THE JOURNAL OF THE
U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(उत्तरप्रदेश इतिहासपरिषद पत्रिका)

Vol. V (N. S.) Part I

EDITOR
C. D. CHATTERJEE

Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Lucknow.

PUBLISHED BY THE HONY. SECRETARY,
U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1957
CONTENTS

Pages

1. The Synthesis of Tántrika Culture—By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. .. .. 1

2. Ceramics of Sarnath—By Sri Adris Banerji, M.A. .. 17

3. The Bull in Indian Art and Literature—By Sri O. P. Sharma, M.A. .. .. 22

4. The Sage Agasti, His Life and Work—By Dr. N. P. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D. .. .. 30

5. Non-rusting of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar at Delhi—By Dr. (Mrs.) Urmila Agarwal, M.A., Ph.D. .. .. 37

6. Date of the Indus Civilization—By Sri K. N. Sastri, M.A., M. O. L. .. .. 39

7. Kośa in the Smṛitis—By Dr. R. K. Dikshit, M.A., Ph.D. 48
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Hūṇas in the Post-Harsha Period</td>
<td>Dr. B. N. Puri, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gomukha Yaksha</td>
<td>Sri U. C. Bhattacharya, M.A.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>War and its Legality in Ancient India</td>
<td>Dr. S. L. Pande, M.A. Ph.D. (Luck)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>History of the Maukharis of Kanauj during the 7th cent. A.D.</td>
<td>Sri B. N. Srivastava, M.A.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Numismatic Studies—III, Some Unique Gold and Brass Coins of the Imperial Guptas;</td>
<td>Prof. C. D. Chatterjee, M.A. (Cal.)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>नामितिकिम को एक नव प्राप्त प्रतिमा</td>
<td>Sri M. M. Nagar, M.A., F.S.A. (Lond.)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Report of the Hony. Secretary for the year 1956-57</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Statement of Accounts, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>v-vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SYNTHESIS OF TĀNTRIKA CULTURE

By

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee.

Indebtedness of Tāntrikism to the Veda, Sāṅkhya and Vedānta

The worship of the sexual and the female principle is as ancient as the Indus Valley civilization. In the R̄igveda there are many female divinities such as trio of Ilā, Bhārāu and Sarasvatī which are other names of Agni or Vāk (knowledge) in the respective spheres of the earth, space and heaven, and who form the essence and matrix (yoni) of all the gods. In the Upanishads and Brāhmanical literature we have Umā Haimavatī as the embodiment of the knowledge of Brahman (Brahma Vidyā) while the metaphysical conception of Śakti or the female energy of the divinity as underlying the manifoldness of consciousness, creation and destruction gains ground. The sexual dichotomy in the 129th sūkta of the R̄igveda (10th maṇḍala, fourth and fifth mantram) which speaks of the self-supporting principle r̄ımneath (svadhā) and energy aloft is the genesis of the later ramifications of Purusha and Prakṛti, Brahman and Māyā, knower and the field of knowledge, and Śiva and Śakti in Brāhmanical thought.

In the Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad, we find the metaphysical doctrine that in the beginning of creation the Ātman was alone. But the Ātman became desirous and sought enjoyment. It then divided
itself into the male and the female. From this union proceeded crea-
tion. The Purāṇas saw not merely a proliferation of gods but also of
goddesses on the basis of the ancient cosmogenic differentiation of the
Absolute into the sexes—Purusha and Prakṛiti, Brahman and Māyā-
Sakti. The metaphysical background of religious reconciliation and
synthesis of both the Purāṇas and Tantras was the absolute, uncondi-
tioned Brahman or Supreme Being which manifests itself in the triple
forms of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva due to the interplay of the three
metaphysical principles (guṇas)—sattva, rajas and tamas—and of the
corresponding primal goddesses, Sarva, Lakshmi and Pārvatī. In the
Gupta age of synthesis the Bhagavad-Gītā obtained its formal
shape—the most remarkable synoptic scripture of all faiths and reli-
gious practices of India. This religious synthesis came through the
penetration of the fundamental metaphysical principles of the Śaṅkhya
and Vedānta philosophy (Kapila and Apanishadics, as these were
called by Bāṇa) into the doctrines of the different religious sects. It
was in the Gupta period that the sexual dichotomy of Purusha and
Prakṛiti of the Śaṅkhya philosophical system and of Brahman and
Māyā of the Vedānta was made the basis of Tāntrikism, Śiva and
Śakti having the same role or function as Purusha and Prakṛiti. Pra-
kṛiti or Māyā is in ancient Brāhmanical thought, Existence and
Becoming as well as the dynamism of the Supreme Being, Brahman
or Purusha. Thus all the gods of the world surrender to the Primor-
dial Feminine—Śakti or Devī. In the invocation of the poet Kālidāsa
at the beginning of the Raghuvamśaḥ, we find the inseparableness of
the Creators of the Universe, of Śiva and Pārvatī, of the Unity in
duality, the fundamental notion of Tāntrika culture. In the Bhaga-
vad-Gītā we have also the conception of the Supreme Being as the
Seed-bearer and Prakṛiti as the matrix of the Universe. The Nīṣvāsa
Tattva which was considered an authoritative text in the 8th century
and even prior to it, shows the debt of Tāntrikism to the Vedānta
and Śaṅkhya systems. In the Mūlasūtra the Devī says that she has
learnt the doctrines of the Vedānta and the twenty-five Śaṅkhyas,
and now desires to learn the Śivatattva. The Purāṇas prepared the
ground for the evolution of the Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa and Śiva-Śakti
cults which the Tantras fully utilised with the added orientation of
absolute monism from the new Vedānta philosophy. The Gupta
inscription dated 458 A.D. of Mahārāja Bhīma Varman found at
Kosam shows the inscription of his name on a pedestal, having figures of both Śiva and Pārvatī standing. A Vaishnava sculpture at Udaigiri of 401 A.D. shows both the four-armed Vishnu and the twelve-armed Laksñmi together. Many Gupta coins depict both Vishnu’s Vahana, Gaurḍa or his wheel (Chakra) and his consort Laksñmi.

Tantrikism as a Synthetizing Theory and Practice

The emphasis of the female principle, grounded in the theory of Purusha and Prakṛti, Brahman and Māyā, was greatly amplified and systematised by Tāntrikism. Tāntrika culture interpreted the contemplative consciousness or Brāhmanical chit and Buddhist viññānam and the bliss or Brāhmanical ānanda and Buddhist mahāsukha aspect of the Reality as Sakti. By doing so it became a bridge between the Brāhmanical meditation of sat and the Buddhist meditation of the void (śūnya or vajra). Its emphasis being largely emotional and mystical in the worship of a personal deity, Tāntrika psycho-physical discipline, especially the concentration on the nādīs and chakras, came to be a fresh synthetizing and unifying factor. Yoga practice had been the common denominator of all Indian faiths and creeds, and Tāntrikism is a system of co-ordination of various kinds of yoga exercises and procedures that represented the cumulative tradition of the age in the sphere of contemplation. All Hindu as well as Buddhist religious sects gradually came under the ambit of Tāntrika metaphysical assumptions of the inseparableness of the masculine and feminine principles in the cosmos, and the awakening of the female principle in the human body through contemplation and ritual and its system of psycho-physical control and regulation of the body and state of consciousness through a variety of symbolic formulae (mantrams), diagrams (yantrams), sacred circles (chakras) symbolical movements and postures (mudrās) and exercises of contemplation with or, in the very midst of sense-enjoyment. The Gupta age witnessed indeed a great vogue of worship of numerous energies or Saktis of the great gods conceived as feminine deities.

In the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad which first expounds in theistic strain among the Upanishads the importance of the worship of Śiva identified with the Supreme Reality and enjoins intense devotion, Sakti is also mentioned “as manifold, as inherent, acting as energy and
knowledge". In the Kaivalya we find a mention of Umā as the pro-
tectress of the Supreme Lord. Meanwhile Saktism found its expression
in the arts. Gaja-Lakshmi and Śrī-mā are sculptured at Barhut about
the first and second centuries B.C. The goddess Śrī standing on the
lotus and holding the same flower is found in the Pañchāla coin of
Bhadraghoshtha of the 2nd century B.C. and in the Gandhāra coin
of Agasus of the 1st century B.C. A Huvishka coin of the 2nd century
A.D. shows Umeśa or Śiva and Nana or Umā holding the cornu-
copiae. As early as the reign of Kumāragupta I (418-455) we find
a sculpture of the seven mothers (Mātrikās) in Vidiśā (modern
Besnagar), preserved now in the Gwalior museum and the inscrip-
tion refers to the performance of Tāntrika rites that stir up great com-
motion on the earth along with the joyous shouts of the Dākinīs. Thus
it was in the early centuries A.D. that Saktism became a separate
faith, and gradually penetrated into Śaivism, Vaishnāvism and
Buddhism. Bhagavatī, Mahisha-mardini, Pārvatī, Lakshmi,
Kātyāyanī, Vaishnāvī and Sarasvatī are among the forms of worship
of Śakti found in Gupta coins and inscriptions. In the middle of
the 5th century A.D., we find a sculpture of Śiva-Pārvatī installed in
Kosam in Allahabad district.

The Worship of Lakshmi or Śrī-devī in Ancient Brāhmanism and Buddhism

In the Mahābhārata, Śakti is Sarasvatī or Sāvitri, the wife of
Brahmā and daughter of the Sun. She is the impersonation of the
Vedic Rita, the cosmic law or order of the universe and of the moral
norm in the conscience of man. Sarasvatī and Bhāratī are the first
and most ancient forms of Śakti in Brāhmanism. In Kālidāsa
Sarasvatī and Bhāratī become identical—she is the consort of Brahmā, the goddess of Speech and Wisdom. In the Gupta period
she was often depicted in sculpture with viṇā, scripture and aksha-
sūtra in her hands. The epic also speaks in reverence of Lakshmi
or Śrī, the consort of Vishṇu, Kṛśṇa or Nārāyaṇa. Lakshmi is also
Mahādevi or the bountiful Earth. Lakshmi was worshipped by both
Hindus and Buddhists even before the Christian era. The Mārkaṇ-
deya Purāṇa has a whole section devoted to Devi and her glories
(Devī Māhātmya). The goddess has various manifestations, such as
Kauśikī, Durgā, Lakshmi, Sarasvatī and Kālī, and like Kṛśṇa in
the Bhagavad-Gītā, and the Bodhisattva in the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka,
gives to suffering and distracted humanity, oppressed by the titans (dānavas), the heartening promise of her repeated incarnations in the future. The major gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda here have power only by the power of the Devi; each god has his female counterpart, Brāhmaṇi, Vaishṇavī, Śivāni and Kaumārī. This was reiterated later by the Kubjikā Tantra, which is dated from the 7th century at latest. "Not Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra create, maintain or destroy; but Brāhmaṇi, Vaishṇavī, Rudrāṇi. Their husbands are but as dead bodies".

The image of Lakṣmī is represented on the Barhut Tope and also in certain silver coins of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula of Mathura. But the cults of Lakṣmī, Pārvatī or Durgā and Śrī besides Vāsudeva came into great vogue under the Imperial Guptas at the centre of Vaishṇava worship. In Kālidāsa we have frequent references to the worship of Lakṣmī and Pārvatī, along with the seven mothers (mātrīḥ), Lakṣmī is represented in Kālidāsa's Kāvya as well as in Gupta sculpture as massaging the feet of Vishṇu reclining under the hood of the serpent. Sister Nivedita suggests that the enthronement of Lakṣmī, Bhūdevī or Bhumidevī or the Earth, who is called Vaishṇavī is paralleled by the prominent position held by the queens in the Gupta inscriptions and on the Gupta coins. This was associated, according to her, with a strong movement for the assertion of the rights of women in the Gupta period. In the Kathāsaritsāgara, Ratnaprabhā protests against the strict seclusion of women as "mere social custom or folly brought about by male jealousy"; "women of good family", she adds, "are guarded by their own virtue as their only monitor, while even God himself can scarcely guard the evil women". Raychaudhuri discerns "the influence of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of Purusha and Prakṛti on the Neo-Vaishṇavism in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa cult". The numismatic evidence, according to him, seems to point to the fact that the worship of Pallas and other Greek goddesses had something to do with the wide diffusion of the cult of Śrī. On Rājuvula's coin mentioned above Lakṣmī sometimes takes the place of Pallas on the reverse.

The Worship of Umā, Pārvatī or Chaṇḍī

The third form of Śakti is Umā, Haimavatī or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himalayas, who it was that could tell Indra what Brahman
was according to the Kenopanishad. The Mahābhārata describes her as four-faced like the male member of the Triad. She is the great goddess (Mahādevi or Māheśvari) identical with Sarasvatī and Śāvitri, the mother of the Vedas and the source of all knowledge or revelation. In the Gupta period, Kālidāsa in his benedictory verse in the Raghuvrāmaṇa bows to Pārvatī and her spouse, Paramesvara (Śiva) describing them as inseparable like word and its meaning. This is the essence of Tāntrika worship. Even as early as the Gupta period the traditional Vaishnāvism and Śaivism were transformed into Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa and Śiva-Śakti cults. From Bāṇa we gather that not only were Śaivism (worship of Nila-lohita i.e., Rudra-Śiva) and Tāntrika worship associated with the imperial household, and, in the imperial city of Kanauj Chaṇḍī and Mahākāla were worshipped, but there were also the unorthodox devotees of Durgā and the sect of Kāpālikas with their chaplets of bones round their heads and necks, inhabiting holes and crevices of the rocks. Tāntrikism had, then, by the beginning of the 7th century, its Right and Left Hands. Bāṇa’s own Chaṇḍī-sataka, Harsha’s worship of Śiva (also called Śambhu and Hara) and Girijā (also called Gaurī) and the citizens’ worship of Mahākāla and Chaṇḍī are illustrations of the first mode of worship. The Kāpālika’s worship mentioned by Bāṇa and Hiuen-Tsang is an illustration of the second. A century later Bhavabhūti’s Mālatī-Mādhava gives a vivid description of the worship and magical practices of the Kāpālikas of that time. In a few panels and plaques in the U. P. and Bengal as well as in the South, assigned to the Gupta period, we encounter the motif of a devotee cutting off his own head —self-immolation before the goddess Durgā. Both the protective aspect of the goddess as Pārvatī, Bhavāni or Gaurī and her terrible aspect as Durgā and Kāli were widely recognised as early as the Gupta age. In Rājaśekhara’s Karpūramaṇjarī of the 10th century we have a description of the Feast of the Swing on which a girl mounts in honour of the goddess, Gaurī, the charming beneficent aspect of Devī.

The Worship of Tārā in Buddhism

Buddhism of the Mahāyāna school, coming in close contact with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, soon associated Śakti with Avalokiteśvara-Tārā, Ārya-Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā. Hiuen-Tsang found at a monastery twenty miles west of Nālandā, which was the "rendezvous of emi-
ñenti scholars who flocked to it from all religions", an image of Bodhisattva Tārā (masculine) by the left of the image of Avalokiteśvara. This must have been a feminine deity. The origin of Tārā is obscure. She is certainly a Buddhist divinity later on assimilated into the Hindu Śakti cult in Eastern India, in all probability through the teaching of Ārya Nāgārjuna from Chinese Tibet (Mahā-Chinadesa). Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā occupies the same place in Mahāyāna Buddhism that Sarasvatī or Pārvatī occupies in Hinduism. Her worship became popular among the Buddhists in India from the 7th century A.D., her images being found all over India including the classic land of Magadha as well as in Sarnath (where the images of various Tārās including Ekajatā or Nila Tārā, Khadiravaraṇī Tārā and Vajra Tārā became numerous from the 10th century A.D.) and in South-east Asia. The earliest Tārā image in Sarnath is that of Bhṛikuṭi-Tārā with a Gupta aureole, that is assigned to the 7th century A.D. In the cave temples of Western India such as Nasik, Ajanta, Aurangabad and Ellora, she is found in association with similar figures, Lochanā and Māmikī consorts of other Bodhisattvas.

But the introduction of the worship of Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā was something far different from the Tāṇtriaka culture in later Buddhism and Hinduism, based on the root idea of spiritual discipline of Yoga and samādhi through the transmutation and consecration of Śakti as woman or sex. The Buddha is mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya as rebuking certain schools of the Brāhmaṇa Parivrājakas for their sexo-yogic practices. But later Buddhism in Eastern India under the influence of the Buddhist Siddhas developed the sexo-yogic cult of Prajñā and Upāya on the lines of Tāṇtriaka Śiva-Śakti worship.

The Tāṇtriaka discipline is a relatively recent development in the history of Indian religions, which seems to have originated in Bengal within the fold of Mahāyāna Buddhism that subsequently spread it throughout India and Nepal, Tibet, China and South-east Asia. In the Kathā Vatthu we read that religious sanction was accorded by certain Buddhist teachers or sects to an ideal conjugal life in the sense that the husband and the wife are united with one and the same lofty motive (Ekadhippayo māthuno dhāmmo, paṭisevitabbo). Such maithuna was no doubt prohibited for the order of monks. But due
to the influence of Tāntrikism Mahāyāna gradually adopted the cult of the Female Principle in contemplation and ritual. We find an image of Tārā in the district of Bogra, belonging to the reign of Devapāla who flourished about the beginning of the 9th century. Several images of Tārā, Nairātmā and Bāgeshvari belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries have been found in Nālandā and Southern Bihar. In the 11th century, images of Tārā were installed in Somapura in North Bengal “to dispel entirely the eight great dreads of the people”. Figures of Vajrayāna image, the dancing Heruka with his garland of skulls and Hevajra in Yab-yum attitude with his consort Tārā dated the 11th century, have been found in Paharpur. The monastery of Jagaddala, founded by Rāmapāla, the last of the Pāla kings, had images of Avalokiteśvara and Mahā-Tārā. In a Bengal manuscript dated 1015 A.D. the famous Tārā image of Chandragupta is illustrated. To this period belong also the images of Buddhist Tārā of Samataṭa and Tārā o Dhondai. The images of the Pāla period often show a Hevajra embraced by his female consort Tārā, indicating the influence of Tāntrika doctrine.

**Buddhist Tāntrikism as Reaction against Mahāyāna Dogma and Ritual**

Bihar, Northern and Eastern Bengal, including a part of Assam, comprise a compact culture-area where most of the Vajrayāna images—Tārā in her different forms, Mārichi, Parna-Śavari, Chuṇḍā, Hevajra, Heruka and Vāgīśvari—are found in India. On the Vajrayāna art and worship of Nepal and Tibet the influence of this cultural area is clearly discernible. Tāntrika literature includes the Sādhanaśas, comprising the descriptions of deities, mantras and mudrās for the purposes of meditation and worship. These served also as the basis of the construction of images by sculptors and painters. The monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā (Patharghata in Bhagalpur), Odantapurī (town of Bihar) and Somapurī (Paharpur) were the principal foci of the Vajrayāna cult from the 7th century to the Muslim conquest, while many Siddhas or Vajrayāna yogic adepts, well known in the Tibetan tradition, came from this part of India. The last phase of development of Buddhism from the 7th century A.D. to the advent of Islam was fashioned almost wholly in the Buddhist monasteries of Bengal, especially under the Pāla kings, save the monasteries of Nālandā and Sarnath in Magadha. A string of Buddhist monasteries
and temples was scattered throughout the length and breadth of Bengal: the monasteries of Bha-ra-ha in Tāmralipti (described by I-tsing), Po-shi-po in Puṣṭravardhāna (near Mahāsthāna), Lo-to-mo-chi in Karṇaśuvarṇa (Rangamati Kansana in Murshidabad), the monasteries of Samātaṭa, Vikramaśīla, Odantapurī, Somapuri, Jagaddala (in Rāmāvatī on the confluence of the Ganges and Kana-toyā), Vikramapurī (Vikramapur, Dacca), Traikūṭaka (West Bengal), Devīkoṭa (North Bengal), Phullahari, Śānṇagara Paṇḍita (Chittā-gong) and Paṭṭikera (Tipperah). A large number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan at Vikramaśīla. Abhayakaragupta, author of Kāla-chakrāvatāra, and of more than twenty Vajrayāna texts and Divākarakachandra, author of a Heruka-Sādhanā, belonged to Vikramaśīla. The Odantapurī monastery became famous for its library. Atisa Dipaṅkara lived for sometime in the vihāra of Somapuri. Āchārya Bodhibhadra was one of the celebrated scholars of this vihāra. Kumārachandra, also called Avadhūta, was a celebrity of Vikramapurī, where he wrote a Tāntrika commentary, Abhisamayālaṃkāra, translated into Tibetan by Puṇyadvaja. In the Traikūṭaka vihāra, Haribhadra wrote a famous commentary on the Ashṭa-Sāhasrika-Prajñā-Pāramitā. Atulya-Vajra was a celebrity in the monastery of Devīkoṭa. Tailapāda, famous Tāntrika scholar and his disciple Nādapāda, author of a commentary on the Vajra-pāda-sāra Saṅgraha, belonged to the monastery of Paṇḍita. In the last celebrated monastery of Bengal, that of Jagaddala, established by the last great Pāla king Rāmapāla, flourished Vibhūti Chandra, Dānaśīla, Mokshakaragupta and Subhakaragupta. Jagaddala was an important place where many important Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works were prepared. The presiding deities at this monastery were Avalokiteśvara and Mahā-Tārā. Oḍḍiyana, probably Vajrayogini in Dacca district, was also another important seat of Buddhist learning. There were also many other smaller monasteries whose names have been forgotten or which cannot now be identified by scholars like P. C. Bagchi and S. N. Dasgupta. Monks and scholars from Tibet, Nepal and Indonesia came to these Vihāras for study and translation of the various Buddhist Tāntrika and other texts and commentaries. Mahāyāna was largely metaphysical till the middle of the 7th century when Hiuen-Tsang visited Bihar and Bengal. But gradually the mystic and esoteric aspects overshadowed
the metaphysical. This was the transformation from the Mahāyāna to the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna led by the great professors of the universitites and the Siddhas and poets of the various Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna lyrics of Bengal. A multiplicity of gods and goddesses has left its impress upon the abundance of new types of images in Bengal, mostly belonging to the period 9th-11th centuries and the vernacular mystic poetry (charyāpadas) characterised by an elaborate, and now obscure symbolism. Prajñā (wisdom), Vajra (Void), Mahāsukha (bliss), all become identical manifestations of the Bodhicchitta or the Śakti of Tāntrikism. The union of Prajñā (wisdom) and Upāya (Works or compassion) formed the background of contemplation in the later phases of Buddhism, such as the Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālachakrayāna, all reacting against the academic predilection and ritualism of the Mahāyāna.

**Foreign Influences in Tāntrikism**

In the famous Mahāyāna patriarch Asaṅga’s Sūtrālaṅkāra (4th and 5th century A.D.) written in that melting pot of races and cultures in the north-west, viz., Gandhāra, we already find the penetration of Tāntrika notion and practice into Buddhist worship. One of its verses mentions that “in the parāvrītti of sexual union supreme greatness is obtained viz., in the enjoyment of Buddha-happiness and in looking without impure thoughts at a wife.” Sylvain Levi suggests that the parāvrītti of sexual act alludes to the mystic couples of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which have so much importance in Tāntrikism. P.C. Bagchi points out, however, that since parāvrītti is mentioned in connection with the last stages in the spiritual march of the Bodhisattva, it can possibly have no sexual import because here the mind rises above all agitation and illusion and reaches profound stability (śāsvatam) and bliss (bauddhasaukhyaavihāra). Coomaraswamy also explains parāvrītti as transformation or reversal. The analogy of the supreme bliss of contemplation with the enjoyment of sexual behaviour (maithuna) is, however, as old as Yājñavalkya and was taken over some time or other by the Mahāyāna patriarchs. B.M. Barua considers that the development of the later Buddhist Vajriya sect or Vajrayāna admitting the importance of the Dhāraṇīs, and cherishing the secret doctrine in the Vajira or Uttarāpatha was due, partly at least, to the influence of Mazdeism or Magism which, as
known to Prodicus the Gnostic and the Neo-Platonists and to Xenophon as a confidential teaching possessed secret books or hidden science.

\textit{Vasish\i tha \textit{vis-a-vis} N\text{"a}g\~{a}rjuna as the Founder of T\text{"a}ntrikism}

The Brahm\~{a}nda Pur\~{a}na which is relatively new, however, ascribes antiquity to the Tantra ritual by mentioning that its founder was Agasya who learnt the details of worship of Sr\~{i}vidy\~{a}, the goddess of Wisdom, from Hayagr\~{i}va, a manifestation of Vish\~{n}u obviously of foreign extraction. Lop\~{a}mudr\~{a}, his wife, became well-known through her worship of Sr\~{i}vidy\~{a}, the mantra, through which she gave her wisdom being still known by her name. Similarly Vasish\~{t}ha, often recognised as the father of T\text{"a}ntrikism, is said to have obtained his supreme knowledge not before her worship of the goddess T\text{"a}r\~{a}. Foreign influences are indicated by the observation in the T\text{"a}r\~{a} Tantra, which is adopted by both Hinduism and Buddhism, that the cult of China-T\text{"a}r\~{a} came from the country from Mah\~{a}-Ch\text{"i}na where Vasish\~{t}ha was initiated in the secret doctrines of Ch\text{"i}na-chara. The Kubjik\~{a} Tantra, one of the earliest T\text{"a}ntric texts, composed not later than the 7th century A.D. (as evidenced by the discovery of a manuscript written in Gupta script) also mentions the foreign origin of the secret cult. "Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred places of primary and secondary importance". It is also noteworthy that one of the earliest T\text{"a}ntrika texts, the Sammoha Tantra (placed by P.C. Bagchi in the 6th-7th century A.D.), which was taken to Kambuja in the east in the beginning of the 9th century A.D., mentions China, Mongolia (Mah\~{a}-Ch\text{"i}na), Tibet (Bho\text{"o}ta), Balkh (B\~{a}h\text{"o}lika), and the Himalayan tract (Kir\~{a}ta) along with various regions and zones where T\text{"a}ntrikism was in vogue.

It also refers to 100 primary and 7 subsidiary Tantras of China, while the Jayadratha Jam\~{a}la (8th century A.D.), while mentioning the various T\text{"a}ntrika schools, refers to the practices of the Lamas (L\~{a}m\~{a}-varga), S\~{a}kin\~{i}s and Yoginis (s\~{a}ktis of the Tibetan T\text{"a}ntrika deities such as Lh\~{a}-mo or Devi.

The Devi Pur\~{a}na dated about the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century mentions that the Devi was worshipped in her different forms, after the Left-hand S\~{a}ktas (v\~{a}m\~{a}ch\~{a}ra) in different places in R\~{a}\~{d}ha, Varendra, K\~{a}mar\~{u}pa, K\~{a}m\~{a}kh\~{y}a, Bho\text{"o}t\text{"a}desa etc. The
Vīṣṇuṣīte Kūrma Purāṇa repeatedly mentions the left hand division (Varṇa) among the Sāktas. All the four major sacred centres of the Tāṇtrika cult, mentioned in both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, are situated in or very near Indian borderland, viz., Kāmarūpa, Pūrgaṇirī, Oḍḍīyana and Jālandhāra. According to legend the goddess in Kāmākhyā (Gauhatī), one of the most sacred Tāṇtrika pīṭhas on the north-eastern route to Upper Burma and China, is worshipped according to Chīna-chara. Jālandhāra is ancient Kangra (with its sacred pīṭha Jwālāmukhī). Pūṛṇagirī is not yet identified. Oḍḍīyana may be the Swat valley on the route to Tibet through the Shipki pass, but is identified by B.T. Bhattacharya with Vajrayogini in Dacca district, where the Vajrayāna goddess Vajrayogini, the same as the Hindu goddess Chhinnamastā, was worshipped. In the outlying zones of India such as Kāmarūpa, Gauḍa, Utkala, Kerala and Kashmir and among the aboriginal folk such as Kīrātas, Pulindaś, Barbaras, Abhiras and Kuntalas and the foreigners such as the Yavanas, Ĥūṇas and Pārasikas (all mentioned as principal adherents) Tāṇtrikism was popular. Both Buddhist and Hindu Tāṇtrikism developed by freely absorbing the magical formulae and esoteric practices of foreign and non-Aryan groups outside the heart of Brāhmanical culture—the Madhya-deśa.

The worship of Mahā-Chīna Tārā, Ugra-Tārā, Ārya-Tārā or Eka-jaṭā was introduced into Buddhism from Tibet by Ārya Nāgārjuna (7th century A.D.), one of the Siddhāchāryas like Luipāda, Kahnu-pāda and Saraha, who was also the author of Sādhanāś and many Tāṇtrika works. Now these very deities appear in the Hindu Tantrasāra as different aspects of Tārā-Ekajayatā, Nila-Sarasvatī and Ugra-Tārā. The dhyānas of the Hindu deities correspond closely with those of the Buddhist goddess Ekajayatā and Mahā-Chīna-Krama-Tārā as given in Bhattacharya’s Sādhanamālā. There is a reference to this new goddess, Mahānīla-Sarasvatī, in the Gaya inscription of the Pāla king, Nāyapāla (1038-1055). In order to make the acceptance of these foreign deities easier for Hindu Tāṇtrikism, Vasishṭha’s name was substituted for that of Siddha Nāgārjuna. According to the Rudrayāmala and Brahmayāmala, Vasishṭha went to Mahā-Chīna where he sought the help of Mahādeva-Buddha-rūpa. From him he learnt the Pañchatattva ritual. Tārā, Ārya-Tārā or Vajra-Tārā obviously first emerged as a Mahāyāna Buddhist deity but was later
adopted as a Hindu deity. Vasishṭha’s worship of Tārā mentioned also in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa marked this important assimilation—the incorporation of Vajrayāna deities as Mahā-Vidyās of Hindu Tāntrika worship.

The Basic Tāntrika Conceptions: Unity in Duality

The Tāntrika way of worship is grounded in several metaphysical conceptions. Fundamental in Tāntrikism is the notion of identity of the human body (aṇḍa), the microcosm, with the universe or the macrocosm (brahmāṇḍa), with its corollary of attainment of knowledge of the universe by knowledge of the body through psychological disciplines (Haṭhayoga, āsana and mudrā). Cognate to it is the notion of the Supreme Reality (Brahman) as representing Unity in Duality or integralness of the psycho-biological and the spiritual life, symbolised by the inseparable, composite Śiva-Śakti. Śiva is the static and Śakti the dynamic aspect of Reality (Brahman or Ātman). Śiva is the pure Supreme Self, Śakti the body and mind—the disengagement of the Pure, Unified consciousness; and Śiva-Śakti is the universe and man’s discrete, differentiated experience of the universe (jīvātman). The dual principles of Śiva-Śakti not only pervade the universe but are also present in the human body—in the mulādhāra as the svayambhū liṅga, encircled by Kuṇḍalinī Śakti which is the dormant vital energy (prāṇa) that on its arousal unites with Śiva in the Sahasrāra. This is parallel to the Vajrayāna conception of the vital energy, the goddess Prajñā or Nairātmā, roused through the yogic practice and compassion (karuṇā) to unite with the Vajra-sattva or void which is also pure bliss (mahāsukha).

The basic Hindu conception of Unity in Duality (Śiva-Śakti) has its corollary of the “Left” or reverse plan of worship (vāmāchāra), viz., consecration of the world and the flesh and the metamorphosis of sex desire and satisfaction (pañchatattva), so that all impulse, all function, all activity, all enjoyment become Śiva-Śakti, and nothing remains gross or sensual in the total reconciliation of the flesh (paśu, jīva) and the spirit (deva, śiva). Since the deity appears in the form of the universe, worship can only be easy, spontaneous and fruitful through the use of the five elements of the universe (pañchatattva, wine, meat, fish, grain and woman).
Identification of Bhakti and Mukti

In Hindu Tantrikism, the universe (brahmānda) itself is used as the medium of worship (upachāra). The pānchatattva ritual is real (pratyaksha), substitutional (anukalpa) and ideal or symbolical (divya) according to the stage of the worshipper, and worship is also three-fold, vīra (heroic), paśu (human) and divya (divine). Through this ritual the worshipper realises that all the elements and forces of the universe are within him and also Śiva-Śakti; and the conjunction of Śiva and Śakti is the Supreme Bliss of identification of self and the Universe (Yoga is Maithuna). Worship is nothing more and nothing less than the arousal of the unconscious (Jung’s Aṣāṃ: “What need have I of any outer woman, I have an inner Woman within myself”), its externalisation and imaging in the form of the Eternal Feminine, Śakti, symbolised by the “piercing” (bheda) of the six planes or spheres of consciousness (shaḍ-chakra or padma), i.e., bhū, bhuvah, svah, jana, maha, tapa and satya in a planned meditation on successive “stations” of the psycho-motor flow (kuṇḍalinī) ascending to the unstained consciousness at the topmost “station” where the self and the universe are resolved in the pure identity-consciousness and perfect bliss (Sa-ahaṃ).

Śakti has its polarity. In one aspect Śakti is at rest, “coiled”, the matrix and substratum of the universe. In another aspect Śakti is kinetic. As Śakti “uncoils” itself, the whole universe with all its primal causes and appearances moves. Such is the distinction between the pure consciousness (chidrūpiṇī) aspect of the deity and the dynamic and differentiated (guṇamayī) aspect. When Śakti “sleeps”, man is awake to the phenomenal world. When Śakti is awakened to unite with the pure consciousness (Śiva), man passes beyond pheno-

Hindu Tantrikism represents another synthesis and harmony of the familiar divergent paths of approach to the Deity that India
clarified in the Gupta and post-Gupta age, leading up to that unalloyed joy which Indian thought has always associated with effortless silence or identification with Infinite Reality and Intelligence—the merging of Śiva-Śakti. Śiva is the self or the Ātman in profound rest or silence. Śakti is the self in movement or action in full play of all-too-human desires and satisfactions into which is introjected the full identity-consciousness. Hymns, formulae (mantra), diagrams (yantra), rituals—all consistently and symbolically according to the stage of spiritual advance of the aspirant (Paśu, Vīra, Divya) lead up through the ritual emphasis, in the first phase, of separateness and enjoyment, and then, in the second phase, of identity and withdrawal to the final dissolution (laya yoga) of all polarities and oppositions in the Unitary Consciousness—Bliss: “I am She, I am Chit; I am He, I am Ātman”. Śaṅkarāchārya in one of his hymns (Devi bhūjāṅga-prāyāta Stotra) says: “O Mother out of sport Thou hast divided the one Absolute Intelligence into two—the Finite Self (jīva) and the Supreme Self (Śiva). Having transformed God or Śiva into the finite creature or jīva, Thou dost convert that same jīva back to Śiva”. In the Bodha-Sara governed by the Vedānta thought, Śakti is at once the undifferentiated, ultimate Being, the Being as the deity of theism that commands reverence of the subjective self and the source of differentiation of the subjective consciousness and experience of the phenomenal world. The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra (Tantra of the Great Liberation) identifies the Universal Self with the Devī, (sometimes “He”, sometimes “She” and sometimes “It”), Brahman or Ātman—the embodiment of Truth, perfect Intelligence and Bliss. Here we discern clearly the impress of the Vedānta on the Śaktivāda or the Tantra. Śakti is Parama Brahman, supreme of supreme (Parātparā) beyond all forms and guṇas; her supreme form none knows. She is also the conditioned Brahman, whose sport is universe-play, the matrix, nourisher and destroyer of countless worlds. She exists in all qualities and manifestations, in the form of all vidyās, all women and all things indicated by words in the feminine gender. The Tantrarāja expresses this metaphysical notion tersely and beautifully: “One’s own Ātman is the charming goddess of one’s adoration. The Universe is but her form”. Śiva says: “Thou (Śakti) art all energy, it is by thy energy that We (the Trinity) are powerful (Śaktāḥ) in the acts of creation, preservation and destruction”. Such is the synthesis that the Purāṇas and
the Tantras effected in respect of the worship of Śiva-Śakti. It is not by metaphysical denial or withdrawal but by ascent beyond the unreal (Māyā) that the Real (Śiva-Śakti) is apprehended: in the unreal, the conscious or the unconscious, Śiva and Śakti, are never dissociated. Tāntrikism is, in one word, an integration of the cosmology of the Sāṅkhya, the monism of the Advaita Vedānta, the psycho-physical discipline of the Yoga and the mystical devotionalism of the Way of Bhakti. It brings to a focus and systematically co-ordinates the points of agreement between different schools of thought (darśanas) and ways of approach to the Reality. Hindu worship outside Śaktism proper has incorporated many elements from the practical side of Tāntrika rituals and even the Vedic rites were transformed. Thus the performance of nyāsas and mudrās, the use of Tāntrika mantras, which even precedes the recitation of Vedic Gāyatri, and the drawing of lotuses, yantras and maṇḍalas and the worship of virgin girls are adopted more or less by the generality of Hindu sects. Many of the Purāṇas, Saiva Āgamas and Pāñcharātra śāstra commends Tāntrika methods of initiation, consecration of images and other external procedures of worship. Thus do both the metaphysics of bi-unity of the masculine and feminine principles and the psycho-physical discipline and symbolism of Tāntrikism permeate the Hindu way of contemplation and living. Finally, Tāntrikism gives full rights of worship and of supreme bliss and enlightenment not only to the dvijas but also to the women, Śūdras and even foreigners. The Bhavishya Purāṇa permits even the Mlecchas to worship Devī or the Lāṅgā made of clay and sand. Tāntrikism is an egalitarian creed; it bears in its bosom the universality of the Vedānta and abolishes in its rituals the barriers between the high and the low, the Indian and the foreign-born. Above all, it transforms by its sense of immanence of the deity and symbolic discipline and procedure man's work and enjoyment of life into his worship, the dormant jīva or the finite self into Śiva or the Universal Self.
CERAMICS OF SARNATH

By

I. MAURYAN PERIOD.

Sarnath,¹ ancient Mrigadāva (Deer Park), where Gautama the last Buddha preached the first sermon, lies at a distance of 5 miles from Banaras Cantonment railway station, on the north bank of the river Varnā (Sk. Varuṇā). As a holy place it had received considerable attention in ancient times, from the builders as well as vandals. Excavations have been carried on there from 1835 till 1928, and yielded materials varied in their character. The primary object of this paper is to discuss the elements of the ceramics of Sarnath, which has long been a desideratum. In India, the value of pottery in the evaluation of ancient cultures was not realised till the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. Nevertheless, to be fair to his memory, we must admit that the credit of giving some attention to ancient Indian pottery would always belong to A. C. L. Carlyle, who collected, described, and illustrated certain potteries found by him while carrying on experimental diggings at Bhuila, in Basti District, and was followed by Dr. J. Anderson.² My aim has been to bring out characteristic features of Sarnath ware, by selecting specimens whose archaeological context is indisputable; so that with discoveries made at other sites, a proper appreciation of the historical pottery of the Ganges Valley would be possible.

1. The name itself is of recent origin. Duncan stated in 1794 that Sarnath was the name of a temple (Asiatic Researches, vol. v, p. 131). Cunningham who came in 1862 is not exact whether the place was known as Sarnath or a fane. In the settlement records of 1840 and 1883-84 no place is mentioned as "Sarnath" but the position of ruins are entered there as 'Bhita' being plot No. 661 in mauza Barahipur. (I am indebted for these informations to Mr. L. G. Lyde, I, C. S., then Collector, Banaras). Dr. B. Prasad has drawn my attention to a Persian work Tadhikra-i-Humayun no Akbar (Bibliotheca Indica Series) in which the area was probably called mauza Damaka which has to be identified with Chakhandi stupa and not present 'Dhamek'.

Exactly when human habitations started in this area is unknown but the fact remains that the earliest buildings do not go back beyond circa 300 B.C. Before we proceed to notice individual wares, a few of its distinguishing features require to be discussed.

Technique

First, with a single notable exception, the ware is buff or red with bright red slip. These buff or red colours were due to clay which, with the exception noted above, was uniformly Ganges alluvium. This clay is generally light and buff in colour. But on being heated it took to different colours found on existing specimens. This conclusion is based upon certain accidental observations that the present writer was enabled to record. In 1943, he was supervising the digging of a drain at the site to carry the storm-water accumulating in Monastery IV. The section revealed several improvised ovens made by labourers for cooking their food. The area nearest the oven was purplish red, the next section was orange and the area furthest was buff-coloured. In my house, my wife had got prepared an oven with the help of an old bucket, layers of earth having been applied inside and triangular heaps to support utensils on the top. Somehow the earth having been damaged, it was decided to renew it. The different sections were of different colours. First black, then purplish red, then light red, orange and the last, brown. It was clear that different layers of earth had taken to different colours according to the heat they had received through the intervening layers. Therefore, the first fundamental characteristic of Sarnath nay, Ganges valley ware, becomes clear: that variety in colour was obtained by the degree of heat that each individual pot received during the firing. It was certainly not due to any degraissant. Just as in the case of clay, the slip was also red. Whether this distribution of heat was deliberate or accidental, must remain moot points, unless the process of firing the pots becomes more clear. The best of the pots are those which are extremely thin and are well burnt.

Some visitors misled by the brightness of the surfaces were led to think that these pots were burnished. For this belief I feel there is no sufficient evidence. Whether the application is to be regarded as 'slip' or 'wash' is a debatable point.
There is one degraissant which was used considerably—this is mica. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that, the clay being mostly riverine deposits, quantities of mica are natural in the soil. But I am not referring to these. The fabrics bear eloquent testimony to the exaggerated use of mica, whose aesthetic purpose in an otherwise plain pot is undeniable. This type of pottery have been found at Bhita, Nalanda and Rajgir too; and we shall have occasion to discuss it in its proper place. Another distinguishing feature of Sarnath-ware is the complete absence of painted pottery. Incised or decorated pots or sherds of a later date have been found but not a fragment of ‘painted ware’.

**Distribution**

The exception noted above happens to be a grey-black ware which in all recorded excavations have seldom been found in early strata. At Sarnath only few sherds have been found in 1928,\(^1\) in the area to the west of the Main Shrine, by late Rb. R.P. Chanda. This ware is generally characterized by glaze-like ‘polish’ variously described as glaze, mucilaginous paint, metallic-lustre etc. The distribution of this ware in Ganges Valley is indeed wide. They have been found at Mathura (U.P.) (Sherds found by Mr. Stuart Piggott).; Kauśāmbī, district Allahabad (U. P.); Bhita, district Allahabad (U.P.); Jhusi, district Allahabad (U.P.); Masaon, district Ghazipur (U.P.); Atranji Kheda, district Etah (U.P.); Sarnath, Rajghat, on the the northern outskirts of Baṇaras; Patna (Bihar); Rajgir, Maniyāra Maṭha (not in regular excavations, but by the present writer); Giriak, district Patna (Bihar); an extensive monastic mound beside the Panchane river beyond the end of the Vipula range of hills; Bangaḍh, district Dinajpur (Eastern Pakistan); Kasrawad, Indore State; Bairat, Jaipur State; Sanchi, Bhopal State; Taxila, district Rawalpindi (Western Pakistan); Buxar, district Shahabad (Bihar);\(^2\) Khaira in Ballia district and Patna (Bulandibag) in Bihar. At Bhita, according to Sir John Marshall, they were found in layers ascribed by him to C. 800 B.C., and regarded as ‘Primitive’ and survived till Mauryan times,—a fact, which has been corroborated in the excavations at Ahiḍhchatra during

---

1940 to 1944. The sherd.s at Rajghat found by me, and Sadardin, had no archaeological context. Parenthetically, it may be added that the site of Rajghat is very disturbed. The Masaon, and Khaira finds were made not by serious diggings, but were washed away and ploughed out by peasants. But a few at Khaira were found at a depth of 18' approximately, by the present writer, and are kept at Sarnath Museum.

At Dhulkot, in Fyzabad district, they were picked up by Mr. Madho Sarup Vats whose observations are of greatest interest as they are suggestive of late continuation which the prevalent notions about the age of the pottery do not make allowances for. The upshot of all these discussions is that Sir John Marshall's 'primitive' may imply pre-Mauryan or Post-Vedic. The uniformity of occurrence at so many places, situated at such great distances, cannot but impress us with a theory of homogeneity of culture at a certain stage in Indian History. The most significant again is its rare appearance in later ages. Are we then to assume that these were the 'Aryans'? This conclusion, I feel, is unwarranted.

**Buff Ware**

Sarnath has also supplied us with another type of buff-coloured pot turned on the wheel. It is a jar with flat bottom and sloping walls ending in a proportionately wide belly, over which is a short neck and a wide mouth with moulded lips. Below the neck are two concentric circles made by a thin cord on wet clay—the only decorations that the pot bears. The pot was found at a depth of 3' below Mauryan level on the apse of the apsidal temple which is generally considered to be of late Mauryan epoch. It is necessary, however, to ascertain the actual level of the surface of the earth before its first exploitation. The first person to attack the area to

---

1. Ibid.

2. "Pottery ring granaries, walls or soakpits are quite common in the cutting of the Dhulkot along the riverside, from Nirmohanaghat eastwards along the promontory of the Kot. Bānabhaṣṭa in his Harsha Charita calls them gaḍḍakakśād (Ring granaries). The word Gaḍḍa is still being used for granaries in the present village of Ramnagar near Ahichchhatra. Mixed up in the sand, mud, charcoal, ashes, and debris which constitute the Dhulkot are found highly polished Mauryan or Śunga pottery, generally a very thin ware, some of the pieces being of eggshell type. These are pieces of cups, bowls—broad and shallow. The cuttings facing the river are generally devoid of brickwork. There are places where layers upon layers of mud from the lower part of the Dhulkot can be easily made out." From 'Diary' of Pr. M. S. Vats kindly supplied to the writer.

3. Excavation Register, 1928, No. 342, date, 24.3.28.
the west of the Main Shrine in which the 'Apsidal Temple' lies was Oertel, in 1904-05, who did not proceed beyond the famous edict-bearing pillar of Asoka. The credit of exploring the area further west and thus exhuming almost all known Mauryan and late Mauryan antiquities belongs to Mr. H. Har- greaves who devoted one season in 1914-15 to it. If we refer to the plate of the Report1 we find the foundations of the apsidal temple, to clarify that this depth does not represent the actual depth from the exposed. Evidently he did not go further. The area was again attacked by Chanda in 1928, who found this pot. Somewhere in 3rd century A.D., some godowns or living quarters were erected on the northern arm of the apsidal temple after, no doubt, clearing away ruins of the temple. By the 9th century A.D. the kankar flooring around the Main Shrine must have been extended over the ruins of these earlier structures, over which the medieval votive stupas on the north-west corner of the Main Shrine were erected. Therefore, the actual depth at which the pot was found must have been 18' to 20' from the original surface of the earth.

Many people work under an obsession that this pot could not have belonged to the Mauryan period as they consider the black ware was the only kind used in Mauryan time. This is too dogmatic. Evidence of sculpture points out that two schools of art with different aesthetics existed side by side—first a demotic art, found in examples of clay figurines; and the other, the exotic court art, with which the holy places of the new imperial faith were embellished. Therefore, the possibility of buff pottery existing side by side with the grey black ware which was used by the rich and the nobility cannot be ruled out. Excavations at Bhita, carried out by Sir John Marshall, proved the existence of buff ware from the Mauryan period.2 There is another point connected with the so-called Mauryan pottery. Is it the 'mucilaginous paint', glaze, burnish or slip that was used on these grey-black ware? I personally feel that lustrous polish on pillars, caves and sculptures should lead us to recognize it as a 'lustre ware' and not polish, burnish, or glaze. The forms though not properly sifted are:—bowls, shallow dishes, small ovoid jars. Whether spouted and handled jars existed must await the help of spade.

THE BULL IN INDIAN ART AND LITERATURE

By

Sri O.P. Sharma

In pre-historic times the worship of the bull was widely prevalent throughout the Middle and the Near East. This cult was also prevalent in chalcolithic times throughout Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan and Saurashtra.

Two types of bulls, short-horned or humpless (Vrishakha) and Brahmi or humped bull (Bos Indicus) have been represented on a large number of seals discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Two seals bearing the impression of this animal have been recently discovered at Lothal, a chalcolithic site in Saurashtra.¹

The short-horned bull (Pl. I, fig. 1) is sometimes represented with its neck swathed in garlands and in most cases the head is slightly lowered and twisted to one side as if the animal is just about to charge². A manger invariably appears with this kind of bull though it is absent in case of the other type, that is, the Brahmi bull, probably for the reason that the latter was domesticated whereas the former was not. The manger appears to have been made of pottery, basket work, reed or some other similar material. It is also very interesting to note that the bull is represented on the seals in composite forms. Humped bull engraved on seal No. 337 (Pl. I, fig. 2) is a remarkable example and is the work of a master artist³. The engraver has brought out the dignity of the animal by the breadth of treatment, restraint and the realistic touch. His craftsmanship is remarkably evident in the faithful representation of the heavy wrinkled dewlap and horns.

Terracotta models of humped cattle were found by Sir Aurel Stein on a number of chalcolithic sites in Baluchistan. A large

¹. Indian Archaeology, A Review 1956-57, p. 15.
². Mackay, E; Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro Vol.II; Pl. LXXXV, 123.
³. Marshall, J; Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation Vol. III, Pl. CXI.
Bull as represented on Prehistoric Indian Seals.
number of terracotta models of the bull were discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro also. A very powerful short-horned bull is represented in No. 23 which is a hollow pottery figure.\(^1\) Heavy wrinkles round the strong neck and the folds of skin are very skilfully shown. There is frequent delineation of the bull on the pottery of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. It is also shown on a painted sherd at Nal in Baluchistan.\(^2\) This motif is very common on the Kulli Mehi ware of Baluchistan. Models of the bull in copper, stone and faience etc. were also made by the Indus Valley people. Bull heads cut in shell show the high order to which the art of carving of animals was carried in the Indus Valley.\(^3\) These heads have sockets for the insertion of horns, eyes and ears which were made separately of some other material.

Whether this animal was indigenous to India is a controversial question. The bull was known in India from very early times. This animal appears on a carved vessel of bitumen of the second period of Susa.\(^4\) According to Ward it did not appear in Mesopotamia until about 1000 B.C.\(^5\) A humped bull is delineated on a fragment of sculpture of the time of Gudea (about 2400 B.C.).\(^6\) Clay figures of humped bull have been found at Gerar in Palistine (about 950 B.C.).\(^7\) The occurrence of bull both at Indus Valley and Susa implies communications between these two contemporary civilisations. The bull is not found in Egypt until the Eighteenth Dynasty.\(^8\) In the opinion of Dr. Mackay the humped cattle made their way from Elam to Egypt via Anatolia and Syria and that the original habitat of the bull was India from where it was introduced into Elam at a very early date.\(^9\) Col. Sewell however suggests that these cattle were introduced into India from the West by some immigrating offshoot of the Mediterranean race.\(^10\)

---

1. Marshall, J; Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation Vol. III, Pl. XCVII.
5. Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p. 416.
6. King, History of Sumer and Akkad, p. 69, fig. 21.
The bull because of its great strength had a religious significance. Whether it was actually worshipped as a god by the Indus Valley people or was considered an emblem of some god cannot definitely be said. The fact that the short-horned bull is shown on seals in angry mood suggests that it may have been the emblem or vehicle of a god of war or destruction. Bull worship in the form of composite animals was also prevalent. On seal No. 357 is portrayed a horned and tailed creature, half human and half bull, attacking a mythical horned tiger. This hybrid figure has a striking resemblance with the Babylonian hero Eabani wrestling with wild beasts. Copper tablet No. 10 portrays a fabulous beast having forequarters of a tiger and hind quarters of a bull. The composite animal on copper amulet No. 13 appears to be partly bull and partly elephant. Seal No. 24 (Pl. I, fig. 3) shows a combination of unicorn with two other heads, those of an antelope and short-horned bull. Seal No. 411 shows the curious human faced composite animal having forelegs of an ox and striped hind quarters and feet resemble those of a tiger. It has short-curved horns and human face in profile, has an elephant trunk hanging from the chin and a pair of tusks. It may be stated that the amulets bearing the effigies of sacred animals and gods were worn by the people for protection from danger. By wearing amulets of composite gods the wearer sought help from all the deities represented in a single composite form.

Apart from its having religious significance it also had great utilitarian value for being employed in tilling land by the Indus Valley people who had well established art of agriculture. That the oxen were employed for drawing carts is evident from the fact that a large number of toy carts have been discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Bull fighting must have been a familiar hobby among the Indus Valley people as is clear from Seal No. 611 (Pl. I, fig. 4)

1. Ibid., Vol. III, Pl. CXI.
2. Mackay, E; Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro Vol. II, Pl, XCIJI.
5. Ibid, Vol. II, Pl. XCIV.
showing two bulls in combat.1 This scene has not been portrayed in any of the contemporary civilisations either of Sumer or Elam, though this scene is depicted on the walls of the tombs in Egypt and also on an axe head of the Eighteenth Dynasty.2

Vaulting over the bull appears to have been another favourite sport among the Indus Valley people as is indicated by a scene on a clay sealing from Mohenjo-daro (Pl. I, fig. 5).3 It is also probable that apart from its being a popular sport it was a part of ritual. This sport was also popular in Crete in ancient times.4

Although the bull was regarded as sacred among the Indus Valley people as is evident from frequent representation of this animal on the seals the cow appears to be conspicuous by its absence. At present both the cow and bull are regarded as sacred animals amongst the Hindus. The bull is closely associated with Śiva and is daily worshipped by its followers. Liberation of a bull (vrishot-sarga) dedicated to Śiva is considered to be a highly religious act which is believed to provide a vehicle to the deceased for his journey to the next world.5

In Vedic times also the bull and cow were regarded sacred animals. In the Rigveda vrishabha was the epithet of several divinities, for example, Indra, Dyāus and Rudra but there is no proof of actual direct worship of animals. In post-Vedic age vrishabha came to denote Śiva specifically. Bulls were killed on sacrificial occasions and for the entertainment of guests and on the wedding occasions. The second name of the heroic Divodāsa, atithiṣeya ‘the slayer of oxen for guests,’ suggests the prevalence of this practice. Bulls’ flesh was eaten by the people and it was also offered to gods. The sanctity of the cow which had earned the epithet aghnya, ‘not to be killed’, was already established in Rigvedic times.6 Bulls were also regularly employed in ploughing and drawing carts. The Śatapathabhrāhmana prescribes the killing of an ox or goat in honour of a guest.7

---

1. Mackay, E; Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro Vol. II, Pl. XCIX.
7. Vedic Age, P. 457.
In the Rāmāyana Nandin (bull) is described as having the general appearance of a monkey (vānararūpam) and the body of a fierce dark brown short-armed powerful dwarf. Nandi is also described in this Epic as Karālakriṣṇapingalāh and Nandikeśvara. He is stated to be another manifestation of Śiva (aśparatanuh) and that while guarding the Kailāśa he stopped Ravana who was driving in his aerial car, from crossing the abode of Śiva. Thereupon Ravana made contemptuous remarks regarding the monkey face of Nandi-keśvara who felt offended by the insult and cursed Ravana that beings having similar shape (that is monkeys) would destroy the race of Ravana.

The Vīshṇudharmottarapurāṇa describes Nandi having three eyes, four arms, wearing tiger skin, holding a triśūla and bhindipāla (a kind of javelin) in his two hands, one of the front hands being placed on his head and the other in the tarjjanimudrā. It is stated in the Bhāgavataapurāṇa that during the yaṇa performed by Daksha- prajapati, Śiva was insulted by him. At this Nandi grew furious and cursed Daksha and the revilers of Śiva.

Nandi is described by Kalidāsa as guarding the entrance of Śiva’s abode at Kailāśa with a golden staff resting against his left forearm and silencing the ganas with a finger of his right hand placed on his mouth.

Śiva used to be represented in theriomorphic form as bull on coins in the Gandhara region and by the time the Kushanas had begun their rule the bull began to be regarded as his (Śiva’s) mount. A red sandstone relief of Hara-Pārvati in Mathura Museum shows the divine couple leaning on Nandi. An Intaglio in the Indian Museum Calcutta belonging to the late Kushana period and carved in Gandhara style shows the three-faced and four-armed Śiva seated on his mount Nandi in the sukhasana pose. The Aihole sculpture of

2. Rāmāyana v. 17, sec. 16 of Uttara Kanda.
3. BK. III, ch. 73, vv. 15-7.
5. Kumārsambhava III. 41.
Vṛishavāhanamūrti of Śiva shows the four-armed god standing in a dooublehanga pose and reclining on his mount Nandi. The Nandi is shown as a mount of Śiva and Pārvati in the company of hosts of attendants and impish śivaganas playing pranks in a number of panels in the rock-cut shrines of Ellora. A fine sculpture from Orissa (Puri) shows four-armed Śiva seated in the ardhaparyanka mudrā on a raised seat and playing on vīṇā while Nandi with his head raised towards his master listens in rapt attention.

An interesting feature of Nandi is that he is shown as mount of Brahma in the Vasantgarh brick temple belonging to the 7th cent. A.D.

In the Epic and Purana texts Śiva’s mount came to be designated by the various names of Nandin, Nandiśvara and Adhikāranandin. The process of anthropomorphising the mount of Śiva started in the early centuries of Christian era and it became an established fact by the Gupta period as can be proved by Kālidāsa’s description of Nandin already stated above. He began to be conceived more as one of Śiva’s attendants than as his mount and unlike Garuda, mount of Vishṇu, he was generally fully anthropomorphised.

The figure of Adhikāranandin is sometimes mistaken for that of Śiva by the less informed persons. At the entrance of a number of important temples of Śiva in South India the visitors meet with a pair of images, Adhikāranandin shaped just like that of Śiva in the respect of Chandrašekharamūrti and his consort. The difference between the image of Adhikāranandin and that of Śiva is that the former has its hands folded in anjali mudrā unlike those of Śiva which are held in varada and abhaya mudrās. Three different accounts about the origin of Adhikāranandin from Śivamahāpurāṇa, Lingapurāṇa and an another unnamed text have been given by T.A. Gopinatha Rao. The bronze image of Adhikāranandin in the Śiva temple

2. Ibid, P. 472, Pl. XXXV, 2.
3. Ibid, P. 514.
at Veluvūr is exactly like that of Śiva in the respect of Chandra-sekharamūrti carrying the paraśu and the mṛiga in the back right and left hands respectively and standing upon a padmāsana.¹ The image is in tribhanga pose and the head is adorned with jatamukuta, the Ganga and the crescent moon.

Nandi’s fully theriomorphic form was however never discarded by his devout followers, as every Śiva shrine must have the figure of a bull squatting on a raised platform facing the entrance door of the shrine in which is placed the divine emblem, the Śivalinga, which explains the description given in Matsyapurāṇa about Nandi as devavākshanatatparah, that is, engaged in looking at the deva (Śiva).²

It is rather difficult to discern the exact significance of the bull in Buddhist iconography, but it is quite evident that it has far less importance in Buddhism than what it has in Hinduism.

Buddha is sometimes given the epithet of Śākyapungava, meaning ‘Bull hero, eminent person.’³

One of the masterpieces of Indian art in the Mauryan period is the stone sculpture of bull (now in the National Museum) which once surmounted the Aśokan pillar at Rampurva in Champaram district of Bihar. Among the early representations of the bull this ranks next after the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The abacus of the bull is decorated with rosette, honeysuckle and palmette motifs alternating and also with the cable moulding beneath it. The polish applied to it enhances its charm. On the abacus of the famous lion-capital at Sarnath are represented four animals in relief, the elephant, bull, horse and lion, each alternating with a wheel. The portrayal of these animals is lively and even realistic and can be compared favourably with any of the glyptic art in the ancient world. An attempt has been made to identify these animals with the four great rivers that flow from the four openings of a magic lake situated at the world’s navel in the Himalayas. The discovery

---

of actual metal images of these four animals which were buried at the four quarters around a stupa lend support to the view that these symbolised four directions.\(^1\) The most reasonable explanation regarding the symbolic significance of those animals which has been offered is that the first three animals indicate the three events of Buddha’s life whereas the fourth one represents the simkyaŚha himself. The elephant symbolises conception, the bull—\(vrishabha\) rāshi in which he was born and the horse \(mahābhīnīshkramana\) the great renunciation.

---

THE SAGE AGASTI, HIS LIFE AND WORK

By

Dr. N. P. Joshi, M.A., Ph.D.

Agasti is one of those great persons who are responsible for the spread and popularity of the Āryan culture. In our ancient literature his name is often mentioned in one or other connection. Agasti and Agastya are the two different forms of his name both of which are fairly current. It is difficult to say whether these two forms represented two different personalities, or, are the names of one and the same person. For our present purpose the latter view has been accepted.

Agasti in the Vedas—

Agastya is the rishi (author) of about twenty-six hymns in the Rigveda (Rig. I. 166-192). His important achievement was to obtain a compromise between Indra and the Maruts regarding the offering of oblations (Rig. I. 170, 171,173). He often calls himself there as the son of Māna (manaputra I. 184, 190; Manya VII, 33.13). Sometimes his parentage has been ascribed to Mitra and Varuṇa (Rig. VII. 33.13). Vasishṭha was his brother (Rig. VII. 33.12-13). At one place he has been praised as the ‘best among the men’ (nrishu praṭastih I. 180). Another hymn suggests that the sage had sound knowledge of various poisons and their cures (Rig. I. 180). The Atharvaveda calls him a master of mantra-vidyā (Atharva., VII. 5. 26). In the Rigveda along with Agastya his wife Lopāmudrā’s name is also mentioned (I. 179).

Agasti’s Origin According to the Purāṇas—

The Purāṇas throw welcome light on the history of this sage. The Matsya Purāṇa tells us that once Indra ordered Agni and Vāyu to suppress and kill the demons on the earth. Accordingly all the demons were wiped off, but five of their leaders viz. Tāraka, Kamalāksha, Kāladamśṭra, Parāvasu and Virochana managed to fly away and took shelter in the sea. Finding it impossible to chase them any more, both the gods left them undisturbed. These demons
continued to harass the *devas, manushyas* and other creatures for thousands of years. Indra again ordered Agni and Vāyu to make the oceans dry and overcome the demons. But being afraid of the resultant havoc and destruction of various aquatic animals both these gods politely refused to obey Indra. The latter, however, cursed them to proceed to *mahātala*, but added that Agni would regain his position only when he would dry the ocean. Thus the god Agni became Agasti.\(^1\) According to another tradition in the same Purāṇa sages Agasti and Vasishṭha were twin brothers born from the gods Mitra and Varuṇa. Urvaśī was their mother. Agasti is said to have taken birth from a jar, hence he is often called Kumbhodbhava (*Matsya*. 60.27-36).

*Agasti’s Marriage—*

Agasti’s wife was Lopāmudrā who was the princess of Vidarbha, modern Berar. Another tradition informs that Agasti himself collected beauty from different creatures and created a damsel, who was admitted in the royal family of Vidarbha as the king’s daughter. Satyavatī was another name of Lopāmudrā.\(^2\) In the Tamil literature she has been described as the sister of the sage Pulastya.\(^3\) Lopāmudrā, it is said,\(^4\) once told her husband that she would give him the pleasure of her company only after his collecting a fair amount of riches and wealth. To fulfil his consort’s desire Agasti approached three kings viz. Śrutāśva, Bṛihadratha, and Trasaddasyu; but none of them could fully satisfy him. They, however, advised him to subdue the demon Ilvala who possessed incomparable wealth. They also promised to give him all possible help. Agasti, however succeeded and fulfilled his wife’s wishes. This story throws light on two important facts. Firstly Agasti loved his wife very much, a suggestion to this is found in a hymn of the *Rigveda* (I. 179) describing the meeting of the two lovers. Secondly the sage was well versed in the art of war. He is sometimes spoken of as a master (*āchārya*) of the science of archery (*dhanurveda*).

---

Agasti's Migration to the South—

One of the most important achievements of Agasti was his successful effort to colonize the trans-Vindhyā regions. A complete allegoric description of this event is found in the Kāśi-khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.¹ Once it so happened that the mountain Vindhyāchala stood erect to show his power and thus proved to be a great obstacle in the normal way of the sun and the moon. Consequently all the creatures of the world were put to a great trouble. Nobody but Agasti was thought to be so competent as to overpower and subjugate the mount Vindhyāchala. The sage, who was then residing in Vārāṇasi, was requested to undertake this task. Agasti, though very unwillingly, acceded to their request and along with his wife Lopāmudrā started towards the south. Looking that the celebrated teacher and the great brāhmaṇa Agasti was coming near him the mountain laid himself prostrate. The sage ordered that the latter should remain in the same condition till his return from the south and went onwards. Neither Agasti returned nor Vindhyāchala had again any chance to stand erect.

The Tamil literature records a different tradition of this event.² Once there was a meeting of gods on the Himālayas. The point at issue was that the northern portion of the earth had become heavily crowded and was slightly bent. In order to keep the balance of the globe it was thought that somebody should go to the south obviously with an idea to colonize it. After a lot of discussion the task was entrusted to Agasti. The sage, however, came to Gaṅgā, took Kāverī from her and reached Dvārakā. In the way he was accompanied by his student Trīṇa-dhūmagni, son of Jamadagni and also by Lopāmudrā, sister of Pulastya. At Dvārakā Agasti collected some Vrīshni families and eighteen crores of peoples belonging to the Velīra and Aruvāḷāra tribes. Thus with so many of peoples he led the great campaign. The southern regions were full of forests and were not fit for habitation. Agasti, with great zeal and courage, cleared the land and settled his people there. He himself lived on the Mount Malaya, modern Podiyil hill in the Western Ghats.

¹ Skanda Purāṇa, Kāśi khaṇḍa, Chapters, I, 5.
² Please see (2).
In ancient Pāli literature the tradition is preserved in the story of Akitti Jātaka. Akitta a brāhmaṇa, after giving up all his wealth, lived with his sister on the bank of Gaṅgā not far from Banaras. But people used to trouble him. He, therefore, quietly slipped away one day and passing through the Tamil country (Damilaraṭṭha) reached Kāveripaṭṭam. There also, people did not allow him to live in peace and he had to take shelter in an island named ‘Kāra’ across the river Kāverī.

There is some similarity between the two traditions. Agasti’s stay at Banaras and his journey to the south are the common events. According to the Tamil literature Agasti had taken Kāverī from Gaṅgā, but according to the Buddhists Kāverī had emerged from the water-jar (kamaṇḍalu) of Agasti. The former further adds that Agasti had largely supported the Chola rulers and even protected them from Paraśurāma, the bitterest enemy of the Kshatriyas. Being advised by Agasti one of the Chola kings worshipped Indra for twenty-eight days during which period all the gods had to stay in the Kāveripaṭṭam. Similarly because of this sage alone the chief goddess of the Jambudvīpa also resided in the city.

All these different stories definitely prove that Agasti was an extra-ordinarily powerful leader, and because of his physical as well as mystic powers he suppressed the southerners, turned the deep and inaccessible forests of the Vindhya into cultivable lands, in other words the mountain virtually laid itself prostrate before him. Thus by successfully establishing Aryan colonies in the south, he saved the north too which was over populated by the Āryans, who always stood in need of fresh lands.

Agasti and the Sea—

It has been already said that when chased by Agni and Vāyu, the five demon leaders took shelter in the great ocean. When Agasti was residing on the Mount Malaya, these demons again started troubling the people. ‘Therefore’, says the Matsya Purāṇa, ‘the sage whose heart was full of mercy for others, drank the ocean itself and saved the universe’. The world was highly impressed by this heroic act of kindness and the three gods, Brahmā, Vishnu and Maheśa themselves, appeared to bestow boons on this sage. The desire expressed by Agasti on this occasion is important for our
purpose. The sage requests ‘...For thousands of years to come I will be the vaimāṇika on the route of the Southern mountains; and on the rise of my vimāna whosoever worships me, will be the master of the seven worlds (loka)’ (Matsya. 60.40-41).

The answer to the question how Agasti could make the oceans dry, lies in the phrase ‘vaimāṇiko bhavishyāmi’ used by him. The demons had taken shelter in the ocean, i.e. in the sea-forts (jala-durga), and therefore, the Āryans were unable to win them over. In other words the Indian navy was probably not so powerful as to face the pirates successfully, who were everyday proving themselves a constant nuisance. As we have already seen, in the pre-Agasti period the Āryans had not penetrated themselves in the trans-Vindhyā regions, and therefore, their navy might not have been a powerful one. It was Agasti, who for the first time made efforts to colonize the southern regions and was just living on the Mount Malaya, when these pirates were creating havoc, which was likely to prove a great blow to the recent Āryan settlements. In these critical times Agasti’s knowledge of air craft proved to be of great help. With the help of his acroplanes he could successfully subdue the pirates and save the new settlements from destruction. Moreover, it may be pointed out incidentally that Agasti had mastered the art of navigation as well. His ships were known as ‘abdhiyāna’. Thus it was definitely a great task done by Agasti, who by means of his prowess and advanced scientific knowledge made the great ocean so much insignificant and easy for access, as if it was dry. For this Herculean task of Agasti he was graced and congratulated by the Divine Trinity. The verse, madvimānodaye etc., should also be interpreted differently. Perhaps the sage meant to say that whosoever would study his art of air craft, would become so great and important as the riches of all the seven worlds would be in his possession.

**AGASTI’S ART OF AIR CRAFT—**

Above interpretation is mostly based on a book named Agasti Samhitā, a few portions of which have been recently brought to light. Late Shri Krishnaji Vinayaka Vaze, a famous scholar and engineer of Maharashtra got hold of certain pages of the said text from Ujjaini. He prepared some notes and published articles
in different papers. Dr. Kokatnurkar, another scholar from India also referred to certain quotations from Agasti Samhita in one of his papers read in America. Complete text of the book is not yet available. Very recently Shri G.V. Ketkar published a series of articles in the 'Kesari' from Poona giving detailed information about Agasti Samhita. 

Agniyaṇa, vyomayāṇa, vimāna are the different synonyms for aeroplane according to Agasti. Its shape was that of a ship and was made of wooden planks to which balloons containing hydrogen gas were tied. Trained birds like eagle and kite were yoked to this vehicle and thus Agasti's aeroplane flew in the air. The process of producing hydrogen was also known to this sage. Electricity was named by him as mitrataje. Did he mean to commemorate his parents by this sort of nomenclature? Agasti appears to have been well versed in the art of electroplating as well. Unfortunately we have to rely at present for all this information on mere fragments of Agasti Samhitā. Whenever this whole text comes in light much more information would be, forthcoming about the scientific researches of this sage.

Agasti's influence on the Indian mind was so great that even in later periods when our people proceeded to the south eastern parts of Asia to form fresh colonies they took the pious memory of Agasti

1. Ṛtaka, Fausboll, IV, 480
2. Ketkar, G.V., Bhāratiya śilpa-lāstrātiāla vimāna-vidyā (Marathi), K E S A R I, Poona, dated 8. 9. 52, 5. 10. 52, 22. 2. 53.
3. Thatte, Purushottam Hari, Air craft in Ancient India. Originally this paper was published in Vedic Magazine and Gavukal Samachar, Lahore, December 1923, Vol xxii; later on it was reprinted in Silpa Samsara from Poona, 23rd April, 1955, pp. 247-50. The following are some of the interesting verses—

Electricity—

samathṣapyā mpinkmayepati tāmrapātram susamskrītām 
chhādayet śikhigrivena chādrābhīh kṣāṭhipamuspabhīh. 
doṣaḷoṣṭhō nidhātavyaḥ pāradāchchhāditastatah 
updaayati tanmitram samyogastamradastayoḥ 
samyogājīyate tejo yammitramiti kathya

Electroplating—

Yavakṣhāramayau dhānau suṣukta jalarasannidhau 
āchchādayati tatāmram svarṇen rajatena va 
suvarnaśiptam tatāmram śātakumbhamithismṛtām.
with them. His name is preserved in some of the epigraphical records from Kambodia.  
Above study helps us to draw the following conclusions:
(i) Up to the Rigvedic age Agasti was living in the northern India, but neither he had crossed the Vindhya nor had made the oceans dry.
(ii) After the wide spread of the Aryans in the northern India, Agasti was the first leader who extended their sway to the trans-Vindhya regions.
(iii) Agasti had already started colonizing the southern regions before the times of Rāma, whose conquests, however, made the settlements further secure.
(iv) After his coming to the south he made the oceans dry i.e., he established his supremacy over the sea and conquered the pirates. In other words his mission of colonizing the south was rather completed only after this event.

Some Problems—
Thus it is clear that Agasti played an important role in the spread of Aryan culture and development of science, still some problems regarding his life and work remain to be solved. The following points need further explanation and research:
(A) Does the name Agasti stand for only one person or a school?
(B) How far his knowledge of aircraft and other science was further advanced in the succeeding periods?
(C) Can there be any obvious connection between Agasti’s work and the Bhāradvāja Samhitā, which has been recently found?
(D) Among the stars toward the south one is called Agasti, which is usually visible when the rains are over. Why a particular star should be named after this sage? Has it any connection with his commendable work in the south?

Scholars are requested to throw fresh light on these points which may help us to know much more about Agasti and his work.

1. Majumdar, R.C., Hindu Colonies in the Far East, Calcutta, P. 169
   Inscription of king Indra Varman (877 A.D.). The kings’ queen, Indra Devi is said to have belonged to that royal family which was established by a brāhmaṇa named Agastya from Ārya déśa.
NON-RUSTING OF THE MEHARAUli IRON PILLAR AT DELHI

By

Dr. (Mrs.) Urmila Agarwal, M.A., Ph. D.

The Mehrauli Iron Pillar of the time of King Chandra, still standing erect near the Kutub at Delhi, is a mystery to the present day, since even after being exposed to sun and rain for hundreds of years together, it does not show any signs of decay by rusting or getting corroded. The various explanations given so far have been altogether misleading and to some extent unbelievable. The non-rusting of that iron pillar has led men to conclude that probably in the Gupta period, the metallurgy had advanced to such an extent, that it was possible then to prepare iron in its pure form, of which the pillar is said to have been made of. According to G. J. Moody (1906), pure iron does not rust in the presence of water and air, if every trace of carbondioxide is excluded. If the view that the iron pillar is made of pure iron is accepted, then how can it be justified that it had at the same time been protected from rusting by avoiding every trace of carbondioxide, which is supposed to be present in the atmospheric air to the extent of 4%? Again, if the metallurgy at that time, is assumed to have advanced to such an extent, then how is it that the iron metallurgical operations or processes could be realised again after a lapse of about 1600 years?

The other possible reasoning would be that probably in those days, it was possible to prepare stainless steel which is responsible for the non-rusting of the pillar. But from all the modern methods known for the manufacture of stainless steel we know that it should be an alloy of iron with chromium, nickel, vanadium, molybedenum etc. Rare metals like vanadium and molybedenum have only very recently been discovered and no traces of them are available in the ancient relics. Hence, it shall be too rash to think of all that.

To think of the pillar being painted or white-washed with lime so as to protect it from rusting is too unwise; because, had that been the case, we would have seen the paint or white-wash with our own
eyes. To think that the paint could have buffeted the wind and rain so well as to remain there for centuries, without exposing even an inch of that pillar to make it rust, is rather difficult.

The only most appealing and tangible explanation seems to be, that, for giving the pillar a proper shape, the masons of ancient times must have poured water over red-hot iron for sudden cooling. Thus, the water poured on the red-hot iron would at once be converted into steam, which would further affect the rest of the red-hot iron in forming on it an adherent layer of ferroso-ferric oxide according to Barff Process. It is a well-known fact that this process is even adopted for protecting iron from rusting and for treating cans for fruits, etc., instead of tinning, because ferroso-ferric resists the action of even acids and chlorine. Ferroso-ferric being a black substance, the adherent layer thus formed, would be black throughout. It is for this reason that the Mehrauli Iron Pillar at Delhi is black in appearance, and not a white shining one which would have been the case, had it been of pure iron.
DATE OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

(Based on Stratigraphical Evidence)

By

Sri K. N. Sastri, M.A., M.O.L.

The earlier excavators of the Indus sites led by Sir John Marshall were of the opinion that the Indus civilization had a long history extending over fifteen hundred years from the beginning of the 4th millennium to the middle of the 3rd mill. B.C. Their conclusions were based partly on the stratigraphical and partly on deductive evidence derived from foreign analogies. They also held that life at Harappa lasted a little longer than at Mohenjo-daro and that during this last phase Harappa witnessed the arrival of an alien race whose remains have been exhumed in the Cemetery H Area.

This early dating by Sir John Marshall is contested by Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler and Prof. Stuart Piggott. They circumscribe the entire period of its life within the narrow limits of c. 2800—1500 B.C. On the basis of his excavation round the fortification wall at Harappa in 1946, Dr. Wheeler not only ascribes a low date to the beginning of the Indus civilization, but also comes to the conclusion that it was finally destroyed by the Aryan invaders in or about the 15th century B.C. I shall first discuss the evidence of the fortification wall and then take up other relevant points that constitute the main plank of his stand in defence of the low dating.

The fortification wall stands on a rampart of mud and debris with core of mud-brick (Pl. II). Having a basal width of some 40 ft. it is battered internally and externally and had a maximum height of about 35 ft. above the ground level. The normal height of the rampart is 10 ft., but at one place where flood water had made a 10 ft. deep erosion into the underlying alluvial deposit, it is carried 10 ft. deeper. Touching the top of the rampart is a bit of the baked brick revetment serving as a landmark to indi-

1. Ancient India No. 3, p. 82.
2. Ibid. No. 3, Pl. XXII, p. 66.
cate the general ground level of the fortification wall at the time of its construction. When the defences came into being this level was obviously considered the safety point above the highest flood level. Leaning against the inner face of the fortification wall is a 33 ft. high tapering mass of mud-brick which Dr. Wheeler took to be a platform designed to carry the buildings inside the citadel. As I shall show below, this was not a platform but a buttress.

Dr. Wheeler says that "After a preliminary occupation of the site or its vicinity, accompanied by extensive periodical flooding, Mound AB was heavily fortified".\(^1\) It means that during the short occupation of the site the new comers found it uninhabitable due to heavy floods and as a counter-measure constructed this stupendous fortification wall. According to Dr. Wheeler the wall marks the arrival of mature Harappa culture.\(^2\) Under its foundations, in layer No. 26, he claims to have found sherds of a variant type of ceramic which he ascribes to some alien people who occupied the site prior to the arrival of the Harappans. He further claims that his excavation in the western slope of Mound AB (Cutting HP, Pl. XXX) presents a comprehensive picture of the character of the defensive wall and covers the whole range of occupation at this mound. Nay, he holds that it represents a complete section of the Harappa Civilization. In other words, the wall as revealed by his Cutting HP XXX, reflects the whole story of Harappa Civilization from beginning to end.

This claim of Dr. Wheeler, when closely examined, seems to lack support of the stratigraphical as well as the circumstantial evidence furnished by the past exploration. He seems to have totally ignored the results of previous excavations at this site and their intimate bearing on his own findings. The major part of pre-1946 excavations was carried out by Messrs. Daya Ram Sahni and M.S. Vats during the decade 1920-21 to 1930-31. A detailed account of their operations is contained in Mr. Vats's monograph 'Excavations at Harappa'.

Most of the area excavated by Messrs. Sahni and Vats on Mound AB lies within the contour lines 580 and 575 above the mean

\(^1\) Ancient India No. 3, p. 64.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 66.
sea level at Karachi.\(^1\) The eastern extremity of Dr. Wheeler's Cutting HP XXX also touches the contour line 575 and corresponds in height with the top of layer \(^1\) etc. It will be clear from the accompanying map (PL. II) that the six occupation levels standing on the top of the platform lie within 16 ft. 6 in. below the highest point at the east end. According to Dr. Wheeler the platform extended all over the Mound at this horizon and formed a common base for the buildings inside the citadel. This implies that the first building level on the platform was coeval with the foundation of the wall. Now this presents a glaring discrepancy when we compare the stratigraphy of Mound AB with that of the adjoining Mound F. In the latter mound Mr. Vats found eight occupation levels in Trench I, the top of which lay within the contour lines 545 and 540 (PL. II). The first or the lowest occupation level in this trench was excavated at 25' 6" below the surface at contour line 519.5. This shows that whereas the first occupation level in Mound F stood at contour 519.5 the same level in the adjoining Mound AB was at contour line 558.5, involving a difference of 39 ft. between the earliest occupation levels in the two adjacent mounds (PL. II).

What can be the explanation of this tremendous difference in the two earliest occupation levels if they were contemporary? The culture represented by the two mounds is identical in every respect and the people who inhabited the two areas were also of the same ethnic strain. If the builders of the fortification wall were the first to arrive at Harappa why was it considered necessary to raise the first building level on Mound AB 39 ft. higher while their contemporary co-settlers could live on a 39 ft. lower ground. Dr. Wheeler leaves this point unanswered. He states that the wall was founded on a rampart presumably to place it above the flood level. The 10-ft. high alluvial deposit immediately beneath the wall is clear indication that at the time it was constructed the floods were heavy and destructive.\(^3\) The foundation of the wall equates with contour

---

1. See Site Plan of Harappa (Excavations at Harappa, Vol. II, PL. I), also PL. III enclosed herewith.
2. Ancient India No. 3, PL. XXII.
3. Recent excavations at Lothal, a Harappan site of early date in Saurashtra, have revealed the existence of a formidable fortification wall of mud-brick which the inhabitants built round the settlement after having raised its foundations to a height beyond the reach of floods. (See Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1954-55.) This find offers a close parallel to the fortification wall at Harappa, both in its purpose and composition.
line 540. It is difficult to assume that when annual floods were throwing up 10-ft. high alluvial deposits up to contour line 540, there could be any settlement on Mound F at c.l. 519.5 at which the first building level stood. In fact there could be no life on Mound F contemporary with any stratum of Mound AB, as the ground surface of the former is traversed by the c.l. 545. Particularly the principal buildings on Mound F, viz., the Great Granary, the Workmen’s Quarters and the Circular Platforms etc.—all of which lie below c.l. 540—would have long perished before the foundations of the citadel were laid on Mound AB.

The only reasonable inference to be drawn from the above enquiry is that the fortifications were constructed at a late period in the history of the Harappa civilization. At the time of its construction there was no life on Mound F or on any of the low-lying areas situated below contour line 545. The only other tumulus that could be contemporary with it is Mound E immediately to its east (PL. IV), a major part of which lies within the contour lines 575 and 560.

In the light of these facts Dr. Wheeler’s hypothesis that the fortification marks the arrival of mature Harappa culture and reflects the entire history of the site from beginning to end does not stand the test of critical examination. Far from representing the entire history of Harappa the Cutting HP XXX does not even reveal the whole story of occupation on Mound AB.

I have shown above that the builders of the fortification wall could not be the earliest Harappans. Harappa culture is about a millennium older than the above wall and, therefore, the few aberrant sherds which he picked up in layer 26 below the foundation of the wall also belonged to the same people who occupied the site before the wall came into existence. A few revealing indications of this fact were noticed by Dr. Wheeler himself in his excavation at the north-west corner of this mound. Here in his Cuttings HP XXXI & XXXV round the north-west tower he came across remains of some fragmentary buildings running at odd angles beneath its foundations (PL. V).¹ These remains, composed as they are of typical Harappa bricks, are clearly assignable to an earlier period.

¹. Ancient India No. 3, p. 67, also PL. XXV B.
Site Plan of Harappa

J. U. P. H. S.
Vol. V. (N.S.)

K. N. Sastri
and demonstrate that the site was already occupied by the Harappans prior to the construction of the wall—a fact that is also confirmed by the presence of eight building strata in Trench I on Mound F, as pointed out above. The few stray potsherds found in layer 26 are too meagre an evidence to support the view that they belonged to an alien ceramic industry. Such pale-coloured thin potsherds have already been found mixed with the red Harappa pottery in previous excavations. In Mr. Vats’s excavations I have examined heaps of potsherds arranged depthwise and encountered among them many abnormal sherds. Yet they all belonged to the same culture and industry.

*Not Platform but Buttress.*

Describing the Platform Dr. Wheeler observes, “Retained by the rampart and the lower part of the superimposed wall was a coeval platform of mud and mud-brick rising to a height of 33 ft. and designed to carry the internal buildings of the citadel.”² It may be pointed out at the outset that the so-called platform is not of one build with the wall. There is a clear line of cleavage between the two structures. Nor was it originally designed, as alleged by him, to carry the internal buildings of the citadel. There was no purpose in building a 33 ft. high platform inside the citadel over an area about 400 yds. long by 200 yds. wide. Why was its foundation carried down to c. 1. 540 when it was externally protected by a massive rampart whose foundations went down some 13 ft. deeper? Again why was its top carried up to a point corresponding with contour line 562.5, that is some 14.5 ft. higher than the highest flood level which was at 548 contour line? Moreover, had it been a common feature of the entire mound it would certainly have appeared at this level in the Extension of Pits I and II and in the trench excavated by Mr. Vats in the southern slope of Mound AB where excavation went deeper than the top of this plat-

---

1. Being unable to grasp full significance of the pre-citadel buildings Dr. Wheeler remarks:—

   “The history of these defences was not a simple one. In addition to the ‘village culture’ found below them in the main section, at two points fragments of underlying baked brick structures were also identified. Whilst, therefore, there is no indication of any lengthy pre-citadel settlement, there was certainly an appreciable antecedent phase”.

   (See Indus Civilization, by Wheeler, p. 20.)

2. Ancient India No. 3, p. 65
form. It would also have shown itself in the deep rain-cut ravines in the eastern slope of the mound near Naugaza Tomb. Far from being a platform it looks more like a huge buttress built up against the wall at a time when the latter began to give way under the heavy impact of the sectional masses of mud and mud-brick that compose the wall. It is difficult to say without further excavation whether it was a solitary feature or extended further along the perimeter of the wall to strengthen the weak points in the defences.

The six building levels perched on the top of the so-called platform belong to the decadent period in the history of the citadel. They came into existence when the fortifications and the buttress got buried under debris up to their top. This is borne out by their uneven foundations and by the haphazard way in which they lie huddled together one over the other with no or very little intervening debris. These flimsy building remains would have ill matched such a heavily fortified large citadel. They must have followed each other in quick succession and the aggregate period of their existence could hardly have been more than a couple of centuries or so which was too short a span for the life of this citadel mound.

The section revealed by the Cutting HP XXX (PL. II) does not, therefore, present a complete picture of the occupation levels inside the citadel. In the present condition it is difficult to say at what horizon the first occupation stood inside the fort or how many more occupation levels followed it during the lifetime of the citadel. In this respect Dr. Wheeler's excavation was defective and incomplete as it did not penetrate far beyond the fabric of the fortification wall and the buttress. Consequently, it is impossible to agree with him in the momentous conclusions he draws from it.

Four Periods of Construction.

Dr. Wheeler recognises four periods of construction in the life of the fortification wall: "Period I marks the time when Harappans after their first arrival at the site built the fortification wall and consolidated it by a revetment wall composed of brickbats. Period II coincided with the re-conditioning of the defensive wall, when the original revetment was rebuilt with first class bricks and considerably thickened. This phase represents the apogee of the Harappan
A Cutting at Harappa on the North Side of the Citadel, showing the Mud-brick Defensive Wall superimposing an Earlier Baked-brick Structure.

J. U. P. H. S.
Vol. V. (N.S.)

K. N. Sastri
the surrounding jungle. In these surviving structural remains we have perhaps the earliest subterranean passage (suraṅgā-mārga) connected with a fort in India. Thus the terraces and the re-entrant did actually serve the normal needs of a citadel and it would be a far-fetched assumption to say that they served some ceremonial purpose as there is not a shred of evidence to uphold this view. The backside of the citadel was hardly a place suitable for ceremonial processions. Moreover, if the citadel was surrounded by a moat there would have been no space left for conducting ceremonial processions in front of the terraces. On the other hand, as a secret passage it fits admirably well in the whole defensive scheme of a citadel.

**Period IV does not equate with Aryan Invasion.**

When Dr. Wheeler comes to Period IV in the life of the wall he treads on a very delicate ground and draws unwarranted conclusions. In the shoddy structures overlying the terraces and in the sherds of the Cemetery H found near about them he reads the signs of a mighty foreign invasion. He suggests, though first hesitantly, that this intrusive element marks the arrival of the Aryan hordes in or about the 15th century B.C. This tentative suggestion ultimately takes the shape of a considered opinion when he says that it were the Aryans who destroyed the citadels of the Indus people and carried on their onslaught on the native population and culture until they established themselves as sole masters of the sapta-sindhu. Finally he concludes that on the basis of the circumstantial evidence Indra, the warlord of the Aryans, stands accused, thereby making the Aryans responsible for the wholesale destruction of the Indus Civilization.

In this connection it would be relevant to review in some detail the actual chronological position of the Cemetery H and its relationship with early Harappa culture. One extraordinary feature of the Cemetery H culture is that apart from necropolitan pottery no other distinctive artefacts or structures exclusively associated with it have been found at Harappa. The few structural remains uncovered in the Cemetery H area in connection with the burials were essentially of funeral character and not residential. Barring these fragmentary structures no other relics of the Cemetery people have
come to light in the whole range of Harappa excavation. In the light of this evidence it is difficult to accept Dr. Wheeler’s interpretation that the building remains standing on the terraces belonged to the Aryan invaders.¹

In Mr. Vats’s excavations it was a common experience to find Cemetery H sherds lying in association with fragmentary structures and antiques of true Harappa culture of earlier period. The overwhelming evidence gathered from the previous exploration amply proves that the Cemetery H people, after their arrival in the declining phase of the Harappa Civilization, lived with the early people for at least a couple of centuries. They got mixed up with them and adopted their culture wholesale. The only distinctive feature of their culture now traceable is the abnormal pottery. No other relics of these elusive people have come down to us to show that they had a parallel culture. There is not an iota of evidence to support that the Cemetery H pottery marks the advent of the Aryans at about c. 1500 B.C. If this ceramic industry belonged to the Aryans why is it not supplemented by any other material remains. The Aryans had a distinctive culture of their own which they considered far superior to that of the people whom they had conquered. It is not understood why they allowed themselves to be completely absorbed in the indigenous population whom they had subdued and what were the reasons that prevailed upon them not to impose their culture on the vanquished.

Cemetery H folk not Aryans.

Since their arrival in North-West India the Aryans settled here permanently and from this springboard they extended their sway over the Gangetic Valley and farther afield. Why should then the Cemetery H ceramic be found at Harappa alone and nowhere else? The Aryans did not drop at Harappa from air. In the long track they followed after their entry into India they must have settled at many other places and we should expect this ceramic at least at a few other places. So far nothing of the kind has come to light anywhere though exploration has made considerable progress in that region. Again the Vedic Aryans practised cremation on a wide scale for disposal of their dead and not inhumation as evidenced in the Cemetery H.

¹. Ancient India No. 3, p. 81
Thus it cannot be proved that the Cemetery H people were Aryan invaders nor that they destroyed the Indus civilization near about 1500 B.C. It is possible, as presumed by Sir John Marshall, that Harappa and Mohenjodaro were already dead cities long before the Aryan advent into India. The dissolution of the Indus Empire might have taken place some time in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. as there is lot of evidence to support this assumption. This approximately fixes the lower limit of the Indus Civilization. As regards the upper limit, I have shown above that Mound F at Harappa is about a thousand years older than the fortification wall round Mound AB. According to Dr. Wheeler the construction of this wall was completed sometime in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. If we add to this a thousand years more the date of the Indus Civilization is pushed back to the middle of the first half of the 4th mill. B.C. This is the conclusion to which the logic of the stratigraphical and circumstantial evidence leads us. It is further supported by foreign analogies and other evidence to which I shall have to refer separately in another article while dealing with corroboratory material evidence.
KOṢA IN THE SMṚTIS

By

Dr. R. K. Dikshit

Every government, whatever its form, needs adequate financial resources to conduct the administration successfully. The political thinkers of ancient India had recognised the importance of the koṣa, and they have often described it as the very root of the state.¹ One of them refers to a popular aphorism which affirms the king’s dependence upon the treasury,² while another describes it as ‘the root of felicity in heaven and victory on the earth.’³ Śukra regards koṣa as one of the three essential elements that are responsible for the prosperity of the state.⁴ Somadeva is more emphatic. According to his conception, it is the koṣa that is the real sovereign, and not the person of the king.⁵ Gautama, amongst the Smṛitikāras, emphasises the same principle, when he describes koṣa as the mūla of the six other constituents of the state.⁶ Indeed, it is the self-evident importance of the Treasury that has led to its eulogisation.

¹. Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 119.16:

koṣasya samatsṛiṃ raṇvayō yathāsājyayā rajāya: |kośa-vṛttā hi raṣṭā: koṣa-sūkṣmare bhaveti.|

Ib. 130.35: raṣṭā: koṣa-vṛttā mūla kośa-mūlaṁ purnabālum |and, 133.1: kośasādhiḥ dharmo kośeśa raṇvayo vṛttāḥ ch avabhete!

Elsewhere, it describes that king as firmly rooted (dṛḍha-mūla) who is rich in his treasures, Ib. 95.17. Cf. also, Vishnudharmaṭara, II. 61.17: kośoḥ raṇvadurdeśeḥ......

². Kāmandaṇa, Nitiśāra, XIII. 33: koṣa-mūlaḥ hi raṣṭēti pravāḥ: sārvalokaikāḥ: |


⁴. Śukrasāti, IV. 131: ardha-bhāvāḥ bālakośoḥ raṇvadudhyayā pratyaktvāt |It describes koṣa as the mouth (nukshah) of the state organism, evidently, because it feeds the other limbs (Ib., I. 61) and as the very basis of its military strength (IV. 129).

⁵. Nitiśāryaśramdhana, XXI. 7: koṭaḥ raṇadeśaḥ bhūchaḥ bhūtān ṣaṭorām |also, Ib., XXI. 5: koṭaḥ hi bhūtānām śāśvātanām prāṇaḥ: |

in the *Mahābhārata*. Any set back in its fortunes sapped the very vitality of the ruler.²

The undoubted importance of the treasury finds expression in the suggestion that it should be the first concern of the government.³ Kauṭilya remarks, very aptly, that as all the undertakings of the government depend upon the *kośa*, they must pay the first attention to it.⁴ Some of the *Smṛitis* go to the extent of declaring that it should be the personal concern of the head of the state,⁵ and they have allotted a specific period for the purpose in the daily routine of the king.⁶ Manu says that “the treasury... (is) dependent upon the king”, and Kullūka, commenting upon it, writes that the treasury “should not be made over to the charge of any other person: the king should look after it himself.”⁷ Yājñavalkya, too, has expressed a similar opinion. His dictum is that the king “should himself look after the work of collection and disbursement”; nay, he should personally “deposit in the treasury all the gold brought in by persons employed in the work...”.⁸ The

---

1. *Mahābhārata* XII. 133. Cfr. *ibid.*, XII 130. 49-50:

\[अभषं दुर्बलं प्राधुन्येन बलवायम्बेत्। सर्वं धनवतः प्राप्यं सर्वं तर्कं कोशवान्।।
कोशेन धर्मं: कामश्रेण परलोकस्तथा हृदयम्। तत् गर्गं लिखितं नायमेण कदाचन।।
\]

According to it, the wealth conceals the very sins of the rulers, XII. 133. 7:

\[साहस्य गृहति पापानि वातो गृहमिहायित्रयाः।।
\]

also, *Vishyadērmatāra*, II 61.8-17.

2. *Mahābhārata* XII. 130 12:

\[राजस: कॉशवासब्येत्र जाप्ते बलसंयम्य।।
3. *ibid*, XII. 133.5:

\[तस्मात् कोशेः... विश्वेषेत्।।
\]

4. *Arthāśāstra*, II. 8. 1—2:

\[कोशपुरस्वस्त्यरथमः। तस्मात्सूरवं कोशवेशेत्।।
\]

5. Cfr. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 86. 20:

\[चरामनं च कोशं च दुर्गं च विश्वायं।
अनुतित्वे सर्वं राजा सर्वं हृदय प्रतिष्ठतमूः।।
\]

also, *Śukra*, I. 123; *Kāmandaoka*, IV. 17; V. 77. etc.

6. *Vide*, *Mans*, VIII. 419; *Yājñavalkya*, I. 327, ff; *Śukraśīh*, I. 275-77; 280; *Arthāśāstra*, I. 19.10, etc.

7. *Manu*, VII. 65:

\[नृपतं कोशराजः...।।
\]

Kullūka remarks:

\[नृपतवर्जः संघवस्यावेशावयसी (राजा परारोधी) नकस्कयो।।
\]

\[स्वयमेव विन्दुरीय धर्मं प्रामोच।।
\]

8. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 327-28:

\[कुरक्कः सनृसाय पथवायव्यचरी रथवम्।
हिरण्यं धर्मयुतं मीरं भव्यागारेदु निलक्षेपदु।।
\]

According to the *Mahābhārata*, XII. 120. 33, the king should keep the strength of the treasury a closely guarded secret:

\[नायं राजा प्रमोच।।
\]
Rājatarāṅgiṇī furnishes an example of such personal interest taken by a king. It tells us how king Kalaśa of Kashmir kept accounts like a merchant, closely watched income and expenditure, and had a clerk always by his side with chalk and birch leaves to write upon.1

The importance of national reserve was recognised in ancient India. Depleted treasury was considered to be the greatest weakness of the state,2 and to maintain a full exchequer was an imperative duty of the rulers.3 Atri regards the enrichment of the treasury, by fair means, as one of the five yajñas prescribed for the king.4 Most of our authorities have advocated the maintenance of a full treasury. Kāmandaka desires that the king’s kośa should be ‘full of all desired kinds of wealth…rich in pearls, gold and jewels…(and) capable of bearing great strains of expenditure’.5 The Abhilashitārtha-Chintāmani, likewise, says that it should be always full of gold—in the form of coins or bars—silver, jewels, ornaments and costly clothes.6

1. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, VII. 507-8; also Ib. V 238.
2. Appropriately enough, Hindu writers prescribe that the king should be well versed in Vārāṇī; Cf. Sūtra, I. 153; Mānus, VII. 43; Tājānavalīya, I. 311; Kāmandaka, II, 2, etc.
3. Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 133. 4-6: अवस्थदहाद्रोडः बलम् अवस्थदहाद्रोस्त्राद्वियम्...। हृदेनाभिः हृदेनाभिः राजानमवज्ञानमिति मानवः (अवमन्यत्वं शास्त्रं)।
   also, Ib., XII. 105. 21: जलव प्रभुत धृष्टयादेशेन नवंवति शास्त्रः।
4. The Mahābhārata, XII, 58.9, makes the augmentation of the treasury (kośasya… sivardhanāḥ) one of the duties of the king, and says that he should be devoted to its enrichment like Kuvera, XII. 57. 18. Sūtra also says that the realisation of his share (svāhādānaḥ) was an imperative duty of the king (IV. 258).
5. Atri Sāhāṣā, 28:

   हुन्दस्य वंकः सुजनस्व पुजा, न्यायेनकोकस्य च सम्प्रभुः।
   अपवागहीर्यशुष्क्वरुस्तरस्त, परवेद यशस्त: कविता नृपावाम्।
6. Nītisāra, IV. 62-63:

   बुधं बानावीभनिः:शास्त्रः हयतः पूजितवेवतः।
   हस्तक्कालप्रवसस्मृणीयः हृदायाशीर्षितः।
   सुनितकतर्कम्बम—मष्टक्षवांतमहोऽचितः।
   यमन्तज्जो अध्यस्तहः कोषः कोषसम्भवतः।

Rājatarāṅgiṇī, V. 10-13, gives us an idea of the collections of riches in the royal treasury.


   मुख्यं रज्जश रल्लस्वश्रारभरणस्तथा।
   पुञ्ज्यवस्तहः कारः कोषो नित्यः महीमुजः।
   हृदं वा निभक्तस्य जनं वा पण्डकप्रम्।

Cf. also, Arthasastra, VI. 1-10.
The Šukraniti makes the almost impossible suggestion that the state treasury should contain so much of wealth as would maintain the national army for twenty years, even without receipt of taxes. Not only was the king required to maintain gold and silver reserves, he was also asked to maintain stocks of grain. These, according to the same authority, should be sufficient for three years consumption in the country.¹

II

The principal means of filling the treasury was taxation. Its history goes back to a very remote antiquity in India. We have the earliest references to taxes in the hymns of the Rigveda. The term bali, originally used to denote voluntary offerings to the deities, came to be applied to the taxes and tributes offered to the king, who was consequently designated baliśrīta.² The later Vedic texts sometimes describe the king as ‘the eater of his subjects’,³ evidently with reference to his right of collecting the taxes from them.⁴ They also mention certain officials e.g., Bhāgadugha, Saṅgrahātri, and Aksha-vāpa, who were connected with the Revenue and Accounts departments.⁵ At a later stage, the Epics, Dharmasāstras and Arthaśāstras regulated and regularised the entire system of taxation. Nothing can be more perfect and flawless than the system propounded therein. It is of great constitutional significance, and would remain ideal for any age and country.

1. Šukraniti, IV. 128:

श्रेय शूचाग्रन्त्वैलन्त विना कोशालपालत्य च ।
संरलंग्न भवेतस्मयावस्तिततिवस्तरम् ॥

Ibid, IV. 140: धायानां संप्रहः कारां वस्त्रेचणौभूतिः ।

Amongst the Vyāsanas of the Treasury, Kamandaka mentions the following: extravagance, outlay (on different projects), misappropriation, want of accumulation, embezzlement and remotesness (of the flowing in of money), XIII. 66.

4. In Vedic times the incidence of taxation fell upon the Vaiśyas primarily, as they were engaged in the productive professions of agriculture, trade and cattle-rearing. Consequently, they have been described as ‘anyāya baliśrīta’, cf. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 29. However, other classes, too, had to pay their share, as suggested by the king’s epithet viśoddhi savāh, Aitareveda, IV. 22.7.
5. Cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3.1, etc.
The first and the most important principle enunciated by them is that the taxes should be levied in accordance with the 'Law'—as laid down in the Sūtras themselves. They have not only prescribed the various items of taxation, but also the rates of the taxes which the state was entitled to levy. This wholesome principle restrained the arbitrary powers of the government, and minimised the chances of friction between the rulers and the ruled. Taxation could not be an object of the rulers' caprice. Manu observes that the king who receives only the just dues from his people thrives both in this world and the next, whereas by taking what ought not to be taken he proclaims his own weakness, and suffers both here and hereafter. His dictum is that even in the direst need a king must not collect the unauthorised taxes. Yājñavalkya, too, writes that a ruler who multiplies his treasures by unfair taxation is, in no time, shorn of prosperity and meets with destruction. So does the Mahābhārata, when it states that an avaricious king who foolishly oppresses his subjects by levying taxes not sanctioned by the scriptures wrongs his own self, more than any body else. He was

1. Cf. Nitisāra, VI. 6 dharmamegāsthām viçardhayān; Ib. IV. 63: dharmājīlo...Kośaḥ; Mahābhārata, XII. 71. 11: dāpayastā...kharaḥ dharmayān; Ib XII. 130.50: tath cha dharmapatiprakāśaṃ kāka...vācchanaḥ; also, Ib. XII. 28.57; 70. 9; 71. 6-7; 142. 91; Vishnu dharmottara II. 17, etc.

2. Śukra says that people get agitated over the imposition of new duties and taxes (Śukraniti, II. 264: nārdana karṣurukkonecakārañjatetat: ) and that where the king is a robber of the people's wealth 'the society gets disturbed and disorganised', (Ib. I. 129).

3. Mena, VIII. 170-71:

अनावद्यं नवजीत परिपीतोपि पापिवः |
न वैवर्यं स्तृस्तोपि सुरक्षस्यस्यमुद्येत् छ। |
अनावद्यं बादमालविद्यं च वर्जनात् । |
दीर्घं स्वागत्ये राजः स प्रेतवेद्यं च नवयति ।

Kāmandaka (XIII. 63) considers unjust taxation and the confiscation of the people's wealth as a symptom of the State, Cf. also Ib. XIV. 6.

4. Yājñavalkya, I. 340: अन्वयनेन नूपे राज्यं स्वारूपोऽयोभिग्रहयेत्।
सोविचारिहितस्थबोकानुसर्मेतिसत्तामेतिसत्तामेतिसवालववः।

5. Mahābhārata, XII. 71. 15:

अब्दौमलोपिद्धिस्तथा...हुस्तेस्वयमास्मान: ।
कर्तःसतात...वृद्धां मौहःसतसीमस्वनो:।

Elsewhere, it favours the middle course between 'purity and righteousness', and 'heartless cruelty', XII. 133.3:

न कोशā गृहूष्णेन नूतस्याः...संप्रहीणं चरतेः।
doomed to lose his state.\(^1\) *Lobha* and *krodha* or *anyāya* and *adharma* had no place in the collection of state dues. A king who extracted money through cupiduty was ruined along with his subjects.\(^2\) He was also required to punish the officials guilty of extorting money unlawfully from his people.\(^3\) Our authorities do not favour the appointment of officers ‘stained with lust and wrath’ in the collection of taxes. They were to be restrained from realising more than the prescribed dues by force or fraud.\(^4\) Kauṭilya says very succinctly “whoever doubles the revenue eats into the vitality of the country”, and deserves punishment.\(^5\)

Epigraphic evidence shows that this principle was usually followed by the governments in ancient India. It mentions several kings who claim to have realised taxes according to the *Law*.\(^6\) The *Jātaka* also represent good kings as levying only legal taxes, but they, as well as the *Annals of Kashmir*, contain several instances to the

1. *Sukraniti*, IV. 123 ............................

2. *Ibid*, I. 209: सोभातंकुष्ययस्तु हि हीते सम्राज्यः

3. *Ibid*, IV. 120: अन्यायविनाशितः यस्याधिनत्तपपमाधिकः

4. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 71. 13: मा शास्त्रोनाधारम्यण लिनेरायते यानामम्

5. *Vishnu Sahitya* V. 189-191.


*Rājarṣithī* mentions several examples of such unscrupulous officials, e.g. V. 180-181, 232, 267-68; VI. 70, 288.

4. *Cf. Mahābhārata*, XII. 71. 8-9:

5. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 9. 17: य समुदयः ष्ट्रिगुणलोभाभावितः स जनपदं भक्ष्यति

contrary too. However, they are the exceptions, rather than the rule. We have the historic example of the powerful Nandas, whose avarice was the most potent cause of their unpopularity and consequent downfall.

Secondly, the Smritis prescribe that the taxes should be reasonable and equitable—neither too excessive to be felt as an oppressive burden by the people, nor too little to affect the stability of the state itself. Manu rightly advises the king neither to cut off his own roots by not realising taxes and duties, nor to cut off the roots of the people through excessive greed. The Mahâbhârata, too, reminds the rulers that nothing exposes them to greater hatred than oppressive taxation. It advises them to realise the taxes in such a way that their subjects would not feel the pressure of want.

Almost all the authorities insist that the people should be so taxed as not to sap their vitality. They must remain strong enough to bear future burdens. Bhishma said to Yudhishthira that ‘if the calf is permitted to suck, it grows strong and bears heavy burdens. On the other hand, if the cow is overmilched the calf becomes lean and fails to do much service to the owner. Similarly, if the people are overtaxed they fail to perform great tasks.’ The ancient texts

1. Cf. Jâtaka, V pp. 98, 240, etc; Râjataragâsî. IV 622, 628; V. 165, 167, 175, 184; VI 622, 628 etc.

One such ruler enunciates his policy as follows (ib. IV. 346-48):

अपरांच बिन्द बरख्षा गूह वर्धासित:। तेहि संभूतविता: सयुहूः पंडागुर्भसंभय:।
बर्थोपस्मेऽयायमहानि क्षेत्रबुल्लिता: बुद्:। प्रायवाणो नातिरिष्यते यथा काय तथा सहृद॥
अभीकौभूतविता हि बलसशेषेष्ठे भूतम्। भवेयुखविरः कृता नृपासातिफलकरः॥

2. Manu, VII. 139: नौचिण्यावासानानो मूलं परेत्या चापृत तुषराया॥

उद्ययानुपालनो मूलमात्रानो लांकर गोवेसु॥

also, Mahâbhârata, XII, 87. 18: नौचिण्यावासानो मूलं परेत्या चापृत तुषराया॥

3. Ibid., XII. 87. 19: प्रद्दलति परिद्राता राजानमसातिवागनुम्॥

4. Ibid, XII. 71.11: वायपिषिका कर्तम दयिय राहुते नौरा यत्राविषष् तवैं नस्येकर्तव्राता योगसमस्तमत्रितः॥

cf. Śukraniti, IV. 228: हरेचरसवाहाधां वयादवयोवेस्वतः॥

5. Mahâbhârata, XII. 87. 15-16: उद्ययावचकरावत्या महाराजा युषिधित॥

यथा यथा न सीवरंत्वय कुपोऽमहोपित:॥

6. Ibid, 87. 20-22: वस्तोपयेन ब्रोगवधाय रूपसम्जीवित्वम्॥

भूते बलसो जातवः पीढा सहितं भारत:॥

न कर्मं कुर्ते वस्तो भूते कुर्वो युषिधित॥

राहुमप्यातिबुध्येन हि न कर्मं कुर्ते महतु॥

Kâmandaka (XVII, 32) & Śukra (IV. 92) consider heavily taxed people as easily alienable.
use several metaphors to explain their point of view. For example, we read in the *Manusmriti*: "As the water insect, the calf and the bee eat their food little by little, so little by little should the king draw from his kingdom the annual taxes". Likewise, it is stated by Parāśara that as "a flowerman strings a garland of flowers by culling one from each plant in the garden, so a king shall raise his revenue by imposing a light tax on his individual subjects, without inflicting hardship on any". In short, their advice is that the king should act like the maker of garlands and not like the maker of charcoal; who fells down all the trees in the garden and reduces them to cinders. Another maxim was: 'draw the milk but do not bruise the udders'. If an increase in taxation was felt justified by the in-

1. *Manu*, VII. 129: यथालयमवस्थायम् बार्यकोवलस्त्रप्तमः। सायलयापो प्रहीतयो राजांश्रासातिबिकः करः॥

2. *Parāśara*, I. 59:

पुश्यं गुप्यं विचिन्यामूललच्छवं न कारपेतु ।
पुश्यं मालकारं हवोधाने न सायाःश्रासालारः॥

Cf. also, *Mahābhārata*, XII. 88. 4-6:

मधुव्रोहं बुधद्रास्तं भक्तरा इव ष्टपुमः।
सत्तापेशीं बुधकथं स्तनांश्व न विकुटपेतु ॥

ज्ञातकाबलिब्रजातं मुदुव्रेत नराविशः।
व्यायार्थं च हुरंद्रुजुमंसेवं च पोहदेतु ॥

यथा शायकाबनारवः पवं पून्यते सवा ।
अश्रुश्रेष्ठनामामुपायेन तथा राज्य समापितेतु ॥

Ibid. 120.34:

यवामेण पुपेपयस्वलिनोति मधुस्त्पः।
तथा श्वर्यरचाय राजा कुवात समस्यसः॥

3. Cf. *Parāśara*, op. cit.; *

śukraiti*, IV. 223:

मालकारं इव प्राहपो भागोनाङ्गारकारणः।

*Mahābhārata*, XII. 71. 20:

मालकारोपेः राजा भवसंगोमारकोपः।

Elsewhere, however, it admits that the treasury can not be filled without oppressing others; and adds that the king incurs no sin in doing that; *Ibid.* XII. 130.36:

नान्यान्योपयोगस्थेः कीशा: काष्टः: कुतो बलम्।

तद्यथा पोहदिक्षा च बोध: प्राप्तः न सोहद्वतः॥

Cf. also *śukra*, IV. 117.

crease in the general prosperity of the realm, the enhancement should be gradual, and not sudden and steep.¹

Thirdly, the Smritis prescribe that the taxes should be levied only after due consideration of the relevant factors, and after a proper investigation. We note, for instance, that different rates have been prescribed for the produce tax. Evidently, it varied according to the commodity produced, the nature of the soil, facilities for irrigation, and the normality or abnormality of the season.² Likewise, when taxing the traders the government was required to take into consideration, not only their investment, but also the costs of the trade, risks involved and the prospects of the sale of their ware. Similarly, in the case of manufacturers allowance had to be made for their labour, technical skill, and the cost of production.³ Both,

1. *Ibid*, XII. 88, 7-9:

> भूमि भुतितः भूमि: क्षेत्राधिकारिणः धातुभारः विवर्णः ।
> विवर्णानां धातुनिर्माण्यां प्रवाहायत ।
> यददीति: स्मायादिकायां संग्राहति

2. *Cf. Manu*, VII, 130:

> धातुनिर्माणाय भाग: वज्रो द्वारस्त्र एव वाम ।

Kullūka remarks:

> भूमि: क्षेत्राधिकारिणां विवर्णानां धातुनिर्माणाय भक्त: स्मायादिकायां प्रवाहायत ।

Gautama X:

> श्री बलिवानां कृषाकृष्यसमाधानः यशस्व वा...

also *Sukrasūti*, IV, 225-26:

> तदागवार्णिकाधिकारिणां धातुनिर्माणाय ।
> देशाविद्या मात्राः राजाधिकाराः सदा ।
> तृतीयाः न च तत्त्वातुल्यसंविधाः हर्षरक्षा ।
> यद्वादिकायां समाधानातां वसुधारात्

3. *Manu*, VII, 127:

> क्या विजयसम्बन्धाय भक्त: च स परिष्ठायम ।
> योगलोक संप्रेक्षय वणिज्यो वापेक्षाराजः

Kullūka Comments:

> किंतु स्मायादिकायां वर्षां स्वाधिकारिणां विवर्णेन चतुर्थ मुखाल्पयो, किंतू श्रीसिद्धार्थी, किंतू वणिज्यो भक्त: शकाकुमारिणां परिष्ठायम लात्र, किंतू यार्थास्त्री चौराहिन्दी चतुर्थेवेय स्मायादिकायां वणिज्यो चारास्त्री: सामायन्य स्मायादिकायां वणिज्यो प्रतिविधाया ।

also, *Mahābhārata*, 87, 13-15:

> विजयसम्बन्धाय भक्त: स परिष्ठायम ।
> योगलोक संप्रेक्षय वणिज्यो वापेक्षाराजः
> उत्सौ वाराहस्त्रि: च विद्वान संप्रेक्षय चारास्त्री: ।

and *Vishṇudharmottara*, II 61, 54-56.
in the case of trade and industry, the taxes were payable on net profits, and not on the gross earnings.\(^1\) Gautama ordains that the traders were not liable for the payment of taxes if their goods were sold at a loss.\(^2\) Another authority prescribes that an article could be taxed only on one occasion.\(^3\) The criterion of equitable taxation was that both the state as well as the traders and producers should feel that they had got a fair and reasonable return for their labour. The latter would not keep up the business if it did not prove profitable to them.\(^4\) The political thinkers of ancient India did not believe in obliterating the ‘private sector’. They have unreservedly recommended protection to the Vāśyas,\(^5\) engaged in trade, agriculture and manufacture.

Fourthly, we are told that the taxes should be recovered at the proper time and place, and in proper form. This is the dictum of the Mahābhārata.\(^6\) Kautilya, too, says that “just as fruits are gathe-

---

1. *Manu*, VII. 128:

\[\text{ yamlapalena yuvāt rājasa karttvaṃ ca karmanām} \]

\[\text{ tapasvayam nāgo rādṛṣṭa kalpayeyantāt karantu} \]

also, *śukrā*, IV. 221:

\[\text{ labandubhārāhṛṇāḥṣaḥ} \]

and IV. 229.

2. *Gautama Sūkhaśīla*, X:

\[\text{ pasyā vajñimśivāpye r aṃ devaṃ} \]

also, *śukrānti*, IV. 220:

\[\text{ naktijanamukyābhīshalavāpyu rotariḥ} \]

3. *Ibid*, IV. 218:

\[\text{ varūṣājātivyākaraṃ sūlaṃ prāhāṃ prayatnāt} \]

and IV. 219.

4. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 87. 17:

\[\text{ faltā karm ca nihṛṣṭuḥ n kā śrīcārvastuḥ} \]

*Śukrānti* says that the dues should be so realised from the traders as would not destroy their capital, II. 174-75:

\[\text{ pahāhānhīlāḥ mūlahana nāgāh śābeśriḥ} \]

\[\text{ tapaḥ śukramāṇḍRam śāleśkīkāḥ: saubhāyāḥ} \]

It appears from the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 21.39) that *śukla* or octroi duties were also utilised to control the export and import trade of the country. Imports harmful to the interests of the state (ṛṣṭṭra-pāūḍākaraṇa) were discouraged by the imposition of heavy duties, while beneficial articles were admitted duty free, or at concessional rates.

5. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 87.35—40; 88. 29—30; *śukrānti* IV. 1327; *Nitiśāra*, V. 80.

6. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 88. 12:

\[\text{ n aśrāṛyaṇe n śākaše karaṇtē yō nipaśrayet} \]

\[\text{ āśruṣṭaḥ sastrāṇe yāpakaḥ yāṣabhī} \]

also, 93.35:

\[\text{ śākaše prāṣṭebhīyānu} \]

and, 120.33:

\[\text{ kālaḥ prāṣṭamūḥkaraṇāt} \]
red from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruit, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured......"1. Kāmandaka also has expressed a similar opinion. He says that 'a monarch...should in proper season ingather taxes from his subjects....Just as cows are at one time tended and nourished and at other times milked, so are the subjects to be helped at one time....and at other time to be levied taxes upon. A florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and culls flowers from them'.

Lastly, we notice that the incidence of taxation was fairly distributed. Every earning member of the society contributed his quota to the finances of the realm.3 Agriculturists, cattle-rearers, traders, merchants and manufacturers had to pay a certain percentage of their income to the government. Even poor persons who maintained themselves by manual labour, or subsisted on petty callings, were expected to contribute their mite to the national exchequer. Manu says that the artisans, skilled or unskilled, and manual workers should work for the king once a month.4 Gautama

---

1. *Arthāśāstra*, V. 2. 82: पुष्यमिवारामःकल रायायावानुवाह । अमवच्छेबभावाम् । वर्धयेर्कोपकारकम् ।

2. *Nitiśāra*, V. 83-84: आवदीत धनं काॅले त्रिवंगपरिपुःखे यथा गी: पालसमें काले गुहाते च तथा प्रजा। तिपथ्ये चीयते चब लता पुष्पालिना।

3. Shamsastry's Translation, pp. 275-76.

4. Cf. also, *Mahābhārata*, XII. 71.17:

5. *Nitiśāra*, II. 171-72:

6. Even free-booters, who brought a booty from a hostile country, with the permission of their king, had to surrender to him a sixth part of their gain, cf. *Bṛhaspati*, I. 13.38; *śukra*, IV 822. Likewise, the gamblers, vide, *Nārada*, XVII. 8; *Yājñavalkya*, II. 201-203; *Bṛhaspati*, I. 27. 1-3.

4. *Manu*, VII. 137-38:

5. *Gautama Sākhītī*, X. शिलिवेन: मासिनात्यंकतं कम्मं कुमुदेऽनासपाधंविनो व्याधाष्ट्रा नीष्कर्षान्तवधः।

It adds that they were to be fed by the king while working for him.

Cf. also *Vishādharmottara*, II. 61,68:
and Vishnu concur with him. Their services were usually utilised in connection with the local works of public utility.

However, certain categories of people were exempted from the payment of taxes. These included the crippled and disabled, infants and extremely old men, students and ascetics, and the women. Manu says that ‘a blind man, an idiot, a cripple, an old man of seventy, an ascetic, and one who attends upon the Vedic scholars should not be made to pay any taxes’. Vaishista adds to the list the government servants, ambassadors, orphans, infants, students, public beneficiaries, maidens, widows and women whose children are dead, beggars and those who make a living by the practice of arts. In the Mahabharata, Bhishma quotes Utathya, to the effect that where the government exacts money from the poor, catastrophic results inevitably follow. The shrtriyas, voluntarily wedded to a life of poverty, were also exempted from the payment of taxes. Vishnu and Vaishista extend the privilege to all the Brhmañas. However, opinion seems to have been divided on this issue, for the

1. Vishnu, III. 32: शिल्पन्: कर्मजीवितवर्ष शून्यासच मातेमगं रजा: कर्म कुयुः।
   According to Sakravati (IV. 232), however, the workers and artisans should work for the king once a fortnight: काह शिल्पिगाधायस्य देविन्कर्मकारं।

2. Manu, VIII. 394: अन्येको जडः: पीठपती सत्तवत्स व:।
   शोभवेषुपुरुषेऽवस्था न दाया: केनाधिकां।

3. Vaishista, XIX. 15: अकर्ष: भोजियो राजमुखाना सन्तधारकत्वालां सुदृढ्यौत्तरणविभाज्यातः।
   (प्रदत्त) प्राप्तांगिक: कुमारस्यपुरुषस्वार्थ: (दृढप्राप्तवादश)

   It quotes (Ib. 25), with approval, the following sloka from Manu: न भिन्न (रितत) कावरोपयमार्त गुरुके (शुल्क) न सिद्धसूत्री न शिला न दुः (वातृ)।

   न भैसलग्ने (वृत्त) न हृदानन्दे न भोजिये प्रभाविते न यते॥

   Cf. also, Apastamba Dharma Sutra, II. 10.26. 1ff. and Vishnu, V. 191.

4. Mahabharata, XII. 91.25. Elsewhere, it suggests that taxes should be levied on those who are able to bear the burden, and that too after examining their income and expenditure, Ib. 120.9.

5. Vaishista, op. cit.; Manu, VII. 133: भियमणोधारनेत न राजा भोजियार्कर्म।

   It thus accounts for the favour shown to them: संस्कर्ममाणो राजा यं कृतो धर्ममन्वयं।
   तेनायुव्यविचते राजाः प्रविधिः राजस्वस्व च॥ VII. 136.

   Cf. also, Brihaspati, I. 17.3.

6. Vishnu, III. 26-27: भ्राह्मणेऽय: करारानेऽय न कुर्यालो।
   तेहि राजे धर्मकर्वैः॥

   Vaishista, I. 45-46, explains the exemption as follows: इत्याधृतेऽय: यो विशिष्टांभासतीत ह भ्राह्मणं वेदसमायं करोति भ्राह्मणं आपय उज्जवलः।
   तदेतत्रा भ्राह्मणोज्ज्वलः। सोमो अन्य राजा मयातीतः॥

   Cf. Brihaspati, V. 18-20; 42-44.
'Mahābhārata enjoinsthat the Brāhmaṇas who were not possessed of the Vedic lore and who did not maintain the sacred fire, or who engaged themselves in profitable pursuits must pay the usual taxes.\(^1\) This is also the view of Nārada and Viśnūneśvara.\(^2\) The Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain privileges in respect of treasure troves,\(^3\) and the law of escheat, too, did not apply to their property.\(^4\) Opinion is also divided in respect of the exemption granted to the ascetics, for Kauṭilya says that they paid to the king 'one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that it is a tax payable to him who protects us'.\(^5\) Others were exempted on humanitarian grounds, or

1. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 76.5

2. *Nārada*, III. 14 and XVIII. 38 (note); *Mīlośkarā*, on Vājīnāvalkya, II.4

3. *Manu*, VIII. 37:

4. *Nārada*, vide Kullūka on the above:

5. (S.B.E., VII. 6-7)

6. *Yājñavalkya*, II. 33-36:

7. *Vaiśeṣika*, III. 14-15:

8. *Vaiśeṣika*, XVII. 74-8:

9. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 13, 9:

because they had no independent earnings of their own. Notice is also taken of the dependent position of women, whose proprietary rights in ancient days were strictly limited. Subsequently, with the improvement in their status the concession seems to have been limited only to poor widows and destitute women.

Equally sound principles have been enunciated about the total or partial remission of taxes. The Arthaśāstra, for example, recommends that if a person brought fresh land under cultivation or increased its productive capacity by constructing tanks and reservoirs for irrigating it, the state should realise from him only a nominal tax in the beginning, raising it gradually to the standard rate in the course of four or five years. Remission of taxes is also recommended in the case of new settlements, or on emergent occasions, such as the outbreak of war, famine and pestilences. Kāmandaka (xiii. 54), for example, favours remission of taxes in ‘bad seasons’. Kauṭilya exempts certain articles, too, from the payment of toll-tax. These include the commodities intended for presentation or for the performance of various saṃskāras, sacrifices and other religious rites and ceremonies.

1. Cf. Manu, VIII. 416:

भायाः पुत्रश्च बालश्च श्रेयं एवाधिनं स्मृति।
यदि समधिपञ्चति यथे तत्र तत्रायं।

also, Nārada, V 41.

2. Arthaśāstra, Ill. 9. 37-40:

तदाधिकारिणानां नवव्यवस्थिती गाम्भिर्वावः परिहारः।
भारतस्वर्गवि चाँदुवावः।
समुस्वाङ्गिणानां गाम्भिर्वावः।
स्वल्पस्थलः देववावः।
स्वामायानां विचित्रः।

also, Šukrašīla, IV. 232-33:

तत्स वृद्धमेव तत्रां वा वामकं नीत्यायं निर्देशितम्।
कुलामूवः वा वामकं नीत्यायं निर्देशितम्।
तदविशेषिन्यायमेव विनिर्देशितम्।

3. Arthaśāstra, II. 1. 19:

निवेदनेभ्यो यथा गंतकं वा परिहारं वदात।

4. Ibid, II. 21-22:

वेदार्थकमवर्धनवीपायपायमित्वः मन्त्रश्रव्यमेवनामायं
ब्रह्मचार्यमं विद्वानं ब्राह्मणसत्तारोभवत्।

It also recommends remission of taxes in a newly conquered country to win the goodwill of the local people, XIII. 5. 14-15.

According to Nārada (III. 15) duty should also be not charged on alms received by the Brāhmaṇas, the property of stage-players and on what is capable of being carried on one’s back.
While prescribing the limits of taxation, the law-givers of ancient India were not oblivious of the emergencies, and they have made liberal provisions for such occasion as war, famine and other calamities. For example, Manu, who ordains that a king ‘must not take what ought not to be taken’, even in the direst need, permits him to realise a fourth part of the agricultural produce, instead of the usual sixth, in times of distress. He also allows him a corresponding increase in taxation on the profits of grain and bullion dealers, and has no objection to the labourers, craftsmen and artisans being forced to do more than their prescribed quota of work. Similarly, Sukra prescribes that in normal times the king should not augment his treasury by enhancing the rates of daṇḍa, bhūbhāga and śulka; nor should he levy taxes from the tīrthas and the property consecrated to the deities. But he is prepared to relax these restrictions during the exigencies of the war. He also permits, on such occasions, the realisation of the land tax on the basis of the Manu’s standard of measurement, instead of the usual Prajāpati measure. The former measured less and consequently brought more revenue, *Ibid.* I. 208-09. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (V. 171, 176) furnishes examples of kings tampering with weights and measures in order to enhance their incomes. Kauṭilya, too, has no objection to the king’s realising a fourth or even a third part of the produce in times of distress. However, he would restrict such a levy to the fertile tracts of the country. He also sanctions demand at the enhanced rates from the merchants, artisans (mahākāravāh, kshudrakāravāh), herdsmen (yoniposhaka), and even actors (kuśānaka), and prostitutes (rūpājīvāh).

1. *Manu*, X. 118, 120:

बन्धुमात्सानिः श्रयो भागापति ।
प्रकारीकारं श्रयो विलियात्मकित्वृत्ते ॥
प्रायोऽविभिर् शुल्के विलिदीयापियाक्षरः ॥
कर्मप्रकरणः शुस्तः कारवः विलियाच्छणः ॥

2. *Subraṁhiṣṭha*, IV: 124-25:

बंडेः भूमात्सा श्रुतकारामामविव्याकोपकर्षनम्।
अनुपविनु कुर्वित लोपेयवकर्षकर्षनत।
यदाश्रयविनायरः वल संसक्रणोहतः।
विलियायत बंडेः श्रुतकाराव धनं लोकददाहेत।

*Mahābhārata*, XII, 136.2, however, says that the property of those who are devoted to the performance of sacrifices, and the wealth of the temples should not be seized on any account, but see *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 166-170.

3. *Arthāśāstra*, V. 2.2.—*devamātrikah prabhūtadāhāyaḥ*. It also exempts several classes of people from such a levy, including those ‘who have not enough subsistence, (ailpa-prāgaṇa)’, *Ib.* IV. 2.3.
or their keepers (vandhakiposhakā). The only saving grace with him is his reluctance to permit such demands being made a second time in the course of the same emergency (sakrideva na doīḥ prayaṇyajah). The Arthaśāstra also permits the king to seize (āpaharet) the funds of the temples (deva-drayaṁ) and heretics (pāshaṇḍa-sangha), and commends many other devices and dodges, machiavelian in character, to make the people disgorge their wealth. The services of the spies were also utilised to play upon the religious credulity of the people or for exciting their fears, in order to secure money from them under various pretences. Theft and seizure of property under false accusations, too, have not been ruled out. However, such devices were to be employed only against the seditious and irreligious elements.¹

The Mahābhārata permits the king, in distress, to take the wealth of all classes of people, with the exception of the ascetics and Brāhmaṇas. It even permits him to use force in order to make the rich part with their wealth, provided that it was necessary for the protection of the people.² The Bṛihat-Parāśara Sūrīti allows the king the use of temple funds in a financial crisis, only to be returned when the crisis was over. It also permits the confiscation of the wealth of the usurers, low people, heretics and prostitutes—on the ground that their prosperity depended ultimately upon the prosperity of the

1. Curiously enough, the Mahābhārata permits the king to seize the property of the persons who did not perform religious rites and sacrifices—but only to be gifted away to the good people. It should not be hoarded in his treasury, Ib. XII. 136. 1-7.

2. Arthaśāstra, V. 2. It also permits a ruler to exact taxes (karāṇamāṃ samānaṁ Vā kārya) from the rich on the occasion of famine, Ib. IV. 3. 25.

 Cf. also, Somadeva’s Nītisākṣāsanam, XXI. 14:

वेदविज्ञानांत्यमित्रपरिजनानुपयोगितत्वसारं विद्विज्ञानेनियोगिप्रामाण्याय-गणेशं प्रभुत्रिविविविविक्तप्राप्तायां समुद्रवीर्यानांत्याधिक्ष्वानप्राप्तायां-नुपश्यानां भौतिकोऽयस्तत्यात्मनालभ्यानुप्रयोगमत्सामायोऽस्माकोऽयस्तत्यात्मनानाधिक्ष्वानां भौतिकोऽयनिः

- कोऽयस्तत्यात्मनात्

3. Mahābhārata, XII. 130:

क्रियायो ज्ञितंसंधयं कल्य नावातुमहितं।
अभ्य तापसवर्धव बाह्यसम्बधव भारत।१२० यथा वे ब्राह्मणं सीवस्याय यमनि याज्येत्।
अभिज्ञानानि बालायानां नात्र संशयं।१२१ क्रियायं संशयं कल्याणिदेवेऽन्न्दिनयां तव।
आवश्यक बिश्रिष्टयो नावातुमहितम्।१२६ हृतारं क्रियायं ब्रजायां क्रियथिर्म विधुः।
तत्सातंसंधयं कार्यमार्गायं क्रियभवयुष।१२७
ruler himself. \(^1\) Śûkra advises the king to borrow from the rich,\(^2\) while Someśvara has no objection to the debasement of the metallic contents, evidently of the coins.\(^3\) In justification of these exactions we are told that “for performing sacrifices many improper acts are done. For this reason a king incurs no fault by doing improper acts (when the objective is to fill the treasury in a season of distress). \(*\ldots* If (at such times) such improper practices be not adopted, evil is certain to result”.\(^4\) The people are asked not to grudge these extra impositions. “As the king protects, by spending all his possessions, the kingdom when it sinks into distress, even so should the kingdom protect the king when he sinks into distress”.\(^5\)

Kauṭilya, however, desires that, in the first instance, the king should raise benevolences (pranaya)\(^6\) from the people—*‘paurajānapadaṁ bhiṣkhet’*. The use of the word bhiṣkhet here is of great consti-

---

1. *Bṛhat-Parāśara Smṛiti*, chap. X:

2. *Suśruta*, IV. 126:

3. *Abhilashīrthā-Chintāmāṇi* p. 77. V. 379.

4. *Mahābhīrata*, XII. 130. 37-38:

5. *Ibid*, XII. 130. 31:

6. This word occurs in the same sense in the epigraphs also, *cf.*, *E.I.*, VIII. p.36.
tutional significance. The persons who responded to his appeal were befittingly honoured. The *Mahābhārata* preserves the specimen of a long harangue addressed by the king to his people on such occasions, ending with the words: ‘In seasons of calamity, you should, like strong bulls, bear such burthens. In seasons of calamity, wealth should not be so dear to you.’ Jayaswal has rightly observed that these ‘odd methods’ demonstrate the majesty of the law on the one hand and the inconvenience of a rigid legal revenue on the other. These facts also demonstrate the ancient kings’ scrupulous respect for the injunctions of the *Dharmaśāstras*.

The *Sūrītis* have also discussed the justification for the realisation of the taxes from the people. They are unanimously of the view that a king was entitled to receive *karas* from his subjects in return for the protection that he offered to them. Manu remarks that a king who fails to protect his people and yet realises taxes from them is doomed to perdition. *Prajā-rakṣaṇa* has been described as the

1. The *Mahābhārata* uses the word *prārthayishye* in that connection, *ibid.*, XII. 87.29.
2. *Arthasāstra*, V. 2. 42: स्वानक्षरत्रहनविभुगियांहिरण्येनप्रपक्षकू।
3. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 87. 26-33; and Ray’s Eng. Trans. At the same time the king promised to return the money that he realised from his people as ‘Emergency, taxes’ when the crisis was over—प्रतिवास्ये च भवतां सर्वं चाहैं भवतां।  
7. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 71.19: बोधि धारयं हिरण्ये च महो राजा गुरुलिता। नित्यस्वेयम्: परेन्ध्रश्व तृता माता यथा पयः।  
8. *Ibid.*, XII. 69. 25: आवदीत बलि धारा प्रजायम्: कुलगन्व। स प्रकृतैऽपि प्रातिवाससामेर्वाभिवृद्धिये।  
9. *Manu*, VIII. 307-09: योधमहंज्ञातिमातेतरं शुल्कं च पापिवं। प्रतिभायं च वेदं च स सदस्या नरां ब्रजेतु। अरक्षितारं राजानं व्यवह्रं गरुिहारितम्। तमात्मा: सवेलोक्य समापेक्षाहरकम्। अपेक्षितंयं नाति: विप्रुलंकम्। अरक्षिताम्हंतरं नूरं विद्वासद्यौगितम्। also, *ibid.*, IX. 254, and X. 119.

The *Mahābhārata* brands such a king as *takṣara*, XII. 139. 100: व्यवह्रं गरुिहारितम् बलि समुपसोधते। न रक्षितं प्रजा: सम्भवं: स पापिव तस्करः:
highest duty (dharma) of a king and he could claim their money and allegiance only so long as he was able to protect them. Nārada describes the royal revenues as the king’s ‘reward for the protection of his subjects’\(^1\), while the Mahābhārata regards the taxes as his vetana (wages).\(^2\) Sukra is more explicit. He says that the king ‘though master in form, was in reality the servant of the people’, from whom he received his wages.\(^3\) Such a theory naturally led to the suggestion that the king must make good the loss suffered by his subjects at the hands of thieves and other anti-social elements.\(^4\) It also implies that a ruler who did not, or could not, protect the people had no justification for demanding the taxes from them. This principle leaves little room for royal oppression and tyranny. It is true that our authorities have not advised the people to withhold the state dues in such circumstances,\(^5\) but they have been unequivocally opposed to the tolerance of oppression. They have had no hesitation in recommending the deposition of the wicked rulers, or even tyrannicide. This was the natural corollary to the Indian theory of taxation and the legal position of the king. The ruler who realised taxes from the people, without affording protection to them,

---

2. Mahābhārata, XII. 71.10:

बलिवद्धेन शुक्लेन (शुल्केन) दशेनायावराघिनाम्।
शास्त्रानीतिन लिः सेय वेतनेन घनायाम्।

3. Sukranātha, I. 187:

स्वभागभूत्यावस्थेयोग्यार्थानां नूपः कुतः।
ब्रह्मणास्वामित्वपल्लु पालनायेः हि सर्वदा।

also, IV. 241.
4. Vishnu, III. 66-67; Brihaspati, I. 7, 70; Yajnavalkya, II. 36. Medhātithi on Manu, VIII.40; also Mahābhārata, XII. 75.10, and Vishnuśūraudhvottara, II. 61.49.

5. Certain inscriptions do record instances of popular opposition to unjust imposts, e.g., E.C., X 114, 214 (a) etc. cf. also, Rājatarāgī, V. 182 ff.

The Mahābhārata hints at the possible exodus of the people from the dominions of a ruler who oppresses them with heavy taxation, XII. 89, 23-24:

कार्यव्रो बणिजो राज्यो बोधित्वन सरायितः।
कृष्ण्यो बहुनायेन कातारकृतवित्वः।
कविष्टविषय्यो राज्यं न जहुःपतियितः।
ष्टे बहुति पुरे राज्ये स भवसीतरारिपः।
was believed to incur a moieties of their sin. Such moral sanctions had a great force in ancient times, and the historical texts as well as the epigraphic records show that the Indian rulers usually followed the principles laid down in the *Dharmaśastras*. We also possess evidence to the contrary, but that does not represent the norm, nor has it met with the approval of the writers on polity.

Conversely, the payment of taxes was regarded as a moral, even religious, obligation of the people. Parāśara, for example, asserts that an agriculturist is freed of all sin by paying, *inter alia*, a sixth part of his produce to the state. The *Mahābhārata* believes that the payment of taxes was one of the terms of the contract entered into between the human beings and their first ruler, Manu. The *Smritis* have even recommended punishments for the tax-evaders, while Bhishma had no objection to the destruction of all those who stood in the way of collecting money for the king's treasury.

---

1. Cf. *Tājñāvalīya*, I. 337:

अर्थमाण्यः: कुर्मेर्वत फिलिवर्ष प्रजा: ।
तमावसा नूसेरर्वथ यस्मादपुरुषः शास्त्रोऽर्थः करार् ॥

also, *Arthaśāstra*, I. 13.8: तेनां फिलिवन्द्रविक्रमः हृदर्वति भयोर्गोपाधवाहितं प्रजानाम् ।
and *Mahābhārata*, XII. 75. 8-9.

On the other hand, by protecting his subjects righteously the king reaped the sixth part of their merit, vide, *Tājñāvalīya*, I. 335; *Manu*, VIII. 304-305; *Paśiskha*, I.43-45; *Gautama*, XI. *Bṛhaśpati* I. 1.41. The *Mahābhārata* puts the king's share of the merit at one-fourth, XII. 67. 27; 75. 6-7; 88. 18-20. Cf. also, *Nīfrared*, II. 10.

2. *Parāśara*, II. 14: राजे दत्वा तु वहन्यां ब्राह्मणशेषज्विकिषाढः ।

**विभ्राणां विश्वसं भागं कुर्विकल्का न लिप्यते ॥**

*Cf., Brihaspati*, VI. 6-7. Gautama, X. राजन विलिवर्त.......

Śukra says that the king receives his share of the people's wealth and produce just as the brothers take out their legal share from the ancestral property, I. 79:

स्वभागोऽदाक्रुष्यकारात्मायादात्स्नात्सन्यात् ।

3. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 67. 23-24:

तमब्रह्मणां माने: कतुनेनो गमिन्यति ।
पूजामयेष्वि: दिवादिर्वत्यस्य तदेव च ॥

पायग्यस्य वस्त्रम भागं वास्याम्: कोशवर्यस्य ।

4. Cf. *Bṛhaśpati*, I.17.21-22; 27.7; *Nārada*, III. 12-13; *Tājñāvalīya*, II. 36, 262; *Vishnu*, III. 31, 62, 64; *Paśiskha*, XIX. 16; *Arthaśāstra*, II. 21, etc.

Megasthenes also alludes to the severity of punishment meted out to tax-evaders in the days of Chandragupta Maurya.

5. *Mahābhārata* XII, 130.42:

एवं कोशास्त्र महतो ये नरां परिपरित: ।
तानहस्तवा न पद्याम सिद्धिम्रत परतप ॥

also, *Kāmandaaka*, XVII. 11.
After all, the satisfactory functioning of the government was as much the concern of the people as of their rulers.

The taxes collected in accordance with the principles discussed above were to be preserved scrupulously,¹ in the interest of the people, and to be spent on their welfare.² The public money could not be squandered on the pleasures of the king. The threat of spiritual consequences has been held out for the rulers who abused their powers.³ They were asked to emulate the Sun, who soaked the moisture of the earth only to return it to the terrestrial planet in the form of rain.⁴ As an example of the high ideals cherished by the ancient rulers of India, we may recall the reply of the Uṣīnara king to Rishi Gālava, when the latter demanded from him a heavy sulkā for the hand of the girl Mādhavī:

मुख्येनापि समं कुर्यां तताः प्रजसतम्।
विसम्बितपदाय तु ममायाः नतसभूषः॥
कामातो धृ ध्यानं राजस्तचारणम्: प्रचऽधृःति।
न नस्हन्न यमस्ति मयायूयते यदसा न च।॥⁵

1. Cf. śukraṇiti, IV. 147-48:

संस्कृषयुप्रयोगरत्नश्वीलतंनाविकम्॥
अर्जेवतुमहु: रसलक्षणेऽतत्तुयुगम्॥

also, Ib. IV. 151 (संस्कृषयुप्रयोगवत्) and 154.

Manu recommends capital punishment to the 'stealer of king's revenue', IX. 275, 280. Such a person, according to the Mahābhārata, 'sinks senseless into a deep hell of eternal gloom and infamy.' XII. 68. 51-53. Cf. also, Brihaspatī, I. 22.12; śukha, IV. 606; Nārada (Intro) II. 35. The Epis mentions examples of ministers and other officials who misappropriated the royal revenues, (XII. 82. 9-14, etc.) Cf. also, Rājatarāja-gīti, IV. 630; V. 238; VI 255-58.

2. Cf. śukraṇiti, IV. 1253: प्रजापुरुसिन पदवीस्वर्णः

also, Ib. IV. 118: बलएवरणवाचष याचष कोश संप्रदः।।

and, II. 34: नुप: प्रजापालनस्य संस्तनचेष्टाचायव।।

3. Ibíd, IV. 119:

श्रीपुष्पवृक्षोपवरेतनसप्रोपोपगबधेऽवः।
नरकाविवर्तनमन्यनुमस्मित:॥

4. Cf. Manu, IX. 305:

ादोमातामायाविव्वस्तों हुर्दिहिं रथमभि।
तत्त्वा हुर्दकर राजयात्रायमकृतं हि तत्।॥

also, Nātīśa, V 74: आदर्शं धानं तेमयो भारवलश्रीवरस्ववः

and, Raghunātha I. 18:

प्रजायामन्त्र भूवस्य स तायम बलमप्रहितः।
सहस्रासणमुलावलकसे हि रसः रकः॥

III.

The Smṛitis not only discuss the principles of taxation, but they also mention the different sources of income to the state. Political treatises like Arthaśāstra and the epigraphic records of ancient India contain a long list of taxes levied by the government. A majority of them is referred to in the Smṛitis also. Manu, for example, mentions Bali, Kara, Suṅka, Pratibhāga (or, Pratibhoga) and Daṇḍa as the main sources of income to the state. Likewise, it is stated in the Nārada-smṛiti that “the pure wealth peculiar to a Kshatriya is of three sorts: what has been obtained in the shape of taxes, by fighting and by means of fines declared in law-suits.” Elsewhere, it mentions the sixth part of the produce and the customs duties as the sources of the royal revenue.

The fiscal terms mentioned above have been defined by authoritative commentators and nibandhakāras. Bali is a very old term and occurs in the Vedic literature. Initially, it signified the religious offerings, but in the Smṛitis it has been, generally, used in the sense of the king’s share of the produce of land. Sukra uses the word ‘bhū-bhāga’ in place of bali. Bhāga (also Aṇḍa) is a general term and means the state share of the produce of land, trees, cattle, gold, mines, etc. but the commentators have used the word in a restricted sense also. In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Asoka, it has been distinguished from bali. In certain editions of the Manusmruti, we find the word ‘bhoga’ instead of ‘bhāga’. Vardhamāna has defined pratibhoga almost in the same words as have been used by Kullūka

3. Ibid, XVIII. 48. Cf. also, Mahābhārata, XII. 71. 10; Śukra, IV. 124, 128; Viśkṛṣṇu-dharmottara, II. 61. 32-33; and, E.I. VIII. p. 44, etc.
4. Cf. Kullūka and Medhātithi on Manu, VIII. 307; Vardhamāna, Daṇḍasirāka, p. 5, etc.
5. Rūgveda, VII. 6.5; Taiṭṭīrīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 7. 18, 3, etc.
6. Manu, VII. 80; Viśēṣu, III. 22; also Rāmāyaṇa, III. 6.11; Matsya Purāṇa, 215.57, etc. Kullūka defines it as प्रतिमार्गे: यथान्न यम्मवात्स्यम्: प्रतिमार्गे च भाष्पेष नियमेत राज्ये and Vardhamāna as भाष्यमः: यथान्न मवात्स्यम्: Sometimes, the word is also used in the sense of a tax in general, cf. Manu, IX. 254.
7. Śukra, IV. 124.
8. Cf. Manu, VII. 130, 131; VIII. 305; Viśēṣu, III. 25.
to define *pratibhāga*¹, but *bhoga* is also a technical fiscal term. It often occurs in the inscriptions along with, and as distinct from, *bhāga*.² Some of the epigraphic records refer to the `Eight Bhogas`, and one of them, the Śrī-Śailam Copper-plate Inscription of Virūpākṣha (Śāke 1388), defines the term as follows:—

```
“Nidhi-nikshepa-vāry-aśma akshiny-āgūmi sanjñakaṁ
Śiddha-sādhyam-iti-khyātaṁ ashṭa-bhogaiḥ-cha saṁyutam.³”
```

Śukka means the tolls or customs duties levied on exports and imports. Śukra defines the term as `the king’s share received from the buyer or the seller`, and Kullūka, as the tax paid on the merchandise carried by land or water.⁴ The word *kara* also means a tax in general, and it has been often used in that sense.⁵ But the word has a restricted application also, when it refers to taxes other than *bali*, Śukka, *bhāga*, etc. Vardhamāna defines it as the dues recovered every month from the villagers and city dwellers.⁶

The taxes, undoubtedly, contributed the largest amount to the royal exchequer, but there were other sources of income also. Śuk-

---

1. Kullūka, on *Manu*, VIII. 307; प्रतिभागं फल्कुमशाक्तणामावानं प्रतिभिं प्राश्यं

Vardhamāna, *Daśāvīsēka*, p. 5: प्रतिभिं: फलकुमशाक्तणामावानं प्रायस्यित्कम्

2. Cf. E.I., XX, pp. 133, 135, etc.


4. *Śukra*, IV. 217: विद्वेतुकुट्टो राजनां: शुल्कमुक्त्रतम्

Kullūka, on *Manu*, VIII. 307; शूल्कं स्वल्पलक्षणविविषया बणिज्याकृतिश्च नियतस्यानेशु ह्रासानुसारे राजण

Vardhamāna’s definition reads:

शूल्कं बणिज्याकृतिः ह्रासानुसाराः


6. *Daśāvīsēka*, p. 5:

करो प्रामुरुरविव वृत्तिः: प्रतिभागं प्राश्यं

*Amarakosha* treats *bali*, *kara*, and *bhāga* as synonymous terms.
'ranāti is the only work to attempt a systematic classification of the various sources of income of the state. It may be illustrated as follows.—

Āya

Pūrvavatsarasēsha Vartamānābda-sāmbhava

Nīśchitānyasvāmika Anīśchitasvāmika Svasvatva-nīśchita

Aupanidhya Yāchitaka Auttamanikā

Sāhajika Adhika

Pārthiva Pārthivetara

Śulka Dāṇḍa Ākara Kara Bhāṭaka Upāyana,

Mautyādhika Kusida Yājanādi Pāritoshya Vijita Bhṛtiprāpta.

Śukrā's classification of the sources of state income is unique in the ancient history of India. It bears a striking resemblance to the modern practice. The income of the government, according to his conception, represents the last year's balance as well as the current year's receipts. The latter include (i) the government receipts proper, (ii) the receipts from unknown sources, such as treasure-troves and the lost or unclaimed property that lapsed to the state, and (iii) the wealth, the proprietary rights of which were vested in others—representing deposits, gifts and loans. In modern days also the debts are shown as Assets. The government receipts proper have been classified as Sākajika (normal) and Adhika (extra). The latter represent what may be termed the quasi-economic receipts of the government, such as the business profits, interest, receipts for the services rendered, and the spoils of victory, etc. The rest of the income is normal. It has been defined as the wealth that grows

1. Śukra, II. 314-325.
regularly by days, months or years'. It is either derived from the land (Parthiva)\(^1\) or from other sources (Parthivatara). The former source represents the state’s sovereignty over land (tura, grama) and water, both natural and artificial (Sadaivakrittrima jala). The duties, fines, royalties from mines, and other taxes constitute the non-parthiva income.

BALI.

The principal and perennial source of income to the state was the king’s share of the produce of land. It has been always the mainstay of revenue in India. The share of the state was fixed, generally, at one sixth of the produce.\(^2\) However there was no rigidity about it, and other rates have been also mentioned. Manu, for example, fixes the state share at 1/6th, 1/8th, or 1/12th of the produce.\(^3\) Gautama, likewise, says that an agriculturist should pay a sixth, eighth or tenth part of the produce as revenue.\(^4\)

We have already noticed the possible reasons for the variant percentage. It appears from Šukraniśī and Kullūka’s commentary on Manu Smṛiti that the rate varied according to the grain produced, the nature of soil, and the facilities for irrigation.\(^5\) This view is also shared by Brihaspati Smṛiti and Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, which fix the state share at 1/6th, 1/8th, 1/10, or 1/12th according to the nature of the soil and the kind of crops produced.\(^6\) Kauṭilya fixes

---

1. Elsewhere, Šukra has described land as the source of all wealth. (Khaṇḍa Sarvasadhanasya yaḥ............. I. 178).
2. Cf. Manu, VIII. 308 (bali shaśibhagahi); Vishṇu, III. 22-23; Nārada, XVIII. 48; Vāsakṣśa, I. 43-44. Also, Mahābhārata, XII. 69. 25; 71. 10; 199. 100; Arthāśāstra, I. 13. 7-9; Mahābhārata Purāṇa, XVI. 126, etc.
3. Elsewhere (XII. 67. 24), however, the Mahābhārata fixes the royal share at 1-10th.
4. Gautama, X. 24:
5. Supra.
6. Brihaspati I 43;

---

1. Elsewhere, Šukra has described land as the source of all wealth. (Khaṇḍa Sarvasadhanasya yaḥ............. I. 178).
2. Cf. Manu, VIII. 308 (bali shaśibhagahi); Vishṇu, III. 22-23; Nārada, XVIII. 48; Vāsakṣśa, I. 43-44. Also, Mahābhārata, XII. 69. 25; 71. 10; 199. 100; Arthāśāstra, I. 13. 7-9; Mahābhārata Purāṇa, XVI. 126, etc.
3. Elsewhere (XII. 67. 24), however, the Mahābhārata fixes the royal share at 1-10th.
4. Gautama, X. 24:
5. Supra.
6. Brihaspati I 43;
the share of the government at 1/3rd, 1/4th or 1/5th of the produce according to the facilities for irrigation.¹

BHAGA.

The Smritis allow the state a sixth share in the produce of the plants and trees, pastures and forests also, besides the yield from the animals. Manu ordains that the king should collect a sixth part in the case of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medicinal herbs, rasa, flowers, roots, fruits, leaves, vegetables and grasses.² Vishnu and Gautama are to the same effect.³ These authorities prescribe the same tax on the articles manufactured from leather, bamboo-slings, clay and stone. Vishnu adds cloth to the list.⁴

ŚULKA.

Śulka was the other important source of income to the state. It was levied on both exports and imports—on overland as well as on river and sea-borne traffic. It appears from Vishnu and Yājñavalkya that there were different tariff rates for the goods carried by land and water.⁵ The tax was determined on the basis of the price

---

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, II. 24. 22-25:
² *Manu*, VII. 131-32:
³ *Vishnū*, III. 25:
⁴ *Gāulama*, X. 27:
⁵ *Vishnū*, V. 130; *Yājñavalkya*, II. 263, and *Mādhyakara* on that.
of an article, which appears to have been fixed by the state itself. Vishnu (III. 29-30) ordains that the king should charge a 10% duty on the merchandise produced in his own state, and 5% on the imported articles. Other authorities, including Manu (VIII. 398), Yajnavalkya (II. 261) and Gautama (X. 26) fix the sulka at 5% on the merchandise brought and sold in the state.

Kauśitila imposes a general levy of 20% on the imports, but he also prescribes varying rates (1/6th, 1/10th, 1/15th, 1/20th and 1/25th) on different kinds of articles. Sukra, who allows to the government only 1/16th, 1/20th or 1/32nd part of the value of an article lays down very reasonable principles on the levy of the customs duty. The sulka, according to him, should be levied only once within a state, and it should not be realised from the vendor if he made no profit in the transaction. In such cases the duty should be realised from the vendee, on the basis of the profit that he had made in the bargain. These are, no doubt, very good maxims of public finance, but how far were they observed in practice is difficult to say.

Sulka was also levied on goods brought across the sea, but we have no specific reference to it in the Smritis. Baudhāyana and Someśvara prescribe a ten percent duty on such goods. The latter also adds that “when foreign boats are driven to his harbour by an unfavourable wind, the king should confiscate their merchandise, or may give a little to the owners of those boats”. This practice is alluded to in an interesting record of the Kākatiya king, Gajapatiideva, of A.D. 1244-45, which also mentions the rates of duty charged for various articles.
Was the śulka levied on the sale price of an article, or on the profits of the vendor? We notice a considerable divergence of opinion on this important question. Authoritative commentators like Nandana and Haradatta interpret the Smṛtic passages to mean that the state charged 5% of the sale price of an article, but Rājanitiprakāśa (p. 264) asserts that the king was entitled only to a share in the profit of the dealers. Manu, VIII. 398, is also susceptible of these two interpretations, as the comments of Kullūka and Medhātithi show. The view of Kullūka and Rājanitiprakāśa is supported by Gautama, who says that the traders should not be called upon to pay the tax in the event of their goods being sold at a loss.¹

Of the other karas levied by the state in ancient India, the Smṛitis mention the following:—

PAŚU-BHĀGA.

A majority of them including Manu, Vishṇu and Gautama, prescribes that dealers in cattle and animals should pay a tax on the profits of their business. It was fixed at 2% of the profit.² Sukra also mentions this tax, but he prescribes varying rates, viz., 1/8th of the increase of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes and horses, and 1/16th of the milk of goats, sheep and buffaloes (IV. 231).

HIRANYA-BHĀGA.

The authorities mentioned above also recommend a 2% tax on gold. It might have been a sort of sales tax paid by the bullion dealers. It was not a tax on the yield of gold from the mines, for which they have made a separate provision.

DΥΤΑ AND SAMĀHVAYA KARA.

Manu (IX. 221-24) is altogether opposed to gambling, but other authorities allow it under government supervision, because of its fiscal value.³ The keepers of the gambling houses had to pay a

1. Gautama, X.: पचयं विष्णुभि प्रस्थले न देवे
2. Manu, VII. 130; Vishṇu, III. 24; Gautama, X. 25; Cf. also Mahābhārata, XII. 67.23; Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi, p. 54, v. 164; Vishṇudharmottara, II. 61, 61; Agni Purāṇa, 223. 23-29, etc.
3. Cf. Tājñānādhyāya, II. 200-201; Brihaspati, I. 27 1-3, 7; Nārada, XVII. 8.
tax to the state, the rate of which, unfortunately, has not been specified in the Sūtris. The same rule, according to Bṛhaspati, applied to the animal prize fights. Kauṭilya also recommends the levy of a licence fee (Prekṣhāvetana) from professional entertainers, as also a tax from the public women. We may compare these taxes to the 'Entertainment Tax' of modern times.

TARA-PĀNYA.

A tax was charged for the passengers, goods, carts and cattle using the ferries and bridges maintained by the government. According to Manu, an empty cart had to pay one pāṇa, a man's load half a pāṇa, an animal and a woman one-quarter pāṇa, and an unloaded man one half of that. Carts laden with merchandise paid according to the value of their goods. We are further told that these rules applied only to river crossings and not to oceanic traffic.

Kauṭilya's account is more elaborate. It tells us that the government plied boats on the rivers for the convenience of the travellers, and that fording or crossing a river without permission, or at an unusual hour and place, was punishable. The ferry taxes prescribed in the Arthasastra are as follows: one māsha for a minor quadruped or for a man carrying a light load, two māshas for a head load or load on shoulders, as well as for a cow or a horse, and four māshas for a cow or a buffalo. The carts had to pay from five to seven māshas according to their size. These rates were applicable to small streams. Double the rates were charged in the case of bigger rivers.

Certain categories of persons were exempted from the payment of Ferry Taxes. These included, according to Manu and Vishṇu, Brahmans, students, ascetics, pregnant women and holy pilgrims. Nārada also exempts the Brahmans unless they were engaged in trade. Kauṭilya, too, recommends that Brahmans, ascetics, chil-

5. Manu, VIII. 407; Vishṇu, V. 131-32.
dren, very old and sick persons, pregnant women and royal messengers should be provided with free passes for using the ferries by the Nāavadhyaksha.

Our authorities mention a few other sources of income to the state, viz., the treasure-troves, lost and unclaimed property; the wealth of the heirless persons, war booty and tribute from the feudatory princes.

NIDHI.

The king, as the lord and protector of the soil, was entitled to the possession of ancient hoards also, but he was expected to share the find with the Brahmanas and the persons who found them.

The hoard discovered by the king (or, his officials) belonged to the state, but one half of it was required to be distributed among the Brahmanas. A non-Brahmana, who came across an ancient treasure, was entitled to a sixth part of it: the rest went to the coffers of the state. A learned Brahmana was allowed to retain the treasure-trove with him, provided he had informed the government about its discovery. An exception was also made in favour of a person who recovered a hoard that had been previously deposited by himself or by his ancestors. He, too, had to pay a sixth or a twelfth part of it to the government—the exact amount being determined on the basis of his caste and similar other factors.


2. Cf. also, Vaiṣṇudharmottara, II. 61. 58.

3. Ibid., VIII. 37-38; Vaiṣṇu, III. 56-58; Vayuśastra, II. 34-35; Vaiṣṇa, III. 14-15 Nārada, VII. 6-6.

4. This is the general maxim, but according to Vaiṣṇu, a kṣatriya or a Vaiṣṇa finder was required to give 1/4th and a Śūdra 5/12th of the hoard to the government (III.59-61). Vīramitrodga says that the state was entitled to only a sixth share in such cases. On the other hand, Kautiya ordains that treasure-troves valued over a lac should be appropriated by the king entirely; only in other cases was the finder entitled to a sixth part of it. If he happened to be a government servant he was to be given only a twelfth part. (Arthasastra, IV. 1. 66-69). Cf. also, Vaiṣṇudharmottara, II. 61. 34-38.

5. Manu, VIII. 37, restricts this exception only to those cases where the treasure had been 'buried by his forefathers'. Medhātithi adds that 'when...its rightful owner is not known, then, even though it may have been found by a learned Brahmana, the kings share had to be paid'.

6. Manu, VIII. 35; Vaiṣṇu, III. 63: स्वल्पिन्हतप्रासे ब्राह्मणवे ह्रादधारीश्वरः; also, Vaiṣṇudharmottara, II. 61. 40-61, which fixes the state share payable by the Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣṇyas & Śūdras respectively at 1/24th, 1/12th and 1/6th of the hoard. Kautiya (IV. 1. 70) allows the claimant to have the entire hoard in such cases.
who did not inform the state authorities of the find, or falsely claimed a treasure as his own, was, on detection, liable to be punished. Vishnu recommends the confiscation of the entire hoard in such cases.¹

RĀJAGĀMI-DHANA.

The property of a person dying heirless escheated to the government, except the property of a Brāhmaṇa, which was made over to the members of the same community.²

A similar provision has been made in respect of the property of foreign merchants. Nārada requires the government of the state where such a merchant died to preserve his effects for a period of ten years, and to escheat them only if they were not claimed by his heirs during that period.³ Brihaspati fixes the time limit at three years. He also allows the government a certain percentage of that property, evidently as maintenance charges.⁴

An article that was lost or stolen, and subsequently recovered by the state, might be claimed by the owner, according to Gautama and Yājñavalkya, within one year.⁵ Manu puts the period of limitation at three years. He also allows the government to realise 1/12th, 1/10th or 1/6th of its value from the owner-claimant, according as he preferred his claim within the first, second or third year of its recovery.⁶

¹ Manu, VIII. 36; Vishnu, III. 62; Yājñavalkya, II. 35; Nārada, VII. 7-8. Cf. also Arthaśāstra, IV. I. 71-72, and Vishputdharmottara, II. 61, 42.
² Manu, IX. 189-90; Brihaspati, I. 26.119; II. 518; Nārada, XIII. 51-52, also, I.112-113; Vāśishtha, XVII. 74-78. Cf. also, Arthaśāstra, II. 27.5.
³ Nārada, III. 16-18.
⁴ Brihaspati, I. 13. 16-17;
⁵ Gautama, X. 36-37; Yājñavalkya, II. 173.
⁶ Manu, VIII. 30, 33.

Vivimitrodgāya describes these dues as ‘Prapāṭhadravya rakshā nibandhāṇānu bhṛti’. Vishputdharmottāra (ii. 61. 42-45) also favours three years’ limit, and fixes the king’s share as in the case of treasure-trove.

If the lost article was found by a private individual, he, too, was expected to place it in custody with the government. Gautama would allow him 25% of its value.
Cattle pounds seem to have been in existence in ancient days and the owners of stray cattle impounded therein had to pay prescribed dues to secure their release. Yājayāvalkya prescribes four pāṇas for an animal having a single hoof, two each for a cow, camel or buffalo, and a quarer pāṇa for a goat or a sheep.¹

VIJITA-DHANA.

The spoils of war were also a source of income to the state. The Smṛitis prescribe very elaborate rules about their distribution between the king and his soldiers. Lest the former should appropriate all the booty to himself, Manu ordains that the chariots, horses, elephants, all other cattle and animals, grain, umbrella, women, all goods and baser metals belong to those who win them. He also suggests, on the authority of a Vedic text, that the soldiers should present voluntarily their choicest acquisitions to the king, and advises the distribution of all such articles as had been won, not individually but collectively, amongst all the soldiers.² Medhātithi, commenting on Manu’s statement, remarks that gold, silver, lands and buildings etc. belonged to the king alone. So did the arms and conveyances.³ Gautama is almost to the same effect. According to him the victorious monarch had the sole right to war booty. Animals, conveyances and treasures seized in the war belonged to him alone, but he was expected to distribute other articles among his soldiers.⁴

The customary and occasional tribute paid by the feudatory princes to their sovereign also added to the income of the state.⁵ Such payments are also referred to in a number of our epigraphic records.

¹ Yājayāvalkya, II. 174.
² Manu, VII. 96-97
³ The Vedic passage, as pointed out by Dr. G.N. Jha, refers to Aitārya Brāhmaṇa, III. 21.
⁴ Gautama, X: जेतो लम्बत वातावरणमात्र वित्त वाहतु राज उद्यार्थवायव्याप्तंयत्तु वयाह भाजये त्राज
⁵ Cf. also Āśvamedh, IV. 1190-91.
⁶ Ibid, I. 124.
DANDA:

The fines imposed by the courts also made a substantial contribution to the state treasury.\(^1\) Dhanadaṇḍa or monetary punishment was a recognised mode of punishment, others being Vāgdaṇḍa (admonition), Dhigdaṇḍa (censure) and Vadhaṇḍaṇḍa (corporal or capital punishment).\(^2\) Most of the Smṛitis prescribe a long list of fines in accordance with the gravity of the offence. The caste of the parties involved was also a determining factor. Brīhaspati says that fines were imposed ‘for a crime in the middlemost degree.’\(^3\) He refers to four grades of fines and says that they, as also the corporal punishment, could be inflicted by the king alone, and not by the subordinate courts.\(^4\) The Smṛitis further ordain that the king should not be actuated by greed in inflicting dhanadaṇḍa. Yājñavalkya, for example, prescribes that if a ruler realised a fine illegally he should cast it into the water, and dedicate a thirtyfold amount to the Brāhmaṇaṣ.\(^5\)

STATE MONOPOLIES.

The state also enjoyed certain monopolies which brought it considerable returns. The most important of these were the mines (ākara), and they constituted an important source of income to the state.\(^6\) Like all the underground deposits, they were regarded as state property.\(^7\) Their produce, according to Viṣṇu, belonged to the king.\(^8\) But mines were not always worked by the government; very often they were leased out to private parties, who had to pay

---

1. Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 166. 70.
2. Manus, VIII. 129; Brīhaspati, I. 29.2; Nārada, Appendix, 53-56; also, Mahābhārata, XII. 166.70-71.
4. Ibid., I. 1. 91.
5. Yājñavalkya, II. 307. Cf. also, Ṣukra IV. 90:

लोभात्कर्मिकर्मयावतावनवेलवेन्यायाम्

6. Cf. Arthaśāstra, II. 12. 49:

अक्कर प्रभवः कोशः

It mentions ten kinds of income from the mines, Ḡ. II. 12. 47.

A discoverer of mines was entitled to a sixth share, or to a twelfth, if he was a government employee, Arthaśāstra, IV. 1. 66-67.
8. Viṣṇu, III. 55. Cf. also, Arthaśāstra, II. 12. 48; Mahābhārata, XII. 69. 29; Abhilahkāraka-chintāmaṇī, p. 72, v. 336.
a fairly heavy duty. According to Manuśrīti, and Medhātithi’s commentary thron, the king was entitled in such cases to a share (1/2, or 1/6, 1/8 etc.) of the ore dug out of the mines. Sukra, likewise, fixes the royal dues from the mines at the following rates: 1/2 of the net profit of gems, 1/3 of gold and silver, 1/4 of copper, 1/6 of iron, glass and lead. All the authorities recommend the appointment of very trustworthy persons at the mines. They worked under the supervision of an officer designated as Ākāraḍhyaksha in the Arthāśāstra.

The ocean ‘mines’ were also exploited by the government. Kauṭilyya mentions their Superintendent (Khanyadhyaksha), whose duty it was to attend to the collection of conch-shells, pearls, corals, etc. and also to regulate the commerce in these commodities.

Likewise, the state itself manufactured salt and claimed a share in the commodity manufactured by private agency. Śukla was also levied on imported salt. Persons engaged in its manufacture, without a licence, were punished. An exception was, however, made in the case of hermits (vānaprasthas). Men learned in the Vedas, persons engaged in penances as well as the state labourers were exempted from the payment of salt tax. Sukra fixes the state share of the salt (kṣāra) at 50%. The elephant forests were also the monopoly of the state. Medhātithi adds saffron, silken cloth, wool, horses, pearls and jewels to the list.

VISHṬI.

We have already noticed how the petty artisans and unskilled labourers, who could not contribute their mite to the national exchequer, had to render personal service to the king. The Rājata-ranigīti furnishes an example of how their services were utilised.

3. Śukra, IV. 228-29.
5. Ibid, II. 12. 36-46; also, Mahābhārata, XII. 69. 29.
6. Śukra, IV. 229.
7. Vīśaṇu, III. 16; Abhilashitārtha-chintāmani, p. 54, v. 172, Arthāśāstra, II., 31. 1; also Megasthene, Frag. xxxvi.
8. On Manu, VIII. 400.
Generally speaking, the state in ancient India realised only the taxes prescribed in the Śrīvītiṣī, but other levies were not altogether unknown. Śukra refers to a shops and house tax, to a tax on the interest earned by the moneylenders, as well as to a road cess. Kauṭilya, too, mentions the road tax, (varāṇi) collected through the agency of Antapālās. He enumerates numerous other taxes and dues, some of which can not be precisely defined. The Rājatarāṅgīṇī also mentions several unauthorised impositions, including a tax levied on the Kashmiriris proceeding to perform the śrāddha at Gaya (VII 1008). The Chālukya kings of Anhilvada are said to have realised a tax from the pilgrims proceeding to the holy shrine of Somanātha, which brought an annual return of seventy-two lacs to the treasury. Śukra, too, alludes to Deva and Tīrtha karas, but he ordains that a righteous king should not realise them in normal times.

The inscriptions also have the same story to tell. They mention different kinds of taxes and other impositions. In the land-grant charters, it is usual for the writer to specify the remission (parihāra) of government dues. In the early records, the number of such remissions is often given as eighteen. The later records, too, frequently allude to niyata and aniyata or uchita and anuchita levies, and refer to certain unusual kinds of taxes, such as, for example, the Turushka-daṇḍa mentioned in the epigraphs of the Gurjara-pratihāras, and the taxes known as Amalt, Kamalt referred to in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas. An inscription of Vikramāditya V Chālukya, dated in S.E. 934, mentions taxes realised on the occasions of Vedic sacrifices and the saṃskāras of marriage and upanayana. (To be Continued.)

3. Ibid, II. 15.
4. Prabandha-chintāmaṇī (Tr. Tawney), p. 84.
5. Śukra, IV. 124.
9. Ibid, XX, p. 64.
THE HŪNAS IN THE POST-HARSHA PERIOD

By
Dr. B. N. Puri, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

The Hūna problem in Indian history has remained not, indeed, a terra incognita, yet a subject insufficiently explored. The earlier favourite indentification of them with the white Huns is not tenable, for in no epigraphic passage, either of the Pre-Harsha, or the Post-Harsha Period, are they specified as white Huns. It is quite probable, as suggested by F. E. Hall long ago, that the Hūnas of the middle period were an Indian Kshātriya family. In the early mediaeval history of Northern India, the part played by the Hūnas, and their relations—political and marital—with other Hindu powers of Northern India, namely Gurjaras, Chedis, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Pāṇas, and Paramārās, call for attention; and one feels, rather, tempted to give a resumé of the entire subject de novo in the light of the available epigraphic evidence, and the material derived from the literature of that period.

The earliest reference to the clash of the Hūnas with the Indian powers is noticed in the Una plate of the time of the Pratihāra

King Mahendrapāla. Here Balavarman, a feudatory of the Prati-
hāra king of Kanauj, defeated certain Vishada, and by slaying Jaj-
japa and other kings freed the earth from the Hūṇa race. The record
is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 956 (A.D. 899), and was found
at Una in the Junagarh State, Kathiawar.

The next record is the Karda Plate\(^1\) found at Kurda or Kardla
in the Taloda Taluka of the Khandesh district. The inscription
is dated in the Šaka year 892 (A.D. 972-3) of the time of Kakka
or Kakka III and credits him with conquering the Gurjara, Hūṇa,
Chola and Pāṇḍya Kings without assigning any details. The former
appear to be a ruler of Rajputana.

In the North-East, the Hūṇas came into conflict with the Pālas
of Bengal. The earliest record is the Badal pillar inscription\(^2\) of
the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, noticed on a stone pillar in the vicinity
of the town of Badal in the Dinajpur district of Eastern Bengal.
Kedāramiśra, son of Someśvara, was the counsellor of the lord of
Gaṇḍa (whom Keilhorn rightly supposed to be Devapāla) who is
represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hūṇas,
Dṛāśīḍas and Gurjaras. Here, too, the Hūṇas are associated with
the Gurjaras who were probably Gurjara-Pratihāras, they being
contiguous to the Pālas. The son of Kedāramiśra was Rāma, called
Guravamiśra from a lady named Vauvī, and was held in high
esteem by King Nārāyaṇapāla, who should be roughly placed about
875 A.D.

The word Hūṇa also occurs in the list of officers in three inscrip-
tions of the Pāla Kings in practically the same proverbial expres-
sion: Ṭarika, Gaṇḍa, Mālava, Khaḍa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāta, Lūṭa,
Chāta, Bhaṭa, Sevāka. In what capacity they were attendants on
Dharmapāla\(^3\), Devapāla\(^4\), Māhipāla I\(^5\) and Vigrahapāla III\(^6\), it is
difficult to suggest for the moment, but the absence of the term
Gurjara in any of these records might be helpful in finding some
explanation which we propose offering later on.

---

1. I.A. Vol. XII p. 265 l. 32.
The relations of the Hūṇas with the Kalachuri rulers seem to be deeper, as three epigraphic records point out the political and marital relations between the two. Their capital, according to Rāja-śekhara¹ was Māhishmati which was quite close to the Hūṇa-manḍala, as we shall point out later on. The Khairha (Rewah) plates² of the Kalachuri King Yaśāḥkarnaṇadeva, dated in the Kalachuri year 823 = 1072 A.D. refers to Āvalladevi of the Hūṇa Family married to Karṇadeva who abdicated the throne in favour of his son Yaśāḥkarnaṇadeva from this union. This fact is corroborated by the Jubbalpore³ (now Nagpur Museum plate) of the same ruler dated in the Kalachuri year 829 = 1078 A.D. The marital relations established with the Hūṇas need not cause surprise, as another inscription⁴ records the union of Allaṭa of the Guhila family with a Hūṇa princess named Hariyādevī.

The Political relations are recorded in the Bheraghât-Jubbalpore (now American Oriental Society) inscription⁵ of the Kalachuri queen Alhaṇadevi, widow of Gayākarṇadeva, of the time of her son Narasimhadeva, refers to king Karṇa who is represented as having held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Hūṇas. When the king with his unprecedented lustre gave free play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the Hūṇa left off being merry. The last expression is equally important, and one may like to consider this happy go attitude because the grand mother of this Kalachuri ruler was a Hūṇa princess.

The Guhilas and the Paramāras had also political and marital relations with the Hūṇas. The Aṭapur inscription⁶ from Udaipur (Rajputana) of Guhila Śaktikumāra mentions a King Allaṭa who married Hariyādevī, daughter of a Hūṇa King; and their son married a Chauhāna princess, daughter of Jejaya. It may be pointed out

here that the originator of the Guhila family was a Brāhmaṇa Guhadatta who came from Anandapura (in the Lāṭa-Province). This record is dated in the Vikrama Sāṃvat 1034 (977 A.D.).

The clash between the Hūnas and the Paramāras is annaled in a couple of records. Three copper plate inscriptions from Gaori, 3 miles to the north of Narwal and 11 miles south-west of Ujjain refer to the conflict between these two powers. Both Siyaka and his son Vākpati-Muṇja are said to have defeated the Hūnas. The Hūna-maṇḍala with its Avasāka-Bhoga is mentioned in Plate B. This record should help in localising the territory of the Hūnas. This record is dated in the year V.S. 1038 (981 A.D.). Later the Paramāra Utpala (Muṇjarāja), elder brother of Sindhurāja, also defeated, and is said to have taken the life of the Hūnas.

The fight with the Hūna was brought to a successful end by Muṇjaraja’s younger brother Sindhurāja who conquered the King of the Hūnas. The Udaipur praśasti and the Navasīhasāni-k-arita glorify his success over the Hūna King.

It was, however, not the final blow to the Hūna power which continued to exist till the early part of the thirteenth century A.D. The Chebrolu inscription of Jaya inscribed on two pillars in front of the gopura of the Nāgēswara temple at Chebrolu in the Bapatlataluka of the Krishna district refers to the Mādra King, the Pañchola, the Videha King, Hammira the Hūna and the King of Kāśi waiting at his door. This record is dated in the Śaka year 1153 = A.D. 1231. This was not the earliest reference to the relation of the Hūnas with the southern powers. In fact the defeat of the Hūnas at the hands of western Chālukyas seem to have attained a proverbial expression, as we find a reference to Hūnaprāṇa-hara-pratāpa dāhano in at least three inscriptions.

1. Ch, Bhandarkar’s List. No. 35.
7. XI. 89—90.
A perusal of these records would hardly leave any room for doubt regarding the existence of Hūṇa power in Northern India for a couple of centuries in the Post-Harsha period. There might have been brief gaps, when their power was overshadowed by others. It is, however, difficult to explain how they attended on the Pālas. The Pālas could not have defeated them except after subjugating the mighty Pratiharā rulers of Kanuaj, as their country lay further to the west. The Badal pillar inscription is clear on this point—Devapāla defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hūṇas, Drāviḍas and Gurjaras. It is quite probable that the references are to men of different provinces who were in attendance on the king in their personal capacity and not as representing the kings of those countries, as they were not diplomatic representatives but only attendants (sevakas).

The Hūṇa maṇḍala mentioned in grant B of the record from Gaouri has to be localised with reference to the other maṇḍala named Avanti in grant C. The maṇḍala should evidently refer to the country ruled by the Hūṇas, representing, very probably, the northern part of the Malwa plateau. It was distinct from Avanti but was contiguous to it. Rājaśekhara is also helpful in suggesting that Māhishmati was the capital of the Kalachuri family. The Hūṇa country was to the north of Ujjain, though it is difficult to define its exact boundaries which must have varied in different periods.

The literature of this period is not silent on the Hūṇas. In the Kathā cāritisūgara¹, there is an interesting story of king Udayana who, having subdued the king of Sindha at the head of cavalry, destroyed the Mlecchas, as Rāma had destroyed the Rākshasas; the cavalry of the Turushka was broken; he cut off the head of the king of Pārasikas, as Vishṇu did of Rāhu, and the final blow was at the Hūṇas who were defeated. The evidentiary value of this tale might be nil from the historical point of view, but it clearly throws welcome light on the grouping of these powers situated in close proximity to each other. The Pārasikas, who are mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa², were at that time living somewhere in Rajputana.

1. II. 94 (Penzers Ed.).
2. IV. 60.
close to Sindha and nearer to the Hūna territory. A late inscription\(^1\) of the fifteenth century (dated V.S. 1545=1488 A.D.), known as the Udaipur inscription of the time of the Guhila Rājamalla refers to Arisiṁha who abandoned his life in the protection of Chitra-kūta (Chittor) against the Pārasikas. This piece of evidence would, thus, help in substantiating the earlier contention regarding the localization of the Hūna maṇḍala. That Hūna maṇḍala represented the Hūna country is clear from a reference in the Dvyāśraya-kaṇya\(^2\) of Hemachandra which enumerates in the list of princes who encountered Durlabharāja, a Rāja of Hūnadeśa, who along with others took to flight, and the king marched to his capital triumphantly with his newly won bride.

The Social status of the Hūnas in this period is noticed in a number of records mentioned earlier. They had obtained a regal status and had gradually established matrimonial relations by giving their daughters to princes of other powers of Northern India. That they were no longer barbarians but had some literary taste, is noticed in the Ajmer Slab inscription\(^3\) containing portions of Harakelināṭaka which was composed by Vigrahamāṇa and written by Bhāskara, son of Mahāpati, and grandson of Govinda, who was born in the royal family of Hūna and was a favourite of King Bhoja. Rājaśekhara, too, did not ignore them, and he has referred to Hūna ladies noted for their lustre of the cheeks (Kumukpamkajacaracita-hūnataruṇi)\(^4\). The same feeling is expressed in the Kāvyamimāṃsā, where Yāyāvariya describes the bud of madhuka robbing the Hūna beauties of their pointed grace (hūnīnāṁ kurute madhukamukūlam lāvanylaluptākatam)\(^5\).

The evidence from the epigraphic records and literature suggests that the Hūnas were being gradually assimilated in the Indian social structure. They seem to have gained some status in course of time and their ladies were noted for their beauty. The marital relations established between the Hūnas and others Indian powers—

---

1. Bhandarkar’s list, No. 862.
2. XVII. p. 547 ff.
Kshatriya and Brāhmaṇa as well, and the reference to the Hūṇas in the list of 36 rulers\(^1\) of the Rajputs imply that they had probably attained the status of Kshatriyas. Their Indian origin may be doubted and lately P. C. Bagchi\(^2\) identified them with the Hiung-nus but one can hardly question their Kshatriya status in due course of time. How far is it compatible with Pāṇini’s sūtra—\(Śūdrānāṁ-anirvasitanāṁ\)\(^3\) with Patañjali’s gloss over it, where he definitely assigns foreigners like the Śakas and the Yavanas a Śudra status with this much concession that they were not ostracized and a plate touched by them was not polluted, is a question worth examination from a sociological point of view?

---

3. II. 4. 10.
GOMUKHA YAKSHA

By

U. C. Bhattacharya, M. A.

Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

The Rajputana Museum has in its Jaina Section an interesting sculpture representing 'Gomukha Yaksha' finely carved on light grey stone, measuring $1'3'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$ (Plate VII). This exhibit (Rajputana Museum, No. 270) was acquired from a village named Hathma, situated in Barmer District, Jodhpur Division, Rajasthan.

In this alto-relief, the 'bull-faced' yaksha is represented as sitting on a raised seat in lalitaśana attitude, with his left leg folded in such a manner as to touch the right leg which hangs angularly. He is clad in a dhoti and wears various ornaments, including bangles, necklace, etc. His flat yajñopavīta and the dharma-chakra symbol above the head are specially noteworthy. In his four hands, there are:—

(a) A snake in the upper left hand;

(b) An axe in the upper right hand;

(c) A viṣṇupura or citron in the lower left hand; and

(d) The vara-mudrā in the lower right hand.

On the right side of Gomukha and quite close to him, stands an attendant. There is also another attendant standing on his left side in a separate niche. The vehicle of Gomukha is not to be found in this sculpture.

As is well-known, the Gomukha Yaksha is attached to Risha-bhanātha, the first Tīrthaṃkara, as a Śāsana-devatā and occupies in sculptures, a place to his right, on the pedestal (Rajputana Museum
GOMUKHA YAKSHA

(Courtesy: Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.)
No. 363). However, in course of time, the Jainas held the yakshas in great veneration, and, as such, we come across separate and independent representation of them without even their Tirthamkaras. The figure of Gomukha from Hathma, described in this paper, is, thus, a detached figure of that yaksha, and not in the form of an attendant of Rishabhanatha, merely sculptured on the pedestal of that Tirthamkara, as a Sāsana-devatā.

1. Rajputana Museum, No. 363, is the pedestal of a black stone Jaina image, on which is sculptured a figure of Gomukha. It is from a site of the mediaeval period (11th or 12th cent.) named Baghera, situated about 67 miles to the south-east of the city of Ajmer.
WAR AND ITS LEGALITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

Dr. S. L. Pande, M.A., Ph. D.

War is not a sure solution of differences. Unanimity on the various issues of life is not always possible. Diversity of opinion on the same issue is a sign of progress and advancement. To come to unanimity from diversity after exchange of views as a result of discussion is one of the characteristics of a progressive and civilised people. But it is savage and an expression of wild instinct to take arms for the settlement of differences. All attempts to settle an issue by taking up arms shall defeat their own purpose and make the issue more complicated. There were some important problems to be tackled by some of the important States in Europe. They tried to solve them by waging the first world war. The problems could not find their proper solution even after shedding enormous amount of human blood and destruction of valuable human labour. The problems grew more and more complicated and tender; which resulted in the second world war. Even today we are suffering on account of the consequences of these two great wars. We have been trapped by these wars so badly that it has become difficult, rather impossible, to get out of it. It is, therefore, evident that wars fail to settle our differences. Discussions, criticisms, and even disagreements on the issues of life should be welcomed by us. But it should be kept in mind that these discussions, criticisms and even disagreements must be based on some sound principle. Discussions and criticisms for the sake of discussions and criticisms, and disagreements influenced by envy, prejudice or self-interest should find no place in our life. It, therefore, follows that war is not a sure solution of our differences. There are other ways and means also to settle the differences of mankind. The world today is passing through a great crisis. Science has given man wonderful powers. He is trying to use these extraordinary powers to make engines of destruction of humanity. We, thus, stand very
near the end of human race. We should, therefore, look into our past, which is so glorious and so full of events that may help us at this juncture.

*Condemnation of War in Ancient India.* People in Ancient India had seen numerous bloody wars. The horrors of war and its aftereffects were, therefore, well realised by them. It was well-known to them that the problems that crop up after such wars grow difficult, rather impossible, to be solved. They grow so knotty and delicate that another war becomes un-avoidable. It is because of this, wars in Ancient India were highly condemned by the wise people.

Political thinkers in Ancient India gave a very narrow scope for the activities of war and they legalised only the wars waged on some specific conditions. They prescribed other means to the Kings to settle the points of dispute amongst themselves. Taking arms for the settlement of some dispute was the last resort. This course was to be adopted only when all other ways and means to settle the dispute failed.

*The Three Means of Settlement of Disputes.* They prescribed the three important means for the settlement of disputes, which they called the Sāma (साम), the Dāna (दान), and the Bhēda means (भेद उपाय).

The best course for the settlement of differences according to them was to make utmost efforts for the amicable settlement by pacific means. This means of settlement was called the Sāma Upāya (साम उपाय). Here settlements were arrived by exchange of views and by clearing off the mis-understanding among the parties at dispute. Ambassadors were exchanged to explain the disputed points, and conferences were held, if necessary, to end the differences. It was common those days to depute somebody, very highly reputed for his scholarship, pious character and experience in such affairs, to bring both the parties to terms. Before the commencement of the Mahābhārata, the great war between the Kaurava and the Pândava princes, Lord Krishna was deputed to the court at Hastinapur to exert his influence for the amicable settlement of their differences.
In case the Sāma means (साम उपाय) failed the choice for the second means was made. It was called the Dāna means (दान उपाय). The Dāna (दान उपाय) means to part with something to the strong enemy and thus to purchase peace. It might be in the form of land, wealth or forces. Sometimes the settlement was purchased by offering a royal princess in marriage or giving some royal prince as hostage for a specified period. Thus by the Dāna (दान) method peace was purchased and differences were brought to an end. In this way the weak ruler could assure his security by purchasing peace from a superior ruler. Sometimes the settlement was made on the assurance by the weak ruler to pay yearly or six-monthly tribute to the strong ruler. The strong ruler in return guaranteed the security of the weak ruler.

If this, too, failed the choice would fall on the third one known as the Bhēḍa means (बेढ उपाय). This meant the application of diplomacy of a very high level in the sense of crookedness. Here attempts were made to create dissensions in the camp of the enemy so as to make him weak and thus to foil his plan of attack.

The above means for the settlement of the points at dispute were prescribed by political thinkers in Ancient India like Manu, Bhishma, Kautilya and Śukra. “If not compelled otherwise” says Manu “the King should never take arms to settle the points at dispute. He should always try to apply the three means—the Sāma, the Dāna, and the Bhēḍa—either each separately or collectively as the occasion may demand.” A wise ruler, according to Manu, must not declare war simply to satisfy his lust or whim. In the opinion of Śukra King should never declare war unless his utter destruction is imminent.

It is thus evident that war in Ancient India was regarded to be a means of helplessness. When no alternative was left war was declared to settle the disputed matter.

Kinds of War. Wars in Ancient India were of many kinds according to the nature and the manner the fight took place in them. Kautilya places them under three main classes. He calls
them the Prakaś or the Dharma yuddha (पर्म्युद्र), the Kūta yuddha (कूट्युद्र) and the Tūshni yuddha (तुष्णीयुद्ध). The war in which fighting took place with the pre-announcement of the time, the place of the fight and the strength of the forces to be engaged in the fight by both the parties at war and the fight would go on according to the prescribed laws was called the Dharma yuddha (पर्म्युद्र). Here was no place for deceit or deception, all was fair and heroic. It was the show of real heroic deeds and valour of both the parties. The superiority in expression of heroism and valour was to win the fight.

General massacre of the people, around devastation and destruction by creating atrocities and havoc by setting at fire, plunder and loot, and there deceit and deception played the prominent part was termed as the Kūta yuddha (कूट्युद्र). Here terror and cruelty played more important part than heroism and valour.

The use of poison or the poisonous herbs or medicines for killing the enemy was called Tūshni yuddha (तुष्णीयुद्ध). Here secret persons were employed by both the parties. These persons played tricks to kill the enemy. Here victory was in the hand who was superior in the art of playing the tricks. Here was no place for the expression of heroic deeds or valour nor was any scope for general massacre and creating havoc by setting at fire or plunder and loot.

**Legal Wars.** Out of the above three kinds of wars only the first kind was considered to be legal. The rest were condemned and declared illegal wars. Even the first was not always considered legal. It got the status of legality only when the war was declared for the achievement of any one of the following ends:

(i) **War for the Protection of Humanity.** The first and the foremost end for which the political society is organised is the protection of human life. Each and every State, therefore, should take steps for the protection of humanity against all attempts for its destruction. If somebody were to act against it and found determined to put humanity at risk it was the foremost duty of the King to oppose this move and foil these attempts of the enemy even at
the cost of his own life. For the protection of humanity (लीक-रक्त), the King was permitted to take arms against the aggressor and thus the war waged by such a King would be declared legal. The Mahābhārata advocates the legality of such wars. "He is the best ruler who protects the unprotected ones. The Kings who fail in their this duty are worthless. For the protection of humanity the King should always wage war (योग्यतयः सत्तेदिकायुपिधिरैु).

(ii) War for the Protection of one's own Subjects. The second object for which a ruler had to wage war was the protection of his own subjects. This sort of war was also considered as a legal one. According to the Mahābhārata the King who fights for the protection of his subjects is equal to a saint who observes successfully the rules and regulations of the Sanyās-Aśrama (सन्यास आश्रम). The war thus made by the King has been, therefore, made legal according to the Mahābhārata.

(iii) War for the Protection of Men of Good Character. A good Society is made up of good men. The State should look after the well-being of such persons. It was, therefore, deemed one of the foremost duties of the King to protect these people from all sorts of difficulties around them. Their peace and progress be guaranteed by the King and in doing so if the King had to declare war his action was justified and thus the war declared for the protection of men of good character (विद्वानेऽसेु) was considered a legal war.

(iv) War for the Protection of the People Seeking Shelter. The fourth category of war declared legal by the people in Ancient India was the war waged for the protection of some person or persons seeking shelter at his door. The Ancient Indian people had a great regard for such persons and were willing to help them even at the cost of their own life. We have so many instances in our Ancient literature where Kings sacrificed everything for the cause of the oppressed seeking shelter at their door.

Thus the war waged for the prosecution of the people seeking shelter was also regarded a legal war.
In this way, we find that the wars waged for the protection of humanity, for one's own subjects, for the good charactered men and for the protection of persons seeking shelter were regarded legal wars, the rest were declared illegal ones. The illegal wars were highly condemned from all quarters alike.

Our Hope. We have made a great stride since the times we have talked above. Today's world claims her superiority as regards her culture and civilisation over those of the past. Let us, therefore, move ahead in the direction of peace as well. Our forefathers lived in an age when they could not do away with the wars. They had to fight for their existence. They were, therefore, compelled to justify their action by legalising some sorts of wars. But now the times have changed. With the changing conditions of our life change in this sphere is also essential. The warring spirit among the people is a characteristic of an uncivilised people. Let us, therefore, end it for good, let us solemnly take a pledge, that we will settle our differences by peaceful means, and that we will exert our utmost for upholding the cause of peace so dear to our ancient Rishis. May the tenets of their message be understood, appreciated and followed by the various nations of the world for the establishment of permanent peace on the earth.
HISTORY OF THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ DURING THE
SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

By

B. N. Srivastava

Origin and Early History of the Maukharis:

The period under review witnesses the downfall of the more famous Maukharis of northern India. The origin of the Maukharis and their early history are still wrapped up in a shroud of mystery; nor do we know its exact relation with the other notable Maukharis ruling in the Gaya district between C. 528 and 575 A.D., as attested by the palaeography of certain votive inscriptions belonging to a ruler of that house, to be found in the Barabar and the Nagarjuni Hills. The existence in the pre-Gupta period of a large number of republican communities in the Ganges valley has been well attested by literary and epigraphic evidence, and it is possible that the Maukharis were one of them. A detailed list of those autonomous tribes, however, cannot be prepared for paucity of information; and, as such, we shall have to fill up gaps by availing not merely the early but also the later evidence relating to them. Taking everything into consideration, it appears that the different Maukharis families were originally one; but later on it divided itself at least into two sections. As stated above, one of the two Maukharis families ruled in south Bihar possi-

---


Some scholars have, however, suggested other dates, e.g., Cunningham places them in the 4th Cent. A.D. (A.S.I.R., iii, p. 137); Pires fixes their period of rule in the first half of the 5th Cent. A.D. (The Maukharis, p. 16); Indraji and Bühler suggest 5th Cent. A.D. as the period of their reign (I.A., XI, p. 428); Kielhorn is of the opinion that they ruled not later than the first half of the 6th Cent. A.D. (E.I., vi, p. 3); Vaidya assigns them to a date later than that of Harsha (H.M.H.I., i, p. 34).

2. There may have been probably another line and that of Mayūrivarman mentioned in the Chandravalli Inscription (Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1929, p. 50). With the available data, however, we cannot say definitely whether it was a separate section or merely an offshoot of the Maukharis of Gaya. Pires suggests three sections by including the line of kings mentioned in the Kausumudimahottana. He is of the opinion that “the name Varman evidently was not a mere honorific suffix but a family name” (The Maukharis, p. 17). But there is no evidence to show that the two kings mentioned in Kausumudimahottana with ‘Varman’ as a part of their names, were Maukharis. Family appellation ‘Varman’ is not special to the Maukharis alone, as Pires thinks, for example Susthitarvarman and Bhāskarvarman of Kāmariṇa, Amśuvarman of Nepal, and Mādhavavarman of Orissa.
bly with Gaya as its headquarters while the other one ruled over a considerable portion of the Gaṅgā-Jamuna doab with Kanauj as its seat of government. Both the sections must have asserted their independence in the 3rd Cent. A.D. when the vast Kushāṇa empire crumbled into pieces but could not retain it for long owing to the imperialistic policy steadily pursued by another neighbouring power—the Guptas. The absence of any reference to the Maukharis in the Purāṇas as also in the inscriptions of the early Gupta emperors, are positive proofs of their political insignificance, like so many other tribes of northern India of which the Varikas, the Kulūtas, and the Kuṇindas or Kulindas are the most typical examples. Their existence in the pre-Gupta period is, however, proved by certain incidental references relating to them in literature and inscriptions or by certain stray seals and coins.¹ That the Maukharis had existed long before the time of Guptas, is proved by their own seal bearing the legend Mokhālinam written in later Mauryan characters (early 2nd Cent. B.C.).² This seal inscription not only points to the high antiquity of the Maukharis as a tribe but also suggests that, like the Lichchhavis and others, they were a political community enjoying democratic form of government in the early period of their history, which has been styled Gaṅparājya in Sanskrit literature. Again, like the other autonomous tribes of northern India mentioned in early Buddhist and Jain texts, there must have been a change in their political constitution in the later period of their history, for in the later Gupta


The Kulūtas were the ancient inhabitants of the Kulu valley in the Kangra district of the Punjab. The earliest literary reference to the Kulūtas is in Varāhamihira's Brihat-Saṃhitā (xii, 22, 29) where they appear in the list of the peoples of the Northeastern Division. Hsuan Chuang visited them in the second quarter of the 7th Cent. A.D. Sometimes earlier the author of the Mudrārāksha mentions them as Mlecchhas or foreigners in similar company to Varāhamihira. All available information about them has been collected by Rapson in J.R.A.S., 1900, pp. 530 ff.

The Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jamuna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Brah and Sutlej as it is indicated by the distribution of their coins (Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, p. ci). This agrees very well with the few literary references to that tribe. In the Brihat-Saṃhitā Varāhamihira places the Kuṇindas in the Northeastern Division with the Kashmirians, the Kulūtas and the Sairindas (xii, 31, 33). The form Kulinda is found in the same source (iv, 24), in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, and also in the Mahābhārata. In the last named work, the Kulindas have been placed in the region indicated by the provenance of their coins. The tribe was also known to Ptolemy who has mentioned their country as Kulindrine.

period, it is certain that they were enjoying a full-fledged monarchical form of government.

**Origin of the Name Maukhari:**

Regarding the name Maukhari, it may be noted here that in the epigraphical records of the Maukharis themselves as well as in the works of Bāṇa, we come across two forms viz., 'Mukhara' and 'Maukharī', both of which have been used indiscriminately. Thus, Bāṇa in his Harshacharita mentions the royal house of the Maukharis of Kanauj as the Mukharas while in his Kadambāri he has referred to the members of the same royal family as "the crowned Maukharis".¹ In the Barabar Hill Cave Inscription, king Anantavarman refers to his family as Maukharināṁ kulam, i.e., "the family of the Maukharis", and the name Maukharī also occurs in the Apsad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena as also in the Asirgadh Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman.² The Maukharī royal family has been referred to by Īśanavarman in his famous Haraha Stone Inscription; but there it has been specifically mentioned as the Mukharas.³ It will be seen from these different uses in our sources that both Maukharī and Mukhara were equally popular as the name of that royal family during the 7th Cent. A.D. But in our opinion the form Maukharī is the earlier of the two, since the clay seal referred to above clearly points to that fact. The Prākrit form Mokhalināṁ occurring in that seal phonetically corresponds to Sanskrit Maukharināṁ and not to Mukharanāṁ. The attempt of some scholars to find the name of the first member of the Mukhara royal house in the two popular designations of the family is unwarranted and unjustifiable.⁴ If the founder of the family was known as Mukhara, as believed by them, then grammatically we should have Maukhara as the name of the family foun-

---

¹ Harṣācarita (Tr. by Cowell and Thomas), p. 122, 128, 246 (at one place in his H.C., Bāṇa has also used the word Maukharī, p. 194); Kadambāri (Tr. by Ridding), p. 1.
² C.I.I., iii, p. 222, 203, 220.
³ मुक्तसत्ते लोकोपरिवर्तितवर्षस्यवन्धुस्वरूपत्वम्।
तलबुद्वा हरितप्रतिश्रेष्ठो मुखरा: ज्ञितीश: भारत:।
E.I., XIV, p. 115, V. 3.
⁴ Grammatically it is possible to have the patronymic form Maukharī if the name of the founder of the family is Mukhara. It is not possible, however, to have a patronymic form like Maukhari from Mukhara, strictly on the basis of grammatical rules.
ded by him. Again, it is impossible to derive the name Maukhari from Mukhara, admitting it to be the name of its founder. We consider that both the names were unrestrictedly used in referring originally to the community and later on to the royal families connected with it. We must remember that the Mukharas or the Maukhari were originally an autonomous tribe as suggested by their earliest epigraphic record, the legend in the clay seal referred to above. Correct derivation of the name of any community belonging to ancient period is an utter impossibility, and, as such, we should not expect a sensible interpretation of the name Maukhari as well.

Caste of the Maukhari:

The caste of the Maukhari is no less controversial than their origin. Modern historians are not unanimous in their opinion regarding their caste; and, in fact, it is difficult to say precisely to which particular section of the Hindu society they did belong. As stated above, the different Maukhari families were originally one; and since they managed their own political affairs like the other kshatriya tribes of ancient India, there are good reasons to believe that they too might have considered themselves to be of kshatriya extraction. In the cave inscriptions of Anantavarman we find a strong corroboration of this fact. For instance, in his Barabar Hill Cave Inscription that Maukharī king represents himself as “the lamp of the kshatriya family” (dīpāḥ kṣattra kulaśya) and in one of his Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscriptions he also describes himself as “the path of the abode of all the (noble) qualities of the kṣa- triyas” (kṣattrasya dhāmnaḥ padam).

The Haraha Stone Inscription of Īśānavarman indirectly supports the tradition recorded in the aforesaid epigraphic records. The compiler of that inscription informs us that the Maukhari were the descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati obtained from Vaivasvata.

Reference to Vaivasvata may be taken to be an indication of the fact that the Maukhari of Kanauj considered themselves to belong

---

1. दीपा: चन्द्रकुलस्व बैक-समर-व्यापर-श्रेष्ठावर-श्रीभावतः:  
   चात्रस्व धामन: पदे
   C.I.I., iii, p. 233.

to the solar race, since Manu, whose other name was Vaivasvata, was of solar lineage, and, as such, a true-born kshatriya. We do not find any reference either in literature or in inscriptions which definitely contradicts the family tradition of the Maukharis that they belonged to the kshatriya community. The controversy regarding their caste has actually arisen from a statement of Hsuan Chuang that emperor Śilāditya i.e., to say Harshavardhana was a Vaśya by caste. Now the question is: how was it possible for the Maukharī king Grahavarman to marry in the royal family of the Pushyabhūtis and bring Rājyaśrī, a Vaśya girl, as his first wife? In this context, it may be mentioned here that the Harshacharita of Bāṇa does not directly or indirectly mention that the Pushyabhūtis belonged to the Vaśya community; nor is there any epigraphical record of the period which lends support to that casual observation of Hsuan Chuang. Thus, the controversy which is raging round the caste of the Maukharīs and that of the Pushyabhūtis is wholly base on what has been stated by that Chinese pilgrim as mentioned above. Before we draw any conclusions regarding the caste of any one of these two royal families, there are certain facts of prime importance which we must very carefully consider. Grahavarman Maukharī married Rājyaśrī, the only daughter of Prabhākaravardhana, and there is no information available either in the Harshacharita or in the work of Hsuan Chuang to suggest that king Avantivarman had already established matrimonial alliance with one or more royal families of northern India through him—the heir-apparent to the Maukharī throne.

1. This is the opinion of Pt. Hirarnand Sastri (E.I., XIV, 119), the editor of the inscription, but some scholars on the basis of the Mahābhārata (III, 296, 38 fl.) identify Vaivasvata with Yama. The identification of Vaivasvata mentioned in the Haraha Stone Inscription has thus become a matter of controversy, but the tradition as preserved in the Mahābhārata clearly shows that the ancestors of King Āsavapati were of solar origin.

2. Jayaswal, however, considers them to be Vaśyas: “I think that the modern Mauhari caste, almost solely located in the Gaya district, are their representatives. They are Baniyas, i.e., Vaśyas now” (letter quoted by Aryanathun in ‘The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age’, p. 80, note 1). But in ancient times, persons belonging to a particular caste are known to have changed their profession for that prescribed for another caste. Pṛthivishena, the commander-in-chief of the army of Kumārāgupta I, who was a Brahmin by birth, is a case to the point.

3. Watters, i. p. 343.
Intercaste marriage between the Hindu royal families in those days is an established fact; but it is difficult to believe that Grahavarman himself preferred or was even permitted by his relations to have a Vaiśya girl as his first wife and Chief Queen (agramahishī). According to Manu, a kshatriya must have a kshatriya girl as his first wife and afterwards he may lawfully marry a Vaiśya and even a Śūdra girl, if he so desires.¹ We are strongly of the opinion that the law formulated by Manu and supported by other legists of Ancient India, was rigid so far as the marriages in the royal families were concerned, and not flexible.² From the Harshacharita we get the impression that, after the death of Avantivarman, Grahavarman himself sent the proposal of his marriage to king Prabhākaravardhana, from which it appears that he was unmarried at the time when he ascended the throne. Again, it is most unlikely that a powerful king like Prabhākaravardhana would have condescended to give his only daughter in marriage with Grahavarman, if there was no possibility for her to become the Chief Queen. Since he was satisfied that his daughter would adorn the Maukhari royal family by being at first the Chief Queen and afterwards the mother of the future ruler of the Maukhari kingdom, he unhesitatingly entertained the proposal made by Grahavarman relating to his marriage with Rājyaśri. If both Grahavarman and Rājyaśri belonged to the kshatriya caste, the marriage contracted between the two was regular and valid. But if that Maukhari king belonged to the kshatriya caste and his wife belonged to that of the Vaiśyas, the marriage was unlawful, since it was not of the form prescribed by the ancient law-givers for bringing the first wife. Taking all these facts into consideration, we have come to the conclusion that the Pushyabhūtis were also kshatriyas like the Maukharis, although we have no positive evidence to corroborate the same.

If both the royal families, viz., the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis, had not belonged to the kshatriya community, the author of the Harshacharita, who is presumed to have witnessed the

---

1. Manu, vii, 77.

2. Yājñavalkya, lvii, 57.
marriage of Rājyaśrī, would not have compared them with the Sun and the Moon. It appears that, instead of using the stereotyped expression kṣhatriya, he has told us that the rulers of those two families belonged to the purest kṣhatriya stocks. If the Pushyabhūtis had been Vaiśya by caste, Bāṇa would not have made his position ridiculous by making a false suggestion regarding the nobility of their descent by instituting that comparison. He has definitely eulogised the lineages of both Prabhākara-varadhana and Graharvarman though in a poetic manner, but without any hesitation or scruple as the expressions chosen by him signify.

Now coming to the question: if the Pushyabhūtis were kṣhatriyas, how is it that emperor Śilāditya has been mentioned by Hsuan Chuang as belonging to the Vaiśya caste? We do not know what led that Chinese pilgrim to come to that conclusion or what was his authority for that statement. One fact is, however, certain, and that is—his remark could not have been based on the court tradition of the Pushyabhūtis; for no one is expected to talk with an outsider or a foreigner disparagingly about the king’s caste, if it be a low one. This is of course the common-sense view of the problem confronting us here. There is, however, a point which we must not overlook in the present context; Emperor Harshavardhana was an orthodox Buddhist, and, as such, rightly or wrongly, he was considered by the Brāhmaṇas to be anti-Brahmanical in his thoughts and ideas. We believe that getting no support or patronage from the emperor as much as was their expectation, some of the disgruntled Brāhmaṇas might have started a mischievous propaganda about his caste which Hsuan Chuang has recorded

1. "लो श्राप्च चिरालखः राज्यवधिया परिति तेजोवंती सकल अजगरीयान बुध कर्णस्य- कोरियुष्मान मेवाल संसारविश्व पुष्पभूनितुलब बंधो।" Text (ed. by Parab, K. P.) p. 146.

In this passage Bāṇa has simply made an allegorical statement, but some scholars like N.R. Ray (Calcutta Review, Feb., 1928, vol. XXVI, No. 2, p. 203) and Pires (The Maukharis, p. 11, 12) have erroneously concluded that the comparison has been made because the two Houses in question were connected with the Sun and the Moon respectively. The hypothesis and the arguments of the two scholars, however, seem to be far-fetched. The purpose of Bāṇa was merely to eulogize the two kṣhatriya families by comparing them with the two well-known kṣhatriya houses that are famous both in Indian legends and history.

2. Watters, i, p. 313.
without taking the trouble of verifying it, thinking it probably to be imprudent on his part to do so. Whatever the case may be, in the face of the contemporary and almost contemporary literary and epigraphic records, as mentioned above, it has not been possible for us to accept the statement of a foreigner that Emperor Śilāditya was a Vaiśya, setting aside the popular belief or court tradition that both the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis were true-born kshatriyas.

Later History of the Maukharis up to the time of Avantivarman:

During the 7th cent. A.D., there were at least three kings of the Maukharī family who had ruled in the Gaṅgā-Jamunā doab with Kanauj as their seat of government. They are Avantivarman, Graharvarman and another who has been referred to in the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Māla-Kalpa but unfortunately his full name does not occur there. This non-descript successor of Graharvarman has also been mentioned for the second time in a seal inscription discovered recently at Nālandā. Here too, owing to the damaged condition of the seal only the first syllable of his name can be ascertained. The genealogy of the kings belonging to this Maukharī House as given in some inscriptions is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahārāja Harivarman</th>
<th>m. Jayasvāminī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ādityavarman</td>
<td>m. Harshaguptā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īśvaravarman</td>
<td>m. Upaguptā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman</td>
<td>m. Lākshmīvatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvāvarman</td>
<td>m. Indrabhaṭṭārikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avantivarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su (-----------------)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The underlying idea is that the members of the third caste are not so charitable or generous as the upper two!

2. The statement of the Chinese pilgrim, however, has received some corroboration from a Buddhist text, the Āryamañjuśrīmālakalpa, in which king Ādityavaradhana, one of the ancestors of Harsha, has been definitely mentioned as of Vaiśya origin (ed. by Ganapatī Sastri, p. 626). The problem relating to the caste of the Pushyabhūtis is thus a matter of controversy. There can be no wonder if the Chinese pilgrim as well as the author of that Buddhist work have made that statement on the basis of the very same source of information and that is the Brahmanical theory relating to the origin of the Pushyabhūtis.

3. Āryamañjuśrīmālakalpa, p. 626; See also Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 27.

During the decadent period of the history of the imperial Guptas, i.e., to say, after the death of Budhagupta, a number of monarchical States had come into existence, of which the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj was one. During the early Gupta period, it is presumed that the rulers of the Maukhari house of Kanauj were merely vassal chiefs; but taking advantage of the weakness of the successor of Budhagupta, his feudatories re-established themselves in their former kingdoms as independent rulers. What is true of the Maukharis, is also true of many other dynasties such as the Pushyabhūtis, the Maitrakas, the Gauḍas and the Mālavas. Although Harivarman is the earliest known ruler of the Maukhari principality of Kanauj, it was Iśānavarman who brought his family into limelight by successfully waging-wars against the neighbouring powers and annexing their territories, as we know from his famous Harahā Stone Inscription. It is difficult to say exactly how far Iśānavarman was successful in his attempt to build up an empire in northern India; but there is no doubt that the kingdom of the Maukharis extended as far as the Himālayas in the north, the river Narmadā to the south, river Jamunā to the west and the river Ganges and Brahmaputra to the east, when he had finished his career of conquest. It is true, however, that a portion of his vast kingdom was previously conquered by his father Iśvaravarman, particularly the south-west part of it, as evidenced by his Jaunpur Stone Inscription which specifically mentions that he, after defeating the Āndhras, extended his conquest as far as the Raivataka Hill, which is to say, upto the very heart of Kathiawar. Sarvavarman, the son and successor of Iśānavarman was, however, not powerful enough to maintain the frontiers of the vast kingdom which was bequeathed to him by his father, since the available sources of information clearly point to the loss of the territories in the south and south-west and also perhaps to a certain extent in the east. The territories which came to be freed from the Maukhari yoke during his reign appear to be Mālavā or eastern Mālavā, Mo-la-po or western Mālavā, and Gauḍa. That

1. During this period the Maukhari family of Gaya was already in existence.
2. E.I., XIV, p. 110.
3. C.I.I., iii, p. 228, No. 51.
he ruled over a considerable portion of Shahabad district in south Bihar has been definitely established by an incidental reference to him in the Dço-Barnark Inscription of Jīvitagupta II;¹ but his Asirgadh Seal Inscription does not prove conclusively that he exercised sovereign sway over Madhya Bhārata for a number of reasons. Iśānavarman’s conquest of the Valabhi kingdom or even a portion of it is purely a matter of conjecture; and the same remark holds good in the case of Sarvavarman as well. In this connection, we should like to draw the attention of scholars to a fact of prime importance. Prabhākaravardhana, as described by Bāṇa, was “an axe to the Mālava creeper” which may be taken to signify that he conquered Mālavā, rather Eastern Mālavā which had previously been conquered by Iśānavarman during his campaign in the regions lying to the north of the Narmadā. Although there is no precise information in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa, it appears that the relation between the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis was cordial, a fact which might have led Grahavarman Maukhari to send proposal of his marriage with the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana.² This, however, would not have been possible if Prabhākaravardhana had wrested a part of the Maukhari kingdom lying in the south. There was no question of hereditary feud between the Pushyabhūtis and the Maukharis, since whatever was conquered by Prabhākaravardhana in the south had already been lost in the reign of Sarvavarman. It is over this truncated Maukhari kingdom, with Kanauj as the seat of government, that Avantivarman and his two successors had ruled in the period under review.

Avantivarman:

With Avantivarman opens an eventful chapter in the history of northern India; but unfortunately we do not know much about the life and political career of this Maukhari king for paucity of evidence. He has been undoubtedly mentioned by Bāṇa in his Harshacharita as the father of Grahavarman, son-in-law of illustrious Prabhākaravardhana the ruler of Thāneśvara.³ He has also

1. C.I.L., p. 216, No. 46.
3. ibid, p. 122.
been mentioned in a seal inscription discovered at Nālandā belonging to the reign of his son whose name is very much mutilated and is beyond any possibility of restoration.¹ The Deo-Barnark Inscription of Jīvita Gupta II also mentions him in connection with the worship of the God Varuṇavāsin and the recognition by him of all the land-grant charters which were issued from time to time by different local rulers in favour of that deity.² In addition to these, we have got certain silver coins belonging to his reign all of which were discovered in the central and western parts of Uttar Pradesh.³ The information supplied by the aforesaid sources is most inadequate for the purpose of reconstructing the history of his reign. For instance, we do not know what was his exact relation with the preceding Maukharī king Sarvavarman, since the Nālandā Seal Inscription mentioned above is altogether silent about it. The same is true also of the Harshacharita because its author has said nothing about him which is of any consequence in that context. His coins, however, throw some light on his date because since the time of Isānavarman, dated coins were issued by the Maukharis following the practice of the imperial Guptas. The probability is, however, that he was the son of Sarvavarman and enjoyed throughout a peaceful reign. He was undoubtedly a very powerful king of his time, since in addition to the ancestral territory of the Maukharis, he exercised sovereign sway not only over the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh but even over a considerable portion of Bihar as evidenced by the Deo-Barnark Inscription referred to above.⁴ It is because of the vastness of his territory and the imperial dignity enjoyed by him⁵ that Bāṇa had no hesitation in admitting that Avantivarman was the “pride of the Mukhara race”, which according to him “stood at the head of all royal houses and was worshipped

¹ E.I., XXIV, p. 285.
² C.I.I., iii, p. 216, No. 46.
⁴ C.I.I., iii, p. 216, No. 46.
⁵ This is signified by the use of “Parmeśvara” for him in the Deo-Barnark Inscription, (C.I.I., iii, p. 216).
like Śiva’s foot-print, by all the world.”¹ We do not consider what has been stated by that eminent writer to be purely eulogistic, since the power and glory of the Maukhari had reached their zenith not in the early but in the later part of their history. It must not be construed, however, that since Avantivarman died before the marriage of his son with Rājyaśrī, Bāṇa, out of respect for that deceased king, had used those choicest expressions in his own artistic way.

We are not certain when Avantivarman died but considering the fact that Graharavarman Maukhari was assassinated within a few years of his accession to the throne and marriage with the daughter of Prabhakaravardhana, it might have occurred in or about the year 601 A.D. The same uncertainty, it may be noted here, remains in respect of the date of his accession to the throne as also of the duration of his reign. His coins undoubtedly bear a date; but the numerical figures, being highly blurred, do not afford any material help towards the solution of all these chronological problems.²

From Bāṇa’s Kādambarī we learn that Avantivarman was the disciple of Bhātsu, a renowned ascetic-philosopher of the time. That eminent ascetic was also the spiritual guide (guru) of Bāṇa.³ From this interesting piece of information we can only conclude that Avantivarman was a religious-minded king. He was probably also a patron of learning, since his feudatory Viśākhadatta, who composed

---

1. H.C., p. 123
2. The different readings of the dates on his coins are as follows:
   - Burn—250, 57, 71.
   - Brown—250, 57, 70 (?).
   - Dikshit—260, 26x, 57, 17.

   The year 250 seems to be a date according to the Gupta system of calculation (250 + 320 = 570 A.D.). This date is likely to fall in the reign of Avantivarman. See also Burn, J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 849; Brown, Catal. of Coins of the Guptas, Maukhari etc. in the Luck. Mus., p. 39; Tripathi, History of Kanauj, p. 57; Fries, The Maukhari, p. 163.
the Devicandra-guptam and the Mudrārākṣhasa, has mentioned his name in the colophon of the latter work.¹ We, however, do not want to lay emphasis on this point since in certain editions of Mudrārākṣhasa other names figure in the same colophon in the place of that of Avantivarman.²

Grahavarman:

The successor of Avantivarman was his son Grahavarman Maukhari.³ It is very unfortunate that his name does not find mention in any of the epigraphs discovered so far.⁴ The narrative of his reign we owe entirely to Bāna. From the Harshacharita we learn that when the thought of Rājaśri’s marriage was worrying Prabhākaravardhana, one day he told his chief queen Yasmati, “in general.............though a bridegroom may have other merits, the wise especially incline towards good family. Now at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped, like Śiva’s foot-print by all the world. Of that race’s pride, Avantivarman, the eldest son, Grahavarman by name, who lacks not his

---


² The other readings of the name are Chandragupta (Mudrā-Rākṣhasa, p. 21; I.A., XLII, p. 265 and LI, p. 49) and Rantivarman (Mudrā-Rākṣhasa, p. 21; I.A., XLIII, p. 67).
³ Ghosh doubts “whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne” (E.I., XXIV, P. 284, fn. 8). It is a strange observation, for a reading of the Harshacharita dispels every doubt in this respect. The Maṇḍūrānti-kārṣṭa also clearly states that Avantivarman (Parikti) was succeeded by Grahā (Varman) (p. 626). The Nālandā Seal of Su (—) certainly does not mention Grahavarman as a successor of Avantivarman, but there are many such examples where the name of the son who is to succeed or succeeded his father has been omitted and that of another son has been mentioned, e.g., a Vaisālī Seal mentions the name of Govinda Gupta as son of Chandra Gupta II by Dhruvadevi, but not that of Kumāra Gupta I (A.S.I.R., 1903-4, p. 107, Seal No. 1). That Govinda Gupta was the Yuvrāja is evident from another Seal which has been found along with it. In that Seal there is an inscription which reads as गुद्रराज पार्वती मुक्तारामाय. Again, the Bhita Seal Inscription of Kumāra Gupta II mentions Puru Gupta immediately after Kumāra Gupta and does not mention Skanda Gupta, the immediate successor of his father, at all (I.A.; XIX, p. 225). Similarly the Poona Copper Plate Inscription mentions the name of Yuvrāja Divakarasena, son of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatigupta (E.I., XV, p. 4ff), but in the other Vākaśaka inscriptions such as Nachne-Ki-talai, and Siwani and Channak plates, the name of Mahārāja Pravarasena II, son of Prabhāvatigupta, occurs immediately after Rudrasena II being his son and immediate successor (C.I.I., iii, pp. 234, 236, 245).

⁴ Pires has suggested that Grahavarman’s name was recorded in the Deo-Barnark Inscription of Jivita Gupta II (The Maukharis, p. 107). We, however, do not find any trace of his name in the inscription though the name of his father Avantivarman is certainly mentioned there.
father's virtues, a prince like the lord of planets descended upon earth, seeks our daughter. Upon him, if your Majesty's thoughts are likewise favourable, I propose to bestow her''. From another passage in the same work we come to know "on a day of good omen, in the presence of the whole household, he (Prabhākaravardhana) poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess''. These passages of the Harshacharita clearly reveal the fact that Grahavarman was the first male issue of Avantivarman and that his marriage took place after the death of his father when he had already ascended the throne.

This matrimonial alliance was a very important event in the history of the period. And, in the words of Bāṇa himself, it "at length united the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhūti and Mukhara, whose worth, like that of the Sun and Moon houses, is sung by all the world to the gratification of wise men's ears". He has also given us a very graphic and interesting description of the marriage. "All the world bedecked itself with betel perfumes, and flowers, distributed with a lavish hand. From every country were summoned companies of skilled artists". "Throngs of astrologers, set calculating, investigated characteristics of different moments". "Even kings girt up their loins and busied themselves in carrying out decorative work". "From the furthest orient had come the

2. ibid, p. 123.
3. If his father would have been alive, he himself would not have entered into such negotiations in the traditional Indian way. Dr. Tripathi, however, observes; "we should be cautious in drawing any conclusion from Avantivarman's absence during the ceremonies, for he may have stayed behind deeming it imprudent to leave the capital unprotected" (History of Kausā, p. 50). We fail to visualise the crisis in the Maukhari Kingdom due to which Avantivarman had to forego the pleasure of attending the marriage of his eldest son as suggested by Dr. Tripathi. In case the Maukhari Kingdom would have been threatened from some quarter, as stated by him, the marriage ceremony itself would have been postponed in the larger national interest. In fact in such a situation Grahavarman, being the Crown-Prince, would have been by the side of his father in his own capital instead of proceeding to Thaneswara to marry ! Besides, we should remember that Bāṇa also makes no mention of Avantivarman in the later narrative of the Harshacharita which may warrant such a conclusion. Even Sāțivādaka, the royal messenger, who broke the news of the death of Grahavarman and imprisonment of Rājaśri to Rāja and Harsha in the Harshacharita makes no reference to Avantivarman (certainly because he was dead long ago).
4. H.C., p. 128.
queens of all the feudatories, nobles...........well-clad, unwidow-
ed dames with lines of vermilion powder glittering on their fore-
heads". "The palace was arrayed in textures flashing on every side
like thousands of rainbows". "Thus the royal household became as
it were the essence of freedom from widowhood; a world seemed
born full of auspiciousness". And at last "calculated as it were by
the people's fingers.............welcomed by reverberations of
auspicious music, invoked by astrologers, attracted by wishes....
the marriage day arrived".1

But alas! All the calculations regarding the auspicious moment
had been miscalculated. From the Harshacharita itself we come
to know that immediately after the death of Prabhākaravardhana,
when the two princes of the Thāneśwara royal family had still not
been able even to shake off their grief, a trusted servant of Rājyaśrī
named Saṃvādaka arrived from Kanauj and informed them the
following: "on the very day on which the king's death was ru-
moured, His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of
Mālavā (Malwa) cut off from the living along with his noble deeds.
Rājyaśrī also, the princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife
with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at
Kānyakubja."2

The facts which can be deduced from the awful tale of
Saṃvādaka are of much importance in the political history of the
period. The king of Mālavā, whose name Bāṇa has even disdained
to mention, killed Grahavarman, possibly in a battle, took possession
of the seat of government of the Maukharis and put Rājyaśrī into
prison to render her completely powerless for taking action against
the invader. Although that eminent writer is silent about the name
of "the wicked king of Mālavā", we have definite information pre-
served in the Banskhara Copper Plate Inscription of Harsha that
he was Devagupta against whom Rājyavardhana had to direct his

---

1. H.C., P. 123-26 ff.
2. ibid, p. 173.

Hildebrandt has suggested that Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, was kill-
ed in Rājyavardhana's expedition against the Hūṇas (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen-
landischen Gesellschaft, XXXIX, 131). The suggestion is certainly an ingenious one—
only, I am afraid, it can scarcely be ever proved.
army, evidently for the purpose of avenging the murder of his brother-in-law, the Maukharī king Grahavarman. Devagupta, in all probability, was a son of Mahāsenagupta, king of Mālavā who had to fight many battles with his neighbours in northern India, both for offensive and defensive purposes. Regarding Devagupta's claim to the throne of Mālavā there is no unanimity of opinion among scholars. While it is maintained by some that he was the uterine brother of the two princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who had spent many years of their early life in the royal palace at Thāneswara as hostages or as proteges or, as stated by Bāṇa, as friends of the two princes Rājya and Harsha, others believe that he represented a collateral line of Mālava royal house.\(^1\) When for some important political reason Prabhākaravardhana annexed Mālavā, which we have reasons to believe to be Eastern Mālva, obviously after the death of his maternal uncle Mahāsenagupta, Devagupta was either ousted by him or allowed to rule as his feudatory.\(^2\) It is evident from the sequence of events that Devagupta was not satisfied with his position whatever that might have been. When he got the information that Prabhākaravardhana was on the verge of death, he immediately attacked the kingdom of the Maukhāris, instead of that of the Pushyabhūtīs though it may appear to many to have been a strategical blunder. But it was really not so. The strategy which Devagupta followed, was to uproot at first the more powerful enemy, the Maukharī king Grahavarman who was an ally of the royal house of the Pushyabhūtīs, and thereafter occupy the kingdom of Thāneswara by defeating, as he thought, the less powerful enemy, the youthful crown prince Rājyavardhana. He was very sanguine of the fact that if in any way that Maukharī king was prevented from helping the Pushyabhūtīs, it would not be difficult for him to oust the two princes Rājya and Harsha and, after that, exercise political supremacy over the kingdom of Thāneswara and its dependencies without further obstruction from any quarters. History shows that his military strategy was successful, at least partly, since

---

1. See Raychaudhri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind., p. 515; Mookerji, Harsha, p. 54; Pires, The Maukhāris, pp. 111-12; Majumdar, Classical Age, pp. 74-5.

2. We strongly believe that Mahāsenagupta was the brother of Mahāsenaguptā, queen of Ādityavardhana, whose son was Prabhākara.
he did occupy Kanauj, the Maukhari capital, by killing Graha-
varman and putting Rājyaśṛi in prison in pursuit of his previous
plan. Unfortunately, he wrongly calculated the military strength of
the Pushyabhūtis and also the military genius of the heir-apparent
Rājyavardhana (later on king Rājyavardhana II) with the result
that his victorious career suddenly came to an end. As we know,
he was killed in battle by him soon after his occupation of Kanauj.
In one of his land-grant charters the defeat of Devagupta at the
hands of king Rājyavardhana has been admitted by emperor
Harsha, as mentioned above. The death of Graharvarman was
thus avenged by the Pushyabhūti king Rājyavardhana II.

The history of the Maukhari kingdom after the death of Graha-
varman is inseparably connected with that of Emperor Harsha,
since he transferred the seat of his government from Thāneśwara
to Kanauj for important political reasons, as we shall see presently.

From the statement of Hsuan Chuang who is our primary
source of information relating to the history of this period, it
appears that both Harsha and Rājyaśṛi used to sit on the throne
together and rule over the kingdom.¹ The information supplied
by him is interesting but is apparently incomplete. For instance,
we do not understand why the emperor’s sister would sit by his
side to administer the State, instead of his queen, according to
Hindu tradition. It also passes our comprehension why the royal
sister should be invited to share the responsibility of governing the
kingdom along with the emperor. In view of these absurdities, we
think that the pilgrim has not fully stated the facts although he
has recorded what he had seen with his own eyes. After the death
of Graharvarman, who died, as we think, without any issue, consti-
tutionally his queen Rājyaśṛi could be the ruler of the Maukhari
kingdom, in the absence or, even during the minority, of any
claimant to the throne. Being in the position of the highest execu-
tive head of the State, she had the right to appoint any competent
person as her political adviser or even as her agent. After the
death of Graharvarman, Harsha had transferred his capital to Kanauj
leaving Thāneśwara, the old capital of the Pushyabhūtis. The

¹. Watters, i., p. 345.
reason for transferring the seat of government from one place to another cannot be easily accounted for, unless it be that he had to help his sister constantly in carrying on the administration of the Maukhari kingdom, which was by no means insignificant in size or area and also by no means free from dangers due to the policy of territorial aggrandisement of some of the neighbouring powers. The fact that both the brother and the sister used to sit together on the throne and dispense with the business of the State, as we have been informed by the pilgrim, is not incredible, if we realise correctly the responsibilities of either of them, after the death of Grahavarman. Again, Emperor Harsha had taken the vow of not wearing the crown.¹ If this information as supplied also by Hsuan Chuang be correct, there was no question of the usurpation of the Maukhari throne by Harsha. In our opinion, the transfer of the capital from Thāneswara to Kanauj by Harsha was to assist his widowed sister in governing the Maukhari kingdom as her representative or political adviser. The main reason which led him to place her on the throne by his side was to show that she represented in her person the interest of her State, as he did, that of his own. It means also that he maintained the integrity of the Maukhari kingdom as inherited by Rājyasrī, even though he exercised paramountcy over a considerable portion of northern India. This is the only possible and rational explanation of the information supplied by the Chinese pilgrim that the brother and the sister ruled jointly sitting together on the throne. We do not know whether Rājyasrī survived Harsha or not; but it appears from the aforesaid statement, that her political independence was fully recognised by her royal brother by giving her all the opportunities of administering her own kingdom so long as he was alive.²

Maukhari Kingdom After the Death of Harsha:

From a Nālandā Seal Inscription it appears that king Avanti-
varman Maukhari had a second son named Sucha(ndravarman) who

---

¹ Harsha lived upto 646 A.D. and, according to Hsuan Chuang, Rājyasrī was alive upto the time of the sixth quinquennial assembly held at Prayāga which was attended by the Chinese pilgrim and which took place in 644 A.D. (Watters, i, p. 361). As Rājyasrī was also younger to Harsha, we naturally believe that she outlived her brother.

² Watters, i, p. 343.
appears to have exercised sovereign sway over some part or perhaps the whole of the Maukhari kingdom.\(^1\) That he had more than one son is also evident from a statement of Bāna made in his Harshacharita wherein he has specifically mentioned that Grahabarman was the eldest of all.\(^2\) While the existence of Sucha ndravarman, probably the last of the Maukhari of Kanauj, can no longer be doubted, in view of the epigraphic evidence cited above, it seems rather strange why he was not placed on the throne by Harsha, had he the intention of not annexing the Maukhari kingdom. We believe that this second son of Avantivarman was merely a child when Grahabarman Maukhari was killed. After taking everything into consideration, Harsha decided to recognise his sister as the ruler of the Maukhari territory in preference to Sucha ndravarman who was considered by him to be unfit for placing on the throne on account of his tender age. We have already mentioned above that king Avantivarman had a premature death for which reason he could not even arrange for the marriage of the heir-apparent Grahabarman during his life-time. In view of the serious responsibility that had befallen on the shoulder of Harsha, viz., to look after the interest and welfare of his widowed sister Rājyaśri and also that of the orphan prince Sucha ndravarman, there is no doubt that the policy which Harsha had adopted in respect of the Maukhari kingdom was the most correct, reasonable and honest, taking the political condition of northern India as a whole into consideration.

That Harsha made Kanauj the seat of his government, whence he ruled over his empire, including the Maukhari territories, is more than evident. We do not know when exactly his death took place, but the probability, as stated above, is that it took place some time in 646-47 A.D. The reason for our acceptance of this date is mainly based on the date of Wang-hiuens’s return to Ch’ang-an, the imperial capital of China during the T’ang period, after fulfilling his First Mission and that of his arrival in India, after nine or ten months, in connection with the Second Mission. He returned to China after his First Mission either at the close of

1. E.I., XXIV, p. 283.
2. H.C., p. 122 (मध्यमदेशीयमात्रविवरणांशः सनुनस्योऽधिवर्म्यान्तः नाम... Text, p. 141).
646 A.D. or towards the beginning of 647 A.D. and came back to
India towards the close of 647 A.D., when Emperor Harsha was
already dead.\(^1\) It may be noted here that he came to this country
twice prior to A.D. 650, viz., in the years 646 and 647 A.D. on
both political and cultural missions by the order of the Chinese
emperor T’ai Tsung of the T’ang dynasty, who was anxious to
maintain friendly relations with his Indian contemporary Harsha
Śilāditya. When he arrived for the second time, the Indian
monarch whom he came to meet, was already dead and his minister
Arjuna or Arunāśva (A-la-na-shuen) had usurped the throne.\(^2\)

It appears from the statement of Ma-twan-lin that the Second Mission
of Wang-hiuen-tse was a failure, since he and his companions were
so badly treated that they took to flight for their own safety and
ultimately entered into Nepal, the king of which country maintained
friendly relations with the rulers of both Tibet and China. A few
months later, he invaded the kingdom of Arjuna from Nepal with
the help of an army which was composed of 7,000 Nepalese cavalry
and 12,000 Tibetan infantry, to avenge the insult perpetrated on
him directly and on his over-lord, emperor T’ai-Tsung, indirectly.

From the itinerary of this Chinese general, it appears that a battle
was fought somewhere in the province of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut), in
the course of which the army of Arjuna was routed. The defeated
Indian king fled from the battlefield but gathering his scattered
forces reappeared to punish the Chinese invader. A second battle
was fought at a different place the locality of which has not been
mentioned in the history of Ma-twan-lin but it has been specifi-
cally stated in it that the usurper was successfully defeated and was
captured with his followers. From the same source it further appears
that the casualty on the side of the Indian army was rather heavy.

Arjuna was subsequently taken to China via Nepal and Tibet as
war-prisoner and presented before emperor T’ai-Tsung for adequate
punishment for being solely responsible for the loss of so many
lives. By the order of the emperor of China the captive was cast
into prison, where he remained till his death. According to our
computations, Arjuna was taken to China as a prisoner of war to-

---

1. I.A., IX, p. 20; See also Sino-Indian Studies, I, p. 69.
2. Ibid.
wards the end of 648 A.D., he being defeated sometime in the earlier part of that year.

It will be seen from what we have stated above that there was no possibility for the younger brother of king Grahavarman Maukhari to rule over his ancestral kingdom at least upto the middle of the year 648 A.D. because it had remained long in the possession of Harsha and after him for at least one year under the usurper Arjuna. During the latter part of 648 A.D. Sucha(ndravarman) might have ascended the throne, there being possibly no further impediment on his way to the throne. It is not certain for how many years exactly he ruled, but there is no doubt that he exercised sovereign sway over the former Maukhari kingdom and also over its dependencies. The imperialistic title, Mahārājādhirāja, as borne by him, must not lead us to the supposition that he ruled as a paramount sovereign like Harsha over the whole of northern India, since we know for certain that his Gupta contemporary Adityasena was ruling over a considerable portion of the Gangetic valley in the east and bore the very same title. The discovery of the seal of Sucha(ndravarman) at Nālandā, which lay in the territory of that Gupta monarch, may only be taken to be an indication of the fact that the two rulers maintained friendly or diplomatic relations with each other, a fact which might have induced the Maukhari king to make an endowment in the Nālandā University, the proper use of which has been testified to by the discovery of his seal in its ruins. Whatever may be the case, there is no evidence, whether positive or negative, even to adumbrate that the two royal families were engaged in hostility against each other.

In the Ārya-Maṇḍūри-Mūla-Kalpa in which a list of the Maukhari kings of Kanauj is to be found, there is the mention of a king named Suvarra after Graha(varman). The presumption that naturally arises is that Suvarra is the same as Sucha(ndravarman) of the aforesaid Nālandā Seal, coming, as it does, after Graha(varman). It may be noted here that Dr. N. P. Chakravarti finds traces of the letter cha after Su and restores the name of the king in ques-

tion as Sucha(ndravarman). We, however, find some difficulty in considering Sucha (nдрavarman) and Suvra(tavarman ?) to be identical, since the latter has been placed genealogically after Graha-varman) and consequently should be considered to be his son rather than his brother. Taking into consideration the arrangement of the names as we find in that text viz., the name of the son occurs after that of his father, this suspicion of ours is by no means baseless. Merely because both the names begin with the syllable Su, the kings who bore them cannot be considered to be one and the same person. There is, thus, the possibility of a king named Suvra(tavarman) succeeding his uncle Sucha(nдрavarman), if we take our stand on the genealogical arrangement of the kings as given in that Buddhist work. We, however, do not want to lay much emphasis on this point since neither Bâna nor Hsuan Chuang has made any direct or indirect reference to the son and successor of Grahavarman's queen Râjyaâsî. On the other hand, the impression that we get about her from their respective works is that she had indeed a very short married life.

1. Mr. A. Ghosh reads the name of the son of Avantivarman occurring in the Nâlandâ Seal Inscription edited by him as Suva........(E.I., XXIV, p. 285).

Since the portion of the seal where the name occurs has peeled off, only two letters may be read with more or less certainty. According to Mr. Ghosh these two letters may be read either as Suva........or Such........The note that has been appended by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, on the reading of those two letters is as follows: "It is curious that the Mâñjayâ-sala-kalpa mentions a king Suvra after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K.P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, p. 27 § 19 (c). Jayaswal corrects the last pada of the verse as Graha-Suvrata (a)dha-aparas which according to the ordinary rules of Assukshuâ would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of s and as there seems to be a vipha sign below it, I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as sri-Sucha-(ndravarmanma Manikhari)." The restoration of the name as suggested by Dr. Chakravarti and the arguments adduced by him in support thereof are highly convincing. It is a well-known fact that in the inscriptions and coins of the Gupta and the post-Gupta period cha is sometimes written as sa and sa utta; and we have a number of instances to show where confusion has arisen because of the negligence on the part of the scribe. This feature is also noticeable in the inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihâras written in proto-Nâgarî script. From this point of view the suggestion of Dr. Chakravarti appears to be valid. We, therefore, prefer to accept the reading of the name as suggested by him. One thing is, however, certain, and that is—we cannot be definite on this point till a similar Maukharî seal comes to light.

In the Arya-moñju-rî-mula-kalpa, Pt. T.G. Sastri reads the name of the successor of Avantivarman as Suvar. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to suggest any name beginning with these two letters, except Suvratavarman. But considering the fact that the writer of that work, whatever might have been his source of information, has given wrong readings of names in many places, we prefer to accept the name as restored by Dr. Chakravarti, which in our opinion has been supported by certain grammatical and paleographical facts which cannot be easily ignored. Cf. E.I., XXIV, p. 284, n. 6; A.M.M.K., ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, p. 626.
The last of the Maukhari of Kanauj, as it appears to us by taking the evidence of the aforesaid Nālandā Seal Inscription into consideration, was Sucha(ndravarman)\(^1\) and the same, as suggested by Aṛya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa, was Suvra(tavarman).\(^2\) But whether there was any other king after him in that line, is a point which requires careful investigation. From a certain Nepalese inscription we learn of a Maukhari chief named Bhogavarman who became the son-in-law of king Ēḍityasena of Magadha.\(^3\) The chronological data preserved in the inscription of Jayadeva II of the Thakuri family of Nepal enable us to place Bhogavarman approximately in the third and fourth quarters of the 7th cent. A.D.\(^4\) We learn further from the same source that his daughter Vatsadevi was married to the Thakuri king Śivadeva II of Nepal who was ruling in the year 725 A.D.\(^5\) Unfortunately, no information is available about the date of his marriage with Vatsadevi; but the presumption is that he must have been married much earlier than that date. We will not be very far from truth if we fix it at about 710 A.D. when she was about 16 years of age. In order to understand our hypothesis in its proper setting the probable dates and facts noted below are to be considered.

Grahavarman Maukhari died towards the middle of the year 605 A.D. About that time, queen Rājyaśrī was only 12 years of age, she having been born in the year C. 593 A.D.\(^6\) There was

---

2. A.M.M.K., p. 626.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. We arrive at this date on the basis of certain data contained in the Harshacharitā. According to Bāṇa there was a difference of about six years between the age of Rājyavardhana and Rājyaśrī and that Harsha was about two years old when Rājyaśrī was born (H.C., pp. 115 -16). Now it is unanimously held by all the historians that Prabhūtarāvardhana’s death and Rājyavardhana’s expedition against the Hūgas, his accession and death, all took place in 605-6 A.D. At that time, according to Bāṇa, Rājyavardhana’s age “fitted him for wearing armour” (H.C., p. 132) and that “his beard showed but a faint growth” (H.C., p. 166). This makes us conclude that at that time Rājyavardhana could not have been more than eighteen years old. It means that he must have been born in about 586 A.D. and naturally, therefore, we conclude that Harsha must have been born in about 590 A.D. and Rājyaśrī in 593 A.D. Here we may mention that C.V. Vaidya (H.M.H.I., I, p. 41.F.) has also suggested the same date for the birth of Harsha on the basis of certain astronomical calculations which he made on the information given in the Harshacharitā.
thus no question on the part of the couple to have a child. Harsha ascended the throne in the second half of the year 606 A.D. and continued to rule from Kanauj at least up to the middle of the year 646 A.D., as stated above. That Avantivarman had a son by the name of Sucha(ndravarman) who was younger to Grahavarman can no longer be doubted. As he had ruled, obviously after Harsha, his accession to the throne appears to have taken place in the year 648 A.D., probably in the second half of it. It may be noted here that, according to the Chinese authorities, Arjuna usurped the throne of Kanauj immediately after the death of Harsha and continued to rule till the middle of 648 A.D., he being presented as a war-captive before the Chinese emperor in the very same year. There is, thus, no gap in the chronology of the history of Kanauj up to the middle of the year 648 A.D. since the death of King Avantivarman. The accession of the younger brother of Grahavarman can take place only in the latter part of the year 648 A.D. when the throne of Kanauj was vacant. Regarding his age at the time of his accession it may be mentioned here that since he was born sometime before the death of Avantivarman which took place in or about the year 602 A.D. and since he could not be raised to the throne by Harsha as the legitimate successor of Grahavarman, he must have been merely a child of two or three years of age when his father died. We have already stated above on the basis of certain available data that his father had a premature death. Since the reign periods of Harsha and Arjuna who ruled one after another in succession from Kanauj, amounted to 42 years, Sucha(ndravarman), in our opinion, ascended the throne when he was 45 years old, more or less. According to our calculations he ruled up to C. 664 A.D., that is to say, he enjoyed a reign of about 16 years. We have obtained this approximate date with the help of certain chronological dates and historical facts stated below.

The chronology of the history of Kanauj from 650 to 700 A.D. does not stand on a firm footing unlike that of the first half of the

---

1. If Rājaśrī had a baby or had even conceived by that time, she would not have gone to emolate herself in the Vindhyā forest after the death of Grahavarman. This fact is also supported by a statement made on behalf of Rājaśrī by Patralī, her betel-bearer, in the Harshacharita; “A husband or a son is a woman’s true support; but to those who are deprived of both, it is immodesty even to continue to live as mere fuel for the fire of misery” (H.C., p. 254).
7th cent. A.D. It is only with the help of backward calculations that we have been able to fix approximately the year of the death of Sucha(ndravaran). We have mentioned above that certain Nepalese inscriptions throw light on the later Maukhari history. Vatsadevi, the daughter of Bhogavarman, a Maukhari chief, was married to king Śivadeva II. The dates available from the aforesaid records are 119 and 143(?) of the Harsha Samvat corresponding to 724 and 748(?) A.D. respectively.¹ When these inscriptions were engraved, Śivadeva II was ruling over Nepal. From an inscription of Jayadeva II, son of Śivadeva II, dated in the year 153 of the Harsha Samvat, corresponding to 758 A.D., it appears that his mother was Vatsadevi who was the daughter of king Bhogavarman Maukhari and grand-daughter of king Ādityasena.² Vatsadevi appears to have been married sometime before the year 724 A.D. In this connection it may be noted here that since her son Jayadeva II ascended the throne of Nepal, he should be expected ordinarily to have been the crown-prince and his mother, the chief queen. Thus, if she was ruling along with her consort Śivadeva II in 724 A.D., which is the earliest date for that king known to us so far, we should consider her to have been about 29 years of age in that year. She might have been older even by two or three years than the age suggested by us but not younger in any case, according to our computations. We will not be very far from truth if we fix 694 A.D. as the probable date of her birth, although there is the possibility of her being born between 692 and 694 A.D. Now the question that arises is: what was the age of her father Bhogavarman when she was born? According to our calculations he was 45 or 46 years old, when his daughter in question was born. This will obviously lead us to fix 648 A.D. approximately as the date of his birth. Before we proceed further certain facts in the history of the later Guptas of Magadha have to be taken into consideration to substantiate the chronological sequences suggested above. These may be set forth as follows:

King Mādhavagupta, son of king Mahāsenagupta was a friend of Emperor Harsha, since childhood, and later on, his distinguished

². ibid, p. 178, Ins. No. 15.
ally. There was, again, not much difference between the age of the two. In fact, both of them appear to have been born about the year 590 A.D. These interesting and important pieces of information have been supplied by the Harshacharita of Bāṇa and the Aphasad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena.\(^1\) From the latter source it also appears that he was appointed viceroy of the eastern part of Harsha’s dominion in northern India excluding Kāmarūpa, obviously after the flight of Saśāṅka.\(^2\) As stated before, Harsha died in the year 646 A.D. but we do not know, when the death of Mādhavagupta took place, in the absence of any reliable datum. The son of the latter was Ādityasena who bore the imperialistic title Mahārājādhirāja, apparently because of the vastness of his kingdom.\(^3\) Of the three inscriptions belonging to his reign one preserves a date and that is 672 A.D. (66 H.E.).\(^4\) Although a single chronological datum cannot be considered to be sufficient help towards fixing the lower limit of Mādhavagupta’s period of administration or the earlier limit of Ādityasena’s reign as an independent ruler of the eastern part of northern India, we do not think that there will be a gross anachronism if we fix 655 A.D. for the same. This approximation is based on the supposition that Mādhavagupta lived for 65 years, which is quite normal. Thus, if Mādhavagupta died in 655 A.D. and Ādityasena was at least 30 years old at the time of his accession, the birth of the latter may be fixed in or about the year 625 A.D. According to our calculations Mādhavagupta was 35 years old when prince Ādityasena was born.

We have mentioned above that Sucha(ndravarman) died in C. 664 A.D. This Maukhari king, chronologically speaking, was thus in a position to establish matrimonial alliance between his family and that of the later Guptas of Magadha by giving his son in marriage with the daughter of king Ādityasena. We have further mentioned above that Vatsadevi was born when her father Bhogavarman was approximately 45 or 46 years of age. This will lead us to fix the date of Bhogavarman’s birth in the years 648-49

---

2. C.I.I., iii, p. 2; 3 f, No. 42.
3. ibid.
A.D. Thus the difference of age between Adityasena, the father-in-law, and Bhogavarman, the son-in-law, would be approximately 23 years, which is normal. It will be noticed further that this chronological position establishes the contemporaneity of the Maukhari king Sucha(ndravarman), his son Bhogavarman and the Gupta king Adityasena.

If we, therefore, place Bhogavarman after Sucha(ndravarman) or whatever might have been his real name as his son and successor, no chronological difficulty is to be envisaged. It is, however, a fact that the addition of a new name in the list of the Maukhari kings of Kanauj is only possible with the help of the aforesaid Nepalese inscriptions and that too by means of backward calculations which is by no means unhistorical or unreasonable. It remains, however, for the future historians to prove the correctness of the approximate dates given above and place Bhogavarman correctly in the chronology of Maukhari history in the light of fresh epigraphic data, if available.
SOME UNIQUE GOLD AND BRASS COINS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS *

By

C. D. Chatterjee

In November, 1951, while examining the coin-collections of Mr. Bishun Narain Kapur of Chowk, Lucknow, the present writer came across three coins of the Imperial Guptas, the like of which had not been noticed by any numismatist so far. Two of them are of gold and belong to Samudragupta, but the third one is of brass and appears to have been issued by Chandragupta II. Again, of the two gold coins, one is of the so-called Standard Type and the other, of the Lyrist Type; while the third one which is made of brass, comes under the category of the Archer Type. Despite their high antiquity, all the three coins are in fairly good condition, and, as such, present no difficulty in studying their details. At the request of the present writer, the aforesaid brass coin of Chandragupta II was acquired for the State Museum of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow, to enrich its collection of Gupta coins. Recently, the other two coins have also been acquired for the museums of Uttar Pradesh: the coin of the Standard Type, for the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, and that of the Lyrist Type, for the State Museum, Lucknow. The details of all the three coins have been given below.

*Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held in December, 1951 (Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, xiii. p. 224).

References to the coins (illustrated on Plate), cited in abbreviation in the body of the text, are the following:—

(a) J. N. S. I. (Journal of the Numismatic Society of India);
(b) J. R. A. S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London);
(c) J. A. S. B. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta);
(d) B. M. C. (British Museum Catalogue);
(e) B. H. C. (Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayeaux Hoard, Altekar);
(f) I. M. C., i. (Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, Smith);
(g) Z. f. N. (Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin);
(h) G. M. (Guptakośa Mādrāsa, Altekar);
(i) N. S. (Numismatic Supplement of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal); and
SAMUDEGRAUPTA

(1) Parakrama Type (Standard Type)

(Large Fabric)¹

Provenance: Unknown

Weight: 118.77 grs. (7.6958 gms.)

Metal: Gold, 18.75 ct.

Condition: Fairly good, except for the edge which is slightly worn.

Fabric: Round, thin, and of large size; diameter .9.

There is, however, a small but deep cut (about 1/10") across the belt of the figure of the king.

Obverse: King (with jugate heads), nimbaate, standing to left, dressed in long riding coat having cutved opening of the lower half in front and long tail at the back, tight-fitting trousers with round buttons or pearls thickly set at the sides, and belt (slightly above its usual position), wearing crown or turban, ear-rings, necklace, and wristlets, and holding in his left hand, a standard surmounted by a bar and fastened with a banner which floats behind him (jayadhvaja), offers with his right hand oblations at a low fire-altar from which is rising flame in three jets.² Behind the fire-altar and partly screened by the right hand of the king, is a standard or pillar surmounted by the figure of the bird Garuda facing front

¹. Gold coins of the Imperial Guptas, the size of which ranges from .7 to .79, have conventionally been placed in the category of ‘Small Fabric’, while those which measure .8 and above, have been classed under ‘Large Fabric’.

². The long staff-like object which the ‘king’ is represented as holding by its upper part in his left hand, on the obv. side of our coin, is a dhvaja, and that, too, a jayadhvaja, ‘banner of victory’, the unmistakable sign of sijaya, ‘victory’, and an appropriate emblem of a jitaripa, ‘the conqueror of enemies.’ It is, thus, perfectly in keeping with the obv. legend of the Standard Type: ‘Samaratistavitavitijayo jitaripunajito disah jayati.’

The object depicted as floating behind the ‘king’, should be taken to be the representation of either a ‘banner’ or a ‘flag’, but not of a ‘fillet’, the conception of which is not Indian. The method of representing that object, is typically Kushâna, as evidenced by some gold coins of Kârîshka I.

The chain mail on the left shoulder of the ‘king’ suggests that he is wearing his battle-dress.
(Garuda-dhvaja). Under the left arm of the king is written vertically (in Gupta characters): Samudra. Marginal legend commencing from 1 and running round clockwise, is indistinct throughout, the letters being partly or wholly off the flan.

Reverse: Goddess Ambikā, two-armed, (dvibhuja), nimbate and seated on a high-backed throne, is facing front and resting her feet on a full-bloomed lotus. She is dressed in loose robe of the Indian style (śatāka) and scarf with folds over her shoulders, and wears a

---

1. The Garuda-dhvaja as depicted on certain gold coins of Samudragupta and his successors, consists of a pillar, occasionally with an abacus, surmounted by the figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa, popularly believed to be the king of birds and killer of snakes. Since Garuḍa was also believed, as is now, to be the vehicle of Lord Vishnu, the dhvaja in question is more suitable for a Vishnu temple than a yajñāsālā which the obv. device of the coins of the Standard Type seems to suggest. As for evidence, we may refer to the Bensagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus (c. 120 B.C.) which mentions for the first time a Garuda-dhvaja that was set up in a Vishnu temple. From that point of view, the depiction of that kind of pillar on a coin, without the representation of a temple, is highly inappropriate. But the reasons for its depiction on some Gupta coins, seem to be (i) that the religion of the Gupta family was Bhāgavatism, and, as such, Garuḍa, the vehicle of Lord Vishnu, was an object of adoration to the members of that royal house, and (ii) that the figure of that mythical bird, as described in the epics, was adopted by Samudragupta for the first time to be the insignia of the Gupta royal family.

The depiction of a Garuḍa standard or Garuḍa pillar, as a part of the obv. device which is a scene of worshipping Agni as a mark of the celebration of victory in many battles (samarasāstavitatavijaya), is purely an art-motif that was introduced with a purpose. The representation of that mythical bird as perching on a pillar, is nothing but a suggestion by means of a suitable symbol, viz, the supremacy of Samudragupta over all human beings, like that of Garuḍa over all birds and snakes. Since the figure of Garuḍa was the insignia of that Gupta monarch and after him, of his successors, we are inclined to believe that the conception which had led the designer of the aforesaid coin-type to introduce that mythical king of birds and killer of snakes in the scene of Samudragupta's triumphant entry into the yajñāsālā, is verily the same as what had inspired another artist, a poet, to sing in praise of the heroic deeds of Skandagupta thus:

नरपतिःनुजानां मात्रकव्योऽरुपानाद्।
प्रतिपुरश्चालां निर्विधियः चावक्तान्॥

(Cor. Ins. Ind., iii. Fleet, p. 59).

2. The coin-legend in full is, 'Samarasāstavitatavijaya jihitipatrajito diveśa jayati.'
kesabandhamukuṭa, or jewelled band, slightly above the forehead, necklace and armlets.\footnote{Amongst the different types of mukūṇa, head-gear or crown, prescribed for the decoration of the images of the female deities in the iconographical works of the Brāhmaṇas, as also in others which contain some useful iconographical information, kesabandhamukuṭa is one. The mukūṇas prescribed in them, are, karaṇḍa, kīṭa, kantaḍa, and kesabandha. The particular type of mukūṇa with which the female deity depicted on our coin, has been decorated, seems to be kesabandha. Kesabandha-mukūṇa, as the name suggests, is more a head-gear than a crown, since the main purpose of wearing it, is to keep the long unknotted hair symmetrically arranged on either side of the head and also to keep it spread at the back. In a miniature portrait, as we find on the Gupta coins, the mukūṇa of the kesabandha type appears to be a coil or some tight-fitting head-dress.}{1}

She holds a noose (pāṣa) in her outstretched right hand, and a short sword with broad blade (khadga) in the left. Her left arm is folded at the elbow. Back of the throne, on which the goddess reclines, has an ornamental border, portions of which are to be seen round her head and also on the right. The two front legs of the throne, one on the right and another on the left side of the lotus, have been clearly represented. There are a symbol and the legend Parākramaḥ (written in Gupta characters) on the right, and another symbol on the left.\footnote{The symbol in the right field is indistinct. For the one in the left field, see British Museum Catalogue, Gupta Coins, Allan, p. 3; symbol on coin No. 9 and also on that in Sir Richard Burn's collection (Pl. I. 12 and 13).}{2}

Border of dots.

We have mentioned above that the present coin comes under the category of the so-called Standard Type of Samudragupta. Unfortunately, the correct designation of that coin-type itself is as yet a matter of controversy, and so also is the identity of the object held by the 'king' in his left hand, from which the type has apparently derived its name. It has received such widely different names as, Javelin Type, Spearman Type, Standard Type, and Sceptre Type, according as the object in the left hand of the 'king', had appeared to be a 'javelin', a 'spear', a 'standard', and a 'sceptre' respectively to different numismatists. It is therefore necessary at this stage, to express our own opinion on the subject and also to state the reasons for our acceptance of the name Parākrama Type as mentioned above.

[Plate II]
A Unique Gold Coin of Samudragupta of the Parākrāma Type (Standard Type)
There is a sharp difference of opinion amongst numismatists regarding the identity of the object which the ‘king’ is represented as carrying in his left hand. Wilson took it to be either a ‘spear’, a ‘banner’, or a ‘trophy’ (held by the ‘king’ in his right hand!). Smith at first considered it to be a ‘javelin’ and therefore designated the coin-type as *Javelin Type*. He, however, soon changed his opinion, as he clearly recognized that object afterwards to be a ‘spear’ by its topmost part which, according to him, was merely the representation of a spear-head. In view of this fact, he re-named the same coin-type as *Spearman Type*. What had appeared to be a ‘spear’ to Wilson and Smith, was nothing but a ‘standard’ to Allan. He therefore applied the name *Standard Type* to all those gold coins of Samudragupta, on the *obv.* side of which the ‘king’ figures with that uncertain object, irrespective of the differences to be noticed in its appearance on some of them. All numismatists, including Altekar and Gupta, accepted the name as given by Allan, but none of them adduced any special reason in favour of its acceptancé. Recently, however, Gupta has questioned the appropriateness of that name which he now considers to be misleading, and his contention has been fully supported by Chhabra, and even partly by Altekar. Thus, there is no unanimity amongst numismatists regarding the correct designation of that coin-type of Samudragupta, which represents the ‘king’ as holding a long staff-like object in his left hand. It may be noted here that two gold


3. *Indian Museum Catalogue*, i. pp. 102-103 (1905). In *Ind. Mus. Catal.*, i. (Supplementary), Mr. B. B. Bidyabinod has accepted the name *Standard Type* as given by Allan, in preference to *Spearman Type*, the one suggested by Smith. See p. 30 (1923).


coins, one of Chandragupta I and another of Chandragupta II, have come to light so far, on the obv. side of which, the ‘king’ has been depicted in the very same manner.¹

We need not discuss here either the earlier or the later opinion of Smith, since he has not adduced any reason for either of them. They are, in fact, based entirely on his personal observation of the object held by the ‘king’ in his left hand, like that of Wilson. Allan, on the other hand, finds no characteristic feature of a ‘spear’ in that object, at any rate, not on its upper part, and therefore considers it to be a ‘standard’. In his opinion, it is merely the reproduction of a similar object, either a ‘standard’ or a ‘sceptre’, which is to be seen in the left hand of the ‘king’, as depicted on some Later Kushāṇa coins. He is further of the opinion that the ‘trident’ which the Kushāṇa Emperor Vāsudeva I is represented as carrying in his left hand, on the obv. side of his coins, may be considered to be the prototype of that object. Conventionally, as Allan thinks, it stands for a ‘standard’, and, as such, he considers the name Standard Type to be highly appropriate.² The opinion of that learned numismatist had found a favourable acceptance on all hands; but, as stated above, recently some scholars have questioned not only the identity of the object to be seen in the left hand of the ‘king’, but also the appropriateness of the name of the coin-type, as suggested by him. Gupta, who had previously accepted the name Standard Type, has now rejected it on the ground that ‘Indian tradition never favoured the king being his own standard-bearer.’ He prefers to take that curious object to be a rājādanda, sceptre, since the ‘kings are frequently represented as

¹. *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 145 (Smith); *J.N.S.I.*, ix. p. 146 (Gupta). Contrary to the opinion maintained by Gupta, we think that there is no cogent reason to suppose either that the two gold coins are of the same style and type or that they were issued by the very same king. The coin described by Smith (acquired by Rodgers at Haripur, E. Punjab), which we consider to have been issued by Chandragupta I, is definitely archaic in character and is therefore older than the one described by Gupta (now in the coin-cabinet of the Bhārata Kalābhavana, Varanasi). The absence of rev. legend on the former, is an additional evidence pointing to the same. It is interesting to note that the first appearance of the legend on the rev. side of a gold coin of the Imperial Guptas, is on that of the King and Queen Type of Chandragupta I; and it will be seen that it was not intended to give wide publicity to an epithet or title of the issuer, but to serve some definite political purpose. See also p. 76.

carrying sceptres in their hand.' Chhabra fully endorses the opinion of Gupta and cites evidence from literature in support of the same. There are, however, certain difficulties in taking that staff-like object to be only a 'sceptre,' as pointed out below. In his *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Altekar accepted Allan's designation of that coin-type, i.e., *Standard Type*, despite the differences to be noticed in the depiction of that object on certain coins of that type. But in another work published recently and entitled *मुद्राकृति* मुद्रा, he distinguishes between the *Standard Type* (पञ्चवर्षी प्रकार) and the *Sceptre Type* (स्क्र्पवर्षी प्रकार) by taking the very same object to represent a 'standard' on certain coins, and a 'sceptre' on others. Recently that object has been identified with *Indradhvaja* by Joshi.

From what has been stated above, it will be seen that there is no consensus of opinion amongst numismatists regarding the correct designation of that coin-type of Samudragupta, on the *obv.* side of which the 'king' has been depicted as carrying a long staff-like object in his left hand. As stated above, the same *obv.* device is also to be found on two unique gold coins, one of Chandragupta I and another of Chandragupta II, from which it is evident that the *type* in question was popular in the Gupta royal family, at least for three generations. Chhabra's contention that the coin of the *Standard Type*, which Gupta has attributed to Chandragupta II, was, in reality, issued by Chandragupta I, is entirely a different issue which affords no material help in solving the numismatic problem confronting us here. In view of this radical difference of opinion, it will not be proper to accept any name for the coin-type under discussion, unless and until the object held by the 'king' in his left hand, is correctly identified. And the only means of identifying the same, is obviously to re-examine minutely the details of that object with the help of some well-preserved gold coins belonging to the series of the *Standard Type* of Samudragupta.

4. See pp. 29-37.
The line of investigation suggested above, enables us to make the following observations:

(a) Considerable difference is to be noticed between the coins in respect of the depiction of that long staff-like object in the left hand of the 'king'. It is either uniform in shape or tapering towards the top, or even tapering towards the bottom. It is the last one that gives it the appearance of a spear held invertedly, as stated by Allan.

(b) Generally, that staff-like object has been depicted as having a mounting at the top. The mounting is either bar-shaped (B.M.C., Pl. I., 7, 11, 12 and 13; Pl. II. 4; B.H.C., Pl. I. 11 and 14; Pl. II. 2, 5, 10 and 14; Pl. III. 9, 10, 12, 13 and 15; I.M.C., i. Pl. XV. 7) or has two sections of which the upper one is a flat bar and is as much short in size as it should be, while the lower one has the appearance of a ball. The latter type of mounting, though artistic, is scarcely to be seen on the coins of the Standard Type (I.M.C., i. Pl. XV. 6).

1. For the purpose of specifying the special features presented by the gold coins of the so-called Standard Type issued by Samudragupta, on the basis of which we have classified them, we have taken into consideration only those which are now in the following museum collections or found in the hoards mentioned below (coins as illustrated in Catalogues and Journals):

1. British Museum (London) collection;
2. Indian Museum (Calcutta) collection (examined personally by the writer);
3. U. P. State Museum (Lucknow) collection (examined personally by the writer);
4. Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay) collection (Bayana Hoard Catalogue, p. 329);
5. Bhamala Hoard (7; the attribution of one coin is very doubtful);
6. Bayana Hoard (143);
7. Bharsar Hoard (2);
8. Hajipur Hoard (2);
9. Hoogli Hoard (1);
10. Kasarwa (Ballia) Hoard (12);
11. Kusumbhi Hoard (3), and
12. Tikri Debra (Mirzapur) Hoard (2).

Figure, within brackets, indicates the number of the gold coins of the Standard Type of Samudragupta, discovered in the hoard.

Of the Bhrata Kalabhavana (Varanasi) collection of the gold coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the Standard Type, we have taken only one into consideration for our purpose. It has been referred to by us, where necessary. Other coins of that coin-type in that collection, are unimportant.

The bar-shaped mounting is, ordinarily, straight, but shows a tendency to be slanting, when it occurs close to the edge of the coin (B.M.C., Pl. I. 6; B.H.C., Pl. III. 7).

(c) If either of the aforesaid types of mounting is not to be seen at its proper place, as is sometimes the case, the topmost part of that staff-like object appears clearly to be pointed, like that of a javelin (B.M.C., Pl. I. 16 and 17; B.H.C., Pl. II. 1, 7 and 9; Pl. III. 11; G.M., Pl. I. 14) or a spear-head (B.M.C., Pl. I. 8; J.A.S.B., 1884, Pl. II. 3. Unique).

(d) The staff-like object has been depicted very frequently as having a 'banner' or 'flag' tied to it, which floats behind, irrespective of the shape or form of its topmost part. If it occurs, it has been shown as tied to the staff much below the top.

(e) On certain coins of the Standard Type series, the staff-like object has been shown without any 'banner' or 'flag' tied to it (B.M.C., Pl. I. 11, a unique specimen; Pl. II. 1-5; B.H.C., Pl. III. 13-15; J.N.S.I., v. Pl. IX. A, 2 and 7 of the Bannala hoard; G.M., Pl. I. 15; Pl. II. 9). On those coins where it has not been depicted, the mounting of the staff-like object, is invariably bar-shaped.

We have mentioned above all the noteworthy features of the long staff-like object to be seen in the left hand of the 'king', as depicted on the obv. side of the gold coins of the so-called Standard Type issued by Samudragupta. The details of that object, as given above, enable us to classify his coins under the following heads:

(i) Those which depict the staff-like object as having its top mounted and a 'banner' or 'flag' tied to it.

(ii) Those which depict that object as having its top mounted but having no 'banner' or 'flag'.

(iii) Those which depict that object as having a pointed top and a 'banner' or 'flag' tied to it.

A further division of the coins coming under Section (iii) is possible on the basis of the exact shape of the topmost part of that object.
i.e., whether it bears the semblance of a spear-head (B.M.C., Pl. I. 8) or looks like the pointed top of a javelin (B.M.C., Pl. I. 17; B.H. C., Pl. II. 9; Pl. III. 11). The presumption, however, remains that the pointed top of a 'javelin', which is to be seen on certain coins, is nothing but a crude representation of the familiar spear-head, since the early Gupta die-cutters were not so highly skilled or proficient in their art as their successors.

From the classification of coins suggested above, it will be seen that the name *Standard Type*, as given by Allan to all those gold coins on the obv. side of which the 'king' has been portrayed as holding a staff-like object in his left hand, is clearly a misnomer. It can be applied to the coins belonging to one of the three categories specified above, but not to all of them. Those coins which come under the second category, because of the fact that the staff-like object has been depicted without its component, the 'banner' or 'flag', have justly no claim to be assigned to the *Standard Type* series, for the simple reason that no royal 'standard' as such has been depicted on them. Similarly, those coins which come under the third category, because of the fact that the staff-like object, instead of having a 'bar' at the top, has a 'pointed head' like that of a javelin or spear, cannot also be reasonably included in the *Standard Type* series, since that object has been depicted on them, either as a 'spear' or as a 'javelin', but not as a 'standard'. It, thus, stands to reason that there should be separate denominations for referring to those coins which had hitherto been classed under the *Standard Type*. We therefore suggest three different names to refer to the coins belonging to the three categories specified above, one for each. They are the following:

1. *Standard-bearer Type*—King standing, facing left and holding in his left hand a standard by its upper part, with a flag or banner fastened to it, which floats behind him.

   *Var. A.*—The standard has a bar-shaped mounting.

   *Var. B.*—The mounting of the standard has two sections of which the upper one appears to be a short bar and the lower one, a ball.

2. *Sceptre-holder Type*—King standing etc., holding in his left hand a long sceptre with mounting, by its upper part.
(3) Spearman Type—King standing etc., holding in his left hand a spear by its upper part, with a flag tied to it, which flies behind him.

I. Standard-bearer Type

While suggesting three different names for the coin-type under discussion, based on three distinct representations of the object carried by the 'king' in his left hand, we are not oblivious of certain objections that might be raised by numismatists against their acceptance. Thus, the objection that might be raised against No. (1)—and in this particular case, it has already been done—is that a king is not expected to be depicted on his coins, as his own standard-bearer or, in the words of Gupta, 'Indian tradition never favoured the king being his own standard-bearer.' The objection is valid; if we only take that object to be an ordinary royal standard which the 'king' is represented to be carrying. But we think that the obv. device and the obv. marginal legend suggest something about the identity of that object, which is very much different from what has been stated by Gupta. In our opinion, although in designing the obverse of this series of coins, the Gupta artist had copied much from the obv. device of the gold coins of a Later Kushāna king named Basana (Pasana, Pasata), he has tried to create the impression, however unsuccessfully, that Emperor Samudragupta, after defeating his political adversaries in a number of battles, has entered the yajñāsrāla (place of religious sacrifice), holding the jayadravāja (banner of victory) firmly in his left hand, and is now worshipping the Fire-god Agni at his altar. As it appears, in order to give full effect to the motif as conceived by him or, in other words, to represent it in the best possible manner, the Gupta artist has made certain necessary changes in the obv. device of the aforesaid Kushāna coins, before utilizing it for his own purpose. Thus, he has not only

replaced the ‘trident’ (trishula) figuring in the left field, as depicted on the obv. side of those Kushāṇa coins, by the ‘Garuḍa standard’, but has also substituted the marginal Greek legend occurring on the same side, by one in Sanskrit, written in Gupta script. 1 Again, whereas on the gold coins of a Later Kushāṇa king, the marginal legend on the obv. side, occurs to mention the name of the ruler who minted them, his title, and the designation of the family to which he belonged, the same on the Gupta coins under discussion, serves the purpose of explaining the obv. device, but that, too, by excluding the name of the issuer. This is, indeed, a novelty; for in the case of the coins of different ruling families, whether Indian or foreign, issued before the time of Samudragupta, the marginal legend on the obverse, invariably mentions the name of the issuing authority. The motif of the Gupta artist has been adequately explained by the obv. marginal legend, each and every word of which is highly significant. It has been read as, ‘Samaraṣṭa vidatātatapiyajayojitā rupāh jaya’ (‘The Invincible One, Winner of victory extended over a hundred battles, and Vanquisher of his enemies is now conquering the heaven’). 2 We are not at all certain, whether the changes on the obv. side noticed above, were made by some die-cutter or designer of coin-types; but it is more than evident that he has amply succeeded in giving expression to the obv. device by the short marginal inscription composed for the purpose. By signs and words he tells us that the issuer of the coin is Samudragupta who belongs to that royal family of which the insignia is the figure of Garuḍa, the killer of snakes and vehicle of Lord Vishṇu, 3 and who after fighting ‘a hundred battles’ against his enemies and coming out victorious in all of them, has entered the yajñāśāla, grasping firmly his jaya-dhvaja, and is now offering oblations to Agni at his altar, for being able to gain paramountcy on this earth, by bringing his military

1. The ‘trident’ in the left field, which the ‘king’ faces, appears for the first time on the obv. side of the gold and copper coins of the Kushāṇa Emperor Vāsudeva I (Brit. Mus. Catal., Greek and Scythic Kings, pp. 160-161; Pl. XXIX. 12-14). It, however, does not figure always on the gold coins of that ruler (Paṇḍ. Mus. Catal., i. pp. 208-211).


3. It is needless to mention here that it was through Samudrāgupta that the figure of Garuḍa became the insignia of the Gupta royal family.
campaigns to a glorious end through his graçê, and also to solicit his help for becoming the ruler of heaven by displacing Indra from his lordship over the celestial kingdom. The expression dīvam jayati occurring at the end of the marginal inscription cited above, may be taken to imply that the task of conquering the realm of the gods has already been commenced by Śāmudragupta 'here on this earth, and that, too, as the obv. device suggests; by offering oblations to Agni, the Fire-god. Apart from this commonsense interpretation, whether right or wrong, those two words may also be taken in the light of what Harisēna has said about his master's kīrtti, or reputation, in his famous prāṣasti, engraved on the Allahabad-Kosāta Pillar of Āsoka. It would be better, if we cite here the actual words used by that royal panegyrist, for understanding correctly the context of the marginal legend under discussion. Referring to the heroism and other noble qualities of Śāmudragupta, the poet Harisēna, who was intimately connected with the emperor, because of his holding a number of high offices in the government, whether successively or simultaneously, writes:

"Tasya vividhasamarātadvataranadakshasya... parākkramākṣa... sarvaprithivi jayajanitodayayāptanikhindasaitālaṁ... kīrtimitasrītaśatati- bhavanagamanātiśatālalājitasukhavicharanānāmākshāṇa ivā bhuvo bāhurayam- yechhrītaḥ stambhāḥ."

It will be seen from the extracts cited above that, although there is a striking similarity between the eulogistic epigraph composed by Hārisēna and the obv. and rev. legends of the gold coins of Śāmudragupta of the so-called Standard Type, as composed by some official of the royal mint, as regards the choice of expressions, so far as they relate to the king, such as, samarātadvataranadakṣaḥ and samarātadvitātavijaya (obv.), and parākkramā and parīkrama (rev.), the latter is not as much explicit as the former, since he has not mentioned what was actually conceived by him to be conquering the heaven (dīvam jayati), when the king was still alive. What was conceived by the former to rise high up, 'enter into the palace of Lord of the Gods (Indra), pervade it, and move about there gracefully and comfortably' or, in other words, to occupy it,

1. Cf. Int. Ind., iii, Fleet, pp. 6 and 8 (Int. lines 17 and 29-30).
is, obviously, the kirtti of Samudragupta's exploits and achievements, which he has so beautifully described in the prakasti composed by him. But the difference that is to be noticed between the relevant portions of the epigraph, as cited above, and the marginal legend on the obv. side of the coins of the Standard Type, is not in the use or suppression of the word kirtti, but in the means of āchaksāna, indication, of its reaching the heaven. The best means of giving expression to it, as conceived by that royal panegyrist, was the erection of a pillar which, 'like the arm of the Earth raised upwards,' will eternally point to that fact. But the motif which had captivated the imagination of that officer of the royal mint, was to represent the king as holding a dhvaja and offering sacrifice at the altar of the Fire-god Agni, from which the flame is rising in three jets, leaping into the celestial sphere, and suffusing it with the kirtti of the king's heroism in warfare, and prowess having no equal in the three worlds. The obv. marginal legend on the gold coins of the Standard Type, which we have cited above, gives a clear indication of that motif. The expression 'divam jayati' occurring in that legend, cannot be taken to suggest either that the king is dead and is now conquering the heaven or that he is conquering it by going there himself. While both the interpretations are clearly absurd, the former is likely to create the impression that Samudragupta's coins of the Standard Type were posthumously issued. If that expression suggests anything, it is the fame (kirtti) of the king's heroism and prowess (parakrama) that is rising high up and filling the realm of the celestial beings, through the grace of the god Agni, the Divine Messenger, while the king is worshipping him and offering oblations at his altar, in grateful recognition of his blessings which had helped him in coming out victorious in 'a hundred battles' (samarasata). Since this is the only sensible interpretation of the obv. device of those coins of Samudragupta, the dhvaja with which he has been portrayed, cannot but be the jayadhvaja, grasping which firmly, as it were, he is offering oblations to Agni at his altar. Thus, if the king has to appear before some god, in whatever form he may have been represented, for the purpose of worshipping him ceremonially, to celebrate the winning of victories spread in 'a hundred battles', would it be proper for him to make one of his household-staff hold the jayadhvaja and in his company, present himself for that purpose?
Would it not be in the fitness of things to hold that symbol of victory himself, while offering oblations to the deity? Though influenced by the obv. device of the gold coins of the Later Kushâna king mentioned above, the Gupta die-cutter or artist in question thought it to be more dignified to represent the ‘king’ as holding that object himself, while worshipping the god Agni, instead of introducing a standard-bearer in the scene to hold it, in view of the sacredness of the occasion. The objection that has been raised by Gupta, regarding the ‘king’ being posed as his own standard-bearer, was obviously not contemplated by that Gupta artist who, on the other hand, deemed it only proper to represent the ‘king’ as holding the jayadhvaja himself, in view of the occasion for and the nature of the ceremony.

The contention of Gupta is not valid, since the obv. marginal legend of the gold coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the Standard Type series, as cited above, enables us to understand that in the scene depicted on the obv. side of the coins of that type, the ‘king’ holds the dhwaja, not under ordinary, but under extraordinary circumstances. It also tends to show that it is not an ordinary dhwaja that the ‘king’ is holding himself at the time of worshipping the god Agni, but the jayadhvaja, the symbol of victory. We are inclined to believe, in view of these facts, that the coins of the so-called Standard Type were issued by Samudragupta after his conquest of Aryavarta, while those of the Áśvamedha Type, after his digvijaya in Dakshinapatha (Deccan). We are further of the opinion, but for an entirely different reason, that his coins of the Archer, the Kâcha, and the Battle-axe Type were issued earlier than those of the Áśvamedha Type. As we know, of the different series of coins issued by Samudragupta, each having a separate obv. device, those which belong to the Standard Type, the Archer Type, the Kâcha Type, the Battle-axe Type, and the Áśvamedha Type bear memory of his extensive conquests, through the legends inscribed on them. Our main reason for considering the obv. device of either of the first four coin-types to be chronologically earlier than that of the Áśvamedha Type, is the letter si which does not occur on the obv. side of any one of them. As a part of the obv. device, it occurs only on the coins of the Áśvamedha and the Lyrist Type (both the fabrics).¹

¹. For the occurrence of the letter si on a coin of the Small Fabric group of the Lyrist Type of Samudragupta, which is unusual, see p. 89.
From our foregoing observations it will be seen that the name Standard Type, or better Standard-bearer Type, is not a misnomer, when applied to those coins of Samudragupta, on the obv. side of which the ‘king’ has been represented as holding an object resembling a long staff, to which is tied a flag or banner which floats behind him. Although its prototype is to be found on the gold coins of the Later Kushāṇa king Basana as mentioned above, that object cannot but be the jayadhvaja which Emperor Samudragupta is represented to be holding himself before the god Agni, as a sign of his victory extended over ‘a hundred battles.’ In our humble opinion, the obv. device and the marginal legend which characterize the series of gold coins under discussion, justify the name Standard Type as given by Allan, or Standard-bearer Type as suggested by us.

II. Sceptre-holder Type

Let us now consider the validity of the name Sceptre-holder Type. As pointed out by us, there are some coins of Samudragupta of the so-called Standard Type on the obv. side of which the long staff-like object in the left hand of the ‘king’, has been depicted without a banner. For this reason, the suspicion that naturally arises is that it is not a ‘standard’ but a ‘sceptre’. It is also strengthened to a certain extent by the fact that the sceptre was a symbol of royalty in those days, as is now. Moreover, as pointed out by Chhabra, in certain important Sanskrit works, the king has actually been described as danadadhara, or sceptre-holder, the danḍa being a symbol of sovereignty.¹ Thus, there can be no objection either in considering the object in the left hand of the ‘king’, to be a sceptre or in designating the coin-type in question as Sceptre-holder Type.

There are, however, certain difficulties in accepting the name Sceptre-holder Type, which we would like to bring to the notice of numismatists for their consideration. One of them is that the sceptre cannot be longer than or even as long as the average height of man; but on the coins of the Standard Type, the staff-like object held by the ‘king’ in his left hand, has that abnormality. With one end resting on the ground, on all the coins, without any exception, it has been shown as rising as high as the head of the ‘king’ and even higher. One may

---

therefore feel some difficulty in taking it to be a 'sceptre'. The first Indian king to be portrayed on his coins with a sceptre, is Wema Kadphises (Kadphises II), as is evident from a particular variety of gold coins of the stater class issued by him. From the same, it further appears that the sceptre was much smaller in size and, hence, more convenient to carry than the long staff-like object with which Samudragupta has been portrayed. Again, the same kind of sceptre also figures on the coins of Huvishka, which he is represented to be carrying in his right hand. It is interesting to note in this connexion, that the kind of sceptre with which the Kushāna emperors used to adorn themselves, as suggested by the coins of the two named above, was richly carved with different designs on its upper part, if not over the whole of it. Whatever the case may be, these facts are likely to give rise to the suspicion, whether the staff-like object held by Samudragupta in his left hand, is a 'sceptre.' But the problem may be investigated from another point of view and that is, whether such a long sceptre has been depicted on the coins of any Indian ruler, belonging to the pre-Gupta period, or not. The earliest representation of that particular type of sceptre, so far as the numismatic evidence goes, is on the silver tetradrachms and drachms of the Attic, as also on the didrachms and hemidrachms of the Persic Standard of the Indo-Bactrian king Heliocles, on the rev. side of which, Zeus has been represented as holding it in his left hand. Numismatic evidence further tends to show that this rev. coin-type was subsequently copied by such famous Indo-Scythian rulers as, Maues, Azes I, and Azilises, and also by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. It was extensively copied even by


Vonones, the Parthian king of Arachosia (Kandahar) in his silver didrachms and hemidrachms of the Persic Standard, which he issued conjointly with his brother Spalahores, and separately also with his brother's son Spalagadames. Thus, the long-sized Greek and the medium-sized Kushāna sceptre may be expected to have been known to the indigenous ruling families of the pre-Gupta period, through the extensive circulation of the coins on which they occur; and there can be no wonder, if the influence of one of them or the other can be traced on the coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta. In view

Persic Standard in question is represented by a singular specimen which is now in the British Museum cabinet (No. 22 of Heliocles).


Zeus 'holding long sceptre in his left hand and thunderbolt in the right', is also the rev. type of the silver coins of Spalirises (brother of Vonones) as well as of those which he had issued conjointly with Azes II (Punj. Mus. Catal., i. pp. 143-144; Brit. Mus. Catal., pp. 100-102). In this connexion, it may be noted here that not only Zeus but also Miōro (Sun-god Miḥira) and another unknown male deity have been represented as carrying a long sceptre. The two mentioned last have been depicted on the coins of Huvishka and Azilises respectively (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 157; Punj. Mus. Catal., i. p. 133). On some bronze coins of Maues, in addition to Zeus (rev.), some city-goddess or Tyche (rev.) has been represented as carrying a long sceptre (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 70; Punj. Mus. Catal., i. p. 99).

2. For a gold coin of Chandragupta I of the Standard Type, see J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 145. We are, however, not certain, whether on the obv. side of that coin, the 'king' carries a spear or a standard. For a number of reasons, we totally differ from Gupta in respect of his opinion that it was issued by Chandragupta II (J.N.S.I., ix. p. 147). See p. 48, n. 1 and p. 76.

On the obverse of his gold coins of the King and Queen Type, Chandragupta I has been represented as holding either a crescent-topped standard (with banner) or a long staff-like object (without banner). The latter is obviously meant for a sceptre, the symbol of his sovereignty. This long variety of sceptre figures generally on those coins, on which there is a 'crescent' (Chauḍa) at the top, between the 'king' and the 'queen'.
of this fact, the possibility of that long staff-like object being a long-sized sceptre, cannot be easily ruled out.

The other difficulty of taking that long staff-like object to be a sceptre, is that the name of Samudragupta being written in two parts (Samudra—gupta) vertically, one part occurring on either side of that object, it might be contended that it was not possible for the artist to depict the banner for want of space. It may be noted here that the banner is to be found missing from the obv. device of all those coins of the Standard Type series, on which the king’s name is written vertically in two parts, beneath his left arm. The absence of banner can, thus, be easily accounted for. But it would be wrong to entertain such an idea, since on certain coins, the banner has not been depicted, even though the king’s name is not inscribed in two parts. Only the first part of his name, i.e., Samudra, is to be seen on them, beneath his left arm, as is usually the case.¹ This particular class of coins should be kept separate from others of the same series, because of that distinctive feature.² We have therefore no other alternative but to take that long staff, without a flag or banner, which is to be seen in the left hand of the ‘king’, on those coins, to be a sceptre, remembering at the same time that the king has actually been styled danda-dhara, ‘sceptre-holder’, in certain important Sanskrit works. There is, thus, sufficient justification for applying the name Sceptre-holder Type to certain varieties of the gold coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the Standard Type series, on the obv. side of which, the ‘king’ has been depicted as carrying a long staff-like object surmounted by a flat bar, but having no flag or banner fastened to it.

III. Spearman Type

As stated above, the long staff-like object held by the ‘king’ in his left hand, has been depicted on certain coins, either as having the head of a spear or that of a javelin; but in each case, a flag is to be seen tied to that object.³ Because of this fact, the presumption that naturally

2. See pp. 67-68 (Class II, four varieties).
3. If we consider the object held by the ‘king’ in his left hand, to be a ‘spear’ then what is flying behind him, should be taken to be the representation of a ‘flag’ and not that of a ‘banner’, as it would be in the case of a royal ‘standard’.
arises is that the 'king' is carrying either a spear or a javelin. Both spear (sakti) and javelin (bhindipala) were used as weapons of war in those days; and the representation of any one of them, is also in keeping with the marginal inscription occurring on the obv. side of those coins. The only objection that might be raised against taking that object to be a spear or javelin, is the flag with which it has been associated. We have stated above, that the object in question may be a spear, and not a javelin, the latter being merely a crude representation of the former. When the spear was used as a weapon of war, no flag should be expected to have been tied to it; but the thing might have been otherwise, when it was used for some ceremonial purpose. For instance, the trisula (trident) which is nothing but a variety of spear with three pointed heads, is primarily a weapon, though popularly believed to be an attribute of the gods Siva and Poseidon, and, as such, ordinarily no flag should be expected to be tied to it. But if the same weapon is used for some ceremonial purpose, it may be expected to be made more conspicuous by tying a flag to it. The common obv. device of the gold coins of Vasudeva I and his two successors, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II, may be pointed out here as an illustration thereof.1 Despite the stylistic differences to be noticed between the gold coins of those three Kushāṇa emperors, their similarity in respect of the obv. device, lies at least in the representation of a 'trident with flag' in the left field, which the 'king' faces. Spear undoubtedly has been depicted on certain coins of the pre-Christian period; but nowhere it has been represented for some ceremonial purpose, as in the Standard Type of Samudragupta and in the Abhavamedha Type of that emperor and of his grandson Kumāragupta I.  2 Moreover, the depiction


   Judging by the 'trident' in the left field (obv.), the gold coins of Vasudeva I are of two varieties. There are some gold pieces of the stater class, on which it does not appear (*Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Pl. XXIX. 8-10), while on others, it does, as stated above. The gold coins of that emperor, on the obv. side of which, the 'trident' appears in the left field, are, in our opinion, his later issues.

2. The earliest representation of 'spear' is to be seen on the rev. side of certain Kausambi coins of the 1st cent. B.C., all of which appear to have been issued by the same king. His name is, however, uncertain (*Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Ancient Indian Coins, Allan, pp. 154-155, Pl. XXI. 4-8). During the same period or perhaps a little later, were issued Ujjaini coins of that particular class, on the obv. side of which,
of a spear with a flag tied to it, in the hand of a mighty ruler who was far-famed for his heroism, prowess, and military genius, specially in the scene of the celebration of his victory, is perfectly suited to the occasion and is also in consonance with the obv. marginal legend of the Standard Type with which that scene is intimately connected. Thus, taking everything into consideration, we do not find that in this particular case, anything unusual has been done by the Gupta artist in question, which is inconsistent with the motif as conceived by him. We cannot possibly deny the fact that on a large number of coins of the so-called Standard Type, the long staff-like object in the left hand of the 'king', has either the head of a spear or that of a javelin, both of which have been clearly depicted. With no amount of reason, we can therefore consider that object to be a 'standard', even though a flag or banner has been shown as tied to it. The practice of making the spear-head conspicuous by tying a flag to it, still continues in this country.

From the different lines of numismatic evidence cited above, it will be seen that all the three names, viz, Standard-Leaver Type, Sceptre-holder Type, and Spearman Type, can justly be applied to those gold coins of Samudragupta, on the obv. side of which, the 'king' has been represented as holding a long staff-like object. They all tend to show that the Standard Type has three separate forms or, in other words, is of three distinct categories, if we judge it by the obv. device. Under

along with other symbols, we find 'a soldier standing, facing, and holding a spear in right hand.' Allan considers that human figure to be the god Kārttikeya, without, however, any apparent reason (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 245). Kārttikeya as the guardian deity or protector of the Avanti kingdom, is so far unknown to us. On certain silver and copper coins of the Yaudheyas, which were issued during the 1st cent. A.D., Kārttikeya 'holding spear', appears on the obv. side, evidently as the tutelary deity of that tribe (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 270). Spear as depicted on the aforesaid coins, has no sign of a flag about it, as a part of its decoration. Coming to the Gupta period, we find both 'spear' and 'spear with flag', that is to say, the ordinary kind of spear and the ceremonial spear, represented on certain coins of the Imperial Gupta family. Thus, on the gold coins of the Kārttikeya Type, which is also known as the Peacock Type, issued by Kumāragupta I, the war-god Kārttikeya portrayed on the reverse, is to be seen as carrying a spear without a flag tied to it. As we know, 'spear' (śakti) is an iconic attribute of that deity. The ceremonial spear is to be seen on the coins of the Airavatida Type, issued for the first time by Samudragupta and after him, by Kumāragupta I, on which it appears as a part of the rev. device. Smith has taken that object to be a 'staff or standard, adorned with pennons', which is not correct (Ind. Mus. Catal., i. p. 101).
such circumstances, it would be highly improper to consider them to be one and the same coin-type, instead of keeping them separate and distinct from one another by applying three different names, one to each. It is against numismatic practice to apply the name of a particular class, variety or sub-variety of coins to the series of which it merely forms a part, as has been done by Smith, Allan, Altekar, and others in the case of the Standard Type of Samudragupta. We, on the other hand, should have three different names for the coins of those three categories, one for each, and a very suitable name for the series to which they are to be assigned.

The question that confronts us at this stage is: what would be the most suitable name for that series? Obviously, it should not only be totally free from ambiguity, but also be such as would be able to refer clearly to all the classes and varieties of coins belonging to it. From these two points of view, in our opinion, that series may be aptly named either as Ajita Type or as Parākrama Type, the latter being preferable to the former. Samudragupta has been styled Ajita, i.e., the Invincible One, in the regular marginal legend occurring on the obv. side of the coins of the Standard Type series; and if we therefore apply the name Ajita Type to it, it would not only be able to refer to that coin-type, but also to all the classes and varieties of coins coming under it.1 There are, however, certain objections against

1. By regular marginal legend, we mean the longer one which occurs frequently on the obv. side of the coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the so-called Standard Type. It has been read as, ‘Samaratatasatya-jaya fitiṣṭhuraṭi divasā jayati.’ The irregular marginal legend in question is shorter than the other and occurs less frequently on the coins of the same type. It reads as, ‘Samaratatasatya-jaya fitiṣṭiḥ.’

In the opinion of Altekar, the loss of the last nine syllables of the obv. marginal legend of the coin of Samudragupta, belonging to the Standard Type, which has been described by Mr. P. L. Gupta, is entirely due to the miscalculation of space on the part of the die-cutter. In order to substantiate his statement, the former has referred to certain Gupta coins which undoubtedly supports his theory (J. N.S.I., viii. pp. 46-47). But the absence of the last nine syllables of the marginal legend occurring on the coins of certain varieties of the Standard Type of Samudragupta, is not due to the inadvertency of the die-cutter, as it appears to be at first sight. For instance, on the gold coin described by Gupta, the marginal legend ends with fitiṣṭi, although it could have been completed, had the die-cutter wished it (J. N.S.I., viii. p. 44). Same is also the case with another coin described by Allan (Brit. Mus. Cat., No. 8). Besides these, two coins of the same type in the Bodleian Library collection, Oxford (Nos. 687 and 690), point clearly to the very same fact (J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 101). It has not been therefore possible for us to see eye to eye with Altekar in respect of his theory that the loss of a number of syllables at the end of the marginal legend occurring on the obv. side of the coin described by Gupta, is due to the miscalculation of space.

The numismatic evidence cited above, points only to one fact and that is, two praśasti were specially composed for the obv. side of the coins of the Parākrama Type (Standard Type) of Samudragupta, to serve the purpose of marginal legends.
its acceptance, which we would like to bring to the notice of numismatists. First of all, five gold coins of the *Standard Type* of Samudragupta have come to our notice so far, of which the *obv.* marginal legend, though complete, does not contain the word *Ajita*. It may be read as, ‘Samarasatavitataviyayo jitated†.’ According to our classification, three of them are of the *Standard-bearer Type*, while the other two are of the *Spearman* and the *Sceptre-holder Type* respectively, since on their *obv.* side, the ‘king’ appears to be carrying either a standard, a spear (or javelin), or a sceptre.1 Secondly, the word *Ajita* also occurs in the *obv.* marginal legend of the *Battle-axe Type* of Samudragupta. Thirdly, the same word, compounded separately with the words *vikramah* and *mahendraḥ*, also occurs as the *rev.* legend of some gold coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively.2 All these are certainly not in favour of our acceptance of the name *Ajita Type* as a suitable substitute either for the *Standard* or for the *Battle-axe Type* of Samudragupta. We do not, however, expect any such difficulty, if we accept the epithet *Parākrama* for renaming the *Standard Type*, since it occurs invariably as the *rev.* legend on the coins of Samudragupta, belonging to that series. The only exception in this case, that has come to our notice so far, is a gold coin discovered at Bamanala (Nimar Dist., Madhya Pradesh), the *obv.* side of which is the same as that of the *Standard Type* of Samudragupta, but the *rev.* one appears to be that of the *Archer Type* of Chandragupta II, with the legend *Śrī-Vikramah* inscribed on it.3 The coin may be an interesting one; but no importance, historical or numismatic, should be attached to it, since it clearly points to the inadvertency of the royal mint: using a wrong *obv.* die with the correct *rev.* die to strike a gold coin of Chandragupta II. Thus, no ambiguity of any kind is likely to occur,

---


2. Cf. *Horseman Type* of Chandragupta II (all *varieties of coins*) and *Horseman Type* of Kumāragupta I (all *classes and varieties of coins*).

If we rename the Standard Type as Parākrama Type. Moreover, the real advantage of using the latter, is its comprehensiveness coupled with preciseness, for referring to the coins in question, irrespective of the appearance of the object in the left hand of the 'king', whether a standard, a sceptre, a javelin, or a spear. No other denomination for that coin-type serves our purposes so well as the one suggested above. In Gupta numismatics, we have already accepted the principle of designating a coin-type with the help of the rev. legend associated with it; and the same may be done in the case of the Standard Type as well. We, however, do not find any such inherent defect in the name Parākrama Type which, besides being very apt as the name of a type from the standpoint of the obv. device, is free from all ambiguity and is also consistent with the principle adopted by us for coining suitable names, as stated above. Moreover, it can easily include all the fabrics, classes, varieties, and sub-varieties which have hitherto comprised the so-called Standard Type.¹

Our classification of the fabrics, classes, and varieties of the Parākrama Type may now be placed before numismatists, with special reference to the coins considered for the purpose. This is essential for determining the exact place of the coin of Samudragupta under discussion in those divisions. It is as follows:

PARĀKRAMA TYPE

A. Large Fabric

Class I: (Obv.) King carrying a standard with a banner fastened to it, in his left hand; 'Samudra' in the field (written vertically).

Var. (a): Standard surmounted by a bar; Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point). (B.M.C., Pl. I. 7 and 13; B.H.C., Pl. I. 13; Pl. II. 2 and 5)

Var. (b): Standard as above; Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VIII o'clock point). (B.H.C., Pl. III. 8, 9, 10 and 12)

¹ For the sub-varieties, see below, p. 87, n. 1.
Var. (e): Standard as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point);
Crescent near the top edge (between XI and I o'clock points).
(B.H.C., Pl. II. 14)

Var. (d): Standard as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point);
King wearing a dagger.
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 12; N.S., xlvi. p. 23)

Var. (e): Standard as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at II o'clock point) and ending with jitari (jītāriḵ).
(F.N.S.I., viii. Pl. III. 3; Nos. 687 and 690 of the Bodleian Library collection, Oxford)

Var. (f): Standard surmounted by a ball and a bar;
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VII o'clock point).
(I.M.C., i. Pl. XV. 6. Unique)\(^1\)

Class II: (Obv.) King carrying a long sceptre surmounted by a bar, in his left hand; ‘Samudra’ in the field (written vertically).

Var. (a): Sceptre as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point).
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 6 and 10)

Var. (b): Sceptre as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VII o'clock point) and ending with jītara (jītāriḵ).
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 11; J.R.A.S., 1889, Pl. I. 8. Unique)

---

1. At first sight, it appears that the mounting of the standard has three sections, viz., a ball, a bar, and another object which is conical in shape, the last one constituting its topmost part. But that uncertain uppermost section of the mounting may as well be the tail of the syllable rs or the subscript of the syllable ṣu of the word rīṣu occurring in the marginal legend.
Var. (c): Sceptre as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the top (at XII o'clock point).
(J.N.S.I., v. Pl. IX. A, 2. Unique)

Var. (d): Sceptre as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the bottom (at VI o'clock point).
(J.N.S.I., v. Pl. IX. A, 7. A unique specimen which bears also the legend Śrī-Vikramaḥ on the rev.)

Class III: (Obv.) King carrying a long sceptre surmounted by a bar, in his left hand; ‘Samudra-gupta’ in the field (written vertically in two parts);
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VIII o'clock point).
(B.M.C., Pl. II. 4 and 5; B.H.C., Pl. III. 14)

Class IV: (Obv.) King carrying in his left hand, a long spear or javelin with a flag tied to it; ‘Samudra’ in the field (written vertically).

Var. (a): Spear as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point).
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 8; J.R.A.S., 1889 Pl. I. 7. Unique)

Var. (b): Javelin as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point).
(B.H.C., Pl. II. 1 and 7)

Var. (c): Javelin as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VII o'clock point) and ending with jatara (jitārilḥ).
(B.H.C., Pl. III. 11. Unique)¹

¹ The last syllable ra of the word jatara (jitārilḥ) occurring on this coin, is indistinct. On it (No. 138 of the Beyers Hoard Catal.), we therefore find the marginal legend of the shorter variety mentioned above.
Var. (d): Javelin as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at II o’clock point);
Crescent near the top edge (near XI o’clock point).
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 3 and 4)

B. Small Fabric

Class V: (Obv.) King carrying a standard with a banner fastened to it, in his left hand; ‘Samudra’ in the field (written vertically).

Var. (a): Standard surmounted by a bar;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o’clock point).
(B.H.C., Pl. I. 11; Pl. III. 5)

Var. (b): Standard as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o’clock point);

No buttons (or pearls) on the left leg of the king’s trousers, which has a prominent fold instead above the knee (indicated by a horizontal line on the thigh).
(B.H.C., Pl. III. 2, 3 and 4; J.N.S.I., x. Pl. V. 2)¹

Var. (c): Standard as above;
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VIII o’clock point).
(B.H.C., Standard Type, No. 137)

¹. In connexion with the classification of coins of the Small Fabric, it may be noted here that on some of them, according to Altekar, the ‘king’ has been represented as wearing a sakaḥkhhā dhoti, whether long or short, or a half pant (I). We regret to say that after examining minutely some of the coins in question (J.N.S.I., x. p. 96; B.H.C., Nos. 104, 106, 109, 110 and 113), as illustrated on plates (J.N.S.I., x. Pl. V. 2; B.H.C., Pl. III. 2, 3 and 4), we have failed to find clear indication of either of them. On at least two of them (B.H.C., Nos. 104 and 110), buttons (or pearls) of the trousers of the ‘king’, which are so conspicuous on the coins of the Large Fabric and also on a few of the Small Fabric, figure over his right leg, while on the third one (No. 113), they are somewhat indistinct. Waist-cloth of the Indian style (dhoti), as a part of the dress of a Gupta monarch, has undoubtedly come to be represented on coins, but with floating sash, unless he is depicted as seated, as on those of the Lyrist Type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I or on those of the Cuchh Type of Chandragupta II. Even on some coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta, the cord of the waist-band of the king’s trousers, has been shown as dangling between the legs (B.M.C., Pl. III. 8; B.H.C., Pl. I. 2; Pl. III. 13).
Var. (d): Standard as above;  
Marginal legend commencing from the bottom (at VI o'clock point).  
(B.H.C., Standard Type, No. 143)

Class VI: (Obv.) King carrying a long sceptre surmounted by a bar, in his left hand; ‘Samudra-gupta’ in the field (written vertically in two parts);  
Marginal legend commencing from the left (at VIII o'clock point).  
(B.H.C., Standard Type, No. 152)

Class VII: (Obv.) King carrying in his left hand, a long spear or javelin with a flag tied to it; ‘Samudra’ in the field (written vertically).

Var. (a): Javelin as above;  
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at I o'clock point).  
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 16 and 17; B.H.C., Pl. II. 9)

Var. (b): Javelin as above;  
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at II o'clock point);  
Crescent near the top edge (near XI o'clock point).  
(B.M.C., Pl. I. 1.)

We have mentioned above the different fabrics, classes, and varieties coming under the Parākrama Type (the so-called Standard Type) together with their respective characteristic features which enable us to distinguish them from one another. In our classification of the different varieties, it will be seen that they have been grouped according as the ‘king’ has been represented as ‘Standard-bearer’ (धवजपारी), ‘Sceptre-holder’ (धवधारी), and ‘Spearmen’ (सैनिकपारी) on the obv. side of the gold coins belonging to them. We have been compelled to resort to that method of grouping, because, as pointed out above, the ‘king’ has not been depicted invariably as carrying a ‘standard’ on the obv. side of the coins of the Standard Type. It is true, however, that on some of those coins, he has been represented as carrying a ‘javelin’; but we have made no attempt to distinguish them from those on which he appears to be
holding a ‘spear.’ The reason is that a careful examination of a large number of such coins, has convinced us of the fact that the ‘javelin’, as we see on them, is nothing but a ‘spear’ crudely represented. If on any particular coin, the object held by the ‘king’ in his left hand, has been clearly depicted as ‘spear’, we have specifically mentioned it, as it should be. In our classification of the varieties of the Small Fabric group, we had to refer to three interesting coins in the Bayana hoard; but as they were not selected for illustration in the Catalogue of the coins belonging to that hoard, we have merely referred to them through their respective registered numbers. We, however, do not consider our classification of the coins of the Parākrama Type to be final, since there is every possibility of more varieties of coins of that type coming to our notice, with the discovery of new hoards, as the three mentioned above.

The rev. device of the coins of the Parākrama Type, irrespective of its many classes and varieties, is virtually the same. The only difference that is to be noticed between those coins, so far as that device is concerned, is in respect of the symbol in the upper left field. Though its occurrence is regular, no relation has yet been established between the different forms of it, with the varieties of the Parākrama Type. Occasionally, a second symbol is also to be met with in the upper right field; but like the preceding one, the different forms of it, cannot be correlated with any of the varieties of the Parākrama Type specified above. Moreover, its known forms are very much less in number than the varieties of that coin-type. In the upper right field of the rev. side of our coin, there is also a symbol, but not clear enough to form an exact idea of it.¹

Now coming to the question: to which particular class of the Parākrama Type our coin belongs, we can only say for the present that, if its obv. device is proved beyond doubt to be a novelty and not the product of some mechanical defect of stamping, it will certainly have a place in one of the seven classes specified above, and will constitute also a new variety. It is therefore necessary to find out at first, whether the peculiarity to be noticed on the obv. side of our coin, is due to some defect of minting, which is by no means improbable.

¹. The second symbol in the upper right field (rev.) of our coin, seems to bear the semblance of the one which figures on the coins of Samudragupta, Nos. 7, 8 and 9 (rev.; upper right field) of the British Museum cabinet (Brit. Mus. Catel., Allau, p. 3). That symbol has been found to occur also on the reverse of the coins of Chandragupta I, belonging to the King and Queen Type (ibid., pp. 10-11).
A casual examination of the coin of Samudragupta under discussion, gives undoubtedly the impression that its obv. side has been doubly struck and the jugate heads of the 'king' is merely an indication of that fact. But a detailed examination of all that is to be seen on the obv. side of that coin, will show that whatever indication of double stamping is manifest on that side, is in the head of the 'king'. If this be a fact—and a careful examination shows that it is so—then its obv. device cannot be easily set aside as an instance of double stamping. When the face of a coin, either obv. or rev., is restruck, the outline of almost each and every object depicted on that side, appears, either partly or fully, to be double. There are a few gold coins of the Imperial Guptas, which appear to have been stamped twice on the same face; but what we have stated above, can be illustrated in the best possible manner by referring to some such coins belonging to the Parâkrama Type of Samudragupta. For instance, coin No. 94 of the Bayana Hoard Catalogue (Pl. II. 13) reveals very clearly the double stamping of its obv. face, through the lower half, where double outline of certain objects, is very distinct. The giant-like appearance of the 'king' and the blurred figure of Garuḍa occurring on that side, are also indications of the very same fact. Besides these, there are other indications of restriking on the obv. side of that coin. Again, coin No. 103 of the same Catalogue (Pl. III. 1) clearly indicates that its obv. face was doubly struck, through a pair of certain objects or parts of them occurring on that side, such as, head of the 'king', nimbus, Garuḍa standard, fire-altar, etc. Likewise, a coin which was discovered only a few years ago at Kusumbhi, in the Unnao Dist., U. P. (now in the State Museum, Lucknow; Reg. No. 10754), also shows that its obv. face was doubly stamped. We therefore find on that side, two Garuḍa standards, massive figure of the 'king', blurred figure of Garuḍa, two vertical coin-legends (Samudra), and two long sceptres (?). The fire-altar and such other small objects of the obv. device are also not distinct.¹ We are as yet not aware of any other coin of the Parâkrama Type of Samudragupta, of which the obv. side was restruck, except the three mentioned above.

If we admit for the time being, that our coin was restruck on the obv. side, and that the jugate heads of the 'king', as we see on

¹. J.N.S.I., xv. Pl. III. 4 (see also pp. 82-83).
it, is the sole indication of that fact, we can only say that it is a freak and therefore a novelty of the first rate. The obv. die had slipped, while the coin was being struck, but the only result of it, is the jugate heads of the ‘king’! Neither the figure of Garuḍa surmounting the standard, the upper part of the body of the ‘king’, and the ornaments worn by him, nor the topmost part of the long staff-like object in his left hand, shows double outline, as it should, had it been doubtfully stamped. Even the nimbus (prabhāmandala) which is so close to the jugate heads, is a perfect circle and is neither thick nor blurred.¹ We only wonder, how all these could happen, if really there had been any mechanical defect in stamping our coin. Double outline is to be seen only of the face of the ‘king’, and that is all.

It is difficult to admit that the obv. side of our coin appears to have been restruck, since there is no indication of it anywhere in the obv. field, right or left, upper or lower, except the double outline of the face of the ‘king’, as mentioned above. If that much only is the evidence of double stamping available to us, we can only say that it is the rarest novelty in the entire series of Gupta coins! But it does not seem to be so. Taking into consideration what actually happens, when the face of a coin is restruck, with the help of the three gold coins of Samudragupta of the so-called Standard Type mentioned above, and such other coins of gold and silver belonging to the rulers of different dynasties, we think that the theory of double stamping, in the case of the present coin, is not altogether beyond cavil. It might have been restruck, but there is no clear indication of that fact. If, however, it was not restruck, what would then be the significance of its obv. device?

All artists, without any exception, are victims of imagination, more or less, and the designer of the obv. face of our coin, cannot possibly be considered to have enjoyed freedom in that respect. They conceive sometimes novel ideas and give them, too, suitable forms; and, curiously enough, it is through their whims and caprices that they remain in memory for generations. The jugate heads of the ‘king’ may appear to be a mystery; but it cannot possibly be without any significance, if the hand of an artist had wrought it. The question that arises therefore is: what could possibly be the art-motif behind the obv. device of our coin?

¹ A small segment of the circle representing the nimbus, is off the rim.
It is not an easy affair indeed to hit upon the exact motif which had captivated the imagination of the artist in question and made him represent the ‘king’ as confronting Agni, the Fire-god, with two faces. It is, however, possible that the jugate heads of the ‘king’, as represented on the coin by two faces, are symbolical of something which concerns either Samudragupta or his status, that is to say, his position as a sovereign. He was undoubtedly a hero in the strictest sense of the term, one of the few notable conquerors whom the ancient world could boast of, a renowned military genius of his time, a very powerful but religious-minded monarch, a true patron of learning, a poet of no mean repute, a highly-skilled musician, and a man having genuine regard for all noble qualities of head and heart. Our appreciation of him may have been inadequately expressed, but the riddle of the jugate heads cannot be explained by any of his inherent qualities and personal achievements. Under the circumstances, we can think of only the other alternative and that is, his position as a sovereign, which might have a bearing on the symbolization aimed at by the artist in question.

The Hindu conception of sovereignty, as revealed by the lawgivers and the epic writers of Ancient India, has mainly two aspects, viz; Dharma and Danda. It has also other aspects, but they are of minor nature and on them, there is no unanimity of opinion. According to Manu, kingship is of divine origin and an aggregation of two things, viz, Dharma, or Law, and Danda, or Administration of the Law. In order to explain the exact relation existing between the two, he puts it allegorically thus:

‘The son of Brahmā is Dharma, whom he created for the purpose of giving protection to all living creatures. He then made him king, after vesting him with Danda which was made of his (Brahmā’s) vigorous power.’

It is evident from what has been stated by Manu, that kingship comprises Dharma and Danda, that is to say, is composed of Law and its Administration, the latter being the same as the executive power

of the king, which was believed to be the gift of Brähmā. The theory of kingship is also enunciated in the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, wherein it is said that King Kshupa received Dāṇḍa, based on Dharma, from the Lokapālas, or the Guardian Angels, which they had received previously from the sage Brhigu. Kingship was, thus, conceived by the ancient legists and others to be an embodiment of Dharma and Dāṇḍa, the two components being related to and dependent on each other for their respective functions. Since kingship is inseparable from Dharma and Dāṇḍa, the king has been styled dharmādhipa as well as dāṇḍadhara in the epics. In Ancient India, while Dāṇḍa was symbolized by the sceptre (dāṇḍa), we do not know as yet, what represented Dharma in the person of a sovereign.

We have stated above, our main reasons for doubting the fact that the obv. side of the present coin was restruck. We have also cited above, numismatic evidence to substantiate the same. If any numismatist still believes that it was doubly stamped on the obv. side, we would like him to consider very carefully at least one of our objections and find out a satisfactory explanation for the same. He should explain, citing parallel cases, why the outline of the nimbus (prabhāman-dala), which is so close to the jugate heads of the ‘king’, is a perfect circle (a small segment at the top is off the plan) and is neither thick nor blurred, as pointed out above. The nimbus should have also a double, thick, or blurred outline along with the jugate heads. He should try to find out also a plausible explanation for the complete absence of double outline in respect of all the other objects near the jugate heads. These are hard facts on which our arguments are based. We should consider all those points critically, before upholding the theory of double stamping, which is undoubtedly the easiest way of solving the numismatic problem presented by our coin.

A very pertinent question that may be asked in this connexion is: if the obv. face of the present coin was not restruck, why have not similar coins of Samudragupta come to light anywhere in Northern India so far? The question is highly problematical, but its answer is not far enough to seek. The artists or type-designers employed in the royal mint, might devise a number of new coin-types, but the

decision regarding their acceptance for currency purpose, would finally rest with the supreme head of the State. Public opinion on a particular coin-type, should also be expected to count much for its retention by the State or its rejection. For instance, on the *obv.* side of that unique gold coin of Chandragupta I, belonging to the *Standard Type*, which was acquired by Rodgers at Haripur (E. Punjab), a *trisūla* (trident) is to be found in the left field, exactly at the place where the Garuḍa standard figures on the coins of his son Samudragupta. The depiction of a *trisūla* on the *obv.* side of that earliest specimen of the gold coinage of the Imperial Guptas, is undoubtedly due to the influence of its Kushāṇa prototype. But the depiction of a typical Śaiva symbol on the coins of a king who belonged to an orthodox Vaishṇava family, is certainly not expected to receive as much consideration as it deserves.¹ The inevitable result of it, was that, after their first issue which was limited to a specified number of gold coins, that coin-type was discarded as unsuitable for the Imperial Gupta family, and in its place was substituted the *King and Queen Type* with a definite political motive. Since the *Standard Type* of Emperor Chandragupta I was discontinued, as we believe, after its first appearance, coins of that *type* have become extremely rare. This is more than evident from the fact that only one coin of that particular series has come to light so far and that, too, in a locality which lay far beyond the territorial limits of that Gupta emperor. Since it migrated far to the west and got mixed up with the gold coins of the Later Kushāṇas, which were then current in the Punjab, and with which it undoubtedly bears many features in common, it escaped the danger of being collected and melted down in any one of the royal mints of the Guptas, as one that had been withdrawn from circulation by the order of the issuer himself. Likewise, the singularity of the gold coin of the *Chakravikrama Type* of Chandragupta II, suggests that gold coins belonging to that series, were also withdrawn from circulation by the State, not long after their issue. In this particular case, too, the only fact that may justly be considered to be the reason for their withdrawal, is that the *obv.* device of those coins, which was definitely aimed at the glorification of and giving wide publicity to the ardent religious devotion of that orthodox Vaishṇava ruler (*paramabhāgavata*), was not appreciated.

It was felt difficult, as we think, to conceive the idea that Lord Vishṇu came down from his celestial abode to the earth, to meet Emperor Chandragupta II, for the purpose of blessing him and also to present to him a souvenir as a memento of their meeting, being immensely pleased with the monarch’s fervent religious devotion. If this be the suggestion of the obv. device, we can only say that an artist in his flight of imagination, would not be able to rise higher than that! The meeting of the immortal and the mortal, Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu) and Vikramāditya, in the mundane world, as the main theme of the obv. side and the rev. legend Chakravikrama which is suggestive of the same, were not countenanced with favour by the State, and also perhaps by the public, for certain important reasons. The obv. device of the coins of the Chakravikrama Type clearly belongs to the domain of myths and legends characterizing the Epic Age, and is therefore not relevant to time. What is still worse is that it runs the risk of being treated as posthumous, i.e., conceived and designed after the death of the emperor whose memory it preserves. For these reasons which are more than apparent, the art-motif of the obv. device came to be considered to be puerile; and all coins belonging to the Chakravikrama Type were ordered to be withdrawn from circulation. So far, we know only of one coin bearing the figures of Lord Vishṇu and Chandragupta II on the obverse, and the legend Chakravikrama on the reverse. That most interesting coin (B.H.C., Pl. XVIII: 14) was found in the Bayana hoard; and although a decade had passed since its discovery, it has remained unique. It is, however, not possible for numismatists to offer any satisfactory explanation for the extreme rarity or uniqueness of coins belonging to certain types and varieties, as, for instance, in the case of those belonging to the Lyríst Type or the King and Queen Type of Kumāragupta I. The unique gold coin of the Lyríst Type of Samudragupta mentioned above, which should now be considered to belong to Var. B of the Small Fabric of that coin-type, is also a case to the point. Two gold coins discovered in the Bayana hoard, which belong to the Asśamedha Type, Var. B (‘Horse to left’) of Kumāragupta I, may also be mentioned here, as illustrations thereof. Stylistically, they are undoubtedly archaic than those belonging to Var. A (‘Horse to right’) of that coin-type and therefore may be considered to
be earlier issues. Instances may be multiplied to bear out the truth of our remarks regarding the extreme rarity of the gold coins of certain types and varieties issued by the Imperial Guptas.¹

The uniqueness of the present coin, depending, as it does, only on the figure of the 'king', as portrayed on its obv. side, which clearly distinguishes it from others of the same type, is difficult to explain. We, however, presume that the obv. device of the jugate heads of the 'king' within a single circle representing the ring of nimbus: (prabhāmaṇḍala), was not considered by the State to be suitable for currency purpose; and, consequently, coins bearing the same, were not issued for the second time. The art-motif as conceived by the designer of that coin-type, may be very interesting, but it is too subtle to be understood by the public. Far from appreciating the artistic merit and novelty of conception manifested by them, people would consider the coins of this particular variety of the Standard Type of Samudragupta to be doubly stamped pieces. That would certainly not be creditable either for the artist or for the issuing authority. It is probably for this reason that the issue of this variety of gold coins, was discontinued by the order of the supreme head of the State.

Our presumption is that it is the dual capacity of a sovereign, viz, the guardianship of Dharma, Law, and the supreme authority over Daṇḍa, or Administration of the Law, that was conceived by the artist in question to be a suitable subject for representation on the coins of Samudragupta, because of his possession of manifold noble qualities of a king and the unrestricted support given by him to the cause of Dharma which like 'a bulwark defended (lit. enclosed) him' (dharma-prāchīrabandhah).² In order to achieve his end, the artist appears to have symbolically represented his master as confronting Agni, so as to make him a witness to the part played by him so honestly as king, whether in the sphere of Dharma or in that of Daṇḍa. Crude though it may be, the symbolism which he could think of, was to depict the king with jugate heads, each suggesting a particular aspect of kingship, as inculcated by the custodians of ancient law which governed the Aryan State and society. The obv. device

2. Cor. Ins. Ind., iii. Fleet, p. 6 (Inst. Ind. 15).
as conceived by that artist, may not be free from complexity, but we do not find at least any absurdity in the idea which he has sought to express thereby. In an art-motif, what is liable to be considered to be absurdity, is, in reality, expediency, to which sometime an artist will be found to resort, to express his own thought, having no other alternative to do so; or he may, for that purpose, exercise his own discretion to obtain the best possible result, if there be any alternative. The two factors, viz., expediency and the artist's choice, should not therefore escape us, whenever an art-motif would appear palpably or glaringly to be a piece of absurdity. A few illustrations to explain our point of view perhaps will not be out of place here. It is a patent fact that the expression of divinity of a human figure to be portrayed on coin, was a problem of no mean magnitude to the ancient die-cutters or rather the designers of coin-types, both Indian and foreign; and there is no dearth of numismatic evidence to show that both the groups had to exercise their intelligence and power of imagination to evolve some suitable means to solve the same. Curiously enough, the only means to realize that objective, which both the groups had invented independently of each other, was to put a few upward strokes above or near the head; to signify the radiation of light from the body, which is traditionally a common divine characteristic. The first manifestation of that symbolism in North-Western India and the Punjab, on the coins of a foreign ruler, is on those of Demetrius I, and the deity so represented is Cynthia, or Artemis, the celestial huntress and sylvan goddess of the Greeks (B.M.C., Pl. III. 1). Bronze coins of that Indo-Greek king, bearing the figure of 'Artemis radiate' on the reverse, appear to have been issued between c. 185 and 170 B.C. The same deity with radiant head also figures on some coins of the Indo-Scythian king Maues (B.M.C., Pl. XVI. 4). But, perhaps, the perfection of the artistic device in question is to be seen in the figure of Śiva as depicted particularly on the double staters and staters of the Kushāna Emperor Wema Kadphises who appears to have ruled in Afghanistan and North-Western India between c. 63 and 78 A.D. (B.M.C., Pl. XXV. 6-9). While we do not believe that this particular numismatic device to signify godhood, had influenced the Indian artists engaged by the Hindu rulers to design their coin-types, it is a fact that the coins of some of the Pañchāla kings, which appear to have been struck between c. 130 B.C. and 78 A.D.,
depict human figures in the same manner, obviously to serve the very same purpose. We, thus, find the god Agni portrayed on the coins of Agnimitra, with a few strokes above him, suggesting thereby his flaming or radiant head; and the same is the method of indicating the emission of rays as adopted for depicting the female deities like Bhadrā, Phalguni, and Bhūmi (Bhūdevi or Mahīṣakti) on the coins of Bhadragnoshya, Phalgunīmitra, and Bhūmimitra respectively.¹ The same method was also applied for the representation of the War-god Kārttikeya and of his consort Devasenā on some coins of the Yaudheyas, on which they have been depicted with single head.² It is evident therefore that the only suitable means of attributing divinity to a human figure portrayed on coins, which the Indian and foreign artists could think of, at least before A.D. 78, was to put a few upward strokes above or near its head. This earliest numismatic device, however, failed to capture the imagination of the artists in the service of Kanishka I, since we find the adoption of an entirely different device, better or worse than the former, on

¹ Brit. Mus. Catal., Coins of Ancient India, Pls. XXVIII. 8-14; XXVIII. 1-3; XXVII. 11-14; and XXVIII. 4-7.

The human figure depicted on the reverse of the coins of the Pañḍāla king Bhūmimitra, has been taken by Allan and Bidyabinod to be that of a male; but while the former considers him to be the king of the nāga (snakes), the latter identifies him with the Fire-god Agni (Brit. Mus. Catal., Coins of Ancient India, Intro. p. cxxvii; Ind. Mus. Catal., i. Supplementary, p. 53). A sober opinion, however, has been expressed by Smith on the identity of that figure, for he merely observes, 'Figure like that of Agni on coins of Agnimitra' (Ind. Mus. Catal., i. p. 187). What we actually find on the aforesaid coins, is a human figure with five upward strokes above the head, standing inside the sacred enclosure (pajñāśārāṭa), facing front, and holding one hand by another before him or her, both being slightly bent at the elbow. The front part of the enclosure, which appears to be of the Sanchi rail-pattern, has two high corner-pillars, one at each end, surmounted by three bars. Since the enclosure is either square or rectangular, the existence of four such corner-pillars may be presumed (Brit. Mus. Catal., Pl. XXVIII. 7). There is nothing on the rev. side of those coins, which might indicate, even faintly, whether the human figure represents a male or a female. Under such circumstances, we are unable to accept the theory of Allan, that the figure in question personifies the king of the nāga (Ananta-nāga or Śeśa-nāga) and that the five short strokes are his hoods. We are equally unable to accept the opinion of Bidyabinod that the same represents Agni, the Fire-god. We are definitely of the opinion that the figure stands for the goddess Bhūmi (Bhūdevi, Bhūṣakti, Kshiti or Mahīṣakti) with rays issuing from her head. Her radiant head clearly indicates that she is a divine being; and judging the question of her identity from the standpoint of the numismatic practice followed by the members of the royal family to which Bhūmimitra belonged, she can only be the goddess Bhūmi. Cunningham is right in taking those upward strokes to be rays (Coins of Ancient India, p. 83). We only wonder, why the representation of Agni or Ananta-nāga on the coins of Bhūmimitra, could possibly be suspected, when there is a deity by the name of Bhūmi in Hindu pantheon!

² Brit. Mus. Catal., Coins of Ancient India, Pl. XXXIX. 22 (Kārttikeya) and 20 (Devasenā). See also pp. 270-272.
some coins of that ruler, to meet the same end. This new device which may justly be said to have been inspired by sculptural technique, invented with the sole intention of giving expression to the divine character of a human figure, was to draw a circle round the head, to signify the ring of halo or nimbus (prabhāmanḍala). The deities so adorned on the coins of that Kushāṇa monarch are, Miiro (Sun-god Mihira or Mihir), Elios (Sun-god Helios), Mao (Moon-god Māh), Oado (Wind-god Vāta or Vada), Pharro (Fire-god Farr), Boddo (Buddha), Oesho (Īśa or Śiva), Ardoksho (Demigoddess of Prosperity, Ārddhayakshī ?), and Nana (Divine Mother, Devī Nanā). This simplest method of expressing divinity was kept up by the successors of Kaṇishka I, like Huvishka, Vāsudeva I.


2. During the period, when the Scythians, the Parthians, and the Kushāṇas successively exercised political supremacy over North-Western India, Śaivism predominated over all other Brahmiucal cults in that region. This is apparent not only from the coins of some Parthian and Kushāṇa rulers, but also from the Mahāvīra, an important Buddhist Sanskrit text, in which Īśa (Śiva) figures as the supreme Brahmiucal deity. Mahāvīra belongs to the canon of the Lokottaravādīs and appears to have been mainly compiled in North-Western India, in Early Kushāṇa period. Philologically, the prefixing of O to īśa, as we find on the rare side of some Kushāṇa coins bearing the anthropomorphic form of Śiva, is due to the phonetic phenomenon known as Indīstān Articulation which is specially to be noticed, when a Sanskrit word which is rather difficult to pronounce, is represented in a foreign tongue (Pelle, J., Philology, p. 32).

We consider the name Ardoksho to be the phonetic variant of Sanskrit Ārddhayakshī. That the deity in question is associated with Prosperity, like Tyche of the Greeks and Lakshmi (daughter of Śiva and consort of Vishnu) of the Hindus, is apparent from her two iconic attributes, viz., a bunch of lotuses (with long stalks) and the cornucopiae, the Greek symbol of Plenty and Prosperity, which she carries in her right and left hand respectively. The Tadahita form of riddhī, prosperity, is ārdha; and from this point of view, the term Ārddhayakshī may be considered to be an appellation or epithet of the Yakshi Riddhi, consort of the Yaksha Kubera who in Hindu mythology, is the ‘King of the Yakshas’ (Yakṣagāna) and ‘Lord of Wealth’ (Dhanapati). Since both Kubera and Riddhi were believed to be the ‘Bestowers of Wealth’, the former has been styled Dhanada and the latter, Lakshmi in the epics. According to the same sources, Lakshmi, consort of Vishnu, is the goddess, and Riddhi, queen of Kubera, the demigoddess of Wealth. Like her husband Kubera, Riddhi also occupies a prominent place in the pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism. She was, thus, considered by the Kushāṇa artists to be an important deity who should be represented on coins; but instead of mentioning her by name, since she has many names (Bhadra, Lakshmi, and Riddhi), they have used her most suitable and appropriate epithet Ārddhayakshī, the ‘Demigoddess of Prosperity’, for expressing her identity. Hoffmann, West, Stein, Paruck and Thanawala consider Ardoksho to be an Iranian deity; but there is a sharp difference of opinion amongst them, as regards her identity.

According to the Nighantuaka, in Vedic language, the word nasā is a familiar expression for ‘mother’, as tata, for ‘father’ (Skt. tāta). The female deity portrayed on some Kushāṇa coins and mentioned as ‘Nama’, ‘Namaia’ or ‘Nanasho’ should therefore be considered to be the goddess Nana, the Divine Mother (Devi Nanā). Her association with Īśa (Śiva) on other Kushāṇa coins, bearing the legends Oesho and Nana along with their respective anthropomorphic forms, clearly show that she is none else than the goddess Ambikā or Pārvati, consort of Śiva, who, according to Hindu mythology, is the ‘world-mother’ (jagannāthā or jagnamāth) and the ‘supreme goddess’ (paramāsvarī).
Kanishka III, and Vāsudeva II, as is evident from their coins; and by the time the Guptas came into power, it had already become an established numismatic practice. The occurrence of that ring or circle behind the head of a deity, as depicted on the gold coins of Chandragupta I and his successors up to Vainyagupta, as well as on those of Śaśāṅka, Vishṇugupta Chandrāditya, Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya, Jayagupta, and Virasena Kramāditya, clearly points to that fact. Its appearance on coins after c. 750 A.D. for the aforesaid purpose, is so far unknown. The practice seems to have been discontinued about that time and was not revived afterwards, as has been evidenced by a unique gold coin of the Pāla king Devapāla (c. 810-850 A.D.) on the rev. side of which, the goddess Lakṣmī has been depicted without that circle behind her head.¹

Let us now see, how the divine origin of a human figure portrayed on coins, was given expression by the die-cutters or the designers of coin-types in Ancient India. Like the expression of divinity, it had also become a serious problem to them; but they actually faced it, when the rulers of a particular family, who claimed divine origin, wanted the same to be expressed on their own coins. An old belief that had somehow become deep-rooted in the mind of all Mongoloid peoples in China, is that the paramount sovereign is the ‘Son of Heaven’ (T’ien-tseu), since he has to carry out all heavenly mandates on the earth, as its agent. The Emperors of China were, thus, believed to be ‘Sons of Heaven.’ Since the Kushāṇas, the members of the Kouei-chouāng clan of the Yūeh-chih tribe, were of Mongoloid origin, they also considered their overlords to be ‘Sons of Heaven.’ The Chinese term T’ien-tseu came to be translated into Sanskrit as Devaputra, probably in the reign of Wema Kadphises (Kadphises II); and since then, all the Kushāṇa emperors were styled Devaputra in this country. This fact is evident not only from an inscription which seems to belong to the time of the aforesaid Kushāṇa monarch, but also from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the time of Samudragupta.² The problem that confronted the

¹. J.N.S.J., xiii. p. 123.

². For the various Chinese transcriptions of the name ‘Kushāṇa’ and its variants: ‘Khushāṇa,’ ‘Gushāṇa,’ ‘Kurshana,’ and ‘Kushana’ (the last two forms occurring in certain Kharosti inscriptions discovered at Niya, in Central Asia), see J.A.O.S., lvii. p. 299. We have, however, accepted the Chinese form ‘Kouei-chouang’ (also spelt as ‘Kuei-shuang’) in preference to others.
early Kushāṇa artists was, how to express the divine origin of Wema Kadphises on his coins. The only solution of it, which they could think of, was to put a few upward strokes over his shoulders, to signify flames rising from his body. This crude method of representing a T‘ien-tseu or Devaputra on coins, was retained by Kanishka I and even by Huvishka; but in the reign of the latter, a new device was introduced for that very purpose. The device in question is, to draw a circle behind the head of the ‘king’, suggesting thereby the ring of halo or nimbus (prabhāṇamāṇḍala). We have stated above that the later device, for the expression of godhood, came into existence in the reign of Kanishka I, on whose coins, it is to be seen for the first time. It is, thus, on the coins of Huvishka, that the ‘king’ and the ‘deity’ came to be treated in the very same manner or, in other words, kingship was raised to the rank of divinity. On the basis of this new device, it is possible for us to distinguish the earlier issues (‘King with flaming shoulders’) of that Kushāṇa monarch from his later ones (‘King nimbate’).1 The successors of Huvishka belonging to the Kushāṇa family, followed the new method of representing

There are reasons to believe that the Kushāṇa monarch referred to in the Panjtar Stone Inscription and the Taxila Silver-scroll Inscription, belonging to the year 122 and the year 136 respectively of the old Scythian Era, was Wema Kadphises (Cor. Ins. Ind., ii. 1, pp. 70 and 77). In the latter, imperial dignity has been attributed to him, as in the ovs. and rev. legends of his gold coins. In respect of the proposed identification, the two essential points that are to be considered are, (i) Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises II), according to the Chinese sources, did not rule over the regions lying on the eastern side of the Indus, and, thus, had no authority over the areas implied by the find-spots of the aforesaid inscriptions, and (ii) a different system of dating came into existence in the reign of Kanishka I; and, as indicated by the epigraphic records belonging to his reign, it may be said to have been strictly followed. We are, thus, led to believe that the Kushāṇa ruler referred to in the Taxila Silver-scroll Inscription of the year 136, as ‘Maharaja Rajatrajha Devaputra Khushana’ was Wema Kadphises (Kadphises II) who, according to the same Chinese sources (mentioned as Yen-kao-tchen), ruled over India (T‘ien-tchou) with the help of his governor.

The successors of Wema Kadphises, viz, Kanishka I, Vasishka, Huvishka, and Kanishka II, are definitely known to have borne the title Devaputra, but the same cannot be said with certainty of the Kushāṇa rulers like Vāsudeva I, Kanishka III, and Vāsudeva II, who came after them, for want of information. But considering the fact that a Kushāṇa king has been definitely styled ‘Davaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushhāhi’, that is to say, by the three well-known imperial titles of his ancestors (Davaputra being the Taddhika form of Devaputra, appears to have been used as an adjective of Shāhi and Shāhānushhāhi), in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, the use of the title Devaputra by the later Kushāṇas or, as they styled themselves, the ‘Kushānaputras’, at least up to the time of that Gupta emperor, is an established fact (Cor. Ins. Ind., iii. Fleet, p. 8). An inscription discovered near Mathura, clearly indicates that such a Kushānaputra, bearing the title Devaputra, ruled as far east as the Yamuna, prior to A.D. 260, and the same may be true of the earlier Kushānaputras as well.

1 A comparison of the coins, Nos. 117 and 123 with Nos. 125 and 126, as illustrated in the Panj. Mus. Cat., i. Pl. XVIII, will bear out the truth of our remark.
their divine origin or agency, in preference to the old one, as is evident from their coins; and by the time Chandragupta I came to the throne, it had already become a popular numismatic practice. This is apparent from the fact that we not only find it on the gold coins issued by him, but also on those of his imperial successors, both earlier and later, in Magadha. Even on the gold coins of Ghaṭōtkachagupta Kramāditya, Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya and Jayagupta, the same feature on the obv. side, is to be met with. This novel method of signifying royalty seems to have been discontinued after c. 750 A.D., when Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla Dynasty, ascended the throne. Our presumption is based on the fact that the nimbus behind the head of the ‘king’ portrayed on the obv. side, is not to be met with on that unique gold coin of the third Pāla king Devapāla referred to above.

Strange indeed is sometimes an artist’s imagination and equally strange is sometimes his means of giving shape to it. While the Gupta artists strictly adhered to the Kushāṇa device, introduced at the time of Huvishka, i.e., ‘King nimbate’, for the purpose of signifying royalty in the coin-types designed by them, it did not find favour in the eyes of that particular artist who was responsible for designing the coin-type of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman. He invented a new method of attributing royalty to the person whose ‘head’ only was to be shown on his coins. The device is a simple one and that is, to depict the ‘head’ as chandramauli, ‘moon-crested.’ Thus, on the obv. side of the silver coins of that ruler, we find a ‘crescent’ on the king’s ‘head’. This new numismatic style of signifying royalty was continued by his successors, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, as evidenced by their silver issues, and was even adopted, for the very same purpose, by King Prabhākaravardhana alias Pratāpaśila of the royal house of Pushyabhūtis of Sthāneśvara, on whose silver issues, the same device is to be met with on the obv. side, but with slight modification. Whereas on the aforesaid Maukhari coins, an ordinary ‘crescent’ is placed slightly behind the crown of the king’s ‘head’, on those of Pratāpaśila (name as given on coins), we find the ‘crescent’ exactly at the crown of ‘head’, with two knobs, one at each end. This new style of representing ‘crescent on head’ (chandramauli) was continued by his son Harsha Śilāditya, as evidenced by his silver and copper coins. A large number
of silver coins issued by the Maukhari and the Pushyabhuti kings mentioned above, having *Moon-crested Head of King* as their common type of the *obv.* side, have been found in the Bhitaura hoard (Fyzabad Dist., U.P.) along with a solitary specimen of the copper coinage of Emperor Harshavardhana. Silver coins of Isanavarman and Sarvavarman discovered elsewhere, also bear the same type on the *obverse*.  

We have given above a few illustrations to show that the designers of coin-types in Ancient India, like all artists, were at times victims of strange imagination and like them, too, sometimes devised novel means of giving expression to it. Coins of the Gupta emperors, though comparatively modern, are also not free from such oddities. Instances may be cited from Gupta numismatics to bear out the truth of our remark. For example, the designer of the *obv.* side of that unique gold coin of the *Chakravikrama Type* mentioned above, conceived the idea of giving expression to the ardent devotion of the Vaishnavite Gupta Emperor, the Paramabhaagavata Chandragupta II, for Lord Vishnu, and in order to achieve his end, has represented them as standing face to face, and, what is still worse, has also shown the latter as offering a gift to the former, obviously in token of his blessings (B.H.C., Pl. XVIII. 14). Oddly enough, it never occurred to that artist, that the art-motif which made the mortal and the immortal meet together, indirectly suggested the posthumous character of the coin that bore it. We have already drawn the attention of numismatists to this defective character of that unique coin-type. A little less fantastic, though not of refined taste, is the motif of the *obv.* side of the gold coins belonging to the Var. B of the *Peacock Type* (*Karttikeya Type*) of Kumarakapuja I, in which the ‘king’, naked up to the waist and clad in a short loin-cloth, is represented as snapping his fingers and dancing merrily before a dancing peacock, casting his royal dignity and all sense of decency and decorum to the winds (B.M.C., Pl. XV. 14; B.H.C., Pl. XXVI. 13)! Such excesses are, however, not to be met with on the coins of the foreign rulers issued in India.


If the *obv.* type of the present coin be the creation of some artist, then its motif which cannot but be a reflection of his thoughts, would admit of the interpretation given below, in the light of the legends occurring on the *obv* side.

The invincible (*ajita*) Samudragupta, the vanquisher of his enemies (*jitarihipu*), and the sole representative of *Dharma* and *Daṇḍa* on the earth, whose emblem is the figure of Garuḍa, the king of birds and killer of snakes, after winning victory extended over a hundred battles (*samaraśatavitatavijaya*), has entered the place of sacrifice, grasping firmly his *dhvaja* as a sign of victory, and is now worshipping Agni, the Divine Messenger. As the king offers oblations at the altar of Agni, flames rise up in the air, indicating thereby that the deity being pleased with the king’s devotion, is carrying the fame of his heroism and prowess, unexcelled on the earth, to heaven and spreading it there, which eventually overwhelm its denizens.¹ It is, thus, that this valiant king, after conquering the earth, is now establishing his authority in the realm of the gods (*divaṁ jayati*).²

The *rev.* legend merely supplements the marginal inscription of the *obv.* side and signifies that the coin was issued by him who is the personification of Valour (*Parākramaḥ*).

We have suggested above, a plausible meaning of the double face of the ‘king’, as depicted on the *obv.* side of the present coin. If, however, we take the nimbus to stand for a mirror which had been introduced in the *obv.* device, to suggest the elaborate decorations of the king’s *yajñafālā*, perhaps an easier solution of our problem may be offered. It will then suggest that, as the ‘king’ stands

---

1. For the representation of Agni as messenger (*dāta*) and also as carrier (*pāhaka*) from the terrestrial to the celestial world, see *Rigveda*, viii. 44. 3(a). It runs as follows:—

\[\text{प्रभुः दूरः पुरो दधे हृद्वाहास्मु बुद्वे।}\]

2. The suggestion that Samudragupta’s fame (*kṛtī*), was carried or transported to heaven, comes from a passage in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, wherein it is said:

\[\text{“समर्पणिनिर्विजयमितिदक्षिणिनिक्षिपितला}
\[\text{कीतिनिर्जनदन्तिभवनमनाधिक्षिपितसुविचरणाम।}\]

*(Cor.Ins. Ind., iii. Fleet, pp. 8-9).*
before the fire-altar, one of the many mirrors that were hung up there, for the purpose of decorating the yajñāśālā for the ceremonial worship of Agni, catches the image of the king’s face sideways and reflects it. If either of the two be the suggestion which the artist had sought to represent through the obv. type designed by him, it should be considered to be a new variety. In the classification of the coins belonging to the Parākrama Type series of Samudragupta, as given above, its place should then be in Class I of the Large Fabric group, numbered as Var. (g).

1. See above, p. 66.

Class I: (Obv.) King carrying a standard with a banner fastened to it, in his left hand; ‘Samudra’ in the field (written vertically).

Var. (g): Standard surmounted by a bar;
Marginal legend commencing from the right (at 1 o’clock point);
King standing to left with jugate heads (as if standing by the side of a mirror which reflects his head).

Judging by the specialities to be noticed in the obv. device of the gold coin under discussion, viz, the jugate heads of the ‘king’ within a single ring of halo, the belt of the ‘king,’ which is above its usual position, and the chain mail or heavy embroidery on the left shoulder of the king’s riding coat, it can justly be considered to be a new variety of the Parākrama Type, and not a sub-variety. In this connexion, it may be noted here that the sub-varieties of the Parākrama Type are to be distinguished, in respect of the obv. device, by the difference in the form of the letter ma, whether of the Eastern or of the Western variety, and in the pose of the ‘king,’ whether erect or oblique, and with regard to the rev. device, in the occurrence of the symbol, whether one or two (irrespective of the variety), as also in the representation of the legs of the throne of the female deity. On the obv. side, much difference is to be noticed in the representation of the Garuḍa standard as well, whether we take cognizance of it or not. The sub-varieties of the Parākrama Type do not come within the scope of our investigation for the present.

It may be further noted here, that the gold coin bearing the names of Gaḍāḥāra (or Gaḍākharā) and Samudra, cannot be placed in any particular class, variety, or sub-variety of the Parākrama Type, because of its stylistic difference with the known coins of that type. It is extremely doubtful, whether that coin was issued by Samudragupta at all. It seems rather to have been issued by a Later Kushāṇa king named Gaḍāha(kha)ra. Except for the legends and the monosyllabic words which are in the earliest form of the Gupta script, its obv. as well as the rev. device bear strong Kushāṇa affinity. It belongs to the Large Fabric group, like most of the Kushāṇa gold coins of the later period, and is so far unique (cf. Cunningham, Later Indo-Sythetic, pp. 30-32, and Pl. II. 11).
We have stated above, the main objections against our acceptance of the theory that the present coin is a doubly stamped piece, though at first sight, it appears to be so. They are purely of technical nature; and we have substantiated them also by referring to a number of coins of the Parâkrama Type (Standard Type), known to us so far, which clearly appear to have been restruck on the obv. side.¹ If any numismatist, despite those hard facts and concrete cases, maintains that our coin was stamped twice on the obv. face, he should, in the interest of scientific research, adduce reasons to justify his point of view. It is, however, expected that his reasons would be of technical nature and also substantiated by numismatic evidence of the period concerned, as has been done by us. That would certainly be for the furtherance of our knowledge of Gupta numismatics, which is by no means comprehensive as yet.

¹ See above, p. 72.
SAMUDRAGUPTA

(2) Vināvādaka Type (Lyrist Type)

(Small Fabric)¹

Provenance: Fyzabad Dist., U.P. Weight: 120·34 grs. (7·990 gms.)

Metal: Gold, 18·75 ct. Condition: Slightly worn; there is an indentation on the reverse, across the left arm of the deity.

Fabric: Round, thick, and of small size; diameter 7·5.

Obverse: King to left, nimbate, and seated on a high-backed couch, is playing on a lyre-like stringed instrument (vīnā) having a long and curved neck, which rests on his lap. He is dressed in coif and waist-cloth, worn in Indian style, but rolled up to the knee, and is wearing ear-rings, necklace, and wristlets. The upper part of his body is bare. His left leg is stretched, but is slightly bent at the knee, while the right one is fully bent and drawn backwards. His left foot has no support, but the right one rests on a small footstool of which only the flat top is visible. Three legs of the couch, two of the front and one of the back, have been clearly represented. Between the legs of the king, is inscribed a letter or monosyllable of which only the superscript: the sign of medial i, can be seen (probably si). Marginal legend, the first nine syllables of which are off the flan, may be read as, (Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sa)mu(d)rāguptah.

Reverse: Goddess Ekānamsā, two-armed (dvibhujā) and nimbate, is sitting on throne, turning bodily to left. She is dressed in loose robe of the Indian style (śāṭaka) and bodice (kaṇṭchukī) reaching up to the navel, and is wearing keśabandha or kuntalamukuta, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, and bracelets.² She holds two lotuses with long stalks in her right hand, while her left hand is empty. Her right arm is extended, though slightly bent at the elbow and the wrist; but the left one (deep cut across it near the shoulder) is bent only at the elbow, hangs by her side, and rests on the hip. Her feet

¹. See above, p. 44, n. 1.
². See above, p. 46, n. 1.
rest on a full-bloomed lotus. The throne has a high, erect, and oval-shaped back, and a round base covered with ornamental designs. To the right, is the legend (Sa)mudragupta. No symbol. Border of dots.

[Plate III]

The coin described above presents a number of specialities which have not been found so far on any one of the Lyrist Type of that particular group to which it belongs. As we know, the gold coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the Lyrist Type, are of two different fabrics, viz, (1) 'Large and Thin' and (2) 'Small and Thick', the size of the former ranging from 8 to 92, and that of the latter, from 72 to 77, both inclusive. The present coin comes under the second category, that is to say, is one of the 'Small and Thick' fabric, its size being exactly 75. Before we proceed to institute a critical comparison between this coin and others of the same type, we should note the specialities which distinguish it from them. They may be summed up as follows:

A. Obverse

(i) A letter or monosyllabic word which is off the flan, leaving its superscript, the sign of medial i, behind (probably si), is a part of the obv. device;

(ii) The superscript of that letter occurs between the legs of the 'king';

1. The maximum and the minimum size of the coins of the Lyrist Type, which have been recorded so far, are 92 and 72 respectively. The difference between the two is, therefore, 2 inch (Ind. Mus. Catal., i. p.101, No. 3; Luck. Mus. Catal., p. 10, No. 41; J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 68; Banjara Hoard Catalogue, p. 59, No. 189). Coins of the Lyrist Type measuring 72 inch are of extreme rarity.

Diksharkar informs us that only one coin of the Lyrist Type of Samudragupta has been discovered in the Bannala hoard, which is similar to the one illustrated by Allan in the British Museum Catalogue (Pl. V, 8; also see p. 20, No. 55), and that its diameter is 8 (J.N.S.I., v. pp. 137 and 140). His information about the size of that coin is, however, not beyond cavil for two reasons. First of all, the diameter of that coin, as measured on the Plate (J.N.S.I., v. Pl. IX. A, 8), is definitely less than 8 and, secondly, there is a symbol on its reverse. The coin of the Lyrist Type described and illustrated by Allan in the Brit. Mus. Catal. (No. 55), belongs to Var. B of that coin-type, that is to say, one of the Small Fabric, and its size is less than 8. Not a single coin of Samudragupta, belonging to the Small Fabric group of the Lyrist Type, has come to our notice so far, which measures 8 and at the same time bears a symbol, a fact which tempted us to verify the measurement of the diameter of that coin of the Bannala hoard, as given by Diksharkar. From the Plate, the size of that coin appears to be 75, if measured horizontally, and 73, if measured vertically. Since no one can vouch for the accuracy of such measurements, numismatists would be glad to know the exact size of that coin, because of the problem created by its fabric and symbol, as pointed out by us.
A Unique Gold Coin of Samudragupta of the Visāvādaka Type (Lyrist Type)
(iii) Close to that superscript, but slightly to the right, there is a small footstool of which only the flat top is visible (the right foot of the ‘king’ rests on it aslant, supported by the toes); and

(iv) The back of the couch has a distinct inward curve.

B. Reverse

(i) The nimbus (prabhāmāṇḍala) encircling the head of the goddess, has been represented by a semicircle which appears in the direction she is looking at;

(ii) The left hand of the goddess is empty and rests on her hip;

(iii) There is no visarga at the end of the king’s name;

(iv) The legend does not occur in an exergue; and

(v) There is no symbol.

A critical comparison of the present coin with the other gold pieces of Samudragupta of the Lyrist Type, whether of the Large or of the Small Fabric, on the basis of the specialities noted above, brings out certain facts of numismatic interest, as stated below.

A. Obverse

Regarding Obv. No. (i), it may be noted here that the mutilated letter in question, which seems to be the first syllable of the name of either the die-cutter or the mint-master, more probably the latter, was hitherto known to be a speciality of the gold coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the ‘Large and Thin’ fabric group of the Lyrist Type; but the present coin, for the first time, clearly suggests the possibility of its occurrence on one of the ‘Small and Thick’ fabric of the same coin-type. A portion of that letter, viz, its superscript which is the sign of medial i, occurs quite unexpectedly on the obv. side of our coin, thereby compelling us to distinguish it from others of the same fabric and place it in another group. As the sign of medial i of the Gupta period, is still very distinct near the edge at VII o’clock point, the die used for stamping its obv. side, should be expected to have that letter engraved on it fully, as a part of the obv. device. The disappearance of that letter, leaving behind its superscript, and of the king’s footstool, except of its flat top, as well as of a portion of the marginal legend, is entirely
due to the defective method of stamping coins in those days. Since on the obv. side of the coins of the Large Fabric, that letter has been read as si, the sign of medial i occurring on the same side of our coin, although it is one of the Small Fabric, may be taken to suggest the very same reading for that mutilated letter.¹

As regards Obv. No. (ii), it must be mentioned at the very outset, that if any comparison has to be instituted in respect of this particular point, it should be done only with what we find on the obverse of the coins of the Large Fabric of the Lyrist Type, since no coin belonging to the Small Fabric group of that type, has come to light so far or, at any rate, is known to us, on the obv. side of which that letter or monosyllable has been found to occur. For the information of our readers, it may be noted here that it also does not occur on the obverse of the four coins of the Small Fabric of the Lyrist Type, discovered in the Bayana hoard. With regard to that letter, i.e., si, the difference that we notice between our coin and those of the Large Fabric, is that, whereas in the case of the former, it occurs in the field between the legs of the ‘king,’ but slightly below them, in the case of the latter, it has been found invariably to be inscribed on the footstool, on which the right foot of the ‘king’ has been shown as resting. Thus, through the present coin, we not only find for the first time, the occurrence of that letter on the obv. side of one of the Small Fabric, but also away from the object representing the footstool of the ‘king’. It is true, however, that in the case of our coin, the lower part of that letter as also of the footstool are off the flan, because of the crude method of mintage of coins in those days.

¹. In the opinion of Allan, the monosyllable si occurs on the obv. side of the coins of Samudragupta, belonging to the Lyrist and the Agramadeha Type, as an abbreviated form of the word siddham (Brit. Msc. Catal., Gupta Coins, Intro, pp. lxxv and lxxvi; cf. Bayana Hoard Catal., Altekar, Intro, p. lx). We regret to say that we have not been able to find any cogent reason for accepting his theory. The use of a letter or monosyllable, not as a monogram but as a new numismatic device, is to be noticed for the first time on certain coins of Apollodotus II Philopator; but its occurrence was more frequent on the bronze than on the silver coins of the Indo-Greek kings, the script used for the purpose being Kharoshthi. Monosyllables also occur on the coins of the Indo-Scythian, the Indo-Parthian, and the Kushāṇa rulers; and by the time the Guptas came into power, their occurrence had already become an established numismatic practice. The monosyllables in Kharoshthi, occurring on the coins of the rulers belonging to the aforesaid foreign dynasties, which are too numerous to be specified here, cannot possibly be the abbreviated forms of some benedictory words. If we accept the theory of Allan, we shall have to find out the benedictory words suggested by go, gi, cha, ja, jā, dha, kha, bha, and ru, which like si, are to be met with on certain Gupta coins. But with the exception of siddham and jayam or jayatu which may be taken to be the contractions for si and
With regard to Obv. No. (iii), we should note particularly the length of the flat top of the footstool which is to be seen on the _obv._ side of the present coin, as compared with that depicted on other coins belonging to the Large Fabric group of the _Lyrist Type._ If we do, it will be seen that the top of the footstool, as shown on the former, is comparatively smaller in size than that as depicted on the latter. A number of specimens, but only of the Large Fabric, would be available to institute this comparison. In this connexion, it may be noted here that not a single coin of the Small Fabric of the _Lyrist Type_ has come to light so far, on the _obv._ side of which, the footstool in question has been represented. The appearance only of the top of the footstool on the _obv._ side of our coin, is clearly an indication of the fact that owing to the defective method of minting, that object itself could not appear in full, like the monosyllable _si_ (?) and the portion of the circular legend coming between I and IX o'clock points.

As for Obv. No. (iv), it may be noted here that on the other coins of the _Lyrist Type_, the high back of the couch on which the ‘king’ is seated, has been depicted either as erect and having a border of knobs, or as slanting, but without any ornamental border. The back of the couch figures, too, on the present coin, but its shape is entirely different. It is neither erect nor slanting, but has a distinct inward curve. Moreover, it has near its upper end, a beautiful design which may be described as ‘wave crests.’ The curved high-back of the couch on one side, and the long curved neck of the _vinā_ on the other, with the figure of the ‘king’ coming in between the two, have made the _obv._ device of our coin attractive and all the more so, because of their symmetry and delicate curvature.

_je_ respectively, we are indeed at a loss to account for the benedictory words of which the other monosyllables mentioned above may be considered to be the abbreviated forms. Again, had they been the contractions for some benedictory words, they would not have been found to occur invariably near the feet of the ‘king,’ but elsewhere in the field. It is because of these reasons that the theory of Allan does not appeal to us.

In our opinion, the monosyllables occurring on the _obv._ side of certain gold coins of the Imperial Guptas, both Earlier and Later, are the initial letters of the respective names of different mint-masters, and not of die-cutters, since the latter had to work under the guidance and supervision of the former. Allan has completely overlooked the fact that it is not the benedictory, but the ‘_bhāṣṭraka-pāḍārāṇā dāsa,’ ‘_bhāṣṭrakapāḍārāṇā dāsa,’ or ‘_bhāṣṭraka-pāḍārasamhitaparisthapaṇamati_’ character that has been suggested by those monosyllables through their occurrence, without any exception, near the feet of the ‘king,’ in different Gupta coin-types, whether we attribute them to the mini-masters or to the die-cutters.
B. Reverse

Regarding Rev. No. (i), we should note that, whereas on all the coins of the Lyrist Type known to us so far, the nimbus (prabhā-
mandala) of the goddess has been represented by a circle, on the present coin, it has been shown in the form of a semicircle. It occurs
on the left which is evidently the direction, the deity is facing.

As regards Rev. No. (ii), we should note particularly that on the reverse of all the coins of the Lyrist Type known to us so far, the deity
has been represented as holding an object by its tapering end in her left hand. That object which is undoubtedly an iconic attribute, has
been described as cornucopiae by all numismatists, as if it has any iconic significance in respect of a Hindu deity. We regret to say
that we cannot see eye to eye with those numismatists who have taken it to be the representation of cornucopiae, or the Horn of Plenty
(horn of the goat Amalthea by which Zeus was suckled), which is a popular motif in early Greek sculptures. Sivaramamurti on the
other hand, considers it to be the representation of kōśa, or treasure, despite the fact that the object in question looks like a gadā, or
mace, on some coins and a khaḍga, or short sword (with broad blade
tapering towards the handle), on others.\(^1\) It might have therefore
suggested anything to the Gupta artists, except the two thought of
so far by different scholars. Since there is nothing in the left hand
of the goddess figuring on our coin, further discussion on the identity
of that iconic attribute will be out of place here. Suffice it
to say that her left hand is empty and rests on her hip. Again,
her left arm has been so depicted as to leave clear the ornamental
carvings near the edge of the back of the throne, although it hangs
by her side and is slightly bent at the elbow. The suggestion that
her left hand rests on the hip, comes from the position of her
bracelet which is clearly in line with her waist.

---

\(^1\) Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa, C. Sivaramamurti, p. 13. But the extract from
the Raghuvansha cited by the author, refers to Kṣiti, or Earth-goddess, and not
to Lakshmi or Rājyalakshmi.

Sivaramamurti is definitely of the opinion that the female deity portrayed on
the rev. side of the gold coins of Chandragupta I, is Rājyalakshmi. We are, however,
as yet ignorant of the fact that 'noose' (pāsa) is one of the recognized attributes of
the goddess Lakshmi, whether of kula (family) or of rājya (kingdom). Cf. Memoirs, Arch.
Surv. of Ind., No. 73, p. 22, and Pl. XXIV, 78 (with note).
With regard to Rev. No. (iii), it may be pointed out here that whereas on all the coins of the Lyrist Type of both the fabrics, which have come to our notice so far, the rev. legend reads as Samudraguptaḥ, it is on the present coin, that we notice for the first time, the absence of visarga after the king’s name. The rev. legend on our coin, is very distinct and reads as Samudragupta.¹

In respect of Rev. No. (iv), we would like to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that on the coins of the Lyrist Type, whether of the Large or of the Small Fabric, the rev. legend, as a rule, is written horizontally and occurs in an exergue in the right field. But in the case of the present coin, although the legend is written horizontally and in full, despite want of space in the right field, there is no line of exergue separating it from the figure of the female deity, as on all the other coins of this type. Instead of that line, we find a deep cut on the right, which runs across her left arm near the shoulder. It might have been caused by some mechanical defect of stamping the coin or might be due to an afterthought of putting the legend in an exergue, a special feature of the rev. device, which the die-cutter had previously overlooked. Whatever be the reason, a deep cut or indentation cannot be considered numismatically to be the line of exergue, which must be one embossed and not engraved.

As for Rev. No. (v), which is undoubtedly a unique feature of our coin, it would be sufficient to note that on all the coins of the Lyrist Type belonging to the Small Fabric group, a symbol occurs invariably in the upper left field, close to the nimbus of the female deity. An exception to this rev. style is to be noticed for the first time on the present coin, since no symbol occurs on the rev. side, although it belongs to the Small Fabric group. It is only on the coins of the Large Fabric of the Lyrist Type, that no symbol has been found to occur so far.

¹ So far as we know, the only other coin belonging to the Small Fabric group of the Lyrist Type, which bears on the reverse, the legend Samudragupta (without visarga), is the one discovered in the Bammala hoard (J.N.S.I. v. p. 140). Since Dikshitar considers it to be similar to coin No. 55 of Allan’s Catalogue (Brit. Mus. Catel., Gupta Coins, p. 20), we have reasons to suspect the correctness of the reading of the rev. legend as given by him. The rev. legend on coin No. 55 of the British Museum cabinet, is Samudraguptaḥ. If those two coins are of the same rev. die, as they appear to be, their common rev. legend should be expected to have a visarga at the end. But the absence of it, in the case of the one discovered in the Bammala hoard, is evidently due to the mechanical defect of stamping, since the die appears to be partly off the plan (cf. J.N.S.I., v. Pl. IX. A, 6).
The classification of the coins belonging to the *Lyrist Type* of Samudragupta should now be as follows:—

A. Large Fabric

*Obv.* Footstool inscribed with the letter *si*.

*Rev.* No symbol; legend, *Samudraguptaḥ* (in exergue).

B. Small Fabric

*Var. A*

*Obv.* No footstool or the letter *si*.


*Var. B*

*Obv.* Footstool (not inscribed); letter *si* (in the field).

*Rev.* No symbol; legend, *Samudragupta*; different female deity.

Since the present coin bears the special features of the *Var. B* of the Small Fabric and since the back of the king's couch as depicted on the *obv.* side, is entirely of a new pattern, we have no hesitation to admit that it is a unique gold coin of the *Lyrist Type* of Samudragupta.

The goddess portrayed on the *rev.* side of the present coin, appears to be Ekanāṃsā, popularly known as Bhadrā and Subhadrā. She is a Vaishṇava deity, being mythologically the sister of Kṛishṇa and Baladeva. According to the *Skandaḥpurāṇa*, she is an aspect of Śakti, the Supreme Goddess, who appeared in this world, only to give protection to Kṛishṇa and Baladeva by being their sister.¹ Though primarily a Vaishṇava deity, Ekanāṃsā, thus, acts as a link connecting Vaishṇavism with Śaktism; and being an aspect of the All-powerful Divine Mother, her position is no less eminent than that of her two brothers. This important deity has not only been represented by the *rev. type* of our coin which

---

belongs, as stated above, to Var. B of the Small Fabric group of the Lyríst Type of Samudragupta, but also by that of the gold coins of Kumāragupta I, belonging to the Horseman Type, Class I, Var. A series, according to the classification of Allan. On the rev. side of all those gold coins, as on that of ours, Ekānāṃśā has been represented in accordance with the iconic injunctions relating to her pose and attribute. She has, therefore, been depicted on them, as holding lotus-flowers in her right hand, while her left hand rests on her waist (kaṭisamāsthitaṃmakāra saraojamitareṇa chodvahati). While iconically the female deity appearing on our coin, is the same as the one depicted on the aforesaid gold coins of Kumāragupta I, numismatically, the former is the prototype of the latter. The iconic injunctions referred to above, also enjoin that Ekānāṃśā should be placed between her brothers, Khishṇa and Baladeva (Ekānāṃśā kāryā devī Baladeva-Khishṇayormadhye). It must have been considered by the Gupta artists to be an absurd proposition, because of their utter inability to carry it out in the face of certain technical difficulties. They found it impossible to represent three deities sitting together or standing side by side, with their respective iconic attributes, suggestive of their identity, within the narrow compass of a coin, whether of the Small or of the Large Fabric, in addition to a symbol, a legend, and a border of dots, all of which are to appear compulsorily on the same side. It is a fact that by eliminating the other deities, as mere adjuncts, the field on the reverse, has been left sufficiently clear by them, for depicting the goddess correctly in respect of her pose and iconic attribute, which undoubtedly has made her identification comparatively easy. Except for the lotus-flowers in her extended right hand, we find nothing in or about her, whereby we can identify her with Lakṣhmī, and, more particularly, when she neither sits on lotus nor rests her feet on lotus. Mookerji identifies the female deity depicted on the gold coins of both the fabrics of the Lyríst Type, issued by

3. We have raised here the question of Lakṣhmī, since the female deity depicted on the gold coins of the Horseman Type, Class I, Var. A, of Kumāragupta I, who is identical with the one appearing on our coin, has been identified by Allan with that wealth-bestowing goddess of the Hindus. (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 69).
Samudragupta, with Sarasvatī, on the ground that, being the goddess of Music, she is the most appropriate deity to be represented on the reverse of those coins, on the obverse of which, the king has been shown as playing on a vīṇā.¹ We regret to say that we find no cogency in his theory to support it. His argument is not only fallacious but goes positively against the fundamental principles of Hindu Iconography. It will appear all the more so, if we judge it from the numismatic point of view. In Hindu Iconography, whether Brahminical, Buddhistic, or Jain, a male or female deity has to be identified through the iconic injunctions relating to his or her attitude and attribute, and not by any extraneous reason. In numismatics, too, the same principle is followed for the purpose of identifying a deity, besides others. To suggest the identity of a god or goddess represented on a coin, not on the basis of the attribute carried by him or her or such other iconic features, and not also on the ground of the similarity or partial similarity of name, which he or she might bear with that of the issuer of that coin, is an absurdity in numismatics, whether Greek or Roman, Scythian or Parthian, Kushāṇa or Gupta.² There is, indeed, no iconographical work with the help of which, the identity of the deity figuring on our coin, with Sarasvatī, can be established. Mookerji may, however, identify the goddess depicted on the coins


². For the affinity of the name of a deity portrayed on a coin (represented sometimes also by symbol, indicative of his or her identity), with that of the king who issued it, the following may be considered as illustrations thereof:—

*Agni* : Agnimitra; *Bhadra* : Bhadragnāt; *Bhūmi* : Bhūmimitra; *Phalguna* : Phalgunimitra; *Bṛhaspati* : Bhānasmitra; *Dhruva* (Śiva, represented by 'triśūla') : Dhruva-

mitra; *Apollo* : Apollodotus I Soter and Apollodotus II Philopator; *Apollo* (represented by 'trīpod-lebes') : Apollodotus I and Apollodotus II; *Artemis* : Artemi-

dorus; *Kumāra* (Kārttikeya) : Kumāragupta I; etc.

If the figure of a deity appearing on the rev. side of a Pañcāla coin, is obliterated, he or she may be identified even with the help of the obv. legend bearing the name of the issuer of that coin, subject to the condition that his name bears affinity with that of some male or female deity. Although it is a special feature of the Pañcāla coins, a few exceptions are also known. Cf. Macdonald, *Coin Types*, p. 18; Allan, *Brit. Mys. Catal.*, Ancient Indian Coins, pp. 192-204; Gardner, *Brit. Mys. Catal.*, Greek and Scythic Kings, pp. 34-39 and 54; Narasim, A. K., *The Coin-types of the Indo-Greek Kings*, pp. 26-28 and 32 (N.S.I., Monograph No. I).
of the *Lyrist Type* of Kumāragupta I, with Sarasvatī, on the authority of the *Purvokāraṇāgama*, an important iconographical work of South-Indian origin.¹

1. The goddess represented by the *Lyrist Type* of Kumāragupta I, holds a lotus with a long stalk in her extended right hand, while her left hand hangs by her side. Her left hand is empty and rests on the edge of a couch or throne with high back, on which she is seated (*Bayana Hoard Catalogue*, pp. 302-303; Pl. XXXI. 4-5). The difference that we notice between that goddess and the one portrayed on our coin, as well as on those gold coins which belong to the *Hanseman Type*, Class I, *Var. A* of Kumāragupta I, is in respect of the pose of the left hand which, though empty, in the case of the former, hangs by her side and rests on the edge of her seat, and in the case of the latter, is bent at the elbow and rests on her hip. The difference that we notice in the pose of the left hand is crucial. Now if a female deity holds lotus in her right hand and if her left hand is empty and hangs by her side, according to the *Purvakāraṇāgama* (xii), she is either Bhavānī or Sarasvatī (*dakshīṇe chotpalaṅ haste vāmahastam ṭalambhitam*). The very same pose of the left hand and the iconic attribute carried in right hand, i. e., the lotus, have been prescribed in the *Sūtrakṛtāgama* (xxiv) also for Gaurī (*dakshīṇe chotpalaṅ grāhyakā vāmahastam ṭrāsāryat*); and these injunctions are perfectly in keeping with those which have been prescribed for that deity in the *Mānasāra* (liv) which, however, adds that she should be represented as a milk-maid (*gobālākārasodbhacet; read gepābātā*). The other goddess for whom those injunctions relating to the pose of the left hand and the symbol held in the right hand, have been prescribed in the *Mānasāra* (liv), is Mahī-śaktī, also known as Bhūdevī, Bhūmi, and Kshiti; but it specifically lays down that her image should be placed only on the right side of that of Vishnu (*Viṣṇumūrtaprasātasya*). The goddess represented by the *Lyrist Type* of Kumāragupta I, may therefore be identified with Sarasvatī, but the consensus of opinion for such a representation, as we have seen above, is definitely in favour of the consort of Śiva, whether we call her by the name of Bhavānī or of Gaurī. Which particular goddess the Gupta artist had in view in depicting her on the coins of the *Lyrist Type* of Kumāragupta I, is, indeed, difficult to say; but amongst the three female deities mentioned above, the Earth-goddess Mahī-śakti seems to be the least probability.
CHANDRAGUPTA II

Dhanurdhara Type (Archer Type)

(Small Fabric)\(^1\)

Provenance: Misrikh, Sitapur. Weight: 62·75 grs. (4·0660 gms.)
Dist. (U.P.)

Metal: Brass Condition: Much worn, and the rev. side is doubly
Fabric: Round, thin, and of small size; diameter '75.

Obverse: King, nimbate, standing to left, dressed in turban, long riding coat with curved opening of the lower half in front and long tail at the back, and tight-fitting trousers, and wearing ear-rings, necklace, and wristlets, holds vertically in his left hand a bow which rests on the ground, with string inwards, and an uncertain object (probably an arrow) in his outstretched right hand. Under the left arm of the king and between his body and the bow-string, is written vertically: Chandra. On the left, there is a Garuḍa standard or pillar.\(^2\) Marginal legend is practically off the flan.\(^3\)

Reverse (Restruck): Goddess Lakshmi, nimbate, seated facing front and cross-legged (pādmāsana) on a fully blossomed lotus, dressed in loose robe of the Indian style (śāṭaka), and wearing ketabandha or kuntala type of head-dress (mukuta), ear-rings (no trace of necklace), and bracelets, holds in her outstretched right hand lotuses with long stalks.\(^4\) Her left arm is blurred, because of double stamping. There is a symbol on the left, and on the right, the legend (Śrī)-V(i)kra(maḥ). Border of dots.

[Plate IV. A]

1. See above, p. 44, n. 1.

2. We are not certain as yet, whether the Garuḍa standard figuring on some Gupta coins, is actually the representation of a pillar, having the figure of Garuḍa as its crowning piece. As we know, the Garuḍa-dhvaja appears for the first time on some coins of Samudragupta.

3. The marginal legend on the gold coins of Chandragupta II, belonging to the Archer Type series, is ‘Deva-Śrī-Maharājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.’ Some coins belonging to Class II, Var. B, of the Archer Type, are, however, conspicuous by the absence of that legend (Brit. Mus. Catal., p. 50). Obviously, it is off the flan.

4. See above, p. 46, n. 1.
A Unique Brass Coin of Chandragupta II of the Dhanurdhara Type (Archer Type)

A Gold Coin of Chandragupta II of the Archer Type, Class II, Var. B.  
(British Museum Catalogue, No. 71)
The coin described above, which is as yet the only known specimen of the brass coinage of Chandragupta II, has a striking similarity with a particular variety of his gold coins. If we leave aside the question of its metal, it would come under the category of the Archer Type, Class II, Var. B, of the gold coins of that Gupta emperor, according to the classification of Allan, specially because of its fabric and rev. symbol.\(^1\) The only difference that we notice between the aforesaid gold coins and the brass coin in question, is in respect of the lotus held by the goddess in her right hand, as depicted on the reverse. Whereas on the former, the two lotuses in her right hand, have long stalks, on the latter, they have short ones. Allan sees a ‘fillet’ in the right hand of the goddess Lakṣhmī as portrayed on the rev. side of the gold coins of Chandragupta II, mentioned above.\(^2\) But the conception of a ‘fillet’ - if we take the two lotuses with long stalks, held together by the goddess, to be so - is an absurdity from the standpoint of Hindu Iconography; and it will be all the more so, if we judge it from the numismatic point of view. The object which the female deity is represented to be holding in her right hand, may, however, give the impression of a lasso or noose (pāśa); but we must remember that the goddess portrayed on our brass coin, as also on those which may justly be considered to have been its prototype, viz, the gold coins of Chandragupta II of the Archer Type, Class II, Var. B, as stated above, is Lakṣhmī who has been depicted in the very same manner on the coins belonging to Var. A of that class and type as well.\(^3\) That the deity in question is Lakṣhmī, is beyond cavil. She has not only been represented as padmāsanā (sitting cross-legged), but also as kamalāsanā (sitting on lotus), strictly in accordance with the orthodox iconic tradition. Referring to the iconic representation of the goddess Lakṣhmī, the Mānasāra, for instance, prescribes: 4

रक्षाम्बे पद्मसनाथे देवी पद्मासना भवेत्।

(‘The goddess should sit cross-legged on a red lotus above the pedestal’). We do not know what iconic symbol was there in

---

the left hand of the goddess depicted on our coin, since no trace of
the hand or of the symbol now remains. Both of them have been
completely obliterated, because of double stamping. Nevertheless,
taking into consideration the fact that this brass coin definitely
comes under the category of the gold coins belonging to Class II,
Var. B, of the Archer Type of Chandragupta II, as evidenced by its
fabric and rev. symbol, we can almost correctly guess all about the
left hand of that deity. On the gold coins belonging to that type,
class, and variety, the goddess has been represented either (1) as hold-
ing a lotus in her extended left hand, slightly bent upwards at the
elbow, (2) as holding the same object in her left hand which rests
on her hip, (3) as stretching out her empty left hand, or (4) as rest-
ing her empty left hand on the hip. It may be noted here that
there are four sub-varieties of the gold coins belonging to Var. B of
the Archer Type, Class II, if we distinguish them from one another
on the basis of the representation of the left hand of the female
deity portrayed on the reverse.¹ Again, of the four different devices
to be met with on the reverse of the gold coins coming under Var. B,
those which bear the same rev. symbol as on our coin, are (1) and
(4), either of which may, therefore, be taken to suggest the details
of the left hand of the goddess. Of course, the line of investigation
pursued here, is unscientific and will continue to be so, till our know-
ledge of the coinages of the Gupta emperors, in respect of type,
class, variety, and sub-variety is comprehensive. One fact is, however,
certain and that is, the die-cutter did not represent the goddess
as resting her left hand on the hip, thigh, or knee; for, had he
portrayed her in that manner, then some trace of the left hand
would have been found on or at least near about any one of them.
But it is not so, although the portion of the coin depicting the hip
and the thigh, and even the knee of the deity, has not suffered in
the least through double stamping. This gives rise to the supposi-
tion that the left hand of the goddess, of which no trace is to be
found almost from the joint of the shoulder, was depicted as extend-
ing towards the right, but slightly bent upwards at the elbow, and
also as carrying a lotus with stalk. In other words, the rev. type of
our coin, appears to be similar to that of the three gold coins
of Chandragupta II, belonging to the Archer Type, Class II, Var. B

(Sub-variety (1) of our classification as given above), which are now in the British Museum cabinet (Nos. 71, 72 and 74). They are also of the same fabric and bear the same symbol as on the reverse of the present brass coin.¹ Though similar in details, the reverse of each of those three gold coins and that of the one under discussion, appear to have been struck by means of separate dies, and, consequently, all of them have some peculiarity of their own, in respect of that side [Plate IV. B].

The coin described above, is the only specimen of the brass coinage of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family, that has come to our notice so far. No brass coin of any other ruler belonging to Early or Later Gupta Dynasty, has come to light as yet. In the pre-Gupta period, coins composed of bronze, copper, potin, and lead were undoubtedly current from time to time in Northern India as well as in the Deccan, mostly as auxiliary issues and sometimes also as the standard money of certain territories; but there is no positive evidence to show that brass was used for similar purposes, except from c. 600 to 400 B.C. and again from c. 280 to 310 A.D.² The absence of literary and archaeological evidence relating to the brass currency in the period extending...

1. Brit. Mus. Catal., Pl. VI. 13, 14 and 16. Coin No. 15, illustrated on Pl. VI (Reg. No. 73) is of a different fabric and therefore cannot be compared with the brass coin under discussion.

2. In the period extending from c. 280 to 310 A.D., both gold and brass appear to have been used for the purpose of currency by a Later Kushāṇa king. So far, we know only of one Kushāṇa ruler who used both the metals for the said purpose. His name has been differently read on coins, as, Basa (Cunningham's earlier reading), Pasata, Pasana (Rodgers) and Basana (Cunningham's later reading which was accepted by Smith). The coins of that king, which were acquired by Rodgers in the Punjab (provenance unknown), are five in number, of which four are composed of the same quality of gold as that of the coins of the Later Kushāṇas. All those gold coins, with the exception of one, are much worn and the maximum weight yielded by them, is 121-4 gms. (Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore, p. 53, Nos. 5-8). Cunningham also discovered a gold coin of that king at Kutanwala Pind, on the western side of the Salt Range in W. Punjab (Arch. Surs. Rep., v. p. 93). Smith saw some gold coins of the same Kushāṇa king in the possession of a coin-dealer in London (J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 146). Amongst the five coins of Basana (name as read by Cunningham and Smith), which were acquired by Rodgers, there was one which, though ordinarily would appear to be of very debased gold, was composed of brass, as stated by Smith. Since it was made of a different metal, it was struck on the basis of a different standard. This is evident from the fact that the difference between its weight which is 65-65 gms., and the maximum weight presented by the gold coins of the aforesaid Kushāṇa king, viz., 121-4 gms., is as much as 55-75 gms., or approximately 56 gms. The whereabouts of that brass coin are at present unknown; but from its description as left by Smith, it appears that in respect of the obv. and rev. devices, it was similar to the gold coins of that Kushāṇa king.
from c. 400 B.C. to 280 A.D., gives rise to the supposition that it did not find favour with the kings and tribal chiefs, because of the extensive use of brass in domestic life, and in consequence of that, its constant demand in the market. This fact has been fully borne out by the literature of the period, which, while referring to brass and its utility, does not suggest anything about its use for currency purpose. Thus, Kautilya in his Arthasastra, has undoubtedly referred to the manufacture of brass and its commercial utility, but never to its use for minting coins. But the case was altogether different in the age of the Buddha, which may roughly be taken to extend from B.C. 600 to 400. During that period, brass appears to have been used not only for the manufacture of certain types of commodities needed for domestic purposes, but also for coins; and we have no dearth of information in the canonical Pali texts, about the same. In certain early literary strata of Pali Canon, we not only find for the first time, the name by which the brass coinage was popularly known in the days of the Buddha, but also the current rate of exchange between the brass and copper money, and even the prices of certain commodities in terms of the former. We find, for instance, in the Sutta-vibhaṅga (Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅga) of the Vinaya-piṭaka (Nissaggiya-pāchittiya, XI and XII), that four kaṁsas were equivalent to sixteen kahāpanas, apparently of copper, and that two and a half kaṁsas were equal to ten kahāpanas. Thus, one kaṁsa was equivalent to four kahāpanas, and a half kaṁsa which also appears to have been current, but as a subsidiary coin, being half in weight as well as in value of one kaṁsa, was equal to two kahāpanas. Both kaṁsa and half kaṁsa have also been referred to in the Parivāra and Pātimokkha. From another canonical Pali work, the Dīgha-nikāya, it appears that simple-minded people used to be cheated by passing brass coins on to them as gold ones, and that the trick was so widely practised by the swindlers, that it

3. Parivāra, ed. H. Oldenberg, p. 58. This Pali work was compiled in Ceylon and was incorporated in the Vinaya-piṭaka, prior to the fifth cent. A.D. Pātimokkha, ed. Vidhusekhar Sastri, p. 271. We do not agree with Pandit Vidhusekhar that the Pali word kaṁsa is phonetically the same as the Sanskrit karsha (p. 318). The Pali equivalent of the Sanskrit karsha is karisa.
got the name of kaṁsakūta, or 'brass-coin-trick.' Some later but authoritative Pali works like the Kūkhaṅkītārāṇi, the Samantabhadrika, and the Vinayaṭṭhamaṇḍūsā have also referred to the brass currency of the time of the Buddha. The circulation of coins made of brass in the period extending from c. 600 to 400 B.C. is, thus, an established fact in the numismatic history of India.

The kaḥāpaṇa to which the kaṁsa has been linked by the early Buddhist writers, by specifying the rate of exchange, the former being one-fourth of the latter in value, cannot possibly be of silver. In our opinion, as stated above, it can be only of copper. We are also inclined to believe that four copper kaḥāpaṇas, each weighing one karisa (karsha), or 80 krishnaḷas (raktikās or ratis), were equivalent to one kaṁsa of the same weight, in the age of the Buddha. Although the brass coins current in that age, are expected to be of the punch-marked variety, we have no means of ascertaining the same, since they have totally disappeared, as it appears, like the hiraṇnas (suvarṇas), the gold punch-marked coins. The reason as to why the brass punch-marked coins have not been found so far, can be easily guessed. Brass being a very useful metal, coins composed of it, were collected and melted down by the braziers for the manufacture of domestic utensils which were largely used by the

1. Dīgha-nikāya, i. p. 5 (P. T. S.). Cf. Samantarāsālīrīni, i. p. 79 (P. T. S.). The meaning of the word kaṁsakūta, as given by Buddhaghosa in his Samantarāsālīrīni, is fantastic (Kahisa rukṣhaṇi suṇnaṇaṇī; tēya sauṇchaṇaḥ kaṁsakūlaṇj). That learned commentator has apparently overlooked the fact that in the canonical Pali works, while the expressions kaṁsakanāṭi and suṇnaṇaṇi imply ‘gold plate’ (Jātaka, ed. V. Fauböll, ii. p. 90; v. p. 377), kaṁsakūlaṇj as well as kaṁsakūta signify ‘brass plate’ (Vinaya-piṭaka, ii. p. 294; Majjhima-nikāya, i. p. 25, P. T. S.; Sutta-nipāta, p. 14, P. T. S.). In the Aṅguttara-nikāya, the words suṇnaṇaṇī (gold plate), rājyayojana (silver plate), and kaṁsakūlaṇj (brass plate) occur together. This fact alone shows that suṇnaṇaṇa and kaṁsakūta are not synonymous terms in Pali (iv. p. 393, P. T. S.). It is evident, therefore, that Buddhaghosa has used the word kaṁsakūta unwarrantedly in the sense of suṇnaṇa (gold). Unauthorizingly, too, he has used the same word, i.e., kaṁsakūta, in the sense of rājyayojana (silver) in the Jātakatthakathā (cf. Jāt., vi. p. 504). In fact, the metals implied by the term kaṁsakūta in Pali, are brass and bell-metal. It may be noted here that in Pali, the word kaṁsakūta not only implies certain alloys of copper, as stated above, but also a measure, as evidenced by the passage, 'Dadāmi tathā rājyaṇaṁ kaṁsakūraṇaṁ’ ('I shall give you a kaṁsakūta-full of silver pieces’), occurring in the sixth gāthā of the Udāya-jātaka. Unfortunately, here, too, Buddhaghosa has wrongly taken that word in the sense of suṇnaṇa (‘Abhāṇa rājyaṇaṇī suṇnaṇaṇaṇāṁ dadāmiṇi’), although the sense of that passage is very clear (Jāt., iv. p. 107). That learned scholar who had specialized in the grammar of Pāṇini, and its commentaries, should not have overlooked the aphorism: ‘Kūkhaṅkītārāṇi kaṁsakūraṇaṁ Duṅgau,’ which clearly shows that in Sanskrit, too, kaṁsakūta implies a particular measure, besides others (Pāṇi, vi. ii. 122). Moreover, it is evident from the context in which the Jātaka passage cited above, the word rājyaṇa means ‘silver coins,’ and not ‘silver plate’ as Buddhaghosa has taken it to mean.

people of this country in those days, as they are now. One fact is, however, certain and that is, the rate of exchange mentioned in the aforesaid Pali texts, between a kahāpaṇa and a kaṁsa, viz. 4=1, definitely suggests the relative value of copper and brass during the sixth and the fifth, and also in the first half of the fourth cent. B.C. Since there is no information about the brass currency either in the Indica of Megasthenes or in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, we are led to believe that it was discontinued by the Mauryan government due to economic exigency.

We have mentioned above that the full weight of a brass punch-marked coin (kaṁsa) in the pre-Mauryan period, was very probably 80 krishṇalas. The possibility of its standard-weight being identical with that of the gold (hiraṇṇa or suvarṇa) and the copper (kahāpaṇa or kārshāpaṇa) punch-marked coins, cannot be easily ruled out. That standard-weight, according to Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vishṇu, Kauṭilya and others, was 80 krishṇalas or raktikās (146·4 grs.; 1 raktikā or ratī=1·83 grs.). But the silver coins of the same period, called dharaṇa or purāṇa (mentioned also as kahāpaṇa in the canonical Pali texts), were struck on the basis of a different standard which was even less than half of that prescribed by the aforesaid law-givers, for the manufacture of gold and copper coins. Since in the pre-Mauryan and the Mauryan period, the demand of silver in the market, was not adequate to its supply, a different standard had to be adopted for the manufacture of silver coins. Taking into consideration the literary evidence which has a distinct bearing on the ancient silver coins, obviously of the commonest punch-marked variety, i.e., thin and flat coins, it appears that they were struck on the basis of a standard of 32 krishṇalas or 1408 gaurasarshapas, which is equivalent to 58·56 grs. (1 krishṇala=44 gaurasarshapas=1·83 grs). Unlike silver, brass was not imported from countries outside India.1

1. Despite the joint testimony of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, that India has large deposits of silver, the real geological fact is that there is no silver mine as such in this country, but a very small quantity of that metal is available in the mines of lead, mixed up with it (cf. Diodorus, ii. § 36; Arthaśāstra, Bk. II. Ch. 13). Of the four silver mines mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, viz. Tūṭha, Kambu, Gauḍa, and Chakravāla, the first two might have been outside India, since there is no literary or epigraphic evidence pointing to their existence in this country. Of the other two mines, the one in Gauḍa, might have been somewhere in the lower valley of the river Mahānandā, in E. Pakistan, or in the Gonda Dist., U.P. (also known as Gauḍa). But if the word Gauḍa has been used in the text, as the Taddhita form of Gauḍa, then the mine in question has to be located also outside India. As regards the fourth one, we are not at all certain about its location, although a hill in the extreme south of India, was known as Chakravāla in ancient times.
It was manufactured in large quantities in this country, as we know from the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and other works. This might be taken to account for the adoption of the standard of 80 *krishpalas* for the manufacture of brass punch-marked coins, as also for bringing all the three classes of coins, viz., gold, brass, and copper, under a common metric system.

There is one more reason for considering the three standards, viz., gold, brass, and copper, to have been uniform, during the sixth and the fifth cent. B.C. The *Vinaya* rule in which the *kaṁsa* as a current coin, has come to be mentioned, was framed by the Buddha, during his stay at Śrāvastī, capital of the kingdom of Kośala, and was adopted by the Order of Nuns (*Bhikkhuni-saṅgha*), without any modification but with much clarification. The incident that led to the adoption of that rule of conduct (Nissaggiya-pāchittiya XI of the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga) by the Order of Nuns, took place in the city of Śrāvastī, and the parties involved in it, were a Buddhist nun and the king of Kośala himself. As brass coins were very popular in that territory, during the sixth and the fifth cent. B.C., the term *kaṁsa* has naturally found mention in the aforesaid *Vinaya* rule, in preference to *kahāpaṇa*, or *kārshāpaṇa*. Since the *kahāpaṇa* of copper was an auxiliary coin like the *kaṁsa*, and was current all over Northern India, being the most popular medium of exchange in the age of the Buddha, the mention of a less known coin like the latter, in the aforesaid *Vinaya* rule, in preference to the former, is indeed suspicious. Our suspicion that the *kaṁsa* was the local coin of the kingdom of Kośala, has been confirmed by another *Vinaya* rule which was also framed by the Buddha, but on a different occasion, while he happened to be again at Śrāvastī. It also mentions the *kaṁsa*, like the previous one, for the purpose of determining the degree of an offence which came to be treated as cognizable (Nissaggiya-pāchittiya XII of the Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga). This, we think, was

In Ancient India, silver used to be imported in large quantities from outside, because of its extreme dearth in this country. It used to come very probably from Anderab and Badakhshan in Afghanistan, Wakhan in U.S.S.R., and Ormuz in Iran, which were famous for their deposits of silver. In Mediaeval India also, besides the places mentioned above, silver came from Japan and Mexico through Malaccas. The only lead mine in India, which contains a little more of silver, is the one at Zawar, in the Udaipur Dist., Rajasthan. Though long associated with the hallowed memory of Rāṇa Pratīṣṭha, who had used its lead for making bullets, the presence of silver in it, is a later geological discovery.
necessitated by the fact that the kaṁsa was a very popular medium of exchange in Kośala, during that period. We may also infer from the same, that whereas in the other States in Northern India, coins composed of gold, silver, and copper were current side by side in the days of the Buddha, in Kośala alone, there were four different classes of metallic currency, viz, gold, silver, brass, and copper. Since the two Vinaya rules referred to above, were intended to be strictly followed all over the country, it was felt necessary by the Buddhist Order (Saṁgha) to have the value of the kaṁsa clearly specified in terms of the other medium of exchange of lower denomination, i.e., the kahāpaṇa of copper, which, as mentioned above, was widely current in Northern India, during that period. We, thus, find the following rates of exchange between those two classes of coins, in the Vinaya-piṭaka:—

(a) 4 kaṁsas = 16 kahāpaṇas (Niss. XI), and

(b) $2\frac{1}{2}$ ,, = 10 ,, (,, XII).

From the two equations cited above, it clearly appears that one kaṁsa was equivalent to four kahāpaṇas, obviously of copper. The ratio of their monetary value or purchasing power was, therefore, 1 : 4. But that ratio would remain constant, only if those two classes of auxiliary coins, although they were made of different metals and one of them definitely belonged to the category of regional currency, were struck on the basis of a common weight-standard in a particular State. Since the full weight of four kahāpaṇas of copper was 320 ratis (80 ratis × 4), it follows that one kaṁsa should be expected to weigh 80 ratis and neither more nor less. We are, thus, led to believe by the two equations cited above, that during the sixth and the fifth cent. B.C., in the kingdom of Kośala, the brass coins, or kaṁsas, were struck on the basis of the standard of 80 ratis and that one kaṁsa was considered to be equivalent to four copper kahāpaṇas. We need not suspect any abnormality in that rate of exchange, if really the relative value of copper (tāmra) and brass (kaṁsyā or kaṁsa) of the same weight in that kingdom, was 4 : 1, during the period in question.
Numismatic evidence tends to show that prior to the time of Chandragupta II, brass coins were also current in the kingdom of the Later Kushānas, during the decadent period of their history. In the period extending from c. 280 to 310 A.D., as appears to us, a Later Kushāṇa king by the name of Basana (name also read as Bāsata, Bāsana, Pasata, and Pasana) issued brass coins, a specimen of which was acquired by Rodgers in the Punjab.¹ Both Rodgers and Smith made a detailed study of that unique coin along with a number of gold coins of that Kushāṇa king. We have incorporated the results of their study elsewhere.² Suffice it to say, that both the obv. and rev. devices of that brass coin, are the same as those of the gold coins of that king and that they bear in common, the semblance of some gold coins of the Later Kushāṇa king Kanishka III, as regards fabric, style, and types.³ But the brass coin of King Basana differs considerably from his gold issues in respect of the standard. We have come to that conclusion by taking their present weights into consideration. Thus, while the highest weight yielded so far by the gold coins of that king, in their worn-out condition, is 121·4 grs., the weight of his brass coin, the condition of which is equally poor, is 65·65 grs.⁴ The difference of their present weights is, therefore, 55·75 grs. If the difference between those two classes of coins, in respect of weight, amounts to about 56 grs., then we cannot possibly think of a common standard for them. We also cannot admit that the standard of one of them was half of that of the other. It would be nothing but absurdity, if we think contrarily of either of them. The maximum weight presented by the gold coins of King Basana, which have been discovered so far, is 121·4 grs. Since all those coins, as admitted by Rodgers and Smith, show signs of much wear and tear and evidently, therefore, have suffered considerable loss in weight, the standard on the basis of which they were struck, may have been 124 grs., which was also adopted by such Later Kushāṇa

2. See above, p. 103, n. 2.
kings as Kāṇīshka III and Vāsudeva II, for their gold currency.\(^1\)

While it has been possible for us to suggest a weight-standard for the gold issues of King Basana, which we even consider to be correct, that possibility seems to be remote, in the case of his brass coin, because of its uniqueness and highly worn-out condition. In view of these and other unsurmountable difficulties as, for instance, the absence of its prototype, it is not an easy affair to solve the riddle of its *standard* or original mint weight. There being no positive evidence supplied by that coin itself, we will have to depend naturally on our own experience of such cases and suggest a weight which may be only approximately correct, as its *standard*. We will not be very far from truth, if we fix it at 73 or 74 grs. and admit that the coin has suffered loss in weight to the extent of about 8 grs. during the period of its currency. Our suggestions are purely hypothetical, but not untenable.

It is a patent fact that amongst the Gupta monarchs, Chandragupta II was the first to introduce bi-metallism. Thus, while the standard money or legal tender of the vast kingdom inherited by him, was composed of gold, as was in the regime of his two immediate predecessors, that of the Śaka territory in Western India, which was conquered and annexed by him, was made of silver. Although we know for certain that his gold coins were also current in the northern as well as in the eastern part of the former Śaka kingdom, obviously, as another legal tender, we have no information whatsoever about the rate of exchange that linked them to his silver issues.\(^2\) We only know that he had to raise the gold *standard* in the later period of his reign, from 122 grs. to 125 grs.

---

1. A gold coin of Kāṇīshka III in the Punjab Museum cabinet, weighs as much as 122 grs. (*Punj. Mus. Catal.,* i. p. 212). The *standard* on the basis of which it was struck, may therefore be expected to have been 124 grs., making due allowance for loss in weight during the period of its currency.

2. This fact is evident from the Sanchi Stone Inscription of the year 93 G.E. (A.D. 413), belonging to the reign of Chandragupta II. From it, we not only learn that Eastern Malwa had come into the possession of that Gupta monarch, but by the year 93 of the Gupta Era (A.D. 413), the standard money of the Gupta Empire, which was composed of gold (*dīnāra*), had come to be recognized as the second legal tender of the former Śaka kingdom, the first one comprising the silver issues of the same Gupta emperor, as well as those of his Śaka predecessors, all of which were identical for currency purpose. It may be noted here, that the vast territory of the Śakas in Western India and Malwa, was wrested from Rudrasimha III, the last known Śaka Kshatrapa, by Chandragupta II, some-time between A.D. 388 and 403.
and again to 128 grs. to fix a suitable rate of exchange between the two legal tenders of his empire.¹ Numismatic evidence tends to show that to facilitate ordinary commercial transactions, he introduced copper currency, as auxiliary to his gold standard money, for the northern part of his empire; but in this case also, we do not know the rate of exchange that linked the two. Since his copper issues have been found exclusively in the Gangetic valley, the conclusions drawn by us as regards its monetary character and area of currency, seem to be irresistible. The recent discovery of a brass coin of the same emperor at Misrikh, near the ancient site of Naimishāranya (md. Nimsar, Sitapur Dist., U.P.) goes further to show that during his reign, the auxiliary coins in the northern part of his empire, were not one, but of two different varieties. Since his copper and brass coins have not been found so far in the western part of his empire, i.e., in the former Śaka kingdom, we are not in a position to say precisely anything about the character of the subsidiary or the auxiliary coinage that was linked to his silver standard money, to facilitate small transactions. What appears to us is, that the government of Chandragupta II did not feel the necessity of introducing an additional currency for that purpose in that area, since the potin and the copper coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas remained current as the popular media of exchange, even after the annexation of Western India to the Gupta Empire. We are, however, not sure of the fact, whether the lead coins which may be ascribed to the Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena III (A.D. 348-378), on the basis of the dates they bear, continued to be current in that area, during the reign of Chandragupta II. It is interesting to note that there is a striking similarity between the two unique brass coins, of which one was issued by the Later Kushāṇa king Basana and the other, by Chandragupta II. They bear so many special features in common that one of them is bound to be considered to have been the prototype of the other. The present weight of the brass coin of King Basana is 65·65 grs.,

¹. Yet another weight-standard of 133 grs. has been suggested by some gold coins of the Archer Type of Chandragupta II. They are slightly different from others of the same type in respect of fabric, and belong to the Kalighat (Calcutta) hoard. For Allan’s opinion regarding the origin of their standard (132 grs.), see Brit. Mus. Catal., Intro. p. cxxxii.
while that of the one issued by Chandragupta II, is 62.75 grs.\textsuperscript{1} The difference between the two in weight, is therefore 2.9 grs. Since both the coins are of the very same metal which was not used for currency purpose at least from B.C. 320, if not earlier, and bear almost the same weight, and since both of them were in circulation at least during the last quarter of the fourth cent. A.D., the only conclusion which a numismatist would naturally draw, is that they were struck on the basis of the very same standard.\textsuperscript{2} Foreign influence on the weight-standards of the gold and silver coins of the Imperial Guptas is clearly traceable. For instance, the gold standard of 123 grs. which was adopted by Chandragupta I (B.M.C., No. 28; Wt. 123.8 grs.) was derived from that of the Later Kushāṇa kings like Kaṇīṣka III, Vāsudeva II, and Basana. The Later Kushāṇa gold standard of 124 grs. is verily the same as that adopted by the Imperial Kushāṇas. It was, in fact, introduced by Wema Kadphises, or Kadphises II (c. 63-78 A.D.), and on its basis (124 grs.) were issued his double staters, staters, and quarter staters, weighing as a maximum, 248 grs., 124 grs. and 31 grs. respectively. The standard-weights of the staters and quarter staters of Kaṇīṣka I, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva I, are identical with those of Wema Kadphises. But the gold standard of 124 grs. which was adopted by that Kushāṇa monarch, was, in reality, of foreign origin, since the aurei (gold coins) of Augustus (B.C. 29-A.D. 14), the first Roman Emperor, were based on it. Historically speaking, one of the financial reforms, that was effected in the Roman Empire, during his reign, was the introduction of that gold standard of 124 grs., and it was followed by Tiberius and other rulers who came after him. Likewise, no originality is to be noticed in the silver standard of Chandragupta II, the weight of which is estimated to have been approximately 36 grs. It clearly

\textsuperscript{1} For the weight of the brass coin of King Basana, see J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{2} We have stated above, giving reasons, that the brass coins referred to in the Vinaya-śāstra, might have been current, till the establishment of the Mauryan supremacy in Northern India (c. 321 B.C.). Brass currency remained in abeyance up to the time of the Later Kushāṇa king Basana who, on numismatic grounds, has been assigned by us to the period extending from c. 280 to 310 A.D. His brass coins may therefore be expected to have remained in circulation in the kingdom of the Later Kushāṇas in India, for six or seven decades, if not more, during which period, a number of them must have migrated to the empire of the Guptas, in course of commercial transactions which normally take place between two neighbouring territories.
appears to have been based on the average weight (about 36 grs.)
of the silver issues of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Malwa and Western
India, the theoretical standard-weight of which appears to have
been 42 grs. It was adopted by Chashtāna, the founder of that
Śaka house, for his silver coinage, since it had been introduced by
his predecessor, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna, who also
ruled over the same regions, as the standard of his silver coins. Although rarely extraordinary weights, rising as high as 44·2 grs.
have been noticed in the silver issues of the aforesaid Śaka rulers,
which constituted the standard money of Malwa and Western India
during the period they ruled, its standard-weight must not be sup-
posed to have been higher than 42 grs. The standard adopted
by Nahapāna for his silver currency, i.e., 42 grs., was not an inno-
vation, since it was derived from that of the silver hemidrachms
(43·2 grs.), struck on the basis of the Persic standard (86·45 grs.)
by the Indo-Greek kings, which were continually pouring in the im-
portant market-towns and sea-ports of Western India, from the Hellen-
istic kingdoms in the Punjab and North-Western India, ever since
Rome established her commercial relationship with India. This
fact has been amply borne out by the Periplus maris Erythraei, the
author of which has specifically mentioned in that connexion, the
small silver pieces (hemidrachms) of Apollodotus and Menander,
as illustrations thereof. There cannot be, thus, any wonder, if
Chandragupta II had adopted the standard-weight of the brass
coins of a Later Kushāna king, particularly when they were
current in the north-western frontier of the Gupta Empire as well
as in the tribal territories beyond it, before and possibly also
during his reign.

We have stated above that the standard on the basis of which
King Basana issued his brass coins, appears to be 73 or 74 grs.,
since the specimen acquired by Rodgers, in its worn-out condition,
weighs as much as 65·65 grs. The specimen of the brass coinage

1. Cf. Chatterjee, C. D., Buddhist Studies ("Some Numismatic Data in Pali Litera-
5. Cf. Schoff, W. H., The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, pp. 41-42 and p. 185; Buddhi-
   stic Studies, pp 398-399.
of Emperor Chandragupta II, which was discovered by the present writer in the collection of a coin-dealer in Lucknow, and which is alleged to have come from Misrikh (Sitapur Dist., U.P.), weighs 62·75 grs. and its condition is in no way better than the other. The difference between the weights of the two coins is, therefore, 2·9 grs. Normally that much of difference in weight between any two old coins, is to be noticed, even if they are composed of the same metal, struck on the basis of the same standard, and current almost for the same length of time. The reasons for that difference are by no means inexplicable. One of them is, the amount of loss in weight, which a coin is likely to suffer during the period of its currency, and the other is, the action of the soil, if it remains buried underground for centuries, without any cover to prevent corrosion. Numismatically, therefore, it is possible to connect the standards of those two brass coins and consider them to be one and the same. In fact, we do not find any valid objection to admit their identity. What was exactly the origin of that standard, we do not know, but it appears to us to be an indigenous one. There is at least no foreign standard which corresponds to it or to which it may be related. Since the average weight of a rati (raktikā) has been accepted by numismatists to be 1·83 grs., the standard of the aforesaid brass coins, which has been estimated by us to have been 73 or 74 grs., would correspond to 40 ratis approximately. If our approximation of the standard-weight of those two brass coins be correct, in view of the facts stated above, then we can only say for the present, that it was acceptable to Chandragupta II, because it was half of the gold and the copper standard prescribed by such eminent law givers of Ancient India as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Vishnū, and Kauṭilya. It may be mentioned here that the gold and the copper standard as prescribed by them, are identical and correspond to 80 ratis or 146·4 grs. approximately.

The similarity that is to be noticed between the brass coin of King Basana and that of Chandragupta II, is not merely in respect of their metal and standard, but also of fabric. They are thin and round, and bear the very same size. They, however, differ in type, as one would normally expect.

There is one point more to be discussed before we conclude. We have stated above, that prior to the time of Chandragupta II
(c. 377-414 A.D.), brass coins were current in the kingdom of the Later Kushāṇa, and that King Basana who issued them, appears to have ruled between c. 280 and 310 A.D. Our statement is primarily based on three facts, viz, (i) Chandragupta I, the first Gupta Emperor, ruled at least for twenty-five years before G.E. I (commencing on Feb. 26, 320 A.D.) which is the initial year of the reign of his son Samudragupta, as suggested by his Nalanda and Gaya charters, (ii) the Later Kushāṇa king Basana was an earlier contemporary of Chandragupta I, since the latter copied for his gold coins of the Standard Type, the most distinctive feature of those of the former, and (iii) the use of the Gupta script of the earlier variety, or ‘old old Nāgarī script’ as described by Smith, for the obv. legends (excluding the marginal one which is in Greek) on the gold coins of that Kushāṇa king, which cannot possibly be earlier than the last quarter of the third cent. A.D. 1 In view of these and other facts, the period in which the gold coins of King Basana were issued, cannot be either earlier than A.D. 275 or later than A.D. 320, within which limits also, he should be considered to have ruled. We have therefore assigned to him a reign-period of about thirty years, commencing from c. 280 A.D., which is by no means improbable. Thus, if the gold and brass coins of King Basana were issued earlier than A.D. 320, the brass coin of Chandragupta II in question, which, except for the obv. and rev. devices, is a perfect copy of that of the aforesaid Kushāṇa ruler, should be considered to be later than the former. Incidentally it may be mentioned here, that for a number of reasons, we do not consider the Later Kushāṇa king Basana to be the ‘Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi,’ i.e., the Kushāṇa monarch, referred to in

1. The distinctive feature referred to in item No. (ii), is the method of inscribing the name of the king vertically under the left arm of his figure on the obv. side, as we find, for instance, on the coins of the Standard Type of Samudragupta. On the gold and brass coins of the Later Kushāṇa king Basana, that vertical legend has been written in the earlier form of the Gupta script.

Regarding item No. (iii), we should note particularly that King Basana, issued gold coins of two distinct varieties. They are of the same fabric and standard, but not of the same style. On his gold coins belonging to one of those two varieties, the marginal legend in Greek does not occur, and instead of that we find another vertical legend in the vacant right field on the obverse, which is also written in Gupta script. On this particular variety of gold coins of that Kushāṇa king, we therefore find two vertical legends, one on either side of the sceptre which is to be seen in the left hand of the figure of the king.
the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. That unnamed Devaputra may be either Bhadra, the immediate successor of Basana or, more preferably, Gañahara who issued gold coins by associating his name with that of Samudra(gupta), but not Grumbates, whose name has also come up for consideration in connexion with the identity of that Kushāṇa king.¹ The fortune of Grumbates was undoubtedly linked to that of the Sassanid Emperor Shahpuhr II (A.D. 309-379), but there is nothing on record even to adumbrate that he had friendly relations with the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta.

1. Cf. Cunningham, Later Indo-Scyths, Pl. II. 11. See above p. 87, n. 1. This unique gold coin of King Gañahara was acquired by Cunningham in the Punjab.

Cf. Mookerji, Radha Kupud, The Gupta Empire, 2nd Ed., p. 27. Grumbates who had virtually disgraced the Sassanian and the Roman Imperialism, is not likely to honour that of the Guptas. Moreover, his ancestral territory lay far away from the western frontier of the Gupta Empire, and between the two, there were at least two Kushāṇa principalities, as the numismatic evidence of the period in question tends to show.

[For the convenience of our readers, certain numismatic terms like standard (but not standard-weight or weight-standard), fabric (unless specified, whether Large or Small), style, type (but not coin-type), class (without number), variety, and sub-variety, have been printed in italics. If not printed in italics, they are to be taken in ordinary sense.]
कांतिकेय की एक नया प्राप्त प्रतिमा

श्री मदन मोहन नागर, एम०एस०, एड०एम०एस० (लखनऊ)

स्वामी कांतिकेय, भगवान शिव तथा अगरबंधा पवित्रताओं के पुण्य एवं बुद्धि विषयक गणेश के धरोहर माने जाते हैं। कहा जाता है कि प्रभुरानंद सर बारे में परामर्श होकर देवताओं में प्रभुनाटी सारी सेना के नृत्य संचालन एवं उन्नत संगठन के निमित्त एक योग्य सेवापति की प्रावधानकता का प्रमुख किया। परमेश्वर शिवपुरुष के प्रतिष्ठान श्रद्धा कोई भी हतास बोधवान व शाक्तिलाल नहीं समझा गया जो देवसेना का संचालन कर सके। इसी कारण को नष्ट कर देने के कारण शाक्त को विवाह करने के लिए प्रेमित करना देवताओं के बच्चों का नाम न था। प्रति भूतात्व हो उन्होंने मुनिराज नारायण को शाल्य ली जिन्होंने पवित्रताक प्रभाव लोगों पवित्रता का दृश्य भगवान शिव को देश प्राप्त किया। परिणाम स्वरूप भगवती उम्मा ने ‘बर्थु धारा न त रहों कुमाराओं’ का बुद्धि प्रति दे प्रभुनाटी नामन्य एवं स्वाश्चर्य तपस्या द्वारा भगवान शिव को वर रूप में प्राप्त किया। इसे से उत्पन्न कुमार प्राप्ता कांतिकेय देवसेना के सेनानी बने जो शक्तिकर, रक्ष, शाक्तिपति, मुख्याध्यक्ष, कांतिकेय, कुमार, फड़ान, तारकाचार, देवसेनानी, बलाशामी, दिल्लीदास, अभिन्न, रम्भ, श्रावण, भ्रात उनके नामों के प्रारंभिक साहित्य में जाने गये। द्वारा इस देवता के दृश्य भारत उत्तर भारत में बहुत कम हैं। यथार्थ दशक भारत में संभवतः एक भी ऐसा श्रद्धा न होता जिसमें किसी न किसी नाम से इस देवता का कोई मंदिर न हो। शाक्ति के भाष्याधार कांतिकेय की भिन्न भिन्न कथाएं हैं। आज अक्सर यहाँ रामायण, महाभारत, शिव-पुराण, राम-पुराण, विष्णु-पुराण, वृहद-संहिता, कुमार-तंत्र, रावण-पाण्डुलिपि में विलोकित हैं। रामायण से हमें जाना होता है कि श्रवण पवित्रता का विवाह हो जाने पर भी १००० वर्ष तक उनके कोई संसार नहीं हुई। तब देवसेनाओं के धार्मिक या यह बात आया कि इसे दिनों के बहुचर्चा के कारण शिव से उम्मा में उत्साह संतान न जानें किन्तु शाक्तिलाल होने का श्रावण उन्होंने भगवान शिव से माननी की कि वे उम्मा से कोई भी संसार उत्साह न करें। शिव ने उनकी प्रार्थना मनों ली और वे घोर तप में लीन हो गए। भगवती उम्मा में पुपलंदा न होने के कारण धार्मिक या यह बात कि उनकी समन्वय कोई भी देवसेनापति पुपलता न हो। प्रति तारकाचार के धर्मवाचक से सलित देवसेनाओं का सहायता के लिए भगवान शिव के पूर्व स्वाक्षरित विश्व का धारण कर भ्रामन ने उसका कांतिकेय को उत्साह किया जिन्होंने देवसेनानी के रूप में तारकाचार का धारण किया। रामायण की दूसरी कथा के धारापार प्रभाव हो जाने ने गंगा द्वारा कांतिकेय को पाया था।

महाभारत के बन पर्व के अनुसार उनके जन्म की रूप का कुछ भी ही प्रकार से बनाई जाती है। प्रभुरानंद सर देवसेना के परामर्श होकर हो जाने पर एक दिन इस भीतित मुदा में बैठे थे कि उन्हें वह किसी नारायण का प्रमाणनाम सुनाई दिया। प्रति उन्हें जाकर
बेसाक विषय प्रश्न दुरा से मान फिर से रचा है। इस ने उवत रात खान का वच कर स्त्री की रक्षा की। उस रात मे प्रश्न नाम बेसेना बलात्र और इस से खफने लिए एक दिवसीय पत्त का कामना की। बेसेना की बहन दिन का नाम वेर-न से उसे बहने की चाहत थी। उस दिन कहां राजपत की पुनरार थी। इस बेसेना की प्रश्नना पर उसे बहना के पस्त के लेगे गए जिन्होंने उसके उपलब्ध वर के लिए भन दिया। प्रश्न की वन के हुमे अल लिया है कि सदम मे हुए एक वर का बचपन लिखा। बाहार के हमे जाने पर अवशेष सुपूरे से निकलकर दिन ने जयपुर मे प्रवेश किया और बाहार की बाहार की प्रश्नना कर प्राप्त हुए बेसेना में उनका भाग विस्तित कर दिया।

इस समय बड़े पत्तनों को बेस दिनन हृ देन पर अवशेष हो गए और उनके न पाकर हुई मन से बन म जाकर नियात किया। वह पुण खाना पहुँचे से ही प्रश्न की चाहत पड़ी। प्रश्न पर उसे बहुभाषा फिर प्राप्त हो से बड़े न कहा: मै ज्ञातित परिवारों का लाद मानना कर प्रश्न का प्रसार किया और उसे नाना बर्तमान का आदेश दिन मे बुध म प्राप्त प्रवेश में रखी गयी। इस प्रकार छ: दार म एकांश प्रश्न के बर्तमान म कुमार का जाम हुआ।

इस कारण उनी: छ: खुश, बाहर भूजाएं, कान, प्राप्त तथा पैर, एवं एक गर्म और एक पेट था। यही बुधान बेसेना में गए और इसी से बेसेना का अवशेष हुआ।

इस दिन छोड़ कहीं पत्तनों म जो वाहिक रहे मे कारण प्रश्न के पत्तनों से कुमार के पास कारण प्रश्न निवृत्तता प्रभावित दिन एवं रवाना की यात्रा की। कुमार म उनकी इतनी पूरी थी। तभी खाना म बहार बनाया कि वारान म कुमार की माता बे हैं जिन्होंने छव्यतेव्र धारण कर प्रश्न के साहस के उपरी जाम दिया है। साथ ही उन्होंने प्रश्न के साथ सबक सभी का वर्णन किया।

इसी कारण यह एक अवशेष म स्त्री को प्रश्न म झालने के साथ साथ भांदा शास्त्र का उच्चारण किया जाता है। तर्कवाद का वच करने के प्रश्न राजपत के कहने म कुमार जानपद के उपरी तथा मूल्य के पास गए। यही प्रश्न ने बनाया कि कालिक का जाम प्रश्न म खय के साथ तथा स्वाभाव म उमा के प्रवेश करने से हुआ है।

इस दिन वायो कालिक शिवपुर कहलाए।

बाजार, कालिक का वच कह सुवात हैं इसका समापन अग्रम म बलित कबा के भाषर पर स्पष्ट हो जाता है। उच्च का से नाम होता है कि शिख के बर्तमान को प्रश्न ने भारण किया राजन या राजनीतित गांव मे प्रवाहित कर दिया जिससे उनका जाम हुआ। इसी से वे गंगापुर म तथा ‘प्रश्नमूर’ नामों से भी जाने जाते हैं।

प्राप्त की वन के नाम होता है कि गांव द्वारा यह बाॅर्ल स्तन के निमित्त बाँट हुई छोड़ कुल्लाडों में बांटा गया जिसके अवशेष जैसे प्रश्न का कारण का जाम हुआ।

इसे छोड़ बाकी को दिन बाॅर्ल से उत्तर जान भारती उमा म न्यायी श्रीधार हो इसे जोर से प्राप्ने वच से दबाव कि उन सबक दरिंद्र एक ही गया जिनके छ: मूल, बाहर भूजाएं प्राप्न रहीं। इस प्रकार कुल्लाडों म उपस्तलों के कारण वे कालिका कहलाए तथा तर्क का वच करने के कारण तर्कवाद तथा बेसेना पति होने से सेवन कहलाए।
A Newly-discovered Image of Kārttikeya from Kānauj.
(State Museum, Lucknow)
भारत महात्म के प्रतिदिन कार्यकल्प का राजनीतिक महत्व भी प्रायकता है। ये योग्यताओं के मुख्य दृष्टि के रूप में सबूत प्रतीत रही सीरिया सरकार के मुख्यों में उपर्युक्त मुद्रण के साथ बिखर विषय पर विश्वास किए गए हैं। व्यापार के रूप में भी इसका निर्धारण योग्यताओं का एक राजनीतिक रूप तथा अनेक राज्य मुद्रण में हमें विचार है। कार्यकल्प के इसके नामों में भारत को एक नाम है, तथा उम्मीदें लेख के 'स्वामी' शब्द सुनित करता है कि ये मुद्रण कार्यकल्प के नाम पर विचार की गयी थी। इत्तिफाक से यह विचार होता है कि कार्यकल्प योग्यताओं के पूरे दृष्टि में हार्दिक राज्य वेस्ट्विक के रूप के अतिरिक्त कार्य के संरक्षक के रूप में भी करते हैं। इस बात का पुनः महाभारत के "ततो भगवानम् रमायण स्वामी" व्याख्यात कार्यकल्प "दयामृत राधिकान्मुद्रण" उल्लेख में भी होता है। 'राधिकान्मुद्रण' व्याख्या के रूप में हार्दिक शब्द है जहाँ से योग्यताओं की मुद्रणों के साथ सम्बन्ध मात्र में शिक्षित है। यहाँ हार्दिक शब्द है। इस वेस्ट के रूप में भी रहे हैं। योग्यताओं के पदार्थ इस वेस्ट का उल्लेख हमें समाज व्यवस्था के सिक्कों पर मिलता है जिनपर दो किलो में श्रीक रावण कुमार एवं वेस्ट के नामस इस वेस्ट को तीन सुविधाओं का संगठन में सब था। कुसुमगुल्म प्रथम के निमित्त पर भी हैं। इस वेस्ट के बिछाने समर्थ मिलते हैं तथा अनेक गणराज्यों की मुद्रणों पर भी इसका क्रिया किया गया है।

कांग्रेस जिला में प्रात कला भवत प्रत लक्ष्य पर दुरुपर त्योहार जो धाराज का उल्लेख मिलता है। इस लक्ष्य के शोध भाषा पर इस वेस्ट के प्रशासन बुधमुद्रक का प्रश्नक्ष प्रति भी प्रकट है। जिससे यह प्रश्न होता है कि यह जो राज्य में भी स्वामी कार्यकल्प का प्रश्न राजदेवारा नवरा कुलदेवता माना था। इसी प्रकार जो धाराज के इस वेस्ट का उल्लेख विश्वास के महत्व लक्ष्य में भी हमें मिलता है। सर जानारंगे को भारत की खुदाई ने एक मुद्रा मिली थी जिस पर इसकी तत्त्व और त्रुटि देखिए। लेख प्रकट है धाराज जिसके प्रसुथर विहारी महाराज गोविंद पुराण नर्मदा राज्य प्रश्न वेस्ट को सीमा बिया था।

मुद्रणों के प्रतिदिन इस वेस्ट का प्रकट मूलतयां हम श्रीमूलतयां संस्कृति में वरात वित्ती रही है। उत्तरी भारत की प्राकृत मूलतयां में मध्यप्रदेश संघर्ष को वो मूलतयां का उल्लेख इस स्थान ने किया जा सकता है। इससे प्राचीनतम मूलतयां के मानने के १००वें वर्ष की है जो करार कला का उपहार उद्देश्य है। इसमें कार्यकल्प दातने एवं में शाक्तित किया गया है जो प्रभाव की श्रीमूलतयां और इसका वेस्टवेस्ट समाज के बनाकर प्रभाव फेल रहे हैं। इस मूलतयां में एक विश्वास मुद्रूर पर स्थित कार्यकल्प का स्वरूप वेस्ट का स्वरूप है। मध्यप्रदेश संघर्ष के प्रतिदिन राजनीतिक संघर्ष, लक्ष्य तथा भारत कला भवन, काशी में भी इस वेस्ट को कई मुद्रण मूलतयां हैं। भारत कला भवन, काशी की मूल पुत्र भवन का प्रश्न उच्च उद्देश्य है जिसमें मुद्रूर बड़े ही भाषा भवन में मुद्रूर के पुष्ट पर शक्तित किया गया है।
सीमान्य ते हुहे हाल ही में भारत के मुसलिम ऐतिहासिक नगर करीब में भी। इस 
बेवका एक नवाब ना नूतने को निलित हो जो ब्रह्म तक राज रहस्यों में सर्वभौम है। यह मूर्ति 
वहूँ के दिशा प्राचीन के से उपलब्ध हुई थी तथा ब्रह्म एक 
मामला में ब्यापार करके ‘राष्ट्रीय’ के नाम से पूर्वी जाती है। इस मूर्ति में वैदेशिको 
छोटे चौकी पर ललितावरण में रंगे दो रंग बिंदित किये गये हैं। बास्तवीत विहिलका के नामे दोनों 
होटों पर तालाक जंग से दो लिंग बाध्य गई हो जो ‘तिहासी’ को विभक्त करते हैं। 
विहिलका पर बीच में कार्यक्रम का बाहन मनुष्य ब्रह्मकर्म है जो लड़ती चलती और 
कुमार के व्याप के ब्रह्म चुप चल रहा है। इसमें भाषा में उनका चित्रण सर्वस्व भक्ति है। मूर्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मवीज 
में तथा जन्म-मृत्यु में सुसंगीत वर्तमान है। सिर की बिखरी वेणी कलामक द्रव्य में 
ब्रह्मवीज वर्तमान है। कानों के मुकराकुल कुड़कल मुख का धारा। बूढ़ा करने 
भवन में सहायता से तैत्ती होते हैं। यह ने कभी नहीं हजार। केन्द्रित से प्रतिद्वंद व होते हैं। 
भूजाओं में चित्रण एवं वृद्धि को ब्रह्मवीज, हार्मो 
के बलम, कांट ब्रह्मण का ब्रह्म मदलता कला का 
उत्तर-पश्चिम पूर्व व राखी हैं। ब्रह्म रूप से प्राचीन 
पूर्व में ब्राह्मण प्रज्ञावशेष रखना छोटे के साजन महाप्रभाप है। 
सुधिवृणा तामारीका शिर 
शिभन के प्रतिविशिष्ट पुत्रा समस्यानिपत नाम विविध को भीतर इस मूर्ति का अंग सीधी 
प्रति ने विचित्र वर्तमान है होता है। मूर्ति के उभे में दो नामी ब्रह्मण बाहर तथा 
बारी ब्रह्मण इसी छोटे चित्रण किये गये हैं जो संगत लिंग से वैदेशिको का प्रभावक कर रहे हैं। जड़-जड़ युक्त 
वहुव्युध ब्रह्मण के मुख स्पर्श विकार ये रहे हैं। कमण्डल ब्रह्मण माता धारण किए 
नकी मूर्ति दायें पाय पर संदर्भित किये एवं बायें पाय को विद्युत उठाए 
विद्युत हो जाता है। उनके 
निर्देश की चित्रण कला का उत्तर-पश्चिम पूर्व व राखी हैं। इस हार्मो 
में ब्रह्मण तथा गले 
के ब्रह्मणी का वाहम प्रारूढ़ ब्रह्मण जंग से निकट गया है। इस 
दोनों मूर्तियों 
के ठीक नीचे दो चमकवाही का प्रभाव प्राप्त है। इस ब्रह्मण ने उत्तरी भारत में ब्रह्म तक 
प्राप्त प्रायोगिक मूर्तियों में कला का यह कृति सर्वभौम होने के कारण प्रभाव 
विशाल रहता है।

इस तथ्यों के प्राचार पर यह सिद्ध हो जाता है कि वैभवी कार्यक्रम को 
इस देश में इस का प्रभाव विविध से ब्रह्मण बिभाजी तो निरनत होती रही। उसके 
पश्चात। इसकी पूजा एवं लोकप्रियता समयानुसार विषय-विषयक पहुँच रही। यद्यपि 
वैभवी कार्यक्रम को गणना हिंदू धर्म के प्रमुख पंच देवों में नहीं रही थी तथापि इसका ब्रह्म 
प्राचीन कला से भारत के धर्मिक तथा राजनीतिक दोनों ही क्षेत्रों में प्रतिष्ठित 
रहा है।
ANNUAL REPORT
OF
THE U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR 1956-57

The U. P. Historical Society has passed through another year of useful work under the able guidance of Hon’ble Dr. Sampurnanand.

The last Annual Meeting was held on August 19, 1956 when the following office-bearers were elected.

President

Dr. Sampurnanand

Vice-President

Sri Prayag Dayal
Dr. N. L. Chatterji

Hony. Secretary

Dr. B. N. Puri

Hony. Treasurer

Sri B. N. Srivastava

Chief Editor

Prof. C. D. Chatterjee

Members of the Executive Committee

Prof. S. N. Das Gupta
Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena
Dr. G. S. Misra

The gentlemen mentioned above remained in office throughout the year under report.

Report of the Hony. Secretary

I have great pleasure in presenting the report of the U.P. Historical Society for the year 1956-57. The last annual general meeting of the Society was held on the 19th of August, 1956, and this year, too, for various reasons, the meeting could not be held earlier.

The year commenced with brighter prospects but unfortunately our programmes could not be carried out in full due to financial stringency. The major part of the Society’s budget caters the requirement of the Journal and, with an additional one-third of the grant being spent on the establishment, there is practically nothing left for any other activity. The time has now come when either the Government should increase the grant, or take over the printing of the Journal. Another alternative is to clip all other expense
save the bare printing bill of the Journal. Despite the financial handicap we were able to do some work involving the least expense, which I propose reviewing.

The Executive Committee at its first meeting decided to make arrangements for lectures in Lucknow and at other Provincial centres. Letters were written to the Professors of History at Benaras, Allahabad and Agra but there was no response from them. Here we could arrange only two lectures—one by Prof. C. D. Chatterji on 'India and Ceylon' and another by Sri R. C. Manchanda on 'The Stories of Our Cities'. Another by Mr. M. M. Nagar on 'Recent Archaeological Finds in Uttar Pradesh' could not materialise. Though circular letters along with the programme were sent to all the members by post, the attendance was poor.

We approached the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, to grant us permission to excavate some site in Uttar Pradesh. This was granted, but the Society has practically no resources in money and equipment to conduct any excavation even on a minor scale. It is hoped that a sort of liaison may be established with the state museum, so that we could share the knowledge that lies buried, and the results of the state excavations, which we might join, be published in our Journal. The imperative need at present is to concentrate on exploration. Fuhrer's monumental work on Protected monuments in North-West Province needs revision. We sent circular letters to the Principals of Colleges in some districts of our Province soliciting their help and that of the historical association in their colleges, but there was no response. It is, however, hoped that with the appointment of Dr. Tripathi and a band of scholars for revising the District Gazeteers through the help of the local officers, it would be possible to get fresh and detailed information which might, at the outset, be published in our Journal. On our part we would be too glad to co-operate with the Government.

The Society is much obliged to Dr. Sampurnanand, our President, who gave us a special grant for the binding of our Society's Library books. Unfortunately, we have only Journals which we received in Exchange in our Library. Some of these are very valuable, and we shall be adding 275 bound volumes to our library. It is a pity that our Journal is not attracting authors and historians
who could send us their publications for review very probably, because of its irregular appearance. Our exchanges too have been considerably reduced in number. We have sent circular letters to 20 Indian and Foreign Journals for exchange with ours. We have received reply from some, and back numbers as well. It is hoped that this move of ours would enrich our library.

The Secretary of the Society was invited to tender evidence before the Sanskrit Commission, and he also submitted a note on the position of Sanskrit. Details about the Society, particularly regarding the Sanskrit manuscripts, could not be submitted, as these have not been catalogued so far; and it would need a full time Sanskrit scholar to catalogue the manuscripts. The Society had purchased this huge lot more than fifteen years back and it is a pity that due to financial difficulties this task remains unattended. It is hoped that the new Executive would take proper steps in this direction, either by appointing a whole time person who could do this work, or entrust it to some scholar on a contract basis.

It is easy to formulate schemes but it is very difficult to give effect to them. The difficulty is not merely financial but lack of interest as well. It has become necessary to amend the constitution and increase the strength of the Executive Committee. A special committee has been appointed to go into this matter. It is interesting to learn that the Provincial Government is opening a special department of Indology in the Secretariat. We would be too glad to extend our co-operation. The state government can, however, make it imperative for its archaeological officers, curators of museums, and even those Universities engaged in carrying on excavations, as well as the officers connected with the compilation of the District Gazettes to, furnish us with a brief record of their activities, acquisitions and results of investigations which could be published in our Journal. This would add to the reputation of the Journal and would also reduce its financial obligation in the form of payments to contributors etc. At present the reader is interested in fresh archaeological, ethnological and historical materials rather than in speculative contributions, and our Journal can be the best medium for providing this knowledge. The Provincial Government can be helpful to the Society by taking over
the printing and publication of our Journal, and leaving the grant for other activities, or, as an alternative, by increasing the grant. In this connection it is necessary to have a full time clerk and an office, and I would request our President to allot one big room to us in the newly constructed building of the State Museum, as in Patna, Bombay and other places, where the Society could function more efficiently.

In the end I must express my deep debt of gratitude to you Sir, who has been a source of great strength to us, and to other office-bearers of the Society including the office personnel for the co-operation extended to me.

20th Nov., 1957.

B. N. PURI
Hony. Secretary.
# U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year Ending on 31st March, 1957.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opening Balances As On 1st April, '56:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash with Hony. Treasurer (as per Cash Book)</td>
<td>283 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Lucknow, Current Account</td>
<td>811 11 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Savings Bank, Account</td>
<td>1,405 8 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage (as per Dak Register)</td>
<td>18 4 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Securities:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4% Loan 1960-70</td>
<td>3,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% Loan 1966-68</td>
<td>1,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3% Loan 1966-68</td>
<td>2,500 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4% Loan 1955-60</td>
<td>5,700 0 0 14,718 14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Receipts</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P. Government Grant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN-AID:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recurring</td>
<td>2,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Grant for Binding (Non-Recurring)</td>
<td>500 0 0 2,500 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Payments</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing Charges of Journals</td>
<td>998 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remuneration to Contributors</td>
<td>302 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>720 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>83 14 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>11 14 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>89 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Charges</td>
<td>59 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Expenditure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscription from Members</td>
<td>CLOSING CASH AND OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale Proceeds of Memoirs</td>
<td>BALANCES :—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale Proceeds of Journals</td>
<td>Cash with Hony. Treasurer (as per Cash Book)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interest :—</strong></td>
<td>349 15 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Government Securities</td>
<td>With Allahabad Bank, Ltd., 2,245 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Allahabad Bank, Ltd.,</td>
<td>Lucknow, Current Account</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings Bank, Account</td>
<td>Lucknow, Savings Bank A/c 1,396 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Postage (as per Dak Register) 44 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Securities :—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4% Loan, 1960-70, 3,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3% Loan, 1966-68, 1,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3% Loan, 1966-68, 2,500 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4% Loan, 1955-60, 5,700 0 0 12,200 0 0 16,235 13 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 18,501 1 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PREPARED AS PER BOOKS OF ACCOUNT RENDERED AND INFORMATION AND EXPLANATIONS FURNISHED TO US.

Lucknow,
The 8th. of June, 1957.

Bhargava & Co.,
Chartered Accountants,
Hony. Auditors
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance of Current Account in Allahabad Bank on 1. 4. 57.</td>
<td>2,245 8 0</td>
<td>Printing of Journal, 1955, Parts I &amp; II</td>
<td>2,500 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance in Allahabad Bank, S. B. Account on 1. 4. 57.</td>
<td>1,396 0 0</td>
<td>Printing of Journal, 1956, Parts I &amp; II</td>
<td>2,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash with Hony. Treasurer on 1. 4. 57.</td>
<td>349 15 9</td>
<td>Printing of Journal, 1957, Parts I &amp; II</td>
<td>2,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Grant-in-aid</td>
<td>4,000 0 0</td>
<td>Printing of Index Volume</td>
<td>600 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscription from Members</td>
<td>300 0 0</td>
<td>Remuneration to Contributors, 56-57</td>
<td>600 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale proceeds of Memoirs</td>
<td>50 0 0</td>
<td>Publication of Memoirs</td>
<td>1,000 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale proceeds of Journals</td>
<td>100 0 0</td>
<td>Honorarium to Editor for 1955-57</td>
<td>600 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on securities</td>
<td>450 0 0</td>
<td>Remuneration to staff</td>
<td>720 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest on S. B. Account</td>
<td>14 2 3</td>
<td>Postage stamps</td>
<td>90 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance of postage stamps from last year</td>
<td>44 6 0</td>
<td>Stationery</td>
<td>50 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,950 0 0</strong></td>
<td><strong>Deficit</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,910 0 0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RUPEES EIGHT THOUSAND, NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ONLY.

B. N. Srivastava,
Hony. Treasurer,
U.P. Historical Society,
LUCKNOW.
U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

LUCKNOW.

Patron

Dr. K. M. Munshi, Sri Rajyapal of Uttar Pradesh.

Office-bearers

President

Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister, U.P.

Vice-Presidents

Sri Prayag Dayal,
Dr. N. L. Chatterji.

Hony. Secretary

Dr. B. N. Puri.

Hony. Treasurer

Sri B. N. Srivastava.

Hony. Auditor

Sri R. S. Pande.

Editor

Prof. C. D. Chatterjee.

Members of the Executive Committee

Dr. G. S. Misra,
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta,
Dr. Banarsi Prashad.

Members of the Editorial Board

Dr. N. L. Chatterji,
Sri M. M. Nagar,
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee (Chairman).
NOTICE

All articles, with or without photos, drawings and maps, intended for publication in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, should be sent by registered post to the Editor, at his address given below. Articles should be either typed or neatly written, as far as possible, only on one side of the paper. If any article is not considered to be suitable for publication in the Journal, it will be returned to the sender, within three months of the date of its receipt. The Editor is not to be expected to state the reason for not publishing a particular article in the Society's Journal.

All articles published in the Journal, shall be treated as the copyright of the U. P. Historical Society, and they cannot be reproduced elsewhere in any form, without the written consent of the Editor.

The system of transliteration adopted by the Society for the New Series of its Journal, is the same as that followed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India for its official publications.

The Society pays to all contributors at the rate of Rs. 3/- per each fully printed page, for their articles published in its Journal.

All contributors must be prepared to read the proofs of their articles, and no exception will be made in this case.

Books may be reviewed in the Journal, if the authors send two copies of their respective works to the Editor for the purpose. No guarantee can be given regarding the time to be taken for the publication of the review of a particular work; but the Editor will try his best to publish it as early as possible, in the interest of historical research. Books reviewed in the Journal cannot be returned.

All communications, except those which are specifically meant for the Editor, should be sent to the Hony. Secretary of the U. P. Historical Society also at the address given below.

Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow (India).

EDITOR,
Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
1. Dr. Moti Chandra: Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata, Upāyana-parva  Rs. 5/-  
   (Out of stock)

2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala: Gupta Art.  Rs. 5/-

3. Dr. Moti Chandra: Technique of Mughal Painting, Rs. 10/-

The following back numbers of the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society are also available:

### OLD SERIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIV &amp; XXV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NEW SERIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Printed by M. R. Nagar at the Pioneer Press, Lucknow—124.
U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
LUCKNOW.

Patron
Sri V. V. Giri, Sri Rajyapal of Uttar Pradesh

Office-bearers

President
Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister, U.P.

Vice-Presidents
Sri Prayag Dayal
Dr. N. L. Chatterji

Hony. Secretary
Dr. R. K. Dikshit

Hony. Treasurer
Sri B. N. Srivastava

Hony. Auditor
Sri R. S. Pande

Editor
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee

Members of the Executive Committee
Dr. G. S. Misra
Dr. S. N. Das Gupta
Dr. S. L. Pande

Members of the Editorial Board
Dr. N. L. Chatterji
Sri M. M. Nagar
Prof. C. D. Chatterjee (Chairman)
NOTICE

All articles, with or without photos, drawings and maps, intended for publication in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, should be sent by registered post to the Editor, at his address given below. Articles should be either typed or neatly written, as far as possible, only on one side of the paper. If any article is not considered to be suitable for publication in the *Journal*, it will be returned to the sender, within three months of the date of its receipt. The Editor is not to be expected to state the reason for not publishing a particular article in the Society’s *Journal*.

All articles published in the *Journal*, shall be treated as the copyright of the U. P. Historical Society, and they cannot be reproduced elsewhere in any form, without the written consent of the Editor.

The system of transliteration adopted by the Society for the New Series of its *Journal*, is the same as that followed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India for its official publications.

The Society pays to all contributors at the rate of Rs. 3/- per each fully printed page, for their articles published in its *Journal*.

All contributors must be prepared to read the proofs of their articles, and no exception will be made in this case.

Books may be reviewed in the *Journal*, if the authors send two copies of their respective works to the Editor for the purpose. No guarantee can be given regarding the time to be taken for the publication of the review of a particular work; but the Editor will try his best to publish it as early as possible, in the interest of historical research. Books reviewed in the *Journal* cannot be returned.

All communications, except those which are specifically meant for the Editor, should be sent to the Hony. Secretary of the U. P. Historical Society also at the address given below.

Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow (India).

EDITOR,

*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.*
PUBLICATIONS OF THE U. P. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Memoirs.

   (Out of stock)

2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala: Gupta Art. Rs.

3. Dr. Moti Chandra: Technique of Mughal Painting. Rs.

The following back numbers of the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society are also available:

OLD SERIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 5/-</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XV</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td>XXIV &amp; XXV</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEW SERIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Rs. 3/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I &amp; II</td>
<td>Rs. 6/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Printed by M. R. Nagar at the Pioneer Press.
Lucknow—410.