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ART. I.—*On the Sáh, Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat.* By the Honorable Mr. Justice NEWTON.

Read 10th September 1863.

SINCE I had the pleasure of laying before the Society the unique coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, our interesting province of Guzerat has furnished me with many other novelties, respecting which, in connexion with the several series to which they belong, I avail myself of this opportunity to offer some remarks. I should be glad if a report of so many hitherto undescribed coins, obtained for me during so short an interval by a few coadjutors on the spot, were to stimulate others employed in the northern portions of the presidency to exertions which could not fail to result in further discoveries. With the exception of the Punjab and Sind, where the coinages of the Bactrian monarchs are to be met with, there is no part of India where coins are found so artistic in design and execution as those supplied by Guzerat and Kattiawar. The yields of these districts claim a high interest from the circumstance that they are plainly traceable to Greek originals. They are, moreover, comparatively abundant, and upon us on this side of India devolves in an especial manner the duty of elucidating all that remains to be ascertained respecting them. A fortunate chance may, at any time, afford

the means of connecting the several lines of kings from whose mints they issued, with the successors of Alexander in Parthia or Bactria; and we are indebted exclusively to the evidence which these coins afford, for all our information respecting at least one entire dynasty of kings, who, while ruling over extensive territories in India, were able to avail themselves of the resources of European art. The amount, moreover, of knowledge already obtained, is such as to encourage the hope that further researches in the same direction may yet enable us to determine, with certainty and accuracy, the dates between which the dominion of these lines extended, their connexion and order of succession, the limits of their empires, and such other circumstances as will suffice to restore to us an authentic, though it may be but a scanty, history of Guzerat and the adjoining countries, during three or four centuries hitherto enveloped in obscurity.

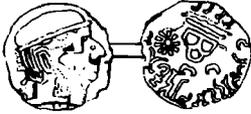
The most interesting coins of the northern part of this presidency are those of the Sáh dynasty, those of the Guptas, and those of a third and nearly connected group hitherto undecyphered. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that we are indebted to Mr. James Prinsep for the key to the character in which the legends on these coins are written, and for the correct decyphering of many of them.

His first reference to the Sáh coins was made in 1835 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and in 1837 he gave, in the same journal, the legends (with translations) of all the varieties of these coins which, up to that time, had been discovered. These amounted to nine, and supplied the names of eleven kings. In 1838 (*Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. vii. p. 347) he added a tenth coin, the legend on which appears to have been so indistinct as to have misled him as to the patronymic of the king whose name it bore. Dr. Stevenson, in 1847, described and figured the coins of two other kings; and in 1848 Mr. Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, read on the same subject, before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, an able paper, which is printed in vol. xii. of that Society's transactions, but he added no new name to the list.

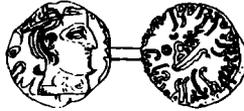
In 1858, when republishing Prinsep's *Essays*, Mr. Thomas gave the legends on the coins of a thirteenth and fourteenth sovereign, and in a paper which I read before this Society in 1861 (*Journal*, vol. vi. p. 15) I was able to make another addition to the series.

I have now the gratification of laying before the Society coins of three hitherto unknown kings of this dynasty; a fourth of a king whose name, indeed, was known, but of whose coins no specimen had pre-

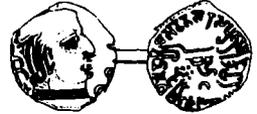
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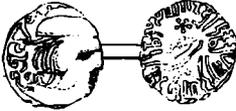
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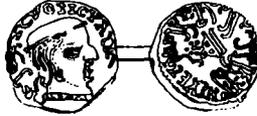
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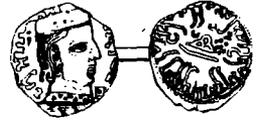
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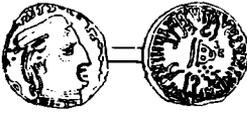
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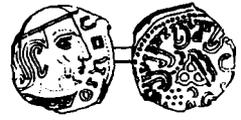
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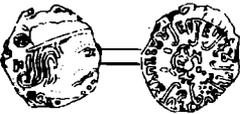
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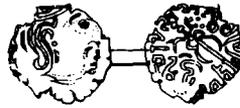
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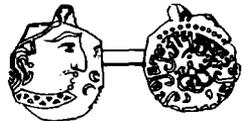
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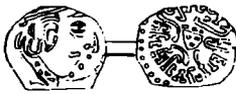
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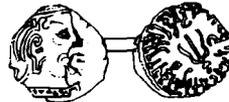
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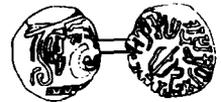
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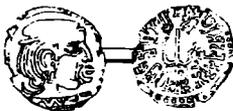
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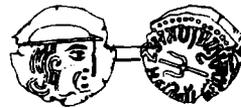
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viously been discovered ; and also some other coins, which add to our knowledge respecting the dynasty, or supply conclusive information on points relating to which we have hitherto been obliged to be content with inferences.

The first coin (fig. 1) is of the highest possible interest in connexion with the Sáh series, as it gives without variation as the name of the sovereign from whose mint it issued " Rájá Mahákshatrpa Rudra Dámá," which is the name of the monarch stated in the Sáh inscription at Girnár to have rebuilt the Palesini bridge. It was obtained for me by Mr. Dhirajál Mathurádás from Junágadh with 61 others, which had evidently been found together ; and, as I have reason to believe, formed a portion of a very large hoard discovered somewhere within the territories of the Nawáb of Junágadh. The coin was much corroded, and the die on both sides had been considerably larger than the disk ; some of the characters are therefore indistinct, and others fall outside the coin. In its present state it may be described as under :—

Weight, grs. 26½.

Obverse.—Bust facing to the right, with the usual Sáh helmet. It is more deeply cut and on a larger scale than that on any other Sáh coin which I have seen. Instead of the conventional representation of the eye by lines as seen on the coins of all the Sáh kings, except that of Rudra Sinha described by me in the memorandum referred to, and a few others which will be noticed in this paper, we have here a correct delineation of the eye and eyeball in relief. The lips also appear to have been correctly portrayed, whereas on other Sáh coins they are represented by two dots. The hair behind the ear occupies a much smaller space than on other coins of this dynasty ; and on this coin alone of all that I have met with, or can refer to, there is an artistic and truthful delineation of the curl instead of the double line by which it is represented on others. Immediately behind the lower edge of the helmet are two dots, as on the coin depicted in the last volume of the Society's Journal, and on some others to which I shall hereafter advert. On the whole, the bust, while generally resembling those of other Sáh kings, differs from all in a very marked degree, both as respects the features of the sovereign, and the entire character of the execution. There are inequalities on the extreme margin behind the head, which make it probable that the disproportionately large die was impressed with a date and an encircling Greek legend, as found on other coins of the series, but this cannot be inferred with certainty.

Reverse.—A central emblem, consisting of the usual wavy line surmounted by a pyramid, made up of three perfect arcs of circles. The two half moons on the left and above, are large and nearly semi-circular; and there is a large *rayed* star, or sun, on the right. The characters of the legend are large, and in form differ in no appreciable degree from those of the Girnár Sáh inscription. A remarkable circumstance as respects this coin and a few others which will be hereafter described, is that in the legend the cross stroke of the *śh* is found in the double letter *kshu*, as in the cave inscriptions. The only letters of the legend shown entirely on the area of the coin are “Rájno kshatra” and “Rudra dāmāsa.” A careful examination, however, of portions of other letters which fall within the margin, and of the spaces existing between some of the lengthened downstrokes, affords ground for the confident filling in of a portion of the remainder of the legend, and I amplify it without hesitation to the following extent:—

“Rájno kshatrapasa putrasa Rájno
Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Dámāsa.”

The termination “sa,” as the genitive of the name Dámān or Dámá, is incorrect, and is not found elsewhere. The letter is, however, distinct, though I am not assured of the inference to be drawn from its use.

The question now arises whether this coin is one of that Rudra Dámá, whose name is still visible in the inscription at Girnár. That the coin is of an earlier date than any I have yet seen I feel assured. It takes us back to a time when the features were delineated very much as on the Greek originals, from which the Sáh coinage must have been derived. The only other known coins of the series on which the eyeball is shown in its natural form are the unique coin of R. M. K. Rudra Sinha, son of R. M. K. Rudra Dámá, which I have already laid before the Society, the unique coin of Śrī Sáh, and 2 out of 7 coins which I possess of Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha. The first of these coins also, like that now under consideration, has the rayed star, the two dots behind the helmet, the large half moon, the semi-circular curves in the pyramid, and the unchanged, or very slightly changed, rock character. It is evidently connected most closely with the coin of Rudra Dámá, and the dotted lips, and linear representation of the hair, would seem to afford sufficient evidence that it is of a later date. The correspondence of the legends, therefore, completes the proof that the two coins are those of father and son, and the Rudra Dámá of the rock inscription will therefore be the earliest sovereign of the Sáh line of whom any

coin is known to exist, unless we have grounds for supposing that there was another Rájá Mahákshatrpa Rudra Dámá among the members of the Sáh dynasty ; and that he, and not the monarch represented on the coin now described, was the rebuilder of the bridge. Such a supposition is against all probability. Prinsep, unable to find any nearer correspondence of name and title, was willing to identify the Rudra Dámá of the inscription with the *Swám'i* Rudra Dámá, whose name is given on the common coins of his son Swám'i Rudra Sáh. Mr. Thomas was unable to concur in this identification, as we do not find the title "Swám'i" at one time appropriated, and at another dropped, by the same Satrap. A scrutiny of nearly 30 years has failed until now to discover a single coin with a name, either of the reigning monarch or of his father, corresponding entirely with that exhibited on the Rock at Girnár. All considerations, therefore, are in favour of the identification now argued, unless possibly the final determination of a point to which I think it right to allude, should be unfavourable to it. "Swám'i Chastana" or "Swám'i Chandana" has hitherto been given on imperfect facsimiles as the name of the father of the Rudra Dámá mentioned in the inscription, while it will be noticed that the patronymic title on the coin is "kshatrpa." It is possible that this word may have been followed by Swám'i though I do not think it likely, but even if it were so, the occurrence of the term Kshatrpa would offer a serious objection to the admission of the identity of the two kings. An entirely satisfactory solution of the difficulty appears, however, more probable, as Mr. Bháu Dáji, in ignorance of the question now discussed, stated in a paper read on 15th August 1862 before the Society, that a more reliable transcript of the Girnár inscription, which he has lately obtained, shows Swám'i Chastana to have been the grandfather of Rudra Dámá, whose father's name, though originally given, is no longer legible.

The next name (fig. 2) is one which has not yet been met with on the Sáh coins—Śr'i Sáh or Śr'i Sinha (for the vowel point if borne on the die, has fallen beyond the margin of the coin), son of Rudra Sáh. The name is indistinct, but (with the exception noted) may be read with certainty, the whole legend being—

"Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sahasa putrasa Rájno Kshatrapasa
(possibly Mahákshatrapasa) Sriya Sahasa" (or Sinhasa ?).

The next novelties are two coins of a king whose name (like the preceding) has not yet been placed in the series. One is in excellent

preservation, but as usual a portion only of the legend has fallen within the area of the coin. The other is much worn away. The former (fig. 3) leaves no doubt respecting any letters except two, which unfortunately are the commencement of the name, and the latter does not supply the deficiency. The legend is—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Yaṣa Dámna.”

The lower portion only of the letters which I confidently read as “Yaṣa” are shown on the coin. The lower line of the “Ya” is however so distinctive, that it can scarcely be mistaken for a portion of any other letter. Enough of the second letter also is visible to make it very improbable that it should be read otherwise than as “ṣa.” It is quite certain that the letters are not “vira;” and we have, therefore, under any circumstances, a fourth son of Dámá Sáh, the relationship being in a remarkable manner evidenced by the incorrect use of the genitive construction before “putrasa” (“Dámá Sáhasa putrasa”), as on the coins of his three brothers. The correctness of the reading “Yaṣa” is confirmed by the discovery which I have lately made, that on a coin which I possess (fig. 4) of the king, whose name was first read by Prinsep as Aga Dámá, and afterwards by Mr. Thomas as Aṣa Dámá (son of Rudra Sáh), the letters are distinctly “Yaṣa Dámna.” On one of the duplicates now under notice, the title is certainly Rájno *Mahákshatrapasa* Yaṣa Dámna. On the other it appears to be Rájno *Kshatrapasa* Yaṣa Dámna. Should subsequent discoveries show this variation to exist, the coins of Viṣva Sinha, and of A'tri Dámá, sons of Rudra Sáh, will furnish similar illustrations of the use and omission at different times by the same Satrap of the title “Mahá.” I noticed on a previous occasion, on a coin given to the Society by General Jacob, the horizontal lengthening of the head line of the letter *da*, in order to represent the long vowel *ā* (𑀤). On the coin under notice we have a second instance of an attempt to mark the same vowel, but it is here shown by a downward extension of the head line in front of the letter (𑀤). This occurs twice on the coin.

The fourth new coin of this dynasty is one of Dámá Jata Śr'i, a son of Rudra Sáh or Sinha (fig. 5). I reserve for consideration in a subsequent portion of this paper, the question whether the father's name should be read as Sáh or Siuha, and consequently the determination of the place in the series which this king should occupy. The upper portion of the word on which the distinctive vowel mark, if there

was one, would have been shown, has fallen beyond the margin of the coin, and the solution must therefore for the present depend on inferences. The legend, of which each letter (the vowel point excepted) may be read with certainty, is as under :—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra S[a]ha putrasa Rájnah Kshatrapasa Dámá Jata Śriyah.”

A Dámá Jata Śr'i has been on our lists since Prinsep's time, but his title was *Mahákshatrapa*, and he was the son of Dámá Sáh.

The two coins to which I next advert, though from the mints of sovereigns whose names have long been known, and of whose coins several specimens have been noticed, are of almost as much interest as they would have been if the kings who struck them had been up to this time unknown. I have already referred to the memorandum which I read before the Society in December 1860. The subject was a unique coin of Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dámá, and I then stated (*Journal*, vol. vi. p. 15) my assured conclusion, founded on the similarity of type observable in the character and emblems, and the almost identical style of the general execution, that the Rudra *Sinha* of the coin then laid before the Society, was the father of a king whose patronymic had been read by Mr. Thomas, as Rudra *Sáha*. The coin from which that gentleman obtained the reading is figured in vol. xii. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pl. i. 18, 19, and Professor H. H. Wilson has given another apparently of the same king (*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xv. fig. 14.) In each instance the lower portion only of the word read as “Sáha” was shown on the coin. I have now received specimens (fig. 6 is one) which give the father's name unequivocally as Rudra *Sinha*, the entire legend being—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sinhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa.”

When I inferred that the patronymic in the case of the sovereign last referred to would be found to be Rudra Sinha, I might have added that the same correction would be found necessary with regard to Dámá Sáh, whom from the similar style and type of his coins, I had previously set down as Rudra Sáh's brother. The correctness of this surmise, also, is now established by the timely discovery of the coin figured as No. 7, which gives the name of Dámá Sáh's father clearly as “Rudra *Sinha*,” the legend being—

“Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sinhasa putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Dámá Sáhasa.”

I ought to mention that Mr. Thomas, who first noticed a coin of Dámá Sáh, does not appear to have seen a specimen. He gives the legend as communicated to him by Dr. Bird. I believe that no coin of this king has up to this time been figured.

In 1847 the late Dr. Stevenson laid before the Society a newly-discovered coin, the notice and figure of which will be found at p. 377, vol. ii. of the Journal. He read the legend as "Rájno Mahákshatrapa Iṣvara Dattasa Bala puthasa," having some doubt as to the word Bala, but making the father a private individual, in consequence of the absence of any title before his supposed name. In a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1848, and printed in the 12th vol. of its Journal, Mr. Thomas, referring to three coins of the same king, corrected the word Bala to Varsha, as the father's name, and noticed that in the word puthasa, which was supposed to represent the putrasa found on all the other Sáh coins, we had the Zend "tha" instead of the Sanskrit "tra." He remarked, also, then, and in 1858 when republishing Prinsep's papers on Indian antiquities, that the exergue of this monarch's coins differs from the others of the series in giving no date, a circumstance which "seemed to indicate that the system of marking the year of issue was not as yet introduced." I have now two coins of this king (one is given as fig. 8), and the obverse of each exhibits clearly a very different reading which, indeed, is to be obtained from Mr. Thomas's figures. The legend is—

"Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Iṣvara Dattasa Varsha prathame."

"In the first year of the king, the great Satrap Iṣvara datta," or, "(a coin) of the king, the great Iṣvara datta, in his first year."

The vowel stroke representing the locative is distinct in Mr. Thomas's plates, and in the coins which I have seen. The "tha" is, of course, also now accounted for. I am not sure whether the mark above the "sha" in Varsha was intended to represent *r* or *e* or both.

This new reading (in which I feel assured that Mr. Thomas will concur) necessarily raises some interesting questions. The father's name is not mentioned, and though a date is given, it is in a manner, and of a kind, altogether different from that exhibited by other coins of the Sáh's. In the place of three figures on the exergue (a smaller number has not yet been met with on other coins) we have here no figures, but an addition of the words "in the first year" to the legend. The character of the letters and the general execution of the coins, show

that a place is to be assigned to them considerably removed from the commencement of the Sáh dynasty ; and no other supposition, therefore, will meet the requirements of the case than that Iṣvara Datta broke in upon the Sáh dynasty against the order of succession, and probably as a usurper. The other kings of the line whose coins have come down to us, were with one exception the sons of kings, and therefore give their fathers' names and titles. Iṣvara Datta, we must infer, obtained the throne for himself in some irregular way, and had therefore no reason for giving his father's name on his coins. We must suppose also that he attempted to change the Sáh era, and as none of his coins have been found of later date than his "first year," it is not unlikely that he soon gave place to the Satrap on whom the sovereignty by right devolved. The coins of Iṣvara Datta bear a striking resemblance to those of Vijaya Sáh, some apparent differences in the character of the legends being accounted for by the circumstance that on Iṣvara Datta's coins the difficulty is to extend the legend over the space allotted to it, but on Vijaya Sáh's, to compress it within that space. I do not doubt that the reigns of the two kings were not separated by any long interval.

Fig. 9 is a coin of Swám'í Rudra Sáh, son of Swám'í Rudra Dámá. It has been added here, as it shows the group of stars to the *left* of the central emblem, and by this peculiarity is connected in a very marked way with the coin of Kumára Gupta, figured as No. 13. The correspondence of the circular full-face eye on other coins of Swám'í Rudra Sáh and Kumára Gupta is equally striking.

I have still to enter on an examination of the evidence which is now available, for determining the serial arrangement of the Sáh dynasty, and fixing the dates within which the nineteen members of it, whose names have now been recovered, exercised their rule. It will be convenient, however, preliminarily to complete the notice of the new coins which have come into my hands, by describing those which add to our information respecting the Guptas, and other ancient rulers of Guzerat, whose coinages show their connexion with the Sáh's.

Mr. Thomas, in his reprint of Prinsep's Essays (vol. ii. p. 94), notices a unique Gupta coin (not figured), bearing on the reverse, above the main device of the peacock, "the Sáh cluster of stars, and a minute half moon seemingly derived from the same source." He and Professor FitzEdward Hall differ as to the reading of the legend, but Mr. Thomas remarks, "if this should eventually prove to be a piece of