

ART. I.—*Traikutaka Coins from the Poona (Indapur) District.*

BY THE REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.

(COMMUNICATED.)

A parcel of coins, belonging to the Traikutaka dynasty, has been sent to me by the Secretary for examination and report, and I have much pleasure in laying the results of my examination before the Society.

The Collector of Poona has informed me that the coins were found on the 13th December, 1905, near the village of Kazad in the Indapur Taluka of the Poona district. The place where they were found is a small hillock on the top of a tableland. The rain seems to have cut a channel in the side of the hillock, and it was in this channel that some children who were herding goats found two of the coins. They took the coins home to their parents, who, finding them to be silver, made a careful search and found the rest of the hoard. Information was not given to the authorities, but news of the treasure trove somehow got abroad, and three months after the finding of the coins the police succeeded in obtaining 92 of them from the villagers. The Mamlatdar was not, however, satisfied with the result of the search, and he appears to have made a personal investigation on the spot, with the result that 267 more coins were recovered. Whether the coins in our possession constitute the whole hoard or only a part of it will never be known now. One can only hope that if a number of the coins have gone to the melting pot (as is only too probable) they may have been only coins of the types that were left.

The place where the coins were found was carefully examined, and no hope is entertained of any more being found there.

Of the 359 coins of the hoard there are two (probably those which were first found by the children) which have been hammered out of all recognition. The rest are in an excellent state of preservation, showing little sign of having been in circulation. The workmanship is of the degenerate quality that we are accustomed to in the Gupta and Valabhi coins of the same period, and the letters lack the clearness which we find in the inscriptions on the earlier coins of the Ksatrapas; still there is no serious difficulty in making out the legends.

On the obverse the coins have a roughly executed bust of the king facing to the right, without date or trace of any inscription.

On the reverse we find the familiar symbols of the Kṣatrapas, the *chaitya* with sun and crescent moon; but there is this difference, that the positions of the sun and moon are reversed, the sun being on the left instead of the right as on the Kṣatrapa coins. It is also to be noted that the cluster of dots which stands for the sun is almost always placed in the heart of one of the letters of the king's name, and the crescent moon appears under the last letter of the name. The average weight of the coins is about 30 grains.

The coins of the hoard fall into three groups :—

(1) 350 coins have the following inscription on the reverse :—

= महरजन्द्रदत्त पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज दहगण.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Dahragāṇa, son of Mahārājā Indradatta.

(2) 3 coins on which the king's head appears to be better executed and more youthful than in the others, have the inscription:—

= महरजन्द्रदत्त पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज दहसन.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Dahrasena, son of Mahārājā Indradatta.

(3) 4 coins have the inscription :—

= महरज दहगण पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज व्यघ्रगण.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Vyāghragāṇa, son of Mahārājā Dahragāṇa.

Coins of this series have been known for a considerable time, but the inscriptions do not appear to have been correctly read until quite recently. Professor Rapsow, who was the first to decipher them

correctly, calls them "one of the most familiar puzzles in Indian numismatics," and adds, very truly, that "the characters are so corrupt in some cases as to admit of the possibility of a variety of readings."

The first Traikuṭaka coin to be recorded was one mentioned by Justice Newton in the Journal of this Society in 1862. The coin, which was evidently a very good specimen, is figured as No. 13 in a plate which accompanies the article, and which appears to have been prepared from drawings of the coins. Justice Newton's coin is clearly of the same type as the majority of the coins in the present hoard, but the inscription was not deciphered at the time. The coin, which was evidently the only one of the kind known at the time, was found near Karad in the Satara district along with some Gadhia coins and coins of various Kṣātrapa kings coming down as far as Visvasena, the son of Bhartṛdaman (300 A.D.).

In the year 1885 a copperplate grant was found at Pārdi, which gave the name of the king who made the grant as Śrī Mahārājā Dahrasena, of the Traikuṭakas. The grant is dated 207 Samvat. It is now generally agreed that this date is in the Kalachuri era, which began about 248-9 A.D. Thus it is clear that Dahrasena issued the grant in the year 456 A.D.

Two years later, in 1887, a hoard of 500 coins of this dynasty was found at Daman in South Gujarat (a place not far from Pārdi), but apparently only 9 of the coins were preserved. From Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's account of them it seems clear that they were all coins of Dahragana, but Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl was not able to read them with certainty, and we know now that the names which he thought might be Indravarma and Rudragana should be read Indradatta and Dahragana respectively. The Paṇḍit's incorrect reading of these coins is given in the chapter on the Traikuṭakas in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., page 58. The matter has been fully discussed by Professor Rapson in his article on "Indian Coins and Seals, Part VI.," published in the R. A. S. J. for October 1905.

In this article, which is of special interest for the purpose of our present study, Professor Rapson gives the fruit of his examination of the Traikuṭaka coins in the British Museum, which include Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's collection, as well as a number in the possession of Colonel Biddulph, and a large number in the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

Most of the coins examined by Professor Rapson were of the same type as the great majority of the coins of this hoard, but among the coins in Colonel Biddulph's collection one coin was found which

differed from the rest in giving the king's name as Dahrasena, instead of Dahragaṇa. On the strength of this reading, taken along with the fact that the king's name is given as Dahrasena in the Pārdi copperplate, Professor Rapson argues that we should read the inscription Dahrasena in all cases, regarding the letter which is so like *ga* to be a "broken-down letter" intended for *sa* (= *se*).

It is matter for congratulation that the Poona hoard has supplied three good specimens of the coins with the *sena* variation of the king's name, and one at least of these appears to be in a better condition than the one that Professor Rapson had before him.

These coins prove that at one period—and I am inclined to place it at the beginning of the reign—the king issued coins in which his name was clearly given as Dahrasena, and we know that he was so styled in the Pārdi copperplate grant of 207 S.=456 A.D.

But the reading on the other coins seems to be just as clearly Dahragaṇa, and not Dahrasena. Professor Rapson admits that the letter "certainly seems more like *ga* than anything else," and after a careful examination of the 350 specimens now discovered, I cannot see how the letter can be read otherwise than as *ga*. Professor Rapson was somewhat strengthened in his opinion that *sena* and not *gaṇa* should be read as the termination of the king's name by the fact that the last letter is more like *na* than *ṇa*. But an examination of the copperplates of the fifth century will make it clear that there was at that time very little difference between the shapes of the two letters, and when that is so in the case of the plates where the letters are large and carefully formed, it need not surprise us to find that the distinction is quite lost in the case of these coins.

The conclusion to which I have been led is that the king appears to have altered the termination of his name from *sena* to *gaṇa* at an early period of his reign. It may be thought improbable that so pronounced a change should be made in the name of the king, but that such a thing is not by any means impossible is proved by the instance of the Kalachuri king, Mangaleśa (597 A.D.), whose name appears on perfectly authentic records as Mangaleśa, Mangalarājā Mangaliśa, and Mangaliśwara (Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 15).

I am unable to offer any explanation of the new termination *gaṇa*, but in this connection it is worth while to remember that (1) there is good reason for holding that the Traikuṭakas ruled the Deccan and South Gujarat in the beginning as subordinate rulers, their use of the Kṣatrapa symbols showing that they regarded the Kṣatrapas as their overlords: and (2) *sena* was a very usual termination

in the names of the later Kṣatrapas: so it is not improbable that Dahrasena may have begun his reign as a tributary ruler of these provinces, and that after a few years he asserted his independence, and as a sign of his emancipation from the yoke of the Kṣatrapas changed the termination of his name. No coins of his father Indradatta have been found, and the presumption is that he never exercised independent authority, in which case the title Mahārājā given to him on his son's coins must be merely honorific, a conclusion which is supported by the fact of his name not being mentioned in the Pārdi copperplate.

That the termination *gaṇa* was in actual use in later times we know from the Bilhari inscription (of the 10th century), where a list of Chedi kings includes one *Sankaragaṇa*, and in one of the Sankheda grants described in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. II., p. 19) the name *Śankaraṇa* occurs, clearly standing for *Śankaragaṇa*. Then we have the name *Śivagaṇa* in the Kanāswa inscription (A. D. 758). (See Indian Antiquary, Feb. 1890.) There is also the Benares copperplate inscription of Karnadeva (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 300), where we have both a *Śankaragaṇa* and a *Śankaragaṇadeva*. These inscriptions are dated in the Kalachuri era.

The case for *gaṇa* as against *sena* is strengthened, if not fully proved, by the inscription on the coins of Dahragana's son, of which I have now to give an account.

As I have already said, the Poona hoard has placed in our hands 4 specimens of the coinage of Dahragana's son. They are not the first to be found (though I was under that happy illusion when the coins came into my hands, and for some time after). In the paper above referred to, Professor Rapson reports on 8 specimens which had been obtained from the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha in 1904. Those coins are now in the British Museum. They do not appear to be very good specimens, for Professor Rapson seems to rely mainly on a single coin for the reading of the inscription. It is therefore matter for congratulation that our 4 specimens are in good condition, and they confirm Professor Rapson's reading of the name of Dahragana's son as most probably Vyaghraṇa.

The letters which make up the name Vyaghra are certainly not as clear as one could wish, and I had puzzled over them for some time before Professor Rapson's paper came into my hands, but of all possible readings I think this is decidedly the most likely to be the correct one, and Professor Rapson deserves congratulation on his success in solving the problem.

In accordance with his theory that the father's coins are to be read Dahrasena in every case, Professor Rapson makes the son's name Vyaghrasena and not Vyaghragaṇa, as I prefer to read it. Now it is a curious thing that in both the father's name and the son's as they appear on the son's coins we have the letter which Professor Rapson admits to be more like *ga* than any other letter. It may be admitted that an imperfect *sa—a* "broken letter"—might get into the die of Dahragana's coins, especially as it comes near the end of the inscription, but it is surely not very likely that this "broken letter" would be copied, and that twice over, on the coins of the son. I may be wrong in my opinion, and I certainly have no right to urge it against that of a scholar of Professor Rapson's authority, but I am decidedly of the opinion that we ought to read the names as Dahragana and Vyaghragaṇa, at any rate until further evidence is available. That of course may happen at any time, as the finding of a copperplate grant in the name of Dahrasena's son would probably settle the matter at once.

There is just one other point to which I wish to draw attention. These Traikutaṅka kings describe themselves as Parama Vaishnava, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Vishnu, and it is interesting to note that about the same time the Gupta kings called themselves on their coins Parama Bhāgawata, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Bhagawān, and the Abhira kings proclaimed to the world that they were Parama Māhesvara, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Siva.

#### NOTE

##### ON REV. H. R. SCOTT'S PAPER ON THE TRAIKUTAKA COINS.

I happen to be in a position to supply the evidence desired by Mr. Scott regarding the name of Dahragana's (or Dahrasena's) son. Some years ago a copperplate from Surat was sent to me for decipherment by the Secretary, but I have never been able to decipher it so completely as to publish it in full. I can, however, say that it distinctly refers itself to the Traikutaṅka dynasty, that it is dated, in figures only, in the year 231, and that it gives only the name of the granting king, without any genealogy. This name I was originally disposed to read as (A) vyayasena, but subsequently, though before I had seen Mr. Scott's paper, I came to the conclusion that it must be Vyāghrasena. I can state that the last two syllables of the name are quite clear on the plate, though the first two are not quite so certain. However, with the aid of Mr. Scott's coins, we can now confidently read the first two syllables as Vyāghra. The evidence of this copperplate does not, however, absolutely settle the question whether there was not another form, ending in *gaṇa*, for each of these two

royal names. It is perhaps worth noting that a name ending in *gaṇa* would be properly borne by a worshipper of Śiva, whose attendants or *gaṇas* are the demons or spirits whose leader is Gaṇapati or Vinayaka. If the elder of our two kings had been originally a worshipper of Śiva, he might well have called himself Dahragāṇa, and changed his name to Dahrasena on becoming a Vaishṇava. It is, however, perhaps hardly likely that if he had done this he would still have called his son Vyāghragāṇa.

A. M. T. JACKSON.

ART. II.—*Khadāvadā Inscription of Gyāsa Sahi.*

[*Vikrama*] *Samvat* 1541.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., *Poona.*

(*Communicated.*)

This inscription, which is published for the first time, was discovered by Major Dube, when Chief Gazetteer Officer, Indore Durbar, on a well at Khadāvadā in the district of Rāmpurā in the Indore territory. The stone bearing the inscription was lying in his house in 1905, and it is from the paper-impressions kindly supplied by him that the following transcript is prepared.

The writing, to judge from the impressions, covers a space of about 4'-9" broad by 1'-10" high and is in a state of fair preservation throughout. The characters are *devanāgarī* of the 15th century. The language is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the opening salutation to Gaṇeśa and Bhāratī and the concluding benediction to the scribe and the reciter, the entire inscription is in verse. The fault of *yatibhaṅga* or break of cæsura frequently occurs in this poetic composition, and solecisms, though few, are not altogether absent. Verses 51-54 are characterised by *yamaka* or repetition of letters of the same sound at the end of two consecutive *pādis*. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the substitution of *chchha* for *stha* in *chchhiribhava°* in l. 14, in *°āchchhāna* in ll. 15-16, and so forth. (2) the disregard of the rule of *samdhī* in the case of *t* and *ś*, e.g., in *vahat-śālmali°* in l. 16, (3) the use of *v* for *b* only twice, in verses 63 and 64, and (4) the splitting up of conjunct consonants into two separate letters, in *dolayan-tyātmiyam* l. 21, *°paris-khala°* l. 22, and so forth. As regards lexicography, it is to be remarked that the poet is very fond of using rare or obscure words; e.g., no less than three such words occur in l. 22, *vis. khidga, chamātaka* and *laṅgura*.

After the adoration and invocation of deities as usual, the composer of the inscription describes, in magniloquent terms in verses 5-6, the glory and prosperity of the country of Mālava (Mālwā), where both Śiva and Kārttikeya, leaving the Himālayas, had, we are told, fixed their abode. In this country there was triumphant (v. 7) at the city of Māṇḍavya on the Vindhya mountains a king of the name of Hūsaṅga, a Gōri, a gem of the Yavana race, and the sun to the lotuses, *vis.*, the Śaka tribe. The king mentioned is undoubtedly Hūshang (Alp Khān) Ghūrī, the second Sultan of Mālwā, who first made Māṇḍū (Māṇḍavya) his capital. In verse 8 Māṇḍū is compared to the capital town of Indra, and, in the verse following, nothing but

conventional praise has been bestowed upon Sultan Hūshang. The next verse (10), if we carefully notice the *double entendre* obviously intended, informs us that Hūshang secured a number of elephants from the Vindhya mountains, after making friends with Naganātha. Historians assert that Hūshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jājnagar (Jājpur) in Cuttack in Orissa to barter his horses for the war-elephants of the Rājā of Jājnagar, and was successful in securing 150 elephants there to fight against the Sultan of Gujarāt with whom he was at war. Naganātha may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to be no other person than the prince of Jājnagar himself. Verse 11 describes his defeat of the king of Kālapriyāpattana, Kādirasāhi by name, who ceded his son, daughter and ministers to Hūshang. They all repaired to the city of Maṇḍapa (Maṇḍū), and the most pre-eminent of them all was Khāna Salaha (v. 12) who became an object of confidence with Hūshang. Kālapriyāpattana must undoubtedly be Kālpī<sup>1</sup> in Bundelkhand, and Kādirasāhi, Abdul Kādur, a Delhi officer in charge of this fortress, which the Ferishta represents Hūshang to have reduced, but which after receiving homage was delivered back by him to Abdul Kādur. In the verse following (13), we are told that Salaha was originally a minister of Kādira Sāhi, and was, owing to his fitness, appointed to the same post by Hūshang who made him a Khān, and entirely left the work of administration to him. Verse 14 says that after the death of Hūshang, the throne was seized by Mahamūda, the sun to the water-lily, viz., the Khilchī family. Muḥammad (Ghazni Khān), son of Hūshang, is thus passed over, and the name of the usurper Maḥmūd Shāh I. Khalji, mentioned in the inscription. The next verse describes the latter's conquests. He desolated Iḥillī (Dehli), harassed the Chola king, subjugated the province of Utkala (Orissa), and vanquished the Draviḍa king. Verse 16 refers to the implicit confidence reposed by Maḥmūd in Salaha, who destroyed (v. 17) eighty elephants of the Sultan of Gujarāt who had assailed with his army the Sultan of Mālwa. The Sultan of Gujarāt here referred to must be Muzaffar I. The next verse informs us that Gayāsa succeeded Maḥmūd to the throne. Gayāsa, or Gyāsa as he is called further on, is unquestionably Ghīyās Shāh Khalji. Verses 19-20 are a pure eulogy of Gyāsa Sāhi, the ornament of the Pārasīka race. In the verse following, we are told that Salaha was allowed to retain his post by Ghīyās also. Verse 22 contains nothing but conventional praise of Salaha, but, from the next verse, we glean that, on hearing of a rebellion raised by Śabarās, Salaha appointed Baharī, who was regarded as son from his birth by

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Munshi Deviprasadji of Jodhpur for this identification.

the former, to quell the revolt. Verse 24 describes the defeat inflicted by Baharî on the Śabara kings at the city of Khidāvadā on the bank of the Charmaṇvatî (Chambal). Khidāvadā is unquestionably Khaḍāvadā, where the inscription was found. Verse 25 gives no historical information, but the verse following tells us that Baharî, lord of Pārasikas, vanquished a king named Kshemakarna at Śamkhoddhāra between the two banks of the river raised by Ramtideva, *i.e.*, the Chambal. Verse 27 also contains the historical information that Baharî extracted the dart, *viz.*, Ivarāhima, which was rankling in the breast of the Sultan of Mālava. But who this Ivarāhima or Ibrāhim was, is unknown to me. The next three verses set forth the munificent nature of Baharî, and from verse 31 we learn that Baharî, leader of Śakas, excavated a tank in the town of Śālmimat. From the next verse we gather that to the north of this tank he had dug another tank, which was thought to be a small milky ocean. The verse following tells us that he constructed another tank to the north of this. Verses 34-35 describe the tanks and the many advantages conferred thereby on the passers-by. In verse 36 we are informed that in Khidāvada to the south of that city he constructed a spacious step-well, to a poetic description of which the *prastikāra* has devoted the next eight verses. Verse 45 further informs us that, above and surrounding the well, he raised a nice attractive orchard, which is also described at length in no less than ten verses. Verse 56 pronounces the wish that Baharî, his sons and grandsons, be spared together with the well as long as the Meru, the sun, and so forth endure. In verses 57-62 the poet sets forth his own genealogy. In the lineage of Bhṛigu, we are told, there was Śrî-Somanātha who performed the sacrificial rites of the spring season every year; his son was Narahari, who was an expert in logic, and who, being a reciter of the Vedas appropriately bore the *biruda* of *ili-tala-vinūchi*, *i.e.*, "the god Brahmā on the surface of the earth." From Narahari sprang Śrî-Keśava, who was also known as Jhoṭimga. His son was Atri, who was conversant with *vedānta*, *mīmāṃsā*, and rhetoric, who was the leader of the Daśapura Brāhmaṇa caste, and who was held in respect by the Guhila king Kumbha. His son was Śrî-Maheśa, lord of poets, proficient in *darśanas* and an able dilectician. He lived as poet in Mālava for some time, and it was he who composed the *prastiti* engraved on the well of Baharî. All these verses (57-62) except the last, descriptive of the genealogy of Maheśa, the composer of our *prastiti*, occur with slight changes in an inscription in the celebrated temple of Eklingji, 14 miles north of Udaipur, Mewār. This record which is dated in V. E. 1545 and is consequently posterior to our