from railing l.; snake below; symbols above; no goddess (*C. A. I.*, Pl. IX, 9).
6	„	Æ copper rectang. 91·5 ·7	As No. 5.	As No. 5.
7	„	Æ copper rectang. 27·6 ·6	Elephant standing r. Legend above, in early Br. characters,(*Dhana?*)*devasa*.	Sundry symbols, obscure; similar in style to coins of Dhanadeva, but attribution uncertain.
			(?) KING ŚIVA-DATTA	
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ pale bronze rect. 16·7 ·65 × ·55	Elephant moving l. towards a tree or symbol in railing. Br. legend above, (*Śiva ?*)*datasa*.	Sundry symbols, including a form of the 'Ujjain symbol'; the central device may be a degraded form of the goddess seated on lotus (cp. *C. A. I.*, Pl. IX, 10, 11).
9	„	Æ pale bronze or brass rect. 36·7 ·65 × ·56	Similar; in worse condition.	Defaced.
10	„	Æ brass rectang. 22·6 ·62 × ·53	Similar; legend illegible.	Similar to No. 8; but the central device is reduced to mere lines.
11	„	Æ brass rect. 44·3 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; a thicker coin (Nos. 8–11 are cast coins like those of Dhanadeva, but in poor condition, and perhaps later in date).
			ANONYMOUS, CIRCULAR, CAST	
12	*I.M.*	Æ 33·9 ·6	Fish l., *svastika* above.	'Taurine', with steelyard below (or 'axe', Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, Pl. IX, 3; Pl. XIX, 14).
13	„	Æ 31·8 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto.[1]

[1] R.-C.; first published by Col. Rivett-Carnac in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xl-x, part i (1880), p. 139, Pl. XVII, 15 A, B, with the remark :—'Two specimens of a coin, which is perhaps new. On one side what looks like a fish, as in the preceding coins; on the other a "Thor's hammer" (?), or perhaps the sign of Saturn combined with some other sign in such a manner as to form a monogram (?).'

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			RĀJĀ KUMUDA-SENA	
			Copper, circular, die-struck, with obv. incuse	
14	*I.M.*	Æ 128·7 ·9	Bull l., standing before tree in railing; snake on end behind bull; below, in clear bold Br. characters, *Rājñaḥ Kumuda-senasa*, '[coin] of Rājā Kumuda-sena'; all in square incuse.	An elaborate form of the *nandipada triśūl* symbol, in double rectilinear frame; in fine condition (R.-C., from Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); publ. in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlix, part i (1880), Pl. XVI, 3; Pl. XIX, 15).
15	„	Æ 119·2 ·8	Similar.	Similar; good (R.-C.).
			AJA-VARMA	
			Brass, circular, die-struck, with obv. incuse	
16	*I.M.*	Æ 133 ·9	Device as on coins of Kumuda-sena. Legend, *Aja-varmaṇa* (or ? *varmano*), '[coin] of Aja-varma.'	As on coins of Kumuda-sena (R.-C., from Fyzabad (Ajodhyā); publ. loc. cit., Pl. XVI, 4; Pl. XIX, 16).
			Cock and Bull type; 'Mitra' dynasty	
			AYŪMITRA	
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 89·2 ·7	Bull standing l. before a (?) post. Legend below, in early Br. characters, *Ayu* (or *Ayu)mitasa*.	Palm-tree in centre; to l., cock r., standing on curved line, facing the tree (Pl. XIX, 17).
18	*I.M.*	Æ 97 ·75	Ditto; much worn.	Defaced.
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ 99 ·76	Ditto; ditto.	As No. 17; much worn.
20	„	Æ 96 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
21	„	Æ 23 ·45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			SATYAMITRA	
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 115·2 ·85	Bull l. Legend, *Satya-mitasa*.	Cock (? peacock) and palm-tree, as on coins of Ayūmitra; cock very clear on this specimen.
23	*I.M.*	Æ 124 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
24	*A.S.B.*	Æ 104·6 ·7	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto; ditto.
25	„	Æ 23·2 ·45	Ditto; fair.	Ditto; ditto.



PUNCH-MARKED COINS

SILVER AND COPPER

LOCAL COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
26	*A.S.B.*	Æ 22·7 ·43	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fair.
27	„	Æ 28·9 ·45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
			DEVAMITRA	
28	*A.S.B.*	Æ 136·8 ·75	Bull, as usual, l. Legend, *Devamitasa*, with traces of a second line of characters; possibly double-struck.	Palm-tree to r.; cock to l. on top of post, facing r.; curved line (? river or snake), at foot of palm-tree and post; worn; unpublished and apparently unique (Pl. XIX, 18).
			VIJAYAMITRA	
29	*A.S.B.*	Æ 36 ·66	Bull l., as usual. Legend, *Vijayamitasa*; worn.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on ground in front of post; worn.
30	„	Æ 33·5 ·6	Ditto; much worn.	Palm-tree to l.; cock to r., facing l.; worn.
31	*I.M.*	Æ 40·2 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on post to l., facing r.; worn.
32	„	Æ 29·5 ·55	Animal indistinct, looks more like an elephant; legend as before.	As No. 31; rude and worn.
33	„	Æ 47·6 ·6	As No. 29; worn.	Palm-tree in centre; bird not visible.
34	„	Æ 31·5 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Palm-tree to l.; bird defaced.
35	„	Æ 22 ·4	Bull l.; only *mitasa* legible.	Palm-tree to r.; cock on ground facing r.; attribution doubtful.
36	*A.S.B.*	Æ 22·4 ·45	Bull l.; legend lost.	Palm-tree r.; bird on ground (curved line) facing r.; attribution doubtful.
			Solar symbol type	
			VIJAYAMITRA (PROBABLY THE SAME AS IN THE 'COCK AND BULL' TYPE)	
37	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32·2 ·6	Solar symbol composed of a globe and three-pronged figure. Legend below, *Vijayamitasa*.	Tree in railing; recumbent bull l. faintly visible above; in poor condition; possibly double-struck.
38	„	Æ 30·4 ·56	Similar.	Similar; faint traces of tree and bull.
39	*I.M.*	Æ 35·1 ·55	Ditto.	Almost wholly defaced.
40	*A.S.B.*	Æ 23·8 ·52	Ditto.	Bull standing l.; low railing below; no trace of tree. (Pl. XIX, 19. This class of coins seems to be unpublished.)

COINS OF AVANTI (CAST OR DIE-STRUCK)[1]

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper	
			I. *Rectangular*	
			A. Standing figure type	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 78·7 ·72	Man (? king or deity) facing front, wearing short-tailed coat and high tiara, with l. hand hanging down, with r. hand grasping staff or spear; to l., tree in railing; above, 'Ujjain symbol' and 'taurine'.	'Ujjain symbol' with cross in each circle.
2	„	Æ 59·7 ·6	Generally similar; but tree is to r., and above it a tank with fish; solar symbol in l. top corner, also 'taurine'; no 'Ujjain symbol'.	'Ujjain symbol' with *svastika* in each circle.
3	„	Æ 60·6 ·65 × ·52	Nearly identical with No. 2; worn.	Ditto.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 61·3 ·6 × ·55	Man standing, facing front, with r. hand on hip; l. arm extended across staff; tree in railing to r.; snake below; early Br. legend l., *mi*(?)*tasa*, in characters of about 200 B.C.	'Ujjain symbol' with dot in each circle (Pl. XIX, 20).
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 12·7 ·45	Man with staff or spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip.	Humped bull (? cow) r., with a sort of *triśul* above, and 'Ujjain symbol', with plain circles, in front.
6	„	Æ 16·2 ·4 × ·31	Man, bearded, marching r., with r. hand raised.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; in poor condition.
7	*I.M.*	Æ 116 ·67	Man marching r.; river with fish below; 'Ujjain symbol' to r.; all in incuse made by circular die; trace of legend.	Indistinct; a massive, thick coin of brass or pale bronze.
8	„	Æ 108·6 ·7	Similar; but conventional tree to l.; no 'Ujjain symbol'.	Defaced or blank; fabric as No. 7, metal darker colour.

[1] See *C. A. I.*, Pl. X. The coins of this class are described by Cunningham under the name of Ujjain; but they do not necessarily come only from that city, and it is preferable to use the name of Avanti, the old designation of the territory of which Ujjain was the principal city. The so-called 'Ujjain symbol' is not by any means confined to coins from the city of Ujjain. It is also found on the money of Eraṇ, Besnagar, and the Āndhra dynasty. For punch-marked coins see *ante*, Sec. V.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			B. Animal type	
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 77·5 ·63	Bull standing r., with apparently a man in front, and river with fish below.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; in poor condition.
			C. Symbols type	
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·5 ·6 × ·46	Tree in railing; (?) river with fish, and (?)	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
11	*I.M.*	Æ 16·3 ·45	Tree in railing, and (?)	'Ujjain symbol' with dot in each circle (Pl. XX, 1).
			II. *Circular*	
			A. Standing figure type	
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 128·2 ·72	Man (? king or deity) standing, facing, clad in short-tailed coat and high tiara; above, *svastika* and 'taurine'; to r., solar symbol composed of crescents and broad arrow-heads attached to central boss; to l., standard surmounted by rayed sun; on extreme l., tree.	'Ujjain symbol' with an inner circle and dot in each orb (Pl. XX, 2; *C. A. I.*, Pl. X, 2).
13	*I.M.*	Æ 134·2 ·8	Similar; not so good.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59 ·6	Similar, rude; solar symbol, *svastika*, 'taurine,' and head of standard wanting.	Two 'Ujjain symbols', with inner circle in each orb.
15	„	Æ 76.8 ·62	Similar; much defaced.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 67·1 ·6	As No. 14.	As No. 14.
17	„	Æ 42 ·7	Similar; solar symbol with broad arrow-heads to r., and below it a (?) tank with four fishes.	'Ujjain symbol' nearly defaced.
18	„	Æ 39·2 ·55	Half-length figure of man with r., and arms akimbo; traces of symbols.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
			B. Lakshmī type	
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ 47 ·6	Rude sketch of Lakshmī seated, with an elephant on each side pouring water over her.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles (cp. *C. A. I.*, Pl. X, 7, 8).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	*A.S B.*	Æ 50·3 ·6	Seated figure, perhaps intended for Lakshmī; in poor condition.	'Ujjain symbol' with a dot in each circle.
			C. Animal type	
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ 101·5 ·6	Bull standing to r., with tree in railing in front, and solar symbol with broad arrow-heads above; (?)river below.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
22	„	Æ 89·6 ·7	Similar; river distinct; worn.	'Ujjain symbol' with circle in each orb (*C. A. I.*, Pl. X, 18).
23	*I.M.*	Æ brass 68·7 ·6	Humped bull l., defaced.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles in square incuse.
24	*A.S.B.*	Æ 41·3 ·55	Long-legged humped bull l., as on Nāga coins.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
25	„	Æ 29 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
26	*I.M.*	Æ 34 ·5	Ditto; much worn.	Ditto.
27	„	Æ 19·7 ·45	Bull standing r.	Tree in railing; 'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles to r.; below, in early Br. characters, *Runamāsa*, or *Runamisa*, 𑀭𑀼𑀡𑀫𑀻𑀲 (Pl. XX, 3).
28	„	Æ 29 ·45	Two-horned rhinoceros standing r.; 'Ujjain symbol' above.  [1]	Traces of 'Ujjain symbol'.
29	„	Æ 20·5 ·53	Tusked elephant standing l.; six-rayed wheel (sun) above.	'Ujjain symbol' with inner circle and dot in each orb.
			D. Symbols type	
30	*A.S.B.*	Æ 80·5 ·65	Tree in railing, 'Ujjain symbol,' and other marks.	'Ujjain symbol' with inner circle to each orb (*C. A. I.*, Pl. X, 15).
31	„	Æ 77·8 ·77 × ·65	Similar.	Ditto.

[1] The coin being worn, I give a sketch, instead of a photograph of a cast. The animal seems to be the *Rhinoceros Sumatranus*, which is still found in Assam and Burma. The one-horned rhinoceros of the punch-marked coins (Pl. XIX, 5, 6) may be either *R. indicus* or *R. Sondaicus*. Mr. Theobald regards it as the latter. The late Mr. J. Cockburn 'came across an injured drawing of a two-horned rhinoceros' in a cave somewhere in the Kaimūr Hills which extend to the south of Allahabad (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 96). This fact indicates that the *R. Sumatranus* once had a wider range in India than it now has, and helps to explain the appearance of the animal on an Avanti coin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
32	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45 ·67 × ·58	Similar; the symbols include a tank with fish; poor condition.	Ditto.
33	,,	Æ 24·8 ·55	Similar; tree, river, 'Ujjain symbol.'	Solar symbol with broad arrow-heads.
34	,,	Æ 13·2 ·35	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles; solar symbol with broad arrow-heads, &c.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
35	,,	Æ 28·7 ·57	Three-arched *chaitya* with crescent above, and a separate arch in l. field.	'Ujjain symbol' with plain circles.
36	,,	Æ 47·2 ·62	Obscure symbols, including a wheel; worn.	Two 'Ujjain symbols' with plain circles.

COINS OF KŌSAM, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY B.C.

KING BAHASATI (BṚIHASPATI) MITRA

1	*I.M.*	Æ 94·8 ·7	Bodhi tree in railing, with 'taurine' to l.; below, in early Br. characters, [*Ba*]*hasati-mita*[*sa*].	Defaced; probably a bull; in poor condition (*C. A. I.*, Pl. V, 11).

KING AŚVAGHOSHA

2	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 77·2 ·73	Tree in railing; below, in early Br. characters, *Ghoshasa.*	Defaced; (?) bull; in poor condition (*C. A. I.*, Pl. V, 14).

KING PAVATA (PĀRVATA)

3	*I.M.*	Æ 26·3 ·65 × ·57	Tree in railing; three-arched *chaitya* l.; snake r.; below, in early Br. characters, *Pavatasa.*	Humped bull standing r. (Pl. XX, 4).[1] The coin is die-struck on a cast blank.

ANONYMOUS

4	*I.M.*	Æ 102·3 1·01	In centre, conventional tree in railing; below, *chaitya* of six arches; to l., eight-rayed wheel and *nandipada* symbol; to r., cross and balls, nearly the 'Ujjain symbol', and *svastika.*	Humped bull of very lanky shape, walking l. towards a standard with peculiar head; a curious symbol above the bull; cast in high relief (*C. A. I.*, Pl. V, 7; Pl. XX, 5).

[1] The only other known specimen, which was obtained at Kōsam, was formerly in my cabinet, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

COINS OF TAXILA, FROM ABOUT 350 B.C. TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper	
			I. *Single-die Coins*	
			A. Massive rectangular	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 159·6 1·02 × ·65	*Chaitya* of three arches with crescent above, monolith to l.	Blank (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 6).
2	,,	Æ 141 ·95 × ·7	Similar.	Ditto.
3	,,	Æ 80·5 ·7	*Chaitya* of three arches with crescent above, tree in railing to r.	Ditto (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 7).
4	,,	Æ 125·7 ·8 × ·75	Above, to r., *chaitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent, to l. pyramid of balls; below these a snake, and below it two symbols made of curved lines.	Ditto (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 9).
5	,,	Æ 145 ·8 × ·75	*Chaitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent to l., pyramid of balls to r.; *svastika* above, and snake below; all in incuse.	Blank; well preserved (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 11; Pl. XX, 6).
6	,,	Æ 122·5 ·87 × ·7	*Chaitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent to r.; plan of monastery, with cells and monolith in centre, to l.	Blank (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 12).
7	,,	Æ 116 ·7	Similar; snake below.	Ditto.
8	,,	Æ 134·7 ·77	As No. 7.	Ditto.
9	,,	Æ 110·2 ·92 × ·7	Three-arched *chaitya* surmounted by crescent to r., pyramid of balls with three points on top to l., which is being venerated by a robed figure in centre, with l. hand on hip, and r. hand raised as if making an offering.[1]	Ditto (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 14).
10	,,	Æ 126 ·98 × ·65	Similar.	Ditto.

[1] I am not certain what the 'pyramid of balls' is meant for; it may be a kind of *stūpa*. Certainly it does not denote a 'pile of balls', as Cunningham calls it. Perhaps he meant to write a 'pile of balls'.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			B. Massive circular	
11	*I.M.*	Æ 136·2 ·9	*Chaitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent to l.; short-limbed square cross to r., in circular incuse.	Blank (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 16).
12	„	Æ 158 ·87	Similar, but *chaitya* to r., and cross to l.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 146·4 ·9	In centre, *chaitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent, venerated by a robed figure to r. (indistinct on this spec.); to l. marginal legend, in Br. characters of third century B. C., *Vaṭasvaka*, which is probably the name of a tribe or clan.	Ditto.
			C. Thin circular	
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 19·7 ·75	Lion standing l., with a defaced symbol in front, and *svastika* above.	Blank.
15	„	Æ 36·6 ·7	Similar, but thicker; the symbol in front of lion is a 'taurine'.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 36 ·7	Similar, but no symbol in front of lion.	Ditto (Pl. XX, 7).
17	*I.M.*	Æ 29·5 ·65	Similar, but the 'taurine' is above, and the *svastika* in front of the lion.	Ditto, with doubtful marks which may be those of a device.
18	„	Æ 31·7 ·65	Similar; *svastika* above, and 'taurine' in front of lion.	Certainly blank.
			D. Various, circular	
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·5 ·67	A large 'taurine' in centre.	Blank; rather thick coin (Pl. XX, 8).
20	„	Æ 61 ·42 ·2 thick	Solar symbol composed of crescents applied to a central boss.[1]	Blank; unusually thick.
21	„	Æ 48·6 ·55	Short-limbed square cross, as on Nos. 11 and 12 above, occupying whole field.	Defaced, uncertain.

[1] The varieties of this symbol are characteristic of Taxilan coins. These three coins, Nos. 19-21, seem to be assignable to Taxila. Some others, which will be recorded in Section X, Miscellaneous Ancient, may belong to the same city.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			II. *Double-die Coins*	
			A. Massive rectangular	
			Lion and elephant type	
			Var. α. Lion left	
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 119 ·75 × ·7	Lion standing l., *svastika* above, two-arched *chaitya* surmounted by crescent, in front.	Tusked elephant standing r., two-arched *chaitya* surmounted by crescent, above.
23	„	Æ 185·7 ·85 × ·65	Similar; *chaitya* three-arched.	Similar; *chaitya* three-arched; indistinct symbol in front of elephant.
24	*I.M.*	Æ 202·8 ·85 × ·72	As No. 23.	As No. 23; but nothing in front of elephant (Pl. XX, 9).
25	„	Æ 164 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
26	„	Æ 176 ·85 × ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
27	„	Æ 182·8 ·88 × ·75	Ditto; symbols indistinct.	Ditto; ditto; worn.
28	„	Æ 62·8 ·65 × ·55	As No. 23.	Ditto; symbols obliterated.
29	„	Æ 80·4 ·55	Ditto; symbols obliterated.	Ditto; ditto; a rude, dumpy piece.
			Var. β. Lion right	
30	*I.M.*	Æ 189·3 ·95 × ·6	Lion standing r., *svastika* above, three-arched *chaitya* in front.	Elephant l., three-arched *chaitya* above; an irregular piece, about ·2 thick.
31	„	Æ 182·2 ·75	As No. 30.	As No. 30; upper corners rounded off.
32	„	Æ 123·7 ·75	Ditto.	Elephant r., symbols obliterated. (For coins of this type see *C. A. I.*, Pl. III, 1, 2.)
			Horse and elephant type	
33	*I.M.*	Æ 176·7 ·7 × ·6	Galloping horse l.; a symbol, perhaps *svastika*, above.	Elephant standing r., indistinct object in front of him; a coarse, lumpy piece, about ·25 thick (*C. A. I.*, Pl. III, 3).
			B. Rectangular, thin, various	
34	*I.M.*	Æ 84·3 ·85 × ·78	Elephant standing, facing front, between *chaitya* l. (defaced), and tree r., his trunk hanging down, ears spread out, all the legs shown.	Horse standing l., with four-arched *chaitya* in front, and another *chaitya* above; a rare coin, in poor condition (*C. A. I.*, Pl. III, 5).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
35	*I.M.*	Æ 115·4 1·05 × ·83	Monstrous face, as of a demon, to front, with protruding tongue; three-arched *chaitya* above, surmounted by crescent; traces of legend on top margin.	Harp-shaped symbol on stand, with a small three-arched *chaitya* at each lower corner; very rare, in poor condition (*C. A. I.*, Pl. III, 7).
36	,,	Æ 15·8 ·6	Quadrilateral, with incurved sides.	Symbol consisting of five stems springing from a railing. (A small size of *C. A. I.*, Pl. III, 6.)
37	*A.S.B.*	Æ 27·9 ·7 × ·55	Three-arched *chaitya*, surmounted by crescent, and 'taurine'.	Same as obv.; probably a Taxilan coin; in poor condition.
		C. Circular, thin, various		
38	*I.M.*	Æ 40 ·75	Three-arched *chaitya*, surmounted by crescent.	*Svastika* with curved limbs, opening l. (*C. A. I.*, Pl. II, 19).
39	*A.S.B.*	Æ 25·4 ·65	Ditto.	'Taurine' symbol.
40	,,	Æ 34·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.
41	,,	Æ 16·7 ·57	Ditto, and 'taurine'.	Same as obv.
42	,,	Æ 45·8 ·62	Ditto, and a symbol composed of an arch with horizontal line above.	Same as obv. (The symbol might be read as *go*; similarly, the 'taurine' is a form of *ma*.)

Section VII

TRIBAL COINS

INTRODUCTION

For many centuries past India has not evolved any form of government other than the ordinary type of oriental despotism; but ancient India exhibited a greater variety of political constitutions, and large areas were occupied by nations, tribes, or clans, who managed to dispense with the commonplace despot, and governed themselves under some form of aristocratic or democratic constitution. The Greek writers give us glimpses of such communities—the Malloi (probably Mālavas), Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas), and others—in the Panjāb during the fourth century B.C.; and in later times occasional notices in inscriptions prove that the 'kingless' peoples still held their ground in various regions. To such peoples, apparently, must be assigned the curious coins described in this section.

Ārjuṇāyanas

The coins of this tribe, nation, or clan—whatever its proper designation may be—are extremely rare; and I do not know any exact record of the find-spots of the few existing specimens to help in the definite location of the tribe. In the time of Samudragupta (350 A.D.) the Ārjuṇāyanas were on the frontier of the Gupta empire, outside of the regular provinces, although under the general control of the paramount power. Cunningham classed the Ārjuṇāyana coins with those of Mathurā because they are procurable in that city; and they may be assigned with probability to the region lying west of Agra and Mathurā, equivalent, roughly speaking, to the Bharathpur and Alwar States (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 886). Two Ārjuṇāyana coins are included in the catalogue. No. 1 represents a type known since Prinsep's time; No. 2 seems to be unpublished. Both types are early, and may be dated approximately 100 B.C. They are closely related, in one way or another, to the money of the Northern Satraps, Yaudheyas, and other ancient powers. See *C. A. I.*, p. 89, Pl. VIII, 20; *I. C.*, sec. 42, Pl. III, 20; and Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 106.

Audumbaras or Odumbaras

The coins of this tribe also are extremely rare, and come chiefly, if not exclusively, from the Kāngṛā District in the Panjāb. The four

specimens described in the catalogue are all in bad condition, and their *provenance* is not recorded. The coins approximately belong to the same period as those of the Ārjuṇāyanas; and, like them, have many points of resemblance to other classes of ancient coins. See *C. A. I.*, p. 66, Pl. IV; *Reports*, xiv, p. 115, Pl. XXXI; *I. C.*, sec. 43, Pl. III, 8; Bergny and Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 410, 429 n. [During passage of this work through the press I learn from Mr. Rawlins that Odumbara coins of Bhānumitra are 'quite common' at the foot of the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyārpur District.]

Kuṇindas

The ancient Kuṇindas seem to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kūlū and other territories near Simla, and to have extended formerly into the Sahāranpur and Ambāla Districts, where their coins occur in large numbers. Three of the silver coins were found at Jwālamukhi in Kāngṛā associated with coins of Apollodotos (*circ.* 150 B. C.; *Reports*, xiv. 134). Most of the Kuṇinda coins, both silver and copper, bear legends assigning them to the reign of Mahārājā Amoghabhūti, Rājā of the Kuṇindas; but they vary much in execution, and probably extend over a considerable period. The name of Amoghabhūti seems to have been continued on the coinage long after his decease. The legends usually are in an ancient form of Brāhmī script, but some coins, presumably the earliest, have the legend repeated in the Kharōshṭhī character (Nos. 9, 10 of catalogue).

The rare anonymous coins exhibiting an image of Śiva and his titles (Nos. 36, 37) are later in date than the 'stag type' coins with the name of Amoghabhūti.

See *Reports*, xiv, pp. 125–35, Pl. XXXI; *C. A. I.*, p. 70, Pl. V; *I. C.*, sec. 50, Pl. III, 9, 10; and Professor Rapson's article, 'The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India,' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 529.

The Mālavas

In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories, extending from the eastern Panjāb to Ujjain. Tāranāth (Schiefner, p. 251) even speaks of 'Mālava in Prayāga', whatever that may mean. The Mālavas whose coins are here catalogued dwelt in eastern Rājputāna for four or five centuries, and may or may not have been the same people as the better known Mālavas further south. In the vast range of Indian coinages their coins are among the most curious and enigmatical, and among the many brilliant discoveries made by that eccentric archaeologist, the late Mr. A. C. Carlleyle, none is more striking than that of thousands of Mālava coins at Nāgar in the Jaypur State. The discovery was made

in the camping season of either 1871–2 or 1872–3, and, so far as I know, since then nobody else has visited the place, which is difficult of access, infested with venomous snakes, and extremely unhealthy. The site of the ancient town of Nāgar, or Karkota Nāgar, covers about four square miles, and lies within the territory of the Rājā of Uniyāra (Oniara of map), a feudatory of Jaypur, at a distance of about twenty-five miles a little east of south from Tonk, in approximately N. lat. 25° 50′ and E. long. 75° 50′. Here Carlleyle found the remains of a city of high antiquity, with a multitude of old temples and great embankments, the buildings being constructed of huge bricks measuring 1′ 6″ × 1′ 5″ × 4″. The Mālava coins occurred in large numbers in many spots, and he 'found the small green old coins in some places lying as thick as shells on the sea-shore' (*Reports*, vi. 176). Altogether he and the people employed by him gathered more than six thousand; out of which 'not more than about thirty-five coins (or a little over half a coin per cent.) were of outside origin, or derived from a foreign source. With the exception of these few, the whole of the coins found at Nāgar were exclusively of Nāgar mintage, and belonged to Nāgar alone' (ibid., p. 179). The coins now described are part of that wonderful find. A few duplicates have been excluded from the catalogue. Carlleyle found that about 2,296 specimens were worth keeping, but 'about 400 good coins' were stolen from him. I do not know what has become of the balance; Dr. Hoernle formerly had some, but an immense number remains unaccounted for. Evidently plenty more would be obtainable if anybody would take the trouble to go and look for them.

According to Carlleyle's and Cunningham's judgement the age of the coins found ranged from about 250 B. C. to 250 A. D., or at the latest 350 A. D., a period of five or six centuries; and my examination of the available specimens supports this opinion, so far as the later limit is concerned. But the initial date for the coins, as Professor Rapson has convinced me, does not seem to be earlier than 150 B. C.

The legends of the earliest coins are in the Brāhmī script of the second century B. C., while those of the latest may be assigned to the fourth century A. D. The cessation of the local coinage is adequately accounted for by Samudragupta's conquest of Northern India about 330 A. D. Professor Rapson goes too far when he observes that 'the coins on which the legend *Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ* has been read were formerly regarded as ancient; but both the character of their inscriptions and the fact that they are in fabric somewhat similar to the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 643; v. inf. § 101) point to a date not earlier than the fifth cent. A. D.' (*I. C.*, sec. 51). In truth none of the coins in the Indian Museum are as late as the fifth century, and, as remarked above, 330 A. D. may be taken as the limiting date.

Most of the earliest coins are comparatively large, with a diameter of about half an inch (Nos. 1–11). The *Bhapaṁyana* coin (No. 68), diam. ·4, and the Yama coin (No. 69), diam. ·42, belong to the same period, probably the second century B. C. No. 100, a coin of *Paya*, with a late form of *y*, may be assigned to 300 A. D. The unique *Mahārāya* coin (No. 101, Pl. XXI, 5), which Carlleyle supposed to be the latest of all (*Reports*, p. 180) seems to be referable to the second century A. D. Its diameter is ·3.

The small size of most of the Mālava coins is astonishing. The weights (inaccurately stated by Cunningham, *Reports*, xiv. p. 150) are as follows:—

		grains
Class A.	Group 1 (second century B. C.) . .	10·5 to 40·3
	„ 2 (two coins), vase rev. . .	2·5 each
	„ 3, tree and vase . . .	4 to 9
	„ 4, lion rev.	3·4 to 7·5
	„ 5, bull rev.	3·5 „ 10·5
	„ 6, king's head	6·5 „ 9·4
	„ 7, fantail peacock . . .	6·3 „ 12·0
	„ 8, various	2·6 „ 16
Classes B and C	. . . . .	1·7 „ 15

No. 106, with a pinnate palm-leaf on obv., vase on rev., and weight 1·7, diam. ·2, may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world. Although it has no legend, the type is quite distinctly shown. No. 70, which is inscribed with a two-line legend, weighs only 2·3, and has a diam. of ·25. It is very difficult to understand how such a coinage can have been used, as it was used for centuries.[1] Evidently it was confined to Nāgar and the immediate neighbourhood, for the coins are not found anywhere else. The few which Cunningham obtained at the annual fair of Pokhar (Rājputāna) in November, 1864 (*Reports*, xiv. 150), probably came from Nāgar, and the single specimen in the A. S. B. collection (Catal. No. 67 *b*) most likely was obtained by Colonel Stacy's collector working at Chitor.

Carlleyle recognized nearly forty new names of chiefs, but those read by me on the coins catalogued number only twenty. Very odd the names are, and evidently of foreign origin. The name *Yama* on No. 69 in early characters may be read backwards as Maya. Undoubted examples of reversed legends read from right to left are supplied by Nos. 57 (Pl. XX, 20), 62 (Pl. XX, 22), 63 (Pl. XX, 23), and 70. The

[1] I formerly possessed eight select specimens of minute rectangular punch-marked coins from Eran which measured from ·2 to ·35 inch on the side. I did not note the weights. The British Museum possesses minute silver coins of Ephesus, the smallest of which weighs only a grain.

extreme minuteness of the coins may interfere with the legibility of photographs, on which difficulty may be found in tracing the legends, but in all these cases the fact is as stated. I should note that the reading *Mālavāḷṇa*, and its explanation as a Prākrit genitive plural, were first published by Dr. Hoernle.

Limitation of space forbids further discussion of this interesting group of coins. The publications on the subject have been cited above.

NĀGA

The Nāga coins, having been adequately treated by Cunningham (*Reports*, ii. 307–28; *J. A. S. B.*, 1865; *C. M. I.*, pp. 20–4, Pl. II), may be disposed of briefly. The Nāga capital, Padmāvatī, was identified rightly by Cunningham with the modern Narwar (Nalapura) in the Gwālior State, situated about forty-five miles SSW. from Gwālior. The abundant coinage of Mahārājā Gaṇapati or Gaṇendra is represented in the catalogue by fifteen selected specimens, among which No. 15, weight 42, diam. ·45, is notable for its comparatively large size and thickness. Most of the coins are very small, the diameter ranging from ·3 to ·38, and the weight from 6·3 to 21·5. They are closely related to some of the later Mālava coins, but are rather larger and thicker. The date of Gaṇapati Nāga is fixed to approximately 330 A. D. by the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, who 'violently exterminated' him along with other northern princes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 876). Mahārājā Deva, of whose coinage a single poor specimen is in the collection, must have been slightly earlier. The coins of the other Nāga chiefs are wanting.

RĀJAÑYA

The Rājañya coinage has not been recognized hitherto owing to a strange blunder in the reading of the legend, *Rajaña janapadasa*, the first word of which has been misread by everybody as *Rājña* (*I. C.*, sec. 47; *Reports*, xiv. 151) or *Rajña* (*C. A. I.*, p. 89). The legend, whether in Brāhmī or Kharōshṭhī, is perfectly plain as *Rajaña*, written in three characters. Professor Rapson, who accepts the correction, rightly explains *rajaña* as equivalent to Sanskrit *rājañya*, a well-known equivalent for *kshatriya*, the modern Rājput. The legend therefore means '[coin] of the Kshatriya country', or, to use the present verbal equivalent, Rājasthān or Rājputāna. In *C. A. I.*, Cunningham classes the coins of the so-called 'Raja-Janapada' with those of Mathurā, as being occasionally procurable at that city, but points out (p. 85) that many of the coins included in his Plate VIII were brought for sale from the surrounding country. The Rājañya or Kshatriya territory, therefore, must have been not far from Mathurā, and presumably in some part of eastern Rājputāna. Exact evidence concerning the *provenance* of the coins, which are rare, has not been

recorded, but the type is closely related to that of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā, and the coins may be assigned to either the Bharathpur (Bhurtpore) or Dholpur State; more probably the latter, as the Ārjuṇāyanas may be allotted to the former. The date of the Rājañya coinage seems to be either the second or first century B. C. [Mr. Rawlins informs me that coins of this type are found on the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyārpur District.]

YAUDHEYA

The best account of the Yaudheya coins is that in *Reports*, pp. 139–45, Pl. XXXI, which is superior to the description in *C. A. I.*, pp. 75–9; but the plate in the latter work is the better. The references are collected in *I. C.*, sec. 60 (Pl. III, 13–15).

The name Yaudheya (also spelt Yodheya on some coins) means 'warrior', and the tribe is mentioned in inscriptions as opposed to the Satrap Rudradāman of Surāshṭra about 150 A. D., and to Samudragupta about 330 A. D. The coins, which are readily divisible into three well-marked classes, 'are found in the Eastern Panjāb, and all over the country between the Satlej and Jumna Rivers. Two large finds have been made at Sonpath, between Delhi and Karnāl.'

Four of the copper pieces were obtained in the Kāngṛā District, and a great many at a place called Jogadheri in the Eastern Panjāb. The unique silver coin was procured by Cunningham's collector at Sahāranpur (*C. A. I.*, pp. 75, 79; Mr. Rodgers).

The 'bull and elephant' type, which is the earliest, may be dated a little before or after the Christian era. The big, rude pieces of the chief who calls himself Svāmi Brahmaṇya Yaudheya may be assigned to the second century A. D.; and the better executed 'warrior' type coins, suggested by Kushān models, probably extend up to the time of the conquest of Northern India by Samudragupta about 330 A. D. They seem to have been issued by three distinct clans, the coins of the second and third clans being distinguished by numeral syllables and special symbols. Those of the third clan are the least numerous.

For Yaudheya clay seals or votive tablets from Sunet in the Lūdiāna District, see Hoernle, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 138–40. These are assigned to the third century A. D., but may be as late as the early part of the fourth century.

CATALOGUE

ĀRJUṆĀYANA, (?) ABOUT 100 B. C.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper; circular	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 61·3 ·67	Standing figure, with r. hand raised, as on N. Satrap coins; marginal Br. legend in early script, *A[r]juṇāya-nāna.*	Bull standing l.; much worn; thick coin.
2	*I.M.*	Æ 14·8 ·6	Railing with curved object rising from it; marginal Br. legend, *A[r]junayanana jaya* (*Ārjuṇāyanānāṁ jayaḥ*), 'Victory to the Ārjuṇāyanas.'	To r., tree in railing; to l., elephant facing front with head r. and trunk raised; new type; probably R.-C. (Pl. XX, 10).

AUDUMBARA (ODUMBARA), (?) ABOUT 100 B. C.

			Copper or brass; circular	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 69·3 ·75	Armed figure facing front, grasping spear in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; snake vertically to r.; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; marginal Kh. legend, not legible; probably a coin of Mahimitra (*C. A. I.*, Pl. IV, 8).
2	„	Æ copper 24 ·6	Triangular-headed symbol, and other symbols, indistinct; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; legend lost; probably a coin of Bhānumitra (*C. A. I.*, Pl. IV, 12).
3	„	Æ copper 27·5 ·6	Defaced; probably symbols; legend lost.	Elephant moving l.; legend apparently Br., ending in *mitasa*, but much defaced; perhaps coin of Bhānumitra.
4	„	Æ copper 29·5 ·6	Triangular-headed symbol, snake, &c. Br. legend above, . . *Bhānum[itasa].*	Elephant moving l.; much worn.

KUṆINDA, 150 B. C.–(?) 100 A. D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			MAHĀRĀJĀ AMOGHABHŪTI, SECOND CENTURY B. C.	
			Stag type	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 33·8 ·67	Female, with l. hand on hip, offering fruit with r. hand to a stag standing r., with a symbol between horns; square *stūpa* surmounted by umbrella above stag; mint-mark, a disk surrounded by dots at hind-foot of stag; marginal Br. legend, perfectly preserved, *Amoghabhutisa mahārājasa rājña Kuṇi[n]dasa* (अमघभुतस महरजस रञ्ञ कुणदस), '[Coin] of Amoghabhūti Mahārājā, Rājā, the Kuṇinda' (or 'of K.').	In centre, high six-arched *chaitya* with umbrella; to r., conventional tree in railing; to l., *svastika* and triangular-headed symbol; above, *nandipada* symbol (Pl. VII, 152); below, snake. Kh. marginal legend, *Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhatisa*; below, *maharajasa.*
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 34·2 ·68	Similar; mint-mark the same. Legend beautifully preserved, अमघभुतिस महरजस रञः कुणदस.	Similar. Kh. legend, *Raña Kaṇidasa Amaghabhatisa*; below, *maharajasa* (Pl. XX, 11).[1]
3	*I.M.*	Æ 33 ·71	Similar; mint-mark the same, but below the feet of the female; legend imperfect.	Similar; legend imperfect.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30·8 ·71	Similar; minute mint-mark between female and stag; legend very imperfect.	Ditto; legend very imperfect.
5	*I.M.*	Æ 30·8 ·7	Similar; mint-marks, *svastika* between stag's legs, and *nandipada* between stag and female; legend very imperfect.	Similar; legend very imperfect.
6	„	Æ 31·6 ·75	Similar; mint-mark, two short curved lines (? snakes) between stag's legs; legend very imperfect.	Ditto; ditto.

[1] Mr. Theobald (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 174) holds that the animal is a buffalo, but to me it seems clearly to be a stag of some species. The 'Buddhist symbol' (Cunningham), between the horns, may be a pair of snakes, as Theobald interprets it. The Br. legend begins over the stag's head, not as given by Cunningham, and is continuous. The Kh. legend, which is interesting as including the rare character *gha*, begins r. at the bottom, and *maharajasa* is in the exergue. The Br. *u* of *bhu* is short; in the Kh. this vowel is not marked. The second nasal of Kuṇinda is not visible in either legend.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*I.M.*	Æ 33·5 ·75	Similar to No. 6; mint-mark, a three-arched *chaitya* with umbrella between stag's legs; legend imperfect.	Similar to No. 6; legend very imperfect.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33 ·65	Similar; mint-mark, a three-arched *chaitya* without umbrella between stag's legs; legend imperfect.	Ditto; ditto.
			Copper or brass	
			A. With both Br. and Kh. legends	
9	*I.M.*	Æ copper 85·2 ·95	Device and legend as on silver coins, but no mint-mark; legend imperfect.	Traces of Kh. legend apparently outside dotted circle; device as on silver coins; a fine, broad piece.
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 80·2 ·72	Ditto; in very bad condition.	Similar; but coarse and thick, with a large protuberance showing that the flan was cast; mere trace of Kh. legend.
			B. With Brāhmī legend only	
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 131 ·86	Device and legend as above, but rude and imperfect.	Device as above; no legend; thick, clumsy coin; worn.
12	*I.M.*	Æ brass 177 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; much defaced.
13	„	Æ copper 144·5 1·12	Device and legend as before, but only a small part of legend.	Device as before; fine, flat, well preserved coin of unusual diameter (Pl. XX, 12).
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 95·6 ·86	Ditto; rude.	Ditto; rude piece, with protuberance left by mould.
15	„	Æ copper 113·7 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; flat and circular.
16	*I.M.*	Æ brass 122 ·85	Ditto; rude.	Ditto; thick, clumsy piece.
17	„	Æ copper 87 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; flat, circular.
18	„	Æ copper 57·8 ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
19	„	Æ copper 39·5 ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	*I.M.*	Æ copper 42·5 ·73	Ditto; ditto; vase in front of stag.	Ditto; ditto.
21	,,	Æ copper 41 ·73	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
22	,,	Æ copper 48·2 ·77	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
23	,,	Æ copper 45·7 ·75	Ditto; ditto; cross in circle below stag.	Ditto; ditto.
24	,,	Æ brass 52·3 ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
25	,,	Æ copper 35 ·67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
26	,,	Æ copper 24·8 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
27	,,	Æ copper 26·5 ·64	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
28	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 28·2 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; cast in high relief.
29	,,	Æ copper 29 ·62		Similar.
			C. With no legends	
30	*I.M.*	Æ brass 99 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thick, clumsy.
31	,,	Æ copper 41 ·75	Ditto; ditto; cross in circle before stag.	Ditto; thin.
32	,,	Æ copper 50 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; medium thickness.
33	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 37 ·68	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; rather thin.
34	*I.M.*	Æ copper 24 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin.
35	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 24 ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thin.[1]

[1] Some of these Kuṇinda coins seem to be wholly cast; others perhaps die-struck on cast blanks; and others die-struck on hammered blanks; but it is not easy always to be certain as to the exact method of manufacture.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ANONYMOUS; LATER THAN AMOGHABHŪTI	
			Chatreśvara type	
			Copper	
36	*A.S.B.*	Æ 221·6 1·01	Śiva standing facing, grasping trident; battle-axe in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; legend lost. (It should be *Bhāgavata chatreśvara mahāmanaḥ* (Rapson).)	Stag standing l.; tree in railing r.; six-arched *chaitya* and triangular-headed symbol l.; snake below; a symbol below, and another above stag; in poor condition (*C. A. I.*, Pl. V, 4, 5).
37	,,	Æ 89 ·95	Similar; almost defaced.	Similar; much worn; some of the symbols perhaps differ.

MĀLAVA, 150 B. C.–330 A. D.

Copper (circular, unless as specified)

Class A—*With the tribal name*

Group 1; *coins about* ·5 *or more in diameter, generally circular; second century* B. C.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 40·3 ·52	*Jaya* in large ancient script.	Radiate sun and a second solar symbol; marginal legend in large characters, [*M*]*ālavā*[*nāṁ*].
2	,,	Æ imperfect 10·5 ·5	Legend in two lines, (1) *Jaya* . ., (2) *Mālavānā*[*ṁ*]. (Two *aksharas* seem to follow *jaya*, (?)*jaya* repeated.)	Corroded.
3	,,	Æ 29·5 ·62	Legend in two lines, (1) *Jaya*, (2) [*Mā*]*lavānā*[*ṁ*]. (The *ja* lies on its back.)	Ditto.
4	,,	Æ oval 25·5 ·7 × ·57	Conventional tree in railing, with *ja* l. and *ya* r.	Snake (?); rest corroded, probably had legend *Mālavānāṁ*.
5	,,	Æ 22·25 ·55	Legend in two lines, (1) [*Ja*]*ya*, (2) [*Mā*]*lavānāṁ*.	Corroded.
6	,,	Æ 14 ·55	Legend in two lines, (1) *Jaya*, and an *akshara*, (2) *Mālivān*[*āṁ*]. (The mark for *i* is distinct.)	Ditto (Pl. XX, 13).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*I.M.*	Æ 23·5 ·5	Legend across coin, *Malavā*; above, *Jaya* end-wise.	Ditto, or perhaps blank.
8	„	Æ imper-fect 11 ·45	Above, railing of tree; below, *Mālavā*.	Snake; and *nandipada* symbol, nearly as Pl. VII, 152.
9	„	Æ thick 31·4 ·52	*Jaya* in bold characters on blank surface.	Corroded; probably had legend *Mālavānām* (Pl. XX, 14). This coin, perhaps, looks rather later than the others.
10	„	Æ 17·3 ·46	Animal (? lion) standing l.; traces of legend above seem to be *Mālava*, but (?).	Symbols mostly defaced. This coin is doubtful.
11	„	Æ oblong 7 ·6 × ·45	*Chaitya* of three arches; above, [*Ja*]*ya*, in large old characters.	Radiate sun and second solar symbol, as No. 1; legend below in second century B.C. script, *Mālavaṇa*. (The coin is as thin as paper.)

The following are all of minute size

Group 2; with vase rev.

12	*I.M.*	Æ 2·5 ·25	Legend in two lines, (1) *Mālava*, (2) *jaya*, in early script.	Vase (*loṭā*) in dotted circle.
13	„	Æ 2·5 ·2	Ditto, less distinct.	Ditto.

Group 3; tree on obv., vase rev.

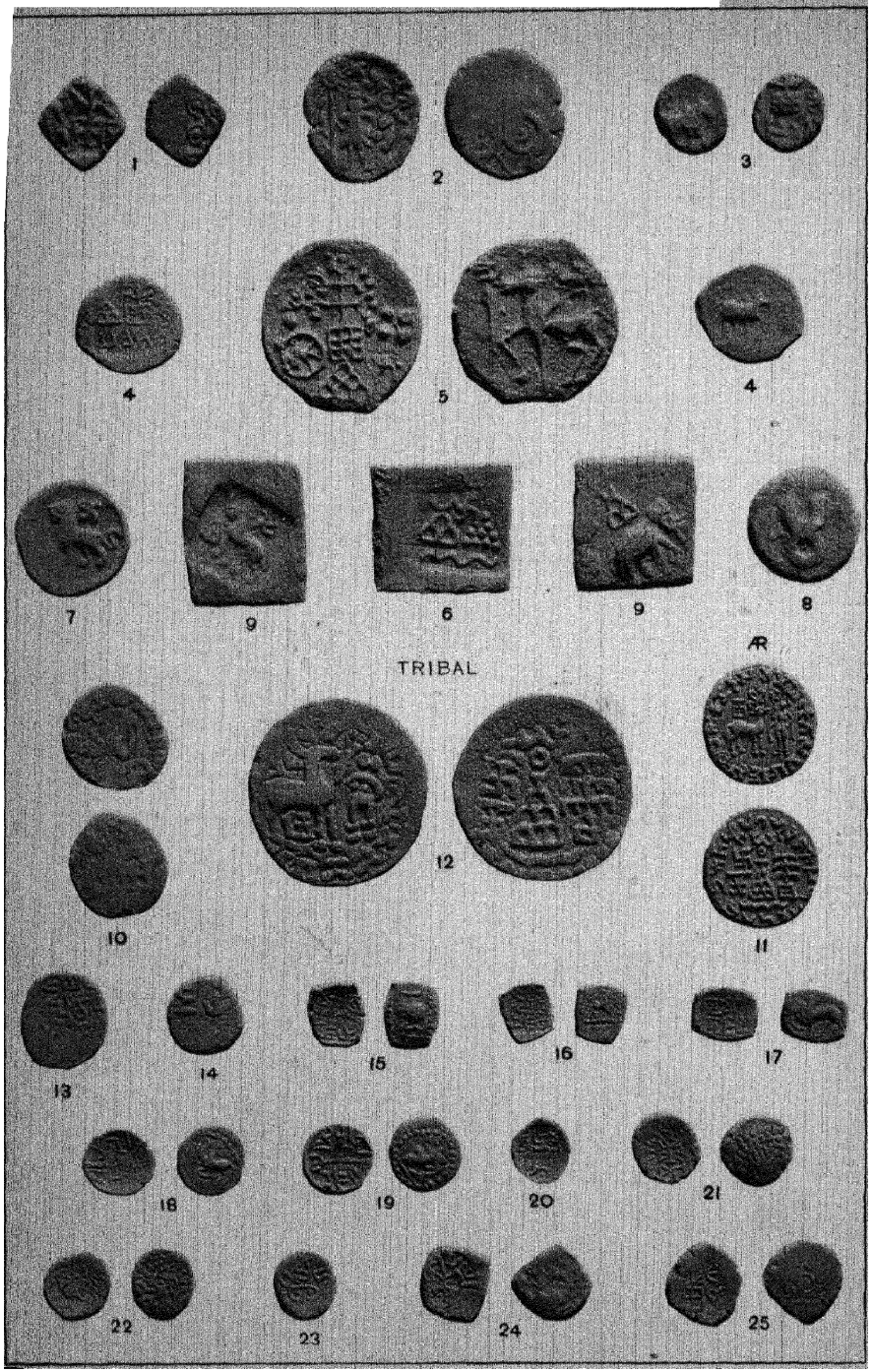
a. Rectangular

14	*I.M.*	Æ 7·3 ·35	In centre, tree in railing; to r. *Malava*; to l. *jaya*.	Vase in dotted border.
15	„	Æ 7·5 ·4 × ·34	Ditto; r. *Malava*; l. *ṇa jaya*.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 9 ·4	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
17	„	Æ 7 ·36 × ·3	Ditto; r. *Mālava*; l. *nā jaya*.	Ditto.
18	„	Æ 7·3 ·35 × ·3	Ditto; r. *Malava*; l. *nā jayo*.	Ditto (Pl. XX, 15).
19	„	Æ 6·3 ·35	Ditto; r. *Malava*; l. *na jayo* (or *jaya*).	Ditto.
20	„	Æ 4·5 ·32	Ditto; r. *Malava*; l. *na* (or *ṇa*) *ja*.	Ditto.
21	„	Æ 4·1 ·31	Ditto; r. *Mālava*; l. *ṇa jaya* in rude script.	Ditto.
22	„	Æ 6·2 ·27	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			β. Circular	
23	*I.M.*	Æ 4·1 ·33	As No. 22; r. *Mālavā*; l. *ṇa jaya.*	As No. 22.
24	„	Æ 4 ·31	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	„	Æ 4 ·3	Ditto; r. *Mala*[*va*]; l. *h*[*ṇa*] *ja*[*ya*].	Ditto.
			Group 4; with lion rev., rectangular	
26	*I.M.*	Æ 5 ·3	*Mālava jaya* (imperfect); no device.	Lion standing l.; poor condition.
27	„	Æ 5 ·22	Tree or palm-branch; r. *Mālava* (imperfect); l. *jaya.*	Lion standing l., open-mouthed, in dotted border; fairly good.
28	„	Æ 5·4 ·3	Similar; legend imperfect, *-lava na jaya.*	Ditto; ditto.
29	„	Æ 7·5 ·3	Ditto; ditto; *Malavahṇa jaya.*	Ditto; lion good.
30	„	Æ 4·4 ·33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fair.
31	„	Æ 3·4 2·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
32	„	Æ 6 ·32	Ditto, tree in railing; *Malavā*, r.; *ṇa jaya*, l.	Lion r.; good (Pl. XX, 16).
33	„	Æ 5 ·3	Ditto; legend imperfect; die deeply sunk.	Ditto; fair.
34	„	Æ 4·9 ·3	Ditto; legend as No. 32.	Ditto; ditto.
35	„	Æ 4·5 ·33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
36	„	Æ 5·5 ·3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			Group 5; with bull rev.	
			α. Rectangular	
37	*I.M.*	Æ 8·5 ·37 × ·3	Two-line legend, (1) *Malava*, (2) *hṇa jaya*; no device.	Humped bull walking l. (Pl. XX, 17).
38	„	Æ 10·5 ·4 × ·33	Similar; legend in incuse; more recent form of *ya.*	Ditto.
39	„	Æ 9·5 ·35	As No. 37.	Ditto.
40	„	Æ ·4 ·25	Same legend, but marginal, as on Nāga coins; imperfect.	Ditto, very rude.
41	„	Æ 6 ·3	Tree in railing; two-line legend as on some lion coins, Group 4.	Animal r., in dotted border; seems to be a bull, but may be a lion.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			β. Circular	
23	*I.M.*	Æ 4·1 ·33	As No. 22; r. *Mālavā*; l. *ṇa jaya.*	As No. 22.
24	„	Æ 4 ·31	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	„	Æ 4 ·3	Ditto; r. *Mala*[*va*]; l. *h*[*ṇa*] *ja*[*ya*].	Ditto.
			Group 4; with lion rev., rectangular	
26	*I.M.*	Æ 5 ·3	*Mālava jaya* (imperfect); no device.	Lion standing l.; poor condition.
27	„	Æ 5 ·22	Tree or palm-branch; r. *Mālava* (imperfect); l. *jaya.*	Lion standing l., open-mouthed, in dotted border; fairly good.
28	„	Æ 5·4 ·3	Similar; legend imperfect, *-lava na jaya.*	Ditto; ditto.
29	„	Æ 7·5 ·3	Ditto; ditto; *Malavahṇa jaya.*	Ditto; lion good.
30	„	Æ 4·4 ·33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fair.
31	„	Æ 3·4 2·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
32	„	Æ 6 ·32	Ditto, tree in railing; *Malavā*, r.; *ṇa jaya*, l.	Lion r.; good (Pl. XX, 16).
33	„	Æ 5 ·3	Ditto; legend imperfect; die deeply sunk.	Ditto; fair.
34	„	Æ 4·9 ·3	Ditto; legend as No. 32.	Ditto; ditto.
35	„	Æ 4·5 ·33	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
36	„	Æ 5·5 ·3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			Group 5; with bull rev.	
			α. Rectangular	
37	*I.M.*	Æ 8·5 ·37 × ·3	Two-line legend, (1) *Malava*, (2) *hṇa jaya*; no device.	Humped bull walking l. (Pl. XX, 17).
38	„	Æ 10·5 ·4 × ·33	Similar; legend in incuse; more recent form of *ya.*	Ditto.
39	„	Æ 9·5 ·35	As No. 37.	Ditto.
40	„	Æ 4 ·25	Same legend, but marginal, as on Nāga coins; imperfect.	Ditto, very rude.
41	„	Æ 6 ·3	Tree in railing; two-line legend as on some lion coins, Group 4.	Animal r., in dotted border; seems to be a bull, but may be a lion.

PLATE XX



LOCAL COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			β. Circular	
42	*I.M.*	Æ 8·9 ·4	As No. 37.	(?) Recumbent bull l.
43	,,	Æ 6 ·35	Ditto; later form of *ya*.	Bull moving l.
44	,,	Æ 8 ·35	*Malava* only, in bold early script.	Ditto, r. (?).
45	,,	Æ 3·8 ·3	As No. 37; imperfect.	Bull moving l.
46	,,	Æ 4 ·3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
47	,,	Æ 10·1 ·43	Tree; r. *Mālava*; l. *ṇā jaya*.	Recumbent bull with large horns, l. (Pl. XX, 18).
48	,,	Æ 3·5 ·27	*Malava*; traces of *jaya*.	Bull moving l.
49	,,	Æ 7·3 ·45	Tree; r. *Mālava*; l. *ṇa jaya*, in rudely sketched script.	Bull with large horns standing r.
50	,,	Æ 8·2 ·41	Similar.	Ditto; concave.
51	,,	Æ 9 ·43	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto, recumbent r. (Pl. XX, 19).
52	,,	Æ 8 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
53	,,	Æ 9 ·41	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
54	,,	Æ oval 5·9 ·42 × ·35	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
55	,,	Æ 8·1 ·42	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
56	,,	Æ 7·2 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
57	,,	Æ 7 ·4	Ditto; legend reversed, to be read from r. to l.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XX, 20).
			Group 6; rev. king's head (see also No. 72 a)	
58	*I.M.*	Æ 8 ·4	Uncertain device in centre; roughly executed marginal legend, as on Nāga coins, *Mālava gaṇa . . (? gaṇasya jaya)*.	King's head r., with curly hair (Pl. XX, 21).
59	,,	Æ 6·5 ·35	Similar; but not fully legible.	King's head l.
60	,,	Æ 9·4 ·38	Similar; only *jaya* legible.	Ditto.
61	,,	Æ 7 ·35	*Malava* in narrow incuse.	Defaced; may be either head, or vase, as in Group 2.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			MAGAJA	
82	*I.M.*	Æ sq.thin 5·2 ·35 × ·3	Single-line legend, complete, in incuse, *Magaja.*	Elephant r.
83	„	Æ sq.thin 4 ·3	Ditto.	Defaced.
84	„	Æ sq. 8·6 ·4 × ·36	Ditto.	Ditto; an animal r.
			MAGOJAVA	
85	*I.M.*	Æ sq. 7·5 ·32	Single-line legend in incuse, *Magojava.*	Lion sitting r.
86	„	Æ sq. 8·2 ·35 × ·3	Ditto; last character imperfect.	Ditto (Pl. XXI, 3).
87	„	Æ sq. 4·2 ·31 × ·26	Ditto; all legible.	Ditto.
			GOJARA	
88	*I.M.*	Æ sq. 5 ·28	Single-line legend in incuse, *Gojara.*	Ditto; the animal seems to be running.
			MĀŚAPA	
89	*I.M.*	Æ sq. 5·2 ·35 × ·28	Single-line legend in incuse, *Māśapa.*	Defaced.
			MAPAKA	
90	*I.M.*	Æ 6·5 ·31	Single-line legend across face of coin, *Mapaka*, in characters of about second century A. D.	Bull l. (?).
91	„	Æ 10·9 ·35	Ditto.	Ditto, distinct.
			YAMA	
92	*I.M.*	Æ 8 ·33	Two-line legend, (1) *Yama*, in characters of about 100 A. D., (2) illegible.	Ditto, indistinct (see No. 69 for an earlier Yama).
			PACHHA	
93	*I.M.*	Æ 7·5 ·31	Single-line legend across face of coin, *Pachha.*	(?) King's head r.; defaced.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(?) MAGACHHA	
94	*I.M.*	Æ 9·3 ·34	Single-line legend across face of coin, apparently *Magachha*, but possibly another character precedes.	Bull l.
			GAJAVA	
95	*I.M.*	Æ sq. 9·1 ·35	*Gajava* across face of coin.	Defaced.
96	,,	Æ sq. 6·5 ·32	Ditto.	Animal r.
97	,,	Æ sq. 8·4 ·3	Ditto.	Ditto; (?) lion (Pl. XXI, 4).
			JĀMAKA	
98	*I.M.*	Æ 8·3 ·33	*Jāmaka* across face of coin, in characters of about second century A. D.	Defaced.
			JAMAPAYA	
99	*I.M.*	Æ 7 ·29	*Jamapaya* across face of coin, the last character endwise.	Defaced or blank.
			PAYA	
100	*I.M.*	Æ 12·5 ·35	*Paya* across face of coin; the *ya* of late form, (?) about 300 A. D.	Bull l.
			MAHĀRĀYA	
101	*I.M.*	Æ 8·3 ·3	Legend in two lines, (1) (*Ma*)*h*[*ā*], (2) *rāya*; characters of about second century A. D.	Blank or wholly defaced (Pl. XXI, 5; unique, *Rep.* vi. 180).
			MARAJA	
102	*I.M.*	Æ 8 ·33	*Maraja* in incuse, complete.	Blank or wholly defaced.
103	,,	Æ 8 ·33	Ditto; characters of about second century A. D.; traces of two characters above.	Bull r. (Pl. XXI, 6).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Class C—*Without legends*		
104	*I.M.*	Æ 8·7 ·43	Peacock facing front, with expanded tail filling the field ('open flower,' Rodgers).	Squatted human figure, with knees raised, to l. of coin; r. field with obscure marks (Pl. XXI, 7).
105	„	Æ oblong 11 ·38 × ·3	Vase containing flowers.	Bull standing l.
106	„	Æ sq. 1·7 ·2	Pinnate palm-leaf.	Vase (the smallest coin in the collection; good condition).
107	„	Æ 4 2·5	Ditto.	Bull standing l.; good condition.
108	„	Æ 4 2·5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto ('lion,' Rodgers).
109	„	Æ oblong 8 ·35 × ·3	Tree in railing; traces perhaps of *ja*, l., and *ya*, r.	(?) Antelope standing r.; a (?) tree behind, and a disk above the animal (Pl. XXI, 8).
110	„	Æ sq. 10·5 ·35	Bull with large horns and spreading ears, standing front; a mark (? character) on r. margin.	Defaced (probably cast like some of the other thicker pieces, Pl. XXI, 9).

NĀGA OF NARWAR, FOURTH CENTURY A. D.

MAHĀRĀJĀ DEVA

Wheel type

Copper

1	*I.M.*	26 ·4	Only *Śrī* legible; the full legend is *Mahārāja śrī Deva Nāgasya.*	Wheel with eight spokes; in poor condition (*C. M. I.*, Pl. II, 24).

MAHĀRĀJĀ GAṆAPATI OR GAṆENDRA

Bull type

Copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 12 ·35	Marginal legend in large script, covering nearly the whole surface, *Mahārāja śrī Gaṇendra.*	Recumbent bull l., in dotted circle (Pl. XXI, 10).
2	„	Æ 21·5 ·38	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 9·8 ·37	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 10·5 ·32	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 6·3 ·3	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 15·2 ·36	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
7	*I.M.*	Æ 14·3 ·35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 12·2 ·35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; protuberance left in casting attached.
9	„	Æ 10·4 ·32	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 10 ·35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
11	„	Æ 9·6 ·4	Ditto; ditto (not fully legible).	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 10·2 ·36	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 10·5 ·35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 9·8 ·35	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
15	„	Æ 42 ·45	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; weight and size unusual; very thick coin.

RĀJAÑYA (= KSHATRIYA), ABOUT SECOND OR FIRST CENTURY B. C.

Standing figure type

Copper

A. With Kharōshṭhī legend

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57·8 ·83	Standing figure (? deity), with r. hand raised, as on N. Satrap coins. Kh. legend inside a wide margin, *Rajaña janapa[dasa]*, '[coin] of the Rajaña (Rājañya) country.'	Humped bull standing l.; a symbol above; no rayed circle visible; worn smooth on both sides; die-struck, not cast; extremely rare; moderately thick.

B. With Brāhmī legend

2	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass or pale bronze 22 ·65	Similar; same legend complete.	Bull standing l. in a rayed circle; thin coin, cast in high relief (Pl. XXI, 11).
3	„	Æ copper 50·4 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto, in bad condition; moderately thick; (?) hammered and die-struck.
4	„	Æ copper 79 ·61	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto; thick; certainly cast.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass or pale bronze 45·3 ·68	As No. 4; legend imperfect.	As No. 4; moderately thick; worn.
6	*I.M.*	Æ brass or pale bronze 34·5 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; as No. 2, in worse condition.
7	,,	Æ brass or pale bronze 68·2 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; thick, cast.
			Allied to above	
8	*I.M.*	Æ copper 76 ·75	Tree in railing. Br. legend, . . (?) *janapada*[*sa*].	Lion standing l., facing (?) a post; remains of marginal legend, apparently Br., and perhaps including *rājño*; new type (Pl. XXI, 12).

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Bull and elephant type; about beginning of Christian era

Copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	31·5 ·7	Bull standing r., facing a railing with curved object ('pillar with pendent garlands,' Cunningham) rising from it; early Br. legend यौधेयान, for *Yo* (*Yau*) *dheyānām*.	Elephant moving r.; *nandipada* symbol above; thin coin.
2	,,	Æ	48·3 ·8	Similar, in worse condition; upper legend as above; legend at foot of bull ends in *me*.[1]	Ditto; mostly defaced.
3	,,	Æ	38·5 ·73	Similar; legends fragmentary.	Ditto; fairly well preserved; the elephant is passing a scythe-like object clearly shown (Pl. XXI, 13).
4	,,	Æ	71·1 ·8	Similar; ditto.	Ditto; a thick coarse coin, cast in a mould; in poor condition.

[1] Nobody has been able to read this legend.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Brass or similar alloy	
5	*I.M.*	Æ 35·8 ·8	Similar; legend, *kṛi..... ya[dhe]yana.*[1]	Similar; die-struck, thin; in poor condition (Pl. XXI, 14).
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 40·3 ·75	Similar; *yadhayana* legible.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 42·2 ·75	Similar; slightly concave; legend begins *kṛi* (? *ku*).	Similar; very rude; seems to be cast, and the metal looks different.
			SVĀMĪ BRAHMAṆYA YAUDHEYA, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY A.D.	
			Copper	
8	*I.M.*	Æ 165·7 1·0	Six-headed god (Kārttikeya) standing on lotus, facing, with l. hand on hip, and r. hand raised, towards barbed spear; legend in bold, irregularly placed script, *Brahmaṇya devasya bhā.*[2]	Six-headed goddess standing on lotus, facing; tree in railing r.; six-arched *chaitya* with umbrella, and *nandipada* symbol l. (Pl. XXI, 15).
9	„	Æ 159·3 1·12	Six-headed god standing on pedestal, facing (? legend on pedestal); marginal legend in bold script, *Bra[hm]aṇya devasya*, and *bhāga.*	Six-headed goddess standing on bent line, facing; r. hand raised, l. hand on hip; below her feet a tree lying on its side; to r., tree in railing, with *svastika* above it.
10	„	Æ 164·5 1·02	Six-headed god standing, facing, his r. hand clear of the spear, which stands obliquely in the field; *Brahma* legible.	Goddess and symbols as No. 8.
11	„	Æ 153 1·0	Similar; *maṇya deva* legible.	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 167·2 1·0	Similar; *ya bhagavataḥ svamin* legible.	Ditto (Pl. XXI, 16).
13	„	Æ 132·5 1·05	Similar; mostly defaced.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 174·5 1·07	Similar.	Ditto; but coin roughly hexagonal, tree l., and *chaitya* r.

[1] This legend, also, never has been fully read. Rodgers (*Lahore Catal.*) suggested *Kṛipadhanaba Yaudheyana*; Cunningham proposed *Bhūmidhanusha*; and on a good specimen formerly in my cabinet the reading seemed to be *Bhūpadhanusha.* The second word *Yodheyana* is certain.

[2] 'The correct reading on these coins seems undoubtedly to be *Brahmaṇya* (*Deva*), the name of the Yaudheya king to which the type of the "six-headed" deity (*Ṣaḍānana, Brahmaṇya*, or *Kārttikeya*) also alludes' (Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 291).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
15	*I.M.*	Æ 178·5 1·1	Six-headed god grasping spear; vase in r. field; legend on l. margin, *Kumārasa.*	As No. 8, corroded (Pl. XXI, 17).
16	„	Æ 148·8 1·07	Six-headed god, defaced. Legend, r. *sa ku.*	Single-headed goddess, radiate; tree r.; wide blank margin.
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 172·5 1·1	Six-headed god, grasping spear. Legend, *bhāgavata . . . . sa Kumā.*	Six-headed goddess; tree r., *chaitya* l.; snake or river below.
18*a*	*I.M.*	Æ 154·5 1·0	Single-headed god, radiate, facing; vase in r. field; traces of *Brahmaṇa deva* legend.	Ditto; corroded.
18*b*	„	Æ 109·9 ·97	Single-headed god, radiate, grasping spear. Legend, *devasya drama Bra[hma]ṇa.*[1]	Quadruped standing l., facing (?) tree; vase with streamers in r. field; dotted circle; much worn.
19	„	Æ 116·3 1·0	Similar; *ṇya devasya* legible.	Stag standing r.; crescent above, tree l.; (?) river below; worn, irregular shape.
20	„	Æ 119·5 1·07	Six-headed god; *Brahma* legible.	Quadruped standing r.; above a (?) shrine, with curved roof.

ANONYMOUS, THIRD OR FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

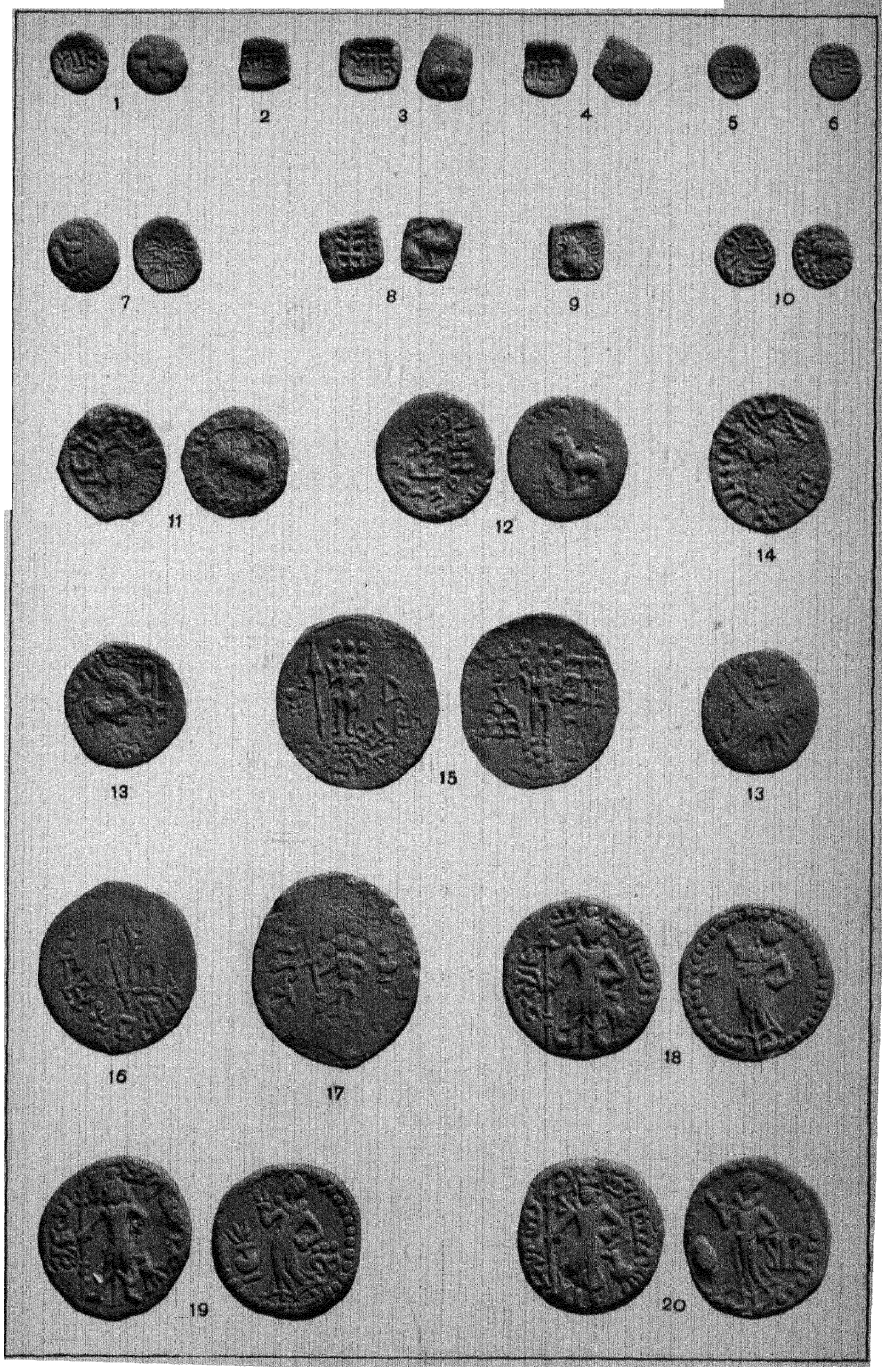
Warrior type; copper

Var. 1; *no obv. numeral, no rev. symbol*

21	*I.M.*	Æ 168 ·95	Rājā or deity standing, facing front, grasping spear in r. hand, with l. hand on hip; cock l. at his l. foot. Br. legend in well-formed characters, *Yaudheya* (*Yodheya*) *gaṇasya jaya*, 'Victory to the Yaudheya tribe' (यौधेय गणस्य जय).	Robed male figure walking l., with r. hand extended, and l. hand on hip, like Miiro on Kushān coins; dotted circle (Pl. XXI, 18).
22	„	Æ 164 ·97	Similar; legend nearly complete.	Ditto.
23	„	Æ 168 ·92	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.

[1] The word *drama* seems quite clear, but I cannot explain it. Cunningham notes 'on several specimens I find the word *dama* or *darma* over the back of deer' (*Reports*, xiv. 144). The full ordinary legend seems to be *Bhāgavataḥ svāminō Brahmaṇya devasya*, ['coin] of Svāmī [a title] Brahmaṇya-deva, worshipper of Vishṇu.' I cannot explain with certainty the word *Kumāra* on Nos. 15-17, but it may be the name of a chief distinct from Brahmaṇya-deva. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) thought it probable that other names might occur on these coins.

PLATE XXI



TRIBAL COINS

MĀLAVA, NĀGA, RĀJAÑYA, YAUDHEYA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
24	*A.S.B.*	Æ 163 ·9	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	,,	Æ 170 1·05	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
26	,,	Æ 181·2 1·0	Ditto; legend complete.	Ditto.
		Var. 2; numeral DVI *(2nd) on obv., vase on rev.*		
27	*I.M.*	Æ 165·8 ·94	As var. 1; but numeral *dvi* (2nd) over r. shoulder. (The name seems to read *Yaudheya.*)	As var. 1; but vase containing (?) flowers in l. field, and a symbol with three points and three dots in r. field (Pl. XXI, 19).
28	,,	Æ 153·8 ·98	Similar.	Ditto.
29	,,	Æ 164 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
30	*A.S.B.*	Æ 166 ·92	Ditto.	Ditto.
		Var. 3; numeral TṚI *(3rd) on obv., shell on rev.*		
31	*I.M.*	Æ 173·3 ·95	As var. 2; but *tṛi* (3rd) over r. shoulder. (The name seems to read *Yaudheya.*)	As var. 2; but shell instead of vase, and a symbol composed of two snakes with line between instead of that on var. 2 (Pl. XXI, 20).
32	,,	Æ 171·2 ·95	Similar.	Ditto.
33	,,	Æ 178 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
34	,,	Æ 174 ·96	Ditto.	Ditto.
35	,,	Æ 162 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.

Section VIII

KINGS OF NORTHERN PAÑCHĀLA (AHICHHATRĀ) AND KOSALA

INTRODUCTION

1. The so-called 'Mitra Dynasty'; coins with incuse

The remarkable series of coins characterized by a well-marked obverse incuse containing the ruler's name and certain symbols, usually in a set of three, is often spoken of as the coinage of the 'Mitra Dynasty', because the names of most of the kings end with the word *mitra* ('friend'). But the designation is not satisfactory, being equally applicable to other dynasties. Some writers, having rather hastily assumed Agnimitra of this dynasty to be identical with Agnimitra Śunga of the Puranic lists and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* drama, then proceeded to ascribe the whole series of coins in question to the Śungas. But, as Cunningham has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 80), no sound reason exists for connecting these coins with the Śungas, who do not appear to have held the territories where the coins are found. The name of Agnimitra is the sole and insufficient reason for bringing the Śunga dynasty into connexion with the coins; all the other coin names differ from those in the Purāṇas and the play. Cunningham describes the coins in question as those of the country named Pañchāla, that is to say Northern Pañchāla, the modern Rohilkhaṇḍ, comprising the Bareilly (Barēli) and other districts between the Ganges and the mountains. He is right in so far as it is true that these incuse coins are abundantly found at Ahichhatrā, the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlā in the Barēli District, which undoubtedly must have been an ancient capital of Northern Pañchāla, and probably was that of the kings who struck the incuse coins. But the great numismatist was in error when he stated that the coins are 'very rarely found' beyond the limits of Northern Pañchāla. I know from personal experience that the issues of several of the kings are common in eastern Oudh and in the Bastī District further east. Carlleyle picked up a coin of Agnimitra at the fort of Bhuilā Dih in Bastī, and also obtained about a hundred others of the dynasty at the same place or near it (*Reports*, xii. 153, 165, 169; *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, p. 21). The two coins of Indramitra formerly in my cabinet came

from Oudh, and I have seen many more collected in that province by other people. But, although it is inaccurate to say that the incuse coins are 'very rarely found' outside Rohilkhaṇḍ, one of the principal sources of supply unquestionably is Ahichhatrā, where Colonel Rivett-Carnac obtained about a hundred and ten, described and illustrated by Mr. Carlleyle in *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, pp. 21–8, with a plate, and ibid., pp. 87–90, with three plates.

It is clear that the kingdom of the Rājās who issued these coins must have included eastern Oudh and Bastī, with, perhaps, Gorakhpur—in short, the old kingdom of Kosala. If we call these Rājās lords of Northern Pañchāla and Kosala we shall not be far wrong.

In the cold season of 1891–2 Dr. Führer excavated a two-storied Śaiva brick temple to the west of the great lingam at Rāmnagar (Ahichhatrā) and found a pot containing sixteen coins of this dynasty belonging to Dhruvamitra, Sūryamitra, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Phalgunimitra, Agnimitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Indramitra, Vishṇumitra, and Jayamitra. Those coins presumably are now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, which possesses a rich cabinet, not yet catalogued.

In the present catalogue the following kings are represented:—Agnimitra, Bhadraghosha, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Indramitra, Phalgunimitra, and Sūryamitra. I have arranged the names alphabetically because I cannot find any sure criterion of relative date. The astronomical or astrological character of many of the names is noticeable. Both *Bhānu* and *Sūrya* mean the 'sun', *Bhūmi* is the 'earth', *Phalgunī* is the name of the eleventh and twelfth lunar asterisms or constellations, while Dhruva is the pole-star, and also a name of Vishṇu. The rude devices on the reverse sometimes refer to the Rājā's name; e.g. the coins of Agnimitra exhibit a personification of 'fire', and those of Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra have solar emblems.

To judge from the script of the legends, the series seems to range between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., but no independent evidence of date has been discovered so far.

Colonel Rivett-Carnac expressed his hope that 'a complete set may be accepted for the Society's Museum' (*J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1880, p. 90); but I have not received any such set from the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The coins catalogued all belong to the Indian Museum. Some poor specimens have been excluded.

2. Achyuta

These little coins, so far as is known, are found only at the site of Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar near Aonlā, Barēlī District, U.P.). The 'name' type was first published by Col. Rivett-Carnac (*J. A. S. B.*, 1880, part i, p. 87, Pl. VII, 2 A, B). The 'Roman head' type was first published by

me (ibid., 1897, p. 302, Pl. XXXVIII, 16), from a coin then belonging to Mr. Delmerick, and subsequently sold to Sir James Bourdillon. That coin and the I. M. specimen are the only known examples of the type. M. Drouin (*Revue Num.*, 1898, p. 141), perceiving that the portrait is imitated from a Roman denarius, held that the 'Roman head' coins must be much older than the 'name' type coins. But the two types occur together at Ahichhatrā, have identical reverse, and legends of nearly identical script. I therefore ascribe both to the same king, without pretending to explain the apparent imitation of a Roman model at so late a time. For wheel reverse compare Deva Nāga of Narwar, who may be dated about 300 A. D. The king seems to have been the Achyuta of the Allahabad inscription, in which he is twice mentioned as conquered by Samudragupta (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, pp. 420, 862).

Six fair duplicates and four worthless specimens of the 'name' type have been excluded from the catalogue. A good many specimens are in the Cunningham collection, B. M. The weights of the coins catalogued range from 9 to 30·7 grains, so that, apparently, there were at least three denominations. The coins show signs of considerable wear.

CATALOGUE

THE SO-CALLED 'MITRA' DYNASTY OF PAÑCHĀLA AND KOSALA, (?) ABOUT 100 B. C. TO 100 A. D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper or brass, circular, with incuse[1]	
			AGNIMITRA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 269 1·01	In square incuse, in early Br. script, *Agimitrasa*; above, three symbols, which recur on nearly all the coins.[2]	Figure, presumably of Agni (Fire), standing on low railing between two posts; five rays proceed from his head; massive (Pl. XXII, 1).
2	„	Æ brass 183·7 ·95	Similar.	Similar figure, but standing on lotus.

[1] Most of these coins were collected by Colonel Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., at Ahichhatrā (Rāmnagar).

[2] Carlleyle interpreted these symbols as:—l., Bodhi tree standing on a square base or in a square railing; centre, a *lingam* guarded by two serpents (*Nāgas*), which rise up on each side of it; r., two serpents intertwined, forming a circular knot in the centre; but this explanation is very doubtful. The l. symbol looks more like a *stūpa* with umbrella.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ 85·3 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 87·2 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 75·4 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ brass 87·5 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto.
			BHADRAGHOSHA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 285·2 1·07	*Bhadraghosasa* in incuse, with usual symbols above.	Defaced; very massive.
2	„	Æ 218 1·0	*Bhadraghosasa* in shallow incuse; a single symbol in small square inset incuse above.	Defaced (Pl. XXII, 2).
3	„	Æ 21·4 ·47	*Bhadraghosasa*, with usual three symbols above, all in incuse.	Traces of very rude, dumpy, standing figure.
			BHĀNUMITRA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 240·5 1·07	*Bhānumitrasa*, with three symbols above, all in large incuse. The central usual symbol is replaced by another in a separate inset incuse.	Defaced.
2	„	Æ 115 ·85	*Bhānumitrasa*, with rude radiate female figure above, parallel with legend, instead of usual three symbols.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 3).
3	„	Æ 16 ·42	*Bhānumitrasa*, with usual symbols above, in shallow incuse.	Railing with a post at each end, flanked by 'taurines' (or ?sun and moon); above, solar symbol of disk surrounded by eight pellets; fine (Pl. XXII, 4).
4	„	Æ 31·8 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Five-pointed flame rising from a *nandipada* symbol (Pl. XXII, 5).
			BHŪMIMITRA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 203·7 ·97	*Bhūmimitrasa*, with the usual symbols, in incuse.	Figure, like that of Agni on coins of Agnimitra; but here the rail posts have cross-bars.
2	„	Æ brass 193 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 6).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			INDRAMITRA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 67·2 ·68	*Idramitrasa*, with the usual symbols, in incuse.	Squat figure standing on pedestal or low railing.
2	„	Æ 63·5 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 67·2 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto.
			PHALGUNIMITRA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 198 ·98	*Phagunimitrasa*, with usual symbols, in incuse.	Figure, standing on lotus, closely resembling that of Agni (Pl. XXII, 7).
2	„	Æ 225·7 ·98	Ditto.	Ditto.
			SŪRYAMITRASA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 221·5 1·0	*Sūyamitrasa*, with usual symbols, in incuse.	Defaced.
2	„	Æ 212 ·95	Ditto.	Railing with a post at each end; sun between posts; almost defaced.
3	„	Æ 88 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto; the triangular-headed symbol ('altar,' Cunningham), below the sun visible.

ACHYUTA, KING OF AHICHHATRĀ, 330 A. D.

Copper, circular

'Roman head' type, apparently die-struck

1	*I.M.*	Æ	18·3 ·42	Head and neck of king r., as on a Roman denarius. Behind head *A*, in front *chyu*, but on this specimen illegible.	Wheel or sun with eight spokes (Pl. XXII, 8; *J. A. S. B.*, 1897, part i, p. 302, Pl. XXXVIII, 16).

'Name' type, cast

2	*I.M.*	Æ	22·7 ·52	*Achyu* in bold characters in high relief.	Wheel or sun with eight spokes (Pl. XXII, 9; *J. A. S. B., ut sup.*, fig. 15).
3	„	Æ	30·7 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	25 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	19·7 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	*I.M.*	Æ 19·4 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 16·2 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 14·8 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 12·3 ·46	Ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 9 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto; very thin coin.

Section IX

THE RĀJĀS AND SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ AND VĪRASENA

INTRODUCTION

The Rājās and Satraps of Mathurā

Recent research has disclosed the names of a large number of early Rājās ruling either at Mathurā (Muttra, N. lat. 27° 30′ 13″, E. long. 77° 43′ 45″), or over territories in the immediate neighbourhood of that ancient city. The Rājās whose coins are described in the catalogue are Balabhūti, Purushadatta, Bhavadatta (unpublished), Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Gomitra, Vishṇumitra, Brahmamitra, and ? Sūrya (Suya). There is also a doubtful name (uncertain, No. 1) which may be Ghosha. Other names known are Śeshadatta, Kāmadatta, Śivadatta, and Śiśuchandradatta or -chandrāta (?) (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 109–15). Cunningham knew of only three specimens of Balabhūti; four more are now described, and three bad specimens have been excluded. The coins of Purushadatta also are rare. Carlleyle found a specimen at Bhuilā Dih in Bastī District, U.P., to the east of Oudh (*Reports*, xii. 145, 164). Bhavadatta is new, but see *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 113. Three are now added to the five specimens of Uttamadatta previously known. The coins of Rāmadatta are fairly common. Carlleyle found examples associated with coins of the satraps Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa at Indor Kherā in the Bulandshahr District, U.P. (*Reports*, xii. 43).

The coins of Gomitra, Vishṇumitra, Brahmamitra, and Sūrya (Suya) are scarce, but sometimes obtainable at Mathurā. They are, I think, later than those of the princes previously named.

Probably all these Rājās, some of whom may have been contemporary with each other, are earlier than the foreign satraps with Persian names. The most ancient of the satraps seem to be Hagāna and Hagāmāsha, presumably brothers, who introduced a reverse device of a horse. The coins of Hagāmāsha as satrap alone are fairly common, and it would appear that he was the younger brother and survivor of Hagāna. He seems to have been directly followed by Rañjubula or Rājuvula, who struck hemidrachmae in base silver, resembling and associated with the coins of Strato II, as well as bronze coins after the manner of the Rājās.

Śoḍāsa was undoubtedly the son of Rañjubula, and if we knew the era of the date 72 on his Mathurā inscription the chronology would be clear. The Mathurā satraps were intimately associated with the satraps of Taxila, whose few coins are not represented in this catalogue.

The satraps of both Taxila and Mathurā by their use of a Persian title and by their names plainly show their connexion with the Persian or Parthian empire; and their rule was, I believe, a consequence of the conquest of the kingdom of Taxila by the Parthian king Mithradates I in or about 138 B.C. Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa may be placed, according to my view, in the last quarter of the second century B.C., somewhere about 125–100 B.C., and the date 72 of Śoḍāsa's inscription must be interpreted accordingly. But this theory of the chronology is not universally accepted. Cunningham obtained thirteen coins of Rañjubula at Sultānpur in the Jālandhar (Jullunder) District, Panjāb (*Reports*, xiv. 57). His coins have been procured also at Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District, U.P., and, in association with those of his son Śoḍāsa, at Pādham in the adjoining District of Mainpuri (*Reports*, xi. 25, 38). The distribution of the coins of Rañjubula led Cunningham to believe that his dominions included a large portion of north-western India, extending from Kāngṛā, at the foot of the Himalayas, to Multān in one direction, and to Mathurā in the other (*Reports*, iii. 41). But this estimate may be considered somewhat excessive.

The printed notices of the coins of the Rājās and Satraps of Mathurā have been indicated sufficiently above and in the catalogue. The position of the satraps in relation to the Parthian empire has been discussed briefly (p. 21) in my essay entitled 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, from about 120 B.C. to 100 A.D.' (*Z. D. M. G.*, January, 1906).

VĪRASENA

The coins of this ruler are most readily procured in the Mathurā bazaar, where Cunningham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle got thirteen at Indor Khera in the Bulandshahr District, while Mr. Burn and others have collected them in the Etah (Ītā) District, as well as at Kanauj and other places in the neighbouring Farrukhābād District. It is clear, therefore, that Vīrasena ruled in the Central Doāb, between the Ganges and Jumna. His coins are scarcer in the Panjāb. Four specimens are in Rodgers' collection at Lahore, and I formerly possessed an exceptionally minute one (diam. ·3), which came from the Panjāb. The commonest variety consists of the small rectangular pieces about ·45 in diam., with a palm-tree on obverse and the rude outline of a crowned female figure on the reverse. Sometimes the reverse is blank. The variety with the name only in an incuse on obverse, and blank or animal reverse (Catal. Nos. 1–3) seems to be rare, and has not been published previously.

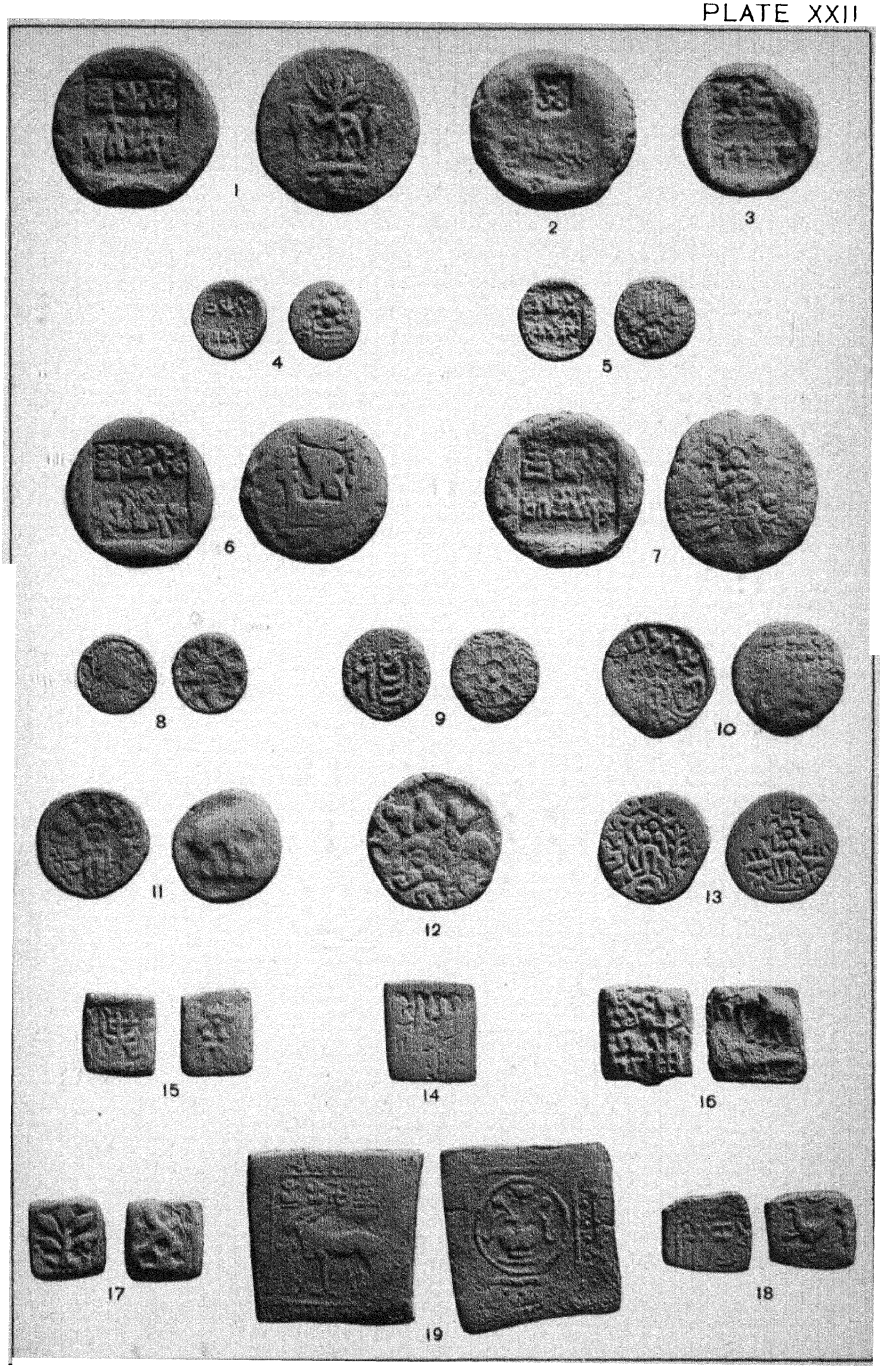
I am disposed to think that the coins of this class were issued by an earlier homonymous king. Mr. Burn has one round coin of Vīrasena, but I have seen only the rectangular pieces. Mr. Burn found a brief inscription with the name Vīrasena in the year 1896 at Jānkhaṭ in the south of the Farrukhābād District, which probably refers to the Rājā who issued the 'palm-tree' coins. I read the date on a rough copy as 113 *Grīshma* (i. e. hot season), which probably indicates that the record is dated in the year 113 of the era used by the Kushān kings, which, according to my view, began about 120 A. D. If so, the date of the inscription would be about 335 A. D. The characters of the legends on the 'palm-tree' coins may be as late, although they look rather earlier. Mr. Burn was inclined to read the date of the inscription as 13; but, apparently, that would fall in the reign of Kanishka, and it is unlikely that he would have allowed Vīrasena to coin extensively in a province adjoining the Panjāb.

See *C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 18; Carlleyle in *Reports*, xiv. 41; Rapson and Burn in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 115, 552.

CATALOGUE

RĀJĀS OF MATHURĀ, ABOUT SECOND CENTURY B. C.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper or brass	
			BALABHŪTI	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 84·7 ·7	Figure facing front, r. hand raised; early Br. legend on upper margin, [*Rā*]*jño Balabhūtisa.*	Rows of dots (*C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 8).
2	„	Æ 72·7 ·7	Ditto; ditto; a symbol to l. of figure.	Obscure, defaced.
3	„	Æ 72 ·73	Ditto; ditto; the symbol to l. is Ψ, and to r. ⚓.	Two rows of dots and (?).
4	„	Æ 81 ·62	Device defaced; legend, [*Ba*]*labhūtisa.*	Defaced; thick coin.
			PURUSHADATTA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 99 ·8	Device defaced; early Br. legend, *Purushadatasa.*	Defaced (*C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 17).
2	„	Æ brass 79·5 ·7	Standing figure; symbol to r.; legend, [*Pu*]*rushadatasa.*	Apparently elephant l., with two rows of dots above (Pl. XXII, 10).



COINS OF N. PANCHÀLA AND MATHURÀ
MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT
RECTANGULAR CAST

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			BHAVADATTA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 100·5 ·8	Traces of standing figure and same symbols as on coins of Balabhūti. Two-line Br. legend, (1) *Rājño*, (2) *Bhavadatasa* (much worn, but reading certain, (1) 𑀭𑀸𑀜 (2) 𑀪𑀯𑀤𑀢𑀲).	Elephant moving r. (Unpublished; cp. *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 113, fig. 13; with elephant l., but probably same legend.)
			UTTAMADATTA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 69 ·7	Standing figure, with r. hand raised, as usual in this class; to l. a conventional tree. Legend, *Rājā* (not *Rājño*) *Utamadatasa.*	Elephant in high relief, moving r. (Pl. XXII, 11; also in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 109, fig. 8),
2	*I.M.*	Æ copper 55·8 ·7	Standing figure; *Utamadatasa.*	Defaced.
3	,,	Æ copper 54 ·63	Ditto; [*U*]*tamadatasa.*	Elephant moving r.
			RĀMADATTA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 108·2 ·82	Usual standing figure; early Br. legend in large characters, (*Rā*)*madatasa.*	Obscure; should be three elephants with riders (Pl. XXII, 12).
2	,,	Æ 104 ·85	Similar; legend complete.	Defaced.
3	,,	Æ 94·5 ·87	Similar; *Rāma*(*data*)*sa.*	Ditto; two rows of dots.
4	,,	Æ 95 ·82	Similar; *Rāmada*[*tasa*]; tree l.	Trident; dots above.
5	,,	Æ 104 ·88	Similar; the figure stands on a low railing or pedestal; *Rāma*(*da*)*tasa.*	Two rows of dots above, apparently indicating the heads of elephants.
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ imperfect ·88	Similar; *Rāma.*	Similar, defaced; a protuberance left in casting.
7	,,	Æ 90·5 ·87	Similar; traces of legend.	Obscure.
8	,,	Æ 71 ·7	Similar; *datasa.*	Ditto; worn smooth.
			Doubtful	
9	*I.M.*	Æ 95·2 ·93	Standing figure countersunk in oblong incuse r.; an obscure symbol in shallow square incuse l.	Defaced; cast.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	*I.M.*	Æ 108·3 ·82	Similar to No. 9; but oblong incuse l., and figure radiate; no second incuse.	Defaced; cast.
11	„	Æ 85·6 ·78	Similar, but the single oblong incuse is r.	Ditto; apparently an elephant's head and trunk in centre.
			GOMITRA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ oblong 98 ·75 × ·6	The usual standing figure; tree l.; another symbol r. Br. legend above, *Gomitrasa*, indistinct.[1]	Obscure; cast (*C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 11; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 554, fig. 11).
2	„	Æ brass circular	Similar.	Defaced; thick, die-struck.
			VISHṆUMITRA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 78·5 ·7	Usual standing figure and tree. Legend, *Vishṇumitrasa*, indistinct.	Worn smooth (*J. R. A. S.*, *ut sup.*, fig. 12).
			BRAHMAMITRA	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper 92 ·75	Usual standing figure and tree. Legend, imperfect, *Brahmamitrasa*.	Apparently blank; a protuberance left in casting.
2	„	Æ 89·3 ·7	Similar.	Traces of a device.
3	„	Æ 65·5 ·65	Ditto.	Apparently blank. (All very poor; see *C. A. I.*, Pl. VIII, 12.)
			UNCERTAIN	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 17·8 ·6	Standing figure, very rude. Legend seems to include [*bhāga*]*vata gh*[*o*]-*sathā* (?).	Horse moving l.; thin coin.
2	„	Æ 99 ·8	Usual standing figure; *rājño*; possibly *Gomitra*.	Defaced.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 113·3 ·8	Usual figure; 'Ujjain symbol' r.; legend illegible.	Probably three elephants.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 86·2 ·7	Usual figure; (*data*) *mahārājasa*.	Defaced.
5	„	Æ 65·2 ·7	Ditto; traces of *mahārājasa*.	Three figures, each with four dots for upper parts, possibly elephants facing.
6	„	Æ 67·8 ·65	Ditto; *rājasa*.	Apparently elephants facing.

[1] It is possible to read these legends either as *-mitrasa* or *-mitasa*, *ta* being sometimes written with a downward prolongation on right side.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*I.M.*	Æ 30 ·47	Device uncertain. Legend perhaps [*Bha*]*vadatasa.*	Defaced.
8	,,	Æ brass 95·5 ·7	Usual figure. Legend probably *Suya* (*Sūrya*) *mitasa.*	Defaced.

SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ, ABOUT 125 TO 80 B.C.

Copper or brass

HAGĀNA AND HAGĀMĀSHA

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	54·8 ·65	Three-line legend (1) *Khatapānā* (2) *Hagānasa* (3) *Hagāmāshasa*, '[Coin] of the satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha'; at top, female figure parallel with legend; at r. side, thunderbolt (*vajra*).	Horse left; worn (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 7).
2	,,	Æ	56·8 ·65	Similar; not quite complete.	Ditto; ditto.
3	,,	Æ	54·3 ·73	Ditto; ditto; also a tree-like symbol below legend.	Ditto; horse well preserved.
4	*I.M.*	Æ	84 ·7	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
5	,,	Æ	60 ·73	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	,,	Æ	28 ·65	Ditto; defaced, only *Khatapa* legible.	Horse r., with man in front; thin coin.

HAGĀMĀSHA ALONE

1	*I.M.*	Æ	91·3 ·77	Figure standing on pedestal, nearly as on coins of the Rājās; tree-like symbol in r. field. Marginal Br. legend, *Khatapasa Hagāmāshasa*, '[Coin] of the satrap Hagāmāsha.'	Horse l. (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 6).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	64·5 ·67	Similar; legend incomplete.	Ditto.
3	,,	Æ	74·3 ·77	Similar; much damaged.	Ditto; worn.
4	,,	Æ	76·3 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*I.M.*	Æ	19·7 ·65	Ditto; traces of legend, thunderbolt r.	Ditto; ditto; thin coin (may belong to Hagāna and Hagāmāsha).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	*I.M.*	Æ 59·7 ·7	Similar to No. 1; damaged.	As No. 1; worn.
7	„	Æ 74·1 ·72	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; horse r.
8	„	Æ 57 ·85	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Ditto; horse l.
9	„	Æ 45·2 ·8	Ditto; *-tapasa* legible.	Ditto; horse r.
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 44·5 ·63	Ditto; *-gāmāsha* legible.	Ditto; ditto.

RAÑJUBULA (RĀJUVULA), ABOUT 110 B.C.

Silver, base

1	*I.M.*	Æ 38·5 ·58	Head of satrap diad. r., as on coins of Strato II; corrupt Greek legend.	Pallas l., holding aegis in l. hand, hurling thunderbolt with r. Kh. legend, *mahachatrapasa*, and *ha* in l. field; name lost (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 2, 3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, p. 547, fig. 2, 3).
2	„	Æ 34 ·53	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; character in r. field.

Copper (bronze)

3	*I.M.*	Æ 45·3 ·62	Standing female, as on coins of the Rājās. Br. marginal legend, [*Mahākhatapasa*] *Rājuvulusa*, '[Coin] of the great satrap Rājuvula.'	Defaced (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 4; *J.R.A.S.*, *ut sup.*, fig. 4).

ŚODĀSA, SON OF RAÑJUBULA

Copper (bronze)

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 24·5 ·58	Standing female and tree-like symbol r., as on coins of the Rājās. Br. marginal legend, [*Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śo*]*ḍāsasa*; '[Coin] of the satrap Ś., son of the great satrap.'	Defaced; traces of Lakshmī and elephants (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 5; *J.R.A.S.*, *ut sup.*, fig. 5, 6).
2	„	Æ 29 ·63	Similar; *ḍāsasa* legible; *svastika* at end of legend.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 98·8 ·7	Similar; *mahākhatapasa* legible.	Lakshmī with elephants pouring water over her (Pl. XXII, 13).
4	„	Æ 74·5 ·75	Similar; *khatapasa putaṣa khatapasa Śo.*	Ditto; nearly defaced.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*I.M.*	Æ 49·4 ·63	Standing female as usual. Br. legend arranged parallel to figure, r., *khatapasa*; l., [*Śo*]*ḍāsasa*.	Ditto; very rude (unpublished variety of obv.).
6	„	Æ 45 ·7	Standing female as usual. Marginal legend, *Khatapasa* (*Śoḍāsasa*).[1]	Defaced.

VĪRASENA, A KING IN THE GANGETIC DOĀB, (?) ABOUT 300 A. D.

Copper, rectangular, die-struck

1	*I.M.*	Æ 26 ·6	*Vīrasena* in early Br. script, in shallow incuse at top; rest blank.	(?) an animal; worn (Pl. XXII, 14).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 34 ·6	Ditto; worn.	Apparently the hind part of a bull.
3	*I.M.*	Æ 22 ·42	*senasa* only in shallow incuse at top; rest blank.	Apparently blank; (resembles some Mālava coins).[2]
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 32·8 ·65	Above, *V*[*ī*]*rasenasa*; below, palm-tree and ornaments.	Rude standing figure; r. hand raised, l. hand on hip; worn (*C.A.I.*, Pl. VIII, 18).
5	*I.M.*	Æ 24·2 ·52 × ·45	Similar.	Rude sketch of standing female, with rayed crown (Pl. XXII, 15).
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 28·7 ·5 × ·45	Similar; *ra senasa*.	Apparently blank.
7	*I.M.*	Æ 19·7 ·46	Similar; *Vīrasenasa*.	Rude female figure, apparently seated l.
8	„	Æ 14·5 ·45	Ditto; ditto.	Indication of crowned female.
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 24·1 ·45	Ditto; *ra senasa*.	Ditto.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 21·3 ·45 × ·4	Ditto; *Vīrasenasa*; the ornaments at lower corners are a form of 'taurine'.	Ditto.
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 21 ·45	Ditto; *ra senasa*.	Almost defaced.
12	*I.M.*	Æ 21·3 ·45 × ·4	Ditto; *Vīrasena*.	Indication of crowned female.
13	„	Æ 20·7 ·47	Ditto; *V*[*ī*]*ras*[*e*]*nasa*.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 22 ·45	Ditto; *s*[*e*]*nasa*.	Ditto.

[1] On these coins *Khaṭapasa* may be read as *Khaṭrapasa*.

[2] Nos. 1-3, as remarked in the Introduction, may be of earlier date than the others.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ 41 ·58	Similar to No. 1.	As No. 1; with *svastika*.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 62·5 ·65	Ditto.	Elephant l.; square cross; triangular-headed symbol.
5	*I.M.*	Æ — ·58	Ditto; worn.	As No. 3, but differently arranged: a protuberance left in casting.
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·6	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; with bar ·37 long attached.
7	„	Æ — ·57	Ditto; fairly good.	Ditto; with protuberance.
8	„	Æ 29·6 ·5	Ditto; corroded.	Ditto; corroded.
9	„	Æ 13 ·37	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			(2) AS *C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 29	
10	*I.M.*	Æ — ·55	Tree with ovate-lanceolate leaves.	*Chaitya* of three arches, with crescent above; protuberance from casting.
11	„	Æ 58 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXII, 17).
12	„	Æ 61 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 53·2 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·3 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
15	*I.M.*	Æ 27·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
			(3) VARIOUS	
			a. Inscribed	
16	*I.M.*	Æ 40 ·57 × ·45	Tree l. Legend in large letters *Kuṇhama*, with apparently *ya* above.	A (?) tiger springing l. (Pl. XXII, 18).
17	„	Æ 9·4 ·45	Snake below; obscure symbols, and remains of legend including *yo*.	Elephant l., and (?) tree; thin coin, probably from eastern districts.
18	„	Æ 16·7 ·5 × ·42	Solar symbol; traces of legend.	Humped bull l.
18*a*	*A.S.B.*	Æ — hexagonal ·55	Elephant l.; above, Br. legend, *bhāga* . .	Tree and (?).
			β. Not inscribed	
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ 139·6 1·1	Humped bull standing l. in a square; row of symbols above, *svastika*, &c.	Circle inside square, containing vase on stand with streamers and (?) flowers. Remarkable for large size (Pl. XXII, 19).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
20	*I.M.*	Æ 118·3 ·7 × ·55	Lion or tiger l., facing a bunch of three stems (? fire) springing from the ground, and beyond it the triangular-headed symbol common on ancient coins.	Blank.
21	„	Æ 72·7 ·52	Humped bull l., with crescent in front.	Ditto.
22	„	Æ 80·6 ·6 × ·5	Similar to No. 21, but no distinct objects in front of animal.	Ditto.
23	„	Æ 23·8 ·4 × ·35	A sort of 'taurine' in high relief.	Ditto.
24	„	Æ 24·3 ·4	Ditto.	Ditto.
25	„	Æ 18 ·37 × ·32	Ditto.	Ditto. (These three coins have a button of metal from the casting at the back.)
26	„	Æ 19·7 ·30	Rude human figure l., with r. hand raised; (?) traces of legend r.	Two pellets in relief (possibly Mālava; Pl. XXIII, 1).
27	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38·5 ·7	Obscure symbols in a curved frame.	Obscure symbols with long straight lines.
28	*I.M.*	Æ 52·8 ·6	Tree in railing, in circle of which a snake is the base.	Elephant l., facing a symbol.
29	„	Æ 35 ·5	Square cross.	Elephant r.
30	„	Æ 21·7 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto.
31	*A.S.B.*	Æ — ·58	Three-arched *chaitya*, crescent above.	Elephant l.; corroded.
32	*I.M.*	Æ brass 60·7 ·65	Three-arched *chaitya*, with crescent above, standing under an arch.	Humped bull r. with tail raised, and feet tied together, facing a railing with (?) tree in it, on which (?) a bird pecking the bull (Pl. XXIII, 2).
33	„	Æ 15 ·45	Tree in railing; St. Andrew's cross with balls at ends of arms; square cross.	Humped bull l.; *svastika* above.
34	„	Æ 6·8 ·45	Similar, but partly defaced.	Similar, but mostly defaced.
35	„	Æ 23·7 ·47	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; fairly good; an object before bull.
36	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45·5 ·5	Solar symbol composed of 'taurines' and broad arrow-heads attached to central boss.	*Svastika* opening to r.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
37	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30·5 ·5	Sundry indescribable symbols.	*Svastika* opening r., with 'taurines' at the extremities.
38	„	Æ 47 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; thick coin (Nos. 36–38 are in very shallow relief).
39	„	Æ 15·5 ·36	Indistinct marks.	Incised rectangle. (Perhaps should be classed as 'punch-marked'.)
40	*I.M.*	Æ 54·5 ·67 × ·5	Rude solar symbol of boss and crescents.	Blank; very rough.
41	*A.S.B.*	Æ 13·6 ·64 × ·4	Lion standing l., facing tree; *svastika* above.	Elephant l., facing post; doubtful traces of legend above; (?) Taxila; thin coin.

II. ANONYMOUS CIRCULAR CAST COINS,

PROBABLY ALL BEFORE 200 A. D.

Copper

(1) *Chaitya and elephant type* (*C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 25)

1	*I.M.*	Æ	47 ·55	Three-arched *chaitya*, with crescent above.	Elephant l.
2	„	Æ	33·7 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ	37·3 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	34 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	28·8 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ	13·6 ·47	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXIII, 3).
7	„	Æ	— ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; two coins joined by bar left in casting.
8	„	Æ	26 ·55	Ditto.	Elephant r.

(2) *Chaitya and bull type* (*C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 26)

9	*I.M.*	Æ	63 ·65	Three-arched *chaitya*, with crescent above; a 'taurine' symbol on each side.	Large-horned bull r.; *triskelis* above.

(3) *Chaitya and lion type* (*C. A. I.*, Pl. I, 27)

10	*I.M.*	Æ	63·8 ·6	Three-arched *chaitya*, with crescent and 'taurines', as in bull type.	Lion moving l. towards triangular-headed symbol.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*I.M.*	Æ 67·1 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 73·2 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 53 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 16·8 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
15	„	Æ 23·5 ·53	Ditto.	Lion r.
			(4) *Various*	
16	*A.S.B.*	Æ 91 ·7	Rayed sun.	Quadruped l.; much worn.
17	„	Æ 68 ·65	Ditto.	Quadruped r.; ditto.
18	*I.M.*	Æ 37·5 ·55	Six-spoked wheel.	Obscure.
19	„	Æ brass 66 ·76	Rayed sun above low enclosure.	Bull r.; very rough.
20	„	Æ 64 ·7	Tree in railing; square cross, &c.	Elephant l.; solar symbol; *chaitya*, and triangular-headed symbol.
21	*A.S.B.*	Æ 14 ·47	Tree in railing, as on coins of Kōsam; 'Ujjain symbol' r.	Blank.
22	„	Æ 27·7 ·55	Humped bull l.	(?) Antelope r.; corroded.
23	*I.M.*	Æ 23·8 ·47	Three-arched *chaitya*.	Quadruped l.
24	„	Æ oval 29·3 ·75 × ·5	A curious object in high relief.	(?) Bull's face (Pl. XXIII, 4).

III. APPARENTLY DIE-STRUCK, NOT INSCRIBED

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 22·7 ·4	Quadruped (? horse) r.	Blank.

Copper or brass

2	*A.S.B.*	Æ square 58·3 ·67	Solar symbol consisting of boss with broad arrow-heads and crescents, in incuse made by circular die.	*Svastika* with curved limbs (? Ujjain).
3	*I.M.*	Æ square 17 ·42	'Ujjain symbol' of four circles without connecting cross; (?) lion; struck by circular die.	Quadruped l., facing a post (? Ujjain).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ 14 ·42	Three-arched *chaitya* with crescent.	'Taurine' (seems to be die-struck).
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 71·8 ·78	'Taurine' in small incuse; rest blank.	Apparently blank; worn.
6	*I.M.*	Æ hexagonal 47·2 ·87	Central hollow dot or cup-mark surrounded by six others similar.	Apparently blank.
7	„	Æ hexagonal 60·8 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ hexagonal 17·5 ·35 × ·45	Similar, with incised rays connecting the marks.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 49·5 ·73	Trident with curved sides.	Cross in wheel (? Taxila).
10	„	Æ 27·9 ·67	Similar.	Star with curved rays filling the field (? Taxila); worn.
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 45·2 ·7	Sun with numerous rays filling the field.	Same as obv.; (?) traces of legend; worn smooth.
12	*I.M.*	Æ 85·5 ·85	Lion standing r.	Humped bull standing r.; worn.
13	„	Æ 32 ·62	Tree in railing; 'taurine', &c.	Elephant moving r. (? Audumbara).
14	„	Æ 67·7 ·7	Elephant r., very rude.	Obscure lines; worn.
			Lead	
15	*I.M.*	L. 56 ·54	Convex, with obscure indescribable mark.	Flat, with obscure lines.
16	„	L. 63·2 ·58	Similar.	Similar.
17	„	L. 60·5 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
18	„	L. 54·5 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
19	„	L. 47 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
20	„	L. 53 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto.
21	„	L. 43·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.

IV. INSCRIBED, CIRCULAR, VARIOUS,

MOSTLY DIE-STRUCK

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper or brass	
			(1) *Various*	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 84·5 ·7	In circular incuse, tree in railing, triangular-headed symbol r.; 'Ujjain symbol'; below in Br. of about 200 B. C. *Brahma-mitasa*, '[Coin] of Brahmamitra.'	Tree-like symbol in railing; (?) Kōsam (Pl. XXIII, 5).
2	„	Æ brass 64 ·77	In square incuse, tree in railing l.; 'Ujjain symbol' in centre; triangular-headed symbol r.; below in Br. of about 200 B. C. (*Go*)*mitasa*, '[Coin] of Gomitra.'	Tree in railing and traces of Br. legend beginning with *Gomi* in shallow square incuse; allied to No. 1 (Pl. XXIII, 6).
3	*I.M.*	Æ 32·5 ·6	In oblong incuse, early Br. legend, *Jyeshṭhadatta-de*[*va*], or possibly, *dattasya*.	Traces of elephant standing r.; resembles some of the early Mālava coins; see *Reports*, XXII, 115 (Pl. XXIII, 7).
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 50·8 ·75	Humped bull standing r.; below, early Br. legend, *Kavirasa*; below, *jaya*, reversed; and (?) a character; 'Victory to Kavira'; raised rim.	Defaced (unpublished) (Pl. XXIII, 8).
5	„	Æ brass 81·3 ·65	Solar symbol, two trees in railings, 'Ujjain symbol,' &c.; above in early Br., *mitasa* or *shātasa*.	Open lotus flower; thick coin.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 24 ·45	Tree in railing; snake on end, r.	Bull l. (? Kōsam or Ajodhyā).
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 24·4 ·52	Peculiar object springing from railing; Br. *na* r.	Asokan *ja* (?) (Pl. XXIII, 9).
8	„	Æ oval 71·7 ·85 × ·75	Tree in railing and other obscure symbols; Br. legend l., apparently *chīja*.	Lion r.; railing above, and traces of marginal Br. legend (Pl. XXIII, 10).
9	„	Æ 3·7 ·35	Large characters, which look like *charāja*, or *charāju*.	Br. *la* in centre of field (Pl. XXIII, 11).
10	„	Æ 61·7 ·53	In circular incuse, tree in railing; obscure Br. marginal legend including *yana*, (?) *traya nāyasa*.	Lion standing r.; disk above.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 53·1 ·55	Similar to No. 10. Legend, *ratha yana-gicha-m[i]ta[sa]* (?).	Lion standing r.; square (? *ba*) over his back; marginal legend in large character, *ya* (Pl. XXIII, 12).
12	*I.M.*	Æ 24·3 ·55	Tree in railing l.; thunderbolt (*vajra*) r.; traces of marginal legend.	Tree in railing, and obscure symbols; marginal Br. legend, (?) *gabhemanapa* (or *-ha*), of which *bha* and *na* are certain (Pl. XXIII, 13).
13	,,	Æ imperfect ·5	Thunderbolt (*vajra*) in centre, standing figure r.; Br. legend l., (?) *mabhada*, or (?) *mitasa*.	Peculiar symbol (Pl. XXIII, 14).
14	,,	Æ oval 15·9 ·6 × ·5	Tree in railing; Br. *na* legible.	Three-arched *chaitya* with large ornament on top.
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ 17 ·47	Peculiar symbol; traces of Br. marginal legend.	Bull standing l.; thin coin; worn.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 24·7 ·45	Bull l.; traces of legend below.	Obscure symbol.
17	,,	Æ 17·3 ·4	*Dephā* in large early Br., filling field,  ; worn.	Blank (? Mālava).
18	,,	Æ 22 ·4	Uncertain large characters.	Quadruped l.; corroded.
19	,,	Æ 20·5 ·57	Branching tree in railing; to l., early Br. *napa* (or *-sa*).	Obscure, (?) lion r.; thin coin, possibly Audumbara; in bad condition.
20	,,	Æ 20 ·37	Uncertain.	Uncertain (antiquity doubtful).

(2) *With legend,* DEVASA, *probably of Kōsam*

1	*I.M.*	Æ brass 29·7 ·55	Tree in railing, as on Kōsam coins; below, in early Br., [*De*]*vasa*; l. of tree a character, seemingly the ancient 20, and r., 7; all in square incuse.	Rude bull, apparently l.; probably cast (Pl. XXIII, 15).
2	,,	Æ brass 20 ·5	Similar; but the figure to l. of tree is looped, and seems to be 6; all in incuse.	Bull r.; cast.
3	,,	Æ brass 35·6 ·6	Similar; no figure to r.; that l. seems to be 20 as on No. 1; legend imperfect.	Ditto.
4	,,	Æ brass 26 ·46	Ditto; ditto; *Deva*.	Elephant standing r. (Pl. XXIII, 16).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*I.M.*	Æ brass 16·5 ·45	Ditto; characters beside tree illegible; *Devasa*; no incuse.	Bull r.; defaced.
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ brass 64·8 ·76	Square frame with low railing as base, enclosing legend *Devasa* in large letters, and above, an altar-like object.	Ditto; uncertain object above; worn smooth on both sides.
7	„	Æ brass 74 ·67	Similar; legend mostly lost; a stumpy tree above; the figure 7 to r., figure to l. wanting.	Bull r.; protuberance left in casting.
8	„	Æ brass 68·5 ·67	Ditto; ditto; ditto.	Bull r.; five-branched object (? tree) above; hammered edges apparently.

Section XI

THE ĀNDHRA DYNASTY

INTRODUCTION

The authorities for the obscure history of the Āndhra Dynasty were critically examined in my articles entitled 'Andhra History and Coinage' (*Z. D. M. G.* for 1902 and 1903), and have again been discussed briefly in my 'Early History of India', and in the Introduction to Professor Rapson's British Museum Catalogue of the Āndhra coins, the proofs of which I have had the privilege of perusing. In this place a few words on the subject will suffice.

The dynasty seems to have attained independence soon after the death of Aśoka, which occurred in 232 or 231 B.C., and it lasted for some four centuries and a half up to about 236 A.D. At a very early period the Āndhra kings made themselves a great power, and extended their authority across India along the course of the Godāvarī from its mouth on the shores of the Bay of Bengal to its source in the mountains of the Western Ghāts. Southwards their dominion was carried into the northern parts of Mysore, and northwards, perhaps, as far as the Narbadā. There is not any reason, so far as I know, for supposing that any part of India to the north of that river ever came under Āndhra sovereignty.

But the coins of the dynasty are Northern rather than Southern in type, and, in fact, have nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South. The known extant coins almost all belong to the later kings. The earliest sovereign whose issues are represented in this catalogue is Sivalakura, son of Māṭharī (about 85–113 A.D.). The collection does not include any example of the coins of his predecessor, Viḷivāyakura I, who is credited with a reign of six months only in 84 or 85 A.D.; but it contains two good specimens of the issue of Sivalakura's successor, Viḷivāyakura II, son of Gautamī (about 113–38 A.D.). These three princes emitted a peculiar 'bow and arrow' type of coinage, which is found, so far as is known, only at Kolhāpur in the Bombay Presidency. The Āndhra kings had a special partiality for lead as a material for currency, and most of their extant coins are in that metal. Only three specimens of their silver coinage have been discovered, and evidently it was extremely limited in amount. Next to lead they favoured a curious alloy of copper, which Professor Rapson calls 'potin'. A large hoard of these 'potin' coins was found some years ago at

Chāndā in the Central Provinces, and most of the specimens in museums come from that hoard (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 117).[1] The potin coins are cast; the lead coins seem usually to be die-struck, although the blanks may have been cast. The small leaden coins are exceedingly rude, and, perhaps, were wholly cast. The coinage, as a whole, is devoid of all beauty or artistic merit, and is interesting, primarily, as a document of dynastic history, and secondarily, on account of its peculiar materials.

The leaden coins from the Kṛishṇā (Kistna) and Godāvarī Districts, and other southern and eastern parts of the Āndhra empire, exhibit a considerable variety in their rude devices. The reverse most commonly used is the so-called 'Ujjain symbol', familiar on the punch-marked coins and other early issues of Northern India. The favourite obverse type is a rough delineation of an elephant, but the horse, lion, and, perhaps, other animals also occur. The 'ship' coins are not represented in this catalogue. The most extensive issues belong to the reign of Yajña Śrī (about 184–213 A.D.) and the next in number to that of Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi (about 138–70 A.D.). The name which formerly was read as Vada really is, as Professor Rapson points out, Chaḍa (*Chaṁḍa, Chandra*) on the coins. The catalogue includes only one example of his coinage (about 219–29 A.D.). Many of the coins have no legends, and it is impossible to assign them with certainty. Now that attention has been directed prominently to the subject, collectors in the old Āndhra dominions may be expected to add largely to our present very imperfect knowledge of Āndhra numismatics.

CATALOGUE

RĀJĀ SIVALAKURA, SON OF MĀṬHARĪ, ABOUT 85–113 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Lead	
			Bow and arrow type	
1	*A.S.B.*	L. 234·2 1·28	Bow, with string downwards, fitted with arrow pointing upwards; marginal Br. legend, beginning at tip of arrow, *Raño Mādhariputasa Sivalakurasa*; almost wholly defaced.	*Chaitya* of four tiers surmounted by a crescent, standing together with a tree on r., within a railing ornamented with scroll and dots; mostly defaced by corrosion.

[1] For bibliography of Āndhra coinage see *Z. D. M. G.*, 1903, p. 606.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*A.S.B.*	L. 227 1·38	As No. 1; much defaced.	As No. 1, but wholly defaced. (Both coins from Kolhāpur, Gibbs.)

RĀJĀ VIḶIVĀYAKURA (II), SON OF GAUTAMĪ, ABOUT 113–38 A.D.

1	*A.S.B.*	L. 205·7 1·2	Similar to coins of Sivalakura. Legend, *Raño Gotamiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.*	Similar to coins of Sivalakura, but *svastika* in place of crescent (Pl. XXIII, 17).
2	„	L. 176·7 1·2	Ditto; in good condition.	Ditto; good. (Both coins from Kolhāpur, Gibbs.)

RĀJĀ PUḶUMĀVI (PUḶUMĀYI), SON OF VĀSISHṬHĪ, ABOUT 138–70 A.D.

Copper (? potin)[1]

Type; elephant r., trunk hanging down

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 28·5 ·67	Elephant r., with rider (*mahaut*) on neck; marginal Br. legend, [*Si*]*r*[*i*]-*Puḷumāv*[*isa*].	'Ujjain symbol', with plain orbs (Pl. XXIII, 18).
2	„	Æ 42·5 ·7	Ditto; ditto; *Siri Puḷu.*	Ditto; pellet in orb.
3	„	Æ 40·3 ·7	Ditto; rider not visible; *Siri Puḷum.*	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ broken ·76	Ditto; rider; [*Pu*]*ḷumav*[*i*]*sa.*	Ditto; ditto.

DOUBTFUL; NAME LOST; (?) PUḶUMĀVI

Copper (potin)

Elephant r., trunk hanging down

5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 29·6 ·78	Elephant r., tail down; driver on neck; *Satakaṇ* (*Śātakarṇi*) legible.	'Ujjain symbol', a pellet in each orb.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 34 ·65	Similar; *Sari sataka* (*Śrī Śātakarṇi*).	Ditto.
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 38 ·72	Similar; *takaṇisa.*	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 41·3 ·73	Similar; legend lost.	Ditto.

[1] Professor Rapson believes the metal of these coins to be 'potin', an impure alloy composed of yellow and red copper, tin, lead, and diverse washings and cinders (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 304). All the 'potin' coins catalogued seem to be part of the Chāndā hoard. They are cast, not struck. The legends of the Āndhra coins are in Prākrit; *Siri* = Sanskrit *Śri*, and so forth. In the headings the Sanskrit forms are given.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Elephant r., with trunk uplifted [1]	
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 35·5 ·8	Similar; driver visible; *takaṇisa*; well preserved.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 33 ·7	Similar; driver not visible; *takaṇisa.*	Ditto.
11	*I.M.*	Æ 39·4 ·75	Similar; driver's leg visible; *sataka.*	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 34·2 ·73	Similar; driver visible; legend jumbled, as if double struck; it is *sata raña ṇisa* —parts of the words *raño sātakaṇisa.*	Ditto; no pellet visible.
13	„	Æ 39·8 ·68	Similar; legend lost.	Ditto; pellet.
14	*A.S.B.*	Æ 44·8 ·72	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			Elephant l.	
15	*I.M.*	Æ 9·6 ·45	Elephant l., very rude; a symbol above.	'Ujjain symbol' of peculiar form; each orb having two concentric circles with central pellet.[2]
			Lead	
			Elephant r.	
16	*A.S.B.*	L. 37 ·55	Rude elephant r.; traces of legend above.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain.
17	„	L. 49·8 ·58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
18	„	L. 35·7 ·52	Ditto; ditto; *sa* legible.	Ditto.
19	„	L. 49·9 ·61	Ditto; three pellets above.	Ditto; pellets; curved marks on margin.
20	„	L. 40 ·55	Ditto; X above.	Ditto; apparently plain.
21	„	L. 29·7 ·55	Ditto; nothing above.	Nine pellets or dots.
22	„	L. 39·3 ·57	Ditto; ditto.	Apparently plain 'Ujjain symbol'; curved marks on margin.
23	*I.M.*	L. 39·7 ·52	Ditto; very rude.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain.
24	„	L. 35·8 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
25	„	L. 30·3 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; pellet.

[1] Some specimens of this variety bear the name of Puḷumāvi (Rapson, *Catal.*, p. 21).
[2] For coins of Puḷumāvi with this form of 'Ujjain symbol', see Rapson, *Catal.*, p. 20.

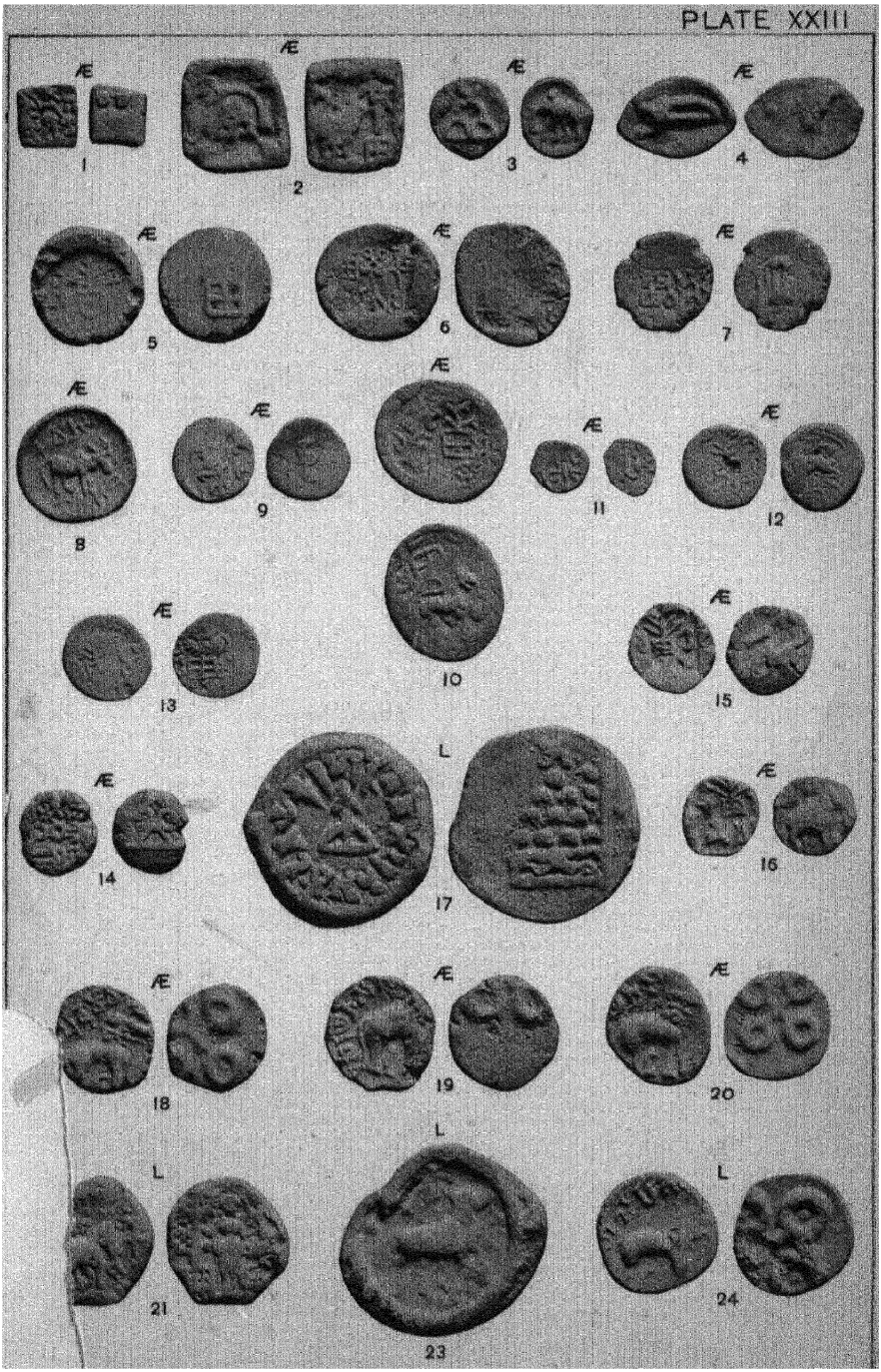
Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Elephant l.	
26	*A.S.B.*	L. 45·3 ·55	Rude elephant l.; traces of legend above.	'Ujjain symbol', apparently plain, but the orbs connected by outer lines.
27	*I.M.*	L. 30·2 ·55	Ditto.	'Ujjain symbol' of large plain orbs, no lines.
28	*A.S.B.*	L. 37 ·53	Ditto; traces of legend.	Ditto; ditto.
29	„	L. 55·5 ·58	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; with thick cross-lines.

RĀJÑ YAJÑA ŚRĪ, SON OF GAUTAMĪ, ABOUT 184–213 A.D.

Copper (potin)

Elephant r.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	40 ·67	Elephant r. Legend, *Sari Yaña sata* (*Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi*).	'Ujjain symbol', defaced (Pl. XXIII, 19).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	31 ·7	Ditto; driver visible; *Yaña sa.*	Ditto; plain, well preserved (Pl. XXIII, 20).
3	*I.M.*	Æ	48·8 ·8	Ditto; driver not visible; *Sari sātakaṇi.*	Ditto; pellets (may belong to Puḷumāvi).
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ broken	·7	Ditto; ditto; *sara Yaña sa.*	Ditto; plain.
5	„	Æ	45·6 ·67	Ditto; ditto; *sara Yaña sata.*	Ditto; ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ	34·6 ·65	Ditto; *ña sa.*	Ditto; pellets.
7	„	Æ	29·7 ·7	Ditto; *Yaña sa.*	Ditto; defaced.
8	„	Æ	40·2 ·65	Ditto; *Yaña.*	Ditto; plain.
9	„	Æ broken	·65	Ditto; *sari Yaña.*	Ditto; (?) pellets.
10	*A.S.B.*	Æ	39·8 ·7	Ditto; *Yaña.*	Ditto; plain.
			Lead		
11	*A.S.B.*	L.	97 ·75	Elephant standing r., facing a sword-like object; tree, apparently a fan-palm, behind; imperfect legend above seems to be *Gotami-putasa*, but doubtful.	Goddess standing facing, under canopy; tree in railing on her proper r., and (?) another tree in railing on proper l.; unpublished (Pl. XXIII, 21).



MISCELLANEOUS ANCIENT COINS

ĀNDHRA COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			DOUBTFUL; PROBABLY YAJÑA ŚRĪ, BUT MAY BE EARLIER[1]	
			Lead	
			Horse type	
1	*A.S.B.*	L. 126 1·01	Horse standing r., with disk in front; three-pointed symbol above; legend lost.	*Chaitya* and tree (?) on base, with scroll ornament as on 'bow and arrow' type; much corroded.
2	„	L. 176 1·01	Similar.	Defaced.
3	„	L. 176 1·03	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	L. 150 ·92	Ditto.	Ditto.
			RĀJĀ CHAṂḌA, ABOUT 219–29 A. D.	
			Copper (potin)	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 50 ·75	Elephant r. Legend imperfect, *sar*[*i*] *Chaḍa sāta*-[*kaṇi*].	'Ujjain symbol' in high relief, with pellets (Pl. XXIII, 22).
			UNASSIGNED	
			Lead	
			Type; elephant l.	
1	*A.S.B.*	L. 21·3 ·5	Rude elephant l.	*Chaitya* surmounted by crescent.
2	„	L. 28·5 ·45	Ditto; apparently *ya* above (? *Yaña*).	Ditto.
			Type; lion l.	
3	*A.S.B.*	L. 27·2 ·48	Lion springing l.	(?) 'Ujjain symbol.'
			Type; (?) antelope	
4	*A.S.B.*	L. 177·2 1·27	Quadruped (? horned, ? antelope) r.; no trace of legend.	Defaced. The coin has a wide rim (Pl. XXIII, 23).

[1] Certain 'horse type' coins belong to Yajña Śrī (Rea, Nos. 27, 40, 41, Pl. XII, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*).

Section XII

THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY OF PERSIA

INTRODUCTION[1]

The Sassanian dynasty of Persia, which succeeded the Arsakidan, lasted for more than four centuries, from 226 to 651 A.D. The following list of the kings was compiled by the late Mr. E. Thomas, chiefly from Armenian authorities, with corrections from independent sources (*Num. Chron.*, 1872, p. 44; *Sassanians in Persia*, p. 12). Other authors vary the spelling of the names, and give the dates with some differences.

The Sassanian Dynasty.

		Accession A.D.
1.	Ardeshīr I, Bābekān	226
2.	Shāpūr I	240
3.	Hormazd I	271
4.	Varahrān (Bahrām) I	272
5.	Varahrān II	275
6.	Varahrān III (Segān Shāh)	292
7.	Narsahi (Narsēs, Ναρσῆς)	292
8.	Hormazd II	301
9.	Shāpūr II (Zu'laktāf)	309
10.	Ardeshīr II (Jamīl)	380
11.	Shāpūr III	384
12.	Varahrān IV (Kermān Shāh)	386
13.	Yezdegird I (Bazah-Kār)	397
14.	Varahrān V (Gōr)	417
15.	Yezdegird II (Sipāh-dost)	438
16.	Hormazd III	457
17.	Fīrōz	459
18.	Vagharsh (Βάλας)	486
19.	Kobād (Nekrāi, 'the Wise,' Καβάδης)	490[2]
20.	Khusrū I (Naushīrwān)	530–1
21.	Hormazd IV (Tūrk-zādah)	578

[1] Special abbreviations in this Section are:—B. = Bartholomaei; D. = Drouin; K. = Kufic; L. = Longpérier; P. = Pahlavī; Th. = Thomas. The Sassanian coins, although not Indian, served as the model for long series of Indian coinages (*post*, Section XIII), and are included in the catalogue at the request of the Trustees of the Indian Museum.

[2] Th. omits Jamasp, who, in 498 A.D., temporarily took the place of his brother Kobād (L., p. 70).

		Accession A. D.
22.	Khusrū II (Parvīz)	590
23.	Kobād [II] (Shīrūiah, Al-Ghashūm, 'the Iniquitous')	628
24.	Ardeshīr III	628
25.	Shahr-yār (Khorham, Σαρβάρος) . . .	629
26.	Purān-dukht (daughter of Khusrū Parvīz) . .	630
27.	Khusrū [III]	631–2
28.	Azarmi-dukht (daughter of Khusrū, widow of No. 25)	
29.	Hormazd [V]	
30.	Yezdegird III (son of No. 25, according to Persian authorities; or son of Kobād and grandson of Khusrū, according to Armenian chronicles)	632 (16 June) to 651
	[Yezdegird lived until September 651, but the Sassanian power was destroyed by the Arabs at the battle of Nahavend in 641.]	

The coinage exists in three metals—gold, silver, and copper. The gold coins seem to be scarce, but examples of the other metals, especially the silver, are abundant. The gold pieces, like the Kushān and Gupta gold coinage in India, are struck to the standard of the reduced Roman *aureus*. The only gold coins included in this catalogue, three specimens of Shāpūr II (309–80 A. D.), range in weight from 109·2 to 112·3 English (Troy) grains (= about 7·2 grammes), and so agree with the *aureus* of 45 to the pound. The heaviest specimen of Shāpūr I (240–71 A. D.) in the British Museum weighs 113 grains, and was struck to the same standard. The gold coinage of Shāpūr III (384–6 A. D.) was struck to the Constantinian standard of 72 *aurei* to the pound, and does not exceed 70 English grains (about 4½ grammes) in weight.[1]

The silver coinage, on the other hand, as in India, was regulated by the standard of the Greek drachma; and some of the copper coins seem intended to follow the same scale of weights.

The gold and most of the copper coins are thick in fabric, and of moderate diameter. The silver pieces are nearly all extraordinarily thin and broad, the breadth increasing in the later reigns, and attaining its maximum, 1·35 inch, in the seventh century under the Arab governors, who copied the issues of Khusrū II.

The type of the Sassanian coinage varies little throughout its long history; the obverse being occupied by the king's bust, almost always turned to the right, and the reverse by a portable fire-altar, with different accessories. On the earliest coins of the first king, Ardeshīr Bābekān, the royal portrait is distinctly Parthian, being, in fact, copied from the likeness of Mithradates; but, even during Ardeshīr's

[1] The weights cited by L. (pp. 13, 14) are given in Paris grains.

reign, the characteristic Sassanian crown surmounted by a globe was introduced, and the portrait lost its purely Parthian look. Wings, as an appendage to the globe, first appear on the coinage of Fīrōz (459–86). Khusrū II (590–628) dispensed with the globe, and adopted a peculiar form of winged head-gear, which continued in use, without material change, to the end of the dynasty, and was copied by the Arab governors down to the closing years of the seventh century. The legends, in the old Persian language and Pahlavī character, are exceptionally difficult to read and interpret; and satisfactory arrangement of the coins would be almost impossible but for the circumstance that nearly every king prior to Khusrū II adopted a distinctive form of head-dress, as well as peculiar modifications in the accessories of the type. The latest coins bear supplemental inscriptions in the Arabic language and Kufic script.

No information is available concerning the *provenance* of the coins now catalogued, which form a fairly representative set, although its deficiencies are numerous.

Interest in the Sassanian coinage seems to have died out of late years, and nearly all the standard publications on the subject are old. No satisfactory complete account has been published. Longpérier's valuable *Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, Didot), appeared in 1840, and naturally contains some serious errors (corrected in *J. R. A. S.*, 1850, p. 254, note; ibid., 1852, p. 407; quoting Mordtmann in *Z. D. M. G.*, vols. viii, xii). The numerous papers by Mr. Edward Thomas are widely scattered. Those contributed by him to the *Num. Chron.* in 1872 and 1873 were reprinted (Trübner, 1873) under the title *Numismatic and other Antiquarian Illustrations of the Rule of the Sassanians in Persia from* A. D. 226 *to* 652, or more briefly, *Sassanians in Persia.* This work (p. 11) gives a bibliography of the subject.[1] The most important other papers by Mr. Thomas are 'The Pehlví Coins of the Early Muhammadan Arabs' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1850, vol. xii); and 'Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems, with a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-Pehlví Series of Persian Coins' (ibid., 1852, vol. xiii). A summary description of the coins of each reign will be found in Canon Rawlinson's work, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, which is the most convenient presentation of Sassanian history for English readers. The best collection of plates is that published by M. Dorn (St. Pétersbourg, 1873), entitled *Collection de Monnaies Sassanides de feu le Lieutenant-Général J. de Bartholomaei*, but no text accompanies the 32 plates.

[1] Not to be confounded with another book by Mr. Thomas entitled *Early Sassanian Inscriptions and Coins; and Numismatic and other Antiquarian Illustrations of the Sassanians in Persia*, 2 vols., 1868–73. See Postscript, *post*, p. 231.

If specialists should discover defects or errors in my description of the Sassanian coins in this catalogue, I trust that the admitted difficulty of the subject may be deemed sufficient excuse. Dr. Codrington kindly guided me to the necessary books, but I have been obliged to do the best I could with the coins.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			No. 1. ARDESHĪR I, BĀBEKĀN, 226–40 A. D.	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 58·8 ·95	Head of king r., plaited beard in Parthian style; round-topped Parthian head-dress with ear-flaps; no globe. Pahlavī legend, beginning behind head, l., *Mazdīsan bagī Artahshatr* r., *malkān malkā Airān*, 'The Ormazd worshipper, divine Artaxerxes, king of kings of Irān.'	Fire-altar on two-stepped pedestal, with broad top, from which flames spring; pendants at corners, below which are vessels, which seem to be incense holders ('cassolettes à parfum', L.). P. legend, r., *Artahshatr*, l., *nūrā zi*, 'the fire of Artaxerxes' (Th.; B., Pl. I, 2, 3; Th., Pl. I, 10; L., Pl. I, 1; D., 'Les Legendes,' p. 75).[1]
2	„	Æ 64·5 1·08	Similar, with globe above head-dress; same legend continuous, with addition, *minūchatrī min Ya[z]dān*, 'of divine origin from the gods,' ἔκγονος θεῶν.	Similar; same legend (Pl. XXIV, 1; Th., Pl. I, 7).
			Copper	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 167·5 1·02	Similar to No. 1; imperfect legend as No. 1, omitting *Airān*.	Similar to silver coins; same legend.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 212·7 1·08	Head of king r., with plaited beard; head-dress surmounted by globe; bust of youth (his son Shāpūr) l., facing him; legend illegible.	Ditto (Pl. XXIV, 2).
5	„	Æ 177·8 1·1	Similar; legend illegible.	Ditto; legend illegible; poor.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 161 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; partly legible; fair. (The legend should be *Shāhpūtri malkā*, D.)
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 186 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; poor.

[1] The old reading (L.) was *yezdāni*, 'divine.' The reading *nūrā zi* was determined by Noeldeke and Drouin. D. writes *mazdaiasn*, *malkān malkā*, and *Artakshetr*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		No. 2. SHĀPŪR (SAPOR) I, 240–71 A. D.		
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 65·5 ·98	Bust of king r., with beard tied; head-dress with three principal points, surmounted by globe, and with cheek pieces. Continuous P. legend, beginning behind head, *Mazdīsan bagī Shahpūharī*[1] *malkān malkā Airān minūchatri min Yazdān*, 'The Ormazd worshipper, divine S., king of kings of Airān, of divine origin from the gods.'	Fire-altar on two-stepped base, narrower at top than that of Ardeshīr I; crescent on shaft; at each side an attendant standing averted, grasping sceptre or spear, with sword at his side. P. legend r., *Shahpūharī*; l., *nurā zi*, 'the fire of S.' (L., Pl. III, 2, 3; Th., Pl. II, 3–6; B., Pl. II). In very good condition.
2	,,	Æ 63 1·0	Similar.	Similar; poor.
			Copper (bronze)	
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 170·8 1·07	Similar to silver coins, but worn; legend probably the same.	Device as on silver coins, except that altar has three steps; *nūrā zi* legible.
4	,,	Æ 153 1·15	As No. 3; much worn.	As No. 3; in fairly good order; *nūrā zi* distinct; r. legend difficult to read.
5	,,	Æ — 1·07	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; in bad condition (L., Pl. III, 5, with two-stepped altar).
		No. 3. HORMAZD I; PROVINCIAL COINAGE IN (?) SĪSTĀN, BY (?) ARDAMITRA, ABOUT 271 A. D.		
			Copper	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 99 ·9	Parthian head l., with mass of hair behind as on coins of Pakorēs (*ante*, p. 58); legend lost.	Low fire-altar, without attendants, and with incense vessels, as on coins of Ardeshīr I. P. legend, l. 𐭠𐭫𐭥𐭥𐭩; r. 𐭥𐭩. The rev. is slightly concave.
2	,,	Æ 78 ·8	Similar.	Similar; only a few characters visible.
3	,,	Æ 95·5 ·92	Ditto.	Ditto; nothing legible.
4–9	,,	Æ —	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.[2]

[1] *Shahpūharī* = mod. Pers. *shahzāda* (*shāhzāda*), 'king's son,' used as a proper name; Lat. Sapor; Gr. Σαπώρ. The spelling Shāpūr is that used by Mr. Thomas.

[2] M. Drouin (*Rev. Num.*, 1895, p. 52, Pl. II, 1–8; quoted by Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 678) found what he calls 'the normal legend of Hormazd I' on obv. of similar coins, and on rev., in at least one case, the name *Ardamitra*. The specimens figured by him came from Turkestan; that described by Mr. Rapson from Sīstān. The provenance of the coins now catalogued is not recorded. The legend on No. 1 is not *Ardamitra*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			No. 4. VARAHRĀN (BAHRĀM) I, 272–5 A. D.	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ broken 1·0	Bust of king r., with long beard plaited in Parthian style; head-dress has five points surmounted by globe, which is decorated with trios of pellets; cheek-pieces. Legend defective and difficult to read; according to Th. it should be *Mazdīsan bagī Varahrān markān markā Airān* [with sometimes *va Anairān*] *minūchatrī min Yazdān*, 'The Ormazd-worshipper, divine V., king of kings of Airān [and Anairān=Tūrān], of divine origin from the gods.'	Fire-altar with base of two steps, three pellets on shaft; on l. king averted, wearing crown with globe, holding spear or sceptre in r. hand, with sword at side; on r. armed attendant, averted from altar. Legend, l. *nūrā zi*; r. broken away (L., Pl. III, 8; Th., Pl. III, 1; B., Pl. III).
			No. 5. VARAHRĀN II, 275–92 A. D.	
			Silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52·8 1·05	Jugate busts of king and queen r.; king wears diadem and globe; queen's head-dress has a boar's head in front; opposite them, facing l., a miniature figure, probably son and heir, wearing head-dress with eagle's or hawk's beak in front, tenders a diadem. Legend, legible only at beginning, *Mazdīsan bagī Varahrān markān markā Airān wa Anairān minūchatrī min Yazdān*, 'The Ormazd-worshipper, divine Varahrān, king of kings of Irān and non-Irān [=Tūrān], of divine origin from the gods.'	Fire-altar on two-stepped base, attended by king on l., wearing globed diadem, and on r. by the queen, who offers a chaplet. In upper field two symbols. Legend, r. *nūrā zi*; l. damaged, *Varahrān* (L., Pl. IV, 5; Th., *Num. Chron.*, 1872; *Sassanians*, p. 32, Pl. III, 1–5).
2	*I.M.*	Æ ring attached 1·11	Similar; in poor condition.	Similar, but queen replaced by male attendant; poor.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			No. 7. NARSAHI (NARSĒS), 292–301 A. D.	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 58·5 1·0	Bust of king r.; beard tied, with pendant; crown foliated,[1] with globe above. Legend, very corrupt, intended for *Mazdīsan bagī Narsahi markān markā minūchatrī min Yazdān.*	Fire-altar on two-stepped base, with three pellets on shaft; on l., the king turned towards altar with sceptre (spear), sword, and globed crown; on r., attendant turned towards altar with spear and sword. Two symbols above, the 'ferohar' and 'taurine'. Legend, r. *Narsahi*; l. *nūrā zi*, corruptly written.
			No. 8. HORMAZD II, 301–9 A. D.	
			Copper	
			Ormazd type	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 34·2 ·63	Bust of king r., with short tied beard; lion's head and mane as crest on front of head-dress, which is surmounted by a flower (? rose) in place of the usual globe. Traces of legend *Auharmazdī* in front of face.	Fire-altar on broad base, with bust of Ormazd rising from top—his arms extended, r. hand holding royal diadem, and l. hand a spear. Traces of legend (Pl. XXIV, 3).
2	„	Æ 31.8 ·62	Bust of king r., with short tied beard; crown or diadem has five pellets, but no lion's head; the usual globe above. Legend in front of face *Auharmazdī*, behind head *malkā*, 'King Hormazd.'	Device as on No. 1. Th. (p. 41) reads *Avasta mūrta*, 'image of Avasta,' or 'Ormazd', but I cannot make out more than *astamū* (Pl. XXIV, 4). Perhaps the true reading is *apasta*, 'confidence,' D.
3	„	Æ 22 ·6	Bust of king r., with a three-pointed crown; no globe, flower, or lion's head; no trace of legend.	Same device as on Nos. 1 and 2, treated slightly differently; legend illegible; in poor condition.
			Thick, heavy altar type	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 53 ·56	Bust of king r.; lion's head on front of head-dress; no legend.	Altar with heavy base and top filling field; symbols on shaft. No legend; rude, polygonal piece (Pl. XXIV, 5).

[1] Canon Rawlinson describes the foliated branches as 'horns of ibex or stag'.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 49·9 ·6	As No. 4.	As No. 4.
6	„	Æ 51·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 48 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto; in bad condition.
8	„	Æ 59·2 ·66	Somewhat similar; lion's scalp indistinct; in legend opposite face *ma* legible.	Altar of different form, filling field; no legend.
9	„	Æ 64 ·71	Generally similar.	Altar of same shape as Nos. 3–7.

No. 9. SHĀPŪR (SAPOR) II, ZU'LAKTĀF, 309–80 A. D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Ⱥ 109·2 ·76	Bust of king r.; beard short, with pendant; crown three-pointed, with globe. Legend, beginning in front of face, difficult to read, seems to be *Mazdīsan bagī Shahpūharī malkān malkā*, 'The worshipper of Ormazd, divine S., king of kings.'	Broad-topped fire-altar, without attendants, flanked by incense vases, as on coins of Ardeshīr I. Marginal legend uncertain; to r. of altar *malkaï*, 'royal' (Pl. XXIV, 6; see L., Pl. VI, 2; Th., *Num. Chron.*, 1872, p. 273).
2	„	Ⱥ 109·5 ·77	Similar; legend obscure.	Similar; legend marginal only, not read.
3	„	Ⱥ 112·3 ·8	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; legend at top (B., Pl. VII, 6).

Silver

4	*A.S.B.*	Ⱥ 63·3 1·0	Similar to gold coins; *mazdisan bagī Shā* (?) on r. margin.	Roughly designed narrow fire-altar, with indication of bust in flame; on each side an attendant with spear or sceptre, turned towards altar; single line of beading; no legend.
5	*I.M.*	Ⱥ 62 ·9	Similar; legend obscure.	Similar; worn; traces of legend.
6	„	Ⱥ 63·4 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; no legend.
7	*A.S.B.*	Ⱥ 61·3 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ — ·91	Similar; much worn.	Apparently similar; much defaced.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 11. SHĀPŪR (SAPOR) III, 384–6 A. D.				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 56 1·1	Bust of king r., with flat-topped cap and globe. Legend, *mazdīsan bagī Shahpūharī*, in four sections.	Fire-altar with bust and attendants, as on coins of Shāpūr II; no legend.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 62·7 1·02	Similar; worn. Legend, *mazdīsan bagī Shahpūharī malkān*, in three sections.	Ditto; ditto.
			Copper	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 48·6 ·63	Bust of king, with characteristic flat-topped head-dress, but no globe nor legend.	Altar with broad base and top and symbol on shaft, filling field, as on coins of Hormazd II; no legend (Pl. XXIV, 7).
No. 12. VARAHRĀN IV (KERMĀN SHĀH), 386–97 A. D.				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 53·1 ·93	King's bust r., with a curved plume at back of head-dress. Legend in very clear script, [*Va*]*rahrān malkān ma*[*l*]*kā*, 'V., king of kings.'	Fire-altar, with head of Ormazd r. in flame; attendants with spears, turned towards altar; no legend.
2	„	Æ 65 1·18	Bust of king r., but with a wing instead of curved plume at back of head-dress. Legend in front of face not read.	Similar, with head r.; in bad condition (apparently this coin must belong to V. IV).
3	„	Æ 65·1 ·94	Bust and plume as on No. 1; *Varahrān* legible.	Similar, but no head in flame; legend illegible.
No. 13. YEZDEGIRD I (BAZAH-KĀR), 397–417 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 58·7 1·1	Bust of king r.; crown small, with globe above and crescent in front; long legend not read. (D. reads *mazdaiasn bagi rāmshetri Yazdekerti malkān malkā Airān.*)	Fire-altar with attendants turned towards it; *rāsti*, 'truth,' (Th.; 'good,' D.) on shaft; a 'taurine' symbol on each side of flame, and a plain crescent l. Legend, l. illegible; r. (?) *ain*, apparently the mint, 𐭠𐭩.
2	„	Æ 60·1 1·2	Generally similar, but face has an Indian look, and the legend before face only, not read.	Generally similar, but without the extra crescent; no legend (attribution doubtful).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 14. VARAHRĀN V (BAHRĀM GŌR), 417–38 A. D.				
		Silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 61 1·13	Bust of king r.; two-pointed crown surmounted by crescent containing globe. Legend begins *Varahrān* (or *Valahlān*) *malkā*, rest not read.	Fire-altar with conical flame; head of Ormazd r., inserted in upper part of altar below flame; an attendant on each side with spear presenting arms to altar. Legend, l. *Varahrān* imperfect; r. *Āi* (?=Airān) the mint (Th., Pl. VII, 8 same mint; L., Pl. VIII, 5 mint *Wah*; B., Pl. XII).
2	„	Æ 65 1·25	Bust of king r.; head-dress a low crown surmounted by globe with wings. Legend, r. (?) *Lūr Varahrān*; l. *kadi*, 'fortunate,' 'victorious Varahrān'; but meaning of *Lūr* not known.	Altar with three steps no head of Ormazd; attendants with high caps presenting arms; no legend (Pl. XXIV, 8. This coin does not seem to agree with any published).
No. 15. YEZDEGIRD II, 438–57 A. D.				
		Silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 61·4 1·2	Bust of king r.; three-pointed crown surmounted by crescent containing globe. Legend, *Rāmshatri* (?) *Izdakarti*. (According to D., the coins with legend *rāmshetri Yazdekerti* belong to Y. I. *Rāmshetri* = *rāmi kshatra*, 'prosperity of the empire.')	Two-stepped altar with conical flame; no Ormazd head; *rās*[*tī*], 'truth,' on shaft; attendant on each side presenting arms. Legend, l. seems to be *nūda*, 'nineteen' (scil. regn. year); r. *Wah* or *Vah*, initial syllable of a mint-name (See B., Pl. XIII; L., Pl. VIII, 3, 4, erroneously ascribed to Y. I; Th., Pl. V, 4; but the legend there is *Kadi Izdakarti*.)
No. 17. FĪRŌZ, 459–86 A. D.				
		Silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 61·8 1·12	Bust of king r.; crown, surmounted by crescent containing globe, nearly agreeing in shape with that of Yezdegird II; a small figure l. on r. margin (young	Three-stepped, narrow altar; attendants rudely outlined, turned towards altar, but without spears; star above l., crescent r.; legend, l. *tarīn*, 'two' (reg-

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Fīrōz ?) offers the king a diadem. Behind king's head, *Rām* (the name of guardian of Fīrōz); no other legend.	nal year); r. *Mar* (=Merv), mint (B., Pl. XVIII, 6, same date and mint; wrongly assigned to Jamasp; L., Pl. IX, 4; Th., Pl. V, 12, 13, wrongly assigned to Hormazd III).[1]
2	*I.M.*	Æ 63·5 1·0	Bust of king r.; small two-pointed crown, surmounted by crescent containing globe; wide blank margin. Legend, badly executed, *Kadi Fīrūchi*, 'King Firoz,' Th. (*Kadi* = 'fortunate,' 'victorious,' D.)	Fire-altar, three-stepped; attendants turned towards it, without spears; star l., crescent r. Legend, l., a single large character, apparently *ma*; r. *Wah* or *Vah*, initial syllable of mint (Pl. XXIV, 9).[2]
3	„	Æ 62·2 1·1	Bust of king r.; small crown surmounted by wings, crescent, and globe, crescent in front; legend not read.	Similar to No. 2. Legend, l. illegible, a date; r. *Nah* (? = Nahavend), mint.
4	„	Æ 54·8 1·02	As No. 3.	As No. 3; mint *Nab*, or (?) *Ni*.

No. 19. KOBĀD I, 490–531 A. D.

Silver

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 60 1·18	Bust of king r.; small head-dress with crescent in front, and crescent, globe, and wings above; two stars and two crescents in field; three crescents enclosing stars on margin. Legend, r., in minute characters, *Kūāt*; no l. legend.	Narrow, three-stepped altar with conical flame; attendants rudely indicated; star l., crescent r. Date, l. *haf* (=*hafdah*, 17); mint, r. *Lad* or *Rad*.
2	*I.M.*	Æ 57·7 1·18	Similar; worn; only trace of name.	Similar; date, *sīzdah*, 16; mint, *As.* (Th., Pl. VI, 3, 5; L., Pl. X, 3 (corrected *J. R. A. S.*, 1852, p. 407); B., Pl. XVII, and XIX, 16–20).

[1] As Rawlinson points out (*Seventh Or. Mon.*, p. 327), Rām was the guardian or tutor (précepteur) of Fīrōz, not of Hormazd III, as erroneously asserted by Th. (*Sassanians*, p. 67). This being so, it is natural to interpret these coins as issued by Rām on behalf of young Fīrōz, whose father's portrait is given the principal place. The coins assigned by L., Pl. IX, 1, to Hormazd III are Indo-Sassanian of Kābul, and will be described in the next section. No coins of Hormazd III are known.

[2] Indian imitations will be described in the next section.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 20. KHUSRŪ I (NŪSHĪRVĀN), 531–78 A. D.				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 62 1·2	Bust of king r.; crown small, with point on top, crescent and star in front, globe above; three crescents without stars on margin. Legend, r. *Khusrūī*; l. *afzūn*, = 'Khusrū increasing.'	Two-stepped altar, with conical flame; attendants facing, holding in front swords with points on ground. Date, *sīzsīh*, 33; mint, *Nāh* or *Nīh*.
2	„	loop attached 1·15	Similar; worn.	Similar. Date, *tarīn*, 2; mint, *Am*.
No. 21 *a*. VARAHRĀN CHOBĪN (VI), IN REIGN OF No. 21, HORMAZD IV, ABOUT 579 A. D. (590, D.)				
			Silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·1 1·22	Rude copy of device on No. 1 of Varahrān V. Legend begins with *Varahrān*, rest not read; a countermark on margin. (Possibly a coin of Varahrān V—see D. 'Les Légendes,' p. 105.)	Rude copy of altar of Varahrān V, with head of Ormazd r. in upper part; no legend (Pl. XXIV, 10; Th., *Sassanians*, p. 77; *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 270; not in L. or B. A camp currency).
No. 22. KHUSRŪ II (PARVĪZ), 590–628 A. D.				
			Silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56·3 1·3	Bust of king r.; crown surmounted by spreading wings enclosing star in crescent; three similar stars and crescent on margin. Legend, l. *afzūt*, 'increase'; r. *Khūsrūb* (also read *Khūsrūn* or *Hūslūī*).	Narrow fire-altar with rounded outline; crescent r. and star l. above; attendants facing front, a crescent over each; triple beaded circle. Date, l. seems to be *shashsīh*, 36; r. mint, *Aham* (Pl. XXIV, 11).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 63·8 1·3	Similar.	Similar; date, apparently *chaharsīh*, 34; mint, *Aham*.
3	„	Æ 62·2 1·3	Ditto.	Ditto; date, *haftsīh*, 37; mint, *Aham*.
4	„	Æ 53·1 1·2	Ditto.	Ditto; date, *hashtsīh*, 38; mint, *Aham*.
5	„	Æ 51·3 1·2	Ditto; K. *bismillah* on margin.	Ditto; date, (?) *nūsīh*, 39; mint, (?).
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54·4 1·22	Ditto; P. *afab* on margin. (D. reads *afid* = 'praise'.)	Ditto; date, *sīh*, 30; mint, *Shī*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59 1·3	As No. 6.	As No. 6; date, *sizsih*, 33; mint, *Ral.*
8	*I.M.*	Æ 56·3 1·28	Ditto.	Ditto; date, (?); mint, *Mar* (= Merv).
9	„	Æ 62 1·21	Ditto; P. *afbī* on margin.	Ditto; date, *panjsīh*, 35; mint, *Nih.*
10	„	Æ 63·5 1·25	Similar; but with small crown, like that of Khusrū I; same legends, none on margin; stars in crescents on margin as on coins of Kh. II.	Similar; but no crescents over attendants; date, *khamshī*, 5; mint, *Ral.*
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ 61·7 1·26	Similar; damaged; head like that of Fīrōz.	Similar; date, *hafsīh*, 37; mint, *Ral.*

UNCERTAIN

Copper (bronze)

1	*I.M.*	Æ 63 ·7	Bust of king r., wearing low cap, radiate; some obscure P. characters in front of face.	Ill-executed altar, with attendants holding spears, turned towards it; no legend (Pl. XXIV, 12).
2	„	Æ 51 ·77	Similar.	Similar (Pl. XXIV, 13).
3	„	Æ 50 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto.[1]

THE ARAB GOVERNORS OF PERSIA

Silver

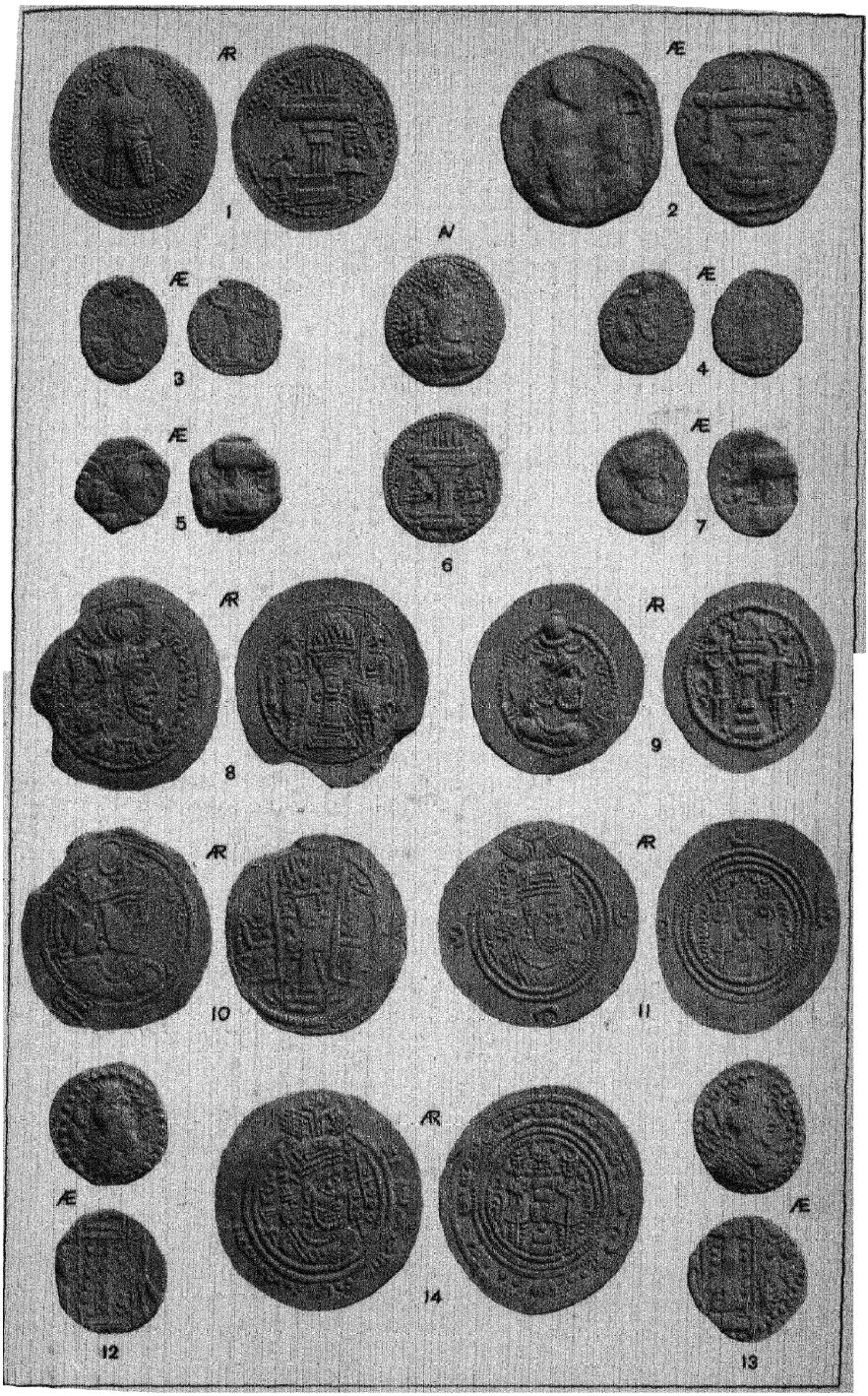
No. 2. OBEIDALLAH BIN ZĪĀD, D. 67 A.H. = 686–7 A.D.[2]

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 55·2 1·22	Bust of king r., as of Khusrū II; double beading; broad margin. Legend, l. behind head, P. *afzūt*; r. before face in two lines, P. (1) *Obeitālā*, = اوبيتالا. (2) *ī Ziyyātān* = زيّاتان ي. On margin crescents with stars, K. *bismillah*, بسم الله and P. *ma.*	Narrow fire-altar with attendants, as on coins of Khusrū II, in triple beading; four crescents with stars in margin. Date, l. (?) *doshast*, 62; mint, r. *Rad* or *Lad* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1850, p. 290).

[1] These coins (Nos. 15924–6) probably were found together. They seem to be unpublished.

[2] The spelling of Arabic words follows Th.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			No. 3. SALĪM BIN ZĪĀD, ABOUT SAME DATE	
2	*I.M.*	Æ 62·5 1·27	Similar; in margin K. *bismillah*, a horseshoe-shaped countermark, and two trios of pellets next the star and crescent at bottom. P. legend, l. *afzūt*; r., in two lines, (1) *Salīmī*, (2) *Ziyyātān*.	Similar. Date, *panjshast*, 65 A. H. = (684–5 A. D.); mint, *Marv*.
			No. 5. ABDALLAH BIN HĀZIM, D. 72 A. H. = 691–2 A. D.	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 62 1·36	Same in all respects as No. 2, except that legend l. is P. (1) *Apdūlā*, (2) *ī Hazmān*.	Similar. Date, *sīshast*, 63 A. H. (= 682–3 A. D.); mint, *Marv*.
			UNCERTAIN, (?) No. IX, OMĪAH BIN ABDALLAH, 692, 693 A. D.	
4	*I.M.*	Æ 59·1 1·32	Bust of king as usual; on margin, K. *bismillah* and P. legend, (?) *Omiya Apdūlā*; a countermark, and two trios of pellets next crescent and star at bottom. P. legend, l. *afzūt*; r. not read.	Device as usual in triple beading, outside which is a margin with marks and legend not read, surrounded by a fourth beading. Date seems to be *arbā*, 4; mint, *Khurāsān* (Pl. XXIV, 14). (See *J. R. A. S.*, 1850, p. 307.)
			UNCERTAIN	
5	*I.M.*	Æ 27·5 ·9	Device as usual; in margin P. *afab*. P. legend, l. *afzūt*; r. *Or*... (or *Ol*...).	Device as usual; on margin four crescents with stars and four trios of pellets. Date and mint not read. (See *J. R. A. S.*, 1850, p. 254 n., quoting Fraehn in *J. As.*, t. iv (1824), p. 335; L., Pl. XII, 3, wrongly ascribed.)
			BILINGUAL COINS OF MUHAMMAD THE MAHDĪ OF BUKHĀRĀ, ABOUT 760 A. D., IMITATED FROM COINS OF VARAHRĀN CHOBĪN	
			Silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 43·1 1·0	Bust of king r., in crude outline, imitating the 'camp coinage' of Varahrān Chobīn; crown surmounted by	Two-stepped fire-altar, rudely outlined, with attendants barely recognizable; no legend.



SASSANIAN COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			crescent and ball. Bilingual legend; P. r. in peculiar script, *Pohwār Howadāo*, پوهوار هوودادو, equivalent to *Bukhārā Khuddāt*, the title of the prince who first struck this type in 632 A.D. K. legend, l. سُنّي, *Sunnī*, 'the orthodox.'	
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 46·1 1·02	Similar; in better condition; P. legend as on No. 1; K. legend, also the same, *Sunni*, سُنّي, 'the orthodox.' Globe instead of crescent and ball above crown.	Similar; the head in the upper part of the altar is more distinct.
3	„	Æ broken ·96	Similar to No. 1, with crescent and ball above crown. P. legend imperfect; K. legend, *Al-mahdi*, المهدى, 'the guide.'	Similar.[1]

[1] This curious coinage has been fully described and illustrated by Mr. Thomas in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii (1879), p. 269; *Num. Chron.*, 1881, pp. 116-128, Pl. VI, in connexion with the issues of Varahrān Chobīn. When the notice by the same author in Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 116 was written, the legends had not been completely deciphered. Probably the specimens catalogued come from the hoard found in Kūlū, where coins of Varahrān Chobīn were associated with the Bukharan imitations (*I. A. ut sup.*, p. 270).

POSTSCRIPT.

When writing the catalogue I overlooked two important papers by the late M. Drouin, namely, 'Histoire de l'Épigraphie Sassanide' (Aperçu sommaire; mémoire lu à la section Iranienne du Congrès des Orientalistes tenu à Paris en Septembre 1897); and 'Les Légendes des Monnaies Sassanides' (*Revue Archéologique*, 1898). The former gives a full bibliography of all publications on Sassanian matters, including the coins. The latter gives amended readings of all the coin legends. The more important corrections have been inserted in the proofs. M. Drouin describes Mordtmann's memoir in *Z. D. M. G.* for 1854 as 'un vaste travail d'ensemble qui a servi de base à tous les ouvrages postérieurs sur la matière'. Subsequent papers by Mordtmann appeared in 1857, 1865, 1879 and 1880. The memoir published in 1879 is a complete treatise on the numismatic history of the Arab Governors of Persia, while the posthumous memoir of 1880 brings the earlier essays up to date. According to M. Drouin, the essays of Mordtmann, combined with the plates of Bartholomaei, should be used still as the basis of all Sassanian studies. The only published catalogue of Sassanian coins is that by M. A. de Markoff (1889), describing about 500 coins of the Sassanian series in the cabinet of the *Institut des Langues Orientales* at St. Petersburg.

SECTION XIII

MEDIAEVAL INDO-SASSANIAN COINS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE WHITE HUNS

INTRODUCTION

THE heterogeneous coins grouped together in this Section belong to widely separated localities, and probably extend over a period of six centuries, from about 500 to 1100 A. D. Few of them can be assigned with confidence to any particular kingdom or ruler; in fact, the only certain assignments to rulers of known date and place are those of the better *Ādi-varāha* coins to Bhojadeva I, king of Kanauj from about 840–90 A. D., and of certain White Hun pieces to Toramāṇa and Mihiragula, between 490 and 540 A. D. A morphological classification has, therefore, been found convenient, the bond of union being the common descent of the whole group from the Sassanian coinage described in the last section. Regarded in this light, these barbarous coins are interesting as examples of numismatic degradation.

The note in the catalogue gives full references concerning the coin of Vāhi-(*al.* Shāhi-)tigīn, who was probably a king of Multān about 500 A. D. The next coin catalogued certainly bears the name of King Napkī in Pahlavī. The five coins assigned to Napkī are all very much alike, but Nos. 2 and 3 replace the ordinary Pahlavī *Na* by a peculiar character. The provenance indicates that Napkī ruled at Kābul, and he may be assigned doubtfully to the fifth century. The note in the catalogue gives the necessary references. The 'solar type' coins with the legend *Tora* in bold Brahmī script may be attributed with confidence to the Toramāṇa, a White Hun or Ephthalite chief, who led his horde into India about 490 A. D., and was succeeded in his Indian dominions about 510 A. D. by his son Mihiragula or Mihirakula. The 'bull type' coins which bear the name of the latter certainly belong to the son of Toramāṇa, and often are restruck on the coins of that prince. Dr. Fleet has shown recently that Siālkōṭ in the Panjāb represents Sākala, the Indian capital of Mihiragula.[1] The White Huns

[1] 'Sagala, Sakala, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula' (*Actes du XIV^e Congrès Intern. des Or.*, t. I, 1905).

issued no coinage with types of their own, being content with barbarous imitations of the coins of the countries which they overran during the fifth and sixth centuries. Many of the White Hun coins are anonymous, but are distinguished by a peculiar mark, which Cunningham named the 'Ephthalite symbol' (see Pl. XXV, 6, 7).

The base silver coinage imitating the later issues of Fīrōz, the Sassanian king killed by the Ephthalites or White Huns in 488 A. D., probably was struck first by Toramāṇa at the close of the fifth century, but still more degraded copies continued to be issued much longer (Pl. XXV, 8–17).

This class of coins comes, so far as is recorded, chiefly from Rājputāna. The eastern or Magadha type (Pl. XXV, 10) preserves very faint recollections of either the Sassanian head or the fire-altar, although both may be traced on the better specimens. The pieces which bear the legend *Śrī Vi* or *Śrī Vigra* may be assigned with almost positive certainty to one or other of the kings of Magadha named Vigraha-pāla. The least barbarous specimens seem to have been issued by the first king of that name, about 900 A. D. The wholly corrupt copies may be as late as the time of Vigraha-pāla III, in the middle of the eleventh century.

The curious coinage known by the popular name Gadhaiyā, or Gadhiyā, of uncertain derivation, seems at first sight to have no intelligible device. But study of extensive series convinced numismatists long ago that the apparently meaningless marks are simply extreme degradations of the ancient Sassanian type (Pl. XXV, 11–17). A few of the later coins are inscribed (Pl. XXV, 15, 16), but I have not been able to make sense of the legend on the specimens catalogued, which seems to give a name beginning with *Kā*. Professor Rapson has shown (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 122) that certain coins of this kind, bearing the name of Chittarāja, were issued by a member of the Śilāhāra dynasty of the Northern Konkan on the Bombay coast between 1020 and 1060 A. D. The inscribed pieces now published may be of nearly the same date. Similar coins are sometimes found in Mewār (Webb, *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputāna*, pp. 4–6). The comparatively modern coin, No. 24, is interesting as proving the late survival of a dim recollection of the Sassanian prototype. Webb cites the 'Dhinglā paisā', which is still current in Rājputāna, as a still stronger illustration of the same fact.

The true assignment of the abundant *Ādi-varāha*, or 'primaeval boar', coins was first effected by Professor Hultzsch, who showed that they were issued by the powerful king, Bhojadeva I, who ruled in Northern India, with his capital at Kanauj, from about 840 to 890 A. D.,

and took the title of *Ādi-varāha*, thus identifying himself with the 'boar incarnation' of Vishṇu. Rude copies of this class of coin probably belong to the eleventh or twelfth century.

I am unable to say anything definite about the four coins grouped together as 'Unknown'. No. 1 (Pl. XXV, 19) is a variety of the Napkī coins of Kābul. No. 3 (Pl. XXV, 20), exhibiting a Bactrian camel and fire-altar, may or may not be Indian; it does not seem to belong to the Sassanian coinage of Persia.

In addition to the references already given, the following publications may be consulted:—Cunningham, 'The Later Indo-Scythians' (*Num. Chron.*, 1894); V. A. Smith, 'History and Coinage of the Gupta Period' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lxiii, pp. 164–212); G. P. Taylor, 'On the Gadhaiyā Coins of Gujarāt' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lxxiii (1904), *Num. Suppl.*); and *I. C.*, secs. 103–9, with copious detailed references.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
VĀHI- (*al.* SHĀHI-)TIGĪN PROBABLY KING OF MULTĀN, ABOUT 500 A. D.				
		Silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 50 1·17	Bust of king, showing three-quarter face r., beardless, with moustache; low crown or cap, surmounted by tiger's head r., and three points (*triśūl*) in front and also behind. Unknown characters (Irano-Scythic) in field before face. Br. legend in broad margin, the most probable reading of which on this specimen is श्री हितिविरेरलाध (? व or च) परमेश्वर श्री वाहि तिगीन देवनारित, '*Śrī hi-tivirai-ralādha* (? *va*, ? *cha*) *parameśvara śrī Vāhi tigīn devanārita* (?)'; giving the titles of a king Vāhi, with the Turkish rank of *tigin*.	Bust of deity facing, wearing crown; head surrounded by flames rising to a point; in broad margin, two circles below, and at top and sides crescents enclosing stars, as on coins of Jamasp. Well-engraved Pahlavi legends as read by Th.; l. *Saf tansaf tef*, سف تنسف تيف, probably meaning *Śrī Tansaf deva*, the name of the deity, supposed to be the Sun-god of Multān; r. (?) *Ṭarkhān Khurāsān malkā*, طرخان خراسان ملکا; but the first word is doubtful. The second and third words meaning 'king of Khurāsān' are certain[1] (Pl. XXV, 1).

[1] Two coins of this much-discussed type were found in the tope of Mānikyāla. I have followed Thomas chiefly, but have taken the reading *Vāhi* (*Vahi*) from M. Drouin. I do

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
NAPKĪ, A (? KUSHĀN) KING OF KĀBUL IN (?) FIFTH OR SIXTH CENTURY				
			Silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52·8 1·03	Bust of king r., with features rather Indian than Persian; ear-ring with two drops; winged head-dress with crescent over forehead; above, buffalo's head with wide horns, facing. P. legend in peculiar script, *Napkī malik*, 'King Napkī,' before face, and P. *sha* behind head.	Elongated two-stepped fire-altar; the attendant with spear on each side turned towards altar; above the head of each a wheel; no distinct legend, except Br. *la* in l. field (Pl. XXV, 2).
2	„	Æ 59·8 1·12	Similar; P. *sha* l. behind head; (?) *kī malik* r. before face. Br. *ha* in l. field over shoulder.	Similar; Br. *ha* in l. field (Pl. XXV, 3).
3	*I.M.*	Æ 52 1·02	Similar; P. legends as No. 2; (?) Br. *ṇa* behind shoulder.	Similar.
			Copper	
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 48·9 1·02	Similar to silver coins; P. legends, *pkī malik* and *sha*; no Br. letter.	Similar.
5	„	Æ 36·1 1·0	Ditto; poor. Legend, *Napki malik* complete; no detached letters.	Ditto; much defaced.[1]

WHITE HUN (EPHTHALITE)

Copper

TORAMĀṆA, ABOUT 500 A. D.

Solar type

1	*I.M.*	Æ 47·3 ·8	Rude copy of Sassanian bust r., without conspicuous head-dress; Br. *bra* before face.	Horizontal line across middle of coin; solar wheel above; Br. *Tora* in large letters below (Pl. XXV, 4).

not believe that the word *Airān* occurs in the Br. legend. See Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 110; *J. R. A. S.*, xii (1850), p. 344; *Reports*, v. 121; *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 291; *I. C.*, sec. 109; Drouin in *Revue Num.*, 1898, p. 139. The reading and meaning of the Br. legend still remain obscure, the characters being imperfectly formed, and varying much in different specimens. Compare *ante*, Section IV, Kushano-Sassanian coins.

[1] These specimens probably are all from Masson's collection made at Beghrām near Kābul, where the type, especially in copper, was of 'frequent occurrence'. Erroneously referred to Hormazd III by Longpérier (p. 59, Pl. IX, 1) with whom Rawlinson (*Seventh Great Or. Mon.*, p. 327) was inclined to agree; but neither author was aware of the Kābul *provenance* (Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. i, pp. 404, 410, Pl. XXXIII, 3), while both misread the legend. See Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. X (XII), 3, p. 288; and compare the Kushano-Sassanian coins *ante* in section iv, and *post*, in this section, Unknown, No. 1.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 64 ·77	Similar to No. 1; Br. *bu* before face.	Similar to No. 1.
3	,,	Æ 51·1 ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
4	,,	Æ 53·3 ·7	Ditto; crescent above head; character before face illegible.	Ditto.
5	,,	Æ 50·8 ·72	Ditto; no crescent; character before face uncertain.	Ditto; wheel blurred.
6	,,	Æ 39·4 ·62	Ditto; Br. *tra* before face.	Ditto.

MIHIRAKULA (MIHIRAGULA), SON OF TORAMĀṆA, ABOUT 510–40 A. D.

Bull type

1	*I.M.*	Æ	56·3 ·7	Sassanian bust r.; Br. legend before face *Śrī Mihirakula*, or *-gula*, the last two characters blurred.	Horizontal line across middle of coin; humped bull walking l. above. Br. legend below, *jayatu vṛisha*, 'May the bull be victorious' (Pl. XXV, 5).
2	,,	Æ	37·7 ·7	Similar; legend imperfect, apparently restruck on another.	Similar.
3	,,	Æ	60 ·86	Similar; legend defaced.	Ditto.
4	,,	Æ	45·8 ·7	Ditto; *Śrī Mihira.*	Ditto; legend indistinct.
5	,,	Æ	51 ·67	Ditto; *Śrī Mihiraku.*	Ditto; ditto; crescent above bull; dividing line near bottom of coin.
6	,,	Æ	42·2 ·7	Ditto; *Śrī Mihiraku.*	Ditto; legend complete; crescent above bull.
7	,,	Æ	37·5 ·7	Similar; *Śrī Mihira* legible; device blurred, due apparently to attempt to strike bust over Toramāṇa's wheel.	Bull l.; legend illegible.
8	,,	Æ	51 ·8	Sassanian bust r., with wheel above; traces of legend in front of face.	Blurred attempt to strike the bull over Sassanian bust, the ends of the diadem being still visible.
9	,,	Æ	38·6 ·68	Very rude Sassanian bust r. Legend, *Śrī Mihirakula* (or *-gula*) imperfect.	Bull l. with off foreleg raised. Legend, *jayatu vṛisha.*[1]

[1] This coin is cast, and, like Nos. 5 and 6, is roughly square in form, although partially rounded.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Kushān type	
10	*I.M.*	Æ 116 ·9	Standing king, as on Kushān coins. Legend, *Shāhi Mihiragula*, imperfect.	Throned goddess, as on Kushān coins; no legend.
			UNASSIGNABLE, PERIOD OF MIHIRAKULA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 30·8 ·65	Sassanian bust r.; 'Ephthalite symbol' before face.	Humped bull walking l.; no legend.
2	„	Æ 51·7 ·77	Similar.	Lion or tiger standing l., with an object (? animal) under its feet (Pl. XXV, 6).
3	„	Æ 42 ·72	Parthian-looking bust r.; Ephthalite symbol in front.	Humped bull running r. (Pl. XXV, 7).
4	„	Æ 51·6 ·67	Similar, but more Sassanian.	Humped bull walking l.
5	„	Æ 33·2 ·7	Ditto; very rude.	Ditto; very rude.
6	„	Æ 40·2 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto; seems to be cast.
7	„	Æ 31·7 ·68	Ditto; ditto.	Rude bull walking r.; ditto.
8	„	Æ 36 ·67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; cast.[1]
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30·8 ·67	Bust as usual; no symbol.	Double-struck; wheel above; confused legend below *Śrī Vaya*, and *sa* lower down.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 45·7 ·95	Bust of king r., with (?)young prince facing him; small Ephthalite symbol behind head; double beading; convex.	Double beading with Ephthalite symbol in centre; concave.

UNASSIGNED COINAGE, IMITATING THE COINS OF FĪRŌZ, SASSANIAN

A.—NORTH-WESTERN TYPE, FROM ABOUT 500 TO 1000 A.D.[2]

1	*I.M.*	Æ 63·3 ·9	Bust of king r., a rude copy of bust on later coins of Fīrōz; no legend.	Fire-altar; very rude; mere traces of attendants; no legend (Pl. XXV, 8).
2	„	Æ 63 ·92	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 63 ·92	Ditto.	Ditto.

[1] Nos. 4, 5, 8 are roughly squared; 6 and 7 are very irregular in shape.

[2] Most of these coins are from the hoard found in Merwara (Mhairwarra), Rājputāna (not Mārwār; Rᴇuson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 119, note), as described in detail by Dr. Hoernle in *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1889, p. 228; *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1890, p. 168, Pl. V.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ 59·7 ·95	As No. 3.	As No. 3.
5	„	Æ 64 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 62·6 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 63·2 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 61·7 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 63·2 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 52·6 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto.
11	„	Æ 62·9 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 63·3 1·0	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 54·8 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 64 ·98	Ditto.	Ditto.
		The following are still more degraded		
15	*I.M.*	Æ 57·8 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 58·5 ·85	Ditto; Br. *ha* before face.	Ditto.
17	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59 ·95	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
18	„	Æ 54 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
19	„	Æ 58·7 ·84	Ditto.	Ditto.
20	„	Æ 63·5 ·9	Ditto; device barely recognizable.	Ditto.
21	„	Æ 62·3 ·95	Ditto; very barbarous.	Ditto.
22	„	Æ 60 ·8	Ditto; ditto; Br. *ha* before face.	Ditto.
23	*I.M.*	Æ 59 ·75	Caricature of Sassanian head with winged headdress.	Fire-altar and supporters indicated (Pl. XXV, 9).
24	„	Æ 56 ·72	Similar.	Similar.
25	„	Æ 58 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
26	„	Æ 58·1 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto (Nos. 23–6 are of fairly good silver).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
27	*I.M.*	Æ 58·3 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
28	„	Æ 58 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
29	„	plated — ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
30	„	plated — ·87	Ditto.	Ditto.

B.—EASTERN OR MAGADHA TYPE, ABOUT TENTH CENTURY A. D.

Silver

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 58 ·7	Very rude head r.; *Śrī* in large letters in front of face; *Vigra*[*ha*] below.	Indications of Sassanian altar with attendants; in centre the character स, *sa* (Cunningham calls it *ma*) (Pl. XXV, 10).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 55·9 ·75	Doubtful indications of head on l. margin; most of field occupied by *Śrī Vi* in bold characters.	Indications of altar with attendants.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 58·5 ·75	Generally similar; *Śrī Vi*.	Similar, but more debased. (Above coins may be ascribed to one or other Vigrahapāla of Magadha; No. 1, perhaps, to V. I, about 900 A.D.; Nos. 2 and 3, either to V. II, 990 A.D., or V. III, 1055 A.D.)[1]
4	*I.M.*	Æ 60 ·68	Somewhat similar; but no intelligible characters.	Indeterminate marks, scarcely suggesting the altar.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 56 ·68	Generally similar to No. 4.	Similar to No. 4.
6	„	Æ 58 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 58·2 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto (Nos. 5–7 from the Darbhangā District, Tirhūt).
8	*I.M.*	Æ 54 ·7	Generally similar; a mass of curved lines.	Generally similar to Nos. 5–7.
9	„	Æ 59 ·66	Curves and corrupt characters, probably intended for *Śrī*.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 58·5 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.
11	„	Æ 56·5 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.

[1] Coins of this type found in Devapāla temple at Ghosrāwa in Patna District (*Reports*, xi. 174–81).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
12	*I.M.*	Æ 57·8 ·64	Similar to No. 11; perhaps *Śrī Vi.*	Similar to No. 11.
13	„	Æ 52·7 ·65	Similar; *Śrī.*	Ditto; *sa* in centre.[1]

GADHAIYĀ (GADHIYĀ) CURRENCY OF RĀJPUTĀNA AND GUJARĀT, FROM ABOUT 750 TO 1100 A. D.

Base silver or copper

A. Flat coins, diameter ·65 to ·68

1	*I.M.*	Æ	62 ·65	Rude imitation of Sassanian bust r., without wings to head-dress; meaningless lines and curves.	Lines and dots suggesting the Sassanian fire-altar.
2	„	Æ	61 ·68	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	63·1 ·66	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ	64 ·67	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	61·9 ·66	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ	64·2 ·66	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXV, 11).
7	„	Æ	64 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ	63·6 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.

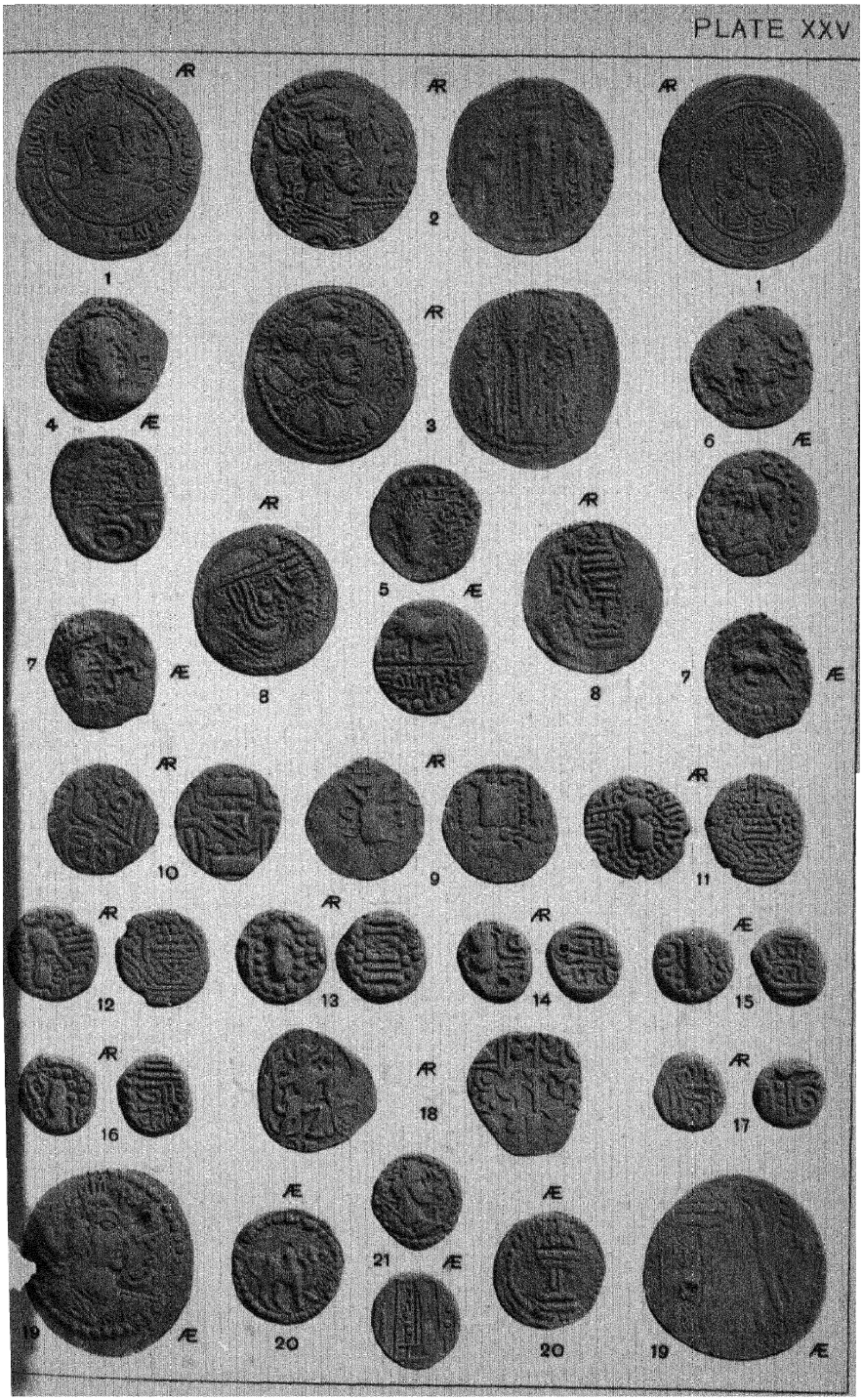
B. Thicker transitional pieces, diameter ·54 to ·62

9	*I.M.*	Æ	62 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ	63·8 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXV, 12).
11	„	Æ	62·5 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto.
12	„	Æ	59·7 ·54	Ditto; but ruder.	Ditto.

C. Thick dumpy pieces, copper or very base silver, diameter ·47 to ·57

13	*I.M.*	Æ	70·5 ·52	Head of king, almost or quite unrecognizable.	Similar to preceding, but more degraded.
14	„	Æ	74·5 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ	72 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto.

[1] Coins like Nos. 4–13 are very common in Bihār, the eastern districts of the United Provinces, and in Oudh. Only selected specimens have been catalogued.



INDO-SASSANIAN COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size		Obverse	Reverse
16	*A.S.B.*	Æ	66 ·56	Ditto.	Ditto.
17	„	Æ	73·3 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto; from Kaira District, Gujarāt (Pl. XXV, 13).
18	„	Æ	67·8 ·54	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
19	*I.M.*	Æ	62·3 ·48	Ditto; still more degraded.	Two-line legend in late Nāgarī script, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Ka* (Pl. XXV, 14).
20	*A.S.B.*	Æ	65 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Two-line legend, (1) ? *Śrī* (2) *Kāda* (Pl. XXV, 15).
21	*I.M.*	Æ	63·6 ·51	Ditto; ditto.	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Kā* (?) (Pl. XXV, 16).
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ	52·2 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Two-line legend, perhaps the same.
23	„	Æ	60·5 ·47	Ditto; ditto.	A mere semblance of a legend, quite illegible (Pl. XXV, 17).
				Modern	
24	*A.S.B.*	Æ	71 ·63	Square inside circle containing two-line legend, (1) *hāma* or *hāsa* (2) *sa 4*.	Reminiscence of the fire-altar.

BHOJADEVA I (PRABHĀSA, ĀDI-VARĀHA, MIHIRA), PARIHĀR (GŪRJARA), KING OF MAHODAYA (KANAUJ) AND UPPER INDIA, ABOUT 840–90 A. D.

ĀDI-VARĀHA type; silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	62·3 ·75	Two-line Br. inscription, (1) *Śrīmad-ā* (2) *di varāha*, 'the fortunate primaeval boar,' a title both of Vishṇu and king Bhoja. Below, marks which are a reminiscence of the Sassanian fire-altar.	The boar incarnation of Vishṇu, a man with boar's head, striding r.; solar wheel in front of him (Pl. XXV, 18).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	58·7 ·75	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	63·4 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	*I.M.*	Æ	51·9 ·7	Ditto; worn.	Ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ	56·8 ·7	Ditto; no wheel.	Ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ	61·4 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ	57·2 ·65	Ditto; poor copy.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
8	*I.M.*	Æ base 56·8 ·7	As No. 7; degraded copy.	As No. 7; the coin is roughly triangular in shape.[1]
		Copper		
9	*I.M.*	Æ 61 ·7	Similar; rude and poor.	Indistinct marks.
10	,,	Æ 57·9 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto.
		UNKNOWN		
		Copper		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 51·8 1·12	Bust somewhat resembling that of Napkī malik, with a small radiate crown; short legend in unknown (? Irano-Scythic) characters before face.	Fire-altar, with attendants turned towards it, in very degraded form; no legend (Pl. XXV, 19).
2	,,	Æ 14·7 ·63	Bust of king three-quarter face r., radiate; with sceptre held before his face; no legend.	Fire-altar; to r. a three-pointed symbol, nearly as on Kushān coins, and the Br. character *jā*; traces of other characters; badly preserved.
3	,,	Æ 18·8 ·7	Two-humped camel walking r., with fringe hanging from neck; no other device or legend; dotted circle.	Fire-altar of rather early type; no other device or legend. Possibly Sassanian of Persia (Pl. XXV, 20).
4	,,	Æ 15 ·56	Bust of king r., diad., (?) radiate; a short mace or sceptre in r. hand; no legend.	Debased reminiscence of fire-altar and attendants (Pl. XXV, 21).

[1] Poor specimens and degraded copies of *Ādi-varāha* coins are very common all over northern India, but fine specimens like No. 1 are difficult to procure.

SECTION XIV

THE HINDU KINGS OF OHIND

COMMONLY CALLED 'KINGS OF KĀBUL', FROM ABOUT 875 A. D. TO 1000 A. D.

INTRODUCTION

THE coins of the princes commonly called the 'Hindu Kings of Kābul', although long familiar to numismatists, and extremely common in Afghanistan, the Panjāb, and throughout Northern India, present a puzzle, or rather a series of puzzles, which nobody has succeeded in solving completely. They occur in three types, namely, the 'bull and horseman', 'elephant and lion', and 'lion and peacock'. The last named is known only from a single specimen in the British Museum (weight 30·3 grains, Bayley, No. 1), which bears the name श्री कमर, *Śrī Kamara*, over the lion, an heraldic-looking beast turned l., with its tail curved over its back. In form the lion on that coin closely resembles the animal depicted on the 'elephant and lion' pieces, which is turned r. These 'elephant and lion' coins belong to three reigns, namely, Śrī Padama (weight 33, Bayley, No. 2), Śrī Vakka-deva, and Śrī Sāmanta-deva, and occur in copper only. The Śrī Padama coin seems to be unique, whereas the coins of Vakka-deva and Sāmanta-deva, especially the latter, are common. The 'bull and horseman' type was issued in both silver and copper. The coins of this type bearing the name or title Sāmanta-deva are extremely abundant in both metals; those of Spalapati-deva, also in both metals, although less abundant, are fairly common[1]; while those of Khudavayaka, in silver only, are rare; those of Bhīm-deva, likewise in silver only, are very rare; and a copper coin of Vakka-deva is believed to be unique.

The name which I read as *Vakka* has been read as *Varka* (Bayley), *Verka* (Thomas), *Veṅka* (Cunningham), or *Vaṅka* (Rodgers)[2]. In the labels on the *A. S. B.* coins Mr. Rodgers read Vakka as I do.

[1] A coin, either of Sāmanta-deva or Spalapati, when analysed, was found to contain $\frac{894.6}{1000}$ silver; the balance being copper, with a trace of gold (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1889, p. 198).

[2] The readings Varka or Verka cannot be supported. If the upper part of the conjunct character were the guttural *ṅ*, it should be a rectangle open to the r. The coins catalogued have not the *e* which Cunningham detected on his specimens.

The name which seems to me to be *Khudavayaka* has been read as *Khvadavayaka* (Bayley and Rodgers), *Khuduvayaka* (Stein), and *Khamarayaka* (Cunningham)[1]. Cunningham appears to be right in reading Spalapati rather than Syālapati or Syalapati.

The arrangement of these various kings in proper order is extremely difficult, and, in fact, impossible at present. Alberūnī (1031 A. D.) informs us that the last king of the ancient Turkī (or Kushān) dynasty of Kābul named Lagatūrmān was supplanted by his Brahman minister Kallar, who founded a 'Hindu Shahiya' dynasty, comprising Sāmand (=Sāmanta-deva), Kamalū (probably=Kamara), Bhīma (=Bhīm-deva), Jaipāl (Jayapāla), Ānandapāla, and Tarojanapāla (= Trilochana-pāla). The last named died in 412 A. H. (=April 1021–April 1022 A. D.), and his son Bhīmapāla perished five years later. The Kashmīr chronicle tells of unsuccessful warfare waged by King Śamkara-varman of Kashmīr (883–901 A. D.) against a Śāhi (=Shahiya) king named Lalliya of Udabhāṇḍapura (Ohind). The title of Shāhi (Shahiya, Śāhi) was taken over by the Brahman kings of the Panjāb from their Turkī predecessors, who held both Kābul and the Panjāb, and the date indicates that Lalliya must have been the earliest of the dynasty, who is called Kallar by Alberūnī. Thomas and Cunningham further identify Kallar with the Spalapati-deva of the coins, but there is no conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. Cunningham seems to have sufficient reason for interpreting *Spalapati* as a Sanskritized form of a Persian title meaning 'military commander'. Sāmanta has the same signification in Sanskrit, and a doubt is thus suggested as to how far these names on the coins should be interpreted as being personal. Kamara and Bhīmadeva of the rare coins (not included in this catalogue) evidently correspond respectively with Kamalū and Bhīm of Alberūnī; but Padama, Vakka, and Khuduvayaka cannot be fitted into his list with certainty. Although Sāmanta-deva obviously is the same as Sāmand, Spalapati remains unaccounted for; and, as remarked above, the words *Sāmanta* and *Spalapati* having the same meaning, may both refer to a single person. The matter is further complicated by the continued use of *Sāmanta* as a title on both Indian and Muhammadan coins long after the time of Alberūnī's Sāmand.

The rare coins of Aśata-pala (Pl. XXVI, 6) seem to be the latest of the series, if, indeed, they are included rightly in it. The connexion of Aśata-pāla with the Hindu Shāhi dynasty is by no means clear, and it is evident that if he is to be assigned to it, his place must be found among the rulers with names ending in *pāla* about 1000 A. D., and not among the Sāmanta-deva series, which terminated about 950 A. D. It is not

[1] Cunningham's reading appears indefensible to me. It is better to read *Khu* than *Kha*.

unlikely, in spite of the slight difference in the spelling of the name, that the coins of Aśata-pāla should be ascribed to Āśaṭa, the chief of Chambā (Champā), who did homage to Kalaśa, king of Kashmīr in 1087–8 A. D. (*Rājat.*, Bk. VII, 588, Stein's transl. vol. i, p. 315).

Although the 'Hindu Shahiya' dynasty is described by Alberūnī as having succeeded the old Turkī (Kushān) dynasty of Kābul, this statement should not be interpreted as meaning that Kābul was the capital of the Shahiyas. As a matter of fact, their capital was Ohind (Und, Waihind, Udabhāṇḍapura) on the Indus above Attock (Atak), while Kābul during their time was in the hands of the Musulmans, having been captured by Yā'ḳūb Lais in 257 A. H. (= Nov. 870–Nov. 871 A. D.). It is most improbable that the Shahiyas had anything to do with that city. While the Arabic author was quite correct in affirming that the Shahiyas were the successors of the Turkī dynasty of Kābul, he must not be understood to assert that the succession extended to the whole dominions of the older dynasty, which had included both Kābul and the Panjāb. When the change of dynasty occurred, Kābul probably was already in the hands of the foreign invader, and the new royal family had to be content with possessions lying outside the immediate range of the armies of Islām. At Ohind the Shahiya kings were in safety for a considerable time, until about 1013 A. D., when the last of them to enjoy power, Trilochana-pāla, was defeated decisively by Mahmūd of Ghaznī on the bank of the Taushī (Tosi) river on the southern frontier of Kashmīr. The members of the family enjoyed a high reputation and won the admiration of the Muhammadan savant in their conqueror's train, who generously observes, 'We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right,—that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.'

Certain coins of Sāmanta-deva and Spalapati exhibit on the horseman side figures 'written in numerals of a form intermediate between those of the mediaeval Indian mints and the modern Arabic forms . . . graduating into the latter'. They are read as 802, 812, 813, 814, 815, and 817 (Pl. XXVI), and I believe that they must be interpreted as dates expressed in the Śaka era, equivalent to years ranging from 880 to 895 A. D.[1] The fact that the same dates, if they are dates, occur on the coins of both Sāmanta-deva and Spalapati supports the suggestion that both those titles may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberūnī, and the Lalliya of the Kashmīr chronicle. Possibly the difficulty may be explained by the hypothesis that the coins with the Persian title were struck at mints situated in the territory west of

[1] Certain marks on some coins of Spalapati (catal. Nos. 2, 6) look like the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200.

the Indus, which formerly was included in the Persian empire, while those with the Sanskrit title were issued in the Panjāb. The evidence concerning the *provenance* of the coins is not sufficiently precise to enable this conjecture to be tested.

The principal references are:—*C. M. I.*, pp. 55–67, Pl. VII; Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kābul* (Stuttgart, Kohlmann, 1893); transl. *Rājat.*, vol. ii, note J, with detailed references; Bayley, 'Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul' (*Num. Chron.*, vol. ii, 3rd ser. (1882), p. 128, with two plates); Elliot, *History of India*, vol. ii, note A, p. 403; Thomas, *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. i, pp. 299–318, Pl. XXV; *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, p. 57; and Sachau, transl. of Alberūnī's *Indica*, vol. ii, p. 13.

Among these works Stein's German pamphlet offers the best summary of the history. The writings of Bayley and Cunningham include much rather fanciful speculation, and at this time it is hardly necessary to observe that Bayley's ingenious attempt to interpret the supposed dates as referring to the Gupta era is quite untenable.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SPALAPATI-DEVA, LATE IN NINTH CENTURY	
			Bull and horseman type	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 54 ·8	Recumbent humped bull l., with trappings; trident with curved sides on rump. Legend above, श्री खलप-ति[देव], *Śrī Spalapati-[deva]*.	King in armour, on caparisoned horse r., holding in r. hand lance with point downwards, and in l. hand an uncertain object. Behind him, ग, *gra*; before him on r. margin, unread legend in unknown characters (Pl. XXVI, 1).
2	„	Æ 45·3 ·7	Similar; trident rubbed away; legend complete.	Similar; behind king 𑁒, (?) = 200[1]; in front of horse apparently ∧II, = 811.
3	„	Æ 48 ·73	Similar.	Similar; numerals = (?) 812 or 814 (Pl. XXVI, 2).
4	„	Æ 51 ·72	Ditto; trident distinct.	Ditto; same numerals.

[1] Compare 𑁒 = 200, from Bower MS., in Bühler, *Ind. Palaeog.*, Pl. IX.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*I.M.*	Æ 49·8 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ 51·3 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; Ditto; character behind king nearly as on No. 2, ॥; same numeral on margin as No. 3.
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45·7 ·7	Similar; worn.	Similar; worn.
8	„	Æ 45·7 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; character and numerals as on No. 2.
		Copper		
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 43·5 ·75	Similar to silver coins.	Similar to silver coins; no character or numerals.
10	„	Æ 45 ·75	Ditto; poor.	Ditto; ditto.
11	„	Æ 38·8 ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

SĀMANTA-DEVA, EARLY IN TENTH CENTURY

Bull and horseman type

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	51·2 ·8	Bull l., as on coins of Spalapati, but rather more in outline. Legend above, *Śrī Sāmanta-deva.*	Horseman r., as on coins of Spalapati; behind him, भी, *bhī*; over horse's head a doubtful character (Pl. XXVI, 3).
2	„	Æ	51 ·8	Similar.	Similar; on margin (?) ∧I∨, 814.
3	„	Æ	49·7 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; no marginal numerals.
4	„	Æ	50·4 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; numerals as on No. 2.
5	„	Æ	45·2 ·71	Ditto.	Ditto; character over horse's head seems to be त्रि, *tri*; no marginal numerals.
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ	50·8 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; character over horse's head obscure; no marginal numerals.
7	„	Æ	45·3 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ	47·3 ·73	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
9	„	Æ	48 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; marginal numerals as on No. 2.
10	„	Æ	base 48·8 ·65	Ditto; rude.	Ditto; rude, and apparently of late date.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper (probably later in date)	
11	*A.S.B.*	Æ (?) billon 54 ·6	Similar to silver coins, but script slightly different.	Similar to silver coins, but ruder; no marginal date; thick coin.
12	„	Æ (?) billon 54·2 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ copper 45·4 ·55	Ditto; only hump of bull visible. Legend seems to read *Sāmānta.*	Ditto.
14	„	Æ copper 52 ·6	Similar, but better executed.	Similar; traces of letters or numerals in front of horse.
			Elephant and lion type; copper	
15	*A.S.B.*	Æ 30·7 ·78	Elephant standing l. Legend above, *Śri Sāmanta-deva.*	Lion r., with tail curled over his back; five pellets above.
16	*I.M.*	Æ 35 ·75	Similar.	Similar; pellets not visible; obscure marks in front of lion.
17	„	Æ 37·5 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto; three pellets visible; obscure marks in front of lion.
18	„	Æ 33 ·75	Similar; poor.	Similar; poor condition.
19	*A.S.B.*	Æ 33·7 ·75	Similar.	Similar.
20	„	Æ 32·8 ·73	Similar.	Similar; five pellets.
21	„	Æ 34 ·73	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
			ANONYMOUS	
			Elephant and lion type; copper	
22	*A.S.B.*	Æ 24·8 ·63	Similar to coins of Sāmanta, but ruder; no legend.	Lion r. in rude outline; pellets above.
			VAKKA-DEVA, TENTH CENTURY[1]	
			Elephant and lion type; copper	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 31·6 ·75	Elephant l., as on coins of Sāmanta-deva. Legend above, *Śrī Vakka-deva.*	Lion r., as on coins of Sāmanta-deva; three pellets and other marks in front of him (Pl. XXVI, 4).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 36·4 ·8	Similar.	Similar.

[1] For various readings of name, see Introduction.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 39·1 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; marks not visible.
4	„	Æ 36 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*I.M.*	Æ 29·1 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; worn.

KHUDAVAYAKA, TENTH CENTURY[1]

Bull and horseman type; silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 49·7 ·74	Bull l., as on coins of Sāmanta-deva. Legend above, *Śri Khudavayakaḥ.*	Horseman r., as on coins of Sāmanta-deva; behind him a character, (?) ꠢ, *pa* or *pu* (Pl. XXVI, 5).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 44·5 ·75	Similar.	Similar; obscure character over horse's head.
3	*I.M.*	Æ 47 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; worn.

AŚATA-PĀLA, ABOUT 1000 A. D., OR LATER

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45 ·6	Bull l., but rude. Legend above, *Aśata-p*[*āla*].	Horseman r.; degraded in style (Pl. XXVI, 6).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 45·5 ·62	Similar.	Similar.

[1] For various readings of name, see Introduction.

Section XV

THE MEDIAEVAL DYNASTIES OF CENTRAL INDIA

INTRODUCTION

The three dynasties whose coinage is treated in this section were closely connected in place, time, and history. The most northerly kingdom, that of the Chandēllas, was equivalent roughly to the modern Bundēlkhaṇḍ. Its capital was Mahoba, still existing as a town in the south of the Hamīrpur District, and the Rājās also held Kālanjar, Ajaigaṛh, and other strong places. The dynasty was founded about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and had attained considerable power at the time of the accession of Kīrtivarma-deva, about 1060 A. D. The coinage begins with this prince, who copied the issues of Gāṅgeya-deva Vikramāditya of Western Chedi (about 1015–40 A. D.). The dynastic list, so far as it is relevant to this work, is as follows, with the known epigraphic dates A. D.:—

13. Kīrtivarman, 1098.
14. Sallakshaṇavarman (Hallakshaṇa).
15. Jayavarman, 1117.
17. Madanavarman, 1129–62.
20. Paramardin, 1167–1201.
21. Trailokyavarman (or -malla), 1212–41.
22. Vīravarman, 1261–86.

(Nos. 16, 18, 19 in the genealogy did not reign.)

The Kalachuri or Haihaya dynasty of Western Chedi, which had its capital at Tripuri (Tewar) near Jabalpur (Jubbulpore, Central Provinces), to the south of the Narbadā, was nearly synchronous with the Chandēllas, its history extending from 900 to 1200 A. D. in round numbers. Out of the fifteen names in the genealogy, one alone, that of Gāṅgeya-deva Vikramāditya, who reigned from about 1015 to 1040 A. D., concerns the numismatist, for no coins are known which can be attributed to any of the other Rājās. The coins of Gāṅgeya are fairly common in the eastern districts of the United Provinces, and

there is reason to believe that in 1019 A. D. he had extended his authority even to Champāran in Tirhūt. He initiated the type of coinage which was copied by the Chandēlla and other dynasties.

The kingdom of Eastern Chedi or Ḍāhāla, the valley of the Mahānadī, was roughly equivalent to the modern Chhattīsgaṛh Division of the Central Provinces, with Ratnapura (Ratanpur) as its capital. The Rājās, like those of Western Chedi, belonged to the Kalachuri or Haihaya clan of Kshatriyas or Rājpūts. Their history falls within the limits of 1000 and 1200 A. D. The relevant portion of the dynastic list, with the known epigraphic dates, is as follows :—

3. Ratnarāja I.
4. Pṛithvīdeva I.
5. Jājalla I, 1114.
6. Ratnadeva II.
7. Pṛithvīdeva II, 1141–58.
8. Jājalla II, 1167.
9. Ratnadeva III, 1181.

The repetition of names causes difficulty in assigning the coins. Those catalogued probably belong to Nos. 7–9, but they might be assigned to the earlier homonymous Rājās.

The dynastic lists referred to for all three dynasties are those recently prepared from inscriptions by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, App. I), which supersede all earlier lists.

The design of Gāṅgeya-deva's model coinage is very simple. The obverse is wholly occupied by the Rājā's name in bold characters, not differing very much from modern Nāgarī. The reverse type is a rudely executed figure of a goddess seated cross-legged. The Chandēlla gold coins are exactly the same in appearance, the names only being changed. The cabinets catalogued do not include any specimen of the rare Chandēlla copper coinage, which substitutes Hanumān for the goddess. The obverse of the Eastern Chedi or Ratnapura coinage resembles that of Gāṅgeya-deva and the Chandēllas, with the necessary changes of names, but on the reverse an indistinct figure of a rampant lion to the right takes the place of the goddess. The large gold coins were known by the name of *dramma*, and are struck to the Greek drachma standard. The smaller sizes are fractional parts of a *dramma*. Two examples of coins of Gāṅgeya-deva weighing 7 grains each ($\frac{1}{8}$th *dramma*) are known; and No. 9 in this catalogue weighs only 5·6 grains, although in fair condition.[1] The copper coins follow the same scale of weights, as also do the rare coins supposed to be silver.

[1] Various kinds of *drammas* are mentioned in the great Sīyaḍoṇī inscription of the tenth century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, i. 168). The late survival of the Greek name and weight standard is interesting.

But I am not certain that any of these dynasties really struck a silver coinage. Much of their gold is so largely alloyed with silver as to be distinguishable with difficulty from coins intended to be of that metal, and it is possible that all the pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were regarded officially as being gold.

See *C. M. I.*, pp. 67–80, Pl. VIII; and for the coins of the Chandēllas and Gāṅgeya-deva, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxvi, Part I (1897), p. 306.

CATALOGUE

I. THE KALACHURI DYNASTY OF ḌĀHĀLA OR WESTERN CHEDI (JABALPUR)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			GĀṄGEYA-DEVA, ABOUT 1015–40 A.D.	
			Seated goddess type	
			Gold	
1	*I.M.*	*Au* 63 ·77	Three-line legend in bold characters, covering face of coin, (1) *Śrīmad-Gā* (2) *ṅgeya-de* (3) *va*.	Nimbate goddess, seated facing, cross-legged, with her hands spread out at her sides (Pl. XXVI, 7).
2	„	*Au* 60·8 ·77	Similar.	Similar.
3	*A.S.B.*	*Au* 60·7 ·75	Ditto; *va* not visible.	Ditto.
4	„	*Au* base 14·6 ·46	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	*Au* base 61·5 ·7	Ditto; *vaḥ*.	Ditto.
6	*I.M.*	*Au* base 60·8 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
7	*A.S.B.*	*Au* base 59·5 ·67	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	*Au* base 59·3 ·68	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.[1]
9	*I.M.*	*Au* 5·6 ·3	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrīmad Gā* (2) *ṅgeya deva*.	Ditto; good gold.

[1] Nos. 5. 7, 8 may be of silver, as labelled by Mr. Rodgers, but look to me like very base gold. In coins of this class it is difficult to distinguish true silver from much debased gold. No. 1 is good yellow gold.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper	
10	*I.M.*	Æ 59·2 ·69	As No. 8; *va* not visible.	As No. 8.
11	„	Æ 48·7 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.
12	*A.S.B.*	Æ 48·3 ·65	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; worn.

II. THE CHANDĒLLA DYNASTY OF JEJĀKABHUKTI (BUNDĒLKHAṆḌ)

Seated goddess type

KĪRTI-VARMA (VARMAN)-DEVA, ABOUT 1055–1100 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	*Æ*	base 30·8 ·73	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrīmat K*[*ī*] (2) [*r*]*tt*[*i*]-*varmma-* (3) *deva*, imperfect.[1]	Seated goddess, as on coins of Gāṅgeya-deva.

MADANA-VARMA, ABOUT 1130–1165 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	*Æ*	62·3 ·72	(1) *Śrīma*[*d*]- *ma-* (2) *dana-va*[*r*]*m*[*ma*] (3) *-deva*, imperfect and doubtful.	Seated goddess, as on coins of Gāṅgeya-deva, but ruder.
2	„	*Æ*	62·2 ·74	Similar: (1) *Śrīma*[*d*]-*ma* (2) *dana-va*]*r*]*mma.*	Similar.
3	„	*Æ*	15·6 ·45	Ditto; (1) *Śrīma*[*d*]-*ma* (2) *dana-varmma.*	Ditto.

PARAMARDI, ABOUT 1165—APRIL 1203 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	*Æ*	base 61·4 ·75	(1) *Śrīmat Pa* (2) *ra-ma*[*r*]*ddi.*	Ditto (unique, from Khajūrāho; see *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, 1889, p. 34, Pl. XXVI, 8).

TRAILOKYA-VARMA-DEVA, 1203—ABOUT 1240 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	*Æ*	base 62·2 ·75	(1) *Śrīmat Trai-* (2) *lokya-va-* (3) [*r*]*mma-deva.*	Ditto (Pl. XXVI, 9).[2]

[1] The doubling of a consonant after *r* is optional in Sanskrit.

[2] Mr. Rodgers (*Catal.*, Part iii, p. 99) describes No. 8488, *Æ*, 59 grains, diam. ·7, with an iron loop attached, as a 'duplicate of 8487', the coin now catalogued; but I have not found No. 8488.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		VĪRA-VARMA-DEVA, ABOUT 1240–1280 A.D.		
1	*I.M.*	Æ base 62·5 ·72	(1) *Śrīmad Vī-* (2) *ravarmma-*(? *ha*), (3) (? *rā*)-*deva.*	Seated goddess, (unique, from Khajūrāho; see *J. A. S.B.*, *loc. cit.* Pl. XXVI, 10).[1]

III. THE HAIHAYA DYNASTY OF MAHĀ-KOSALA OR EASTERN CHEDI (CHHATTĪSGARH)

Rampant lion type; gold

PṚITHVĪ-DEVA (? II), ABOUT 1140–60 A.D.[2]

1	*I.M.*	Æ	good 60·2 ·85	Two-line legend in bold, late script, (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi* (2) *thvī-deva.*	Indistinctly designed rampant lion r. (Pl. XXVI, 11).
2	„	Æ	alloyed 59·3 ·77	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	good 59·3 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	good 59 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; from Ganjām.
5	„	Æ	good 59·8 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.

JĀJALLA-DEVA (? II), ABOUT 1160–75 A.D.[3]

1	*I.M.*	Æ	good 58 ·8	Two-line legend, in script, better formed than that of Pṛithvī-deva, (1) *Śrīmaj Jā-* (2) *jalla-deva.*	Lion r., as on coins of Pṛithvī-deva (Pl. XXVI, 12).
2	„	Æ	good 59·9 ·85	Similar; a mint-mark below.	Similar.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ	good 59·7 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto; bent; the lion distinct; from Ganjām.
4	*I.M.*	Æ	base 56·3 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; much debased device.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ or Æ	base	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; मा, *mā*, in r. field.

[1] Mr. Rodgers read the uncertain characters in the obv. legend as *Chandra*, which cannot be right. I am unable to interpret them.

[2] The coins of good gold may belong to Pṛithvī-deva I, about 1060–90 A.D.

[3] The coins of good gold may belong to Jājalla-deva I, about 1090–1120 A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ or base Æ 14 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
7	*I.M.*	Æ base 13·3 ·54	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; म, *ma*, in r. field.
8	,,	Æ base 14 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 14 ·53	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; ditto.

RATNA-DEVA (? III), ABOUT 1175–90 A.D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ yellow 60·5 ·77	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī-mad-Ra* (2) *tna-deva*.	Rudely designed rampant lion r. (Pl. XXVI, 13).
2	,,	Æ base 13·7 ·6	Similar.	Similar.
3	,,	Æ base 13·9 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 12·9 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	,,	Æ base 13·4 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	,,	Æ base 12·5 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.[1]
7	*I.M.*	Æ base 13·3 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.[2]

[1] Nos. 4–6 were labelled as silver, but seem to be very base gold.

[2] The specimens catalogued of the E. Chedi dynasty mostly come from the hoard of fifty-six coins found in 1892 somewhere in the Feudatory State of Sarangarh, Chhattīsgarh, which comprised 26 base coins of Jājalla-deva, 9 large and 17 small; 29 small base coins of Ratna-deva; and one large coin in good gold of Pṛithvī-deva (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 92). Examples of the coinage of all the three Rājās have been found also at Dūdhī in the south of the Mirzāpur District, U. P., and some of the specimens may come from that find.

Section XVI

THE MEDIAEVAL DYNASTIES OF NORTHERN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

The group of Rājpūt dynasties dealt with in this section occupied various parts of Upper India during the period extending from about the middle of the tenth century to the Muhammadan conquest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The intricate history of these dynasties, for which considerable materials exist, remains to be written; but the observations in this place must be restricted to those indispensable for a student of the coins.

The earliest dynasty of the group is that established by the Tomara Rājās of Ajmīr and Delhi, founded, according to tradition, in the eighth century, but not authentically known until the tenth. Cunningham gives the following list of Rājās and approximate dates[1]:—

1.	Sallakshaṇapāla-deva . . .	978–1003 A.D.
2.	Ajayapāla-deva	1003–1019 „
3.	Kumārapāla-deva	1019–1049 „
4.	Anangapāla-deva	1049–1079 „
5.	Mahīpāla	1103–1128 „

The coinage of Ajaya-pāla, No. 2, although common in Rājputāna, is not represented in the cabinets catalogued, but specimens of the coins of the other four Rājās are included. The Tomara princes all followed one or other of two numismatic models—either the coinage initiated by Gāṅgeya-deva of Chedi (*ante*, p. 251), or the 'bull and horseman' type of the kings of Ohind (*ante*, p. 243). Cunningham has shown that Mahīpāla, No. 5, adopted both types of coinage, and that his example was followed by the Musalman conqueror, Muhammad bin Sām, or Shihāb-ud-dīn, in the coins which he struck in imitation of Hindu patterns. The known coins of Kumāra-pāla, which are scarce, occur in gold only, more or less base, and of the Gāṅgeya-deva type. Sallakshaṇa-pāla and Ananga-pāla seem to have issued nothing but 'bull

[1] The dates are open to doubt, and the history of the dynasty generally requires discussion. I am not certain that the Rājās held Kanauj.

and horseman' coins. The gold coins of Kumāra-pāla, like the prototype issues of Gāṅgeya-deva, are *drammas* or drachmae. The 'bull and horseman' coins appear to be composed usually of billon, a mixture of silver and copper, varying so much in composition as to range from fairly good silver to nearly pure copper. Some of the pieces may be classed as silver. They are mentioned by Muhammadan historians as '*Dilliwāls*' or 'Delhi coinage', but their Hindu name is not known. The weight of the 'bull and horseman' series seems to have been intended to harmonize with that of the ancient *purāṇa* or 'punch-marked' coin of 32 *ratis*, about 58 grains.

The epigraphic material for the history of the second dynasty, the Gahaṛwār or Rāṭhōr house of Kanauj, is extensive. Here it will suffice to note that Chandra-deva acquired the sovereignty over Kanauj in the latter part of the eleventh century; and that his grandson, Govinda-chandra, whose known dates range from 1114 to 1154 A. D., became temporarily the paramount sovereign of a large part of northern India. The gold *dramma* coins of this king, often in extremely base metal, are abundant. Eight hundred of them were found in 1887 near Nānpārā in the Bahraich District, Oudh, during the construction of the Bengal and North-Western Railway. His copper coinage, of the same type, is scarce.

Madana-pāla, father of Govinda-chandra, issued only 'bull and horseman' coins, most of which seem to be billon, although No. 1 may be classed as silver. Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, viii, App. I) gives the dynastic list and known epigraphic dates as follows:—

1.	Yaśovigraha.	
2.	Mahīchandra.	
3.	Chandradeva	1097 A.D.
4.	Madanapāla	1104–9 A. D.
5.	Govindachandra	1114–54 A. D.
6.	Vijayachandra	1168, 1169 A. D.
7.	Jayachchandra	1170–87 A. D.

The third dynasty, that of the Chauhāns (Chāhamānas) of Ajmīr, Delhi, and Śākambharī (Sāmbhar), came to an end with the celebrated Pṛithvī Rājā, or Pirthīrāj, who had vanquished the Chandēlla Rājā Paramardi (Parmāl) in 1182 A. D., and was himself defeated and executed by Shihāb-ud-dīn in 1193. The coins of Pṛithvī Rājā and his father Someśvara are all of the 'bull and horseman' type. A full dynastic and genealogical list of the family will be found in Professor Kielhorn's work above cited.

The fourth dynasty had its principal seat at Narwar, not far from Gwālior. The two princes whose coins are catalogued, Malaya-varman

and Chāhaḍa-deva, ruled from about 1220 to 1260 A. D. The latter, who is described by a Muhammadan historian as 'the greatest of the chiefs of Hindustan', was defeated by Ulūgh Khān (Balban) in 1251 A.D. The coins of both Malaya-varman and Chāhaḍa-deva are of the 'bull and horseman' type, and some are dated.

A few coins of the same type cannot be assigned definitely to any particular ruler or locality. The legends on No. 1 of Pīpala are perfectly clear, but the identity of the Rājā so named is uncertain. He may be the Pīpala-deva, a chief at Māchāṛī in the Alwar State, Rājputāna, who seems to be mentioned in line 10 of an inscription (*Reports*, vi. 79, Pl. XI). The reverse legend is *Kutāmāna Śrī Sāmanta-deva*, in which the meaning of the first word is unknown. The title *Sāmanta-deva* recurs on most of the 'bull and horseman' coins, having been borrowed with the device from the Ohind series. Cunningham had three specimens of Pīpala.

The name read by Thomas and Cunningham as *Kīlli* possibly may be *Kīrti*. The name doubtfully read as *Pithi* may be a form of Pṛithvī. The coin with *Śrī Hamīraḥ* on the obv. (horseman) side, and a strange legend on the rev. (bull) side seems to be the same as *C. M. I.*, No. 22, p. 88, on which Cunningham read doubtfully *mau* + *Śrī Uvāme*, which cannot be right (Pl. XXVI, 23). He considered his specimen to be unique. The debased little coin with the legend सोनदेव, *Sona-deva*, and mere indications of the horseman, evidently is of late date. The last coin catalogued, which has a peculiar horseman on one side and the other side wholly occupied by large, late characters, puzzles me. The rude copper coins with Śiva and bull on the obverse, and the monogram reading *Kota*, or another read as *Śruta*, *Ghuta*, or *Ata*, or sometimes a trident and other marks on the reverse, are common in the Delhi bazaar and in the Eastern Panjāb. They are copied obviously from the money of Vāsudeva Kushān, and some of the reverse devices may be an echo of the Sassanian type. Nobody can determine their exact date or who struck them. Cunningham believed that they formed 'the common copper currency of the Panjāb and Rājputāna between A. D. 500 and 800'.

The best account of the coins treated in this Section is that in *C. M. I.*, pp. 48, 52, 80-93, Pl. VI, IX. The earlier discussion of the 'bull and horseman' series by Thomas in *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, pp. 58-75, must be used with caution, as it contains some serious errors, of which the principal is the assignment of Sallakshaṇa-pāla and Madanapāla to the Chandēlla dynasty. This mistake, repeated in *Proc. A. S. B.*, p. 127, was corrected ibid., 1900, p. 205.

CATALOGUE

I. THE TOMARA DYNASTY OF AJMĪR AND DELHI

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SALLAKSHAṆA-PĀLA, ABOUT 978–1003 A. D.	
			Bull and horseman type; billon	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 48·9 ·67	Horseman r., rude. Marginal legend, *Śrī Sallakshaṇa-pāla-deva.*	Recumbent bull l., in outline. Legend above, *Śrī Sāmanta-deva.*
2	„	Æ 50·6 ·65	Similar; *-lakshana-pāla-deva.*	Similar.
			KUMĀRA-PĀLA-DEVA, ABOUT 1019–49 A. D.	
			Seated goddess type; gold	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 61·7 ·72	Three-line legend in large characters, (1) *Śrīmat = Ku* (2) *māra-pāla* (3) *deva.*	Seated goddess, as on coins of Gāṅgeya-deva of Chedi.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 62·7 ·6	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrīmat = Ku* (2) *[mā]ra-pāla.*	Similar; much debased (Pl. XXVI, 14).
			AṆANGA-PĀLA, ABOUT 1049–79 A. D.[1]	
			Bull and horseman type; billon or copper	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 47·3 ·7	Horseman r. Legend, l. *Śrī A*, r. *ṇanga[pāla-deva].*	Recumbent bull l. Legend above, *Śrī Sāmanta-deva.*
2	„	Æ 49·2 ·72	Similar; *Śrī Aṇa.*	Similar.
3	„	Æ 50·2 ·68	Ditto; *Śrī Aṇanga.*	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 49 ·67	Ditto; *Aṇanga-p.*	Ditto (Pl. XXVI, 15).
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 45·7 ·65	Ditto; *Śrī Aṇa.*	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 50 ·66	Ditto; *-ṇanga[pā]la-deva.*	Ditto; legend nearly lost.
7	„	Æ copper 43·7 ·66	Ditto; *Śrī Aṇan.*	Ditto; ditto.

[1] The first nasal is written as a lingual, the second as *anusvāra.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			MAHĪ-PĀLA, ABOUT 1103–28 A. D.	
			Bull and horseman type; billon	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 47·5 ·6	Horseman r., very rude; no legend.	Recumbent bull indicated; above in bold script, *Mahīpāla* (Pl. XXVI, 16).
2	„	Æ 46 ·6	Similar.	Similar; *Mahīpā.*

II. THE RĀṬHOR OR GAHARWĀR DYNASTY OF KANAUJ

			MADANA-PĀLA, ABOUT 1080–1115 A. D.	
			Bull and horseman type	
			Silver, base	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 45·3 ·6	Horseman r. as usual; legend indistinct.	Bull as usual. Marginal legend, *Mādhava Śrī Sāmanta* (*Mādhava* is a name of the demi-god Kṛishṇa).
			Billon or copper	
2	*I.M.*	Æ 49·9 ·64	Horseman as usual. Marginal legend, *Madana-pāladeva.*	Similar; legend imperfect.
3	„	Æ 49·8 ·6	Similar; *Madana.*	Ditto; legend nearly complete (Pl. XXVI, 17).
4	„	Æ 49 ·65	Ditto; *Śrī Ma.*	Ditto; ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 50 ·6	Ditto; *Śrī Ma.*	Ditto; *Mādhava Śrī Sām.*
6	„	Æ 50·7 ·65	Ditto; *Mada.*	Ditto; *Sāmanta.*
7	„	Æ 46·6 ·6	Ditto; *Śrī Ma.*	Ditto; ditto.
8	*I.M.*	Æ 49·3 ·6	Ditto; *Madana.*	Ditto; *Mādha.*
			GOVINDA-CHANDRA, ABOUT 1112–60 A. D.	
			Seated goddess type	
			Gold	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59·7 ·81	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrīmad* = *Go* (2) *vindachandra* (3) *deva*, followed by *triśūl*, probably a mint-mark.	Seated goddess, as on coins of Gāṅgeya-deva of Chedi (Pl. XXVI, 18).
2	„	Æ 66 ·75	Similar.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ 58·8 ·82	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 61 ·77	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ base 67·2 ·76	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 68 ·78	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; degraded.
6*a*	„	Æ base 62·3 ·84	Similar, but reading and attribution doubtful.	Similar.
			Copper	
7	*I.M.*	Æ 37 ·7	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī-mad=Go*(2)*vinda-chandra.*	Seated goddess; degraded.
8	„	Æ 40·7 ·66	Similar.	Similar.
9	„	Æ 49·3 ·66	Ditto; traces of *deva* in third line.	Ditto.

III. THE CHAUHĀN DYNASTY OF DELHI AND AJMĪR

SOMEŚVARA-DEVA, ABOUT 1170–5 A.D.

Bull and horseman type; billon or copper

1	*I.M.*	Æ	52·7 ·62	Horseman as usual. Legend, l. *So*, r. *me*, part of the full legend *Śrī Someśvara-deva.*	Bull as usual; *Sāmanta* (Pl. XXVI, 19).
2	„	Æ	50 ·65	Similar.	Similar. Legend, *Asāvarī śrī Śāma*[*nta deva*]. (Thomas explains *Asāvarī* as being a name of Durgā.)
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ copper	41 ·6	Similar.	Similar; *Śrī Sāmanta.*
4	„	Æ	48·1 ·66	Similar.	Similar; legend very imperfect.

PṚITHVĪ-RĀJĀ (PIRTHĪRĀJ), ABOUT 1175–93 A.D.

Bull and horseman type

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	52 ·6	Horseman as usual. Legend, *Śrī Pṛithvī-Rāja-deva.*	Bull as usual. Legend, *Asāvarī śrī Sāmanta-deva* (Pl. XXVI, 20).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Billon		
2	*I.M.*	Æ 47·4 ·62	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1; legend incomplete.
3	„	Æ 53 ·63	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 52 ·63	Ditto; legend incomplete.	Ditto; ditto.
5	„	Æ 53·5 ·65	Ditto; legend almost complete.	Ditto; legend almost complete.
6	„	Æ 50·8 ·62	Ditto; legend complete.	Ditto; less perfect.
7	„	Æ 51 ·6	Ditto; legend imperfect.	Ditto; ditto.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52·8 ·61	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
9	„	Æ 50·6 ·64	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; legend complete.

IV. THE DYNASTY OF NARWAR

MALAYA-VARMA, ABOUT 1220–32 A. D.

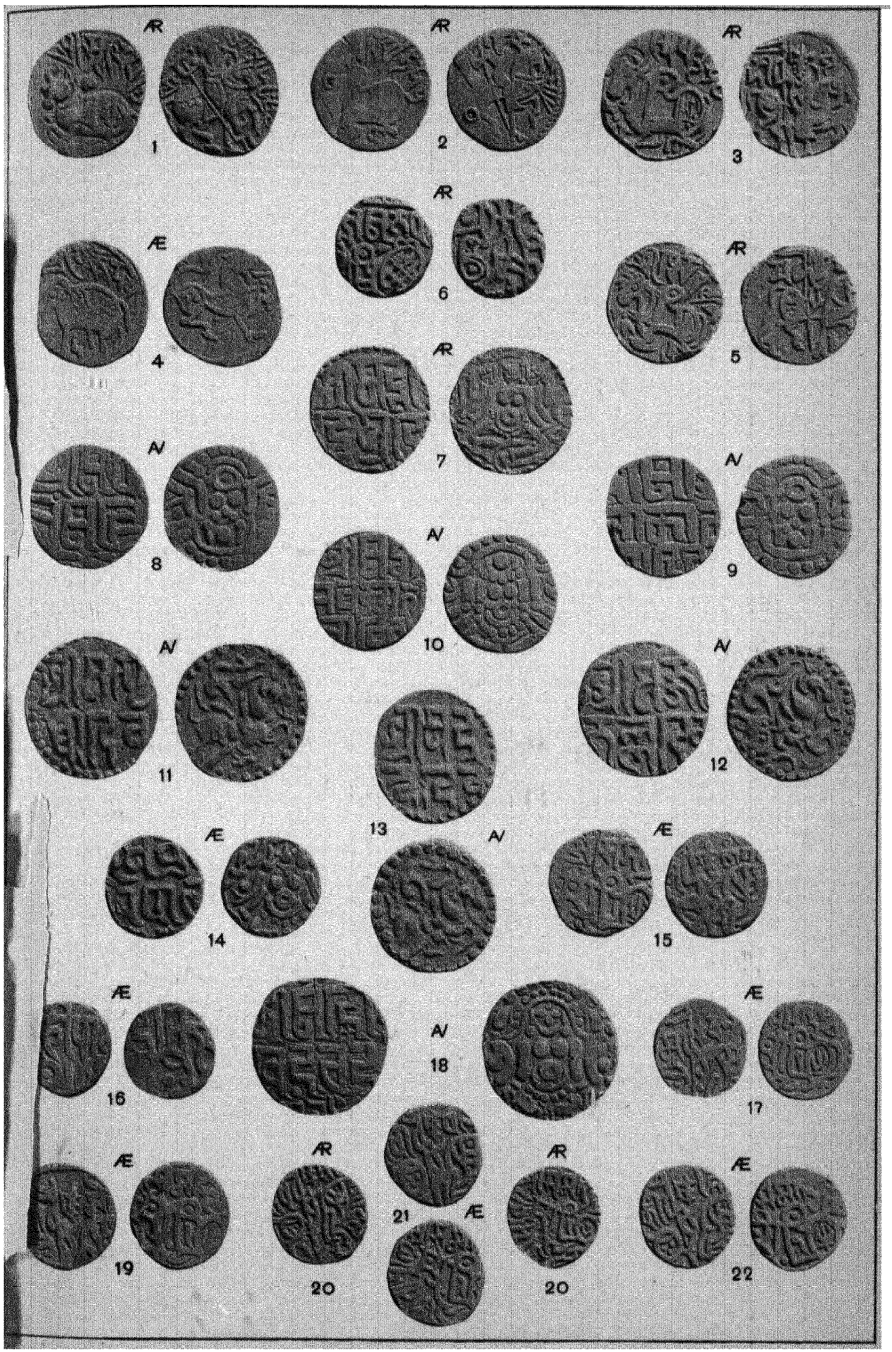
Horseman type; billon or copper

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57 ·6	Horseman as usual; no legend.	Three-line legend covering whole surface; (1) *Śrimad=Ma* (2) *laya-va*[*r*]*mma* (3) *deva*, and (?) traces of date.
2	„	Æ 51·1 ·67	Ditto; very poor.	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrīmad=Ma* (2) *laya-va*[*r*]*m*-[*ma*]. A railing-like border above.
3	*I.M.*	Æ copper 44 ·57	Ditto; ditto.	Similar; (1) *Śrīmad=Ma* (2) [*laya*]-*va*[*r*]*mma*, and traces of a third line. Border above, as on No. 2.

CHĀHAḌA (CHĀHAṚA)-DEVA, ABOUT 1232–60 A. D.

Bull and horseman type; billon or copper

1	*I.M.*	Æ 49·7 ·65	Horseman as usual. Legend, *Śrī Chāhaḍa-deva.*	Bull as usual. Legend, *Asāvarī śrī Sāmanta-deva.*
2	„	Æ 54·9 ·65	Similar; *Chāha.*	Similar; legend imperfect.
3	„	Æ 53·5 ·62	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 51·8 ·6	Ditto; *Śrī Chā.*	Ditto; ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54·8 ·66	Ditto; *-ḍa-deva.*	Ditto; ditto.



COINS OF THE HINDU KINGS OF OHIND
AND OF THE MEDIAEVAL DYNASTIES
OF CENTRAL AND NORTHERN INDIA

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ 57·5 ·61	Ditto; *-haḍa-deva.*	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 51 ·62	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; nearly defaced.

V. SUNDRY COINS

Bull and horseman type

Billon

PĪPALA, (?) RĀJĀ OF MĀCHĀRĪ

1	*I.M.*	Æ	52·1 ·62	Horseman as usual. Legend, *Śrī Pīpala.*	Bull as usual, in rude outline. Marginal legend, *Kutāmāṇa śrī Sāma*[*nta*], in late characters (Pl. XXVI, 21).
2	„	Æ	52·4 ·64	Similar.	Similar; legend imperfect.

PITHI (? = PṚITHVĪ)

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	52 ·6	Horseman as usual. Legend, पथि, *Pathi* (*Pithi*), followed by several other characters.	Bull as usual; *Śrī Sāmanta-deva.*
2	*I.M.*	Æ	52·2 ·62	Similar; *Pithi.*	Similar.

Silver

KĪRTTI (? KĪLLI)

1	*I.M.*	Æ	50·5 ·65	Horseman as usual. Legend, *Śrī Kī*[*r*]*tti* (or ? *Kīlli*).	Bull as usual; *Sāmanta-deva* (Pl. XXVI, 22).

HAMĪRA

1	*I.M.*	Æ	base 43·2 ·62	Horseman as usual. Legend, *Śrī Hamīraḥ.*	Bull as usual, but with crescent, not trident, on rump. Legend distinct, but difficult to read; seems to be the same as *C. M. I.*, Pl. IX, 22, where Cunningham read *Śrī Uvāme* (Pl. XXVI, 23).

Billon

SONA-DEVA

1	*I.M.*	Æ	17·5 ·4	Indication of horseman.	Two-line legend filling whole surface, (1) *Sona* (2) *deva.*

UNKNOWN

1	*I.M.*	Æ	40 ·55	Horseman, not of usual type, r.	Large characters, not read.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			NOT ASSIGNED	
			Śiva and bull type, copper; about 500–800 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 66·3 ·75	Śiva and bull, rude.	Monogram *Kota* and two symbols.
2	,,	Æ 70 ·8 × ·65	Similar.	Similar.
3	,,	Æ — ·82 × ·7	Ditto.	Similar, and *bu* to r.
4	,,	Æ — ·72	Ditto.	As No. 1.
5	,,	Æ 78 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	,,	Æ — ·72	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	,,	Æ — ·76	Ditto.	Similar; trident to l.
8	,,	Æ 58·4 ·7	Ditto.	As No. 1.
9	,,	Æ — ·8	Ditto.	Three symbols, one of which looks like a *vajra* or thunderbolt.
10	,,	Æ — ·7	Ditto.	As No. 1, but a thin coin.
11	,,	Æ — ·61	Ditto.	Nearly similar, but thick.
12	,,	Æ — ·7	Ditto.	Trident and a character.
13	,,	Æ — ·77	Ditto.	Trident and two other symbols.
14	,,	Æ — ·65 × ·5	Ditto.	As No. 12.
15	,,	Æ — ·7	Degraded outline of (?) Śiva.	Monogram reading (?) *Śruta*.
16	,,	Æ — ·6	Śiva and bull.	Similar. (Many of these coins much worn. See *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 450.)

Section XVII

THE HINDU COINAGE OF KASHMĪR

INTRODUCTION

The ample discussion and illustration of the ancient Kashmīr coinage by Sir Alexander Cunningham (*C. M. I.*, pp. 25–46, Pl. III–V) and Dr. Stein (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, with a plate; transl. *Rājat.*, vol. ii, note H) render unnecessary any lengthy dissertation in this place. From the accession of Śankaravarman in 883 A.D., the chronology is clear and certain, but the dates of the few earlier kings whose coins are represented in the following catalogue are quite unsettled. Kalhaṇa's chronicle, the *Rājataraṅginī*, records that an ancient king named Narendrāditya also bore the name of Khinkhila. The little coin with the legend *Khiṅgi* may or may not be his, and, if it is, the materials for determining its date with any approach to exactness do not exist.

The coins inscribed with the name of Toramāṇa, either in full or in an abbreviated form, seem to date from the sixth century, that is to say, the earliest of them may be ascribed to that period. But 'Toramāṇas' continued in circulation until the fifteenth century, and it is clear, as Dr. Stein observes, that such pieces were struck, 'not only by the king who bore this name, but by a succession of rulers after him.' I cannot pretend to distinguish the imitations from the originals. Nor is it at all certain who Toramāṇa was. Dr. Stein probably is right in believing that he is to be identified with the prince so called, who 'put in circulation coins struck in his own name' during the lifetime of his brother, king Hiraṇya. But we do not know when king Hiraṇya lived. In Section XIII, *ante*, coins of a Toramāṇa have been described which undoubtedly must be attributed to the White Hun chief, the son of Mihirakula. It is an open question whether or not the Toramāṇa of the Kashmīr chronicle is identical with that chief.

Dr. Stein's identification of Pratāpa of the coins with Pratāpāditya II, or Durlabhaka, who was reigning in 700 A.D., is highly probable, if not quite certain.

The fixation in time and place of the king Yaśovarman, who struck rude coins in the style of the early Kashmīr rulers, has long been a matter

of dispute, and the problem has not been solved yet. The name does not occur in the Kashmīr lists. The correct reading appears to be *Yaśovarma*, not *Yaśodharma*; and it is, therefore, unlikely that Dr. Hoernle's conjecture can be correct that the coins were struck by Yaśodharman, *alias* Vishṇuvardhana, who defeated Mihirakula in or about 528 A.D. The coins are so barbarous that it is impossible to fix their date by their style. They are found, I think, chiefly in the Panjāb —one was deposited in the Mānikyala *stūpa*—and there are difficulties consequently, in identifying the prince who issued the coins with Yaśovarman of Kanauj whom Lalitāditya of Kanauj defeated between 730 and 740 A.D.; but no better specific suggestion is available. I am inclined to believe that the coins were struck by an unrecorded Rājā either in the Panjāb or Kashmīr during the sixth or seventh century.

The similar, but, perhaps, still ruder coins with the legend *Vinayāditya* are assigned rightly to Jayāpīḍa of Kashmīr (about 750–80 A.D.), who assumed that title. The similar coins on which Cunningham read the legend *Śrī Vigraha* are of the same rude type, and of approximately the same period, but there is no record of any Kashmīr prince of that name. Dr. Stein reads the legend as *Viśraṁśadeva*, but on the specimens which I have seen Cunningham's reading seems preferable.

From the time of Sankaravarman (883–902 A.D.) onwards, the chronology being certain, no difficulty occurs in the attribution of the coins. The series catalogued is very poor and incomplete, most of the rarer kinds being absent. The type of all the coins without exception [1] is derived from the standard Kushān type, with the standing king on the obverse and the seated goddess on the reverse. The coins of Pratāpāditya, Vinayāditya, Yaśovarman, and Vigraha present the type in an extremely debased, almost unrecognizable form, executed boldly in high relief, and the material often is an alloy intended apparently to pass as base gold. But some of the coins seem to be honest copper or bronze. The coins of this class in the catalogue range in weight from 83·8 to 123·5 grains, and their mean diameter is about ·85 inch. The long series beginning with Śankaravarman presents the same Kushān type in a different form, which is characteristic of Kashmīr currency. The earliest examples of this form are found in the coinage of Toramāṇa, some specimens of which exhibit the king sacrificing at an altar after the Kushān manner, clad in a peculiar skirt and frilled drawers. This curious costume assumes a very grotesque appearance on the later more debased coins, and the seated goddess of the reverse suffers equal degradation. No Kashmīr coins possess any pretence to beauty—the whole coinage is utterly barbarous. The weight of the Toramāṇa coins

[1] The *Khiṅgi* coin may not belong to Kashmīr.

catalogued in this section ranges from 83·8 to 111·5 grains. Most of them weigh about 100 grains, a little more or less. The coins from the time of Śankaravarman onwards are lighter. Those catalogued range in weight (excluding the exceptional No. 5 of Kalaśa) from 71·5 to 97·5 grains. A full discussion of the weight standard of the Kashmīr currency will be found in Dr. Stein's essay, already cited, to which the reader is referred. When Cunningham wrote, an accurate translation of the Kashmīr chronicle was not available, so that some of his remarks need correction in the light of Dr. Stein's researches. But, notwithstanding this reservation, Cunningham's work still must be studied by any person who takes an interest in the rather unattractive Kashmīr coinage.

CATALOGUE

EARLY KINGS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
KHIṄGILA ((?)=KHINKHILA, NARENDRĀDITYA I), ABOUT (?) 400 OR 500 A. D.				
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 13 ·45	Bust r. diad.	Vase (*loṭā*); to l. Br. *Khi*; to r. *ṅgi* (Pl. XXVII, 1).[1]
TORAMĀṆA, (?) SIXTH CENTURY				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 99·7 ·87	King standing offering incense at altar in Kushān fashion, clad in peculiar skirt and frilled drawers. Br. legend l. in coarse, bold script, *Śrī Tora.*	Goddess seated in Gupta fashion, holding lotus flower over l. shoulder; to r. *ja*[*ya*], 'victory'; to l. a vase (Pl. XXVII, 2).
2	„	Æ 101 ·75	Similar; *Śrī To.*	Similar; no legend.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 101 ·78	Ditto; *Śrī Tora.*	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 100·1 ·76	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; *ja*[*ya*].
5	„	Æ 99·2 ·8	Ditto; *Śrī Toramā.*	Ditto; ditto.
6	*I.M.*	Æ 83·8 ·82	Ditto; *Śrī Toramāṇa.*	Ditto; no legend; much worn.

[1] Mr. J. P. Rawlins had nine coins of this class, some circular, some square, diameter varying from ·4 to ·55, collected in the Panjāb. They may not have any connexion with Kashmīr.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
7	*A.S.B.*	Æ 103·9 ·83	Similar to No. 6; a (?) vase and pellets to r.; minute Br. characters over king's l. shoulder.	Similar to No. 6; no legend (attributed to Toramāṇa by Mr. Rodgers; Pl. XXVII, 3).
8	„	Æ 96·2 ·85	Similar; *To.*	Similar; *jaya.*
			ATTRIBUTED TO TORAMĀṆA (RODGERS)	
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 111·5 ·87	Similar to preceding, but earlier in appearance; traces of legend.	Deity (? male or female) seated on throne with r. knee tucked up; lotus flower held over shoulder; traces of legend (Pl. XXVII, 4).
10	„	Æ 98·8 ·85	Similar.	Similar.
11	*I.M.*	Æ 106·3 ·75	Ditto; ruder.	Ditto; rude and much worn.
			PRATĀPĀDITYA II, DURLABHAKA, FLOR. 700 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ base 112·7 ·9	Utterly barbarous copy of the Kushān standing king; *Ki* below l. arm.	Barbarous, headless copy of seated goddess; to r. Br. *Śrī Pratāpa* (Pl. XXVII, 5).
2	„	Æ base 109 ·85	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ base 104·8 ·81	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ base 92·7 ·85	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 106·2 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 98·4 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	*I.M.*	Æ 114 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 116 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
			YAŚOVARMAN, (?) OF KASHMĪR OR KANAUJ, ABOUT (?) 730 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ base 115·7 ·9	Scarcely recognizable copy of the Kushān standing king; *Ki* below l. arm.	Headless seated goddess, even more barbarous than on the Pratāpa coins; Br. legend r., *Śrī Yaśov[arma]* (Pl. XXVII, 6).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ base 115·2 ·9	Similar.	Similar.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 113·1 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ base 114·2 ·9	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ base 114·1 ·93	Ditto.	Ditto; *Śrī Ya.*

VINAYĀDITYA (JAYĀPĪḌA), ABOUT 750–80 A.D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	123·5 ·9	Standing king—a mere trace of the device; to r. *jaya*, and *ke* below.	Headless seated goddess, barely recognizable. Legend *Śrī Vina*[*yāditya*] (Pl. XXVII, 7).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	113·5 ·87	Similar.	Similar.
3	*I.M.*	Æ	108·3 ·87	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ	99·9 ·87	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	112 ·85	Ditto; *Śrī Vinaya.*	Ditto.
6	„	Æ	110·5 ·85	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.[1]

(?) VIGRAHA (VIŚRAMŚADEVA), ABOUT SEVENTH CENTURY

1	*I.M.*	Æ	117 ·85	As on coins of Vinayāditya; *Kida* under l. arm.	As on coins of Vinayāditya. Legend, *Śrī Vigra*[*ha*] (Pl. XXVII, 8).
2	„	Æ	117 ·85	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	111·8 ·82	Ditto.	Ditto.[1]

UTPALA DYNASTY

ŚAṄKARAVARMAN, 883–902 A.D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	94 ·75	Seated goddess; to r. *Śaṅka*[*ra*].	Standing king, barely recognizable; to r. *varma.*[2]
2	„	Æ	87·8 ·76	Similar; *Śa.*	Similar.

[1] The metal of these coins seems to be a kind of brass, possibly containing a little gold.
[2] On the coins of this dynasty it is preferable to consider the goddess side as the obv., on account of the arrangement of the legends.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 86 ·75	Similar to No. 2; *Śaṅka.*	Similar to No. 2.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 87 ·77	Ditto; legend indistinct.	Ditto; poor.
			GOPĀLAVARMAN, 902–4 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 85·2 ·75	Goddess; to r. *Gopāla.*	King; to r. *varma.*
2	„	Æ 86 ·77	Similar.	Similar.
3	*I.M.*	Æ 85·5 ·72	Ditto; *Gopa.*	Ditto.
			SUGANDHĀ RĀṆĪ (QUEEN), 904–6 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 91·5 ·78	Goddess; l. *Śrī*; r. *Suga*[*ndhā*].	King; r. *devya.*
2	„	Æ 92·8 ·76	Similar.	Similar.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 89·3 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 83·5 ·73	Ditto.	Ditto; much worn.
			PĀRTHA, 906–21 A. D., AND (RESTORED) 934–5 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 84·2 ·8	Goddess; r. *Pārtha.*	King; legend wanting.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 95·1 ·75	Similar.	Similar; r. *varma* (Pl. XXVII, 9).
3	„	Æ 89·3 76	Ditto.	Ditto; worn.
			KSHEMAGUPTA WITH QUEEN DIDDĀ, 950–8 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 92·7 ·75	Goddess; l. *Di*; r. *Kshema.*	King; r. *gu.*
2	„	Æ 97·5 ·76	Similar.	Similar; legend wanting (Pl. XXVII, 10).
3	„	Æ 79·7 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; *gu.*
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 89·7 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; *gupta*; poor condition.
			ABHIMANYUGUPTA, 958–72 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 79·3 ·7	Goddess; l. *A.*; r. *bhiman*[*yu*].	King; r. *gu*[*pta*].
			NANDIGUPTA, 972–3 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 92·8 ·75	Goddess; l. *Na*; r. *ndigu.*	King; r. *pta*, followed by (?) *de*[*va*] (Pl. XXVII, 11).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 81 ·75	Similar.	Similar; worn.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			TRIBHUVANAGUPTA, 973–5 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 71·5 ·7	Goddess; l. *Tri*; r. *bhu-va[na]*.	King; r. *gupta*.
			BHĪMAGUPTA, 975–80 A.D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 84·8 ·7	Goddess; l. *Bhī*; r. *ma*.	King; r. *gupta* (Pl. XXVII, 12).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 85 ·75	Similar.	Similar; legend imperfect.
			QUEEN DIDDĀ ALONE, 980–1003 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 90·2 ·7	Goddess; l. *Śrī*; r. *Diddā*.	King; r. *dev[ya]* (Pl. XXVII, 13).
2	„	Æ 88 ·75	Similar.	Similar; legend wanting.
3	„	Æ 83·8 ·75	Ditto; *Śrī Di*.	Ditto; *de*.
4	„	Æ 77·7 ·75	Ditto; *Śrī Diddā*.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 90·1 ·77	Ditto; *Śrī Di*.	Ditto; *dev*.
6	„	Æ 84·5 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; no legend.
7	„	Æ 76·4 ·75	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 84·4 ·73	Ditto; *Śrī Diddā*.	Ditto; ditto.

FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY

			SAṄGRĀMA, 1003–28 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 89 ·75	Goddess; l. *Sa*; r. *ṅgrā-ma[rā]*.	King; r. *ja deva* (Pl. XXVII, 14).
2	„	Æ 93 ·71	Similar.	Similar; r. *ja* (*deva*).
3	„	Æ 89 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 84·7 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto; *ja deva*.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 77·6 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; legend indistinct.
6	„	Æ 85·5 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 85·4 ·71	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; worn.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ANANTA, 1028–63 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 91·5 ·74	Goddess; l. *A*; r. *nanta* [*rā*].	King; r. *ja de*[*va*].
2	„	Æ 88·7 ·77	Similar.	Similar.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 87·2 ·74	Ditto; *Ananta rā.*	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 95 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
			KALAŚA, 1063–89 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 92·7 ·71	Goddess; l. *Ka*; r. *laśa* [*rā*].	King; r. *ja deva* (Pl. XXVII, 15).
2	„	Æ 86 ·75	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 85 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 82·8 ·75	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 66·1 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; no legend; well preserved, but weight exceptionally light; style peculiar.
6	„	Æ 88·6 ·73	Ditto.	As Nos. 1–4.
			HARSHA, 1089–1101 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 94 ·73	Goddess; l. *Ha*; r. *rsha rā*[*ja*].	King; r. *deva* (Pl. XXVII, 16).
2	„	Æ 101·5 ·75	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 97·3 ·68	Similar; *Harsha.*	Similar; *de.*
4	*I.M.*	Æ 89·2 ·7	Ditto; *Harsha rā.*	Ditto; legend illegible.
5	„	Æ 101·2 ·7	Ditto; *Harsha.*	Ditto; *deva*; very rude coin.
6	„	Æ 90·4 ·7	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; *rāja deva*; rude coin of irregular shape, apparently struck on a cast blank.

SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY

SUSSALA, 1112–28 A. D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 96·2 ·7	Goddess; l. *Śrī*; r. *Sussa*[*la*].	King; r. *deva.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			JAYASIṀHADEVA, 1128–55 A. D.[1]	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 85·8 ·8	Goddess; l. *Jaya*; r. *si*[*ṁha*].	King; no legend.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 86 ·78	Similar.	Similar.
			JĀGA-DEVA, 1198–1214 (CUNNINGHAM)[2]	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 87·9 ·78	Goddess; l. *Jā*; r. *ga*.	King; r. [*deva*] (Pl. XXVII, 17).
2	„	Æ 89·2 ·7	Similar.	Similar; l. *de*; r. *va*.
3	„	Æ 79·8 ·72	Ditto.	Ditto; no clear legend.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 87·7 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; l. *de*.
5	„	Æ 89 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; l. *de*; r. *va*.
			UNCERTAIN	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 104 ·87	Goddess; l. (?); r. *jaya*.	King; l. (?) *prā*.
2	*I.M.*	Æ 84 ·72	Goddess; r. *śa*.	King (assigned by Rodgers without sufficient reason to Unmatti).

[1] Cunningham erroneously distinguishes Jayasiṁha I (1127–30) from Jayasiṁha II (1132–55). In reality there was only one Jayasiṁha, who reigned for twenty-seven years. His history is related at great length in *Rājataraṅginī*, Bk. viii, and in Stein's *Introduction*; see also Stein, vol. ii, p. 314, note.

[2] Jāga-deva is not included in Stein's lists because the *Rājat.* was completed in 1149–50 A. D.

Section XVIII

THE COINS OF THE MAHĀRĀJĀS OF KĀNGṚĀ

INTRODUCTION

The great fort at Kāngṛā (N. lat. 32° 5′, E. long. 76° 18′) in early times was the stronghold of the kingdom of Jālandhara or Trigarta. The family of the Rājās claimed the honour of very high antiquity, but their coinage is comparatively modern. It begins with coins bearing the legend *Sāmanta deva*, directly imitated from the 'bull and horseman' coins of the kings of Ohind (*ante*, Sect. xiv). It is impossible to determine the personal name or the exact date of the Rājā of Kāngṛā who struck the *Sāmanta deva* pieces; but, so far as may be judged from their appearance, and their close resemblance to the coins known to belong to the fourteenth century, they cannot be assigned to a period much anterior to 1300 A. D. The earliest coins assignable to a named Rājā of Kāngṛā are those of Pīthama (Pṛithivī) chandra deva, who reigned from about 1315 to 1330 A. D. The series closes with Triloka chandra deva in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and thus extends over a period of three hundred years in round numbers. During this period, according to Cunningham's list (*C. M. I.*, p. 104), eighteen Rājās reigned, and fifteen of them are known to have struck coins. In the following catalogue the coinage of twelve of those fifteen princes is represented.

The coins from first to last vary little, all being shabby little pieces of copper or bronze, rudely executed and devoid of all pretence to artistic merit. The type is a degraded imitation of the 'bull and horseman' device of the Ohind coins (*ante*, Sect. xiv), the bull being sometimes omitted, and the outline of the horseman often barely recognizable. The diameter ordinarily varies between ·5 and ·6 inch, with an average of about ·55. The coin of Dharma chandra deva, diameter ·41, is exceptionally small. The weight usually is a little above or below 50 grains. Excluding the anomalous Dharma chandra deva coin with a weight of 22·5 grains, and a few worn coins weighing

between 30 and 40 grains each, the weight of the specimens catalogued ranges from 40 to 63·3 grains.

The chief interest of this merely local coinage is derived from its remarkable uniformity and persistence of type. The coins are described with sufficient fullness by Cunningham (*C. M. I.*, pp. 101–8, Pl. XI), but Rodgers has pointed out that the reading of the name *Kapa* is erroneous. The coins attributed to the imaginary Kapa appear to belong to Rūpa chandra deva, the contemporary of Fīroz Tughlak in the fourteenth century. Dr. Vogel has been engaged recently in investigating the antiquities of the Kāngṛā Valley, and when his researches are published the local history will be known more fully than it is at present. He now announces (1906) that 'the historical fort and the numerous temples of Kāngṛā Koṭ are completely destroyed' by the earthquake of 1905.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			SĀMANTA DEVA, ABOUT 1300 A.D.[1]	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 59·4 ·57	Recumbent bull l.; *Śrī Sāmanta* above.	Debased horseman, as on coins of Ohind (Pl. XXVI 18).
2	„	Æ 53·5 ·59	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 51·1 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto;
4	„	Æ 47 ·55	Ditto; *Śrī Sāmanta deva.*	Ditto
5	„	Æ 53·8 ·57	Ditto; *Śrī Sāmanta.*	Dit
			PĪTHAMA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 13	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 55·4 ·6	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī Pīṭha-* (2) *ma chandra.*	D coins (Pl.
2	„	Æ 50·5 ·55	Similar.	Si
3	„	Æ 57·6 ·55	Ditto.	Di
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ 48·7 ·53	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī Pīṭha-* (2) *ma chandra* (3) *deva*, imperfect.	D
5	„	Æ 49·5 ·55	Similar.	Ditto.

[1] This designation is not to be taken as the personal name of a Mahārājā; the title simply seems to be copied from the Ohind coins.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			APURVA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1345–60 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 47·1 ·58	Recumbent bull l.; *Śrī Apu[r]va* above.	Debased horseman (Pl. XXVII, 20).
2	„	Æ 51·2 ·56	Similar; *Śrī Apu.*	Similar.
3	„	Æ 48·5 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; *Śrī* above.
4	„	Æ 50·3 ·57	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	*I.M.*	Æ 48 ·55	Ditto; *Apurva.*	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 48·7 ·55	Ditto; *Śrī Apurva.*	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 59 ·6	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Apu* (3) *rva chandra deva*, imperfect.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 52 ·56	Similar; legend indistinct.	Ditto.
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 43·5 ·5	Ditto; (1) *Maharā[ja]* (2) *Śrī Ap[u]* (3) *rva chandra deva*, imperfect.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ oval 39·2 ·6 × ·45	Four-line legend, (1) *[Ma]hārāja* (2) *[Śr]ī Apurva* (3) *[cha]ndra deva* (4) perhaps a date, indistinct.[1]	Ditto.
		49·5 ·55	Three-line legend, (1) *Apu* (2) *chandra* (3) *deva.*	Ditto; *Śrī* above.
		44·3 ·55	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī A* (2) *chandra.*	Ditto; ditto.
			CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1360–75 A. D.	
		·6 5	Two-line legend in large script, (1) *[Rū]pacha[ndra]* (2) *deva.*	Debased horseman.
		50 57	Recumbent bull l.; marginal legend above, *Śrī Rūpa cha[ndra].*	Ditto.
		53 52	Similar; *Śrī Rūpa.*	Ditto; *Śrī* above horse.
		·5 ·6	Ditto; ditto. (The *Rū* looks like *Ka*, and was so read on similar coins by Cunningham, but Rodgers gives the 'Kapa' coins to Rūpa.)	Ditto.

[1] Cunningham had one dated coin of Rāma chandra deva.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 53·3 ·56	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 47·8 ·55	Ditto; *Śrī Rū.*	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 47·8 ·58	Ditto; *Śrī Rūpa.*	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 44 ·55	Ditto; *Rūpa.*	Ditto.

SINGĀRA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1375–90 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 47·6 ·52	Three-line legend, (1) [*Ma*]*hārāja* (2) [*Śrī*] *Singāra* (3) [*cha*]*ndra deva.*	Debased horseman.
2	„	Æ 47·9 ·55	Similar; (1) *Māhārāja* indistinct (2) *Śrī Singā*[*ra*] (3) *chandra de*[*va*].	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 53 ·55	Similar.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 47·8 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 55 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 44·3 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 40 ·51	Ditto.	Ditto; *Śrī* above.

MEGHA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1390–1405 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 48 ·55	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Megha* (3) *chandra deva*, nearly complete.	Debased horseman (Pl. XXVI, 21).
2	„	Æ oval 48·5 ·6×·5	Similar.	Similar; (?) *Śrī* above.
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 44 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 43·4 ·51	Ditto.	Ditto; (?) *Śrī* above.
5	„	Æ 33·4 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto; worn.

HARI CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1405–20 A. D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 44 ·51	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Harī cha* (3) *ndra deva*, almost complete.	Debased horseman (Pl. XXVII, 22).
2	„	Æ 63·3 ·55	Similar; *Śrī Hari*, not *Harī*.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52·2 ·55	As No. 2.	As No. 2.
4	*I.M.*	Æ 47·5 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 57·4 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 53·3 ·54	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 56·7 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	*A.S.B.*	Æ 55 ·53	Ditto.	Ditto.

KARMA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1420–35 A. D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	48·7 ·5	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Karma* (3) *chandra deva*, nearly complete.	Debased horseman.
2	„	Æ	45·4 ·5	Similar.	Similar; *Śrī*.

AVATĀRA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1450–65 A. D.

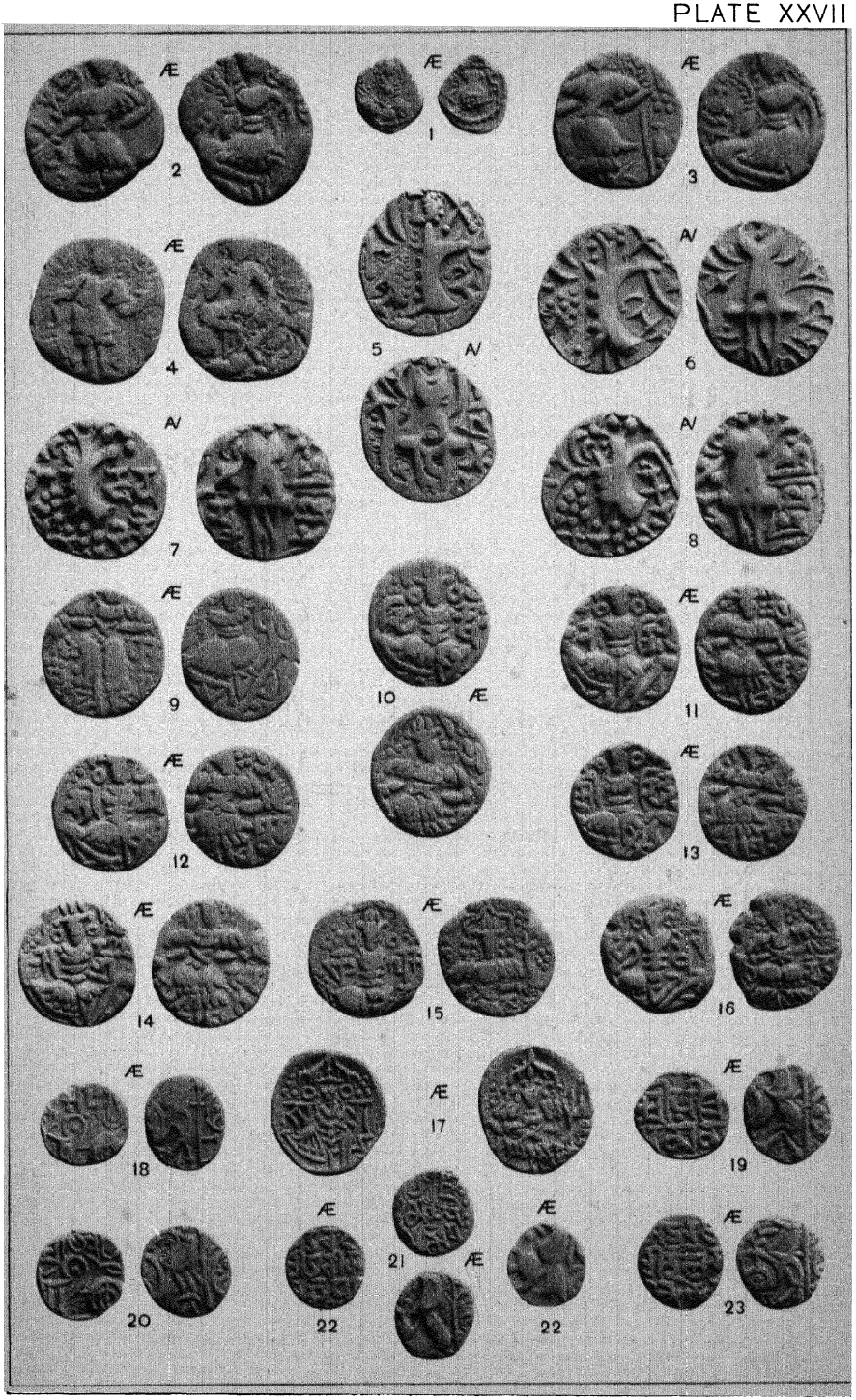
1	*I.M.*	Æ	47 ·55	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Avatā*[*ra*] (3) *chandra deva.*	Debased horseman.
2	„	Æ	35·5 ·51	Similar; incomplete.	Similar; defaced.
3	„	Æ	44 ·5	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
4	*A.S.B.*	Æ	44·3 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	48·1 ·55	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ	44 ·52	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.

NARENDRA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1465–80 A. D.

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	45·3 ·5	Three-line legend, (1) [*Mahārāja*] (2) *Śrī Narendra* (3) *chandra de*[*va*].	Debased horseman.
2	*I.M.*	Æ	37·9 ·5	Similar; incomplete.	Similar.

(?) RĀMA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1510–28 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	48·5 ·55	Recumbent bull.; above *Śrī* (?) *Rāma* (Rodgers).	Debased horseman.



KASHMĪR AND KĀNGRĀ

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		DHARMA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1528–63 A. D.		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 22·5 ·41	Two-line legend in square, (1) *Dharma* (2) *chan*[*dra*].	Defaced; should be *Durgā devī* (Rodgers; not as given by Cunningham).
		TRILOKA CHANDRA DEVA, ABOUT 1610–25 A. D.		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 49·6 ·56	Three-line legend, (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Śrī Triloka* (3) *chandra deva*, almost complete.	Debased horseman (Pl. XXVII, 23).
2	„	Æ 49·7 ·55	Similar; less complete.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 53·5 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 43 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	*A.S.B.*	Æ 49 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto; *Śrī.*
6	„	Æ 43 ·57	Ditto.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 46·2 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ 47·3 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 44·6 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; *Srī.*

Section XIX

NEPĀL AND CHAMPĀRAN

INTRODUCTION

The modern kingdom of Nepāl, a considerable territory extending east and west for a distance of about five hundred miles between the Indian plains and the Himalayan snowy range, with a breadth of about one hundred and thirty miles, was formed by the Gurkha or Gōrkhālī conquests in the eighteenth century, as modified by subsequent transactions with the Government of India. But, strictly speaking, the name Nepāl applies only to the valley surrounding the capital, and in ancient documents it must be so interpreted. The other territories now included in the kingdom were ruled formerly by various independent Rājās. The Valley of Nepāl is a tract of comparatively level ground elevated about 4,500 feet above the sea, with an average length from east to west of about twenty miles, and an average breadth from north to south of about fifteen miles. This small region contains no less than three considerable towns or cities, which have been the capitals of principalities, namely, Kāthmāṇḍū[1] (lat. 27° 42′ N., long. 85° 36′ E.) or Kāntipur, the present capital; Pātan or Lalitāpur, two miles to the south-east of Kāthmāṇḍū, and Bhatgaon or Bhātgāon, nine miles to the east of that city. About sixty smaller towns are scattered over the valley.

Nepāl, in the limited sense defined above, was included in the empire of Aśoka, but in the fourth century A. D. was outside of the dominions of Samudra gupta. About 637 A. D. it seems to have been conquered by Harsha vardhana, Lord Paramount of Northern India, whose era, dating from 606–7 A. D., was used in the country in 640 and 645 A. D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xix, 40; *contra*, Ettinghausen, *Harṣa-Vardhana*, p. 47, Louvain, 1906). But his suzerainty over the valley lasted only a few years, and at the time of his death in 648 A. D. Nepāl was a dependency of Tu-fan or Tibet.

Its numismatic history begins in the sixth century with a series of large copper coins bearing the names of Mānāṅka, Gunāṅka, Vaiśra-

[1] For the spelling see Bendall, *Journey*, p. 8, note. The text follows Wright's *History of Nepāl*, cited as W.

vana, Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta, and Paśupati. Inscriptions and the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang prove that Aṁśuvarman was reigning between 640 and 650, and that he was succeeded by Jishṇugupta. The dates of the coins inscribed with the names of Mānāṅka, Gunāṅka, Vaiśravana, and Paśupati cannot be determined with equal precision, but those of Mānāṅka may be assigned to the sixth, and the latest, those of Paśupati, to the eighth century. Vaiśravana and Paśupati probably are the names of deities, not of kings.

A Rājā named Rāghava deva introduced a new era, the Nepālī or Newār Samvat, the first year of which began on October 20, 879 A.D. Dates recorded in this era are converted roughly into dates A.D. by the addition of 880. M. Lévi believes that the establishment of the Nepālī era was the official declaration of the independence of Nepāl, which then severed its political dependence on Tibet. A wide gap separates the latest ancient coins, those bearing the name of Paśupati, from the earliest coins of the Malla kings at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the country was divided into the three principalities of Bhatgaon, Kāṭhmāṇḍū, and Pātan. The first recorded coin date seems to be 751 N.S. = 1631 A.D. of Siddhi narasiṁha of Pātan; but the catalogue includes an undated coin of Lakshmī narasiṁha of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, who reigned from 1595 to 1639 A.D. According to the native chronicle the first silver coinage of Nepāl was struck in the sixteenth century by Rājā Mahīndra Malla (No. 13) of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, who visited Delhi, and obtained special permission from the Emperor, presumably Akbar (W., p. 207). The coins of the Malla Rājās of the three principalities are dated, if dated at all, in the Nepālī or Newār era, and the series extends up to the Gōrkhālī conquest in 1768 A.D.

In that year Pṛithvī nārāyaṇa sāh, who had become Rājā of Gorkhā, forty miles to the west of Kāthmāṇḍū in 1742 (W., p. 290), conquered the Valley of Nepāl, and established the dynasty which still subsists, although overshadowed by the hereditary ministers, who are the real rulers of the country. The Gōrkhālī coins are dated in the Śaka era, which may be converted roughly into the Christian era by the addition of 78.

The ancient copper coinage of Aṁśuvarman, &c. is closely allied to the Yaudheya coinage, and, like it, is descended from the Kushān. The heaviest of the specimens catalogued weighs 208·4 grains, and may have been intended for a 1½ *paṇa* piece of about 219 grains. The Malla coinage, in silver only, seems to have been struck to the Delhi rupee standard of 175 grains. Some specimens exhibit imperfect attempts to copy the Persian or Arabic legends of the Mughal coinage. All the known coins are broad thin pieces about an inch in diameter, generally weighing about 85 grains. The heaviest recorded weight for these half-

rupees is 87·5 grains for coins of Siddhi narasiṁha of Pātan and Raṇajita malla of Bhatgaon. The types, excepting a few pieces which attempt to copy the Mughal coinage, are local in character.

The Gōrkhālī coinage bears a general resemblance to that of the Malla Rājās, and is struck to the same standard, but includes examples of whole rupees, as well as of fractions smaller than the half. Gīrvān yuddha vikrama and Surendra vikrama issued gold coins similar to the silver in weight and design; and the last-named prince also emitted an extensive copper coinage. But the Nepalese prefer the so-called 'dumpy pice', rough lumps of copper manufactured by private persons, which are largely used to this day, not only in Nepāl, but in the adjoining British districts.

For the ancient copper coinage, *C. A. I.*, pp. 112–18, Pl. XIII, is the best authority. The Malla and Gōrkhālī coinage has not been described previously in detail, and, except a few specimens in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, could be studied hitherto only in Mr. Rodgers' rough lists. The collection now catalogued, the origin of which I do not know, is sufficiently comprehensive to give a good notion of the coinage of Nepāl from 1600 A. D. to the present time.

Materials for the history of the country will be found in sundry articles in *Ind. Ant.*, vols. ix, xiii, xiv; D. Wright, *History of Nepāl* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1877, cited as W.); Prof. C. Bendall, *A Journey in Nepāl and Northern India* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1886; esp. Table II); 'The History of Nepāl and Surrounding Kingdoms (1000–1600 A. D.), compiled chiefly from MSS. lately discovered' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1903); and Prof. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal, Étude historique d'un Royaume hindou* (3 vols., Paris, 1905). The last-named work embodies the results attained by all earlier inquirers. I have seen only the first volume.

The proper attribution of the coins of Madana siṁha deva of Champāran was discovered by the late Prof. C. Bendall, who gives the following list of the

'Dynasty of Gorakhpur-Champāran (Western Tirhūt)

1. Pṛithvi-siṁha deva, A. D. 1434–5.

2. Śaktisiṁha.

3. Madana (Siṁha deva), 1453–4, 1457–8' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1903, *ut sup.*, pp. 20, 31 of reprint).

The coins, which are common in Gorakhpur, also occur in the Panjāb (Rodgers, *Cat. I. M.*, Part III, pp. 100, 125; *Cat. Lahore Mus.*, Part IV, p. 12 (20 specimens), with erroneous readings; V. A. Smith, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1897, p. 310; the reading *praṇaya* gives better sense than *praṇava*).

CATALOGUE

NEPĀL

I. ANCIENT KINGS; SIXTH TO EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Copper	
			MĀNĀṄKA (? MĀNADEVA), EXACT DATE UNCERTAIN	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 184·8 1·0	Lion standing l.; in front of him, according to Cunningham, lotus plant, flower, and bird; above, *Śrī Mānāṅka.*	Goddess seated cross-legged, with r. hand raised; legend r., *Śrī Bhogini* (*C. A. I.*, Pl. XIII, 1).
2	*I.M.*	Æ 208·4 1·05	Similar; standard with ribbons in front of lion.	Defaced.
3	„	Æ 202·8 1·04	Similar; lion in dotted circle; no object in front of him; legend lost or wanting.	Goddess and legend as on No. 1.
4	„	Æ 202·8 1·01	Similar; long-stalked lotus flower in front of lion; legend as on No. 1.	Almost defaced.
5	„	Æ 185 1·04	Similar; only lion visible.	As No. 1; in bad condition.
			AṀŚUVARMAN (THĀKURĪ DYNASTY), FLOR. 640–50 A.D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 163·3 ·95	Winged lion standing l., with off fore-leg raised; legend r., *Sryaṁśuvarma* (note the *sandhi*).	Lion standing l., off fore-leg raised; no legend; circle of large dots; crescent over lion (*C. A. I.*, Pl. XIII, 6).
2	„	Æ 138·7 ·95	As No. 1; much worn.	Cow standing l.; above, *Kāmadehi*, 'incarnation of Kāma,' apparently a synonym for *Kāmadhenu*, 'the cow that yields every wish' (*C. A. I.*, Pl. XIII, 4).
3	„	Æ 187 ·96	Winged lion, as on No. 1; legend above, *Sryaṁśoḥ*, 'of Śrī Aṁśu,' imperfect.	Sun in centre; surrounded by legend in bold characters, *mahārājādhirājasya*, 'of the sovereign' (*C. A. I.*, Pl. XIII, 5).[1]

[1] The *A. S. B.* specimens of Mānāṅka and Aṁśuvarma, part of a find of forty coins, were presented in 1887 by the author, to whom they had been given by Dr. Gimlette, Residency Surgeon at Kāthmāṇḍū. No. 3 of Aṁśuvarman was the only one of its kind in the lot. Three specimens of Mānāṅka and five of Aṁśuvarman, which were then retained by the author, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		PAŚUPATI, PROBABLY EIGHTH CENTURY		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 64·9 ·8	Large rayed sun in centre; above *Pa*; to r. *śu*; below *pa*; to l. *ti*; all in circle of dots.	Cow standing r.; crescent above (Pl. XXVIII, 1; *C. A. I.*, Pl. XIII, 10).
2	„	Æ 101·2 ·87	Similar; worn.	Similar; worn. (The name *Paśupati* probably is that of a deity, not of a king.)

II. THE MALLA RĀJĀS OF BHATGAON, KĀṬHMĀṆḌŪ, AND PĀTAN

Silver

A.—RĀJĀS OF BHATGAON (W., chap. v, list, p. 314)

No. 18. BHŪPATĪNDRA MALLA, 1687–1721 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	83·3 1·09	Three-line legend in scolloped square, (1) *Śrī śrī jaya* (2) *Bhūpatindra* (3) *malla deva*; date below 816 (N. S. = 1696 A. D.); marginal ornaments.	Trident in central circle; sword above; numerous ornaments; no legend (Pl. XXVIII, 2).
2	„	Æ	86 1·02	Similar; same date.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	83·1 1·08	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.

No. 19. RAṆAJITA MALLA, 1721–54 A. D. OR LATER

1	*I.M.*	Æ	87·5 1·1	As coins of Bhūpatīndra, with substitution of name *Raṅajita* and date 842 (N. S. = 1722 A. D.).	As coins of Bhūpatīndra.
2	„	Æ	64·5 1·1	Similar.	Similar; in poor condition.

SABHAJIT MALLA (NOT IN WRIGHT'S LISTS)

1	*I.M.*	Æ	81·7 1·11	Similar; with name *Sabhajita*, and date 842.	Similar.

B.—RĀJĀS OF KĀṬHMĀṆḌŪ (KĀNTIPUR, W., chap. vi, list, p. 315)

No. 16. LAKSHMĪNARA SIṀHA, 1595–1639 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	83·5 1·09	Three-line legend in small central square, (1) *Śrī Lakshmī* (2) *nara si* (3) *n*; with shell. Drum above, and sundry marginal ornaments; no date.	Trident in central circle; *Śrī* above; marginal ornaments.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			No. 17. PRATĀPA MALLA, 1639–89 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83 1·08	Three-line legend in central square, (1) *Śrī Pratā* (2) *pa malla* (3) 861 (N. S. = 1641 A. D.); drum above; marginal ornaments.	As coin of Lakshmī nara simha.
2	„	Æ 84·9 1·0	Type imitating coin of Jahāngīr, with his name in Arabic; also *Pratāpa malla* in Nāgarī letters in field; date 776 below (N. S. = 1656 A. D.).	Corrupt Arabic legend, probably intended for *Ilāhī*; in field Nāgarī legend, *Śrī śrī Kavīndra jaya*, 'victory to Kavīndra,' or 'the lord of poets'[1] (Pl. XXVIII, 3).
			NṚIPENDRA, SON OF PRATĀPA, RĀJĀ FOR A YEAR IN HIS FATHER'S LIFETIME, 796 N. S. = 1676–7 A. D. (W., p. 219)	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·5 1·01	Similar to No. 2 of Pratāpa malla, with imperfect imitation of Arabic legend; rayed sun above; trident in centre; floral ornaments in field; Nāgarī legend scattered over field, *Śrī śrī jaya Nṛipendra.*	Sword in centre; crescent at top; imitation Arabic legend; Nāgarī legend, *malla deva*, 796 (N. S. = 1676 A. D.).
2	„	Æ 83·5 1·01	Similar; same date.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 84 1·01	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
			(JAYA) CHAKRAVARTENDRA, SON OF PRATĀPA, RĀJĀ FOR ONE DAY, 789 N. S. = 1669–70 A. D. (W., pp. 219, 220)	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 84·5 1·01	In central circle, shell, lotus, sun, and moon; on margin to r. a bow, to l. five arrows, and floral ornaments. Legend above, *Śrī jaya*, below, *Chakra va.*	In centre a triangular *bānāstra*, or conventional bow and arrow pattern; and around it a noose (*pāśa*); elephant-goad (*ankus*), long-stalked lotus, and yak-tail fly-whisk, more or less distinct. Date below 789 (N. S. = 1769 A. D. Pl. XXVIII, 4).[2]

[1] The honorific prefix *Śrī* is not translated. 'Pratāpa malla inonde de sa prose et de ses vers l'étendue de ses domaines' (Lévi, vol. i, p. 216). See also W., p. 215.

[2] For the story see W., pp. 219, 220. 'The inscription on Chakravartendra's coin, devised by the Svāmī, consists of a triangular *Bānāstra* (bow and arrow), *Pās* (a noose), *Ankus* (the iron hook for driving an elephant), *Kamal* (a lotus), *Chāmar* (a yak's tail), and Sambat 789. This device caused his death. *Note.*—A bow and arrow are ominous of death, but, nevertheless, the water in which such a coin is dipped possesses the quality of causing a speedy delivery in child-bed. These coins, which are very rare, are still used for this purpose.'

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 19. (JAYA) BHĀSKARA MALLA, ABOUT 1695–1710 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 85·3 1·1	In central circle, trident and legend *Śrī Jaya Bhāskara*; floral and other ornaments in margin.	In central circle, sword, legend *malla deva*, date 821 (N. S. 1701 A. D). Marginal legend, each character in a trefoil ornament, *Nepāleśvara girīndra*, 'king of Nepāl, lord of the mountains.'
(JAYA) VĪRA MAHENDRA, FLOR. 1709 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83 1·0	In central circle, sword, *Śrī śrī*, and date 829 (N. S.=1709 A. D.). Marginal legend in sinuous border, *Jaya Vīra Mahendra malla.*	In circle, sword, wreath, sun and moon. Marginal legend in ornamental border, *Śrī Lokanātha nama*, 'worship of Lokanātha,' a Nepalese deity (Pl. XXVIII, 5).
No. 20. JAGAJJAYA MALLA, ALIAS MAHĪPATĪNDRA MALLA OR JAYA MAHĪNDRA SIṂHA, OF KĀTHMĀNḌŪ AND PĀTAN, 822–52 N. S. =1702–32 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·4 1·08	In central circle, trident, and *Śrī Jaya Jagajjaya*; ornaments on margin.	In central circle, *malla deva*, date 851 (N. S.= 1731); sword and wreath between the words; margin, *Nepāleśvara rājendra*, 'king of Nepāl, lord of the kingdom.'
2	„	Æ 83·9 1·1	In central circle, trident, and *Śrī Jagajjaya malla*; in margin ornaments only.	In octagon, *Śrī 2 Mahīpatīndra malla*, and date 838 (N. S.=1718 A. D.); sword and wreath in centre. On margin, *Nepāleśvara rājendra.*
3	„	Æ 82·8 1·09	In central circle, trident, and *Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahīndra*; in margin ornaments only.	In central circle, sword and wreath; legend, *siṁha deva*, and date 836 (N. S. =1716 A. D.). Marginal legend, *Nepāleśvara girīndra*, 'king of Nepāl, lord of the mountains.'
4	„	Æ 79·8 1·02	In square with curved sides, trident, and pellets; in marginal lozenges, and in field, *Śrī 2 Jaya Mahīpa.*	Sword and wreath. Legend, *tendra malla deva*; pellets, &c.; no date.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			(JAYA) INDRA MALLA (NOT IN W.)	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83 1·03	In central square, sword with wreath, and legend *Śrī Śrī Lokanātha*; sun and moon above with *Śrī Śrī*; outside square, *Jaya Indra malla deva.*	In scolloped frame, trident with wreath, and legend *Śrī Bhagāvatī devī*; date below 826 (N. S.= 1706 A. D.) (Pl. XXVIII, 6).
2	„	Æ 85 1·01	Duplicate of No. 1.	As No. 1.
			(JAYA) PRAKĀŚA MALLA, OF KĀṬHMĀṆDŪ AND PĀTAN, 1732–71 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83 1·13	Whole surface covered with elaborate patterns; in central rectangle, legend, *Jaya Prakāśa malla*; above *Nepāleśvara*, 'king of Nepāl'; to l. date, 873 (N. S.=1753 A. D.).	In central scolloped frame, an equilateral triangle with pellet in centre, and legend *Śrī 3 Talaṭṛimātṛi*; on inner margin, *Śrī Śrī Śrī Kumārī mātṛi*; on outer margin, *Śrī malīyatedaga.* (?) (Pl. XXVIII, 7).[1]
			UNCERTAIN	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 2·5 ·46	Legend not read, in rayed border.	Sword in centre; sun and crescent moon above. Legend, *Śrī Bha . .* (A minute, thin piece, probably struck as largess money, or *niṣār.*)

C.—RĀJĀS OF PĀTAN (LALITĀPUR, W., chap. vii, list, p. 315)

No. 2. SIDDHI NARA SIṀHA, ABOUT 1618–57 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 87·5 1·12	In central circle, sword and star. Legend, *Śrī Śrī Siddhi*; marginal ornaments.	In central circle, winged lion standing l.; in inner margin among ornaments, above *nara*, below *singā.*

No. 3. (JAYA) NIVĀSA MALLA, 1657—ABOUT 1700 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 84 1·0	Field occupied by two intersecting triangles with various ornaments; in central compartment, sword with wreath, sun, moon, stars, and legend, *Śrī Śrī Jaya*; in other compartments, *Śrī Nivāsa malla.*	In central circle, elevation of a Nepalese temple, and other indistinct symbols; date, 786 (N. S.= 1666 A. D.); on inner margin *Nepāleśvara*, 'king of Nepāl.'

[1] 'He built a house in Kāntipur for the Kumārīs to live in, which was constructed according to *bāstu-chakra*, and instituted their *rath-jātrā*' [procession] (W., p. 227).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 4. (JAYA OR VĪRA) YOGA NARENDRA MALLA, ABOUT 1700–5 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·9 1·01	Field covered by two *svastikas* interlaced, with legend and floral ornaments dispersed in compartments. Central legend, *Śrī* 3 [i.e. 'thrice'] *Lokanātha*; intermediate legend, *Śrī śrī Yoga narendra malla deva*; outer legend, *Saṅgī tāṇḍava pāraga*, '*Saṅgī* [? meaning] skilled in the *tāṇḍava*' (dance or *mantra*).	Field covered by a rhomboid and two equilateral triangles interlaced, with temple in centre, and legend dispersed in compartments; date below 806 (N. S. = 1686 A. D.). Central legend, *Śrī Narendra Lakshmī devī*; outer legend, *Śrī Pratāpa Lakshmī devī* (Pl. XXVIII, 8).
2	„	Æ 84·2 1·05	Similar.	Similar; same date.
3	„	Æ 83·7 1·05	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 75·5 1·0	Sword with wreath in centre; sun, moon, and stars above; inner legend, *Śrī śrī Jaya Yoga narendra malla*; outer legend, *Saṅgī tāṇḍava pāraga*.	Trident with wreath in centre; *Śrī śrī Vīra Yoga narendra malla*; outer legend, *Nepāla chūṛāmaṇi*, 'crest-jewel of Nepāl'; date below 820 (N. S. = 1700 A. D.).[1]
YOGAMATĪ, (?) WIDOW OF YOGANARENDRA, WITH HER SON LOKA PRAKĀŚA, 827 N. S. = 1707 A. D.[2]				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 82·5 1·02	Square with smaller square inscribed diagonally, and in centre a third square containing sword with wreath. Outer legend, *Śrī* 2 *Jaya Lokaprakāśa malla deva*; inner legend, *Śrī śrī Kalunāmaya*.	Two interlaced equilateral triangles, with central scolloped compartment containing trident. Legend, *Śrī śrī Yogamatī devī*; date below 827 (N. S. = 1707 A. D.).
YOGAMATĪ, (?) WIDOW OF YOGANARENDRA, WITH (?) HER SON VĪRA NARA SI[M]HA MALLA, 82 (?) N. S. = 170 (?) A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ loop attached 1·0	Square with prominences; outer legend, *Śrī Vīra nara siha malla deva*; inner legend, *Śrī* 2 *Lokanātha*.	Equilateral triangle, with smaller one inscribed; trident in centre. Legend, *Śrī śrī Yogamatī devī*; date below 82 (?) (N. S. = 170 (?) A. D.); much worn.

[1] No. 4 apparently was struck after Yoga narendra's accession; Nos. 1–3 must have been struck during the lifetime of his father Nivāsa. '1700 A. D. at an auspicious moment, the Rājā placed a Chūḍāmani in the temple' (W., p. 195). For dances see W., pp. 204, 205.

[2] Inscr. No. 22 (*Ind. Ant.*, ix. 192) records dedication of a temple in 845 by Yogamatī in memory of her deceased son Lokaprakāśa.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
No. 6.[1] (JAYA) YOGA PRAKĀŚA MALLA, ABOUT 1722–30 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·5 1·09	In central circle, trident with pellets, and legend *Śrī śrī Jaya Yo*, with date 852. On margin, each character in a compartment, *ga prakāśa malla deva.*	In central octagon sword with wreath. Marginal legend, each character in a compartment, *Śrī śrī śrī Kalunāmaya.*
2	„	Æ 85·6 1·06	Similar; same date.	Similar; *Karunāmaya.*
3	„	Æ 85 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 82·4 1·07	Ditto; date illegible.	Ditto; ditto.
No. 7. (JAYA) VISHṆU MALLA, ABOUT 1730–41 A. D.				
1	*I.M.*	Æ 82·6 1·02	Network of raised lines over surface; imitations of Arabic characters, and legend *Śrī śrī Jaya Vishṇu malla deva*, with trident in centre, and date below 861 (N. S. = 1741 A. D.).	Outer legend, *Śrī Jaya vīra Yoganarendra malla deva*; in scolloped central circle, dagger with wreath, and *Śrī śrī śrī Lokanātha.*
2	„	Æ 84·6 1·11	Similar; same date.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 81 1·1	In central circle, trident, *Śrī śrī*, and date 859 (N. S. = 1739 A. D.). Marginal legend in ornaments, *Jaya Vishṇu malla deva.*	Reticulated surface; imitations of Arabic characters; legend *Śrī śrī Karunāmaya*; sword with wreath in centre.
4	„	Æ 80·7 1·12	Similar to No. 1; date 861 (N. S. = 1741 A. D.).	Similar to No. 1; poor.

III. THE GŌRKHĀLĪ DYNASTY
(W., chaps. ix, x, xii, list, p. 315)

No. 1. PṚITHVĪ NĀRĀYAṆA, 1768–74 A. D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·7 1·29	Square, with sun, moon, and stars above, ornaments at sides; in centre, small circle containing trident. Legend in square, *Śrī śrī Pṛithvī nārāyaṇa sāha deva.* Date below 1691 (Śaka = 1769 A.D.).	Central circle enclosing legend, *Śrī śrī Bhavānī*; marginal legend, each character in an ornament, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.*

[1] No. 5 of W. is Jagajjaya or Mahīpatīndra of Kāṭhmāṇḍū. The dates do not always agree.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 84·3 1·15	As No. 1; date 1693 Ś.= 1771 A.D.	As No. 1 (Pl. XXVIII, 9).

No. 2. PRATĀPA SIṀHA, 1774–7 A.D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 83·4 1·12	Device as on coins of Pṛithvī Nārāyaṇa. Legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Pratāpa siṁha sāha deva*; date 1697 (Ś. = 1775 A.D).	Central circle enclosing legend, *Śrī śrī Guheśvarī*; marginal legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.*
2	„	Æ 83·9 1·12	Similar; same date.	Similar.

No. 3. RAṆA BAHĀDUR, 1777–99 A.D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 84 1·18	Device as on coins of preceding kings. Legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Raṇa Bahādur sāha deva*; date 1708 (Ś. = 1786 A.D.).	Central circle, enclosing dagger with wreath and legend *Śrī Bhavānī*; marginal legend in ornaments, *Srī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.*
2	„	Æ 83 1·19	Similar; date 1709 = 1787 A.D.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 85·2 1·02	Ditto; date 1712=1790 A.D.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ thick 168·4 1·02	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 20·8 ·68	Trident; *Śrī śrī Bhavānī*; date 1712=1790 A.D.	Temple with wreath. Legend, *Śrī 3 Rāja Rājeśvarī devī* (name of a goddess).

No. 4. GĪRVĀṆ YUDDHA VIKRAMA, 1799–1816 A.D.

Gold

1	*I M.*	Æ 84·2 1·02	Square with openings in r. and l. sides; ornaments outside, and *Śrī śrī śrī* above; date 1724 (Ś. = 1802 A.D.) below; inside square *Gīrvāṇ yuddha vikrama sāha deva.* Small central circle containing trident.	Central circle enclosing sword or dagger with wreath, and *Śrī 3 Bhavānī.* Marginal legend in ornaments, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.* Condition fine (Pl. XXVIII, 10).

Silver

2	*I.M.*	Æ 82 1·09	As No. 1; date 1730.	As No. 1.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ 85 1·1	Ditto; date 1737.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ square 34·4 ·6	*Svastika*, with central circle enclosing trident. Legend, *Gīrvāṇ yuddha vikrama sāha deva.* No date.	Circle enclosing dagger with wreath, and legend *Śrī Bhavānī*; outside circle, *Śrī* in each corner (Pl. XXVIII, 11).

No. 5. RĀJENDRA VIKRAMA, 1816–47 A.D.

Silver

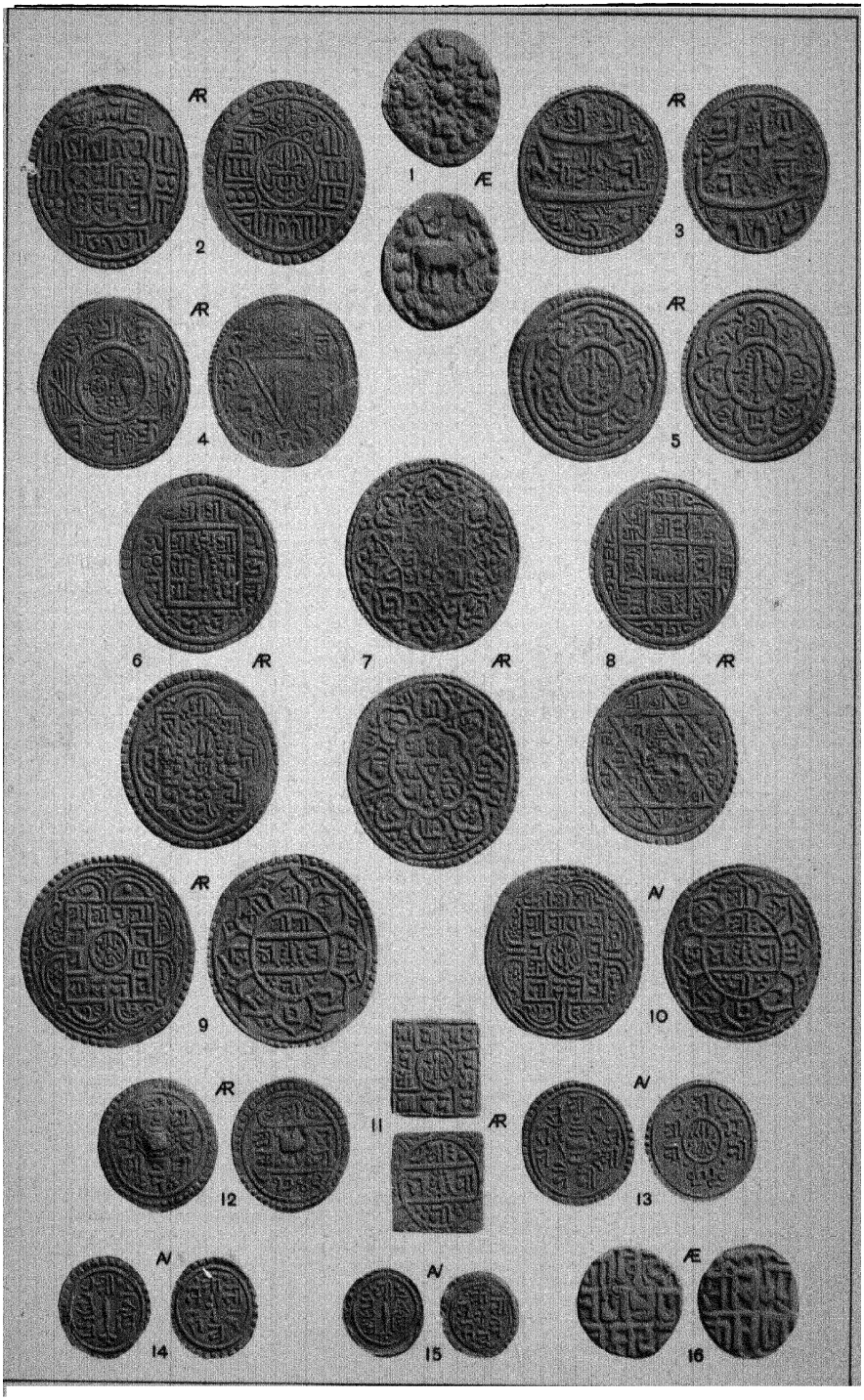
1	*I.M.*	Æ 83 1·06	Square, with openings r. and l.; central circle enclosing trident; above square, sun, moon, and *Śrī*; below 1738 (Śāka = 1816 A.D.). Legend in square, *Śrī śrī Rājendra vikrama sāha deva*; ornaments on margin.	Central circle enclosing dagger with wreath and *Śrī Bhavānī*. Marginal legend in ornaments, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.*
2	„	Æ 85·2 1·1	Similar; date 1742 = 1820 A.D.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 83·7 1·1	Ditto; date 1745=1823 A.D.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 84·2 1·1	Ditto; date 1746=1824 A.D.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 21·5 ·75	Temple with wreath in centre. Legend, *Śrī sāmrājya* (sovereignty) *Lakshmī devī.*	Humped bull r. Legend, *Śrī śrī Bhavānī*, 1749 (S. = 1827 A.D.; Pl. XXVIII, 12).

No. 6. SURENDRA VIKRAMA, 1847 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ 190·2 1·1	Square, without openings; sun, moon, and *Śrī* above; lotus to l.; symbol (? *yoni*) to r.; 1794 (=1872 A.D.) below; central circle enclosing trident. Legend in square, *Śrī śrī Surendra vikrama sāha deva.*	Central circle containing legend *Śrī 3 Bhavānī*; marginal legend in ornaments, *Śrī Gorakhanātha.* In mint condition; the weight is above the normal.
2	„	Æ 85·3 1·04	Similar; same date.	Similar; in mint condition.
3	„	Æ 42·4 ·81	Central circle enclosing trident; in field legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Surendra vi*, sun, moon, and flowers.	Dagger with wreath in centre; in field pellets and legend, *krama sāha deva*; date 1790 (= 1868 A.D.); in mint condition.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ 21·2 ·74	Temple between flowers in centre; in field legend, *Śrī Sura rāja Lakshmī devī.*	Central circle enclosing trident. Legend in field, *Śrī śrī Bhavānī*, 1790. In mint condition (Pl. XXVIII, 13).
5	„	Æ 10·8 ·6	Dagger in centre; sun and moon above. Legend in field, *Śrī Surendra vi.*	Dagger in centre. Legend in field, *krama sāha deva*; in fine condition (Pl. XXVIII, 14).
6	„	Æ 10·3 ·56	Similar.	Similar; in good condition.
7	„	Æ 5·3 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; in mint condition (Pl. XXVIII, 15).
			Silver	
8	*I.M.*	Æ 83·5 1·1	Square with openings in r. and l. sides; sun, moon, and *Śrī* above; date 1771 (S. = 1849 A.D.) below; ornaments at sides; central circle enclosing trident. Legend in square, *Śrī śrī Surendra vikrama sāha deva.*	Central circle enclosing dagger with wreath, and *Śrī* 3 *Bhavānī*. Marginal legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha* in ornaments.
9	„	Æ 78·1 1·14	Similar; date 1773 (Ś. = 1851 A.D.).	Similar.
10	„	Æ 83·8 1·1	Ditto; date 1775 (Ś. = 1853 A.D.).	Ditto.
11	„	Æ 85·2 1·07	Ditto; date 1780 (Ś. = 1858 A.D.).	Ditto.
12	„	Æ 84 1·1	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 41·8 ·8	Thunderbolt (*vajra*), or it may be called a form of trident, in centre between two horizontal lines; pellets. Legend, *Śrī śrī śrī Surendra vi.*	Two horizontal lines; pellets. Legend, *krama sāha deva*; date 1787 (Ś. = 1865 A.D.).
14	„	Æ 84·8 1·1	As No. 8; date 1793 (Ś. = 1871 A.D.).	As No. 8.
15	„	Æ 84·1 1·1	Ditto; date 1794 (Ś. = 1872 A.D.).	Ditto.
			Copper (bronze)	
16	*I.M.*	Æ 83·2 ·97	Square without openings; ornaments on margin; date below 1787 (Ś. = 1865 A.D.). Legend in square, *Śrī śrī śrī Surendra vikrama sāha deva.*	Square without openings; ornaments on margin. Legend in square, *Śrī śrī śrī Nepāl sarkār*, 'government of Nepāl'; good.
17	„	Æ 86·2 ·92	Similar; date 1790 = 1868 A.D.	Similar; good.



NEPĀL AND CHAMPĀRAN

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
18	*I.M.*	Æ 82·7 ·92	Ditto; date 1791 = 1869 A. D.	Ditto; fair.
19	„	Æ 84 ·92	Ditto; date 1792 = 1870 A. D.	Ditto; poor.
20	„	Æ 86·5 ·9	Ditto; date 1793 = 1871 A. D.	Ditto; fair.
21	„	Æ 74·7 ·9	Ditto; date 1798 = 1876 A. D.	Ditto; poor.
22	„	Æ 85·1 ·95	Ditto; date 1799 = 1877 A. D.	Ditto; ditto.
23	„	Æ 20 ·52	*Śrī Nepāl.*	*Sarkār* 93.
24	„	Æ 21 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto. (These are called *phoka dāms*; Rodgers. They seem to belong to reign of Surendra vikrama.)

PṚITHVĪ VĪRA VIKRAMA, SUCCESSOR OF SURENDRA VIKRAMA.

[I have failed to obtain the dates.]

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 81·1 1·02	Square with openings on r. and l. sides; sun, moon, and *Śrī śrī* above; ornaments at sides; date below 1806 (Ś. = 1884 A. D.). Legend in square, *Śrī śrī Pṛithvī vīra vikrama sāha deva.*	Central circle enclosing dagger with wreath and legend, *Śrī Bhavānī.* Marginal legend in ornaments, *Śrī śrī śrī Gorakhanātha.*

CHAMPĀRAN

MADANA SIṀHA DEVA, FLOR. 1450–60 A. D.

Copper (bronze)

1	*I.M.*	Æ 68 ·65	Three-line legend covering surface, (1) *Govinda-(cha)* (2) *raṇa praṇa* (3) *va* (or *-ya*) *Madana.*	Two-line legend covering surface, (1) *Śrī Champa* (2) *kāraṇye* (Pl. XXVIII, 16). The legend means, 'In Champāran, Madana, devoted to the feet of Govinda (Kṛishṇa).'
2	„	Æ 68·2 ·65	Similar.	Similar; fair.
3	„	Æ 70 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto; poor.

Section XX

THE NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER KINGDOMS; ASSAM AND MINOR STATES

INTRODUCTION

It is unnecessary to discuss in this place the meagre data available for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, which corresponded roughly with the modern province of Assam (Āsām). The early rulers of the country have not left any numismatic memorials. The modern history of Assam begins with the invasion of the Āhōms, who are 'the descendants of those Shāns who, under the leadership of Chukāphā, crossed the Patkoi [mountains] about 1228 A. D. (or just about the time when Kublai Khān was establishing his power in China) and entered the upper portion of the province, to which they have given their name. The Āhōms were not apparently a very large tribe, and they consequently took some time to consolidate their power in Upper Assam. They were engaged for several hundred years in conflict with the Chutiyās and Kachārīs, and it was not till 1540 A. D. that they finally overthrew the latter, and established their rule as far as the Kallang [river near Gauhātī]. . . . Subsequently the Koch kingdom [further west] was divided into two parts, and as its power declined that of the Āhōms increased, and the Rājās of Jaintia, Dimarua, and others, who had formerly been feudatories of Biśwa Singh, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Āhōms. The Musalmāns on several occasions invaded their country, but never succeeded in permanently annexing it. . . . In 1663 A. D. Mīr Jumlā invaded the country with a large army, and after some fighting took the capital. [But difficulties ensued, which made] him 'glad to patch up a peace. . . . The Āhōms then took Gauhātī and . . . defeated another Musalmān army. The Āhōms were then [about 1670 A.D.] at the height of their power; all the minor rulers of the country acknowledged their supremacy. . . . But even then the decline was at hand. They had for some time hankered after Hinduism, and the Rājās had for years been in the habit of taking a Hindu as well as a Shān name. Eventually Rudra Singh, alias Chukrungphā, who became king in 1695, [and is regarded by many as the greatest of all the

Āhōm kings] resolved to make a public profession of Hinduism, . . . but died in 1714 while still unconverted. His son, Sib Singh [Śiva siṁha], succeeded him, and became a disciple of Krishṇa-rām [the Śākta Gosain of Nadiā]. In his reign the seeds of future dissensions were sown by the persecution of the Moamarias, while the pride of race, which had hitherto sustained the Āhōms, began to disappear. . . . Patriotic feeling soon disappeared, and the country was filled with dissensions. . . . Captain Welsh was deputed by Lord Cornwallis to help the King Gaurī-nāth Singh, who was then being besieged at Gauhātī, and with his aid he was once more freed from his enemies. At this juncture Sir John Shore succeeded to the Governor-Generalship, and one of his first acts was to recall Welsh (1794 A. D.), after whose departure the country was given again over to anarchy. The aid of the Burmese was then invoked (1816 A. D.), and the latter remained in the country until 1824, when they were driven out by our troops, and the country was annexed' [early in 1825].[1] An Āhōm Rājā however continued to exist for some time longer, and in 1844 the last of the royal line did good service by arranging for the publication of a history of his country, which had always been careful to preserve its annals.

The foregoing summary of the history will serve, with little additional explanation, to render intelligible the fine series of coins now catalogued. A list of the Rājās will be found in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, copied into Duff's *Chronology of India*, and corrected by Gait (*Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, Shillong, Secretariat Printing Office, 1897). The blue-book last named gives complete references to all publications on the subject of Assamese history, which has recently been treated in detail by Mr. Gait in his work entitled *A History of Assam* (Calcutta, Thacker Spink, 1905), which also deals with the neighbouring minor states.

The initial syllable of the Shān names of the kings is generally given as *Chu*, but Bābū Golāp Chandra Baruā, the Āhōm translator, transliterates it as Śu (শু) in his account of the Āhōm coins (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1895, p. 286, Pl. XXVII). The six coins described by the Bābū and Mr. Gait are all included in this catalogue, with the addition of two specimens of Śupātphā or Gadādhar siṁha from the Indian Museum cabinet. The earlier Rājās seem to have issued coins inscribed with legends in the Āhōm language and character only, but Rājā Pramatha siṁha, alias Śuneñphā, used both Āhōm and Sanskrit. The catalogue includes one of his coins with Āhōm and eight with Sanskrit legends. The Āhōm language, which is now almost extinct, is a member of the group of Northern Shān (Shām or Tai) languages, and is written in

[1] Grierson (quoting Gait), *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii, p. 61, with additions in brackets.

a peculiar character, ultimately derived from the Pāli. In the work above cited Dr. Grierson has supplied ample materials for the study of the Āhōm language and alphabet, but his vocabulary fails to include the words in the coin legends. The readings of those legends in the catalogue are given on the authority of Bābū Golāp Chandra Baruā.

The coins of the dynasty are all octagonal, except a few of the smallest, which are circular or oval,[1] and certain square pieces struck by Queen Pramatheśvarī and Rājeśvara siṁha, which bear Persian legends. Rājeśvara siṁha also struck coins of the usual octagonal shape with Persian legends. These Assamese coins with Persian legends, although struck in considerable numbers, have become known only recently.[2] The larger pieces are of thick, solid fabric, and are said to be of good metal. Most of them are in silver, but some are gold. The legends are well executed, and those in the Sanskrit language usually are inscribed in the Bengālī script. They are intensely devotional in expression, the commonest formula describing the Rājā as a bee feeding on the nectar from the feet of Śiva or some other deity of the Hindu pantheon. Poetical words, such as *aravinda* for 'lotus' and *makaranda* for 'nectar', are sometimes substituted for the more common equivalents *kamala* and *amṛita*. The Āhōm legends of Śupātphā or Gadādhar siṁha express devotion to the tribal god Leṅḍan, who was identified with the Hindu Indra or Purandara. The legend on the coin of Śukleṅmuṅ represents the Rājā as praying to the Almighty (*tārā*).

The coins, the heaviest of which weighs 176·7 grains, appear to be intended for rupees of about 175 grains each, or for fractions of a rupee. The smallest is a tiny silver piece of Gaurīnātha, ·22 inch in diameter, and weighing only 4·2 grains; but small as it is, the Rājā's name is distinctly legible (Pl. XXIX, 8). The gold coins are struck to the same weight standard as those in silver. Most of the coins are dated in the Śāka era, and some show the regnal year in addition.

The coinage of the minor states may be dismissed briefly. The small principality of Jayantāpura, now known as the Jaintia Parganas to the north-east of the Sylhet District, was annexed in 1835 owing to the abduction of four British subjects for use as human sacrifices to Kālī. Its rare coinage is represented by four specimens in the Indian Museum (Pl. XXIX, 13,14), one of which is dated in 1630 Śāka = 1708 A. D., and the three others are dated 1653 Ś. = 1731 A. D. One duplicate of the latter date has not been catalogued. The coins are exceptionally broad, and bear legends similar to those of the Assamese coinage. Mr. Gait has recorded that

[1] The prevailing shape is supposed to have been suggested by a statement in the *Joginī Tantra* which describes the Āhōm country as octagonal (Gait, *History*, p. 97).

[2] Mr. H. N. Wright kindly examined the coins with Persian legends, which were received in May, 1906.

'a number of new Jaintia coins were brought to light by Babu Giris Chandra Dās, Assistant Settlement Officer of Jaintia, and a collection was made which has been presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The collection includes whole coins of Çaka 1591, 1592, 1630, 1653, 1696, 1704, 1707, and 1712; and quarter coins of Çaka 1653 and 1712: the quarter coins alone have the name of the kings who minted them, viz. Bara Gosain and Ram sinha respectively. These coins have been described (with a plate) in the *J. A. S. B.* for 1895, Part I, p. 242' (*Report*, p. 4). The paper referred to, entitled 'Some Notes on Jaintiā History', and chapter XI of Mr. Gait's *History of Assam*, give all the information available on the subject. The A. S. B. collection described by Mr. Gait has not been sent to me.

The Tipperah country (Tripura), which lies to the south of Sylhet and the east of Dacca, is now in part a British District, and in part a native state, known as Hill Tipperah. Mr. Gait (*Report*, p. 4) mentions two coins of Tipperah, one of Govinda Mānikya deva, dated Śāka 1602, the other of Dharma Mānikya deva, dated 1636. The latter was presented to the A. S. B. (*Proc.* 1895, p. 86), but has not come into my hands. The specimen now catalogued, struck by Rāmasiṁha Mānikya deva and his consort Tārā, is new, but similar to the coins previously known. The reverse device is a grotesque lion with a trident on his back, and the date is 1728 Ś. = 1806 A. D.

The Manipur State, lying between Cachār and the Burmese frontier, was deprived of its independence in 1891 on account of the massacre of Mr. Quinton and his companions (Gait, *History*, p. 343). Some small copper coins with *mā* on the obverse, and the reverse blank, are ascribed to this State by Mr. Rodgers.

Chhotā Udaipur is, I believe, part of Tipperah. The utterly barbarous copper coins assigned to it by Mr. Rodgers are undecipherable to me. The recent copper coins of the Sikim State to the north of Darjeeling are not in any way remarkable.

CATALOGUE

ASSAM (ĀSĀM)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
A.	*With legends in Āhōm language and script; silver, octagonal*			
	ŚUKLEŃMUŃ, 1539–52 A. D.			
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 177·3 ·89	Five-line legend, (1) *Chāō phā* (2) *Śukleń mu* (3) *ṅ pin chāō* (4) *lākni* (5) *plekṅi*; meaning 'in the year *plekṅi* (fifteenth year of Jovian cycle of sixty years), in the reign (*pinchāō*) of the great (*chāō*) king (*phā*) Śukleń-muń' = 1543 A. D. Dog running l. below.	Four-line legend, (1) *Kāō* (2) *bay phā* (3) *tārā* (4) *hēu chu*; meaning, 'I (*kāō*) the king (*phā*) offer (*hēu chu*) prayer (*bay*) to the Almighty (*tārā*) (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1895, Pl. XXVII, 1, with rev. printed sideways).
	ŚUPĀTPHĀ, ALIAS GADĀDHAR SIṀHA, 1681–95 A. D.			
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 166 ·95	Four-line legend, (1) *Chāō Śu* (2) *pātphā pi* (3) *n khun lāk* (4) *ni rāiśān*; 'in the year *rāiśān* (thirty-third year of cycle = 1681 A.D.), in the reign (*pinkhun*) of the great (*chāō*) Śupātphā.' Trace of winged dragon below.	Four-line legend, (1) *Kāō bay* (2) *phā leń* (3) *ḍan hēu* (4) *chu*; 'I the king offer prayer to Indra (*leń ḍan*)' (*J. A. S. B., ut sup.*, Figs. 2–5).
2	„	Æ 171·2 ·92	Similar; winged dragon r. below.	Similar; bird r. above.
3	„	Æ 176·2 ·89	Ditto; no dragon.	Ditto; winged monster and bird to r.
4	„	Æ 165·8 ·97	Ditto; winged dragon r. below.	Ditto; bird only r. below.
5	*I.M.*	Æ 174 ·93	Ditto; no dragon.	Ditto; winged monster r. below, and (?) crown with four points to l. (Pl. XXIX, 1).
6	„	Æ 175·7 ·95	Ditto; winged dragon r. below.	Ditto; bird r. in semicircle above.
	ŚUNEÑPHĀ, ALIAS PRAMATHA SIṀHA, 1744–51 A. D.			
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 176 ·92	Four-line legend, (1) *Chāo Śu* (2) *neń phā pin* (3) *khun lākni* (4) *kātkēō*; 'in the year *kātkēō* (thirty-sixth year of cycle = 1744 A.D.), in the reign of the great Śuneñphā.' No animal.	Three-line legend, (1) *Kāō bay* (2) *phā leń ḍa* (3) *n hēu chu*; 'I the king offer prayer to Indra.' Winged dragon l. below. (For Sanskrit coins of Pramatha siṁha see *post*, p. 302.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

B. *With legends in Sanskrit language and script; octagonal, except two coins*

SŪRGA (SVARGA) NĀRĀYAṆA, ALIAS PRATĀPA SIṀHA, ALIAS ŚUŚEṄPHĀ OR CHUCHEṄPHĀ, 1611–49 A. D.[1]

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	175·2 ·82	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Sū* (2) *rga nārāyaṇa* (3) *devasya Śāke* (4) 1570; '[coin] of His Majesty (*deva*) Sūrga nārāyaṇa, 1648 A. D.'	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ri Hara chara* (3) *na parāya* (4) *naya*; 'intent on the feet of Hari and Hara (Vishṇu and Śiva).' (Pl. XXIX, 2; N.B. the words *charaṇa* and *parāyaṇa* are spelt with the dental *n*.)

RUDRA SIṀHA, 1696–1714 A. D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ	175 ·92	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrīmat* (2) *svarga deva Rudra* (3) *Siṁhasya Śā* (4) *ke* 1618; '[coin] of Rudra siṁha, a deity of heaven, 1696 A. D.' Winged dragon r. below.	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī pa* (3) *dāmṛita madhū-* (4) *karasya*; 'a bee on the nectar of the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
2	„	Æ	174·2 ·9	Similar; date 1620 = 1698 A. D.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	174 ·9	Ditto; date 1621 = 1699 A. D.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	172·5 ·95	Ditto; date 1622 = 1700 A. D.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	174·1 ·91	Ditto; date 1623 = 1701 A. D.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ	176·7 ·9	Ditto; date 1625 = 1703 A. D.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ	175·5 ·9	Ditto; date 1626 = 1704 A. D.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ	176 ·91	Ditto; date 1627 = 1705 A. D.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ	175 ·93	Ditto; date 1630 = 1708 A. D.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ	174·8 ·93	Ditto; date 1631 = 1709 A. D.	Ditto.

[1] These are the dates in Mr. Gait's *Report*, p. 8, where coins dated 1648 are cited; but in his *History*, p. 116, the same author follows the *buranjis* and affirms that Pratāpa siṁha died in 1641. The dates in the *Report*, which are based on the authority of the Assamese historian Kāśīnāth, should be accepted rather than those of the *buranjis*. When Mr. Gait (*History*, p. 102) avowed his preference for the latter, he forgot the testimony of the coins.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
11	*I.M.*	Æ 175·8 ·9	As No. 1; date 1632=1710 A. D.	As No. 1.
12	„	Æ 173·9 ·93	Ditto; date 1633=1711 A. D.	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 175 ·9	Ditto; date 1634=1712 A. D.	Ditto (Pl. XXIX, 3).
14	„	Æ 174·3 ·91	Ditto; date 1635=1713 A. D.	Ditto.
15	„	Æ 173·7 ·88	Ditto; date 1636=1714 A. D.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 86 ·65	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Rudra si* (3) *ṁhasya.*	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Śivapada* (3) *parasya*; no date.

ŚIVA SIṀHA, 1714–44 A. D.[1]

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ ring ·55	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Śiva siṁha* (3) *nṛipasya.*	Śāke 1660; 25 (=1738 A. D., twenty-fifth regnal year).

Silver

2	*I.M.*	Æ 175·8 ·96	(1) *Śrī śrīmat* (2) *svarga deva Śi* (3) *va siṁha nṛipasya* (4) *Śāke* 1639 (=1717 A. D.). Winged dragon r. below.	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī padā* (3) *mṛita madhūka* (4) *rasya*; translation as on coins of Rudra siṁh a.
3	„	Æ 176·2 ·96	Similar; date 1641=1719 A. D.	Similar.
4	„	Æ 174 ·98	Ditto; date 1643=1721 A. D.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 86·8 ·65	(1) *Śrī śrī Śi* (2) *va siṁhasya* (3) 24 (regnal year=1737 A. D.).	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Śiva pada* (3) *parasya*; '[coin] of Śiva siṁha intent on the feet of Śiva.'
6	„	Æ 175 ·9	As No. 2; date 1660=1738 A. D.; regnal year below, 25.	As No. 2.

PHŪLEŚVARĪ, QUEEN OF ŚIVA SIṀHA, DIED 1731

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 175 ·96	(1) *Śrī śrī Śiva* (2) *siṁha nṛipa mahi* (3) *shī śrī Phūleśva* (4) *rī devyāḥ.*	(1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī pada* (3) *parāyanāyāḥ* (4) *Śāke* 1646. Winged dragon r. below; '[coin]

[1] Rājā Śiva siṁha (Sib Singh, 1714–44), in order to evade the effect of an astrologer's prediction, made over the insignia of sovereignty, including the right of coining, to his successive wives; first to Phūleśvarī, alias Pramatheśvarī, who struck coins in both names, and died in 1731 A. D.; secondly to her sister Deopadī, whose coins bear the name of Ambikā (died 1741); and thirdly to Enādarī, who reigned and coined as Sarveśvarī. But, as the catalogue shows, Śiva siṁha also coined in his own name in 1737 and 1738 A. D. See Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 179.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
				of queen Phūleśvarī, consort of king Śiva siṁha, intent on the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
2	*I.M.*	Æ 176 ·92	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1; date 1647.
3	„	Æ 175 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; date 1648.

PRAMATHEŚVARĪ (SAME AS PHŪLEŚVARĪ), QUEEN OF ŚIVA SIṀHA

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ ring ·55	(1) *Śrī Śi* (2) [*va siṁ*] *ha* (3) *nṛipa.*	(1) *-mā śrī Pramathe* (3) *śva* . . 4.

Silver

2	*I.M.*	Æ 43·4 ·55	As No. 1; legend complete.	As No. 1; but two or three characters are difficult to read.
3	„	Æ 175 ·95	As No. 1 of Phūleśvarī, substituting name Pramatheśvarī.	As on coin No. 1 of Phūleśvarī; date 1651=1729 A. D.
4	„	Æ 174·3 ·95	Ditto.	Ditto; date 1653=1731 A. D.
5	„	Æ 87·8 ·67	(1) *Śrī śrī Śi* (2) *va siṁha nṛipa* (3) *mahishī.*	(1) *Śrī Prama* (2) *theśvarī* (3) *devyāḥ*; '[coin] of queen Pramatheśvarī, consort of king Śiva siṁha.' No date.
6	„	Æ sq. 175·2 ·75	Persian legend شاه شیوسنگ سکه زد چو مهر بحکم بیگم پرمتهی سری شاه *Shāh Sheo Singh sikka zad chū mihr ba hukm Begam Pramathesarī Shāh*; 'Shāh Sheo Singh, coin struck as the sun by order of Queen Pramathesarī Shāh.'	Persian legend, *Maimanat mānūs san* 15 *julūs, ẓarb Gargāon* 1651; 'in the year 15 of the fortunate reign, struck at Gargāon, 1651' (Śāka=1729 A. D.). Dragon r. in l. lower corner (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1904, *Num. Suppl.*, p. 114, Pl. II, 16. 143 specimens were found at Gargāon in Sibsāgar District, Assam).

AMBIKĀ, QUEEN OF ŚIVA SIṀHA, DIED 1741 A. D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 176·5 ·94	(1) *Śrī śrī Śiva* (2) *siṁha nṛipa udva* (3) *llabha śrimad Ambi* (4) *kā devīnāṁ.* Dragon r. below.	As on coins No. 1 of Phūleśvarī and No. 3 of Pramatheśvarī; date, *Śāke* 1657, and (regnal year) 21 =1735 A. D.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 176·3 ·97	As No. 1.	As No. 1; date 1658 and 22=1736 A.D. The legend means, '[coin] of queen Ambikā, beloved of king Śiva siṁha.'

SARVEŚVARĪ, Queen of Śiva Siṁha, to 1744 A.D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 176 ·93	Legend as on coins of Ambikā, substituting name Sarveśvarī; regnal year below 25 (?).	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī pada* (3) *parāyanānāṁ*; date 1661 = 1739 A.D. Dragon l. below.
2	„	Æ 87 ·69	(1) *Śrī śrī Śi* (2) *va siṁha na* (3) *reśvara.*	(1) *udvalla* (2) *śrī Sarve* (3) *śvarī devīnāṁ*, 25; '[coin] of Sarveśvarī, the beloved queen of the lord Śiva siṁha.'
3	„	Æ 175 ·97	Legend as No. 1; regnal date 30.	Legend as No. 1; date 1665=1743 A.D.

PRAMATHA SIṀHA, alias Śuneñphā (Chunenphā), 1744–51 A.D.

(See *ante*, p. 298.)

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ 87·8 ·67	(1) *Śrī śrī Pra* (2) *matha siṁhasya* (3) *nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Śivapada* (3) *parasya*; '[coin] of king Pramatha intent on the feet of Śiva.' Lotus flower to r. of line 1 (Pl. XXIX, 4).
2	„	Æ ring ·6	(1) *Śrī śrī Pra* (2) *matha siṁha* (3) *nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1671 (= 1749 A.D.).

Silver

3	*I.M.*	Æ 175·5 ·95	(1) *Śrī śrī svarga* (2) *deva Pramatha* (3) *siṁha nṛipasya* (4) *Śāke* 1667 (= 1745 A.D.).	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī charana* (3) *kamala madhū* (4) *karasya*; '[coin] of the deity of heaven, king Pramatha siṁha, a bee on the lotus of the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
4	„	Æ 175 ·97	Ditto; date 1668 (=1746 A.D.).	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 174·3 ·99	As No. 3; date 1669= 1747 A.D.	As No. 3.
6	„	Æ 174·2 1·0	Ditto; date 1670=1748 A.D.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 43 ·62	(1) *Śrī śrī Pra* (2) *matha siṁha* (3) *nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1673=1751 A.D.
8	„	Æ 86·5 ·68	Ditto.	(1) *Śrī śrī* (2) *Śivapada* (3) *parasya.*

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			RĀJEŚVARA SIṂHA, 1751-69 A. D.	
			Gold	
1	*I.M.*	*N* 44·2 ·5	(1) *Śrī śrī Rā* (2) *jeśvara siṁ* (3) *ha nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1677. Crescent with pellet and parts of lotus flowers (Pl. XXIX, 5).
2	,,	*N* ring ·51	Ditto.	Similar; date 1678 = 1756 A. D.
			Silver	
3	*I.M.*	Æ 175 ·86	(1) *Śrī śrī svarga* (2) *deva śrī Rājeśva* (3) *ra siṁha nṛipasya* (4) *Śāke* 1674 (=1752 A. D.). Dragon l. below.	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī charana ka* (3) *mala makaranda* (4) *madhūkarasya*; '[coin] of the deity of heaven, king Rājeśvara siṁha, a bee on the nectar of the lotus of the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
4	,,	Æ 43·2 ·56	(1) *Śrī śrī Rā* (2) *jeśvara siṁha* (3) *nṛipasya.*	*Śāke* 1674.
5	,,	Æ 175·8 ·88	As No. 3; date 1675 = 1753 A. D.	As No. 3.
6	,,	Æ 175 ·8	As No. 3; but date 1675, and script Nāgarī, not Bengāli.	Ditto; substituting *Māheśvarī* for *Hara-Gaurī*. Dragon l. below (Pl. XXIX, 6).
7	,,	Æ 175 ·9	As No. 3; date 1678.	As No. 3.
8	,,	Æ 43 ·55	As No. 1.	*Śāke* 1678.
9	,,	Æ 43·7 ·5	Ditto.	*Śāke* 1679.
10	,,	Æ 43 ·55	Ditto.	*Śāke* 1680.
11	,,	Æ 43·3 ·54	Ditto.	*Śāke* 1681.
12	,,	Æ 175 ·92	As No. 3; 1682.	As No. 3.
13	,,	Æ 174·2 ·88	Ditto; 1683.	Ditto.
14	,,	Æ 175·3 ·9	Ditto; 1684.	Ditto.
15	,,	Æ 175 ·95	Ditto; 1686.	Ditto.
16	,,	Æ 175·5 ·86	Ditto; 1688.	Ditto.
17	,,	Æ 41 ·55	As No. 4.	*Śāke* 1689.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
18	*I.M.*	Æ 175·5 ·88	As No. 3; 1690.	As No. 3.
19	„	Æ 86 ·66	As No. 4.	(1) *Śrī śrī Śi* (2) *va pada parā* (3) *yanasya*; '[coin] of king Rājeśvara siṁha devoted to the feet of Śiva.' No date.
20	„	Æ 10·8 ·32	(1) *Śrī Rā* (2) *jeśvara.*	(1) *Siṁha* (2) *nṛipasya.* No date.
21	„	Æ sq. 174 ·8	Persian legend, read from below, *Srī Rājeshar Singh zad īn 'ālampanāh sikka-i-sulṭān chū khūrshed* [*wa*] *māh*; 'This world-protecting Rājeshar Singh struck the Sultan's coin like sun [and] moon.'	Persian legend, *Ẓarb Rangpur san julūs maimanat mānūs* 1674 (Śāka =1752 A. D.); 'struck at Rangpur, in the year of the fortunate reign 1674.' The regnal year is not stated. Rājeśvara siṁha had a palace at Rangpur near Sibsāgar (Gait, *History*, p. 180).
22	„	Æ oct. 172 ·88	Same legend.	Same legend, but date 1685=1763 A. D.

LAKSHMĪ SIṀHA, 1769–80 A. D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ 40·3 ·5	(1) *Śrī śrī La* (2) *kshmī siṁha* (3) *nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1692=1770 A. D.

Silver

2	*I.M.*	Æ 174·8 ·9	(1) *Śrī śrī svarga* (2) *deva Lakshmī* (3) *siṁha nṛipasya* (4) *Śāke* 1692. Dragon r. below.	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī charanāra* (3) *vinda makaranda* (4) *madhūkarasya*; '[coin] of the deity of heaven, king Lakshmī siṁha, a bee on the nectar of the lotus of the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
3	„	Æ 44 ·55	As No. 1.	As No. 1; same date.
4	„	Æ 175·8 ·9	As No. 2; 1693.	As No. 2.
5	„	Æ 175 ·9	Ditto; 1695.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 175·7 ·95	Ditto; 1696.	Ditto.
7	„	Æ 44 ·53	As No. 1.	As No. 1; 1696.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
8	*I.M.*	Æ 175 ·93	As No. 2; 1697.	As No. 2.
9	,,	Æ 44·3 ·55	As No. 1.	As No. 1; 1697.
10	,,	Æ 175 ·9	As No. 2; 1698.	As No. 2.
11	,,	Æ 174·4 ·97	Ditto; 1700.	Ditto.
12	,,	Æ 43·2 ·6	As No. 1.	As No. 1; 1701.
13	,,	Æ 44·2 ·55	Ditto.	Ditto; 1702.
14	,,	Æ 79·3 ·69	Ditto.	(1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī pa* (3) *da parasya*; '[coin] of king Lakshmī siṁha intent on the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
15	,,	Æ 72·6 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto; a thin coin.
16	,,	Æ 84·8 ·65	Ditto.	Ditto.
17	,,	Æ 22·6 ·44	(1) *Śrī śrī La* (2) *kshmī.*	(1) *siṁha* (2) *nṛipasya.*
18	,,	Æ 10·7 ·32	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXIX, 7).

GAURĪNĀTHA SIṀHA, 1780–95 A. D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Ⱥ 173·3 ·9	(1) *Śrī śrī svarga* (2) *deva Gaurīnā* (3) *tha siṁha nṛi-pasya* (4) *Śāke* 171 (?). Dragon r. below.	(1) *Śrī śrī Hara* (2) *Gaurī charana ka* (3) *mala maka-randa* (4) *madhūkarasya*; '[coin] of the deity of heaven, king Gaurīnātha siṁha, a bee on the nectar of the lotus of the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'
2	,,	Ⱥ 85 ·65	(1) *Śrī śrī Gau* (2) *rī nātha si* (3) *ṁha nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī pa* (3) *da parasya*; '[coin] of king Gaurīnātha siṁha, intent on the feet of Hara and Gaurī.'

Silver

3	*I.M.*	Æ 175·8 ·93	As No. 1; 1703.	As No. 1, substituting the synonym *aravinda* for *kamala.*
4	,,	Æ 44·5 ·6	As No. 2.	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1703.
5	,,	Æ 174 ·95	As No. 3; 1705.	As No. 3.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
6	*I.M.*	Æ 174 ·97	As No. 3; 1706; regnal date 5 in lieu of dragon.	(1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī pa* (3) *dāmṛita madhū* (4) *karasya*; translation as on No. 3, omitting 'of the lotus'.
7	„	Æ 43 ·6	(1) *Śrī śrī Gau* (2) *rī nātha siṁ* (3) *ha nṛipasya.*	(1) *Śāke* (2) 1706; (3) 5 (regnal year).
8	„	Æ 175 ·97	As No. 3; 1707.	As No. 1.
9	„	Æ 174 ·87	Ditto; 1708.	Ditto.
10	„	Æ 44 ·58	As No. 2.	(1) *Śāke*; (2) 1708.
11	„	Æ 173·2 ·85	As No. 3; 1709.	As No. 1.
12	„	Æ 174·4 ·94	Ditto; 171 (?).	Ditto.
13	„	Æ 175·2 ·95	Ditto; 1716.	Ditto.
14	„	Æ 86·8 ·72	As No. 2.	As No. 2.
15	„	Æ 83·7 ·67	Ditto.	Ditto.
16	„	Æ 21·5 ·5	(1) *Śrī śrī Gau* (2) *rī nātha.*	(1) *siṁha* (2) *nṛipasya.*
17	„	Æ 22 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
18	„	Æ circular 4·2 ·22	(1) *Śrī* (2) *Gau.*	(1) *rī nā* (2) *thasya*; a (?) fortieth part of a rupee (Pl. XXIX, 8).

BHARATHA SIṀHA, RĀJĀ OF RANGPUR, 1792–3 A. D. AND AGAIN 1797 A. D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 175·5 ·95	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Bhagādatta* (2) *kulodvara śrī Bha* (3) *ratha siṁha nṛipasya* (4) *Śāke* 1714.[1] Dragon r. below.	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Kṛishṇa charanāravinda makaranda pramada madhūkarasya*; '[coin] of king Bharatha siṁha of the excellent lineage of Bhagādatta, intoxicated with the nectar of the lotus of the feet of Krishṇa, Śāka 1714' = 1792–3 A. D. (Pl. XXIX, 9).
2	„	Æ 174·5 ·87	Ditto; date 1719 = 1797 A. D.	Ditto.

[1] For legends of Bhagādatta (Bhagdatta) see Gait, *History*, pp. 18, 27, 29.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
KAMALEŚVARA SIṀHA, OR KINNARĀM, 1795–1810 A. D.				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 87·3 ·65	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Ka* (2) *maleśvara si* (3) *ṁha nṛipasya.*	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Ha* (2) *ra Gaurī chara* (3) *ṇa parasya*; '[coin] of king Kamaleśvara siṁha, devoted to the feet of Hara and Gaurī' (Pl. XXIX, 10).
CHANDRAKĀNTA SIṀHA NARENDRA, 1810–18 A. D., RESTORED NOMINALLY IN 1819				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ oval 5·6 ·3 × ·25	Two-line legend, (1) *Śrī Cha* (2) *ndra.*	Two-line legend, (1) *Kānta* (2) *sya* (Pl. XXIX, 11).
BRAJNĀTHA SIṀHA, FEB., 1818 A. D., TEMPORARY				
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 175 ·94	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī svarga* (2) *deva śrī Brajnā* (3) *tha siṁha nṛi-pasya* (4) *Śāke* 1739.	Four-line legend, (1) *Śrī śrī Rādhā* (2) *Kṛishṇa cha-raṇa ka* (3) *mala makaranda* (4) *madhūkarasya*; '[coin] of the deity of heaven, king Brajnātha siṁha, a bee on the nectar of the lotus of the feet of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, Śāka 1739' = 1818 A. D. (Pl. XXIX, 12).
2	„	Æ 174·7 ·9	Ditto; date 1740.	Ditto; 1740 Ś. = 1818 A. D.

MINOR STATES

I. JAYANTĀPURA

ANONYMOUS COINS

			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 150 1·12	Four-line legend in circle with broad dotted margin, (1) *Śrī śrī Ja* (2) *yantā-pura Pu* (3) *randarasya Śā* (4) *ke* 1630. Horizontal line above date.	Four-line legend in circle with broad dotted margin, (1) *Śrī śrī Śi* (2) *va cha-raṇa ka* (3) *mala madhūka* (4) *rasya*; '[coin] of the Purandara [= Indra] of Jayantāpura, a bee on the

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
				lotus of the feet of Śiva, Śāka 1630' = 1708 A. D. Crescent in upper margin; six-pointed star at end of legend; sword to r. of legend. (Pl. XXIX, 13: *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1895, Pl. XXIV, 10; probably in reign of Rāma siṁha.)
2	*I.M.*	Æ 150·8 1·2	Similar to No. 1; date 1653 Ś. = 1731 A. D.	Similar; probably belongs to first year of reign of Bara Guśāin.
3	„	Æ 148 1·22	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ 117 1·2	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XXIX, 14).

II. MANIPUR

Copper

ANONYMOUS

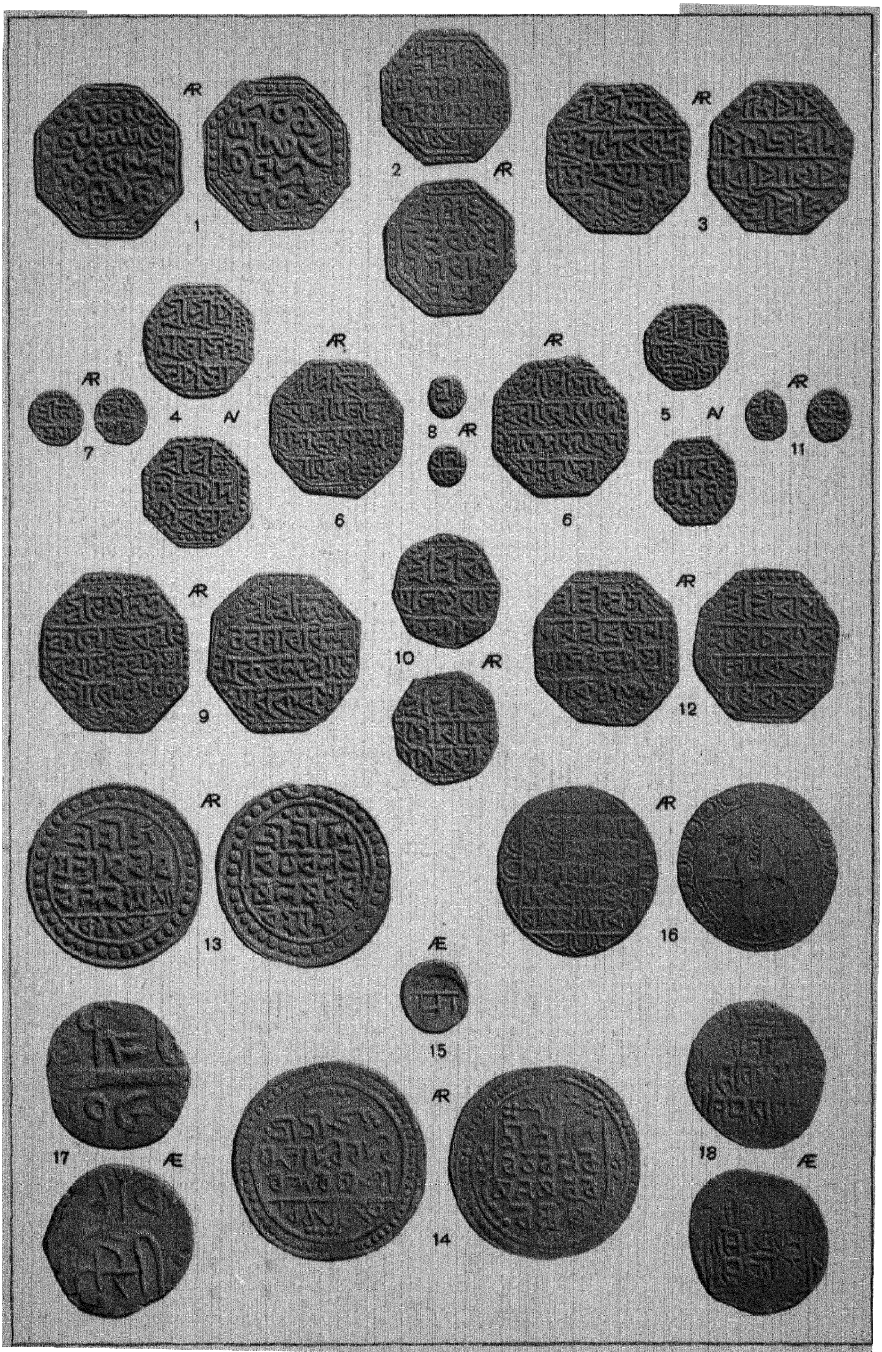
1	*I.M.*	Æ 12·3 ·4	*Mā* in raised letters in incuse.	Blank (Pl. XXIX, 15; Rogders, Part III, p. 118).
2	„	Æ 10·8 ·37	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 10·6 ·33	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 10 ·35	Ditto.	Ditto.

III. TIPPERAH (TRIPURA)

RĀMA SIṀHA MĀNIKYA, 1806 A. D.

Silver

1	*I.M.*	Æ 162·3 1·02	Ornaments on margin: five-line legend in square, (1) *Śiva Durgā pade* (2) *śrī Śrī yuta Rāma* (3) *saṁha* [for *siṁha*] *mānikya* (4) *deva śrīmati Tā* (5) *rā mahādevī*; 'at the foot of Śiva and Durgā, devoted to Śrī, Rāma siṁha mānikya deva [and] queen (*mahādevī*) Tārā.'	Grotesque lion standing l. with off fore-foot raised; trident on his back; four-rayed star in front and behind; below *Śāke* 1728 = 1806 A. D. (Pl. XXIX, 16).



THE NORTH EASTERN FRONTIER KINGDOMS

ASSAM, JAYANTĀPUR, MANIPUR, TIPPERAH

CHHOTĀ UDAIPUR, SIKIM

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse

IV. CHHOṬĀ UDAIPUR (Rodgers, Part III, p. 119)

Copper

NAME NOT DECIPHERED

1	*I.M.*	Æ	217 1·2	Horizontal line across centre; above characters not read; below date not read.	Two-line legend not read.
2	,,	Æ	207 1·0	Similar; less distinct.	Similar.
3	,,	Æ	115 ·92	Similar; date seems to be 1787 (Śāka = 1865 A.D.).	Similar (Pl. XXIX, 17).
4	,,	Æ	— ·95	Similar; date not read.	Similar.

V. SIKIM

Copper

(?) ANONYMOUS

1	*I.M.*	Æ	79·2 ·84	Three-line legend in square, (1) *Śrī śrī śrī* (2) *sinimpati* (3) *māhā rājā.* Date below seems to be 1840. (*Sinimpati* (?) for *senapati*, 'general.')	Three-line legend in square, (1) *Śrī śrī śrī* (2) *Sikim* (3) *sarkār*, 'the government of Sikim.'
2	,,	Æ	64·3 ·9	Three-line legend in square, (1) *Śrī śrī śrī* (2) *Sikim* . . (3) *tibutā rājā.*	Ditto (Pl. XXIX, 18).

Section XXI

WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA, EXCLUDING VIJAYANAGAR AND MYSORE

INTRODUCTION

The metric system of Southern India appears to be based upon the weights of two kinds of seeds, the *mañjāḍi* (*Adenanthera pavonina*), averaging about five grains Troy, and the *kaḷañju*, 'Molucca bean' or 'bonduc nut' (*Caesalpinia bonduc*, *Guilandina bonducella*), which was considered as equivalent to ten *mañjāḍis*. The *rati* seed (*Abrus precatorius*), the base of the metric system of Northern India, was not used in the south in early times, but in practice the *kaḷañju* weight did not differ widely from the northern standard of 32 *ratis*, to which the punch-marked silver coins (*ante*, Sect. V) were struck. These punch-marked coins, which occur all over India, north and south, have been considered in Section V with reference to the whole country. The southern specimens may be regarded as roughly equivalent to a *kaḷañju*. Large classes of ancient thin, flat coins, such as are described in Loventhal's little book, *The Coins of Tinnevelly* (Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1888), are found in the peninsular region, but, not being represented in the Indian Museum or Asiatic Society of Bengal cabinets, may be passed over with this allusion.

The most characteristic southern coinage is that in gold of small pieces known as *fanams*, equivalent in weight to *mañjāḍi* seeds, and of larger pieces known as *hūns*, *varāhas*, or *pagodas*, ten times the weight of the fanam, and equivalent to *kaḷañju* seeds.

The fanam is a tiny, thin, circular die-struck coin, and I do not know whether it was an independent Dravidian invention or was derived from some foreign model. The pagoda (*hūn* or *varāha*) was developed independently, like the early Lydian coins, from a globule or spherule of gold. The earliest examples, of uncertain date, are either quite plain or have a faint punch-mark in the centre. Specimens of these early coins are catalogued under the sub-head 'Early Anonymous, blank or nearly blank'. Gradually, as in Greece, the globule was

flattened, and became an ordinary die-struck coin. Pagodas continued to be struck until 1819. In 1835 the special southern currencies were superseded by the imperial rupee coinage. The reader will find the numismatic history of the south, so far as it is known, worked out in Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* (Intern. Num. Or., 1885); Tufnell's *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India* (Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1889); Loventhal's work already cited; Dr. Bidie's article, 'The Pagoda or Varāha Coins of Southern India' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1883, p. 33); and Mr. Thurston's catalogues of coins in the Madras Museum, especially the volume entitled *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula* (Madras, Government Press, 1890).

The curious cup-shaped pieces known as *padma ṭankas*, or 'lotus-coins', are heavier than the pagoda, averaging about 58 grains each. Their peculiar form connects them with the coinage of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi, but their date cannot be determined with accuracy. The gold coins of Jagadekamalla of that dynasty, either J. I (1018–42 A. D.) or J. II (1138–49 A. D.), are now published for the first time (Pl. XXX, 2, 3).

The base silver coins of Vishamasiddhi or Kubja-Vishṇu vardhana, the first king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Vengī (615–33 A. D.), although described by Dr. Hultzsch, have not been figured previously so far as I know (Pl. XXX, 1). The strange broad, thin punch-marked gold coinage of the same dynasty in the eleventh century, which has been known for many years, is represented in the catalogue by a single coin of Śaktivarman or Chālukya chandra.

Two of the rare coins of the Kādamba chiefs of Goa in the twelfth century, one gold and one silver, are catalogued, but unluckily the king's name cannot be read completely on either (Pl. XXX, 5, 6).

The Gānga dynasty of Kalinga is represented by eight gold fanams (Pl. XXX, 7) issued by Anantavarma Choḍaganga (1075–1146 A. D.). The capital of this dynasty was at Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjām District (*Ep. Ind.*, iv. 188; *Ind. Ant.*, xxv, p. 322).

The specimens of the coinage of the Hindu state of Travancore (Pl. XXX, 8–15) are all modern, the oldest not being earlier than the eighteenth century. The silver *chakram* is of the same weight as the gold fanam, between five and six grains. The copper *kāsu* or 'cash', weighing nearly ten grains, represents the cowrie of Bengal, and was valued as the eightieth part of the gold fanam (*C. S. I.*, pp. 59, 139). The recent coins of Travancore copy English models.

The representation in the Museum of the Indo-Portuguese, Indo-French, and early Anglo-Indian coinage is so fragmentary that it would be out of place here to go into any detail on the subject. Generally

speaking, the collection of southern coins now catalogued is miserably imperfect, and wholly unworthy of an imperial museum.

For convenience the coins of Vijayanagar and Mysore are treated in a separate section; but, excepting those of the Muhammadan dynasty, they follow the ordinary southern types of pagoda and fanam.

The southern coinage, as a whole, is of far less interest and historical value than the northern, the most characteristic kinds rarely being inscribed or dated. No adequate work on the subject exists, the publications cited above all being imperfect in one way or another. Sir Walter Elliot's work, *The Coins of Southern India*, is the most important, and gives the best general view.

The history of the Chālukya and other dynasties of the Deccan and Peninsula will be found in Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* (2nd ed., *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, Part II). The Chālukyan coins are not struck to the southern scale of weights. The gold coins seem to be intended for drachmas, and the coins of the Kādamba chiefs of Goa may be struck to the same weight standard. The Gānga king of Kalinga and Orissa, Anantavarma Choḍaganga, who reigned from 1075–1146 A. D., issued heavy gold fanams, weighing between seven and eight grains each. The specimens in the Museum formed a necklace or similar ornament.

CATALOGUE[1]

I. THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYA DYNASTY OF VENGĪ (*Ind. Ant.*, xx. 94)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
VISHAMASIDDHI, ALIAS KUBJA-VISHṆU VARDHANA, 615–33 A.D.				
			Base silver	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ base 50 ·61	Within dotted border, a rude lion r.; above, Telugu legend, *Vishamasiddhi*, 'successful in scaling the inaccessible places.'	Within a border of rays, a double trident, surmounted by a crescent, and flanked by two lamps (Pl. XXX, 1; Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xxv. 322).
2	„	Æ base 44·5 ·63	Similar.	Similar; in poor condition.

[1] Special abbreviations in this section are B. = Bidie, 'The Pagoda or Varāha coins of Southern India' (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1888, p. 83); Th. = Thurston, *Catalogues of Coins in the Madras Museum*; Tu. = Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*I.M.*	Æ base 45·3 ·7	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ base, broken ·67	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ base 32·5 ·58	Ditto.	Ditto.

ŚAKTIVARMAN, OR CHĀLUKYA CHANDRA, ABOUT 1000–12 A. D.

Gold

1	*A.S.B.*	Æ	65·5 1·22	In centre the Chālukyan badge, a boar standing r., surmounted by umbrella, with a *chauri*, or fly-whisk on each side. Marginal legend in large *repoussé* Old Kanarese characters, *Śrī Chālukya sa* 13; i. e. year 13 of reign.	Blank. The coin is a thin plate, with the device and letters punched in from rev. (Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 79, Plate, Figs. A, B, C; reading corrected by Hultzsch, *ibid.*, xxv, p. 321, n. 14; *C. S. I.*, Pl. III, 79).

II. THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYA DYNASTY OF KALYĀṆI[1]

Gold

JAGADEKAMALLA, EITHER (I), ALIAS JAYASIṂHA II (FLOR. 1018–42 A. D.), OR (II), ALIAS PERMA (FLOR. 1138–49 A. D.)

1	*I.M.*	Æ	68 1·1	Concave, in shallow cup-shape; temple in centre with Kanarese legend on the basement, *Jagadekamala* (for *malla*), 'the sole wrestler (champion) of the world.' On margin in characters formed by separate punches, *Śrī* three times, and *Jagadekamala* four times.	Blank (Pl. XXX, 2).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ	67·3 1·03	Similar.	Ditto; presented by the Bombay Government (Pl. XXX, 3).

[1] Kalyāṇi in the Nizām's Dominions (N. lat. 17° 51′, E. long. 77°), the ancient Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇapura (Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 427, in *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, Part II).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			ANONYMOUS, (?) CHĀLUKYA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ base 53·5 ·9	Cup-shaped; in centre Hanumān; on margin *Ha* four times, with symbols, (?) solar, interposed.	Blank (Pl. XXX, 4; this may be only a piece for temple offerings, not a true coin, see *C. S. I.*, p. 99).

III. THE KĀDAMBA CHIEFS OF GOA

Gold

(?) JAYAKEŚIN III, 1187—ABOUT 1212 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ 67·8 ·72	In circle surrounded by border of dots, five-line Nāgarī legend, (1) *Śrī Saptako-* (2) *ṭīśvara labdha vara* (3) . . *ke* . . . . (5) . . . . , meaning that the Rājā 'obtained boons from Saptakoṭīśvara' or Śiva.	Heraldic-looking lion standing l.; sun and moon above; legend *jana* or *jāna* (Fleet) in front, which ought to be, but is not, the name of a year of the Jovian cycle. (Pl. XXX, 5; comp. *C. S. I.*, Pl. II, 68–71.)

Silver

(?) VISHṆU CHITTA-DEVA, 1147—ABOUT 1185 A. D.

2	*I.M.*	Æ 37·8 ·68	In square with marginal ornaments, three-line legend, (1) *Śaśaka gu* (2) . . *chi* (3) *tta devaḥ*. (The name ends in *chitta-devaḥ*, but the first part is obscure.)	In circle surrounded by border of dots, a rampant lion l.; sun and moon above; and below characters which probably are the name of the Jovian year (Pl. XXX, 6).[1]

IV. THE GĀNGA DYNASTY OF KALINGA

ANANTAVARMA CHOḌAGANGA, 1075–1146 A. D.

Gold fanams

1	*I.M.*	Æ loop attached ·45	Telugu regnal date, namely, *Sa*[*mvat*] above, figure '4' below.	Recumbent bull r.; symbols above and in front.
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ loop attached ·42	Similar; *Sa* 5.	Similar.
3	*I.M.*	Æ loop attached ·41	Ditto; *Sa* 13.	Similar.

[1] No. 1 was submitted to Dr. Fleet, and both coins were examined by Dr. Hultzsch, but the king's name has not been deciphered fully on either. Both pieces seem to belong to the Goa series. For list of the Kādamba rulers of Goa see Fleet, *Kan. Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 565.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
4	*I.M.*	Æ loop attached ·4	Ditto; *Sa* 15; traces of legend above, read by Hoernle as *Śrī Ga*[*ṁ*]*ga*.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 7·7 ·42	Ditto; *Sa* 31.	Ditto (Pl. XXX, 7).
6	*A.S.B.*	Æ loop attached ·4	Ditto; *Sa* 31.	Ditto.
7	*I.M.*	Æ loop attached ·43	Ditto; *Sa* 33.	Ditto.
8	„	Æ loop attached ·44	Ditto; *Sa* 34.	Ditto.
8 *a*	„	Æ loop attached ·52	Figure of Hanumān ('anthropoid Garuḍa,' Hoernle) *repoussé*.	Blank.
8 *b*	„	Æ loop attached ·53	Lotus, *repoussé*.	Ditto. (Nos. 8 *a* and 8 *b* are not coins, but ornaments made to match the coins in order to complete the necklace.)

V. TRAVANCORE STATE

Gold fanams, of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

1	*I.M.*	Æ	5·8 ·38	Dagger.	Heart-shaped device, containing twelve pellets; crescent above (Pl. XXX, 8).
2	„	Æ	6·1 ·35	Twelve pellets and lines.	Twelve pellets and lines.
3	„	Æ	6 ·32	Similar.	Similar.
4	„	Æ	6 ·28	Crescent with twelve pellets above; characters below; all in dotted border.	*Nandipada* symbol, enclosing eight pellets, with incomplete double circle below (Pl. XXX, 9).
5	„	Æ	6 ·3	Similar.	Similar.
6	„	Æ	5·6 ·3	Twelve pellets and lines.	Twelve pellets and symbol.
7	„	Æ	5·8 ·3	Twelve pellets and symbol.	Variety of *nandipada* symbol, with pellets.
8	„	Æ	6 ·34	Twelve pellets, and characters, (?) *Śrī*.	*Nandipada* symbol with eight pellets; square below.
9	„	Æ	6 ·3	Similar.	Similar.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
10	*I.M.*	Æ base 5 ·25	A kind of dagger, and other marks.	Characters, not read (Pl. XXX, 10).

Silver chakrams, half-chakrams, double and treble chakrams, of same period as the gold fanams

1	*I.M.*	Æ	5·5 ·28	Curved line and two pellets.	Curved lines and pellets.
2	„	Æ	6 ·22	Ditto; probably intended for *śankh* shell.	Curved and straight lines.
3	„	Æ	6·1 ·25	Similar.	Similar.
4	„	Æ	5 ·25	Similar; but not quite the same.	Similar.
5	„	Æ	5 ·25	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ	5·6 ·25	Curved line, twelve pellets, three-leaved spray.	*Nandipada* symbol (Pl. XXX, 11).
7	„	Æ	3 ·2	Shell and pellets.	'Solomon's seal' device, namely two equilateral triangles interlaced.
8	„	Æ	3 ·2	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ	11·5 ·32	Ditto.	Ditto; and Malayālim legend (Pl. XXX, 12).
10	„	Æ	11·5 ·32	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
11	„	Æ	16 ·4	Shell and crescent.	Curved object and twelve pellets; a treble *chakram*.

Silver two-anna pieces, of English fashion

RĀJĀ RĀMA VARMĀ, EITHER 1860–80 A.D. OR 1880–(?)[1]

1	*I.M.*	Æ	23·7 ·6	The English letters R. V. in wreath.	Wreath; (?) numeral in centre (Pl. XXX, 13).
2	„	Æ	23·5 ·6	Ditto.	Ditto.

Copper 'cash' (Kāsu), and multiples of the same

1	*I.M.*	Æ	9·8 ·3	Four-armed god (Vishṇu or Krishṇa).	'Solomon's seal' in rayed circle.
2	„	Æ	10 ·3	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ	9·8 ·3	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	19·6 ·4	Ditto; Malayālim figure 2 below.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ	40·1 ·55	Ditto; Malayālim figure 4 below.	Ditto (a *duḍḍu*).

[1] List of the Travancore sovereigns in *C. S. I.*, p. 140.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size		Obverse	Reverse
6	*I.M.*	Æ	80·2 ·65	Spiny murex shell. Malayālim marginal legend, *Ara chakram*, 'half a *chakram*.'	Ditto (a *tuṭṭu*; Pl. XXX, 14; see *C. S. I.*, p. 139 and No. 197).
		Modern gold coins; rudely milled edge; no name			
1	*I.M.*	Ⱥ	79 ·76	Shell in wreath.	In wreath, three-line Malayālim legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *padma* (3) *nābha*, 'lotus in navel,' *scil.* Vishṇu.
2	,,	Ⱥ	39·5 ·62	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	,,	Ⱥ	19·5 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXX, 15).

VI. EARLY ANONYMOUS COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

Gold

A. BLANK OR NEARLY BLANK

1	*I.M.*	Ⱥ	52·4 ·44	Flattened globule, with slight protuberance.	As obv.
2	,,	Ⱥ	51·9 ·46	Similar.	Similar.
3	,,	Ⱥ	51·4 ·4	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	,,	Ⱥ	52 ·37	Similar; faint punch-mark in centre.	Slight protuberance, blank (B., p. 37, Pl. I, Fig. 1; 'probably belongs to first or second century of the Christian era').
5	,,	Ⱥ	51·5 ·37	Similar; with a scroll-like mark, perhaps a shell.	Indentations in centre (Pl. XXX, 16).
6	,,	Ⱥ	51·5 ·45	Similar; with obscure marks, perhaps indicating a seated figure.	As Nos. 1–4.
7	,,	Ⱥ	51 ·44	Similar to No. 6.	Faint traces of (?) legend.
8	,,	Ⱥ	50·5 ·47	Seated figure obscurely indicated.	Uncertain marks.

B. PADMA ṬANKAS OR LOTUS PIECES[1]

1	*I.M.*	Ⱥ	58·7 ·73	Concave, cup-shaped; seven-petalled lotus flower on bottom of cup; on the sides obscure symbols and	Blank.

[1] Date uncertain, but considerably later than the fifth or sixth century, to which Elliot assigned these coins (*C. S. I.*, p. 66). See *I. C.*, sect. 131.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			legend, *Śrī śrī Rāma*, in a form of Nāgarī script: a two-pronged weapon below the legend *Śrī Rāma*.	
2	*I.M.*	Æ 58 ·7	Similar. Legend, *Śrī Rāma*, with a weapon below it.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 58 ·66	Similar, but the weapon is a sword.	Ditto (Pl. XXX, 17).
4	„	Æ 58 ·75	As No. 3.	As No. 3.
5	„	Æ 59·2 ·68	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	„	Æ 58·7 ·62 × ·55	Similar; no legend; worn.	Ditto.

C. GAJAPATI OR ELEPHANT PAGODA, (?) OF ORISSA, (?) THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1	*I.M.*	Æ	57·5 ·52	Elephant standing r.; symbol or character in front of him.	A scroll device, possibly intended either for foliage or a peacock's tail (Pl. XXX, 18).[1]

D. THE SO-CALLED LINGĀYAT PAGODA, (?) FOURTEENTH CENTURY[2]

1	*I.M.*	Æ	base 51·3 ·45	Obscure device, a heart-shaped figure with projecting lines and pellet.	Obscure; in bad condition.
2	„	Æ	base 27 ·35	Similar; (?) snake on the heart-shaped object.	Ditto; ditto; a half-pagoda.

VII. INDO-EUROPEAN

1. *Indo-Portuguese*

REIGN OF DONNA MARIA I, 1777–99 A.D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ	75 ·82	The arms of Portugal.	Cross of St. Thomas; in l. upper angle 12; in r. upper angle X; in lower angles 17 and 85 (Th., No. 18 of *Portuguese Catal.*; Tu., p. 40, Pl. III, 38).
2	„	Æ	75 ·75	Similar.	Similar; less well preserved, unit of date uncertain.

[1] B., p. 40. These coins are frequently forged, but I do not see any special reason to doubt the genuineness of this specimen.

[2] B., p. 40.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			2. *Indo-French of Pondicherry*	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 22·7 ·43 × ·36	Three fleurs-de-lis.	Obscure device, (?) crown (Tu., p. 44, Fig. 45).
			3. *Anglo-Indian*	
			CHARLES II, 1660–85 A. D.	
			Silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 29·3 ·38	Two linked C's.	Standing deity (Vishṇu). (Pl. XXX, 19; Th., *E.I.C. Catal.*, p. 109, Pl. XI, 11.)
2	„	Æ 28·4 4	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 28·1 ·35	Similar.	Similar, but thicker.
4	„	Æ 14·6 ·3	Similar.	Ditto; ditto.
			Copper	
5	*I.M.*	Æ 65·5 ·72	Two C's not linked; traces of vernacular legend not read.	Similar to obv. (Attribution doubtful; Pl. XXX, 20.)
			EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND POSSIBLY OTHER POWERS	
			Gold	
			'Star pagoda' type	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 52·8 ·4	Standing Vishṇu, star above head.	Five-rayed star on granulated surface (Pl. XXX, 21. The 'Madras old star pagoda', struck either by the Nawāb of the Carnatic after 1766 or in the early days of the E. I. Co. See Th., *E.I.C. Cat.*, pp. 13, 14, 107, Pl. XI, 3; B., p. 51, Fig. 23).
2	„	Æ 106·8 ·87	Vishṇu seated cross-legged on pedestal; r. hand on r. knee; l. hand on abdomen; star above head; oblique milling.	Five-rayed star in dotted circle on plain, polished surface. (Double pagoda, in mint state, probably struck as a pattern, and never issued. The B. M. has two specimens.)
3	„	Æ 106·8 ·87	Ditto.	Ditto.
			'Three-swāmi' type, flat form	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 53 ·5	The god Venkaṭeśvara and his two wives standing.	Granulated (Pl. XXX, 22; Th., *E.I.C. Cat.*, Pl. XI, 1; B., Pl. III, 19).

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 53 ·5	As No. 1.	As No. 1.
3	„	Æ 51·9 ·47	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 53 ·52	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 52·7 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto.
		'Three-swāmi' type, thick, convex form		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 52·6 ·45	Deity with his two wives standing, the latter being indistinct.	Granulated.
2	„	Æ 52·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 51·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 52·5 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 52·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
		Four-armed deity type		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 52·5 ·42	Rudely executed deity, apparently four-armed.	Granulated (Pl. XXX, 23).
2	„	Æ 53 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
		Standing deity type		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 53 ·46	Standing deity (Vishṇu) with symbols.	Granulated (Pl. XXX, 24. This is the 'Porto-novo' type, struck first by the Dutch, and imitated by the English; B., p. 51; Th., *E. I. C. Cat.*, Pl. XI, 2).
2	„	Æ 53 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
		Śiva and Pārvatī type		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 53 ·4	Śiva and Pārvatī seated.	Granulated, with obscure device imposed.
		Silver		
1	*I.M.*	Æ 160·8	In central circle, *gopuram* of temple (pagoda). Legends on margin, in English, QUARTER PAGODA, and in Persian character, *pāo phūlī hūn*, 'quarter of a *phūlī hūn*.'	In central circle, Vishṇu standing, rudely executed, surrounded by pellets (stars); with oblique milling. (The 'Madras quarter pagoda'; Th., *E. I. C. Cat.*, p. 114, No. 71, Pl. XIV, 2.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 163·3	Similar, with slight variations.	Similar, with slight variations.
3	„	Æ 13·3 ·47	In central circle, *falam* in Persian character; on margin, FANAM.	In central circle, *Ruka* (Telugu); on margin, *Panam* (Tamil), and a star; oblique milling. (The 'Madras fanam'; Th., *E. I. C. Cat.*, p. 115, No. 80, Pl. XIV, 5.)
			Copper (? brass)	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 32 ·43	As gold 'star pagoda'.	As gold 'star pagoda'.
2	„	Æ 39·7 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.

VIII. SUNDRY COINS, NOT ASSIGNED

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ 5·2 ·21	'Broad arrow' Vaishṇava mark.	Interlaced lines; a fanam.
2	„	Æ 0·7 ·32	Gold flake stamped with obscure legend.	Blank; probably a *niṣār* or largess piece.

Copper

3	*I.M.*	Æ 37 ·42	*Vijaya*, 'victory,' in apparently Kanarese characters.	Seated deity. A thick coin said to be of Puḍukota State.
4	„	Æ 34·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 55 ·48	Elephant r. between lines.	A form of cross in square; thick.
6	„	Æ 13·6 ·31	Legend, not read.	St. Andrew's cross in square.
7	„	Æ 13 ·4	*Śrī* in Nāgarī script.	Blank.
8	„	Æ 10 ·4	Ditto.	Ditto.
9	„	Æ 5·7 ·27	Legend, not read.	Legend, not read; a copper fanam.
10	„	Æ 64 ·48	Ditto.	Obscure device.
11	„	Æ 17 ·4	Lion l., copied from the E. I. Company rupee; 1834 in English figures.	In Persian script, *ẓarb* ('struck') *zōr*; characters in a southern alphabet.

Section XXII

THE KINGDOMS OF VIJAYANAGAR AND MYSORE

INTRODUCTION

The most convenient abstract of the history of the kingdom of Vijayanagar will be found in Sewell's *Lists*, vol. ii, p. 243, and fuller information is given in the same author's work, *A Forgotten Empire*. The First Dynasty is represented in the catalogue by five coins, two of Harihara II and three of Deva Rāya II. Kṛishṇa deva Rāya of the Second Dynasty (1509–30 A. D.) is traditionally held to have been 'one of the greatest monarchs that ever ruled the country'. Fourteen of his gold coins are catalogued, the attribution of one being doubtful. The next king, Achyuta, was either a brother or son of Kṛishṇa deva. The two specimens of his coinage have the reverse device of a double-headed eagle monster (*gaṇḍa bheruṇḍa*). I think it desirable, contrary to the practice of previous writers, to call the mythological side of these coins the reverse, and to designate as the obverse the side bearing the king's name. The next king, Sadāśiva, who succeeded as an infant in 1542, seems to have been a son of Achyuta. Two coins are catalogued under his name, of which No. 2 is certainly his, but No. 1 may belong to an homonymous chief of Ikkēri.

The coinage of the Third Dynasty is very poorly represented. Rāma Rāja, to whom four coins are attributed, was killed in 1565 A. D. at the battle of Tālikota, which ruined the kingdom of Vijayanagar; although descendants of the royal house continued to rule as petty chiefs for some time longer. Three coins bearing the name of Venkaṭeśvara belong to one or other of these chiefs, about 1600 A. D.

The best account of the Vijayanagar coinage is that given by Prof. Hultzsch in the article entitled 'The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx (1891), p. 301, with two plates). The author gives full references to earlier publications. In *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxv, p. 318, Prof. Hultzsch has published 'the only silver coin of the Vijayanagara kings that has hitherto come to light'. The

numerous copper coins of the series are not represented in the very poor collection now catalogued.

The kingdom of Mysore grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The catalogue includes only one specimen of the coinage of the early Hindu Rājās, a 'Kanteroy fanam' of Rājā Kaṁthīrava (1628–58 A. D.). The extensive coinage of Mysore during the reigns of Haidar 'Alī and his son Tipū, the Muhammadan conquerors or usurpers, is represented in the Indian Museum only by a few odds and ends. A full discussion of the Mysore coinage will be found in Mr. Thurston's catalogue of the Mysore coins in the Madras Museum (Madras, Government Press, 1888).

CATALOGUE

KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR

FIRST DYNASTY

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
		Gold		
		No. III. HARIHARA II, ABOUT 1379–1406 A. D.		
1	*I.M.*	*N* 26·7 ·42	Three-line Nāgarī legend, (1) *Śrī Pra* (2) *tāpa Hari* (3) *hara.*	God and goddess seated (Pl. XXX, 25); *C.S.I.*, Nos. 96, 97).
2	„	*N* 26 ·42	Ditto.	Ditto.
		No. VI. DEVA RĀYA II, ABOUT 1422–47 A. D.		
1	*I.M.*	*N* 52 ·45	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī Pra* (2) *tāpa deva* (3) *rāya.*	God and goddess seated (Pl. XXX, 26).
2	„	*N* 52·2 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	*N* 52 ·44	Ditto.	Ditto.

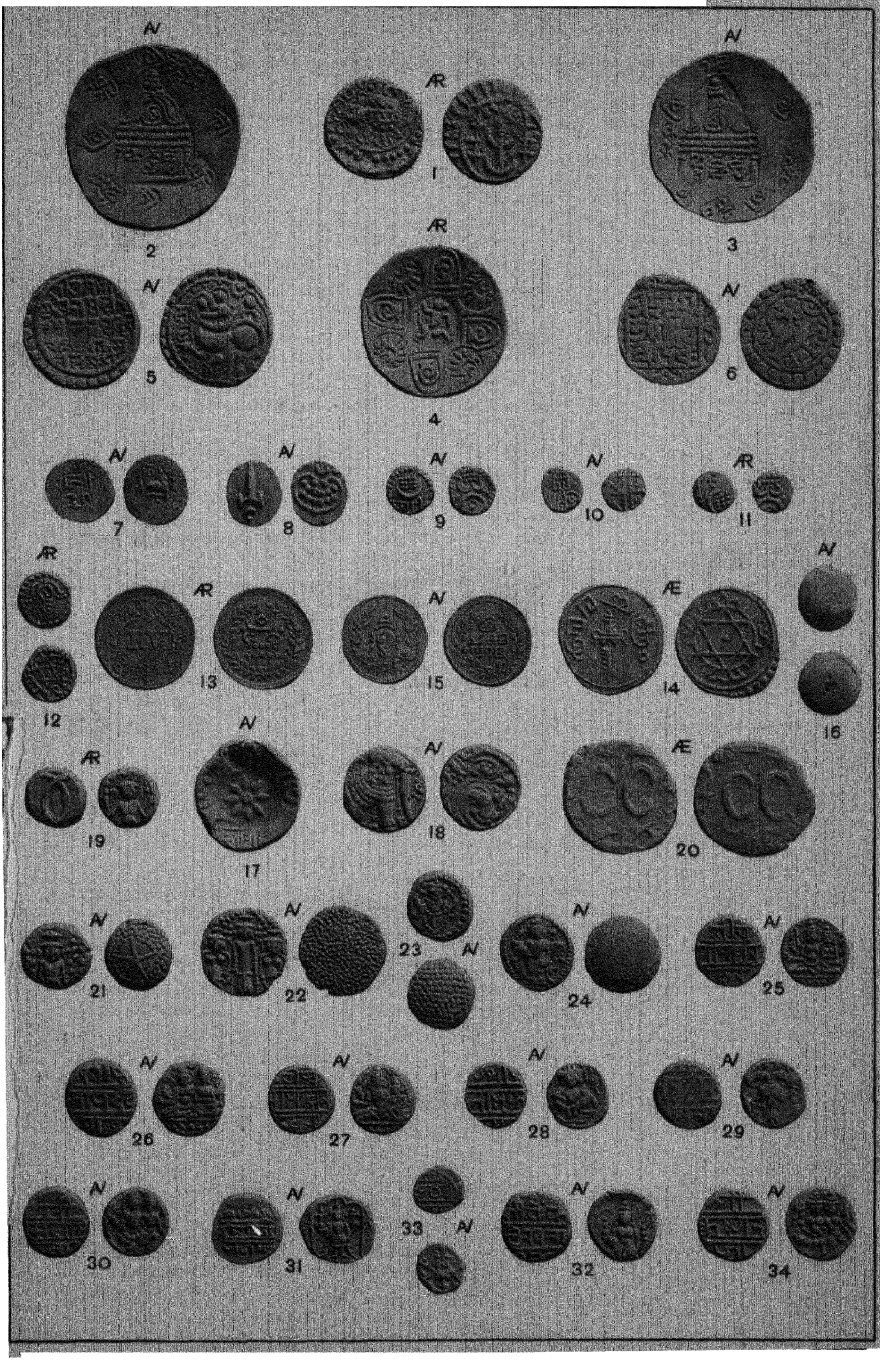
SECOND DYNASTY

Gold

No. V. KṚISHṆA DEVA RĀYA, 1509–30 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	*N* 51·2 ·6	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī Pratā* (2) *pa Kṛishṇa* (3) *rāya.*	Seated deity; a flat, broad coin.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ 50·8 ·56	Similar.	Similar; the deity of both these coins seems to be female; a 'Dūrgī pagoda'.
3	„	Æ 50·6 ·5	Ditto.	Ditto; but a little thicker.
4	„	Æ 52 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto; deity seems to be male, Vishṇu, with (?) discus and conch.
5	„	Æ 49·8 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto; from Tanjore.
6	„	Æ 51·8 ·48	Ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
7	„	Æ 51·6 ·46	Ditto; *rāya* wanting.	Ditto; ditto.
8	„	Æ 51·6 ·46	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; deity seems to be female.
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 52 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; deity male.
10	*I.M.*	Æ 26 ·4	Ditto.	God and goddess seated (Pl. XXX, 27).
11	„	Æ 25·9 ·38	Legend as usual.	Seated deity, Vishṇu with shell (Pl. XXX, 28).
12	„	Æ 25·9 ·32	Ditto.	Deity, worn; probably seated.
13	„	Æ 52 ·45	Ditto.	Seated deity, worn.
14	„	Æ 52·8 ·5	No legend; horizontal bands across coin.	Seated deity, probably Vishṇu. (Attribution necessarily doubtful; see B., *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, Pl. II, 12.)
			No. VI. ACHYUTA RĀYA, 1530–42 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 52·2 ·41	Three-line legend, difficult to read, (1) *Śrī Pra* (2) *tāpāchyuta* (3) *rāya*.	Double-headed eagle-monster (*gaṇḍa bheruṇḍa*), holding up elephants in its beaks and claws (Pl. XXX, 29; B., No. 10 *a*; Hultzsch, No. 29, *I. A.*, xx, p. 306).
2	*A.S.B.*	Æ 26 ·43	Similar; mostly defaced.	Similar; in bad condition; from Amraoti in Berār; a half-pagoda.
			No. VII. SADĀŚIVA RĀYA, 1542–73 A.D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 53 ·43	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Sadāsi* [with dental *s*] (3) *va r*[*āya*] (Hultzsch).	God and goddess seated (Pl. XXX, 30; the 'Ikkēri pagoda', which may have been struck by 'Sadāśiva, the first Nayaka of Ikkēri'; Hultzsch, p. 307).



WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

VIJAYANAGAR, MYSORE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
2	*I.M.*	Æ ring ·5	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī Pratā* (2) [*pa*] *Sadāśi* (3) [*va rāya*].	God and goddess seated; worn. (This coin certainly belongs to the Vijayanagar king; *C. S. I.*, No. 100; Hultzsch, No. 32.)

THIRD DYNASTY

Gold

RĀMA RĀJA, DIED 1565 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	26 ·4	Three-line legend in corrupt script, read as (1) *Śrī Rām* (2) *Rāja Rām* (3) *Rām Rāja.*	Vishṇu standing under a canopy. (The 'Gandikota pagoda'; Pl. XXX, 31; B., No. 16.)
2	„	Æ	52·6 ·45	Similar; legend much defaced.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	25·1 ·42	(?) Similar; legend doubtful.	Standing deity; no canopy; attribution doubtful.
†4	„	Æ	26 ·4	As No. 1.	As No. 1; apparently a forgery. ('Forged modern ones are quite common', B., p. 47.)

VENKAṬEŚVARA, ABOUT 1600 A. D.

1	*I.M.*	Æ	51·6 ·43	Three-line legend, (1) *Śrī Venka* (2) *ṭeśvarā* (3) (*ya namaḥ*), 'worship to Venkaṭeśvara.'	Vishṇu standing under arch (Pl. XXX, 32; Hultzsch, No. 35; *C. S. I.*, No. 105; B., No. 15).
2	„	Æ	oval 51·6 ·5 × ·4	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ	51·5 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; arch or canopy wanting; a coarse coin.

KINGDOM OF MYSORE

RĀJĀ KAṀṬHĪRAVA, 1638–58 A. D.

Gold

1	*I.M.*	Æ	5·5 ·3	Telugu three-line legend, imperfect, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Kaṁṭhī* (3) *rava.*	Deity, said to be the Narasiṁha *avatār* of Vishṇu. (The Kaṁṭhīrava or 'Kanteroy' fanam, the first issue; Pl. XXX, 33; *Ind. Ant.*, xx, p. 309; Th., *Mysore Cat.*, p. 8, Pl. I, 1, 2.)

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size		Obverse	Reverse
				NAWĀB SAFDAR 'ALĪ KHĀN, DIED 1741 A. D.	
1	*I.M.*	Æ	— ·45	Granulated surface, with Arabic letter *'ain*, ع.	Three deities standing (*C. S. I.*, p. 144).
2	„	Æ	— ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
				HAIDAR 'ALĪ, DIED DEC. 1782 A. D.	
				Gold	
1	*I.M.*	Æ	52·5 ·4	Granulated surface, with Arabic letter *ḥ*, ح.	Śiva with trident, Pārvatī with antelope, seated; sun and moon above (Bidie, No. 27; Thurston, p. 10).
2	„	Æ	53 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto; from Wandewash.
3	„	Æ	53 ·46	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ	52·7 ·45	Ditto.	Ditto.
				TIPŪ (TIPPOO) SULTĀN, DIED 1799 A. D.	
				Copper	
1	*I.M.*	Æ	82 ·75	Elephant walking r.; above date 1222 (*scil.* of *Maulūdī* era, read from r. to l. = 1793–4 A. D.).[1]	Arabic legend, *zarb patan Bahrām*, 'struck at city Bahrām,' *scil.* Seringapatam.
				KṚISHṆA RĀJĀ, 1799–1868 A. D.	
				Gold	
1	*I.M.*	Æ	53 ·42	Three-line Nāgarī legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Kṛishṇa Rā* (3) *jā*.	Śiva and Pārvatī, with trident and antelope (Pl. XXX, 34).

[1] The *Maulūdī* era is reckoned from the reputed date of Muhammad's birth.

Section XXIII

THE MEDIAEVAL COINAGE OF CEYLON

INTRODUCTION

The mediaeval history of Ceylon having been recorded by the native chroniclers in considerable detail with reasonably close attention to chronological accuracy, and having been made readily accessible to European readers in many modern books, no difficulty is felt ordinarily in assigning the extant coins to the proper kings and approximately to correct dates. Exact years cannot be determined because no coin is dated. The only doubt in the attribution of the coins occurs in the case of those bearing the name of Vijaya Bāhu. Several kings of that name ruled in the latter years of the twelfth century and during the thirteenth, to any one of whom the coins might be assigned; but they are attributed usually to Vijaya Bāhu II, nephew of the great Parākrama Bāhu, and this attribution has been followed in the catalogue.

The known coins extend over a period of nearly a century and a half, beginning with Parākrama Bāhu (1153–86), and ending with Bhuvanaika Bāhu who came to the throne in 1296 A. D. They are all substantially identical in type, and are copies of the coinage of the powerful Chola king, Rājarāja, who reigned on the mainland from 985 to 1011 A. D. The generals of Parākrama Bāhu invaded Southern India in or about the year 1175, and it may be assumed with a high degree of probability that the Ceylonese imitations of the Chola coinage are all subsequent to that date. No coins are extant of eight of the series of sixteen rulers beginning with Parākrama and ending with Bhuvanaika.

The small collection now catalogued includes specimens of the copper coinage of six of the eight sovereigns whose coins are known, but the rare issues of Niśśanka Malla (1187–96) and Chodaganga (1196–7) are not represented in it, nor are there any examples of the limited gold and silver coinage. The existence of a silver coinage, ignored in Professor Rhys Davids' book, has been fully proved by Mr. Lowsley, who collected numerous genuine specimens. Parākrama Bāhu, when his armies invaded Southern India, evidently was impressed by the huge amount of Rājarāja's coinage in copper. Sir Walter Elliot

observes:—'Copper pieces, the more perfect specimens weighing from 50 to 60 grains, bearing the name of Rája Rája, are met with every day. They are brought in numbers to be melted up by the coppersmiths, and one find within my own knowledge in Tanjore yielded upwards of 4,000[1]' (*C. S. I.*, p. 133). The Ceylonese monarch exactly copied the proceedings of his model and issued immense quantities of copper coin, but comparatively little of silver and gold. The type introduced by Rājarāja is characterized by a very peculiar image of the king standing on the obverse, and a grotesque monkey-like seated figure on the reverse. The legend in contemporary Nāgarī script is on the reverse. These characteristics, evidently of northern origin, and ultimately traceable, through the Gupta and Kushān coinage, to Greek models, were faithfully reproduced by Parākrama Bāhu and his successors.

The standard coin in this style was the *māsha* or *massa* of about 70 grains; and most of the extant examples in all metals are *massas*. The subdivisional pieces are scarce or rare, as also are the double *massas*. The twenty-five coins catalogued and twelve excluded duplicates are all *massas*, except one small worn piece of Parākrama Bāhu, which now weighs only $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains, but may have been intended for a quarter-*massa*. The octagonal *massa* of Queen Līlāvatī (Pl. XXXI, 5) is not mentioned in the books, and seems to be unique.

The first intelligible, although imperfect, account of these Ceylonese coins was given by Prinsep (*Essays*, ed. Thomas, vol. i, Pl. XXXV). They are briefly noticed by Elliot (*C. S. I.*, pp. 108–10), and have been treated at considerable length by Prof. Rhys Davids ('Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon', in *Intern. Num. Or.*, London, Trübner, 1877). But Prof. Rhys Davids' account requires numerous corrections and additions, which have been supplied by Mr. B. Lowsley in a valuable essay entitled 'Coins and Tokens of Ceylon' (*Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 211, Pl. VIII). Abstracts of the history of the period will be found in Prof. Rhys Davids' work, Emerson Tennant's *Ceylon*, and in many other books easily accessible.

[1] Tanjore was the Choḷa capital.

CATALOGUE

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			PARĀKRAMA BĀHU, 1153–86 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 60 ·8	Rude figure of king standing facing, with the folds of his waist-cloth hanging down at each side; his l. hand raised holds a flower, and below to r. is a branch; his r. hand holds a weapon or symbol, which may be described as a mace with four hooks.	Grotesque monkey-like seated figure with l. arm raised; below that arm, in four lines, the legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Parā* (3) *krama* (4) *bāhu* (Pl. XXXI, 1).
2	„	Æ 65 ·8	Similar.	Similar.
3	„	Æ 65 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 65 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 8·5 ·4	Ditto; defaced.	No device; three-line legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Parākra* (3) *ma bāhu* (Pl. XXXI, 2).
			VIJAYA BĀHU, 1186–7 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 54·7 ·78	As on coins of Parākrama Bāhu.	As on coins of Parākrama, substituting name Vijaya, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Vija* (3) *ya bā* (4) *hu* (Pl. XXXI, 3).
2	„	Æ 65·3 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 65·5 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 65·6 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 65·5 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
			QUEEN LĪLĀVATĪ, 1197–1200 AND AGAIN 1209 A. D.	
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 65·1 ·83	As on coins of Parākrama Bāhu.	Device as on coins of Parākrama. Legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Rāja* (3) *Līlā* (4) *vatī* (Pl. XXXI, 4).
2	„	Æ 65·2 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
3	*A.S.B.*	Æ 62·2 ·83	Similar to No. 1.	Similar to No. 1.
4	„	Æ 44·2 ·79	Ditto.	Ditto; rude and worn. ('Some of the *massas* are rather roughly struck, and these are worn', *Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 221.)
5	„	Æ oct. 52·4 ·75	Ditto.	As No. 1 (Pl. XXXI, 5; this octagonal variety is unpublished).
		SĀHASA MALLA, 1200–2 A. D.		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 65·3 ·84	As on coins of Parākrama Bāhu.	Device as on coins of Parākrama. Legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *mat Sā* (3) *hasa* (4) *malla*.
2	„	Æ 65·6 ·82	Ditto.	Ditto (Pl. XXXI, 6).
3	„	Æ 65·9 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 64·7 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
5	„	Æ 64·5 ·8	Ditto.	Ditto.
		DHARMĀŚOKA DEVA, 1208–9 A. D.		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 62·2 ·8	As on coins of Parākrama Bāhu.	Device as on coins of Parākrama. Legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Dha⌈r⌉mmā-* (3) *śoka* (4) *deva* (Pl. XXXI, 7).
		BHUVANAIKA BĀHU, 1296 A. D.		
1	*A.S.B.*	Æ 66·8 ·79	As on coins of Parākrama Bāhu.	Device as on coins of Parākrama. Legend, (1) *Śrī* (2) *Bh⌈u⌉va* (3) *naika* (4) *bāhu* (Pl. XXXI, 8).
2	„	Æ 63 ·78	Ditto.	Ditto.
3	„	Æ 66·1 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.
4	„	Æ 67 ·77	Ditto.	Ditto.

Section XXIV

COINS OF ARAKAN AND OTHERS

INTRODUCTION

The few coins described in this section hardly can claim a rightful place in this catalogue, but, having been sent to me, must be disposed of. The little that appears to be known about the history and coinage of Arakan has been published by Sir Arthur Phayre in his treatise entitled 'Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma' (*Intern. Num. Or.*, London, Trübner, 1882).

The silver coins with the effigy of a recumbent bull and Nāgarī legends are referred to the 'Chaṅdra' dynasty, supposed to have reigned between 788 and 957 A. D. Coins of this type are found buried in the ground and among old ruins in various parts of Arakan. Several were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and have been described in the Society's Journal, but those specimens, if still preserved, have not been submitted to me. The examples now described all belong to the Indian Museum cabinet, and there is no record of their *provenance*. No. 1, with the legend *Śrī Śivasya* (? *Givasya*), is not noticed by Phayre. The two thick silver coins, Nos. 8 and 9, are No. 22 of Phayre's Plate II, and were struck in the year 1144 of the Arakanese era, equivalent to 1782 A. D., by Mahā Samadā Rājā, the last king of Arakan, prior to the conquest of the country by the Burmese, who were compelled to cede it to the Indian Government by the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. These coins have no device, and the obverse legend is repeated, letter for letter, on the reverse.

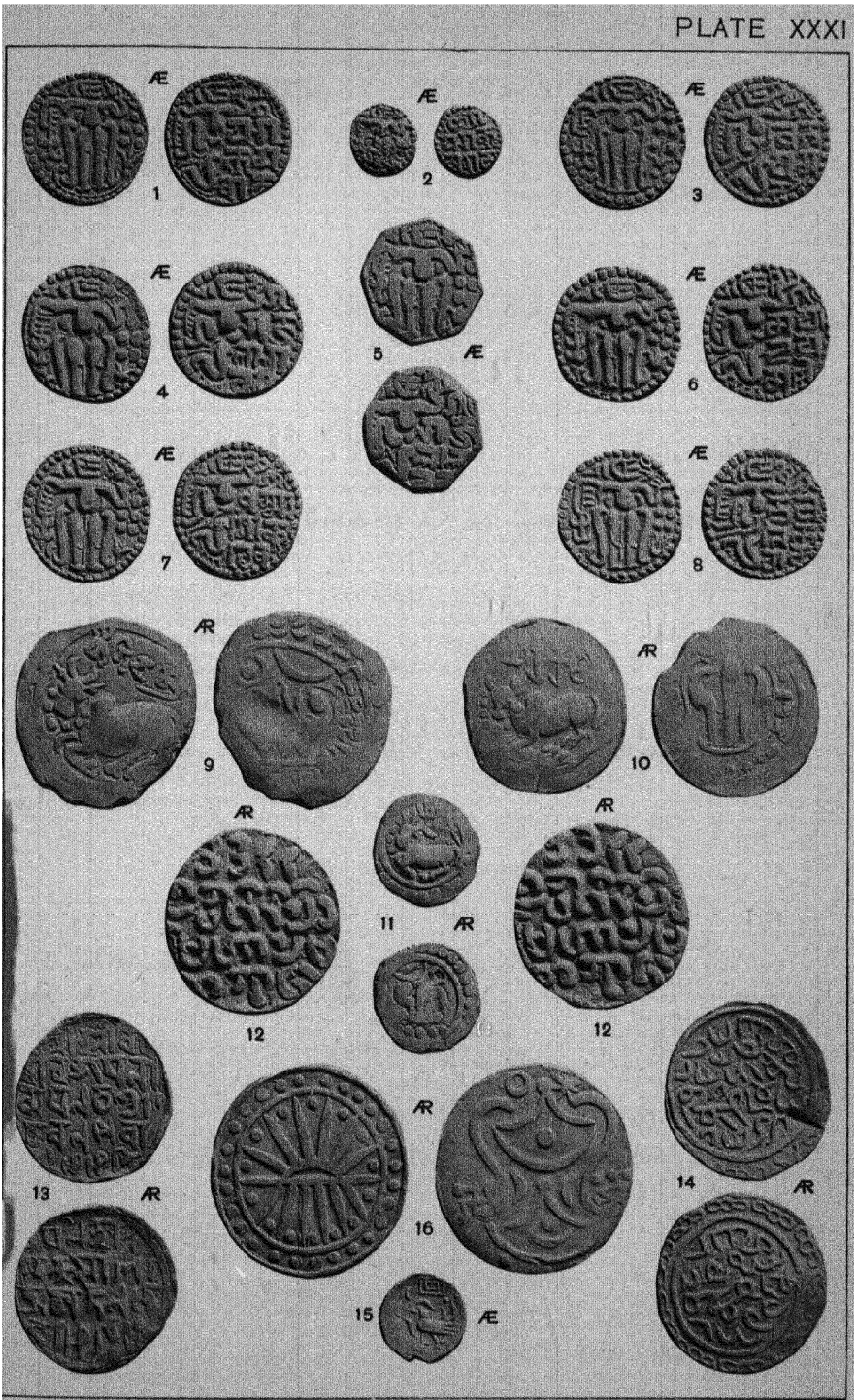
The coins which I am unable to assign precisely include a little bronze coin of Cambodia, supposed to date from the eighteenth century. Mr. Rodgers has recorded the odd fact that it was obtained at Kāngṛā in the Panjāb. Possibly it may have been brought there by a Sikh policeman returning from Bangkok. I am indebted to Prof. Rapson for identifying this piece as Cambodian. The 'symbolical' coin from Burma differs from all of those published by Phayre. I am unable to read the legends on certain inscribed coins. The characters on Nos. 1 and 3 are Nāgarī, but I cannot make sense of them, while the script on

Nos. 2 and 4 is wholly unknown to me. Nos. 7 and 8 are supposed to be Tibetan. I cannot make any suggestion about No. 9, which bears the legend *Jajjapurā* (or *-purī*).

CATALOGUE

ARAKAN

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Early thin coins, silver; eighth to tenth centuries	
			ŚRĪ ŚIVA	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 103·7 1·2	Recumbent humped bull l., with wreath round neck; above, Nāgarī legend, *Śrī Śivasya*, or possibly *Givasya*.	A trident-like ornament, defaced, with large crescent, and also sun and moon above (Pl. XXXI, 9).
			YĀRIKRIYA	
2	*I.M.*	Æ 113·2 1·12	Similar. Legend, *Yārikriya*.	Trident, with garlands hanging from it (Thomas); sun and moon above.
3	„	Æ 111·9 1·12	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
4	„	Æ — 1·07	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
5	„	Æ — 1·12	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto.
6	„	Æ 114·2 1·07	Ditto; ditto.	Ditto; ditto (Pl. XXXI, 10).
			PRĪTI	
7	*I.M.*	Æ 24 ·67	Similar. Legend, *Prīti*.	Similar (Pl. XXXI, 11).
			Late thick coins, silver; eighteenth century	
			MAHĀ SAMADĀ RĀJĀ, LAST KING OF ARAKAN, 1782–4 A.D.	
8	*I.M.*	Æ 146·2 1·1	Four-line legend, in a form of (?) Pāli character, (1) 1144 (2) *Shivē nān sakheng* (3) *mahā Sama* (4) *dā rājā*, 'Lord of the golden palace, Mahā Samadā Rājā.' The date = 1782 A.D.	Four-line legend exactly as on obv. (Pl. XXXI, 12; Phayre, p. 10, Pl. II, No. 22).
9	„	Æ loop 1·05	Ditto.	Ditto.



CEYLON, ARAKAN AND OTHERS

SUNDRY COINS

Serial No.	Museum	Metal, Weight, Size	Obverse	Reverse
			Unassigned silver	
1	*I.M.*	Æ 167 1·03	Five-line legend, (1) *Śrī* *śrī vā* (2) *vijaya nā* (3) *malaṭhagrā* (?) (4) *mabalaśa* (?) *vā* (5) 1442.	Four-line legend not read. A rupee, probably from north-east frontier (Pl. XXXI, 13).
2	„	Æ 161·4 1·1	Slightly concave, with irregular legend in characters not read.	Slightly convex, with irregular legend in characters not read (Pl. XXXI, 14).
3	„	Æ 164 ·9	Four-line Nāgarī legend in square, not read.	Four-line Nāgarī legend in square, not read (? a Nepāl coin).
4	„	Æ 163 1·1	Unintelligible rude characters.	Unintelligible rude characters. A rupee.
			Cambodia, copper (bronze); about eighteenth century	
5	*I.M.*	Æ 18·7 ·5	Bird (? raven) standing l., with a double rectangle (? character) above.	Blank; obtained at Kāngṛā (Pl. XXXI, 15).
			Burma; so-called 'symbolical coin', silver	
6	*I.M.*	Æ 142·7 1·23	Rising sun in dotted border.	Various symbols (Pl. XXXI, 16).
			(?) *Tibet*	
7	*I.M.*	Æ 84·5 1·08	Central double circle containing a wreath-like ornament; various marginal symbols.	Scroll ornaments; central square containing *triśūla* and (?) date.
8	„	Æ 76·7 1·1	Similar; but the central circle is single.	Nearly similar.
			Unassigned brass	
9	*A.S.B.*	Æ 114 ·85	Humped bull standing l., facing a (?) vase, and under an umbrella with streamers. In exergue below horizontal line in mediaeval script, *Jajjapurā* (or *-purī*).	Defaced, possibly blank.

INDEX OF RULERS, CITIES, COUNTRIES, DYNASTIES, AND MINTS IN PART III

(*ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *dy.* = dynasty; *m.* = mint; *r.* = ruler.)

Abdallah bin Hāzim, *r.*, p. 230.
Abhimanyugupta, *r.*, p. 270.
Achyuta Rāya, *r.*, pp. 322, 324.
Ādi-varāha, see Bhojadeva I, *r.*
Aham, Sassanian *m.*, p. 228.
Āi (Airān), Sassanian *m.*, p. 226.
Ajmīr, *ci.*, pp. 256, 257, 259, 261.
Ambikā, *r.*, pp. 300, 301.
Aṁśuvarman, *r.*, pp. 281, 283.
Ananga-pāla, *r.*, pp. 256, 259.
Ananta, *r.*, p. 272.
Anantavarma Chodaganga, *r.*, pp. 311, 312, 314.
Apurva chandra deva, *r.*, p. 276.
Arakan, *co.*, p. 331.
Ardamitra, *r.*, p. 221.
Ardeshīr I, *r.*, pp. 217, 218, 220.
Artahshatr, see Ardeshīr I, *r.*
Aśata-pāla, *r.*, pp. 244, 249.
Assam, *co.*, pp. 294, 298.
Auharmazdī, see Hormazd, *r.*
Avatāra chandra deva, *r.*, p. 278.

Bābekān, see Ardeshīr I, *r.*
Bahrām, see Varahrān, *r.*
Bahrām, Patan, *ci.*, *m.* = Seringapatam, p. 326.
Bara Guśāin, *r.*, p. 308.
Bharatha simha, *r.*, p. 306.
Bhāskara malla, *r.*, p. 286.
Bhatgaon, *ci.*, pp. 281, 284.
Bhīmagupta, *r.*, p. 271.
Bhojadeva I, *r.*, pp. 232, 233, 241.
Bhūpatīndra malla, *r.*, p. 284.
Bhuvanaika malla, *r.*, pp. 327, 330.
Brajnātha simha, *r.*, p. 307.
Bukhārā, *co.*, pp. 230, 231.
Burma, *co.*, pp. 331, 333.

Ceylon, *co.*, p. 327.
Chāhaḍa deva, *r.*, pp. 258, 262.
Chakravartendra, *r.*, p. 285.
Chālukya chandra, *r.*, pp. 311, 313.
Chālukya, E. and W., *dy.*, pp. 311, 312, 313.
Champāran, *ci.*, *co.*, pp. 280, 293.
Chandēlla *dy.*, pp. 250, 253.
Chandrakānta simha narendra, *r.*, p. 307.
Charles II, *r.*, p. 319.
Chauhān *dy.*, pp. 257, 261.
Chedi, E. and W., *co.*, pp. 250, 251, 252, 254.
Chhoṭā Udaipur, *co.*, pp. 297, 309.
Chittarāja, *r.*, p. 233.
Chuchenphā, *v.l.* for Śuśenpha, *r.*, *q.v.*
Chukrungphā, *r.*, p. 294.
Chunenphā, *v.l.* for Śuneñphā, *r.*, *q.v.*

Ḍāhāla, *co.*, p. 252.
Delhi, *ci.*, pp. 256, 257, 259, 261.
Deva Rāya II, *r.*, pp. 322, 323.
Dharma chandra deva, *r.*, pp. 274, 279.
Dharmāśoka deva, *r.*, p. 330.
Diddā, queen, *r.*, pp. 270, 271.
Donna Maria I, *r.*, p. 318.
Durlabhaka, *r.*, p. 268.

Ephthalite *dy.*, pp. 232, 233, 235.

Fīrōz, *r.*, pp. 217, 219, 226, 233, 237.

Gadādhar simha, *r.*, pp. 296, 298.
Gadhaiyā coins, pp. 233, 240.
Gahaṛwār *dy.*, pp. 257, 260.
Gānga *dy.*, pp. 311, 314.
Gāṅgeya deva, *r.*, pp. 250, 252.
Gaurīnātha simha, *r.*, pp. 296, 305.
Gīrvān yuddha vikrama, *r.*, pp. 282, 290.
Goa, *ci.*, pp. 311, 312, 314.
Gopāla varman, *r.*, p. 270.
Gōrkhālī *dy.*, pp. 281, 289.
Govinda-chandra, *r.*, pp. 257, 260.

Haidar 'Alī, *r.*, pp. 323, 326.
Hamīrah, Śrī, *r.*, pp. 258, 263.
Harichandra deva, *r.*, p. 277.
Harihara II, *r.*, pp. 322, 323.
Harsha, *r.*, of Kashmīr, p. 272.
Hindu *dy.* of Ohind, p. 243.
Hormazd I, II, III, IV, *r.*, pp. 217, 221, 223, 227, 228.
Huns, White, *dy.*, pp. 232, 233, 235.

Indo-Sassanian coins, p. 232.
Indra malla, *r.*, p. 287.

Jagadekamalla, *r.*, pp. 311, 313.
Jāga-deva, *r.*, p. 273.
Jagajjaya malla, *r.*, p. 286.
Jaintia Parganas, *co.*, p. 296.
Jājalla-deva, *r.*, pp. 251, 254, 255 n.
Jajjapurā, *ci.*, pp. 332, 333.
Jamasp, *r.*, pp. 217 n., 227
Jayakeśin III, *r.*, p. 314.
Jayantāpura, *co.*, pp. 296, 307.
Jayāpīḍa, *r.*, pp. 266, 269.
Jayasiṁha II, *r.*, p. 313.
Jayasiṁha deva, *r.*, p. 273.
Jejākabhukti, *co.*, p. 253.

Kābul, *ci.*, pp. 235, 244.
Kādamba *dy.*, pp. 311, 312, 314.
Kalachuri *dy.*, pp. 250-2.
Kalaśa, *r.*, pp. 244, 265, 272.
Kalinga, *co.*. pp. 311, 314.
Kallar, *r.*, p. 244.
Kalyāṇi, *ci.*, pp. 311, 313.
Kamaleśvara simha, *r.*, p. 307.
Kaṁthīrava, Rājā, *r.*, pp. 323, 325.
Kanauj, *ci.*, pp. 233, 241, 257, 260.
Kāṅgṛā, *ci.*, pp. 274, 275.
Kapa, *v.l.* for Rūpa chandra deva, *r.*, *q.v.*
Karma chandra deva, *r.*, p. 278.
Kashmīr, *co.*, p. 265.
Kāṭhmāṇḍū, *ci.*, pp. 281, 284.
Khamarayaka, *v.l.* for Khuduvayaka, *r.*, *q.v.*
Khingila (? Khinkhila), *r.*, pp. 265, 267.

Khuduvayaka, *r.*, pp. 243, 249.
Khurāsān, *co.*, *m.*, pp. 230, 234.
Khusrū I and II, *r.*, pp. 217, 219, 228.
Kīlli (Kīrti), *r.*, pp. 258, 263.
Kinnarām, *r.*, p. 307.
Kīrti-varma-deva, *r.*, pp. 250, 253.
Kobād I, *r.*, pp. 217, 227.
Kota (?) coins, pp. 258, 264.
Kṛishṇa deva Rāya, *r.*, pp. 322, 323.
Kṛishṇa Rājā, *r.*, p. 326.
Kshemagupta, *r.*, p. 270.
Kubja-vishṇu-vardhana, *r.*, pp. 311, 312.
Kumāra-pāla-deva, *r.*, pp. 256, 259.

Lad (Rad), Sassanian *m.*, pp. 227, 229.
Lakshmīnara simha, *r.*, pp. 281, 284.
Lakshmī simha, *r.*, p. 304.
Lalliya, *r.*, pp. 244, 245.
Līlāvatī, *r.*, pp. 328, 329.
Lohara *dy.*, pp. 271, 272.
Loka prakāśa, *r.*, p. 288.

Madana-pāla, *r.*, pp. 257, 260.
Madana simha deva, *r.*, pp. 282, 293.
Madana-varma-deva, *r.*, pp. 250, 253.
Madras, *ci.*, *m.*, coins of, pp. 319–21.
Mahā-Kosala, *co.*, pp. 251, 254.
Mahā-Samadā-Rājā, *r.*, pp. 331, 332.
Mahīndra simha, *r.*, p. 286.
Mahīpāla, *r.*, pp. 256, 260.
Mahīpatīndra malla, *r.*, p. 286.
Malaya-varman, *r.*, pp. 257, 262.
Malla *dy.*, pp. 281, 284.
Māṅāṅka (? Mānadeva), *r.*, pp. 280, 283.
Manipur, *co.*, pp. 297, 308.
Mar (Merv), *ci.*, *m.*, pp. 229, 230.
Megha chandra deva, *r.*, p. 277.
Mihiragula, *r.*, pp. 232, 236.
Muhammad the Mahdī, *r.*, p. 230.
Multān, *ci.*, p. 234.
Mysore, *co.*, p. 322.

Nab (? Nī), Sassanian *m.*, p. 227.
Nāh (Nīh), Sassanian *m.*, p. 228.
Nandigupta, *r.*, p. 270.
Napkī, *r.*, pp. 232, 242.
Narendra chandra deva, *r.*, p. 278.
Narendrāditya, *r.*, p. 267.
Narses (Narsahi), *r.*, pp. 217, 223.
Narwar, *ci.*, *dy.*, pp. 257, 262.
Naushīrwān, *r.* = Khusrū I, *q.v.*
Nepāl, *co.*, p. 280.
Nī (? Nab), Sassanian *m.*, p. 227.
Nīh (? Nah, Nahavend), Sassanian *m.*, p. 228.
Nivāsa malla, *r.*, pp. 287, 288 n.
Nṛipendra, *r.*, p. 285.

Obeidallah bin Zīād, *r.*, p. 229.
Ohind, *ci.*, pp. 243–5.
Omīah bin Abdallah, *r.*, p. 230.

Padma ṭankas, pp. 311, 317.
Pagodas, p. 310.
Panjāb, *co.*, pp. 243–6.
Parākrama Bāhu, *r.*, pp. 327–9.
Paramardi (Parmāl), *r.*, pp. 250, 253, 257.
Pārtha, *r.*, p. 270.
Parvīz = Khusrū II, *r.*, *q.v.*
Paśupati, (?) *r.*, pp. 281, 284.
Pātan, *ci.*, pp. 281, 284, 287.
Perma, *r.*, p. 313.
Persia, *co.*, p. 217.
Phūleśvarī, *r.*, pp. 300, 301.
Pīpala, *r.*, pp. 258, 263.
Pirthīrāj = Pṛithvī-rāja, *r.*, *q.v.*
Pīthama chandra deva, *r.*, pp. 274, 275.
Pithi, (?) *r.*, pp. 258, 263.
Pondicherry, *ci.*, p. 319.
Portonovo, *ci.*, *m.*, p. 320.
Portuguese *dy.*, pp. 311, 318.
Prakāśa malla, *r.*, p. 287.
Pramatha simha, *r.*, pp. 295, 298, 302.
Pramatheśvarī, *r.*, pp. 296, 300 n., 301.
Pratāpa, title of Vijayanagar *r.*, pp. 323–5.
Pratāpāditya, *r.*, pp. 265, 268.
Pratāpa malla, *r.*, p. 285.
Pratāpa simha, *r.*, of Nepāl, p. 290.
Pratāpa simha, *r.*, of Assam, p. 299.
Pṛithvī-deva, *r.*, pp. 251, 254, 255 n.
Pṛithvī-nārāyaṇa, *r.*, pp. 281, 289.
Pṛithvī-rāja, *r.*, pp. 257, 261.
Pṛithvī vīra vikrama, *r.*, p. 293.
Prīti, (?) *r.*, p. 332.
Puḍukota, *co.*, p. 321.
Rad (Lad), Sassanian *m.*, pp. 227, 229.
Rājendra vikrama, *r.*, p. 291.
Rājeśvara simha, *r.*, pp. 296, 303.
Ral, Sassanian *m.*, p. 229.
Rām, Sassanian *r.*, p. 227.
Rāma chandra deva, *r.*, p. 278.
Rāma Rāja, *r.*, pp. 322, 325.
Rāma simha, *r.*, of Jayantāpura, p. 308.
Rāma simha mānikya, *r.*, p. 308.
Rāma varma, *r.*, p. 316.
Raṇa Bahādur, *r.*, p. 290.
Raṇajita malla, *r.*, p. 284.
Rangpur, *ci.*, *m.*, pp. 304, 306.
Rāṭhor or Gahaṛwār *dy*, pp. 257, 260.
Ratnadeva, *r.*, pp. 251, 255.
Rudra simha, *r.*, pp. 294, 299.
Rūpa chandra deva, *r.*, pp. 275, 276.

Sabhajita malla, *r.*, p. 284.
Sadāśiva Rāya, *r.*, pp. 322, 324.
Safdar 'Alī Khān, *r.*, p. 326.
Sāhasa malla, *r.*, p. 330.
Sāhi *dy.*, pp. 244, 245.
Śaktivarman, *r.*, pp. 311, 313.
Salīm bin Zīād, *r.*, p. 230.
Sallakshaṇa-pāla, *r.*, pp. 256, 259.
Sāmanta-deva, *r.*, of Ohind, 243–5, 247.
Sāmanta-deva, *r.*, of Kāngṛā, pp. 274, 275.
Saṅgrāma, *r.*, p. 271.
Śankaravarman, *r.*, pp. 244, 264–7, 269.
Sapor = Shāpūr, *r.*, *q.v.*
Sarveśvarī, *r.*, pp. 300 n., 302.
Sassanian *dy.*, p. 217.
Seringapatam, *ci.*, p. 326.
Shāhi-tigīn, *r.* = Vāhi-tigīn, *q. v.*
Shāhiya *dy.*, pp. 244, 245.
Shāpūr I, II, III, *r.*, pp. 217–25.
Shī, Sassanian *m.*, p. 228.
Siddhi nara simha, *r.*, pp. 281, 282, 287.
Śikim, *co.*, pp. 297, 309.
Śilāhāra *dy.*, p. 283.
Singāra chandra deva, *r.*, p. 277.
Śiva, Śrī, (?) *r.*, pp. 331, 332.
Śiva simha, *r.*, pp. 295, 300–2.
Someśvara-deva, *r.*, pp. 257, 261.
Sona-deva, *r.*, pp. 258, 263.
Spalapati (Syalapati), *r.*, pp. 243–6.

Śruta (?) coins, pp. 258, 264.
Ṣugandhā Rāṇī, *r.*, p. 270.
Śukleṅmuṅ, *r.*, pp. 296, 298.
Śuneñphā, *r.*, pp. 295, 298, 302.
Śupāṭphā, *r.*, pp. 296, 298.
Surendra vikrama, *r.*, pp. 282, 290–8.
Sūrga (Svarga) nārāyaṇa, *r.*, p. 299.
Śuśeñphā, *r.*, p. 299.
Sussala, *r.*, p. 272.

Ṭhākurī *dy.*, p. 283.
Tibet, *co.*, pp. 332, 333.
Tipperah, *co.*, pp. 297, 308.
Tipū Sultān, *r.*, pp. 323, 326.
Tomara *dy.*, pp. 256, 259.
Toramāṇa, *r.*, of Kashmīr, pp. 264, 267.
Toramāṇa, *r.*, White Hun, pp. 232, 235, 265.
Trailokya-varma-deva, *r.*, pp. 250, 253.
Travancore, *co.*, pp. 311, 315.
Tribhuvanagupta, *r.*, p. 271.
Triloka chandra deva, *r.*, p. 279.
Tripura, *co.* = Tipperah, *q. v.*

Udaipur, Chhoṭā, *co.*, p. 297.
Utpala *dy.*, p. 269.

Vah, Sassanian *m.*, p. 226.
Vāhi-tigīn, *r.*, pp. 232, 234.
Vakka, *r.*, pp. 243, 244, 248.
Varahrān I–VI, *r.*, pp. 217, 222, 225, 226, 228, 230, 231 n.
Vengī, *ci.*, pp. 311, 312.
Venka, *v. l.* for Vakka, *r.*, *q. v.*
Venkaṭeśvara, *r.*, p. 325.
Vigraha, *r.*, of Kashmīr, pp. 266, 269.
Vigraha-pāla, *r.*, pp. 238, 239.
Vijaya Bāhu, *r.*, pp. 327, 329.
Vijayanagar, *ci.*, *dy.*, p. 322.
Vinayāditya, *r.*, pp. 266, 269.
Vīra mahendra, *r.*, p. 286.
Vīra nara siṁha malla, *r.*, p. 288.
Vīra-varma-deva, *r.*, pp. 250, 254.
Vishamasiddhi, *r.*, pp. 311, 312.
Vishṇu chitta-deva, *r.*, p. 314.
Vishṇu malla, *r.*, p. 289.
(?) Viśramśadeva, *r.*, pp. 266, 269.

Wah, Sassanian *m.*, pp. 226, 227.
White Hun *dy.*, pp. 232, 233, 235.

Yārikriya, (?) *r.*, p. 332.
Yaśovarman, *r.*, pp. 265, 268.
Yezdegird I, II, *r.*, pp. 217, 225, 226.
Yogamatī, *r.*, p. 288.
Yoga narendra malla, *r.*, p. 288.
Yoga prakāśa malla, *r.*, p. 289.

GENERAL INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

ci. = city or town; *co.* = country; *d.* = deity; *dy.* = dynasty; *k.* = king or chief; *qu.* = queen; *ty.* = type.

Abdagases, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 36, 37, 57.
Abdallah bin Hāzim, Arab governor, 230.
Abhimanyugupta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Abrus precatorius, the *rati* seed, 310.
Achyuta, *k.* of Ahichhatrā, 185, 188.
Achyuta Rāya, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 324.
Adenanthera pavonina, *mañjāḍi* seed, 310.
Ādi Varāha, *ty.* of Bhoja *k.*, 232–4, 241.
Agathokleia, Indo-Greek *qu.*, 5, 6, 21.
Agathokles, Indo-Greek *k.*, 3, 5, 10, 147.
Agnimitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 184, 186; Śunga *k.*, 184.
Aham, Sassanian mint, 228.
Ahichhatrā, *ci.*, Gupta copper mint, 97; coins of, 146, 184, 185.
Āhōm, *dy.*, tribe, and language, 294–6.
Āi (? = Airān), Sassanian mint, 226.
Aja-varma, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 150.
Ajayapāla-deva, *k.* of Tomara *dy.*, 256.
Ajmīr, *ci.*, Chauhān *dy.* of, 257, 261; Tomara *dy.* of, 256, 259.
Ajodhyā, *ci.*, Gupta copper mint, 97; coins of, 144, 148.
Alberūnī, on Shahiya *dy.*, 244, 245.
Alexander the Great, 3, 7, 135.
Āmbhi, *k.* of Taxila, 135.
Ambikā, Āhōm *qu.*, 300 *n.*, 301.
Amoghabhūti, Kuṇinda *k.*, 161, 167.
Aṁśuvarman, *k.* of Nepāl, 281, 283.
Amyntas, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 31.
Anaṅga-pāla, Tomara *k.*, 256, 259.
Ananta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 272.
Anantavarma Choḍaganga, *k.*, 311, 312, 314.
Āndhra *dy.*, 208.
Anglo-Indian coinage, 311.
Anio (?), *d.*, 78.
Antialkidas, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 15, 135.
Antimachos (II) Nikephoros, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 29, 135.
Antimachos (I) Theos, *k.* of Bactria, 4, 5, 10.
Antiochos the Great, Syrian *k.*, 3.
Apollo, *d.*, *ty.*, 11, 20, 28, 29.
Apollodotos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 4, 5, 18, 161.
Apollophanes, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 6, 28 *n.*
Apurva chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 276.
Arab governors of Persia, 218, 229, 231 *n.*
Arabic legends on Nepalese coins, 281, 285.
Arachosia, *co.*, 35–7.
Arakan, *co.*, coins of, 331, 332.
Archebios, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 17.
'Archer' *ty.*, 103, 105, 111, 117, 119–21.
Ardamitra, *k.*, 221 *n.*
Ardeshīr, Sassanian *k.*, I, Bābekān, 217, 218, 220; II, 217; III, 218.
Ardoxsho, *d.*, 76–90.
Ārjuṇāyana tribe and coins, 160, 166.
'Arrow' *ty.*, 62.
Arsakes Dikaios, *k.*, 36, 37.
Artahshatr, see Ardeshīr.
Artaxerxes, = Ardeshīr, *k.*, *q. v.*, 220.
Artemidoros, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 6.
Artemis, *d.*, *ty.*, 9, 39.
Aśata-pāla, *k.*, 244, 249.
Aśāvarī legend, 261, 262.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Pref. and Gen. Introd.
Aśoka, *k.*, 280.
Aspavarma, *strategos*, 37, 38, 52.
Assam, *co.*, 294, 298.
Aśvaghosha, *k.* of Kōsam, 146, 155.
Aśvamedha, horse-sacrifice, 96, 101.
Athsho, Persian *d.*, 69, 72, 76, 79–82.
Audumbara tribe and coins, 147, 160, 166.
Augustus, head of, *ty.*, 66; *denarius* of, 135.
Aureus, varying standard of, 63, 218.
Avanti, *co.*, coins of, 145, 152, 198, 203.
Avatāra chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 278.
Ayumitra, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 145, 150.
Azarmi-dukht, Sassanian *qu.*, 218.
Azes (Aya), Indo-Parthian *k.*, I, 36–8, 43; II, 36–8, 50.
Azilises (Ayilisha), Indo-Parthian *k.*, 36, 37, 49.

Bābekān, see Ardeshīr I.
Bacharṇa, Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Bactria, *co.*, 7, 8, &c.
Bagapharna, *k.* in Jihlam, 36 *n.*

Bahasati (Bṛihaspati) mitra, *k.* of Kōsam, 146, 155, 185.
Bahrām, = Varahrān, *q.v.*
Bahrām patan, *ci.*, = Seringapatam, 326.
Balabhūti, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 192.
Bālāditya, see Nara, 119.
Balban, *k.* of Delhi, 258.
Bānāstra defined, 285 *n.*
Bara Guśāin, *k.* of Jayantāpura, 308.
Bars used as coins, 133, 136.
Bartholomaei, General de, on Sassanian coins, 217, 219, 231 *n.*
'Battle-axe' *ty.*, 96, 104.
Bāzodēo, = Vāsudeva, *k.*, *q.v.*, 84.
Beghrām, coins collected at, 235 *n.*
Bendall, Prof., on Nepāl, 282.
Bengālī script, 296.
Besnagar, *ci.*, 145, 152 *n.*
Bhadra, Later Kushān *k.*, 88.
Bhadraghosha, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185, 187.
Bhagādatta, mythical *k.* of Assam, 306.
Bhāgavata, *k.* of Kōsam, 146.
Bhagāvatī, *d.*, 287.
Bhānumitra, Audumbara *k.*, 161, 166; *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185, 187.
Bhapaṁyana, Mālava *k.*, 163, 174.
Bharatha siṁha, *k.* of Rangpur, 306.
Bhartṛidāman, W. Satrap, 124.
Bhāskara malla, Nepalese *k.*, 286.
Bhatgaon, *ci.*, 280, 284.
Bhavadatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 193.
Bhavānī, *d.*, 289, 290.
Bhīma-deva, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 244.
Bhīma-gupta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 271.
Bhoginī, *d.*, 283.
Bhojadeva I, *k.* of Kanauj, 232, 233, 241.
Bhūmi-mitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185, 187.
Bhūpatīndra malla, Nepalese *k.*, 284.
Bhuvanaika malla, *k.* of Ceylon, 327, 330.
Bonduc nut, or Molucca bean, 310.
'Bow and arrow' *ty.*, 132, 208, 209.
Brahma-mitra, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 194; an earlier *k.*, 199, 205.
Brahmaṇya, Svāmī, Yaudheya *k.*, 165, 181.
Brajnātha siṁha, *k.* of Assam, 307.
Bṛihaspati mitra, *k.* of Kōsam, 146, 155, 185.
'Buckler' *ty.*, 26.
Bukhārā, bilingual coins of, 230.
'Bull and horseman' *ty.*, 243, 256, 274.
Bundēlkhaṇḍ, the Chandēlla kingdom, 250; = Jejākabhukti, 253.
Burmese, in Assam, 295; symbolical coin, 331, 333.
Caduceus symbol, 33, 133, 137, 138-40, 142.
Caesalpinia bonduc, Molucca bean, 310.
Cambodia, *co.*, coin of, 331, 333.
Camel, Bactrian, *ty.*, 27, 48, 67, 242.
Carlleyle, Mr. A. C., discoveries of, 161.
Carnatic, Nawāb of, 319.
'Cash' (*Kāsu*), a copper coin, 311, 316.
Cast coins, 198-203.
Central India, mediaeval *dy.* of, 250.
Ceylon, mediaeval coinage of, 327.
Chāhaḍa-deva, *k.* of Narwar, 258, 262.
Chaitya, *ty.*, 131, 198.
Chakram, silver Travancore coin, 311, 316.
Chakravartendra, Nepalese *k.*, 285.
Chālukya, *dy.*, Eastern and Western, 311-13.
Chālukya chandra, E. Chālukya *k.*, 311, 313.
Chambā, *co.*, Āśaṭa *k.* of, 245.
Champāran, *co.*, coins of, 280, 282, 293.
Chāndā, district, Āndhra coins from, 209.
Chanda Mall, forger, 65.
Chandēlla, *dy.*, 250, 253.
Chandra (Chaḍa), Āndhra *k.*, 209, 213; *dy.* of Arakan, 331.
Chandra deva, *k.* of Kanauj, 257.
Chandragupta, *k.* of Gupta dynasty I, 95, 99; II, 96, 97, 104, 162 (*corrigenda*).
Chandrakānta siṁha narendra, *k.* of Assam, 307.
Characene, *ci.*, in Susiana, 3, 9 *n.*
Charles II, *k.* of England, 319.
Chatreśvara ty., 161, 170.
Chauhān (Chāhamāna), *dy.* of Ajmīr, 257, 261.
Chedi, *co.*, Eastern = Mahākosala, 251, 254; Western = Jabalpur, 250-2.
Chhoṭā Udaipur, *co.*, 297, 309.
Chhu, Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Chittarāja, Śilāhāra *k.*, 233.
Choḍaganga, *k.* of Ceylon, 327.
Choḷa, *k.*, Rājarāja, 327.
Chuchenphā, *v. l.* for Śuśenphā, *k.*, *q. v.*
Chukāphā, Āhōm *k.*, 294.
Chukrungphā, Āhōm *k.*, 294.
Chunenphā, *v. l.* for Śuneñphā, *k.*, *q. v.*
Chūṛāmaṇi defined, 288.
'City' *ty.*, 30, 58.
'Club' *ty.*, 27.
'Cock' *ty.*, 7.
'Cock and Bull' *ty.*, 144, 150.
Coinage, origin of Indian, 133, 136, 310.
Copper coinage, antiquity of, 133, 135.
Corinthian coinage, 133.
'Couch' *ty.*, 104.
Cowries, used as money, 135.

Cunningham, Sir A., on Alexander's successors, 6 ; *Coins of Sakas*, 37 ; on findspots of coins, 143.

Dāhāla, *co.*, = W. Chedi, or Jabalpur, 252.
Dāmajaḍa śrī, *k.*, son of Rudrasena, 125.
Davids, Prof. Rhys, on coins of Ceylon, 328.
Delhi, *ci.*, Chauhān *dy.* of, 257, 261 ; Tomara *dy.* of, 256, 259.
Demeter, *d.*, *ty.*, 46.
Demetrios, *k.*, 3, 5, 9.
Deopadi, see Ambikā, *qu.*, 300 *n.*
Dephā, legend, 199, 206.
Deva, *k.*, (?) of Kōsam, 199, 206.
Deva-mitra, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 146, 151.
Deva Nāga, *k.*, 164, 178.
Deva Rāya II, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 323.
Dhana-deva, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 148.
Dharaṇa, = punch-marked coin, 134, 139.
Dharma chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 274, 279.
Dharmāśoka deva, *k.* of Ceylon, 330.
Dhruvamitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185.
Diadema, *ty.*, 28.
Diddā, *qu.* of Kashmīr, 270, 271.
Dilliwāls, = 'bull and horseman' coins, 257.
Diodotos I and II, *k.* of Bactria, 3, 5, 7, 10.
Diomedes, *k.*, 5, 16.
Dionysios, Indo-Greek *k.*, 28.
Dioskouroi, *d.*, *ty.*, 11, 13, 16, 17.
Dog, *ty.*, 132, 140.
Donna Maria I, *qu.* of Portugal, 318.
Drachma, weight standard, 218, 251.
Dramma coins, 251.
Drangiana, *co.*, = Sīstān, 35.
Drouin, M., on Sassanian coins, 231 *n.*
Duḍḍu coin, 316.
Dumpy pice, 142, 282.
Durgā devī, *d.*, 279.
Dūrgī pagoda, 324.
Durlabhaka, *k.* of Kashmīr, 265, 268.

Earthquake of 1905, 275.
East India Company coinage, 311, 319, 321.
Elephant head or scalp *ty.*, 9, 14, 27, 38.
'**Elephant-rider**' *ty.*, 79.
Elliot, Sir W., *Coins of Southern India*, 311, 312.
Enādarī, see Sarveśvarī, *qu.*, 300 *n.*
English models of coinage, 311, 319, 321.
Epander, *k.*, 5, 6.
Ephesus, minute silver coins of, 163 *n.*
Ephthalite symbol, 233.
Ephthalites, = White Huns, *q. v.*, 233.
Era, Arakanese, 331 ; Gupta, 95 ; Mālava or Vikrama, 63 ; *Maulūdī*, 326 ; Newār or Nepālī, 281 ; Śaka or Śāka, 245, 281, 296.
Eran, *ci.*, coins of, 141, 145, 152 *n.*, 163 *n.*
Eukratides, *k.* of Bactria, 4, 5, 11.
Euthydemos, *k.* of Bactria, 3, 5, 8.

Fanam, small southern coin, 310.
Fire-altar, Sassanian *ty.*, 218, 233.
Fīrōz, Sassanian *k.*, 217, 219, 226, 233, 237.
Fish, *ty.*, 132, 136, 139, 140.
Forgeries, 7 *n.*, 65, 100 *n.*
French coins, 311, 319.
Fyzabad, *ci.*, 144, 148, 150.

Gadādhar simha, Assamese *k.* 296, 298.
Gadhaiyā (**Gadhiyā**) coins, 233, 234, 240.
Gahaṛwār, *dy.* of Kanauj, 257, 260.
Gait, Mr., *History of Assam*, 295.
Gajapati pagoda, 318.
Gajava, Mālava *k.*, 177.
Gaṇapati (**Gaṇendra**), Nāga *k.*, 164, 178.
Gandhāra, *co.*, Kanishka *k.* of, 69.
Gandikota pagoda, 325.
Gānga, *dy.* of Kalinga, 311, 312, 314.
Gāngeya-deva Vikramāditya, *k.* of W. Chedi, 250-2.
Ganjām, *co.*, rude coins from, 64.
Gardner, Prof. P., on Bactrian coins, 6, 37.
Gargāon, an Āhōm mint, 301.
Garuḍa, *ty.*, 109, 110, 116, 321.
Gauḍa, *co.*, = Karṇa-suvarṇa, 98.
Gaurīnātha simha, *k.* of Assam, 295, 296, 305.
Gautamī, mother of Āndhra kings, 208, 209, 212.
Ghaṭotkacha, a Gupta *k.*, 95.
(?) **Ghosha**, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 194.
Girīndra, Nepalese title, 286, 287.
Girvāṇ yuddha vikrama, Nepalese *k.*, 282, 290.
Goa, *ci.*, coins of *k.* of, 311, 314.
Gojara, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Gomitra, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 194 ; an earlier *k.*, 199, 205.
Gondophares, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 36-8, 54.
Gopālavarman, *k.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Gōr, epithet of Varahrān V, 217, 226.
Gorakhanātha, *d.*, 289, 290.
Gorakhpur and Champāran, *dy.* of, 282.
Gōrkhālī (**Gurkha**), *dy.*, 280, 281, 289.
Gotāmiputa, see Viḷivāyakura II and Yajña Śrī.
Govinda, *d.*, = Kṛishṇa, 293.

Govindachandra, *k.* of Kanauj, 257, 260.
Greek, *k.*, 3–38.
Guheśvarī, *d.*, 290.
Guilandina bonducella, Molucca bean, 310.
Gunāḍhya, *k.* of Nepāl, 280, 281.
Gupta, *dy.*, 95, 99; era, 95; *k.*, 95.

Hagāmāsha, satrap, 190, 195.
Hagāna, satrap, 190, 195.
Haidar 'Alī, *k.* of Mysore, 323, 326.
Haihaya, or Kulachuri clan and *dy.*, 250-2, 254, 255.
Hallakshaṇa, *k.*, = Sallakshaṇavarman, *q. v.*
Hamīrah, Śrī, regal title, 258, 263.
Hanumān, *d.*, *ty.*, 251.
Hari chandra deva, *k.* of Kāṇgrā, 277.
Harihara II, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 323.
Harsha, *k.* of Kashmīr, 272.
Harsha vardhana, *k.* of N. India, 280.
Hastin, Rāṇā, 118.
Heliokles, *k.* of Bactria, 4, 5, 13.
Helios, *d.*, *ty.*, 71.
Hellenistic coins, 3.
Heraios, *k.*, 65, 94.
Herakles, *d.*, *ty.*, 8, 9, 14, 21, 22, 28, 31, 33, 39, 41, 49.
Hermaios, *k.* of Kābul, 4, 5, 31, 65.
Hermes, *d.*, *ty.*, 46, 47.
Hindu *dy.* of Ohind, 243.
Hippostratos, *k.*, 5, 30.
Hiraṇya, *k.* of Kashmīr, 265.
Hormazd, Sassanian *k.*, imitations of coins of, 92.
Hormazd I, II, III, IV, V, Sassanian *k.*, 217, 218, 221, 223.
Hūn, or pagoda coin, 310.
Huns, White, or Ephthalites, 97, 233, 235.
Huvishka, Kushān *k.*, 63, 65, 75.
Hyrkodes, *k.*, 65, 93.

Indian Museum, Pref. and Gen. Introd.
Ikkīrī pagoda, 324.
Indo-French coins, 311, 319.
Indo-Greek coins, 3.
Indo-Parthian *dy.*, 35.
Indo-Portuguese coins, 311, 318.
Indo-Sassanian coins, 64, 232-42.
Indra, *d.*, 296, 307.
Indra malla, *k.* of Nepāl, 287.
Indra mitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 184, 187.
Indravarma, father of Aspavarma, 52.
Ingots used as coins, 133, 136.
Irano-Scythic characters, 234, 242.

Jabalpur District, = W. Chedi, 250-2.
Jagadekamalla, W. Chālukya *k.*, 311, 313.
Jāga-deva, *k.* of Kashmīr, 273.
Jagajjaya malla, Nepalese *k.*, 286, 289 *n.*
Jahāngīr, *k.*, Nepalese imitations of coins of, 281, 285.
Jaintia Parganas, *co.*, 296.
Jājalla-deva, I and II, *k.* of E. Chedi, 251, 254.
Jajjapurā, *ci.*, coin of, 331, 333.
Jālandhara, *ci.*, *co.*, 274.
Jāmaka, Mālava *k.*, 177.
Jamapaya, Mālava *k.*, 177.
Jamasp, Sassanian *k.*, 217 *n.*
Janapada legend, 164.
'Javelin' *ty.* of Gupta coins, see 'Spearman' *ty.*, 102.
Jayachchandra, *k.* of Kanauj, 257.
Jayagupta, *k.*, 121.
Jayakeśin III, Kādamba *k.*, 314.
Jayamitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185.
Jayantāpura, *ci.*, *co.*, 296, 307.
Jayāpīḍa, *k.* of Kashmīr, 266, 269.
Jayasiṁha II, Chālukya *k.*, 313.
Jayasiṁha deva, *k.* of Kashmīr, 273.
Jayavarman, Chandēlla *k.*, 250.
Jējākabhukti, *co.*, = Bundēlkhaṇḍ, 253.
Jeṭha mitra, *k.* of Kōsam, 146.
Jihunia, = Zeiōnises, satrap, *q. v.*, 37, 58.
Jishṇugupta, *k.* of Nepāl, 281.
Jīvadāman, W. Satrap, son of Dāmajaḍa, 123.
Jovian cycle, 314.
Jwālamukhi, coins found at, 161.
Jyeshṭhadatta-(deva), *k.*, 199, 205.

Kābul, *ci.*, various *k.* of, 17, 22, 29, 31, 33, 63, 68; so-called Hindu *k.* of, 243; Indo-Sassanian coins of, 227 *n.*
Kacha (Kāch a), *k.* of Gupta *dy.*, 96, 100.
Kādamba *dy.* of Goa, 311, 312, 314.
Kadphises, Kushān *k.*, I, 4, 33, 63, 65; II, 36, 59, 63, 64, 68.
Kalachuri or Haihaya clan and *dy.*, 250-2, 254, 255.
Kaḷanju seed used as weight, 310.
Kalaśa, *k.* of Kashmīr, 245, 267, 272.
Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarangiṇī* of, 265, 273 *n.*
Kalinga, *co.*, anonymous coins of, 64; Gānga *dy.* of, 311, 312, 314.
Kalinganagara, *ci.*, 311.
Kallar, *k.* of Ohind, 244, 245.
Kalliopē, Indo-Greek *qu.*, 5, 31.
Kalyāṇi, *ci.*, 311, 313.
Kāmadatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190.
Kāmadehi *ty.*, 233.
Kamaleśvara siṁha, Assamese *k.*, 307.

Kamara, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 244.
Kāmarūpa, *co.*, = Assam, 294.
Kaṁṭhīrava, Rājā of Mysore, 323, 325.
Kanauj, *ci.*, capital of Bhojadeva, 238, 241; Gahaṛwār or Rāṭhor *dy.* of, 257, 260.
Kaṇishko, Kushān *k.* distinct from Kanishka, 64, 87.
Kanishka, Kushān *k.*, 36, 37, 63, 64, 65, 69, 127.
Kāṅgṛā, *ci.*, *co.*, coins of, 274-9.
Kāntipur, *ci.*, = Kāṭhmāṇḍū, *q. v.*, 280.
Kapa, *v. l.* for Rūpa (chandra deva), *k.*, *q. v.*, 275.
Karma chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 278.
Karṇa suvarṇa, *co.*, = Gauḍa, 98.
Kārshāpaṇa, copper coin, 184.
Kārttikeya, *d.*, 76, 181 *n.*
Kashmīr, *co.*, Hindu coinage of, 265-73.
Kāsu, or 'cash', a copper coin, 311, 316.
Kāṭhmāṇḍū, *ci.*, *dy.* and coins of, 280, 284.
Kauśāmbī, *ci.*, of the Jains, = Kōsam, *q. v.*, 146.
Kavira, (?) *k.*, 199, 205.
Kermān Shāh, title of Varahrān IV, *q. v.*, 217, 225.
Khamarayaka, *v. l.* for Khuduvayaka, *k.*, *q. v.*, 244.
Kharoshṭhī script, 7, 68 *n.*, 161.
Khinkhila (**Khiṅgila**), *k.*, 265, 267.
Khuduvayaka, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 249.
Khurāsān, Sassanian mint, 230.
Khusrū I, II, III, Sassanian *k.*, 217-19, 228.
Kidara coins, 64, 89-91, 268, 269.
Kilki (? **Kirti**), *k.*, 258, 263.
'King and queen' *ty.*, 99, 117, 127.
Kinnarām, Assamese *k.*, 307.
Kirtivarman, Chandēlla *k.*, 250, 253.
Kobād I, II, Sassanian *k.*, 217, 218, 227.
Kolhāpur, *ci.*, Āndhra coins from, 208, 210.
Kosala, *co.*, kings of, 184, 186.
Kōsam, *ci.*, coins of, 145, 146, 155, 206.
Kota legend, 258, 264.
Kramāditya, title of Gupta *k.*, 98, 117, 122.
Kṛishṇa deva Rāya, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 323.
Kṛishṇa Rāja, *k.* of Mysore, 326.
Kṛitānta, *d.*, = Yama, god of death, 96, 104.
Kṛitavīrya, Little Yueh-chi *k.*, 89.
Kshatrapas, see Satraps.
Kshatriya, = Rājañya, *q. v.*, 164.
Kshemagupta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Kshudraka tribe, = Oxydrakai, 160.
Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, E. Chālukya *k.*, 311, 312.
Kufic script, 217 *n.*, 219.
Kujulakara, Kushān *k.*, = Kadphises I, *q. v.*, 4, 33.
Kūlū, *co.*, the Kuṇinda territory, 161.
Kumāra, Yaudheya *k.*, 182.
Kumāra devī, *qu.*, 100.
Kumāragupta, *k.*, of Gupta *dy.*, I, 97, 111; II, 98, 120.
Kumārapāla-deva, *k.*, of Tomara *dy.*, 256, 259.
Kumārī, *d.*, 287.
Kumārīdevī, *d.*, 113.
Kumuda-sena, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 150.
Kunet tribe, = Kuṇinda, 161.
Kuṇhama, (?) *k.*, 198, 200.
Kuṇinda tribe and coins, 161, 167-70.
Kushān, *dy.* and coins, 63-91, 93, 94, 97, 218.
Kushāno-Sassanian coins, 64, 91, 235 *n.*
Kutāmāna legend, 258, 263.
Kuyulakapha, = Kadphises I, *q. v.*

Lad (**Rad**), Sassanian mint, 227, 229.
Lakshmī, *d.*, 103, 105, &c.
Lakshmī nara simha, Nepalese *k.*, 281, 284.
Lakshmī simha, Assamese *k.*, 304.
Lalitāditya, *k.* of Kashmīr, 266.
Lalitāpur, *ci.*, = Pātan, *q. v.*, 280.
Lalliya, *k.* of Ohind, 244, 245.
Laodikē, Bactrian *qu.*, 5.
Lead coins, 199, 204, 208-13.
Leṅḍan, *d.*, Āhōm equivalent of Indra, 296.
Lévi, M. Sylvain, *Le Népal*, 282.
Lichchhavi clan, 95, 99, 100.
Līlāvatī, *qu.* of Ceylon, 328, 329.
Lingāyat pagoda, 318.
Local coins of N. India, 143, 148.
Lohara, *dy.* of Kashmīr, I, 271; II, 272.
Lokanātha, Nepalese *d.*, 288.
Lokaprakāśa, Nepalese prince, 288 *n.*
Longpérier, M., on Sassanian coins, 217, 219.
Lowsley, Mr., on coins of Ceylon, 328.
Lucknow, coins in Provincial Museum at, 185.
Lydia, early coinage of, 133, 310.
'Lyrist' *ty.*, 96, 101.
Lysias, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 14, 135.

'Macedonian soldier' *ty.*, 66.
Madana-pāla, *k.* of Kanauj, 257, 260.
Madana simha deva, *k.* of Champāran, 282, 293.
Madana-varman, Chandēlla *k.*, 250, 253.
Mādhari-puta, see Sivalakura.
Madras Museum, coin catalogues of, 311.

Magachha, Mālava *k.*, 177.
Magaja, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Magajaśa, Mālava *k.*, 175.
Magojava, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Mahā-Kosala, = E. Chedi, 251, 254.
Mahākshatrapas of Surāshṭra, 99, 123.
Mahārāya, Mālava *k.*, 163, 177.
Mahā Samadā Rājā, *k.* of Arakan, 331, 332.
Mahāsena, *d.*, = Kārttikeya, 76.
Mahendra, title of Kumāragupta I, 111.
Mahīchandra, *k.* of Kanauj, 257.
Mahimitra, Audumbara *k.*, 166
Mahīndra simha, Nepalese *k.*, 286.
Mahīpāla, *k.* of Ajmīr and Delhi, 256, 260.
Mahīpatīndra malla, Nepalese *k.*, 286, 289 *n.*
Mahmūd, *k.* of Ghaznī, 245.
Mahoba, *ci.*, capital of Chandēlla *dy.*, 250.
Mahodaya, *ci.*, = Kanauj, *q. v.*, 241.
(?) **Majupa**, Mālava *k.*, 175.
Mālava or Vikrama era, 63; symbol, 145; tribe and coins, 160, 161, 170.
Mālavikāgnimitra drama, 184.
Malaya-varman, *k.* of Narwar, 257, 262.
Malla, *dy.* of Nepāl, 281, 284.
Malloi tribe, 160.
Managula, satrap, 59.
Mānāṅka (? = Mānadeva), Nepalese *k.*, 280, 283.
Manao-bago, the moon *d.*, 76.
Manipur *co.*, coins of, 297, 309.
Mañjāḍi seed used as weight, 310.
Mao, the moon *d.*, 70, &c.
Mapaka, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Mapaya, Mālava *k.*, 175.
Mapojaya, Mālava *k.*, 175.
Mar (**Merv**), *ci.*, Sassanian mint, 227, 229, 230.
Maraja, Mālava *k.*, 177.
Maria I, Donna, *qu.* of Portugal, 118.
Markoff, M. A. de, catalogued Sassanian coins, 231 *n.*
Māsapa, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Massa coin of Ceylon, 328.
Māṭharī (**Māḍharī**), Āndhra *qu.*, 208, 209.
Mathurā, *ci.*, *dy.* and coins of, 61 *n.*, 190, 192.
Maues, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 35, 36, 38.
Maulādi era, 326.
(?) **Maya**, Mālava *k.*, 163, 174.
Megha chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 277.
Menander, Indo-Greek *k.*, 4, 5, 6, 22, 135.
Merv, Sassanian mint, 227, 229, 230.
Metric system of N. India, 134; **of S. India**, 310.
Miaios, *k.*, *v. l.* for **Heraios**, *q. v.*, 94.
Mihira, title of Bhojadeva, *q. v.*, 241.
Mihiragula, White Hun *k.*, 232, 236, 266.
Miiro (**Mioro**, **Miuro**), solar *d.*, 70, &c.
Milinda (**Milindra**), = Menander, *k.*, *q. v.*, 4.
Mints, Āhōm, 301, 304; Sassanian, 219, 225–30; of Tipū, 326.
Mithradates I and II, *k.* of Parthia, 35, 36, 62, 191, 218.
'**Mitra**' coins of Ajodhyā, 144; of N. Pañchāla, 184, 186.
Moa, = Maues, *q. v.*
Moluoca bean, or *kaḷanju*, 310.
Monograms and marks, 7, Pl. vii, x, xviii.
Mughal coinage imitated in Nepāl, 281.
Muhammad bin Sām, *k.*, 256.
Muhammad the Mahdī, of Bukhārā, 230.
Multān, *ci.*, Vāhi-tigīn probably *k.* of, 232.
Museums, A. S. B. and I. M., Pref. and Gen. Introd.; Lucknow, 185; Madras, 311.
Muttra, *ci.*, see Mathurā.
Mysore, *co.*, coins of, 322, 323, 325.

Nab (? **Nī**), Sassanian mint, 227.
Nāga, *dy.* and coins, 162, 164, 178.
Nāgar, *ci.*, Mālava coins from, 161.
Nāh (**Nīh**), Sassanian mint, 228.
Nahavend, battle of, 218.
Nameless King, = Soter Megas, *q. v.*
Nanaia (**Nana shao**), Persian *d.*, 70, &c.
Nandigupta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Nandipada symbol, 148, 150, 315.
Napki, *k.*, 232, 235, 242.
Nara Bālāditya, Gupta *k.*, 98, 119.
Narbadā river, 96.
Narendra chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 278.
Narendrāditya, *k.* of Kashmīr, 265.
Narendragupta, *k.*, = Śaśānka, *q. v.*, 98, 121.
Narsēs (**Narsahi**), Sassanian *k.*, 217, 223.
Narwar, *ci.*, coins of, 164, 257, 272.
Naushīrwān, epithet of Khusrū I, *q. v.*, 217, 228.
Nepāl, *co.*, position of, 280; *dy.* and coins of, 281–93; era of, 281.
Newār era, = Nepālī, 281.
Nickel, in coins, 9 *n.*
Nikē, *d.*, *ty.*, 13, 17, 22, 26, 29, 33, 39, 43, 56, 57, 58, 62.
Nikias, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 6.
Niśśanka malla, *k.* of Ceylon, 327.
Nivāsa malla, Nepalese *k.*, 287, 288 *n.*
Northern India, mediaeval *dy.* of, 256.
Nṛipendra, Nepalese *k.*, 285.
Numerals on coins of Ohind, 245.
Nushīrwān, = Naushīrwān, *q. v.*

Oado, *d.*, the wind-god, 74.
Oanao (**Oaninda**), *d.*, 78.
Obeidallah bin Ziād, Arab governor, 229.
Octagonal Assamese coins, 295; of Ceylon, 330.
Odumbara, = Audumbara, *q. v.*, 160, 166.
Oēsho (**Oēsha**), *d.*, 70, &c.
Ohind, *ci.*, Hindu kings and coins of, 243-9, 274.
Omiah bin Abdallah, Arab governor, 230.
Omphis, *k.* of Taxila, 135.
Onia (**Onio**), *d.*, 78.
Onones, = Vonones, *q. v.*, 35.
Oosmo, = Kadphises II, *q. v.*, 36, 63, 68.
Orlagno, *d.*, 71.
Ormasd, *d.*, 220, 223.
Orodes I, *k.* of Parthia, 54 *n.*
Orthagnes, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 36, 37, 57.
Owl *ty.*, 17, 26.
Ox-head *ty.*, 27.
Oxydrakai, or Kshudraka, tribe, 160.

Pachha, Mālava *k.*, 176.
Padama, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 244.
Padma ṭanka, a gold coin, 311, 317.
Padmāvatī, *ci.*, Narwar, the Nāga capital, 164.
Pagoda, a gold coin, 310.
Pahlavī language and script, 217, 219.
Pakorēs (**Pakura**), Indo Parthian *k.*, 36, 37, 58.
Pallas, *d.*, *ty.*, 9, 18, 21-6, 28, 41, 44, 48, 49, 2-4.
Paṇa, a weight or a coin, 134.
Pañchāla, M., *co.*, coins of, 184, 186.
Panjāb, various *k.* of, 4, 14-16, 21, 30, 31.
Pantaleon, Indo-Greek *k.*, 3, 5, 10, 147.
Parākrama Bāhu, *k.* of Ceylon, 327, 329.
Paramardin, Chandēlla *k.*, 250, 253, 257.
Pārtha, *k.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Parthia, relations with India of, 35-8, 191.
Parvīs, epithet of Khusrū II, *q. v.*, 218, 228.
Pāsaka, Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Paśupati, (?) *d.* or *k.*, 281, 283.
Pāṭaliputra, *ci.*, the Gupta capital, 95.
Pātan, *ci.* in Nepāl, 280, 284, 287.
Pavata (**Pārvata**), *k.* of Kōsam, 146, 155.
Paya, Mālava *k.*, 163, 177.
Peacock *ty.*, 97, 113, 115, 116, 118.
Pemma, Chālukya *k.*, 313.
Persia, Sassanian coins of, 217-31.
Persian legends on Assamese and Nepalese coins, 281, 285, 296, 301, 304.
Peukelaos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 5, 6.
Peyasa, Later Kushān *k.*, 127.
Phalguni-mitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185, 188.
Pharro, *d.*, 71, 79.
Philoxenos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 6, 30, 135.
Phokā dām, a Nepalese copper coin, 293.
Phūleśvarī, Āhōm *qu.*, 300, 301.
Pīpala, *k.* of Māchāṛī, 258, 263.
Pirthīrāj, = Pṛithvī Rājā Chauhān, *q. v.*
Pithama chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 274, 275.
(?) **Pithi**, *k.*, 258, 263.
Plato, Bactrian *k.*, 6.
(?) **Polyxenos**, *k.*, 6.
Pondicherry, *ci.*, the French capital in India, 319.
Portonovo, *ci.*, mint, 320.
Portuguese coins, 311-18.
Poseidon, *d.*, *ty.*, 11, 43.
Potin, a mixed metal, 208, 210-13.
Prabhāsa, title of Bhojadeva, *q. v.*, 241.
Prakāśāditya, a Gupta *k.*, 98, 119.
Prakāśa malla, Nepalese *k.*, 287.
Pramatha simha, Assamese *k.*, 295, 298, 302.
Pramathesvari, Assamese *qu.*, 296, 300 *n.*, 301.
Pratāpa, title of *k.* of Vijayanagar, 323-5.
Pratāpa (**Pratāpāditya**), *k.* of Kashmīr, 265, 268.
Pratāpa malla, Nepalese *k.*, 285.
Pratāpa simha, Nepalese *k.*, 290; Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 299.
Prayāga, *ci.*, = Allāhābād, 95.
Pṛithvīdeva I, II, *k.* of E. Chedi, 251, 254.
Pṛithvī nārāyaṇa, Nepalese *k.*, 281, 289.
Pṛithvī Rāja, Chauhān *k.*, 257, 261.
Pṛithvī simha deva, *k.* of Champāran, 282.
Pṛithvī vīra vikrama, Nepalese *k.*, 293.
Prīti, (?) *k.* of Arakan, 331, 332.
Provenance of coins, 143.
Puḍukota, *co.*, coin of, 321.
Puḷumāvi, Āndhra *k.*, 209, 210.
Punch-marked coins, silver and copper, 131, 136; gold, 311.
Puragupta, *k.* of Gupta *dy.*, 98, 119.
Purāṇa, = punch-marked coin, 134, 139.
Purandara, *d.*, = Indra, 296, 307.
Purān-dukht, Sassanian *qu.*, 218.
Purī, *ci.*, rude coins from, 64.
Purushadatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 192.

Queen, Diddā of Kashmīr, 271; Līlāvatī of Ceylon, 328, 329.
Queens, Assamese, 296, 300-2; Bactrian and Indo-Greek, 5.

Rad (Lad), Sassanian mint, 227, 229.
Rāghava deva, *k.* of Nepāl, 281.
Rājañya, *co.* and coins, 164, 179.
Rājarāja, Choḷa *k.*, 327.
Rājendra vikrama, Nepalese *k.*, 291.
Rājeśvara siṁha, Assamese *k.*, 296, 303.
Rājpūt *dy.*, 256.
Ral, Sassanian mint, 229.
Rām, guardian of Fīrōz *k.*, 227 *n.*
Rāma chandra deva, *k.* of Kangṛā, 278.
Rāmadatta, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 190, 193.
Rāma Rāja, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 325.
Rāma siṁha, *k.* of Jayantāpura, 308.
Rāma siṁha mānikya, *k.* of Tipperah, 297, 308.
Rāma varma, *k.* of Travancore, 316.
Rāmnagar, *ci.*, = Ahichhatrā, *q.v.*, 97, 184.
Raṇa Bahādur, Nepalese *k.*, 290.
Raṇajita malla, Nepalese *k.*, 282, 284.
Rangpur, *ci.*, Āhōm mint, 304, 306.
Rañjubula (Rājuvula), satrap, 56 *n.*, 190, 191, 196.
Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 6, 37, &c.
Rāṭhor, *dy.* of Kanauj, 257, 260.
Rati seed used as weight, 134, 310.
Ratnadeva, *k.* of E. Chedi, 251, 255.
Ratnapura (Ratanpur), *ci.*, capital of E. Chedi, 251.
Ratnarāja I, II, III, *k.* of E. Chedi, 251, 255.
Rawlinson, Canon, historian of Persia, 219.
Rhinoceros *ty.*, 132, 139, 145, 154.
Rivett-Carnac, cabinet of coins, 100 *n.*
Rohilkhaṇḍ, *co.*, = N. Pañchāla, 184.
'Roman head' *ty.*, 185.
Rudradāman, W. Satrap, 123, 165.
Rudrasena, W. Satrap, son of Rudradāman, 125; son of Rudrasiṁha, 124; son of Vīradāman, 124.
Rudra siṁha, Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 294, 299; W. Satrap, son of Jīvadāman, 126; W. Satrap, son of Rudradāman, 123; W. Satrap, son of Satyasiṁha, 97.
Rūpa chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 275, 276.
Rūpāk, iti legend, 104.

Sabhajita malla, Nepalese *k.*, 284.
Sadāśiva Rāya, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 324.
Safdar 'Alī Khān, Nawāb, 326.
Sāhasa malla, *k.* of Ceylon, 330.
Sāhi *dy.*, 244, 245.
Śaka (Śāka) era, 245, 281, 296.
Sākala, *ci.*, capital of Mihirakula, 232.
Śākambharī (Sāmbhar), *ci.*, *dy.* of, 257, 261.
Śaktisiṁha, *k.* of Champāran, 282.
Śaktivarman, E. Chālukya *k.*, 311, 313.
Salīm bin Zīād, Arab governor, 230.
Sallakshaṇa-pāla deva, Tomara *k.*, 256, 259.
Sallakshaṇavarman, Chandēlla *k.*, 250.
Sallet, von, on successors of Alexander, 6, 37.
Salt Range, *co.*, 3, 7.
Sāmanta deva, title of *k.* of Ohind, 243, 247; of Pīpala, 258, 263; of Someśvara and Pṛithvī Rāja, 261; of *k.* of Kāngṛā, 274, 275.
Samudragupta, *k.* of Gupta *dy.*, 95, 101, 160, 164, 165, 280.
Saṇa, Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Sangrāma, *k.* of Kashmīr, 271.
Śankaravarman, *k.* of Kashmīr, 244, 265, 267, 269.
Sanskrit legends on Assamese coins, 296.
Sapadbizes (Sapaleizes), *k.*, 65, 94.
Sapor, = Shāpūr, *k.*, *q. v.*
Saptakoṭiśvara, *d.*, a name of Śiva, 314.
Sarvarājochchhettā, Gupta epithet, 96, 100.
Sarvvayaśa, Little Yueh-chi *k.*, 90.
Sarveśvarī, Assamese *qu.*, 300 *n.*, 302.
Śaśāṅka, *k.* of Gauḍa, 98, 121.
Sasasa legend, 38.
Sassanian *dy.* of Persia, 217.
Śātakarṇi, Āndhra title, 210.
Satrap, a Persian title, 191.
Satraps, of Mathurā and Taxila, 190, 191, 195; Western, 97, 99, 123.
Satya-mitra, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 150.
Sayatha, Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Seistan, *co.*, see Sīstān.
Seleukidan era, 6 *n.*
Seleukos Nikator, *k.* of Syria, 7 *n.*
Seringapatam, *ci.*, 326.
Śeshadatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190.
Shāhdheri, site of Taxila, 147.
Shāhi (Shahiya) *dy.*, 244.
Shāhi-tigīn, *k.*, see Vāhi-tigīn.
Shahryār, Sassanian *k.*, 218.
Shān (Shām) nation, 294.
Shaoreoro (Shāhrewar), *d.*, 79.
Shāpūr I, II, III, Sassanian *k.*, 217, 218, 221, 224, 225.
Shī, Sassanian mint, 228.
Shield *ty.*, 9.
Shihāb-ud-dīn, *k.*, 256, 257.
'Ship' *ty.*, 209.
Śilkōṭ, *ci.*, = Sākala, 232.
Siddhi nara siṁha, Nepalese *k.*, 281, 287.
Sikim, *co.*, coins of, 297, 309.
Śilāhāra *dy.*, 233.
Sind, *co.*, 36, 37.
Singīra chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 277.
Sīstān, *co.*, Indo-Parthian *k.* of, 35–7, 57,

58; Vasu coins from, 64, 87; Kushāno-Sassanian coins of, 64, 91.
Śiśuchandradatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190.
Sita (**Sīta**), Later Kushān *k.*, 89.
Śiva, (?) *k.* of Arakan, 331, 332.
'**Śiva** and bull' *ty.*, 84, 87, 88, 91; and Pārvatī *ty.*, 320.
Śivadatta, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 149; *k.* of Mathurā, 190.
Sivalakura, Āndhra *k.*, 208, 209.
Śiva siṁha (**Sib Singh**), Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 300-2.
Siyaḍoṇī inscription, 251 *n.*
Skandagupta, *k.* of Gupta *dy.*, 97, 117, 127.
Śodāsa, satrap of Mathurā, 190, 191, 196.
'**Solomon's seal**' device, 316.
Someśvara, Chauhān *k.*, 257, 261.
Sona-deva, *k.*, 258, 263.
Sonpath, Yaudheya coins from, 165.
Sophytes, *k.* of Salt Range, 3, 6, 7.
Soter Megas, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 59.
Southern India, coinage of, 310.
Spalagadama, Indo-Parthian viceroy, 35, 41.
Spalahora (**Spalyris**), Indo-Parthian *k.*, 35, 41.
Spalapati-deva, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 244, 246.
Spalirisha (**Spalirises**), Indo-Parthian *k.*, 35, 42.
'**Spearman**' *ty.*, 102.
Śruta legend, 258, 264.
'**Stag**' *ty.*, 167.
'**Standard**' *ty.*, 100.
'**Star**' pagoda coin, 310.
Stein, Dr., on Shāhiya *dy.*, 246.
Stratēgos, = satrap, 53 *n.*
Strato I and II, Indo-Greek *k.*, 6, 21, 28 *n.*
Stūpa or *chaitya*, on punch-marked coins, 131, 132, 137-41.
Sugandhā Rāṇī, *qu.* of Kashmīr, 270.
Śukleśmuṅ, Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 296, 298.
Śuneṅphā, ditto, 295, 298, 302.
Sunet, *ci.*, votive tablets from, 165.
Śunga *dy.*, 145, 184.
Supātphā, Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 295, 298.
Surāshṭra, or Kāṭhiāwār, 22, 97, 99.
Surendra vikrama, Nepalese *k.*, 291.
Sūrga (**Svarga**) **nārāyaṇa**, Assamese *k.*, 299.
Sūryamitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185, 188; *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 195.
Suśenphā, Assamese Āhōm *k.*, 299.
Sussala, *k.* of Kashmīr, 272.
Swāmi pagodas, 319, 320.
Svastika symbol, 132, &c.
Syalapati, *v. l.* for Spalapati, *k.*, *q. v.*
Tai or **Shān** languages, 295.
Talaṭṭimāṭṭi, *d.*, 287.
'**Taurine**' symbol, 182, &c.
Taxila, *ci.*, Indo-Parthian *k.* of, 35, 38, 48, 50; various coins of, 133, 135, 140, 143, 147, 156, 157, 159, 202, 204.
Taxilan symbol, 157 *n.*
Telephos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 6.
Tewar, *ci.*, see Tripuri.
Ṭhākurī *dy.* of Nepāl, 283.
Theophilos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 31.
Thomas, E., on Sassanian coins, 217.
Thomas, St., cross of, 318.
Tibet and Nepāl, 280, 281; coins of, 333.
Tinnevelly, *co.*, coins of, 310.
Tipperah, *co.*, coins of, 297, 308.
Tipū (**Tippoo**), Sultān, of Mysore, 323, 326.
Tomara *dy.* of Ajmīr and Delhi, 256, 259.
Toramāṇa, White Hun *k.*, 232, 235; *k.* of Kashmīr, 265-7.
Trailokya-varma-deva, Chandēlla *k.*, 250, 253.
Travancore, *co.*, coins of, 311, 315.
Tribal coins, 160.
Tribhuvanagupta, *k.* of Kashmīr, 271.
'**Trident**' *ty.*, 9, 127.
Trigarta, *co.*, = Kāngṛā, 274.
Trilochana-pāla, *k.* of Ohind, 244.
Triloka chandra deva, *k.* of Kāngṛā, 274, 279.
'**Tripod**' *ty.*, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29.
Tripura, *co.*, = Tipperah, *q. v.*
Tripuri, *ci.*, capital of W. Chedi, 250.
Triskeles (**Triskelis**) symbol, 182.
Tu-fan, *co.*, = Tibet, 280.
Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in S. India*, 311.
Tuṭṭu, a copper coin, 317.

Udabhāṇḍapura, *ci.*, = Ohind, *q. v.*, 244.
Udaipur, Chhoṭa, *co.*, 297, 309.
Ujjain, *ci.* of Avanti *co.*, *q. v.*, 145; symbol, 145, 152 *n.*, 209.
Ulūgh Khān, = Balban, *k.* of Delhi, 258.
'**Umbrella**' *ty.*, 109, 116.
Und, *ci.*, = Ohind, *q. v.*
Undopherres, = Gondophares, *k.*, *q.v.*, 54.
Utpala *dy.* of Kashmīr, 269.
Uttamadatta, *k.* of Mathurā, 190, 193.

Vada, misreading for Chandra, Āndhra *k.*, *q.v.*, 209.
Vagharsh, Sassanian *k.*, 217.
Vah, Sassanian mint, 226.
Vāhi-tigīn, *k.*, 232, 234.
Vaiśāli, *ci.*, Lichchhavis of, 95.
Vaiśravana, *d.*, or (?) *k.*, 231.

Vakka-deva, *k.* of Ohind, 243, 248.
Valabhī, *ci.* and *co.*, coins of, 127.
Varāha coin, = pagoda, 310.
Varahrān, Sassanian *k.*, I, II, III, IV, 217, 222; V, 217, 226; VI (Chobīn), 228, 230, 231.
Vāsiṭhi-puta, see Puḷumāvi.
Vasu, (?) = Vāsudeva, *q. v.*, 64, 87.
Vāsudeva, Kushān *k.*, 63, 64, 87.
Vaṭāsvaka legend, 147, 157.
Vengī, *ci.*, 311, 312.
Venka, *k.*, *v. l.* for Vakka, *q. v.*, 243 *n.*
Venkaṭeśvara, *k.* of Vijayanagar, 322, 325.
Vigraha, *k.*(Viśramśadeva), 266, 269.
Vigrahapāla, *k.* of Magadha, I, II, III, 233, 239.
Vijaya Bāhu, *k.* of Ceylon, 327, 329.
Vijayachandra, *k.* of Kanauj, 257.
Vijaya-mitra, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 151.
Vijayanagar, *ci.*, *co.*, coins of, 321-5.
Vijayasena, W. Satrap, 124.
Vikrama or Mālava era, 63.
Vikramāditya, title of Gupta *k.*, 97, 104, 109; title of Gāngeya-deva, 250.
Viḷivāyakura II, Āndhra *k.*, 208, 210.
Vinayāditya, *k.* of Kashmīr, 266, 269.
Vīradāman, W. Satrap, 125.
(?) **Vīra Kramāditya**, *k.*, 122.
Vīra Mahendra, *k.* of Kāṭhmāṇḍū, Nepāl, 286.
Vīra nara simha malla, Nepalese prince, 288.
Vīrasena, *k.* of Gangetic Doāb, 191, 197.
Vīravarman, Chandēlla *k.*, 250, 254.
Vishākha-deva, *k.* of Ajodhyā, 144, 148.
Vishamasiddhi, E. Chālukya *k.*, 311, 312.
Vishṇu chitta-deva, Kādamba *k.*, 314.
Vishṇugupta, *k.*, 121.
Vishṇu malla, Nepalese *k.*, 289.
Vishṇu-mitra, *k.* of N. Pañchāla, 185; of Mathurā, 190, 194.
Vishṇu vardhana, or Yaśodharman, *k.*, 266.
Viśramśadeva, *v. l.* for Vigraha, *q. v.*
Viśva, Little Yueh-chi *k.*, 90.
Viśvasena, W. Satrap, 126.
Viśvasimha, W. Satrap, 125.
Vonones, Indo-Parthian *k.*, 35, 40, 42.

Wah, Sassanian mint, 226, 227.
Waihind, *ci.*, = Ohind, *q. v.*
'Warrior' *ty.*, 182.
Western Satraps, 97, 99, 123.
White Huns, coins of, 232, 233, 235.
Wima, *k.*, = Kadphises II, *q. v.*, 63.
Wright, *History of Nepāl*, 282.

Yajña Śrī, Āndhra *k.*, 209, 212, 213.
Yā'ḳūb Lais, Muhammadan general, 245.
Yama, Mālava *k.*, 163, 174, 176.
Yandaboo, treaty of, 331.
Yārikriya, (?) *k.* of Arakan, 331, 332.
Yaśodāman, W. Satrap, 126.
Yaśovarman, *k.*, 91 *n.*, 265, 268.
Yaśovigraha, *k.* of Kanauj, 257.
Yaudheya tribe and coins, 165, 180, 281.
Yezdegird, Sassanian *k.*, I, 217, 225; II, 217, 226; III, 218.
Yodheya, see Yaudheya.
Yogamatī, Nepalese *qu.*, 288.
Yoga narendra malla, Nepalese *k.*, 288.
Yoga prakāśa malla, Nepalese *k.*, 289.
Yueh-chi, Little, horde, 64.

Zeionises, satrap, 37, 38, 58.
Zeus, *d.*, *ty.*, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 31, 32, 39, 40, 42, 43, 50, 54, 57, 61.
Zoilos, Indo-Greek *k.*, 6, 28 *n.*, 30.

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