PADMAVATI

BY

M. B. GARDE

DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY

GWALIOR STATE

(RETIRED)

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

GWALIOR SESSION

1952
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site of Padmavati</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical buildings and spots</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excavations</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone sculptures</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra-cotta objects</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustrations</td>
<td>Plates I to X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration Description</td>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map showing surroundings of Padmavati</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhumesvar Mahadeva temple</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water-fall in the Sindh river</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick platform of excavated temple</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of Yaksha Manibhadra</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm capital</td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun capital</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga king, back view</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene of dance on gateway lintel</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra cotta bust of a woman</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PADMAVATI

Introductory

The ancient city of Padmavati is known in history as the seat of a powerful Naga kingdom which flourished in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. It is referred to in the Puranas, classical Sanskrit literature and inscriptions. The Vishnu Purana states that Naga kings ruled in Padmavati, Kantipuri and Mathura. Padmavati is alluded to in the Harsha Charita of Bana (7th century A.D.). Bhavabuti the well-known Sanskrit dramatist has vividly described it in his play Malati-madhava the scene of which is laid in that city. A verse in the Sarasvati-kanihabharana a treatise on Sanskrit poetics (11th century A.D.) contains the description of a city which probably applies to Padmavati
and its precincts. Padmavati is eulogised in a Khajuraho inscription dated in V. S. 1058 (1000-1001 A.D.).

**Site of Padmavati**

The geographical allusions and descriptions in the *Malati-madhava* supply the following data for the precise location of the site of Padmavati. That the city was situated on the confluence of the two rivers Sindhu and Para and was enclosed by them, that there was a waterfall in the river Sindhu in the neighbourhood of the city, that the river Lavana flowed close by, and that a temple of Siva known as Suvarnabindu on the confluence of the rivers Sindhu and Madhumati was not far away from the city. The four rivers mentioned above are none other than the modern Sind, Parvati, Nun and Mahuvar rivers. The geographical data gathered from the *Malati-madhava* agree so well with the position of the present village Pawaya that they prove beyond doubt its identification with the site of ancient Padmavati. (See accompanying map). The memory of the ancient name also survives in Padam-Pawaya which is the longer name of Pawaya. The
location of the site thus determined on the strength of literary evidence is confirmed by the results of the exploration of the archaeological ruins at Pawaya (For the history and detailed proofs of the identification of Padmavati see my paper in *Archæological Survey of India Report* for 1915-16 pp. 101-109).

**Road.**

Pawaya is now a small village about 42 miles to the south-west of Gwalior and is reached via Dabra which stands on the Gwalior-Jhansi road, 28 miles south of Gwalior. Dabra has a Dak Bungalow and is also a station on the Central Railway almost half way between Gwalior and Jhansi. The Dabra-Harsi road branches off from the Gwalior-Jhansi road. In the 9th mile of the former road shortly after it crosses the Nun river, the Archæological Department has put up a large sign board to draw the traveller's attention to Padmavati and its ruins, which are situated about 5 miles by kachcha cart track from that point. About a quarter of a mile on this side of Pawaya the cart track passes through the Parvati river
which though fordable in dry weather has however no bridge here. (See accompanying map on plate I).

**History.**

What little we know of the ancient history of Padmavati is mainly derived from archaeological sources—monuments, sculptures, inscriptions and coins. The Khajuraho inscription mentioned on page 2 above assigns the foundation of Padmavati some time between the *Krita* and *Treta* aeons to a king of Padma dynasty which is purely mythical. Some coins of *circa* the 2nd cent. B.C. have been picked up from the ruins. But the history of the place can be traced back with certainty to the 1st century A.D. An inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Yaksha Manibhadra, found at Pawaya is inscribed in Brahmi characters of that period. It is dated in the 4th regnal year of Sivanandi who was probably an early king of the Naga or Bharasiva dynasty ruling at Padmavati. Later on the Nagas came under the influence of the Kushans. Towards the end of the 2nd of century A.D. when the power of the Kushan Empire declined, the Nagas rega-
ined independence, and ruled at Padmavati during the 3rd and the first half of the 4th century, wielding considerable power and influence. Their kingdom or kingdoms extended as far as Mathura in the North and Vidisa (modern Bhilsa) in the south. They are said to have performed ten horse-sacrifices. Bhava Naga who ruled circa 305-340 A.D. had made matrimonial alliance with the Vakatakas and was the maternal grand-father of Rudrasena I. The Vayu Purana tells us that nine Nagas ruled at Champavati or Padmavati and seven Nagas at Mathura, but does not mention their names. (For the names of Naga kings see pages 27-28 below). The Vishnu Purana simply states that Nagas ruled at Padmavati, Kantipuri and Mathura. Of these Kantipuri is probably to be identified with the modern village Kotwal or Kutwar situated about 75 miles to the north-east of Padmavati and almost the same distance to the south of Mathura. These three places (Padmavati, Kantipuri and Mathura) are too near one another to be capitals of three different Naga dynasties. The coins found at Mathura and Kantipuri belong mostly to Ganapati Naga
while the coins found at Padmavati represent more than nine names of Naga kings. These facts perhaps indicate that in this part of the country there was only a single Naga kingdom with its capital at Padmavati and that Mathura, Kantipuri and Vidisa where Naga coins have been found were only important places in the Naga territories. Ganapati was the last Naga king. He was defeated and uprooted by Samudragupta. The Naga dynasty came to an end about the middle of the 4th century A.D., and their kingdom at Padmavati became part of the Gupta Empire. If, as is possible, Bhavabhuti’s description of the city of Padmavati is a true picture of what it was in Bhavabhuti’s time, Padmavati was still the capital of a kingdom and a place of cultural and religious importance in the 8th century. It had perhaps a University which could attract students from distant provinces such as Vidarbha (modern Berar). Buddhists lived there side by side with followers of the Saivite sect of the Kapalikas. Pawaya is still regarded as a holy place and is referred to as Padmavati Kshetra by local priests when they perform religious
cereonies. During mediæval period Pawaya was under the sway of the various Rajput and Muhammadan dynasties who ruled over Narwar which is not more than 25 miles to the west. But no relics have now survived to tell us the history of Padmavati during the period between the 5th and the 16th centuries. In 1506 Sikandar Lodi conquered Narwar and Pawaya became the headquarters of a district. Safdar Khan who was perhaps the first governor of this district built the present fort at Pawaya in A.H. 911 (1512 A.D.) and called it Askandarabad (after the name of his master), as is recorded in a Persian inscription found at Pawaya. The remains of a number of Maqbaras or domed rooms sheltering tombs, and mosques, seen in the neighbourhood of Pawaya are the vestiges of this regime which seems to have continued for a considerable time. Jahangir the Mughal Emperor conferred this tract as a principality on the Bundela Chief Virasimhadeva of Orchha who was his fast friend. It was Virasimha who built the temple of Duhumesvar Mahadeva which stands on the bank of the Sindh river near the water-fall alluded to by Bhavabhuti,
about two miles to the west of Pawaya. From the middle of the 18th century Pawaya was included in the dominion of the Scindias and is now in the Madhya Bharat State.

Historical buildings and spots

In its palmy days in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. when it was the capital of a powerful Naga kingdom, Padmavati must have been a rich and flourishing city. The glowing allusions occurring in the Malti-madhava and elsewhere, to its lofty mansions, temples, towers, gardens and festivals appear to show that it retained its importance and prosperity for a few centuries afterwards. But be it as it may, the cruel hand of time has now reduced the place to the plight of a tiny village of dilapidated houses.

The site of the ancient citadel is now almost wholly occupied by the present village Pawaya and the ruins of a Mahmmadan fort (see page 7 above). But the surrounding area is studded with brick bats, potsherds and other indications of ancient habitation from which it is clear that the boundaries of the ancient city extended for some distance to the west, and to the
north even beyond the river Parvati. The ancient ruins have been quarried for bricks to build the fort, mosques, tombs and residential houses in later times. Most of the present houses at Pawaya and neighbouring villages are built of pieces of old bricks dug up from old ruins. Ruins of brick structures are exposed in many places where pits are taken, even now. It is for this reason that Pawaya is locally known also as Pol Pawaya or hollow Pawaya. A tradition is current in the locality that the ancient city has been put upside down by the wrath of a goddess. Although the ancient ruins have been largely tampered with, some old structures which still lie concealed under them offer a promising field for archaeological excavations.

Coming to old buildings which still exist, above ground though in ruined conditions, the biggest is the large fort constructed in 1512 A.D. by Safdar Khan a minister or governor of Sikandar Lodi. referred to on page 7 above. It is picturesquely situated overlooking the Sindh river and covers the eastern portion of the ancient city site. A bathing ghat probably
built along with the fort, lies all but buried in silt probably near the spot where Madhava and his friend Makaranda of the Malati-madhava had a dip in the waters of the confluence of the Sindhu and the Para. A modern Siva temple known as Satesvar Mahadeva stands on on the sloping ground a short distance from the ghat. The fort is now in a ruined condition. The fortification walls and bastions are dialapidated. Buildings in the interior have fallen and their ruins are enveloped in jungle. Outside the entrance of the fort is a small modern shrine sacred to a goddess. Some fragments of old sculptures are stacked near by. The shrine probably marks the site of the temple of Karala (terrible goddess) mentioned in the Malati-madhava where the Kapalika ascetic Aghoraghanta was going to offer the human sacrifice of Malati.

A short distance to the north-east of the fort there are the ruins of a small mosque and some tombs, on the top of a mound which overlooks the river Paravati. This was perhaps the spot where the Vihara or Buddhist monastery referred to in the Sarasvati-kanthabharana
stood. The same work mentions that a holy grove known as Phanipati (i.e. Naga)-vana lay beyond the river Sindhu, and that a tall hill or mountain stood yonder. This mountain can be no other than the Sonagir hill (Suvaranagiri) which is seen a few miles to the south-east of Pawaya. Sonagir is a place of pilgrimage and the top of the hill is studded with numerous Jaina temples most of which date from the 15th century A.D. The confluence of the rivers Sindhu and Madhumati lies half way between Pawaya and Sonagir. The sacred spot Suvarana-bindu Siva alluded to in the Malati-madhava is still marked by a modern platform supporting an old Siva-linga. Nearby is kept a broken sculpture of a Mother goddess in the Gupta style. The maqbaras or tombs vestiges of the Muhammadan rule in the 16th century have been referred to on page 7 above. They stand about a mile to the west of the village Pawaya. Like the fort they are also constructed out of old bricks quarried from ancient ruins. About a mile to the south-west of the maqbaras rises the Dhumesvar Mahadeva temple, a two storeyed edifice set on a high plinth
which with its shrine room crowned with a lofty Sikhara or spire, and its spacious hall covered with a large dome is visible for a long distance around (plate II). The temple stands majestically on the rocky bank of the Sindhu, near the roaring water fall in the river, desribed by Bhavabhuti in the Malati-madhava as tearing the surface of the earth (plate III). Overlooking the water fall is a huge masoney platform probably intended to serve as a pleasure resort. The platform locally known as Nauchawki is traditionally connected with the name of Prithviraj Chauhan. But it appears to be contemporary with the Dhum-esvar temple which is said to have been built by Virasimhadeva of Orchha see page 7 above).

Exçavations

During the surface exploration of the Pawaya site some interesting stone sculptures were discovered. One of these is a plam capital i.e. the crowning piece of a monolithic pillar, in the form of the top of a palm tree. Another is a large stone bracket with busts of dwarfs carved on its three faces. Both the sculptures are in the early Gupta style. The
bracket was lying on the eastern slope, and the capital at the bottom on the same side, of a large artificial mound. The surrounding fields were covered with brick bats. It was easy to surmise from these indications that the remains of some ancient structure lay buried under the mound. It was thus a tempting site for archaeological excavations. The excavations which were carried out here in four instalments in the years 1925, 1934, 1940, and 1941, fulfilled these expectations. The excavated spot which is situated in a suburb of the ancient city of Padmavati, is more than half a mile to the north-west of the Pawaya village, beyond the Parvati river. Visitors who generally approach from Dabra side can therefore reach the excavated site without crossing the Parvati. Before being excavated the mound which was covered with a jungle of shrubs and even large trees measured about 200 feet in length and breadth and over 30 feet in height above the surrounding fields. Traces of terrace floor made up of lime plaster seen on the top of the mound showed that the place was used for residential purposes in later
times. Like other places on the ancient site this mound also must have been disturbed and quarried for building material; and hence, the monument unearthed in the excavations is only the lower portion of the original edifice, the upper part having completely disappeared. The surviving part of the building discovered in the excavations consists of three platforms of brick masonry (plate IV), belonging to two different stages or periods in the construction of the monument. In the description which follows, the the largest and outermost platform which was exposed in the first instalment of the excavations in 1925 and which measures approximately 141 feet north to south and 143 feet east to west, is referred to as platform No. 1. The upper most and smallest platform which was unearthed simultaneously with platform No. 1 and which measures 54 feet 6 inches in length as well as in breadth is numbered platform No. 3. While the intermediate platform which was discovered last in 1941 and which measures about 93 feet by 93 feet is alluded to as platform No. 2. The total surviving height of the whole monument is nearly 32 feet above
its original ground level. Platform No. 2 and platform No. 3 resemble each other in the size and texture of their bricks, the style of masonry and the ornamental design of their face work. Obsviously therefore they constitute one and the same structure. Platform No. 1 however differs in all these respects. Its bricks are thicker, coarser and better baked than those of the other two platforms. The face work of platform No. 1 is plain and simple, while that of platforms Nos. 2 and 3 is more ornate. Platform No. 1 had completely encased platform No. 2. Platform No. 1 is therefore apparently a later addition. Thus there are two stages in the construction of the monument.

The three high solid platforms rising one upon another which emerged out of these excavations led at first sight to the supposition that they were the remains of a Buddhist Stupa. But no sculpture, terra-cotta object or any other antiquity found among the many things which were unearthed in the diggings, relates to Buddhism. In fact not a single Buddhist antiquity with the exception of a solitary
votive figurine of seated Buddha of about the 8th century A.D. has been met with so far, anywhere among the ruins of Padmavati. On the other hand, all the stone sculptures or carvings, and *terra-cotta* figures or mouldings recovered in the excavations depict either Brahmanical or secular subjects. Therefore the conclusion is irresistible that the monument which has come to light is the remnant of a Hindu temple. Platform No. 3 which is at the top is the shrine. It is set on a high platform or plinth now represented by platforms Nos. 1 and 2. The shrine is surrounded on all sides by wide open space which may have served as a *pra-dakshina-patha* or circumambulatory passage and also as a court-yard. Judging from the decorative pilasters and arches on the faces of platforms Nos. 2 and 3, whose forms are later than those of pillars and *chaitya* arches found in cave architecture of the 2nd century A.D., but are definitely earlier than those prevalent in the Gupta architecture of the 5th century, the date of at least the earlier stage of the temple can be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. This date is confirmed by the
style of the stone carvings and of the terra-cotta figures yielded by the excavations, most of which appear to belong to the earlier monument. Temple architecture was yet in its early stage, the Sabhamandapa (or hall) and Sikhara (or spire) had not yet evolved. It is therefore natural that no traces of these have been found. The walls of the temple must have been adorned with terra-cotta mouldings and figures a large number of which were recovered from the debris but none of them were found in situ. The temple may have been sacred to Vishnu as would appear from a stone image of that god which has been discovered in the excavations and which may have been the object of worship in the shrine. But this conjecture is hardly supported by other finds among which Saiva representations are as numerous as Vaishnava. A fragment of a beautifully carved stone lintel of a huge gateway has been exhumed in the excavations. It was lying buried in ground on the east side of the mound. It shows that the entrance to the temple was from the east and that it passed through a stone gateway. Although no other component parts of the gate-
way have unfortunately survived, the one piece which has come to light shows that the gateway was somewhat like the gateways of the great *Stupa* at Sanchi in size as well as in general design, making an allowance for the difference of style due to difference of age. The plam capital which was found lying just near this place before the excavations, evidently crowned a monolithic pillar which stood in front of this temple. It also appears that another monolithic pillar stood somewhere in this locality. For another capital which consists of two human figures standing back to back, facing in opposite directions, has been picked up from a neighbouring field. There is a wheel or halo of luster between the heads of the two figures which thus very probably represent the Sun-god, one figure personifying the morning Sun and the other the evening Sun. The shafts of both the pillars are missing.

It is already stated above that the temple as it now stands shows two distinct stages or periods in its construction. An earlier temple which consisted of platforms Nos. 2 and 3 has been extended by a later addition in the
form of platform No. 1. The earlier temple built in ornate style and decorated with terracotta mouldings and figures is thus encased with a huge platform up of plain masonry. There is not much difference in the bottom levels of the foundations of the two structures, showing that their ages are separated only by a short interval. The original inner temple was probably constructed in the second half of the 3rd or in the first half of the 4th century A.D., in the reign of one of the Naga kings who seems to be represented by an almost life-size stone statue found in the excavations. The later addition was probably made in the 5th century A.D. as appears from the palæography of short inscriptions incised on two bricks which resemble the bricks of platform No. 1, and which were recovered from debris. It is difficult to say why an ornamentally constructed temple was afterwards encased within a box of plain masonry. The addition does not appear to have been necessitated by exigencies of engineering. For, the faces of platform No. 2 wherever they were exposed showed no signs of bulging or disrepair.
During the operations of excavation a portion of platform No. 1 at the north-west corner was removed in order to find out the complete design of the face of platform No. 2. For the benefit and convenience of visitors, this opening was kept exposed to view, the entrance door was constructed and flights of steps were provided at convenient places. These are some of the measures adopted by the Archæological Department at the time of conserving the monument and should not be mistaken as original features of the excavated temple.

**STONE SCULPTURES**

Among the stone sculptures found at the site of Padmavati the following are the more important:—

1. Yaksha Manibhadra, 2. Palm capital, 3. Double faced Sun capital, 4. Vishnu, 5. Naga (king ?) and 6. Piece of huge lintel of a gateway. The first three were found lying above ground, and the last three were excavated. All the sculptures with the exception of the statue of Manibhadra date from the early Gupta period. All of them are now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior. The
earliest of the sculptures is a life size image in the round, of Yaksha Manibhadra (plate V) standing on a pedestal which bears an inscription. The head is broken off and missing. The right hand which was raised up to the shoulder is badly damaged. The left hand hangs down and holds a purse. The figure is pot-bellied (Pot belly and purse are common features of the images of Yakshas). The scared thread passes across the belly. There is a rich necklace round the neck with its knot and tassels on the back. The dress consists of a waist cloth and scarf. Manibhadra is a brother of Kubera the treasurer of gods, and this figure of Manibhadra has all features of a rich money-lender. The inscription on the pedestal is in sanskrit written in Brahmi characters of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. which confirms the (Kushan) style of the sculpture. The inscription records that the idol was installed by some members of an association in the 4th regnal year of king Sivanandi (see page 4 above). This is a relic of Yaksha worship which seems to have prevailed in those days.

The sculpture next in importance is the palm capital. (plate VI) It is a copy of the top of a
palm tree, having three courses of leaves, an unopened bud at the top, and bunches of fruit in the interval of leaves. There is an animal sitting on one of the leaves. The surface is fairly well polished. The sculpture is in a mutilated condition. Some of the leaves, and the head of the animal are broken off, which makes it difficult to identify the animal. A mortice hole bored in the bottom clearly shows that the capital crowned a pillar. It is a rare sculpture. Pieces of a somewhat similar palm capital have been found only at Vīdisa, which are also preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior.

The double faced Sun capital has already been described (see page 18 above and plate VII). A similar capital is seen on the top of the Gupta pillar which is still standing at Eran. The two pillars of Yasodharman at Mandasor also, probably bore similar capitals, the double faced head of one of which has been recovered.

The idol of Vishnu is four armed. The lower right hand is raised up in abhaya-mudra and bears the Padma symbol on the palm. The upper right hand is placed on the handle of the mace (gāda). The upper left hand
holding the wheel (chakra) is also raised up. The lower left hand which holds the conch (Sankha) is let down. The head which wore a crown, and the face, are damaged. Among the ornaments on the body are seen a necklace and bracelets. A waist cloth and a scarf going across the thighs and over the left shoulder, make up the dress. The legs below the knees are missing. This idol of Vishnu may have been the object of worship in the excavated temple (see page 17 above).

The Naga sculpture is (plate VIII) a hand somely modelled and polished life size figure now badly damaged, the face, hands and legs having broken off. A serpent which held its seven hoods as a canopy over the head of the statue is also badly mutilated. The dress consists of a close fitting waist cloth and a folded scarf tied round the waist. The ear-rings and necklace traces of which are clearly seen indicate that the statue represents a distinguished personage probably a Naga king who was the builder or donor of the temple.

The last and the artistically most interesting piece of sculpture in the group is the frag-
ment of a huge gateway lintel. Its both faces are beautifully carved, depicting scenes from Hindu mythology, and a dance accompanied by music. The mythological subjects represent the sacrifice of the demon king Bali, the taking of three strides by Vishnu, the churning of the ocean by gods and demons, and the six faced god Kartikeya standing surrounded by attendants. On one face the central scene depicts Bali's sacrifice in a three storeyed Yajnasala or sacrificial hall. On the ground floor of the hall are shown the sacrificial fire, the beast to be sacrificed tied to a post, and Bali accompanied by his queen and priests, sitting beside the fire. In the right corner is carved Bali pouring water on the hand of Vamana (Vishnu as a dwarf) in token of granting the desired boon, in spite of the dissuasion of his preceptor Sukracharya who is standing behind him (Bali). Inset in panels on the two upper storeys, are ladies witnessing the sacrifice. In the panel flanking on the right which is half broken, is the figure of Vishnu who has assumed a huge form and is taking the three strides. In the upper left corner of this panel is seen the moon-god in a chariot drawn by stags.
The panel flanking on the left contains a charming scene (plate IX) which depicts a woman dancing amidst a troupe of woman companions playing on different instruments of music such as Vina, violin, flute, drum and cymbals. The scene which is full of life is a superb specimen of the sculptor's art. On the other face of the lintel are carved the churning of the Ocean in one panel, and god Kartikeya in the other (for mythological study of this piece of sculpture see Dr. D.R. Patil's paper in *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*.)

**Terra cotta objects**

Padmavati excavations have yielded some very beautiful *terra-cotta* finds. They are mostly fragments. Whole figures are very rare. There are numerous human busts and heads with beautiful face expressions, head dresses and fine arrangements of hair (plate X). One head wears a crown. There are weeping faces and smiling faces. One face represents a boisterous laugh. There are torsos showing different modes of dress and ornaments, and fragments depicting different poses of body, hands and feet. Figures of animals such as elephants and horses with or without a rider, monkeys, birds such as pigeons and parrots, and
fishes, are not wanting. The figures of gods and goddesses comprise Brahma and the lower portion of a goddess riding a lion (Parvati). The Padmavati terracottas are specimens of fully developed art of clay modelling, and can bear comparison with contemporary terra cottas found in the excavations at Rajghat or elsewhere. These are now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior.

**Coins.**

Strangely enough, no pottery nor coins have been found in these excavations. But thousands of Naga coins have been collected from the surface of the ruins at Padmavati, and representative specimens are preserved in the coin cabinet of the Gwalior Archæological Museum. In fact this is the largest and richest collection of Naga coins existing in any museum. The Naga coins are small in size. On one face they bear the legend which merely mentions the personal and family name of the king. On the other face there is some symbol. In a few cases one face bears a symbol and the other face bears another symbol together with the legend. The titles Maharaja Sri or Adhiraja Sri are prefixed to the names of kings in the legends.

The names of Naga kings as known from the Padmavati coins with their respective
symbols without legends except in special cases are given below:—

Name of king

Symbol

(a) Bull to right.
(b) Bull to left.
(c) Trisula.
(d) Bull to right. obverse.

Legend and Trisula reverse
(e) Bull to left. obverse.

Legend and Trisula reverse.

(f) Trisula obverse.

Legend Maharaja Sri Bhava reverse.
(g) Trisula obverse.

Legend Adhiraja S’ri Bhava Na reverse.
(h) Circle of dots.

1 Bhava

Peacock to left.

2 Bhima

(a) Bull to right.
(b) Bull to left.

3 Brihaspati;

(c) Peacock to left.
(d) Trisula with Parasu.

4 Deva

(a) Bull.
(b) Wheel.

(a) Bull to right.
(b) Bull to left.

5 Ganapati or Ganendra

(c) Tree within a circle of dots.
(d) Bull to left. obverse.

Maharaja Sri Ganendra reverse
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Bull to right.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Bull to left.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Lion to right.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Lion to left.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Prabhakara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Bull to right.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Loin to left.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Pum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Bull to right.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Peacock to left.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Skanda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Vasu</td>
<td>Peacock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Vibhu</td>
<td>Bull and goad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Virasena?</td>
<td>Bull and goad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Vrisha</td>
<td>Bull front.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Vyaghra</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coins obtained from Padmavati give us the names of not less than 13 Naga kings. The *Harshacharita* tells us that Nagasena met destruction at Padmavati. This was probably a 14th Naga ruler. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions still another king named Nagadatta. The names of 15 Naga kings are thus known. Whether there were three different Naga kingdoms with their capitals at Padmavati, Kantipuri and Mathura and if so, which of the above-named kings ruled over which of the three capitals is yet doubtful.
APPENDIX

Some literary references to Padmavati

I. From the Puranas

नाब्र नागास्तु सहक्रयति पुरीं पथावतिः नृपः
मधुराच पुरीं: रथ्यां नागा सहक्रयति सप्त वे ॥


II. From the Harsha-charita

नागकुलजनम्: सरिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यसामीश्रीको नागसेनस्य पद्धाब्याम् ॥

III. From the Malati-madhava

मकरन्दः (माधवं प्रति):—

तदुरुस्तः पारासिन्धुसंभेचमवाहु नगरीभव प्रविष्ठावः ॥

सौवामीनी:— ॥

पप्पावती विमलवारिविशालसिन्धुपारासिन्धुसरितिपरिकरणकल्लो बिभारि
उन्लक्ष्मीपुरभेंविरोपघुरा: संघंवावितविवृत्तमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥

अपिच

सैवा विभाषी लवणा ललितोपमांकित—

अयस्मातौ भवन्तः: सिन्धोरावितरसातसलस्तप्राप्तः ॥
IV. From the *Sarasvati-kanthabharana*

पुर: पारशुपारा सत्तइव विहार: पुरवर्त
तत: सिन्धु: सिन्धु: फाणिपत्ववं पावनमत:
तवपे तुवशो गीरिरिति गीतिस्तत्त्व, पुरतो
विशाला शालामिलोऽविललतवनार्थविजयते॥

V. From a *Khajuraho* inscription

आलीप्रतिमा विमानभवनंराभिषिता भूतले
लोकानामधिपेन भूमिपतिना पघोत्यवंशेन या ।
केनायेह नवे शिष्टा इतयुगं ताल्लुः भूयते
सच्चात्रेः यथाता पुराणपद्दुः: पणावती प्रशोच्यते॥
SURROUNDINGS
OF
PADMĀVATĪ
Dhumesvar Mahadeva temple.
Water-fall in the Sindh river.
Image of Yaksha Manibhadra,
(now in Archl. Museum, Gwalior.)
Palm capital.
(now in Archl. Museum, Gwalior.)
Sun capital
(now in Archl. Museum, Gwalior)
Naga king, back view
(now in Archi. Museum, Gwalior.)
Scene of dance on gateway lintel.
(now in the Archl. Museum, Gwalior)
Terra cotta bust of a woman (now in Archl. Museum, Gwalior.)
CATALOGUED.