CHAPTER IV
STUDY OF THE TRIBAL KUSHĀṇA AND PURI KUSHĀṇA COINS

When the disintegration of the great Kushāṇa empire started a host of locoate chiefs occupied the Kushāṇa territories, east of Indus. They are called tribal Kushāṇas. There is no specific reasons for this term and two points may have led to this connotation. Firstly these coins bear on the obverse crudely executed standing king as on Late Kushāṇa coins. Secondly they bear the names like Gaḍahara, Shilada, etc. which sound tribal or non-Indian. The issues of these coins may or may not have been related to the Kushāṇas and we have no particular reason to call them tribal in the absence of any specific information. But since scholars have designated them as tribal Kushāṇas in order to distinguish them from Kushāṇas and for our convenience we are also using the same terminology.

There are some other coins that are similar to the Kushāṇa coins having on the obverse the effigy of the king standing and the deity Ardoksho on the reverse. The circular legend on the obverse of these coins looks like 00000; and
for this reason Cunningham has described it illegible.¹ Most likely, the script of the legend is cursive Kushāṇo-Bactrian, like that on the Kushāṇo-Sassanian coins. The available portions on these coins possibly meant SHĀO NĀNO SHĀO as suggested by K.N. Dikshit² and Mitterwallner.³ The missing portions would have had the name of the issuers following the Kushāṇa coins tradition. To this extent the coins are close to the ones issued by Kushāṇa and the Kushāṇo-Sassanid rulers. These coins also have another word in Brāhmī letters on the right field outside the spear held by the king in his left hand, written vertically in the Chinese fashion, one letter below the other, as on the coins of Vāsu.

These coins differ from the Vāsu coins in having another Brāhmī word in the central field below the left arm of the king. These coins, having two sets of Brāhmī words, are taken and interpreted variously. The early scholars held that the Brāhmī words, placed in the right field are names

2. JNSI, Vol. VI. 1944, p. 52.
of tribes, dynasties, or clans or are the names of sundry chieftians and they form a distinct series from those of the Kushāṇas.

Apart from these a large number of coins of the Šakas, have been discovered in West Punjab near about Peshawar. Nothing is known about their relation with the Kushāṇa monarchs, Kanishka IV and Vāsudeva III. But the coin-types of the Šakas closely resemble those of the Kushāṇas. On the obverse of the Šaka coins appears the Kushāṇa type "king standing and sacrificing at an altar" and their reverse bears "Enthroned goddess Ardoksho. The legend on the obverse is in Brāhmī and contains the names of the Šaka tribe and the tribal chieftians. The reverse legend is in corrupt Greek and contains the traces of the name of the goddess enthroned. The metal of the coins is debased gold and the execution is crude. 8

7. Smith, V. IMC, I, pp. 87-88.
8. Ibid.
The Kushāna coin type of "king standing and sacrificing at an altar" on the obverse and "Enthroned goddess Ardoksho" on the reverse was also imitated on the coins of the Shiladas and Gaḍaharas who probably ruled some part of central Punjab. Their coins are made of debased gold and their style and execution were crude and clumsy. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse contains the names of the chiefs of the tribes, and traces of corrupt Greek legend on the reverse stand for the name of the goddess.

The Śhaka coinage may justly be placed after the coinage of Kanishka IV and Vāsudeva III. The Shilada coinage was not far off in point of time from the Śhaka coinage. The Gaḍahara coinage has been placed in the 5th century's A.D. by R.D. Banerji, as the Brāhmī 'GA' of the coin legends closely resembles Brāhmī GA of the fifth century A.D. It may not be impossible to conclude that portions of the Punjab came under the chiefs of the Śhakas, the Shiladas and the Gaḍaharas not earlier than about the middle of the third Century A.D.

The gold coinage of this class presents the remains of Greek legends in the margin on the reverse. But the letters

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are illegible and seem to be a mere repetition of 0. The Brāhmī letters appear at two or three places in the field of the obverse: (i) outside the king's spear - on the right, (ii) under the king's arm - middle, and (iii) under the king's right hand near the altar - on the left. The arrangement of these letters is just like that on the coins of Kanishka IV and Vāsudeva III.

Cunningham\(^{11}\) preferred to take the letters outside the spear of indicating places, the seats of distinct satraps and looked upon the names under the arm of those of the satraps or provincial governors' tributes to the great Kushāṇa kings of Gandhara. But F.W. Thomas'\(^{12}\) suggestion that the Brāhmī letters outside the spear indicate the names of different Scythian tribes and those under the king's arm stand for the names of the kings of the types, is more reasonable. On the right field of the obverse of these coins, that is, outside the spear, the following names in Brāhmī are found: ŚAKA, SHILADA, and GAḌAHARA. The reading Śaka has been accepted by all scholars as a tribal name, while Cunningham\(^{13}\) thinks that the term is intended to refer

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12. Ibid., p. 123.
13. Ibid.
to the city of Śākala (Sialkot), capital of the Eastern Punjab, which was the residence of the Greek king Menander. The name Shilada was previously read as Shandi by Thomas,\textsuperscript{14} as Pakandhi or Pakaldhi by Cunningham,\textsuperscript{15} as Shalada by Smith.\textsuperscript{16} R.D. Banerji's reading as Shilada\textsuperscript{17} has been accepted by all the scholars. The reading of the name Gaḍahara is beyond doubt, though Cunningham,\textsuperscript{18} with his preconceived idea of reading place-names on the right field of the obverse of coins, suggested the reading as "Nagarahāra", ancient city near Jalalabad in the middle of the Kabul Valley.

The coins of the Shilada show in the middle field of the obverse the names of BHADRA, PASHAN, and BACHARNA. The name PASHAN was read as Bashan by Cunningham\textsuperscript{19} as Pasaka by V. Smith.\textsuperscript{20} On a re-examination of the coins, R.D. Banerji\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} IA, XII, p. 28.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} N. Chron, 1893, p. 123.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} IMC, Vol. p. 88-89.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} JASB (NS), Vol. IV, 908, p. 90.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} N. Chron, 1893, p. 124.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} N. Chron, 1893, Pl. IX, No. 13.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} IMC I, Sundry Chief, No. 14.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} JASB (NS) Vol. IV. 908, p. 90.
\end{itemize}
reads 'Pasana' correctly. The name of 'Bacharna' has been read by Smith\(^{22}\) on the coin classified under the heading of Sundry chief. The name 'Bhadra' is found on Cunningham coin no. 12\(^{23}\) as well as on the Indian Museum specimen of Sundry Chief No. 1. The Shilada tribe, ruling over Central Punjab was probably supplanted by the Gadaharas.

**SHANDHI:**

The Sargoda hoard discloses that the Shakas were followed by a king named Bhadra of a different group, the name of which has been read as Kshinatha\(^{24}\) and Shakinatha\(^{25}\) by Mitterwallner. This name has been read by Mitchiner takes it as Kipanada.\(^{26}\) According to Gobl, it is Pakhandha.\(^{27}\) Cunningham took it variously as Pakindha, Pashkindha, Pahalahadhi, Pushandhi.\(^{28}\) Craig Burns favoured Pakindha.\(^{29}\)

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22. IMC 1 Sundry Chief, No. 14.
23. *N. Chron*, 1893, pl. IX.
According to V. Smith\textsuperscript{30} and Marshall\textsuperscript{31} it is Shalada; R.D. Banerjee\textsuperscript{32} and B.N. Mukerjee\textsuperscript{33} have amended it as Shilada. Thus, the various scholars have no unanimity about the reading of the name. Whatever may be the reasons for the differences among these scholars for their readings it is difficult to concur with anyone of them.

A hoard of 19 gold coins was discovered by Marshall during the excavations at Taxila in a cell which is designated as GC in sector G of the Dharmarajika monastery. It contained 2 coins of Shandhi with the name Bhadra along with two coins of the Gupta ruler Chandragupta II (Archer type lotus reverse) and 15 coins having the name Kidara.\textsuperscript{34} This indicates that Bhadra and Shandhi was contemporary or close to the Gupta king Chandragupta II and sometime later to the Kidāra (Kidarites occupied his territory).

The coins also disclose the name of another Shandhi ruler, whose name on them has been read by Cunningham as

\begin{flushleft}
31. Taxila, 2, pp. 822.
32. JPASB, 4 (NS), 1908, pp. 88-91.
34. Taxila, 2, pp. 283, 822.
\end{flushleft}
Basana. The name Bacharna has also been adopted by Mitchiner. To Craig Burns it is Basato. Mitterwalner's fanciful imagination is that it is corrupt Brāhmi legend Sita.

**KIDĀRA KUSHĀNA COINAGE:**

After the Later Kushāna rulers the territories of the Kushānas were under the Sassanid governors passed on to the kings of another dynasty or tribe which is known as Kidāra or Kidarities, the name of the first ruler was Kidra and the coins of the dynasty bear the inscription Kidāra, Bago Kidāra, Vuzurko, Kushāna or Kidāra Kushāna Shah etc. So the dynasty is named as Kidāra Kushāna, the coins are found in copper and a few in silver.

The Kidāra-Kushānas have been designated by Dr. Bivar as Kidarites who, according to him were not Kushānas at all but actually Huns. But he has not given sufficient grounds

35. *N. Chron.*, 1890, pl. 9.10.
against the identification of Kidāra of the coins with Ki-to-lo of the Chinese writers, the Shāhī of the Ta-Yue-ti in Gandhara and placed his son in the government of Peshawar while he returned to the westward to repel an inroad of the white Huns. The title Kushāṇa found along with the name of 'Kidāra' must be significant.

The coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇa series may be classified into three groups: (I) gold coins bearing Kushāṇa type and Brāhmī inscriptions (II) silver coins bearing Sassanian type and Brāhmī inscriptions and very few traces of Pahlavi legend, (III) copper coins of both Kushāṇa and Sassanian types bearing Brāhmī legends.

The gold coins bearing legend "Kidāra" written perpendicularly under the king's arm on the obverse, present the names of Śrī Śāhī Kidāra, Kṛtavrīya, Saruayasa, Bhaśvam, Śilāditya, Prakāśa, Kuśala on the reverse. This class of coins presents" king standing and sacrificing at an altar" on the obverse and enthroned goddess, probably "Ardoksho", on the reverse. On the coins of Śrī Śāhī Kidāra the tribal title "Kidāra" is preceded by the term "Kushāṇa".  

43. N. Chron, 1889, Pl. VI, 3.4.
The main dynasty of the Kidarites consisting of Kidāra and his son Piro is represented by the silver coins. On the obverse of the silver coins is represented bust of king with peculiar head-dress which is similar to the crowns of the Sassanid rulers. On the reverse of the coins is displayed a fire-altar with triple base and capital, fillet adoring shaft, surmounted by flames in which bust of Hormazd appears to the right. On either side of the altar is found attendant, with plumed head-dress, facing altar with sword. The obverse legend in Brāhmī is either "Kidāra-Kushāna Shāhi" or "Sha Pirosa".

There are only two copper coins in the collection of the Indian museum. The first one resembles the gold coins in type and presents the name of 'Śrī Kṛitavīra'. The obverse of the second coin resembles the silver coin type while on the reverse is presented the name of Kshatrapa "Tarika" in Brāhmī without any device.

44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
47. N. Chron, 1889, Pl. VI, 8,9.
The ruler's, Kṛtavīra, Sarvayasā, Bhasuan, Silāditya, Prakaśa, Kuśala known from gold coins were ruling probably in the Punjab region, as the finds of their coins make it evident. Probably they ruled in the first half of the fifth century A.D. They were Kidāra-Kushāṇa rulers for the tribal name Kidāra always appears on the obverse of their coins their names show that they had been completely Hinduised by this time. For lack of positive data it is not yet possible to ascertain the exact period of their rule, their order of succession or even the limits of their territories.

There is a gold coin of Kidāra Kushāṇashah in the Ashmolean museum. It has been included by Bivar in the Gold scyphates class of the Kushāṇa-Sassanian coin-series. The legend in Kushāṇa cursive is Bago Kidāra zoro Kushāṇa, "Lord Kidāra, the great Kushāṇa". The crown worn by the king

48. Ibid., 1889, Pl. VI, 11.
49. IMC-I, Coin of the Little Yue-chi chiefs, No. 2.
50. N. Chron, 1889, Pl. VI, 10.
51. Ibid., Pl. VI, 12.
52. Ibid., Pl. VI, 15.
54. JNSI, XVIII, 1956, Pl. II, 15.
is composed of a lower band consisting of four palmettes of which three are visible surmounted by the 'artichoke'. The head-band is formed by a diadem whose ends appear in the air behind but below the artichoke is a similar diadem, whose ends float on either side. Ghirshman has identified this crown with one that appears upon the Kidarite silver coins identified by its Brāhmī inscription as being the issue of 'Kidāra-Kushāṇa Shah'.

In the hoard of Tepe Marinjan one scyphate of Vaharan I and eleven of Kidāra were found buried with Sassanian drachmas of Shapur II (A.D. 310-379), Ardeshir II (A.D. 379-383) and Shapur III (A.D. 383-388). Since no later Sassanian coin was present, it is to be deduced that the hoard was buried at the latest by A.D. 388. By this date, therefore, the gold coins of Kidāra were in full circulation and the accession date of this ruler was well before this time.

The gold coin discussed above establishes a link between the gold coins of the Kidāra - Kushāṇa chiefs and

55. Les Chionites, Hepthalites, pp. 73-78.


57. Ibid.
the silver coins of the Kidarites. On the obverse of the Kidarite silver coins busts of kings are represented in Sassanian style.

The representation of busts of kings on silver is almost similar in all cases. Only the difference lies in crowns. The five types of silver coins have been distinguished by Martin: Kidāra I, Kidara II, Piro I, Piro II and Varahran. The Kidāra types have some features in common, namely, bust of king diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, bushy hair, no beard, wearing ear ring and necklace, shoulders draped with palmettes, obverse legend in Brāhmī script (Kidāra Kushāṇa Shah) and fire altar on the reverse surmounted by a divine bust. The differences between the two Kidāra types are the following:
(a) While the bust of Kidāra type I is to the right, the bust of Kidāra type II is facing. (b) Kidāra type I presents crown with three foliate ornaments, the centre one having five plumes and flankers, three each, crown adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe; Kidāra type II presents mural crown with three crenellated turrets, crown adorned

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid, Pl.IV. No. 43.
with floating fillets and central crenelation surmounted by crescent and fluted globe.

Piro type closely resembles the Kidāra type having a few features in common, namely, bust of king diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders, bushy hair on either side of neck, wearing ear-ring and necklace, shoulders draped with Palmettes. The stylistic resemblances lead to the conclusion that Piro and Kidāra were next to each other in dynastic succession. Martin suggests that Piro was the son and successor of Kidāra; probably Kidāra committed to Piro the charge of Peshawar.61

The two Piro types62 have some features in common, namely, a crown with two ram's horns surmounted by a fluted globe with flanking fillets, small moustache, beard with end passing through a ring, and shoulders draped with palmettes. The differences between the two Piro types are: (a) While in Piro type-1 crown is attached with two ram's horns curving outwards and central foliate ornaments of five plumes, in Piro type II crown is attached to two ram's horns curving to back and front and central foliate ornaments of three plumes (b) In Piro type I, bust of king is facing, while in Piro

62. Ibid. PP. 30-40.
type II bust of king is to the right.

The Varahran type\(^6\) of coins are similar to Piro type II. Bust of king is to the right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind, wearing crown with foliate ornaments showing three, five and three plumes respectively. The crown is adorned with floating fillets and fluted globe. Bushy hair is behind neck, small moustache and beard with end passed through ring are seen. The king wears ear-ring and necklace, his shoulders being draped in palmettes. The Piro type - II and the coins of Varahran show their faces to the right. Probably Varahran IV succeeded Piro in Peshawar.

It is to be noticed that on some silver coins of the Kidarites, bust of king is represented as full-facing, while on others it is found to the right. Under the Sassanids, the representation of bust to the right was a convention followed by all the feudatories of the Sassanian empire. The bust represented as facing probably indicates a greater independence. The numismatic evidence establishes the fact, according to the above rule, that the Kidarites were feudatories under the Sassanids in the first stage. In the

\(^{63}\) JRASB (N.S.) 1937-38, p. 41.
next stage, they became independent of Sassanian control. Lastly, the Kidarites had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanids.

The types on the Kidarite silver coins were influenced by the Sassanian coin types. The mural crowns in Piro types resemble the crowns of Shapur and Varahran-II respectively. The fluted-globe surmounting the crowns of the Kidarites is found very often in the Sassanian crowns of Firuz I, Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II. Some peculiar features of the reverse devices of the Kidāra type II and Piro type I, namely, presence of supporters facing altar with sword at the carry, a bust of Hormizd with flames at the altar etc are also to be found on the coins of the Sassanian rulers from the time of Shapur II (A.D. 310-379) to that of Varahran IV (388 - 399 A.D.) who flourished in the fourth century A.D. Therefore, the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage should be assigned to the period between the beginning and the end of the fourth century A.D. They maintained their precarious existence under the sway of the Sassanids and threat of the

64. JNSI XVIII, 1956 Pl. V. 40. A specimen bearing a portrait with the crown of palmettes associated with Kidara carries a Pahlavi inscription intended ot read the name of Varahran. This peculiar variety, according to Bivar, may represent the transition form the reign of Varahran to that of Kidāra.
Hūṇa invasion probably to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

After the downfall of the Imperial Kushāṇas the Kidāra-Kushāṇas seemed to have come to rule over the Kashmir valley and elsewhere. Their coinage followed the main trend of the Imperial Kushāṇa coinage. But it was inferior both in type and metal, style and execution.

The quality of the Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage also seems to be considerably less than that of the Imperial Kushāṇas. The cause for this deterioration in Kidāra-Kushāṇa coinage may be found in the decline of trade and commerce after the disruption of the Kushāṇa empire. The Hūṇa invasion and the Sassains in Persia which brought some parts of northwestern India under their sway must have disturbed the normal activities of trade and commerce with central Asian territories. This is probably the reason for the deterioration of the gold coinage of the Kidāra-Kushāṇas.

Kidara Kushana Coins: (Illustrated):

1. Metal Pale Gold Weight 7.59 gms
   Size 3.4 x 3.5 cms
   Provinance: Afghanistan
   Obverse Standing king.
   Lower left
   Legend between feet.
   on right
   Reverse Śiva and Bull.

Pl.No/Coin No.VI-52.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Provinance</th>
<th>Obverse Description</th>
<th>Reverse Description</th>
<th>Pl.No/Coin No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Pale Gold</td>
<td>7.94 gms</td>
<td>2.1 x 2.2 cms</td>
<td>Obverse: Crude standing figure</td>
<td>'X' in lower left.</td>
<td>Seated goddess with lotus blossom.</td>
<td>VI-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Pale Gold</td>
<td>8.01 gms</td>
<td>2.2 x 2.3 cm</td>
<td>Obverse: Crude style standing figure</td>
<td>Legend: 𐇠 lower left.</td>
<td>Seated goddess with lotus blossom.</td>
<td>VI-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>2.81 gms</td>
<td>1.0 x 1.1 cm</td>
<td>Obverse: Crude standing figure with curved hem line and very long arm.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parallel lines.</td>
<td>VI-55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kidāra-Gaḍhara Coins:

1. Metal Gold Weight 7.82 gms
   Size 1.9 cm.
   Obverse: King standing in Kushāṇa posture but different fillets hanging from the back of the crown. Also there may be two tiny letters near the outer edge—one at 10.00 o'clock E and the other at 11 O'clock H. Brāhmī on lower left Brāhmī.
   Legend
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{PI} \\
   \text{RI} \\
   \text{YA} \\
   \text{SA under arm}
   \end{array}
   \]
   Brāhmī
   GA
   DA
   HA
   RA on right
   Reverse: Seated goddess and Brāhmī legend \(\text{H}\) on right.
   Pl.No/Coin No. VI-56

2. Metal Gold Weight 7.77 gms
   Size 1.9 x 2.00 cm
   Obverse: King standing in Kushāṇa posture but different fillets hanging from the back of the crown.
   Reverse: Seated goddess with lotus blossom. Two dots, one alone and one below blossom.
   Pl.No/Coin No. VI-57
3. Metal Gold
Weight 7.78 gms
Size 1.8 x 2.0 cms
Obverse: Standing king; nimbate; sacrifices at an altar with the right hand. This obverse shows the Brāhmī Kapnn on lower left

Legend
KI
RA under arm and
DA
GA
DA on right
HA
RA

Reverse: Seated goddess with lotus blossom
Brāhmī legend on right
Pl.No/Coin No. VI-58

4. Metal Gold
Weight 7.78 gms
Size 2.0 cms
Provinance Swat Valley (Khawasa-Khela)
Obverse: King standing: faces left; nimbate; sacrifices at an altar with the right hand; vertical Brahmi legend

Legend
KI
RA
DA below arm and
GA
DA
HA
RA on right

Reverse: Seated goddess
Pl.No/Coin No. VI-59
5. Metal Gold Weight 7.78 gms
Type PIROYSA Size 1.7 x 1.9 cm
Obverse: Standing king: sacrifices at an altar with the right hand and left hand raised with trident.
Brāhmī legend उ on lower left
Vertical Legend
\[ \begin{align*}
  &\text{GA} \\
  &\text{DA} \\
  &\text{HA}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \text{RA} = \text{GADAHARA on right and} \]
Reverse: Seated goddess - no inscription.
Pl.No/Coin No. VI-60

6. Metal Gold Weight 7.78 gms
Type King PIROYSA Size 1.7 x 1.8 cm
Obverse: Standing king with curved hem; long coat; sacrifices at an altar with the right hand and left hand raised. Legend same as coin No. 74.
Reverse: Seated goddess
Legend \[ \begin{align*}
  &\text{TA} \quad \text{(on right) Unique coin.} \\
  &\text{DA}
\end{align*} \]
Pl.No/Coin No. VI-61
7. Metal Gold Weight 7.76 gms
Size 1.7 cm.
Provinance: ——
Obverse: King standing; nimbate; sacrifices at an altar with right hand and trident with the left hand.
On lower left.
Vertical Brāhmī legend KI RA under arm and DA GA on right
Adv HA RA
Reverse: Seated goddess with lotus blossom.
Brāhmī legend YI SHA on right
This coin shows the reverse inscription clearly.
Pl.No/Coin No. VI-62

8. Metal Gold Weight 7.75 gms
Size 1.7 x 1.9 cm
Obverse: Standing king, faces left; sacrifices at altar with right hand and left hand raised. Legend is same as coin No. 76.
Reverse: Seated goddess with lotus blossom.
No. Brāhmī akshara on right.
Pl.No/Coin No. VII-63
9. Metal Gold
Type King-KIRADA/
GADAHRA
Weight 7.79 gms
Size 1.7 X 1.8 cm
Obverse: King standing; faces left; sacrifices at altar with right hand and left hand raised.
Vertical Brahmi legend
KI
RA under arm and
DA
HA on right
Reverse: Seated goddess with lotus blossom.
No. Brāhmī akshra on right.
Pl.No/Coin No. VII-64

10. Metal Gold
Type (rare) Size 1.6 cm
Obverse: Standing king; sacrifices at an altar with the right hand and left raised with trident.
Brahmi
KAPAN THO on lower left.
Vertical Brahmi legend
KI
RI under arm and
DA
HA on right
Reverse: Seated goddess with blossom.
No Brāhmī legend
Pl.No/Coin No. VII-65
11. **Metal** | **Gold** | **Weight** | 7.84 gms  
**Type** | **King Kirada**/ | **Size** | 1.8 cms  

**GADAHARA**

- **Obverse:** Standing king; sacrifices at altar with right hand and left hand raised.
- **Reverse:** Legend  [KAPAN NA ON] lower left.
  - Vertical Brahmi legend:  
    - KA
    - PA
    - GA
    - RA under arm and  
    - DA
    - GA
    - HA
    - RA

- **Reverse:** Seated goddess with lotus blossom

_Pl.No/Coin No. VII-66_

**Puri Kushāṇa Coins:**

It is well known that quite a large number of the Kushāṇa and the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. The second series of coins, viz., the coins of the Puri-Kushāṇa group, are sometimes designated by the numismatists as the Oriya-Kushāṇa, but the unsuitability of such appellation is clear in view of the fact that the circulation of these coins as indicated by their provenance, was not confined to Puri or Orissa alone, but extended far and wide. Until a more suitable term is coined, it is safe to describe them simply as the 'imitation Kushāṇa coins' since they betray Kushāṇa influence.
The attention of the scholars towards the Kushāṇa coins and their imitations in Orissa was first drawn by Elliot who studied a hoard of such coins discovered in the neighbourhood of Purushottampur in the Ganjam district in 1858. In 1893 another hoard containing 548 coins was discovered near Manikratna in Puri district. In 1917 some 363 coins were found on the northern shape of the Rakha hills in the Singhbhum district. In 1912 the Collector of Balasore sent 910 copper coins of the so-called Puri Kushāṇa type to the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and they are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In 1923 a hoard of copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and a large number of Kushāṇa imitations were found at Bhajakia in the Panchpir sub-division of the Mayurbhanj district. In his History of Orissa, R.D. Banerji refers to a hoard of 282 coins, out of which 170 were of the imitation series and

65. The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, edited by the committee of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary Asiatic Society, 1858, pp. 75-78.


67. JBOvS V, pp. 73. ff.

68. AR, ASI, 1924-25, p. 130.

69. Ibid., p. 132.

112 of the Imperial Kushāṇas, the recently discovered in the Mayurbhanj district. In 193471 nearly 135 Kushāṇa coins and their imitations were discovered from Sitabhinji. A similar find72 of the Kushāṇa imitations along with the Imperial Kushāṇa coins was discovered at Viratgarh in Mayurbhanj district. In 193973 105 Kushāṇa imitations were found at Nuagaon near Bhanjakia in the Mayurbhanj district. Another hoard of the Kushāṇa coins and their imitations, numbering 1261 was discovered from Bhanjkia in the Mayurbhang district in 1963.74 B. Nath75 is stated to have discovered a hoard of the Kushāṇa coins and their imitations near the foot of the Kayema hill in the Jayepore sub-division of the Cuttack district.

It is clear that the Kushāṇa coins were found in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjan districts of Orissa. Keyema hoard exclusively contains the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. But in the hoards found at Bhanjkia and Viratgarh and Manikpatna the Kushāṇa coins were found in

72. Ibid., p. 124.
73. Ibid., IX, p. 107.
75. Ibid., pp. 84 ff.
association with the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins.\textsuperscript{76} However, the Kushāṇa coins would have been current in Orissa for a long period before they were imitated in the form of Puri-Kushāṇa coins towards the third or fourth century of the Christian era. It is true that most of the Kushāṇa coins are not found independent of the Puri Kushāṇa coins, yet, we need not presume that the Kushāṇa coins were current only at a time when the Kushāṇa empire had ceased to exist. It seems probable that the Kushāṇa empire extended as far as Orissa among the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka. No coins of Vāsudeva have been so far known in any hoard in Orissa.\textsuperscript{77} Possibly Orissa was lost by Vāsudeva by the middle of the second century A.D. But at the same time, it seems that provincial governors, appointed by the Kushāṇas in different parts of Orissa, asserted their independence at the fall of the empire and continued the use of the coins of their erstwhile masters.

As days elapsed the supply of Kushāṇa coins gradually diminished. Consequently there was the minting of the imitations of Kushāṇa copper coins which are found in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{76} An imitation gold coin bearing the motif Vāsudeva I has been found at Sisupalgarh.
  \item \textsuperscript{77} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.\textsuperscript{78}

In course of the archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar, a gold coin bearing the motif of Vāsudeva I was discovered. On stratigraphical basis the coin has been assigned to the third century A.D. The legend on the coins has been read by A.S. Altekar\textsuperscript{79} as Mahārajarājādhas Dharma dama dharasa. He has suggested that Dharma Damadhara may well have been a Jain and belonged to Murunḍa family, which may have ruled a portion of Bihar and also of Orissa.

Thus, we find that attempts have already been made by scholars to establish the theory of Murunḍa supremacy in Orissa. But the conclusions are based on hypothetical considerations. Mahāraja Surasaḥarmā as Panigarhi supposes, was probably a subordinate under a Murunḍa king, but the king himself does not refer to his overlord in the record. Again Guhasiva who is supposed to have issued Puri-Kushāṇa coins, is only known to us from literature. Dharma Damdhara is also supposed to be Murunḍa chief on purely hypothetical consideration.

\textsuperscript{78} JASB, XXVIII (N.S.). p. 12; JNSI, XII, p. 107; JBORS, V, p. 73, IC, III, p. 727.
\textsuperscript{79} JNSI., XII, p.1.
It may be noted in this context that after the fall of the great Kushāṇa empire sometime after A.D. 230 or 240 the Kushāṇa chiefs, known in history as the later Kushāṇas, ruled over the Punjab region for about a century. There also we find a large number of coins which are debased imitations of those of the great Kushāṇa Kings. It was with the rise of Samudragupta that Daivaputra, obviously Kushāṇa chief of the Punjab region submitted before the Guptas. In the same analogy we are inclined to believe that even after the fall of the Great Kushāṇas the Kushāṇa chiefs continued to circulate the so-called *Puri-Kushāṇa* coins in Orissa. It was the rise of Satrubhanja that brought about the fall of the ‘Devaputras’ in hundreds of battles in the northern and north western part of Orissa.

These Devaputras of the Asanpat inscription need not be confused with Murundas. The terms Deviputra and "Saka-Murunda" have been mentioned as distinctly different in the Allahabad pillar inscription. So we think that although, as gleaned from literary sources, the Murundas probably exerted supremacy for sometime in eastern India, the Kushāṇas continued to govern in different parts of Orissa till the fourth century A.D. In Keonjhar district where we have found

80. The Classical Age, pp. 50-59.
both Kushāṇa and Puri Kushāṇa coins, we are also getting the inscription of Satrubhanja of the Naga family at Asanpat.\(^{81}\) The inscription refers to the clash between Satrubhanja and the Kushāṇa chiefs. In that case we may as well presume that "Puri-Kushāṇa" coins found at Keonjhar were either issued by the Kushāṇa chiefs and prior to their struggle with Satrubhanga or the coins found at Keonjhar were issued by Satrubhanja himself. In the absence of any direct evidence it is not, however, safe to say as to who issued the "Puri Kushāṇa" coins at Keonjhar.

Satrubhanja although had fought against Kushāṇas chiefs and probably had extended his suzerainty as far as Toshali, he had nothing to do with Kalinga\(^{82}\) which fell under the Matharas and Vasīṣṭhas during the Gupta period. Under Umaverman, Bhilingi, where we have found the hoard of Puri Kushāṇa coins, became an integral part of Kalinga and when the Matharas extended their territory as far as the river Mahanadi in the north\(^{83}\) Bhillingabhagavishaya, identified with modern Bhilingi was situated in the heart of their

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81. The capitals of Kalinga during this period were located at Pishtapura and Sinhapura, far away from Bhubaneswar.

82. Ibid.

83. Vide line 2 and 3 of the Ningondi grant of Prabhanjanauarma EI, XXX, pp. 112-118.
territory. So we are inclined to believe that just as Samundragupta outstood remnant of Kushāṇa power in the North-western part of India by subduing Daivapatra Shāhl Shahānshāhī, the early kings of Kalinga, who traced their lineage from Mathara and Vaśīṣṭha families, were also responsible to oust the remnant of Kushāṇa power in Kalinga just as Satrubhanja in the Keonjhar region fought against "Devaputra". The Matharas, who marched from their capital Pishtapura in the north eastern direction, very probably had to face a clash with Kushāṇa chief near Bhilingi which became their strong hold in the subsequent period. So we think that the Bhilingi hoard of Puri-Kushāṇa coins was either issued by the Kushāṇa chiefs themselves might have issued those imitation coins owing to the popularity of the said type.84

84. The Matharas had issued their own coins at a later period when they extended their territory even beyond Mahanadi. We have some copper coins, discovered at Gandhibedha in Balasore district of Orissa, which bear the inscription "Sri Nandasya". palaeographically assigned to the fifth century A.D. (OHRJ, VI, p. 157-158). It is not unlikely that Sri Nanda of the Gandibedha coins is identical with Nandaprahhahanjanvarman, whose Berarga inscription refers to his lordship over entire Kalinga.
According to a Chinese legend, recorded on Sridharmapiṭaka, a minister called Mathara brought about the tragic end of Kanishka. We further learn from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa that the Matharas were a people who dwelt along the river Satadru, not far from the capital of Kanishka. We may, therefore, suppose that the Matharas of Kalinga, who appeared in the political scene after the fall of Kushāṇa power in Orissa, might have migrated from the Sutlej Valley and like the minister Matharas, who brought about the tragic end of Kanishka, they might have taken an important part in crushing the remnant of Kushāṇa power in Orissa.

So far as the characteristic features of the Kushāṇa coins are concerned, no observation is necessary since a large volume of literature has already been composed on the subject, but a few comments may be made in this regard on the second group of coins, i.e., Puri-Kushāṇa coins. The obverse of these coins bears standing figure as found on the issues of Kanishka and Havishka, while the reverse copies one of the deities on the reverse of the Kushāṇa coins. The deities represented are MAO, the Moon God, MIIPO, AEPO and

85. JA, XXXII, pp. 381 &3880.
OADO. According to Hornle⁸⁷ the coins may be divided into the following classes and varieties.

CLASS I No crescent on either side. The coins of this class are of five varieties according to the position of the figures.

CLASS II With crescent on reverse in the left top of the field. The coin of this class are of seven varieties according to the position of the figures.

CLASS III With crescent on reverse in the right top of the field. The coin of this class are of three varieties according to the position of the figures.

CLASS IV With crescent on both obverse and reverse. The coins of this class are of seven varieties according to the position of the figures.

CLASS V With crescent on head of the reverse figure.

Since the days of Hoernale have been discovered certain new types of the Kushāṇa imitations a few of which may be described below:

Type No. 1. The Taṅka Type

Obverse: Three coins possibly representing hills; below the coins Brāhmī legend-Taṅka.

Reverse: Moon god with crescent. A good many of these coins have been found from the Balasore hoard. At least four different varieties may be distinguished according to the position of the crescent, the sun and the attitude of the figures.

Type No. II The Elephant rider type:

The obverse of these coins shows the king on an elephant, whereas, on the reverse we have a rude figure of a deity, representing the sun-god. Two of such coins were discovered from the Sitabhinji hoard.

The discovery of the Imperial Kushāṇa coins and their imitations in abundance from different parts of Orissa throws remarkable light on the obverse history of the provenance in the second century and the last quarter of the first century A.D. Hoernale was of opinion that the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins, destitute as they were of any political significance, were, mere temple token, but inasmuch as they have been found from different parts of Orissa, instead of the Puri region alone in large numbers,

88. Ibid., pp. 63 ff.
it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they were used as currency in the country for a certain period of time. Vincent Smith\textsuperscript{89} held that they might have been issued by the rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century A.D. P. Acharya\textsuperscript{90} advocates that the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins represent the coinage of the kings of Orissa who flourished in the Gupta period and were quite independent of the Gupta emperors. Allan\textsuperscript{91} assigns the various hoards of these coins to the third or early fourth century A.D. T.N. Ramachandran\textsuperscript{92} likewise assigns these coins to the fourth century A.D. on the ground that the imitation Kushāṇa coins from Sitabhinji were found in the vicinity of a tempera painting, belonging on ground of style and palaeography of an inscription on it, to the fourth century A.D.

While fixing the date of these coins we should not fail to note that the majority of the imitation Kushāṇa coins were found in association with the Imperial Kushāṇa coins and this would unmistakably point to the contemporaneity of


\textsuperscript{90} JNSI, II. pp. 125-126.

\textsuperscript{91} Allan, BMC, AI, pp. 205-209.

\textsuperscript{92} JNSI, XII, p. 69.
these two groups of coins. The inscribed coins of the so-called Puri-Kushāna series might have been slightly later in date than the remaining ones, but to assign them to a period as late as the sixth century A.D. is unjustifiable. A.C. Banerji\textsuperscript{93} rightly point out: "The most time honoured mistake that has been made in assessing the palaeography of the legend is to date them by our knowledge derived from stone inscriptions. The nature and quality of each of these materials impose certain amount of caution in adjudicating their dates. Die-makers and stone-cutters are two totally different propositions—what is more, metal is less traceable than stone and bent itself more easily to cursive forms. Accordingly we may conclude that the imitation Kushāna coins were in circulation in Orissa simultaneously with the coins of the Kushāna emperors Kanishka and Huvishka.

P.L. Gupta\textsuperscript{94} while attempting to fix the date of the Kushāna currency in the eastern part of India, maintained that the Kushāna coins were current in Orissa in the period when the Kushāna empire had ceased to exist in Northern India. He based this observation mainly on the ground that

\textsuperscript{93} IHQ, XIII, p. 303.

\textsuperscript{94} JNSI, XV, p. 187.
in course of the archaeological excavation conducted at Sisupalgarh, near Bhubaneswar, in 1948, a copper coin of Huvishka was found in a layer ascribable to the last quarter of the second century A.D. Leaving aside the questionable nature of the stratigraphical divisions of the soil at Sisupalgarh, we may strike a note of caution to the effect that it is unsafe to jump to an important conclusion on the evidence of a solitary coin only, unless it is not corroborated by other evidences. In fact there is no evidence at present which contradicts the presumption that the Imperial Kushāṇa coins were current in Orissa during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka. We fail to appreciate how the coins of the Kushāṇas, instead of being the currency of Orissa during the period of their rule, came to be introduced at a subsequent period by the independent kings of the land.

How would we then explain the presence of the Kushāṇa and the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins in Orissa in the second century and the last quarter of the first century A.D.? As already stated, these coins, which are made of copper, comprise a few thousands, and not a few specimens as in the case of Bengal and Bihar. It, however, may be suggested, on the analogy of the recovery of some hundreds of Roman dinaris on the Indian coast, as is actually done by some
scholars, that these coins infiltrated into Orissa by way of trade and commerce. While we agree to believe that gold and silver coins to some extent can be carried to distant lands without implying any political occupation, we fail to explain the presence of thousands of copper coins in Orissa by the same way.

Copper coins do not travel long. They were generally issued for the purposes of daily transactions of the people. Kushāṇa copper coins are not known to have travelled to central or western India by way of commercial intercourse. If, therefore, they are found in abundance at numerous places in 'Orissa', the conclusion is inevitable that Orissa was conquered by the Kushāṇas by the time of Kanishka I.

Once the theory of Kushāṇa occupation of Orissa is accepted, the abundant use of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins in the province can be satisfactorily explained. The Kushāṇa emperors ruled their vast dominions through viceroys and it is likely that they adopted the same policy in Orissa. A large number of Kushāṇa coins were evidently supplied to the outlying province from the imperial mint at certain interval of times but this supply to Orissa from a distant centre being irregular and inadequate, the provincial governors were empowered to issue coins on the basis of the Kushāṇa originals. The poor workmanship of the
imitation Kushāṇa coins demonstrates the utter inefficiency of the Oriya mint-masters as compared to the remarkable dexterity of their imperial counterparts. The provenance of and the features in the so-called Puri Kushāṇa coins indicate that they were not issued by a minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of administrators who had no claim to sovereignty, but still were in charge of a very extensive region. History does not record any such ruling family in Orissa in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and unless we connect it with the Kushāṇa vice-regal family, it is hard for us to explain the wide circulation of the imitation Kushāṇa coins during any period of Orissa history.

The twenty-four coins described by comprise the six coins in the British Museum collection, an individually acquired coin in collection and seventeen coins that the author recently acquired in London from a coin collection formed in Bengal at the beginning of this century. One can infer that the coins were issued in the general order in which they are described insofar as progressive decrease in coin weight (13 to 7 gms) and dia (25 to 21 mm) is associated with deterioration in style and with progressive changes in the coin type. Two coins have an elephant-rider obverse type, the others show a standing king; all the coins have a standing deity as reverse type.
PURU KUSHANA COINS (Found from Orissa) (Illustrated):

1. Metal: Copper  Weight  10.15 gms
   Size  2.38 cm.
   Provinance: Village Pindra Bera
   Obverse: Figure with right arm curved down wards; left arm raised, boots curved upward.
   Reverse: Figure with right arm curved down wards and left arm raised; boots curved upwards.
   Pl.No/Coin No. VII-67

2. Metal Copper  Weight  8.77 gms
   Size  2.38 x 2.33 cms
   Provinance: Singhoom
   Obverse: Same as coin No. 81.
   Reverse: Same as coin No. 81.
   Pl.No/Coin No. VII-68

3. Metal Copper  Weight  10.09 gms
   Size  2.33 cms
   Provinance: Bhilangi
   Obverse: Figure with right arm downwards; left arm raised; boots curved upwards.
   Reverse: Figure with right arm curved downwards; left arm raised; boots curved upwards.
   Pl.No/Coin No. VII-69
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Copper Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Provinance</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Copper Weight</td>
<td>2.38 cm</td>
<td>Bhilangi</td>
<td>Same as Coin No. 83.</td>
<td>Same as coin No. 83.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Metal</td>
<td>Copper Weight</td>
<td>2.75 x 2.55 cm</td>
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<td>Same as coin No. 83</td>
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<td>Copper Weight</td>
<td>2.38 cm</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Same as coin No. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Copper Weight</td>
<td>2.38 cm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same as coin No. 83.</td>
<td>Same as coin No. 83</td>
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</tbody>
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- **Pl.No/Coin No. VII-70** 8.99 gm
- **Pl.No/Coin No VII-71** 8.44 gms
- **Pl.No/Coin No.VII-72** 9.88 gms
- **Pl.No/Coin No.VII-73** 8.17 gms
9. Metal Copper Weight 8.39 gms
   Size 2.38 cm.
   Obverse: Same as Coin No. 83.
   Reverse: Same as coin No. 83

10. Metal Copper Weight 8.23 gms
    Size 2.5 x 2.38 cm
    Provinance:
    Obverse: Same as coin No. 83
    Reverse: Same as coin No. 83

11. Metal Copper Weight 7.60 gms
    Size 2.08 cm
    Obverse: Same as coin No. 83
    Reverse: Same as coin No. 83