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ART. I.—*On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India.* By the Honourable Mr. Justice NEWTON, President of the Society.

Read 9th July 1868.

I HAVE been for some time deferring a review of our present knowledge of the line of sovereigns by which the northern portions of this Presidency were once connected with Parthia and Bactria, and through them with Greece, in order that I might be able to bring down our information to the latest date, and to record all recent additions that have been made to the evidence available for the discussion of the subject. I must not any longer delay to do this, and the time is a suitable one, as the interval which has elapsed since I last read a paper before the Society on the ancient dynasties of Káthiawár and Gujarát has been fruitful in discoveries of the highest interest. The anticipations in which I indulged when reading that paper, that further explorations in those provinces would be rewarded by substantial additions to our materials for tracing upwards to one of the Greek monarchies the dynasty of the Sáhs, have been already fulfilled, and fulfilled in such a way as to justify confident expectation of other valuable results.

l r a s

The Society is indebted to our accomplished and indefatigable associate Mr. Bháú Dájí for a paper subsequently read respecting a pillar inscription at Jasdan, in Káthiawár, brought to light through his exertions; and having thus ascertained that the Sáh kings availed themselves of this mode of recording their exploits, we may now hope to hear of other inscribed pillars within the imperfectly examined territories once embraced in Saurashtran rule.

I refer to this inscription only to point out the confirmation which it gives to the arrangement of the Sáh series which I had previously deduced solely from the coins of the dynasty. The inscription supplies the names of five kings and their order of succession. The two first—Chashtana and Jaya Dámá—are kings of whose coinage no specimens have up to this time been published, and the three last are those to whom respectively I assigned the first, second, and third places in my list—Rudra Dámá, Rudra Sinha, and Rudra Sáh. These three are also stated to have been father, son, and grandson, as I had concluded, and the correctness of my inference, that the first of these is the monarch mentioned in the inscription at Girnár, has been demonstrated.

The coin of Rudra Dámá, which was thus the earliest of the series known in 1862, had borne the name of that sovereign's father, but the corrosion of nearly two thousand years had removed all trace of it. The inscription tells us that the name was Jaya Dámá, and also that this king was the son of Chashtana, thus leading us up to the oldest of the kings whose names are inscribed on the rock at Girnár.

I was enabled, on the occasion referred to, to lay before the meeting specimens of the coins of nineteen kings of the Sáh dynasty (four of these being unique), and thus to trace the line upwards by numismatic evidence to the point at which the information derivable from the Girnár inscription breaks off. I can now place before the Society, with figures and descriptions, unique coins of the other two kings named in the inscription at Jasdan—Jaya Dámá, the father of Rudra Dámá, and Svámí Chashtana, the father of Jaya Dámá. The latter of these is a copper coin, and belongs to Mr. Bháú Dájí, who kindly permits me to describe it, and the former—a silver coin and of beautiful design and execution—was obtained by me through a friend who has been collecting for me in Káthiawár.

The coin of Chashtana (figure 4 in the accompanying plate) has lost some of its interest through the discovery of the Jasdan inscription,

which decisively fixes his position in the dynasty of the Sáh kings, but it is still perhaps the most important, with the exception of one subsequently to be described, that we could have looked for in this Presidency. It is chiefly valuable now as showing us the type and character of the Sáh coinage at an earlier stage than that represented by any previously discovered specimen, and thus enabling us to trace these artistic coins still further upwards towards their parentage. It supplies also very weighty confirmation of the principle on which my arrangement of the series of Sáh coins was based. I inferred that a rayed sun had been the original emblem to the right of the central device on the reverse, and that as the execution of the coins deteriorated the number of the rays rapidly lessened, until they were replaced by a decreasing group of mere points in the coinage of the fifth sovereign then known, and of all his successors. On the coins of the third king in the list, Rudra Sáh, the sun had six rays, on those of the second king, Rudra Sinha, six, seven, and eight rays, and on that of the first king, Rudra Dámá, ten rays. In accordance with my inference, the coin of Chashtana, whom we know to have been Rudra Dámá's grandfather, shows a sun with sixteen rays, and delineated altogether in a higher style of art. The correctness of all the other tests for the serial arrangement of the Sáh coins discussed in my previous paper is similarly confirmed, and their application, if the Jasdán inscription had not been made available for our assistance, would, as in the case of the succeeding sovereigns, have led me to assign to Svámí Chashtana with relation to Rudra Dámá the place which he is known to have occupied. The weight of the coin is 23 grains, but several grains have been lost by chemical change and cleaning. The legend on the reverse is accurately copied in the figure, but I regret that I am unable to decipher it entirely. The whole, however, with the exception of the four letters enclosed below in brackets, may be read with certainty :—

“ Rájno Mahákshatrapasa (Syamo ?) tika putrasa Chashtanasa
(dala ?) rumna.”

“ Of Chashtana——the son of the king, the great Satrap (preserver
of the kshatris)—tika.”

It is clear that the name of the father of Chashtana was, like his son's, a foreign one, and I think it likely that the last word which concludes with the Pálí genitive form was the attempted rendering of a foreign

title or dignity. The coin is in other respects so similar to those of the earlier Sáh kings previously known that I need not remark further on its details. The legend on the obverse is not legible, but enough is shown to make me think that some at least of the Greek letters were correctly cut. The coin has evidently been a finer one than any other of the series that has yet been found, and the lines are everywhere, and specially in the hair, much more delicate. The obverse was not apparently inscribed with any date, the exergue legend having entirely surrounded the bust, as in some of the Bactrian hemidrachms. In these two particulars it differs from the coins of all the subsequent Sáh kings, and I conclude that the usage of dating the coins had not yet been established.

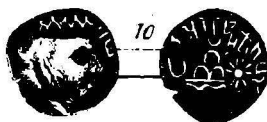
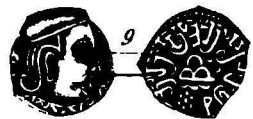
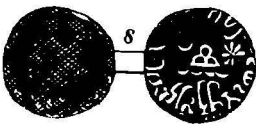
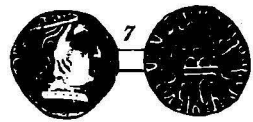
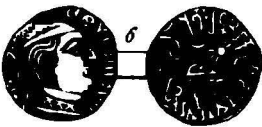
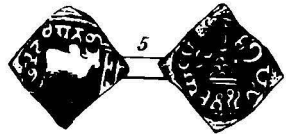
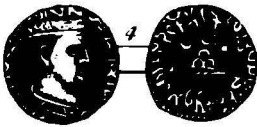
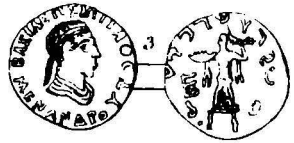
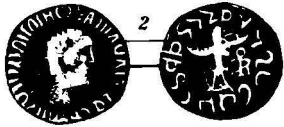
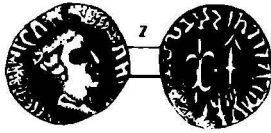
The coin of Jaya Dámá (fig. 5) has on the obverse a humped bull well cut, and a few of the debased Greek characters by which on the die it was apparently surrounded. In front of the bull is either a stake to which it is tied, or some other figure. On the reverse is the central pyramid found on all the Sáh coins, but it has six instead of three semi-circles, as on all the silver hemidrachms of the series. The two-half moons are one above and one to the left of this, as usual, and there is a circular sun to the right with traces only of rays. Round these emblems is the legend—

“Rájnah Kshatrapasa Jaya Dámasa.”

“Of the king, the Satrap, Jaya Dámá.”

. Mr. Bháú Dájí permits me also to describe two other new coins which have lately reached him from Káthiawár. They are copied in the plate as figures 6 and 7. The former is a coin of Jiva Dámá, the last letter of whose father's name is clearly “S'ri,” and the others probably “Dámá,” though traces only of them remain on the coin: and the latter is a coin of Sangha Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh. Both have the ordinary Sáh emblems and characters, but the coin of Jiva Dámá is of interest as it is clearly of an earlier date than any yet discovered, except that of Svámí Chashtana, and possibly Jaya Dámá, of whose silver currency we have as yet no specimen with which to compare it. The sun has twelve rays, with space for two more, and all the other tests enumerated and discussed in my previous paper combine to show that this sovereign must have reigned before Rudra Dámá the son of Jaya Dámá, though subsequently to Svámí Chashtana. He must therefore have succeeded to the throne out of the direct order of succession, as the Jastan pillar shows the lineal

Coins of Guyarat and Kathiawar.



descent of Rudra Dámá from Chashtana, without mentioning either Jiva Dámá or his father, whose name indeed, as well as Sangha Dámá's, is new to the series. There are remains of a date on Jiva Dámá's coin, and I read the former of the two figures with confidence as the numeral for 90, the second figure being the representation of six, or possibly five. This date, as well as the general character of the coin, leads me to conclude that this king immediately preceded Rudra Dámá. The coin of Sangha Dámá is interesting only as adding a new king to the list. On considerations before alluded to, he must be placed somewhere between the kings who stand as No. 3 (Rudra Sáh) and No. 7 (Dámá Jata S'ri) in my table of 1862, and until his exact position can be assigned with certainty, I insert his name next after that of S'ri Sáh No. 4.

The legends on these two coins are as under :—

No. 6. Rájno Mahákshatrapasa [Dámá?] S'riya putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Jiva Dámna.

“Of the king, the great Satrap, Jiva Dámá, the son of the king, the great Satrap, Dámá S'ri.”

No. 7. Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa (possibly Sinhasa) putrasa Rájno Mahákshatrapasa Sangha Dámna.

“Of the king, the great Satrap, Sangha Dámá, the son of the king, the great Satrap, Rudra Sáh.”

I have added on the plate, coins of Rudra Dámá (fig. 8) and of Svámí Rudra Sáh (fig. 9). The former is given, as it shows the name of the king's father, Jaya Dámá, which was wanting in the coin figured on the plate at page 3, vol. vii. of the Society's Journal; and the latter has been introduced as it testifies apparently to the adoption by the last, or last but one, of the Sáh kings of the title “Maharájá,” which has not before been found on any coin of the series, and thus completes the evidence of intimate connection between the Sáh and the Guptas, which was afforded by several coins copied on that plate.

The next coin is one of far higher interest—being indeed, unless I am mistaken, the most important with respect to its bearing on Indian history and chronology that has yet been discovered. I laid it before the Society some time ago, and shortly alluded to the results to which it was likely to lead. I must now describe it, and consider those results more in detail and more precisely.

We have long been acquainted with the name of Nahapána. Its discovery in several of the cave inscriptions of this Presidency resulted immediately from the decipherment of the most ancient form of the Indian alphabet, and its importance was at once perceived. It is found in inscriptions, portions of which I translate below, at the caves of Násik, Kárlen, and Junir.* The name seemed evidently Parthian, and it was natural to connect it with the "Yavanas"—the Greeks—whose co-operation in the prosecution and endowment of these Buddhist excavations the inscriptions themselves acknowledge. The first rendering of some of these inscriptions by the Reverend Dr. Stevenson made Nahapána to be a satrap of a king Kshaharáta, but Mr. Bháú Dájí, after mature study of the original records, assigned to him the rank of a paramount king. Until the discovery of the coin our knowledge of this sovereign was limited to such information as is to be derived from these inscriptions, and the conclusions which we seemed justified in drawing from them may be stated as under:—

1. Nahapána was either a king or the satrap of some distant monarch.
2. His rule extended over a considerable area, including at least those parts of the Deccan already mentioned, as it is unlikely that his name would be recorded in monasteries within the dominions of other sovereigns.

* Translations of inscriptions at the caves of Násik, Kárlen, and Junir:—

At Násik—in Sanskrit:

"Peace. By Ushavadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

In Mághadi:

"Peace. In the year 42, month Vaisákha, by Ushavadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

In Mághadi:

"The cell, the religious assignation of Dakhamitrá, the daughter of Rájá Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapána."

At Kárlen:

"Peace. By Ushabhadáta, the son of Dinaka, the son-in-law of Rájá Kshaharáta Kshatrapa Nahapána."

At Junir:

"[Constructed by] Ayama, the minister of————Mahákshatrap Svání Nahapána."

3. He was a foreigner, probably a Parthian.
4. His relations to his subjects and the territories over which he ruled were nevertheless such that his daughter had a purely Hindoo name, and was married to a Hindoo the son of a Hindoo.
5. His daughter Dakshamitrá, his son-in-law Ushavadáta, and probably also his minister Ayama, were Buddhists or patrons of the Buddhists.

These circumstances would have had a high historical value as elucidating the position of Western India with respect to Buddhism and to the Parthian or Bactro-Indian Empire, if we had been able, even approximately—within a century or two, and with any reasonable confidence—to fix the date of the inscriptions which form our sole authority for the deductions stated.

The coin of Nahapána has been very carefully drawn on the accompanying plate (fig. 1). I was unable to ascertain the particular part of Káthiawár in which it was found. It is of silver, and its weight is 31 grains. The obverse has a well-cut bust facing to the right with fillet and ear ornament, and in the exergue a legend of which sufficient remains to show that the letters were purely Greek, although in consequence of original indistinctness, wear, or corrosion, not more than a single character here and there can be made out, and these hardly justify me in hazarding a conjecture as to the filling in. Additional difficulty has been caused by the circumstance—an ordinary one in coins of that time—that the disc of the coin was too small to receive the whole impression of the die. On the reverse are two central emblems, one of which is a spear or an arrow, and the other possibly a double-headed dagger, with an exergue legend in which the letters Nahapánasa (the ordinary Bactrian or Pálí genitive of Nahapána) are distinct, though nothing more can be deciphered. The characters are those of the rock inscriptions, the most ancient form from which the present Devanágari has been derived; and though a portion of the legend has fallen altogether outside the coin and some letters have been eaten away, a larger portion would be legible but for the artist's evident want of acquaintance with the character.

Now it is manifest at a glance that this coin adds materially to our knowledge of Nahapána's history and surroundings, for a mere inspection suffices to connect it with the coinages of the Bactrians and of the Sásas.

Before this coin came into my hands I had been led with increasing assurance, from a study of these two last series of coins, to expect that whenever the missing link might be discovered the derivation of the Sáh coinage would be demonstrated to have been, not from the Parthian, but from that of Bactria. The bilingual legends, the general type and facing of the busts to the right, distinctly pointed to Bactria, and as distinctly negated a Parthian origin. The acquisition of Chashtana's coin, though it placed a clearly Parthian name at the head of the dynasty of the Sáh, added in all other respects to the evidence that the Bactrian coinage was the type from which that of the Sáh had been derived. I shall hereafter consider the significance of these apparently conflicting indications, and now only gather up the additional items of information as to Nahapána which his coin supplies.

I have figured on the plate beneath the coin of Nahapána, coins (Nos. 2 and 3) of the Bactrian Greeks Apollodotus and Menander. The obverse in each case is almost identical. On the reverse the emblems and the characters differ, but here again the evidence of intimate connection is of the strongest kind. Little can be argued from the change of central figures, for the new design is as distinct from any emblem found on Parthian coins as from those on coins of Bactria;* and we know that such changes were common even in the same dynasty, as for instance in the Gujarát and Káthiawár coinages of the Guptas. But the circumstance that there is an inscription in Indian characters, and, as we may with certainty infer from the inflection of the name, in the Pálí—the language then in use in Western India—is scarcely less decisive than the resemblance of the obverse. The Parthian coinage supplies, I believe, no example of a bilingual legend. From beginning to end it followed its Greek original and bore a single legend in Greek. The same remark applies to the coins of the earlier Bactrian kings, who probably, even if there had been some occasion or inducement, would not have disfigured their beautiful tetradrachms with the characters of any language of barbarians. But in the later days of the dynasty, when the desire of

* I am not sure that the larger of the central emblems was not intended to represent the same figure—probably a tripod—as that found on many of the coins of Apollodotus (See *Ariana Antiqua*, plate IV. figures 17, 18, and 19). It is possible that the device is a warrior with a spear, as on the coins of Kodes, a related king of whom we know almost nothing (*Ariana Antiqua*, plate IX. figures 2, 3, and 5).

conquest or the pressure of their neighbours forced some of its members into Northern India, we find them deferring to their subjects by adopting on the reverse of their hemidrachms, which then constituted their chief currency, a translation of the obverse legend in the Bactrian, or as Professor Wilson has named it, Arianian, which was the language of the conquered country. This precedent is followed by Nahapána, and his coin therefore in this respect, as in all others, places him conclusively in the closest relation with the later sovereigns of the Indo-Bactrian dynasty.

But if the coin establishes the connection of Nahapána with Bactria, it supplies a further reason for concluding that he was of Parthian descent, and had relations with Parthia by bringing him into connection with the Sáh dynasty, and thus with the Parthian emblems,* the rayed sun and crescent, and with another name which is not Indian, but may with confidence be set down as Parthian—that of Chashtana. The difference in type between the coin of Chashtana and that of Nahapána is not much greater than that which may be noticed between the latter and the Indo-Bactrian coins with which I have compared it. It is indeed the coin in which both the other series meet, the connecting link, as I have before suggested. On Nahapána's coin we see, I believe, the first essay of the foreign artist to delineate the Indian alphabet: in Chashtana's time acquaintance with the character was perfect, while the art also which is visible in Nahapána's coin continued undeteriorated. I do not expect that any coin exhibiting the old cave characters will be found earlier than that of Nahapána, who on this account, as well as from the retention of his Parthian name, may be set down as the first of his race to invade and conquer the territories over which he ruled. Looking however at the progress which had been made between Nahapána's time and Chashtana's in the artistic representation of the Indian characters, as well as other differences observable, I infer without hesitation that an interval occurred between their reigns, which further research will probably fill in with two or three names. I will allude to only one of the points of detail on the coins which associate Nahapána with the Sáh's, but it is one which shows also, what is otherwise sufficiently manifest, the succession of the latter to the former. In a previous paper already alluded

* These emblems are found associated on many coins of the Arsacidae. See Lindsay's *Coinage of the Parthians*, plate 3, fig. 51, 58, 59, 60; plate 7, fig. 27 and 28.

to I noticed the indications afforded by the coinage of the Sás that the art of coining had been introduced from without, and that as was to be expected under such circumstances progressive deterioration was visible from a date little subsequent to its introduction; and I then remarked on the presence of two small dots immediately behind the projecting point of the helmet, or fillet—as it now appears to have been originally—one being above and the other below it, on the coins of some of the earlier kings of the Sáh series. I could not then ascertain their meaning or origin, though there could be little doubt that, like the scarcely recognisable imitations of the bust and fire altar on the Indo-Sassanian coins, or the gradually decreasing number of specks which in the late Sáh coins take the place of the sun with rays on the coin of Chashtana, these two points also were the substitute for something on some still earlier coins which the artists had ceased to recognise, and became accustomed thus to represent conventionally. The coin of Nahapána clears up the mystery. On some of the Indo-Bactrian coins the two ends of the fillet encircling the head hang down below the knot behind as lines widening towards the extremities. Behind Nahapána's bust these ends appear in the form of rounded loops or bows slightly changed in position, one being above and the other below the point at which the knot is tied. These were immediately and very naturally replaced in the Sáh coinage by two mere points, the object delineated being no longer understood, and the Bactrian headdress of the king having probably been changed.

The limits of our knowledge respecting Nahapána having thus been increased to the extent which I have endeavoured to describe, I am now in a position to turn to the much more important information deducible from the coin as to the date to be assigned to his reign. The value to the Indian student of any reasonably approximate date about the times that we are considering can hardly be exaggerated, for he meets with none which are reliable and well determined in the early centuries of our era (and the complaint might be extended to others), except those which we obtain from the Greek historians and geographers. And the chief interest attaching to the coin of Nahapána is that by the connections which it establishes it enables us to apply the dates of the Græco-Bactrian dynasty, which have been ascertained with a considerable approach to accuracy, to the Buddhist excavations of Western India, and to the coinage of the Sás, while the latter, when once brought into relation with any fixed date, itself affords the means of