CHAPTER IV
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EPIGRAPHIC AND NUMISMATIC SOURCES

The chapter delineates briefly the relevant epigraphic and numismatic sources of the Mathurā region during the Kushāṇa period. The archaeological contexts related to these evidences certainly help us in the historical reconstructions available from different scholarly works.

EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES:

We have few evidences of epigraphic documents recovered from the stratigraphic contexts at Mathurā and Sonkh. Therefore, the present work has limited scope in explaining epigraphic sources pertaining to the Kushāṇa period. Moreover, we have not able to decipher any new inscriptions during our short field survey in this region. This section basically evaluates the published epigraphic records on Mathurā, and tries to trace the settlement history of this region during the Kushāṇa period.

The epigraphic records discovered from the Mathurā region are mostly small and fragmentary private records of dedicatory nature, engraved on statues, pillars, arches, votive tablets and others. Some of them are dated and some are undated. Most of them are written in Brāhmī characters.

The limited epigraphic evidences recovered during excavations at Mathurā are- an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Kanīṣka (I) from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, that refers to a gift (probably of the tank itself) by a lady named Visakhamitra.1 Another mutilated inscription from the same place on the pedestal of a damaged image mentions the year 80-5 of the same era (samvat).2 One more inscription of Huviṣka of 50+? regnal year,
recording probably a gift to the Dhanyavarma Vihāra was unearthed from Govindnagar Housing Colony (MTR 13) area.³

There are at least hundred dated and hundred thirty-eight undated inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period from this region.⁴ Besides, few inscriptions are also reported in the respective issues of Indian Archaeology-A Review.⁵ These inscriptions have been found from various places (inside and outside of Mathurā city) of Mathurā district. The sites, inside Mathurā city, which have yielded Kushāṇa inscriptions are- Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Dalpat-ki-khiṛki Mohalla, Jāmalpur, Bhūteśvara, Sītalā-Ghāṭī, Balabhadrā Kuṇḍa, Govindnagar, Chaubārā, Dhūnsārpārā Quarter, Deeg Gate, Gopalpur Quarter, Holy Gate, Jamnā Bāgh, Katholi Kūā, Katra, Manoharpur Mohalla, Māṭā Gālī etc. The sites, outside Mathurā city, which have yielded Kushāṇa inscriptions are- Pālikherā, Rāl-Bhādār, Sōṅkh, Isāpur, Chargāon, Rawal, Anyor, Maholī, Gaṇeshrā, Gigla, Giridharpur Tīlā, Gukharauli, Govardhan, Morā, Koṭā, Naugava, Saknā, Salempur Well, Tōkṛī Tīlā or Māṭ etc.⁶ Here we should mention that at least seventy-four inscriptions have been found from Kaṅkālī Tīlā (forty eight dated and twenty six undated) and are all dedicated to the Jaina cult.

These epigraphic sources reflect the political, administrative, religious and socio-economic aspects of this region during the Kushāṇa period.

They also help us in ascertainmentg the rulers and their ruling periods. In this context it is to be mentioned that, there are several arguments regarding the identification of rulers and their ruling periods.

An image inscription⁷ found in the Tōkṛī Tīlā, near Māṭ records the erection of a devakula, a garden, a tank, a well, an assembly hall and a gateway by a bakanapati called Humaspala. It also states a Kushāṇa king Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Kuṣāṇaputra Śāhi Vamataksama. There are different opinions regarding the identification of Vamataksama.
D.R. Sahni, V.S. Agrawala, Lohuizen-de Leeuw, B.N. Mukherjee and H. Luders have identified him with Wima Kadphises. Whereas, H.C. Raychaudhuri, D.C. Sircar, B.N. Puri and others do not agree to identify him with Wima Kadphises. Another inscription from the same mound records that a devakula of Huviska’s grandfather, who held the epithets Satyadharma and Nanayat Sarva Ścaśa-Viratisṭarāja, became dilapidated in course of time. It was reconstructed by a bakanapati, the son of a Mahādandanayaka for the increase of the longevity and strength of Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Huviska. Palaeographically, these two inscriptions belonged to the Kushana period. While, the first inscription records the erection of a devakula along with the excavation of a tank etc. during the time of Vamataksama, the second inscription mentions the restoration of a devakula during Huviska’s time along with the excavation of a tank which was earlier constructed by Huviska’s grandfather, but in course of time became dilapidated. According to some scholars these two inscriptions probably refer to one and the same devakula and Vamataksama was the grandfather of Huviska and may be identified with Wima Kadphises. If we accept this theory then it is suggested that Mathurā region was included in the Kusāna Empire during or before the reign of Wima Kadphises. As both the inscriptions are undated, we are not able to know the regnal period of this ruler. Others opined that Vamataksama might be associated with the Kaṇiṣka group of rulers and probably identified as the junior partner of Kaṇiṣka.

A number of dated inscriptions of Kaṇiṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviska and Vāsudeva have been reported from the Mathurā region. Scholars have different opinions regarding the reading of the date of inscriptions and identification of the rulers. A fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of an image of a seated Bodhisattva from Mathurā reads as:
While discussing on this inscription, Lüters\textsuperscript{20} reads the name as Kaniska and the date either as 4 or 40. B.N. Mukherjee\textsuperscript{21} tries to identify the Kaniska in this inscription with Kaniska II, the son of Vaješka of the Ára inscription\textsuperscript{22} of the year 41 and he was probably Huviška's co-ruler at least for some time (from the year 30 to 41 of Kaniska era). Another inscription\textsuperscript{23} of the third century A.D. from Dalpat-ki-khiṛki Mohalla in the Mathurā city records the name of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniska. According to V.V. Mirashi\textsuperscript{24} the epigraph was dated to the year 54 and the ruler was probably Kaniska II, who ruled jointly with Huviška at least from the year 41 to 54. D.R. Sahni\textsuperscript{25}, Łuders\textsuperscript{26}, D.C. Sircar\textsuperscript{27} read the year as 14 and suggest that the ruler was probably Kaniska I. B.N. Mukherjee\textsuperscript{28} read the date as the year 94 and this Kaniska was possibly Kaniska III.

Kaniska probably ruled in this region up to his 23\textsuperscript{rd} regnal year (78 A.D. to 101 A.D.). He was succeeded by Vāsiška in A.D. 102. His inscription\textsuperscript{29} of the year 24 was discovered from Isapur. It records the erection of a sacrificial post by a Brāhmaṇa named Dronala, the son of Rudrila during the reign of Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Vāsiška. His last reported inscription from Mathurā was dated to the year 28.\textsuperscript{30} So, possibly he ruled for a short period.

Vāsiška was succeeded by Huviška as attested by his epigraphic records from this region. Numerous inscriptions of Huviška from the year 28 to 60 of the Kushāṇa era (106 A.D to 138 A.D.) have been reported from this region. Huviška was succeeded by Vāsudeva and his epigraphs from the year 64 or 67 to 98 (142 or 145 A.D to 176 A.D.) have been discovered from Mathurā. Here it is to be noted that we have no references of conjoint rule of Huviška and Vāsudeva. An inscription\textsuperscript{31} of the year 77 found at Jamālpur records some gifts to the Huviška Vihāra.
This indicates that although Huviška was not a reigning ruler of that time, some gifts were made to his monastery.

Our study reveals that at least thirty one inscription belonged to the regnal period of Kaṇiška, four inscriptions to the regnal period of Vāsiška, thirty three inscriptions to that of Huviška and twenty nine inscriptions to that of Vāsudeva. All have been reported from the Mathurā region.32

Imperial titles like Mahārāja, Rājatirāja, Devaputra, Śāhi are found associated with the Kushāṇa rulers in the inscriptions from the Mathurā region.33 The Kushāṇas probably borrowed the title Mahārāja Rājatirāja (‘the great king of kings’) from the old Persian title Khšāyathiya Khšāyathiyanm, used by the Scytho-Partians34 and the title Śāhi was also adopted from the old Persian title Khšāyathiya.35 There are several theories regarding the title Devaputra. D.C.Sircar states that Devaputra was not an indigenous title,36 whereas F.W.Thomas37 believes Devaputra was not a royal title, but a complimentary epithet. According to R.S.Sharma,38 this title was adopted by the Kushāṇas as an official title. In an inscription39 from Māṭ we have found another title called Kuṣāṇaputra, which is neither found in any other inscriptions nor in any coins of the Kushāṇas. Scholars like to interpret the word as ‘the scion of the Kuṣāṇa clan’.40

In the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā, we have references to different official designations like- Mahādandanāyaka, Vaisvāsika, Kāyastha, Bakanaṃpati, Grāmika etc., but they never talked about the king’s ministers, administrative departments and revenue systems of the period.

The designation Mahādandanāyaka appears in four inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. A Mathurā stone inscription refers to the Mahādandanāyaka named Hummiyaka, who installed a Buddhist image at the Sakka-Vihāra in the 4th regnal year of Kaṇiška.41 The Māṭ
inscription of Huviṣka refers to a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka whose son reconstructed the temple of the grandfather of Huviṣka.\textsuperscript{42} Another inscription of the year 74 records the dedication by a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Valāna.\textsuperscript{43} Another inscription from Gaṇeshrā records the erection of a statue of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Ulāna.\textsuperscript{44} Probably it was the designation of a military and judicial officer\textsuperscript{45} or a commander of forces.\textsuperscript{46}

Another official designation Vaisvāsika is found in five inscriptions.\textsuperscript{47} In three inscriptions Vaisvāsika Vakamihira is mentioned along with his son Horomurnda, making donation for the protection of their sovereignty. Other two inscriptions mention the name of Vaisvāsika Aṣyala and Ulāna. Lüders\textsuperscript{48} suggests it to be the title of some functionary of high rank. According to D.C. Sircar\textsuperscript{49} Vaisvāsika means ‘a privy councillor’ or ‘private secretary’.

The term Kāyastha has been found in an inscription\textsuperscript{50} of the time of Vāsudeva dated in the year 93. The inscription records the dedication of a statue and an umbrella of Lord Pitāmaha (Buddha) by a Kāyastha named Śramaṇa, during the reign of Vāsudeva. (Pl.XI) According to D.C. Sircar\textsuperscript{51} Kāyastha was generally considered as ‘the professional scribe’ and also engaged in the service of the king’s officials like the collector of revenue, minister, magistrate, judge etc.

The designation Bakanapati or Vakanapati occurs in three Mathura inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. In one inscription\textsuperscript{52} it is mentioned that a Bakanapati named Humaspala constructed a temple, a garden, a tank, a well, an assembly hall and a gateway. Another inscription\textsuperscript{53} mentioned that a Bakanapati, who was the son of a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka reconstructed the temple of Huviska’s grandfather. The third inscription\textsuperscript{54} refers to a Vakanapati who was Kanasarukamanaputra and Kharasalera-pati and gifted a Puṇyaśālā. (Pl.XII) Sten Konow\textsuperscript{55} states that probably Bakanapati may mean ‘the ruler of Wakhan’, a district of North-East Afghanistan. Lüders\textsuperscript{56} thinks
that Bakanapati or Vakanapati was probably an Iranian word denoting some functionary. H.W. Bailey states that Bakanapati was probably an 'official in charge of temples'.

The designation Grāmika was found in two Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. In the Kushāṇa period Grāmika was probably in charge of the administration of a village. A Mathurā inscription of the year 40 records the dedication of a Jaina image by Śīhadrattā, the wife of the village headman (Grāmika) Jayanāga and the daughter-in-law of the village headman (Grāmika) Jayadeva. Another inscription of the year 84 mentions a Grāmika, whose wife installed an image of the Arhat Rśabha. From the first inscription we may assume that the post of Grāmika was hereditary.

Although, we have meagre information about different features of the Kushāṇa administration in the Mathurā region, indirect references may help us to put some light in this aspect. An inscription of the year 92 records the erection of a stūpa after the Buddhist monk Grāmadasika, a resident of the Veyḍavihāra. This indicates that the stūpa was probably erected under the royal patronage of the Kushāṇas. Both the inscriptions from Māṭ and an inscription of the year 28 mentioned above indicate that official patronage was prevalent regarding the construction of the deavakula and Puṇyaśālā. There are two inscriptions mentioning the Vihāra of Mahārāja Rajātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka and this probably indicates that the king took interest in the construction of vihāras. One inscription of the year 51 of the time of Huviṣka mentions that an image of holy Śākyamuni was installed by the monk Buddhavarman for the worship of all Buddhas and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa of the teacher Saṁghadāsa and for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings, in the Vihāra of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka. This reference to the donations made towards Huviṣka Vihāra by the local people may

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specify that Huviśka's rule was well established in the Mathurā region and the people were aware about his reigning period.

The epigraphic records of Mathurā throw enough light on the religious beliefs/practices of the Kushāna period.

In the early historical period Mathurā was an important centre of Brāhmānism. Various inscriptions found from this region attested the popularity of the Śaiva cult during the Kushāna period. One inscription from Tokri Tīlā refers to Huviśka's grandfather as Satyadharmasthita and nanayat Sarva Ścanda-Virātīśṭarājya. Lüders thinks that Ścandaśīrīra is the god belonging to the 'circle grouped round Siva'. According to D.C. Sircar, the name of the deity is Caṇḍāvīra, not Ścandaśīrīra. The word śca was sometimes read for śa. Sarva as one of the variant names of Śiva is often mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Mahābhārata and elsewhere. The inscription thus shows the king's (Huviśka's grandfather) devotion to Sarva and Caṇḍāvīra, i.e. Śiva. Another inscription of the early Kushāna period discovered from the Delhi-Agra roadside, near Chaurāsī records the erection of a water tank, a garden, an assembly hall, a stone tablet and a temple by some persons in order to propitiate the god Maheśvara.

The phallic forms of Śiva were also represented in the inscriptions of the Kushāna period. A fragmentary inscription of the Kushāna period discovered from the village Giglā records the erection of a Śiva liṅga representing the local deity named Jaṭeśvara by some one for the welfare and happiness of himself, his parents and of those who assented to the gift.

A Kushāna inscription dated in the year 24 of the reign of Vāsiśka records the setting up of a sacrificial post (yūpa) after performing a sacrifice lasting for twelve days by Drōnala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Māṇachandoga school. This indicates that the Vedic practice was popular in the Kushāna period at
Mathurā. A similar type of inscription recording the erection of a yūpa
was found in three Maukhari inscriptions of 237 A.D. from Kotah district
of Rajputana72 and two inscriptions of 224 A.D. from Nándāsā of
Udaipur.73

One inscription74 of the year 28 of Huviška’s reign records the
creation of a permanent endowment for the maintenance of a Punyasālā
for catering free food to one hundred Brāhmaṇas per month for the
religious merit of Devaputra Sāhi Huviška and for those who loved him.
This testifies to the fact that probably Brāhmaṇas played an important
role in the society and their relationship with the imperial power was
cordial.

An inscription75 dated in the year 11 of the reign of Kaṇiška records
the installation of an image of the god Kārttikeya by some persons
thereby indicating the popularity of the cult of Kārttikeya at Mathurā
during the Kushāna period.

Several inscriptions of the Kushāna period referring to the Nāga
cult have been found from the Mathurā region. The Jamalpur mound
stone slab inscription76 dated in the year 26 records the installation of a
stone-slab (śilāpattā) by some persons who are the sons of the actors of
Mathurā at the sthāna of Dadhikarṇa, the lord of the Nāgas. Another
inscription77 dated in the year 77 records the erection of a pillar by
Devila, the servant or priest at the shrine of Dadhikarṇa Nāga. The name
Dadhikarṇa, was also found on a pedestal of a headless Nāga statue
found in the Jamuna near Mathurā.78 An inscription79 discovered from
The Rāl-Bhāḍar mound dated in the year 8 of the reign of Kaṇiška records
the establishment of a tank and a garden in honour of Bhagavat
Bhūmināga for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. Thus the
above epigraphs indicate the popularity of the Nāga cult at Mathurā
during the Kushāna period. The cult was so popular that the inscriptions
not only highlighted the adoration of Dadhikarna Naga, who was a local Naga deity, but also the existence of his temple at Mathurā. A number of dedicatory inscriptions discovered from the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā reveal that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in this region. According to the epigraphic records four Buddhist sects namely Mahāsanghika, Sarvāstivādin, Sammitiya and Dharmaguptaka were popular in the Mathurā region. At least three inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period of Mathurā speak of the Mahāsanghika sect. An inscription80 of the year 51 mentions the gift of statue of Bodhisattva by a donor, for the acceptance of the Mahāsanghikas. Another inscription81 of the year 16 mentions the gift of the statue of Bodhisattva by monk Nāgadatta, resident of Kāśhikīya Vihāra, for the acceptance of the Mahāsanghikas (Mahāsanghikas) teachers. The third inscription82 mentions setting up of a statue for the Mahāsanghikas, the supporters of Buddhist religion, residing in the Cutaka Vihāra. Although we have no direct evidence of the Sarvāstivādin sect in the Kushāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā, a Buddhist inscription83 dated in the year 33 refers to a nun Buddhāmītra and a monk Bala, both of whom knew the Tripiṭaka. Two inscriptions from Sahet-Mahet84 in U.P. record the gift of an umbrella, a staff and an image of Bodhisattva made by Bhikṣu Bala for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins. So we can say that the nun Bala mentioned in the Mathurā inscription was probably a Sarvāstivādin. The existence of another Buddhist sect Dharmaguptaka has been mentioned in an inscription85 of the Kushāṇa period dated in the year 17. It states the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by a lay worshipper for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptaka teachers.

In an inscription86 of the year 93, the Buddha is mentioned as ‘bhagovato Pitamahasya’. Such unique epithet of Buddha was also found in an inscription from Deoriya, near Allahabad.87
A Buddhist image inscription of the year 33 refers to a nun named Buddhamitra and a monk named Bala. Both of them knew the Tripitaka. The name of the said monk was found in some Kushāna inscriptions from Sārnath and Sāhet-Māhet and the name of the nun was known from two Kushāna inscriptions from Kosām and Sārnath. The inscription suggests that some monks and nuns of the Kushāna period at Mathurā were well versed in the religious texts and knew the canonical Budddhist literature Tripitaka.

A Kushāna inscription of Mathurā applies the epithet caturvidya (generally attributed to the Brāhmaṇas, who is well versed in the four Vedas) to the monk Buddhisrestha, who made some gifts to the cātuddisa Saṅgha. Lūders suggests that it was used by the Buddhists probably in imitation of the Brāhmanical terms.

The practice of meditation is an essential part of the daily life of the Buddhist monks and nuns as is evident from an inscription of the Kushāna period. It records the gift of a pillar base by the monks Śuriya and Buddharakṣita, who practised meditation (Prāhaṇikāṇātī) for bestowing health on all the fellow meditators.

At least five inscriptions of the Kushāna period discovered from the Jamalpur mound referring Saṅghapraikatas. They were probably a body of laymen, entrusted by the Buddhist monks with supports of the monastery. In one inscription a list of Saṅghapraikatas like Bhadraghoṣa, Saṅghadāsa, Buddhānanda, Saṅghadeva, Dharmapriya, Saṅghamitra and others have been mentioned.

A Kushāna inscription records the erection of an image of the Buddha for the attainment of Nirvāṇa by a teacher named Saṅghadāsa, as well as the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. This inscription probably clues to the idea of Nirvāṇa and its attainment as held by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.
The names of several Buddhist *Vihāras* are mentioned in the Kushāṇa epigraphs of Mathurā. Names of at least twenty three *Vihāras* have been listed in the Mathurā inscriptions. Among them most of the *Vihāras* are dated to the Kushāṇa period. The inscriptions state that the *Mahāsaṅghika* sect was associated with *Alaneka Vihāra*, *Cutaka Vihāra* and *Kāśhikīya Vihāra*. An inscription from Mathurā city refers to setting up some thing for the *Mahāsaṅghikas* in the *Cuṭaka Vihāra*. An inscription refers to the setting up of a statue of Bodhisattva as a gift of the monk Nāgadatta, in the *Kāśhikīya Vihāra* for the acceptance of the *Mahāsaṅghika* teachers. Two inscriptions refer to the *Huviṣka Vihāra*. One inscription of the year 51 mentions setting up of an image of Śākyamuni in the *Vihāra of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka*. Another inscription of the year 77 record that monk Jīvaka made some gifts in the *Vihāra of Mahārāja Rājāṭirāja Devaputra Huviṣka*. One inscription of the year 22 mentions about *Prāvārika Vihāra*. This indicates that artisan communities were also associated with the *Vihāras* and the tailoring community (*Prāvārika*) was so rich and famous that they constructed a *Vihāra* in their own name. Besides some *Vihāras* of the Kushāṇa period are named after individual names such as *Dhnyavarma Vihāra* etc. Probably such individuals were members of rich group or traders who can afford the construction of these *Vihāras*. The following chart is a tentative list of the Buddhist *Vihāras* mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenances of the inscriptions</th>
<th>Dates of the Inscriptions mentioning the name of the <em>Vihāras</em></th>
<th>Name of the <em>Vihāras</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mātāgali, Mathurā</td>
<td>Kushāṇa</td>
<td>Cutaka <em>Vihāra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Kushāṇa</td>
<td>Venda <em>Vihāra</em></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Vihara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anyor</td>
<td>Kushāṇa</td>
<td>Uttara Harusa</td>
<td>Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naugavā</td>
<td>Kushāṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Year 22 of the Kushāṇa era</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pravarika Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Year 16 of the Kushāṇa era</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kaṣṭikīya Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonkh</td>
<td>Year 23 of the Kushāṇa era</td>
<td></td>
<td>Guṇḍa Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindnagar Housing Colony</td>
<td>Kushāṇa (Huviṣka)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dhanyavarmā Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Year 45 of the Kushāṇa era</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rosika Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamalpur</td>
<td>Year 51 of the Kushāṇa era</td>
<td></td>
<td>Huviṣka Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭrā</td>
<td>Śaka Kṣatrapa/Early Kushāṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amohasi Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gau-Ghāṭ Well, Mathurā</td>
<td>Śaka Kṣatrapa/Early Kushāṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śrī Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sakka Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maholī</td>
<td>Year 92</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khaṇḍa Vihāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Kushāṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saddha Vihāra</td>
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</table>

**Chart. 2: Showing name of the Buddhist vihāras mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā**

The inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā mention the names of several donors. At least thirty-nine Buddhist male donors and ten Buddhist female donors have been mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period.
Jainism was in a flourishing condition during the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā. A large numbers of donative records incised on the images of Jinas, votive tablets, arches have been recovered from the Kushāṇa period. An inscription\(^{102}\) of the year 49 mentions the establishment of an image of Arhat Nāndyāvarta at the Bodava stūpa, built by the gods. Smith\(^{103}\) argues that the stūpa is probably ‘the oldest known building in India’.

The inscriptions of Mathurā mention the cult of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. Installations of the statues of five Tīrthaṅkaras – Rśabhanātha,\(^{104}\) Sambhavanātha,\(^{105}\) Śāntinātha,\(^{106}\) Ariṣṭenemi\(^{107}\) and Pārśvanātha\(^{108}\) have been mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. An inscription\(^{109}\) of the year 48 records the gift of an image of Sambhava, the third Tīrthaṅkara. Another inscription of the year 19 mentioned the name Śāntinātha.\(^{110}\) An inscription\(^{111}\) of the year 15 mentions the name Ariṣṭenemi, the twenty second Tīrthaṅkara. An undated inscription\(^{112}\) mentions an image of Pārśva, the first Tīrthaṅkars and the real founder of Jainism. Besides the dedication of the image Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna\(^{113}\) was found in numerous inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. Apart from the above, some epigraphs\(^{114}\) of the Kushāṇa period record the dedication of fourfold images (sarvatobhadrikā pratimā) of the Jinas.

The inscriptions also mention on lay worshippers as well as monks and nuns. At least sixteen monks\(^{115}\) were mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. Monks were known by vocational titles like gaṇin, Śradhacara, Vācaka etc. At least four nuns\(^{116}\) were mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The caturavarga-saṅgha (community of four classes, i.e. ascetics, lay worshippers of both sexes) referred in an inscription of the year 62.\(^{117}\)

Several Jaina inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period records the Jaina prophets like Arhats and others. An inscription\(^{118}\) incised on a large
statue of an elephant of the year 38 records the erection of the image Nandivisāla by Rudradāsa, the son of Śivadāsa, for the worship of the Arhats.

The Jainas worship a class of divinities called Vidyādevīs. An inscription of the year 54 mentions the dedication of a statue of Sarasvatī by a Jaina lay-disciple.

Mathurā inscriptions mention names of Jaina monastic orders like gaṇas, kulas, śākhās and saṃbhogas. The gaṇas called Koṭṭiya, Vāraṇa, Ārya Odehiśkīya are mentioned in several inscriptions of Mathurā. The Koṭṭiya gaṇas was the most popular gaṇas of Mathurā and a large number of inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period mentioned of this gaṇas and of its kula, śākhā and saṃbhoga divisions. The kula divisions of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period are- Brahmādāsīka, Sthānīya, Vtsaliya, P[ṛ][ṅ][ś][n][a][ṇ][a]jha[ṇ][a][k]a and its different śākhās mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions are- Uccenaṅgarī, Āryaverī, Verī, Vairī and Majhamā. The saṃbhogas of this gaṇa mentioned in the Kushāṇa epigraphs are- Śrīgrha and Śrīka. An inscription of the year 5 of the installation of a Jina image by some of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Brahmādāsīka kula, Uccenaṅgarī śākhā and Śrīgrha saṃbhoga. Another gaṇa, called Vāraṇa with its kula, śākhā and saṃbhoga divisions have been found in several Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. The kula divisions of the Vāraṇa gaṇa mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period are- Hāṭṭakīya, Petivāmika, Puṣyamitriya, Ārya Kaniyasika, Ārya Ceṭiya and Ārya Bhjyista. The different śākhās of this gaṇa mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period are- Vajanaṅgarī, Haritamaṅkalaceti and Saṃkasiya. The saṃbhogas of this gaṇa mentioned in the Kushāṇa epigraphs are- Ārya-śrīkīya, Āryaśrīka, Śrīya and Śrīgrha. An inscription of the year 50 mentions the name of Dinara, who was the great preacher and also the Gaṇin of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Āryabhjyista kula, Saṃkasiya śākhā and 185
Srīgha Saṁbhoga. The name of Ārya Odehikiya gaṇa with its kula, sākhā and saṁbhoga divisions is mentioned in the two Kushāṇa inscriptions of the years 7 and 98 from Mathurā.124 The kula divisions of the Ārya Odehikiya gaṇa mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period are- Ārya Nāgabhutikiya and Paridhāsika and the sākhā of this gaṇa mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions is Petaputrikā. Besides, two other inscriptions125 of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā refer to one kula entitled Mehika (Maighika), which according to the Kalpasūtra126 belongs to the Vesavāḍika gaṇa. Thus it indicates the existence of Vesavāḍika gaṇa during the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā. Such type of monastic divisions was a peculiarity of the Jainas and was not found among other Indian sects. The following is a list of the Jaina monastic orders mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaṇas</th>
<th>Kulās</th>
<th>Śākhās</th>
<th>Saṁbhogas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koṭṭiya</td>
<td>Brahmādasika, Sthāniya, Vtsaliya, Prṣnaṇa, Vtsaliya</td>
<td>Uccenāgari, Aryaveri, Veri, Vairi and Majhamā</td>
<td>Śrīgha and Śrīka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāraṇa</td>
<td>Hāṭakiya, Petivāṃkika, Puṣyamitrīya, Ārya Kaniyasika, Ārya Ceṭiya and Ārya Bhyista</td>
<td>Vajanagarī, Haritamālakaḍhi and Saṅkasiyā</td>
<td>Ārya-śrīkiyā, Āryaśrīkiyā, Śrīya and Śrīgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārya Odehikiya</td>
<td>Ārya Nāgabhutikiya and Paridhāsika</td>
<td>Petaputrikā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesavāḍika</td>
<td>Mehika</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart. 3: showing Jaina monastic orders mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā
At least nine Jaina male donors and forty-nine Jaina female donors have been mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā.

The epigraphs of Mathurā throw considerable light on different aspects of society of this region. The society of Mathurā was primarily divided into four varṇas and several castes. An yūpa inscription¹²⁷ of the year 24 records that Droṇala, the son of Rudrila, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhrādvāja gotra performed a sacrifice and erected a sacrificial post. It indicated that gotra system was popular among the Brāhmaṇas during the Kushāṇa period and sacrifice made by a Brāhmaṇa probably suggests that Brāhmaṇas had respectable position in the society. A fragmentary inscription from Tokṛi Tilā¹²⁸ and another inscription¹²⁹ of the year 28 record that some grants were made for the Brāhmaṇas. These inscriptions indicate that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed a good position during the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā.

Matrimonial relationship between the same castes is known from an inscription dated in the year 20 discovered at Kaśkāli Tilā.¹³⁰ It records the installation of a Jaina statue by a lady named Mitrā who was the daughter-in-law of iron monger and the daughter of a jeweller. Inter-marriages between different professional families were also prevalent during the Kushāṇa period. An image inscription¹³¹ of the year 98 states that donations of image of Arhat Mahāvīra was made by a female Arya Kṣema, the daughter of pravarika and the daughter-in-law of gandhika Varuṇa.

Although there were different religious cults in the society, the interrelation between different religious cults were also present in the Kushāṇa period, as evident by various epigraphic records. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions the word Sārthavāhini was mentioned in two contexts. In an inscription¹³² of the year 22, Dharmasoma is donating a Jaina image for the adoration of the Arhat. Whereas, another
inscription\textsuperscript{133} of the year 4 records that Sārthavāhini Dhanabhava donates a Bodhisattva image. So, it is clear that same group of people made donations both for the Jaina and Buddhist cults.

Several Inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā give an idea that donations were often made by women.\textsuperscript{134} The wife of a person was known in different names. In the Kushāṇa inscriptions wives were known as bhāryā,\textsuperscript{135} dharmapati,\textsuperscript{136} kuṭumbini\textsuperscript{137} and sahacari.\textsuperscript{138} The categories of Buddhist female donors as mentioned in the inscriptions were:

1. Wives and daughters of different professionals.
2. Bhikhnis or nuns.
3. Several lay worshippers.

The categories of Jain female donors as mentioned in the inscriptions were:

1. Sishinis (Śiṣyā or female disciple)
2. Daughters, mothers and wives of professionals.
3. Professional women (like Sārthavāhini).

Our study reveals that the ratio of Jain female to male donors is higher than those of Buddhist sect. In this context it is to be noted that none of the women belonging to the Brāhmaṇical social order are mentioned as making religious donations. The use of metronymics was also popular during the Kushāṇa period. A stone inscription\textsuperscript{139} discovered from the Delhi-Agra roadside, near Chaurāsī mentions several metronymics like Gotiputra, Vāsiṣṭhiputra and Kotsiputra. A large number of inscriptions from Mathurā mention about the gaṇikās. A Kushāṇa inscription\textsuperscript{140} from Mathurā records the erection of a shrine for the Arhats, a hall of homage, a reservoir and stone slabs for the worship of the Arhats by a gaṇikā named Nādā who was the daughter of the gaṇikā Damda. All these testify the fact that during the Kushāṇa period women had a respectable
position in the society and even *ganikās* also took part in the donations of images.

The epigraphic records give good information about the economic life of the Mathurā region. The Kushāna inscriptions referred to various professional groups, like jewellers (*maṇikāra*), cotton dealers (*kārppāsika*), dyers (*rayaka*), goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra/suvarṇakarika*), workers in metal (*lohikākāraka*), iron mongers (*lohavāṇiya*), carpenters (*vadhaki*), tailors (*pravārika*), doctors (*prahāṇika*), perfumers (*gandhikas*), sculptors etc. Besides, there were other occupational groups such as actors (*śailālaka*), and courtesan (*ganikā*) who played an important role in the socio-economic life of this region.

A Jaina inscription dated in the year 20 refers to a jeweller (*maṇikāra*) whose daughter named Mitrā, the wife of Haggudeva and the daughter-in-law of an iron-monger, installed a Jaina statue.

A Jaina image inscription dated in the year 60 refers to a religious gift made by Dattā, the wife of a cotton-dealer in order to propitiate Bhagavān Rāśabha.

An inscription dated in the year 25 records the dedication of a Jaina statue by the wife of the dyer (*rayagīnih*) named Jayabhaṭṭa.

An inscription of the year 17 refers a goldsmith named Dharmaka, whose wife Nāgapriyā installed a Bodhisattva in her own *Caityakūṭi*.

Besides goldsmiths, blacksmiths also flourished in this region. The Kushāna inscriptions of Mathurā refer to workers (*lohikākāraka*) and traders (*lohavāṇiya*) in iron. An inscription of the year 20 mentioned above refers to a *lohavāṇiya* named Vadhaṇa. An inscription of the year 52 mentions the dedication of image by *lohikākāraka* Śura, son of Śramaṇaka.

An inscription of the year 8 mentions that *vadhaki* (carpenter) Niya donated a tank and a garden for the Nāga deity Bhuma.
References to tailors (*pravarika*) have been found in five inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. An inscription of the year 14 records the setting up of a statue of the Buddha by Saṅghilā, the wife of the cloak maker Hastin. Besides, reference to their *Vihāra* is also noticed in a Buddhist image inscription of the year 22.\(^{151}\)

Only one inscription of the Kushāṇa period refers to the *prahanika*. It records a gift of a pillar base by monk Suriya and Buddharaḵṣita, the practitioners of medicine for bestowing of health of people.\(^{152}\)

At least five times *gandhikas* (Perfumers) were mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. An inscription\(^{153}\) of the year 35 records the dedication of the statue of Vardhamāna by the *gandhikas* Kumārabhaṭi.

An inscription\(^{154}\) found on a railing pillar from Gopālpur Quarter of Mathurā city mentions the name of the sculptor Rāma.

An inscription\(^{155}\) of the year 26 records the setting up of a stone slab at the shrine of the Nāga named Dadhikarṇa by some persons who were the sons of the actors (*sailālaka*) of Mathurā.

A Jaina stone slab inscription\(^{156}\) of the Kushāṇa period records the construction of a shrine, a hall of homage, a reservoir and stone slabs for the worship of the *Arhats* by a courtesan (*gaṇīkā*) named Nādā, the daughter of the courtesan Daṁda.

Apart from the above professional groups, there were references to the guilds of craftsmen in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. The *Punyāśāla* pillar inscription\(^{157}\) of the year 28 mentions two guilds (*śreṣṭis*), the name of the first is broken and the second is *samitakara-śreṇī*. The merchants or traders also played an important role in the society. They were known by different terms such as *Śreṣṭhin* (bankers or the foreman of the guild), *Sārthavāha* (caravan merchants) etc. An inscription\(^{158}\) of the year 38 mentions the setting up of the elephant Nandiviśāla by the banker (*Śreṣṭhin*) Rudradāsa, the son of banker

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Sivadāsa for the worship of the Arhats. Another inscription\textsuperscript{159} of the year 4 mentions the caravan merchant (Sārthavāha) Bhavāṣrī, whose wife set up a statue of the Bodhisattva. The guild organizations integrated between the merchants and the artisans. An inscription\textsuperscript{160} of the year 28 mentions the guild of samitakara. The guild of samitakara was also mentioned in the Mahāvāstu.\textsuperscript{161}

In the foregoing pages we have discussed available epigraphic sources to highlight the political, socio-religious and economic history of the Mathurā region during the Kushāṇa period. While summarizing the epigraphic sources we have made the following observations.

1. Find spots of the Kushāṇa inscriptions inside and outside Mathurā city may indicate that not only the ‘core area’, but the ‘peripheral area’ was also important during the Kushāṇa period. It is evident from the epigraphic records that Kaṅkāli Ṭilā was a famous Jain site and sites like Jamālpur, Bhūteśvara, Chaubārā, Govindnagar were associated with Buddhist establishments, situated inside Mathurā city. This can be further corroborated with the sculptural remains discovered from these sites. In this context we should mention that we have meagre information regarding the place of issue of these inscriptions. It is our assumption that the find spots of such inscriptions may not always indicate the place of issue.

2. We do not have any inscriptions of the Vāsudeva’s successors or the later Kushāṇa rulers from Mathurā.

3. No inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā speak about glorification of the rulers like king’s victory in any battles or his extent of empire etc.

4. All the inscriptions are dedicatory in nature. Although, the king had no direct participation in the donations, the donors knew the
names and regal year of the monarchs. The people also knew the names of the administrative heads. Sometimes official patronage was given to the construction of temples, *puṇyaśāla* etc.

5. The names like Vakamihira, Horomurndga, Aśyala, Humaspala, Ulāna, Valana were probably foreign names, who hold important position during the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā. On the other hand, the *Grāmikas, Kāyasthas* had Sanskrit names of local origin. So, there was probably a mixed composition of local and non-local people in the administration of the Kushāṇa period.

6. Early inscriptions of Kaṇiśka I talk about offices of the Kṣatrapa and the Mahākṣatrapa in the eastern part of the Kushāṇa empire. Unfortunately, we have no such references in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. Regarding this issue, B.D. Chattopadhyaya opines, “In any case, irrespective of whether the office continued at Mathurā or not, the nature of the imperial control vis-à-vis the Kṣatrapas in the Kuśāṇa territories in general is indicated by one significant fact—the absence of Kṣatrapa coinage in this period”.

7. The epigraphic records of the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā provides clues that, despite the predominance of the Buddhist and Jain faiths, the Brāhmaṇical mode of appreciation was also prevailing in the socio-religious systems. More specifically, there were some records mentioning that Brāhmaṇas played an important role in the society.

8. Some inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period refer to the Nāga deities and dedications were made for the lord of the Nāgas. An apsidal temple probably dedicated to the Nāga cult has been unearthed during the excavations at Sonkh and several objects associated with the Nāga cult have been found. So, it is clear from the
inscriptional as well as architectural remains that Mathurā was an important centre of the Nāga cult during the Kushāṇa period.

9. Women had respected position in the society and they also participated in the donations. Names of the several Buddhist and Jain female donors have been recoded in the Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā. But, surprisingly no such names of the women belonging to the Brāhmaṇical social order have been mentioned as making religious donations.

10. There were different professional groups in the society. The references of kārppāsika, rayaka and prāvārika indicate that Mathurā was an important centre of textile manufacturing. The Arthaśāstra also cited Mathurā (belonging to or produced in Mathurā) as the name of seven best varieties of cotton. The inscriptions refer to the lohikakaraka, lohavāṇiya and suvarṇakāra/suvarṇakarika. Besides few gold objects, a number of iron artefacts have also been found from the excavations at Mathurā and Sonkh. The Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā refer to maṇikāra or jeweller. Numerous beads of semiprecious stones have been recovered from the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā and Sonkh. Besides, Sonkh has yielded a jewellery mould from the Kushāṇa occupational period.

11. We all know that, Mathurā was an important trading centre during the Kushāṇa period. The Kushāṇa inscriptions refer to some trading/mercantile communities like Śreṣṭhin and Sārthavāha. Probably, these communities took part in the trading activities during the Kushāṇa period.

12. Jaina inscriptions have been discovered in larger numbers in and around Mathurā. This phenomenon undoubtedly implies the popularity of Jainism in the Kushāṇa period. Our study tentatively suggests that there are at least seventy Buddhist inscriptions (thirty
one dated and thirty nine undated) and at least ninety one Jaina inscriptions (fifty five dated and thirty six undated) of the Kushāṇa period at found from the Mathurā region.

13. The Kushāṇa inscriptions of Mathurā refer to different Buddhist Vihāras. Archaeologically, it is quite difficult to identify these vihāras. In most of the cases, we have meagre information regarding the provenances of these inscriptions (mentioning the name of the Vihāras). Except the inscription mentioning the name Dhanyakavarman Vihāra, all are found during explorations or trial diggings. Although, some sites (like Jamālpur, Maholī etc.) have yielded sculptures and architectural members related to the Buddhist pantheon. Here we should mention that, an inscription from Sonkh mentioning the name of some Vihāra, but we have not found any structural evidence related to the Buddhist monastery during excavations at Sonkh.

**NUMISMATIC SOURCES:**

The discovery of the Kushāṇa coins in and around Mathurā never allows us to study their provenance and character in a very specific form. Moreover, the findspots of coins of several collections kept in different museums are not established. The study is based on tentative typological classifications along with their measurements, weight standards etc.

Before analysing the Kushāṇa coinage of Mathurā, it is to be mentioned that during the present documentation work we came across two major problems related to the subject concerned.

1. Mathurā excavation reports did not mention the names of the rulers or issuers of the coins; rather the reports stated the ruling period, i.e. the Kushāṇas.
2. The available numismatic sources basically concentrated on typological classifications of coins issued by different Kushāṇa rulers. But often they do not mention the place of discovery or the provenance of the coins.

The Kushāṇ coins reported from the Mathurā region can be divided into two broad categories-

A. Coins reported from the stratified contexts (coins unearthed during excavations at Mathurā and Sonkh).

B. Coins reported from the unstratified contexts (coins found during explorations, coins discovered from different treasure troves and coins kept in the museum collections).

The excavations at Mathurā and Sonkh unearthed Kushāṇa coins in the stratigraphic contexts. Although, it is to be noted that the numismatic evidences of the Kushāṇa period is an ill reported aspect of Mathurā excavations. The report never mentioned the names of the issuers of the coins, rather they stated only the ruling period. In the brief excavation reports published in several issues of Indian Archaeology – A Review, the coins are merely stated as Kushāṇa copper coins165, Kushāṇa coins166 or as later Kushāṇa coins167 (Pl.XIII).

Apart from Mathurā, Kushāṇa coins have been unearthed from the stratigraphic levels of Sonkh and the numismatic evidence from Sonkh could be treated as more informative than Mathurā. Here an attempt has been made to summarize the descriptions of the coins reported from the Kushāṇa period at Sonkh. Here we may mention that the present documentation has been done by following the general mode of documentation used by the earlier scholars.

Our study has reported at least one hundred forty one coins from the Kushāṇa occupational levels168 and nine coins from the Apsidal
Temple No. 2169 at Sonkh. Among them only sixteen coins belonged to the Imperial Kushāṇa rulers (Wima Kadphises-3, Kaṇiṣṭha/Kaṇiṣṭha I- 6 and Huviṣka- 7) and one hundred twenty nine coins belonged to the Later Kushāṇa rulers (Vāsudeva- 12, Vāsudeva’s successors- 117). Besides five coins of Virasena type have also been reported from Sonkh. All these coins are made of copper and shapes vary from round to rectangular. The typology and weight standards are almost comparable to the general Kushāṇa coin types mentioned in the available references. The pattern we have followed here is essentially a typological classification of Kushāṇa coins unearthed from Sonkh.

**Coins of Wima Kadphises:**

All the three coins of Wima Kadphises unearthed from Sonkh may be placed under the common King at altar and Śiva type of coins of Wima Kadphises.

**King at altar and Śiva type:**

Among three coins one coin has been recovered from Level 20 of the Kushāṇa occupational period. (Pl.XIV) It is approximately 2.50 cm in size, 4.5 mm in thickness and weighing about 13.231 gm. Two coins have been unearthed from Apsidal Temple No. 2171 and measures approximately 2.70 cm and 2.90 cm in size and 4.2 mm and 4.1 mm in thickness respectively. Approximate weights of these two coins are 17.029 and 16.920 gm. On the obverse is found the king standing to left and sacrificing an offering at the altar. On the reverse is Śiva facing and standing before a bull. But no legend is found either on the obverse or on the reverse. All the three coins are circular in shape.
**Coins of Kaniska:**

All together six coins of Kaniska have been unearthed from Sonkh. Among them four coins have been reported from Level 20 of the Kushana occupational period\(^{172}\) whereas two coins were found from Apsidal Temple No. 2\(^{173}\). All these coins may be placed under the general *King at altar and deity* type copper coins of Kaniska.

**King at altar and deity type:**

**Variant I: Oesho type**

Only one coin of such type has been reported from the Apsidal Temple No. 2\(^{174}\) at Sonkh. On the obverse is found the king facing, standing to left, wearing coat and trousers. In right hand he holds elephant-goad (*aikusa*) over altar and a long shafted spear in his left hand. On the reverse, Śiva (*Oesho*) is standing to left, nimbate. His four hands and arms hold some corroded attributes. The coin is approximately 2.55 cm in size, 5.20 mm in thickness and weighing about 17.381 gm. But no legend is found either on the obverse or on the reverse of the coin. (Pl.XV)

**Variant II: Māo type**

Two coins of such type have been reported from Sonkh. Among them one was unearthed from Level 20 of the Kushana occupational period\(^{175}\). It is approximately 2.65 cm in size, 4.3 mm in thickness and about 15.979 gm in weight. (Pl.XVI) Another coin has been found from the Apsidal Temple No. 2\(^{176}\) and roughly measures 2.65 cm in size, 4.6 mm in thickness and about 16.365 gm in weight. On the obverse of these coins is found king standing facing left, clad in coat and trousers. His right hand is extended over the altar and holds a long-shafted spear in the left hand. On the reverse is found the male deity (*Māo*) to left, nimbate with
right arm stretched left. No legend is found either on the obverse or on the reverse. Both the coins are circular in shape.

**Variant III: Nana type**

Only one coin of such type has been unearthed from Level 20 of the Kushāṇa occupational period\(^{177}\) at Sonkh. This coin is approximately 2.10cm in size, 3.2mm in thickness and about 6.709gm in weight. The king is represented on the obverse in the same way as the above type and on the reverse Nana is represented as standing to right nimbate and holds a sceptre. No legend is visible either on the obverse or on the reverse. The coin is circular in shape. (Pl.XVII)

**Variant IV: Oado type** (Pl.XVIII)

Two coins of such type have been reported from Level 20\(^{178}\) at Sonkh. Both the coins are circular in shape. The coins are approximately 2.45cm and 2.50cm in size, 5mm and 3.6mm in thickness and 15.821gm and 10.723gm in weight respectively. On the obverse is found king standing left, sacrifices at the altar and holds a long spear in the left hand. In one coin an illegible legend is noticed on the obverse. On the reverse the wind god or Oado is found running to left with loose hair, his both arms stretched upwards and holds the garments, which floats about him.

**Coins of Huviska:**

Altogether seven coins of Huviṣka have been unearthed from excavations at Sonkh. Among them five coins were reported from Level 16 and 20 of the Kushāṇa occupational period\(^{179}\), whereas two coins were recovered from the Apsidal Temple No-2\(^{180}\).
**King in resting/reclining posture and deity type:**

Two coins of such type have been unearthed from Level 20\(^{181}\) at Sonkh. These coins are approximately 2.25cm and 2.50cm in size, 4.2mm and 4.3mm in thickness and 9.552gm and 14.878gm in weight respectively. On the obverse the king is found in half reclining posture. In one coin traces of Greek inscription is also visible. In one coin, Moon-god (Māo) is found on the reverse to left with crescent behind shoulders. (Pl.XIX) But in another coin a blurred deity is standing to left. Both the coins are circular in shape.

**King seated with facing to right and deity type: (Pl.XX)**

Two coins of such type have been reported from Level 16\(^{182}\) at Sonkh. Both the coins are circular in shape and weighing about 6.695gm and 6.573gm respectively. On the obverse the king appears as seated to front, facing right, diademed and nimbate. On the reverse Sun god (Mīro) appears as standing to left. To the left is an ancillary symbol (probably Huviṣka symbol). These coins are approximately 2.15cm and 1.90cm in size and 3.3mm and 4.2mm in thickness respectively. Among these one coin was found inside a jar.

**Elephant rider and deity type:**

Only one such type of coin has been unearthed from Level 16 of the Kushāṇa occupational period\(^{183}\) at Sonkh. The coin was found inside a jar. It is circular in shape and weighing about 7.389gm. On the obverse appears the king to right riding on elephant, diademed and nimbate. He holds a spear in right hand and an elephant-goad in the left hand. On the reverse, Sun god (Mīro) appears as standing to left. To the left is an
ancillary symbol (on mountain). It is roughly 2cm in size and 4.5mm in thickness. (Pl.XXI)

Besides, One coin from Apsidal Temple No-2\textsuperscript{184} has corroded obverse and on the reverse Moon-god (Māo) appears with large crescent behind shoulders. His right hand is advanced and left hand grasps a sword. It is circular in shape and weighs about 6.266gm. It is approximately 2.15 cm in size and 3mm in thickness. (Pl.XXII)

Apart from the above usual coin types of Huviśka an exclusive and important copper coin has been found from the area of Apsidal Temple No.2\textsuperscript{185} at Sonkh (Pl.XXIII). It is circular in shape and weighing about 8.696gm. It is approximately 2.15cm in size and 6.4mm in thickness. On the obverse within a square incuse line (the incuse line on the right and bottom are clear whereas, the other two sides are off the flan) a male figure is standing to front wearing a short tunic, trousers and boots. Long hair covers the head and hangs down to his shoulders. He holds a long staff with a triangle-like top (truncated) in his half-raised left hand and right arm is akimbo placed on the hip. A Brāhmaṇi legend, Huviśkasya appears on the left (beginning from VIII up to XI). On the reverse a tree is depicted with full crown of twigs and leaves on the left. To its right a legend in Brāhmaṇi script, i) [\textit{pultrakṣa}, ii) [\textit{pi}k\textit{ṣya}] appears in two lines.

Various scholars including P.L.Gupta\textsuperscript{186} and B.N.Mukherjee\textsuperscript{187} have discussed historical importance of this unique coin in their works. The legend on the obverse is clear, whereas, there are different opinions regarding the two parts of inscriptions on the reverse. They have attempted to bring the two parts of inscriptions in a line to make a proper meaning. While discussing on this point P.L.Gupta argues, "The only problem is who was the issuer of this coin? The legend may have dual interpretations. If the two parts of the legend on the two sides are
taken in continuation, beginning from the obverse and ending on the 
reverse, it would mean that Kaṇika was the issuer of the coin and he was 
the son of Huviṣka. But if the two parts of the legend are taken 
separately, it may then be interpreted as ‘of Huviṣka’ and ‘son of Kaṇika’.
In that case, the name on the obverse, i.e. Huviṣka would be that of the 
issuer and then according to the reverse legend, he would be the son of 
Kaṇika. But this latter interpretation seems unlikely since putra 
kaṇikasya in the sense of ‘son of Kaṇika’ is an unusual construction; 
proper construction in this sense would be Kaṇikasya putra. So, here the 
putra should go with Huviṣkasya. As such I believe that the issuer of this 
coin was Kaṇika, the son of Huviṣka.” B.N.Mukherjee also holds the same 
opinion about the interpretation of this coin, but his concluding remarks 
differ from P.L.Gupta. Further, Gupta comes to the conclusion that, “the 
Kaṇika of the coin is Kaniśka I, the son of an (unknown) Huviṣka who 
might or might not have been ruler at any time”. While, B.N.Mukherjee 
opines that, “the only Kuśāna monarch with whom the ruler concerned 
can be identified is Kaniśka III, the successor of Vāsudeva I.” Prof. 
Härte188 also gives different opinion about this unique piece of coin. He 
tried to throw light on the issuer and purpose of this special issue. 
According to him, “It is certainly not a piece of the Imperial Kuśāna 
currency, but rather a sort of medal coined on the occasion of an 
important event. The tree on the reverse might, for instance stand for 
Birth. In any case, the main person is not necessarily the issuer of the 
medal but the one to whom it is dedicated. He would have to appear on 
the obverse, which in the copper piece in question is undoubtedly the 
side with the male figure accompanied by the inscribed name Huviṣka. 
This name is, as one would expect, written in the genitive. Should one 
now take the first two aksaras on the reverse really to be read as pu (and 
not as sa), then the wording putra Kaṇikasya is in fact disturbing. In this 
case, one expects of course Kaṇikaputrasya or Kaṇikasya putra.” He
concluded, “one should not, in spite of the unusual wording of the inscription, exclude the possibility that it is a medal for Huviška, the son of Kaniška (I).”

**Coins of Vāsudeva:**

Altogether twelve coins of Vāsudeva have been reported from the Kushāṇa occupational period at Sonkh.¹⁸⁹ All the coins can be classified under the general *King at altar and deity type* of coins of Vāsudeva found in available references.

**King at altar and deity (Oesho) type:** (Pl. XXIV & Pl. XXV)

All the twelve coins of such type have been recovered from a jar from Level 16 at Sonkh.¹⁹⁰ On the obverse, the king is standing facing left, nimbate and offering at altar to left. He holds a spear in right hand and a trident in his left hand. In one coin he holds trident-cum-battle axe in his left hand and spear in the right hand. In another coin he probably holds club in his right hand and trident in the left hand. On the reverse, two-armed Śiva (*Oesho*) stands facing and behind him appears bull to left. In some coins Śiva holds a noose in the left hand and spear in the right hand. Behind him appears a bull to left. But no legend is visible either on the obverse or on the reverse of these coins. All the coins are circular in shape. Six such illustrated coins are weighing between 6.127 gm and 8.255 gm (e.g. 7.882gm, 8.255gm, 6.588gm, 6.654, 6.127gm, 6.196gm). The approximate sizes of these coins vary from 1.85cm to 2.10cm (e.g. 2.10 cm, 2.10 cm, 1.85 cm, 1.95 cm, 1.95 cm and 1.90 cm) and approximate thickness ranges between 3.4mm and 4mm (e.g. 3.4 mm, 4mm, 3.6mm, 3.5mm, 3.5mm and 3.6mm). The coin weighing about 8.255 gm is one of the heavy types of coin of Vāsudeva.
**Coins of Vāsudeva's Successors / Coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers:**

Altogether hundred seventeen coins of Vāsudeva’s successors have been reported from Level 16 of the Kushāṇa occupational period at Sonkh.\(^{191}\) These coins may be grouped under the category of ‘Later Kushāṇa coins’. The obverse is the same on all coins, i.e. ‘King standing at altar’, as on the coins of Vāsudeva. But the reverse devices represent two types- ‘Oesho’ or Śiva and ‘Ardoksho’ or Lakṣmī.

**King at altar and deity type:**

**Variant I: Oesho type** (Pl. XXVI)

Fourteen coins of such type have been unearthed from Level 16 of the Kushāṇa occupational period at Sonkh.\(^ {192}\) All the coins are circular in shape. On the obverse the King is standing facing left, nimbate, offering at the altar and holds trident in his right hand. On the reverse two­armed Śiva is standing facing, behind him a bull is standing to left. Four such types of coins are weighing between 5.682 and 9.756 gm (e.g. 5.938gm, 5.904gm, 9.756gm and 5.682gm). Approximately sizes of these coins are between 1.85cm and 2.2cm (e.g. 1.85cm, 2cm, 2.2cm and 1.85cm) and approximate thickness vary from 3.1mm to 7.1mm (e.g. 3.2mm, 3.1mm, 4.5mm and 7.1mm). No legend is visible on these coins. Amongst them two coins were found inside a jar.

**Variant II: Ardoksho type** (Pl. XXVII)

Altogether hundred three coins of such type have been found from Level 16 of the Kushāṇa occupational period at Sonkh.\(^ {193}\) On the obverse the King is standing facing left, nimbate and offering at altar. He holds trident in his left hand and spear in the right hand. But in one coin he
holds trident in his right hand. On the reverse Goddess Ardoksho is seated on throne to front. Due to the corroded condition of the coin the attributes of the Goddess are not visible. All the coins are circular in shape. Four such types of coins are weighing between 6.322gm and 7.875gm (e.g. 6.322gm, 7.875gm, 7.177gm, 7.849 gm). Approximately sizes of these coins vary from 1.85cm to 2cm (e.g. 1.9cm, 1.85cm, 1.97cm and 2cm) and approximate thickness ranges between 3.5mm and 4.5mm (e.g. 3.7mm, 4.5mm, 3.5mm and 3.7mm). No legend is found on these coins. These four coins were found inside a jar.

**Coins of Virasena:** (Pl.XXVIII)

Excavations at Sonkh have also yielded five coins of Virasena. Among them two coins reported from the Kushâna occupational period\textsuperscript{194} and three coins have been found from the Apsidal Temple No. 2.\textsuperscript{195} On the obverse is found tree in railing between nandyāvarta symbols at right and left. On top appears Brāhmî letters like...ras (e [na].. or [vi] ras[e]na[sa] or ...ras [ena]/// or ...nasa. The reverse bears a crude depiction of a standing figure of Lakṣmî holding stalk of flower in her right or left hand. All the coins are rectangular in shape. Such four coins weigh between 1.373gm and 2.214 gm (e.g. 1.654gm, 1.746gm, 1.373gm, 2.214gm). Approximately sizes of these coins range between 1.10cm and 1.25cm (e.g. 1.10cm, 1.20cm, 1.15cm and 1.25cm) and approximate thickness vary from 2.1mm to 2.3mm (e.g. 2.1mm, 2.3mm, 2.1mm and 2.2mm).

Apart from the coins found during excavations at Mathurâ and Sonkh, our documentation also includes some other types of discoveries and reports on the Kushâna coinage of Mathurâ. It includes the coins kept in different museums, coins found from different hoards or treasure
troves etc. The Mathurā Museum contains a major number of coins deposited from time to time. Therefore, during our documentation the Mathurā Museum collections receive special attention. The treasure troves or hoards found from Mathurā have also played an important role to demonstrate the nature of coinage during the Kushāṇa period.

During his fourteen years sojourn in the Mathurā region Sir Alexander Cunningham discovered a number of coins of the ‘Indo-Grecian’ princes of Kabul and Punjab in various mounds of the Mathurā city. These include the coins of Apollodotus and Menander (both in silver and copper), coins of Antimachus and of Straton, several copper coins of Saudāsa (Śodāsa) and of Rañjuvula. Cunningham reported that the coins of Kaniṣṭha, Huviṣka and Vāśudeva were spread over a large area of the Indian sub-continent, from Kabul to Benaras and from Kashmir to Sindh and Malwa. He also stated that a few coins of Wima Kadphises were found from Mathurā and at Bhūteswar, in the neighbourhood of Mathurā.196 He also tried to fix a chronology of these coins on the basis of their typological features. The chronological framework began with the old punch-marked coins of silver and copper, followed by silver coins of the Greek princes Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus and Straton. Then came the copper coin series of the Hindu princes Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta etc. Next were the coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniṣṭha, Huviṣka and Vāśudeva. This chronological series ended with the coins of the Gupta rulers.197 In his book, ‘Coins of Ancient India’ Cunningham investigates these coins in details. He states that he had found coins of Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus II, Kushāṇa kings, many punch-marked silver coins, coins of the Saṭraps and coins of the Hindu princes from Mathurā.198

At least five treasure troves or hoards consisting coins of the Imperial Kushāṇa and the Later Kushāṇa rulers have been discovered
from the Mathurā region. These coin hoards help us to throw enough light on political and economic fluctuations of the Mathurā region during the Kushāṇa period. Out of five finds, three relate to the coins of the Imperial Kushāṇa kings. All these three hoards consist coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaṇiśka and Huviṣka and not a single piece of coin of Vāsudeva and other Later Kushāṇa kings have been discovered. Other two hoards include the coins of Vāsudeva and Later Kushāṇas along with Kushāṇo-Sasanian coins and coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas are completely absent. Here we should mention that except a single gold coin of Kadphises from a coin hoard all the coins discovered from these hoards are made of copper. The following is a brief description of these five hoards-

1. A hoard of two gold coins has been found from Mathurā district in 1900-1901. This hoard was reported in the Treasure Trove Report No. 17 of the U.P. Coin Committee. It included one coin of Kadphises and one coin of Chandragupta I. These two coins are now kept in the Lucknow Museum.\(^{199}\)

2. A hoard of two thousand one hundred seventy five coins has been found from Bhūteśvara, Mathurā in 1966-67. This hoard was reported in the Treasure Trove Report No. 3 of the U.P. Coin Committee. All the coins of this hoard were made in copper. It included two hundred ninety eight coins of Wima Kadphises, one thousand four hundred twenty six coins of Kaṇiśka and four hundred fifty one coins of Huviṣka.\(^{200}\)

**Coins of Wima Kadphises:** The coins of Wima Kadphises bear King standing at altar on the obverse and Śiva with Nandi/bull on the reverse.\(^{201}\)
Coins of Kaniska: The coins of Kaniṣka represent King at altar and deity type of coins. On the obverse, King is standing at altar and on the reverse is found representations of different deities like Oado (287 coins), Oesho (19 coins), Mirro (53 coins), Nanā (70 coins), Athsho (79 coins), Mao (47 coins), Boddo (4 coins). Besides, six hundred eighty six coins have indecipherable devices on the reverses.202

Coins of Huviska: The coins of Huviṣka found from this hoard represent three different types of coins-

i) *Elephant rider and deity type* - Two hundred and seventeen coins of such type have been found from this hoard. On the obverse, King is found riding on an elephant and on the reverse is found depictions of different deities like Nanā (2 coins), Mao (20 coins), Mirro (16 coins), Athsho (27 coins), Oesho (18 coins). Besides, one double struck coin and one hundred thirty three coins with illegible deities on the reverse have also been recovered.203

ii) *King seated cross-legged and deity type* - Altogether ninety-two coins of such type have been recovered from this hoard. On the obverse the King is seated cross-legged and on the reverse is found representations of different deities like Mao (8 coins), Mirro (6 coins), Athsho (11 coins), Oesho (10 coins), Nana (4 coins). Apart from the above there were fifty-three coins having illegible deities on the reverse.204

iii) *King Reclining on a couch and deity type* - Altogether one hundred and forty two coins of such type have been found from this hoard. On the obverse is found the King reclining on a couch and on the reverse is found depictions of different deities like Mao (11 coins), Athsho (24 coins), Oesho (14 coins), Nanā (5 coins). Besides, eighty-eight coins bear illegible deities on the reverse.205
All the coins of this hoard are now kept in the collections of different Museums or Universities.

3. A hoard of one thousand two hundred twenty one coins has been discovered from Māṭhā, in Sadar Tehsil of Mathurā in 1978-79. This hoard was reported in the Treasure Trove Report No. 6 of the U.P. Coin Committee. All the coins of this hoard were made in copper. It included two hundred fifty four coins of Wima Kadphises, nine hundred twenty seven coins of Kaṇiśka and forty coins of Huviṣka.²⁰⁶

Coins of Wima Kadphises: The coins of Wima Kadphises represent standing king on the obverse and Śiva with bull on the reverse.²⁰⁷

Coins of Kaṇiśka: The coins of Kaṇiśka bear King at altar on the obverse and different deities like Mirro (65 coins), Māo (45 coins), Oado (220 coins), Athsho (57 coins), Nanā (72 coins), Oksho/Oesho (121 coins), Helios (1 coin), Boddo (1 coin), Pharro (1 coin) on the reverse. Apart from these one double struck coin and three hundred thirty three coins with illegible devices have been recovered from this hoard.²⁰⁸

Coins of Huviṣka: The coins of Huviṣka deposited in this hoard represent three different types of coins –

i) Elephant rider and deity type- Twenty coins of such type have been recovered from this hoard. On the obverse, King is found riding on an elephant and on the reverse is found depictions of different deities like Mirro (2 coins), Athsho (4 coins), Oesho (2 coins), Nanā (1 coin). Besides, four coins have illegible deities on the reverse.²⁰⁹

ii) King Reclining on a couch and deity type- Thirteen coins of such type have been found from this hoard. On the obverse King is
reclining on a couch and different deities like Athsho (11 coins) and Oksho/Oesho (2 coins) found on the reverse.210

iii) **King seated cross-legged and deity type**- Seven coins of such type have been reported from this hoard. On the obverse the King is seated cross-legged and on the reverse is found representations of different deities like Athshao (5 coins), Nanã (1 coin) and Mão (1 coin).211

The coins of this hoard are now deposited in different museums or institutions.

4. A hoard of five hundred ninety three coins has been discovered from Mathurā. All the coins of this hoard belonged to the Later Kushāṇa rulers and the coins of the Imperial Kushāṇa rulers were completely absent. The coins of this hoard were made in copper. The average diameters of these coins are between 16mm and 19 mm with a maximum diameter of 24 mm.212 The coins of this hoard represent **King at altar and deity type**.

i) **Śiva with bull or Oesho type**- Altogether five hundred fifteen coins of such type have been recovered from this hoard. On the obverse the king is standing and on the reverse Śiva or Oesho is found with bull. The King is depicted in different coins with various dresses and attributes. The king wears loose tunic or tight tunic or long coat, peaked headdress and holds a circular object attached with a rod or double trident. In thirty-six coins a crescent halo is portrayed behind the king. Two coins bear three-arched hill symbols over the hump of the bull, which is a typical feature of the uninscribed cast copper coin. On the obverse of this type, Brāhmī letters like tha, chhu, Bu, Na, Va, Sva, mu, ru, da, sa, ai, Ga, svastikā symbols, monogram or
composite letters appear under the left hand. Besides, two double struck coins and one hundred eighteen damaged coins of such type have been found from this hoard.\textsuperscript{213}

\textit{ii) Ardokhsho type}– Seventy-eight coins of such type has been found from this hoard. On the obverse the King is offering at the altar and the deity \textit{Ardokhsho} is represented on the reverse. In seventy-five coins, goddess \textit{Ardokhsa} is depicted in seated posture and in three coins the deity is represented in standing posture. The king wears loose kurta or tight kurta or long kurta. In fifteen coins a crescent halo is portrayed behind the King. In six coins the king holds double trident in his hand. In two coins the deity is standing on a lotus seat holding something rising over her left shoulder. This type of coin has no Brāhmī letters as described above. Besides, twenty-three worn out coins of such type have also been reported from this hoard.\textsuperscript{214}

5. A hoard of one thousand five hundred forty one coins has been discovered from Govindnagar, Mathurā. The coins of this hoard were made in copper. The hoard consisted of coins of the Śakas, Kṣatrapas, Kushāṇa-Sasanians, imitation Kushāṇa coins along with coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers. All coins of this hoard are smaller in size.\textsuperscript{215}

\textbf{Coins of Vāsudeva:} Two coins of Vāsudeva depicting standing king on the obverse and Śiva with bull have been reported from this hoard.\textsuperscript{216}

\textbf{Later Kushāṇa Coins:} Altogether seven hundred sixty four coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers have been found from this hoard. (Pl.XXIX) The Later Kushāṇa coins of this hoard can be grouped under \textit{King at altar and deity} type of coins.
i) **Siva with bull or Oesho type**: Seven hundred thirty eight coins of such type have been recovered from this hoard. On the obverse the king is seen standing at altar with different dresses and attributes and on the reverse appears Śiva with bull. In one coin the king holds double trident. In one hundred sixty eight coins Śiva with bull were depicted in three lines.\(^{217}\)

ii) **Ardokhsha type**: Twenty six coins of such type have been reported from this hoard. On the obverse the king is seen standing at altar with different dresses and attributes. In one coin the deity is found seated on a lotus. On the obverse of this type, Brāhmī letters like chhu, jhu, Vai, ga, śa, sa appear under the arm. Kushāṇa symbol is found on two coins (one on the obverse and other on the reverse).\(^{218}\)

Besides, two rude imitation coins of Huviśka (reclining on a couch type) have been found from this hoard.

**Other Coins**: Apart from the Kushāṇa coins one Kṣatrapa coin, one coin, probably of Rañjuvula (Lion and Herakles type), four hundred two Kushāṇo-Sasanian coins (Bust of the King and Fire altar type), one coin, probably of the Hūṇas (King at altar and seated figure), two Kidāra Kushāṇa coins (?) and three hundred sixty six illegible coins have been recovered from this hoard.\(^{219}\)

Mathura Museum has three hundred sixty six copper coins of Soter Megas, Wima Kadphises, Kaṇiśka, Huviśka, Vāsudeva and five gold coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaṇiśka, Huviśka, Vāsudeva and Later Kushāṇa rulers.\(^{220}\) In this context we should note that, the collection not only include the coins obtained from Mathurā itself, but also the coins acquired from various places like Sahajahanpur (Bareilly), Farrukhabad,
Surat, Ujjain, few coin hoards including Barabanki hoard and coins acquired from private collectors.

Here we have tried to categorize the coins kept in the collection of Mathura Museum by following a typological classifications along with brief morphological analysis, approximate measurements and weight standards.

**Coins of Soter Megas:**

Two coins of early Kushāṇa name less king Soter Megas are housed in the Mathura Museum bearing an elephant rider on the obverse and blank/plain reverse. The sizes of these coins vary between 2.10 cm and 2.65 cm and weighing between 7.605 gm and 7.810 gm. Both the coins are made of copper. Vogel also reported some Soter Megas type of coins in his catalogue on Mathura Museum.

**Coins of Wima Kadphises:**

Thirty-five coins of Wima Kadphises are kept in the Mathura Museum. Among them thirty-four coins are made of copper and one coin is made of gold. The copper coins of Wima Kadphises were obtained from Sahajahanpur (Bareilly), a hoard from Farrukhabad, Barabanki hoard and from a private collector of Mathura.

All the copper coins (Pl.XXX) are of a similar type. On the obverse is found the King standing facing left with its right hand resting over the altar and the left hand holds an unidentified object. To the left side of the king is the Kadphises symbol and triśūla in the right side of the altar. Greek legend (Baciaeye baciaeon cuθhp Mecal oohmo kadoicac) appears on the outer edges of the coin. On the reverse is the figure of Śiva Nandi with triśūla in the right hand. To left is found the Nandipada symbol.
Edges on the coins are marked by small dots. In one coin Kharosthi legend \textit{(Maharajarajatirajasa Sarvalogaisvarasa Wima Kadphisasa)} appears on the reverse.

The copper coins of Wima Kadphises kept in the collection of the Mathura Museum can be divided into three sizes- 3cm to 3.80cm, 2.30cm to 2.80cm and 1.15cm to 1.70cm. Average thickness varies between 3.0mm and 4.5mm, while maximum and minimum thickness are about 8mm and 2.5mm respectively. Usual weight standard of these coins vary from 10.200gm to 16.430gm, while maximum and minimum weights are of 33.115gm and 3.255gm respectively.\textsuperscript{224}

Besides, a gold coin of Wima Kadphises kept in this Museum bears a seated king on the obverse and Śiva with Nandi on the reverse. But, unfortunately measurement, weight and provenance of this coin is unknown.\textsuperscript{225} (Pl.XXI)

\textbf{Coins of Kaniska:}

Seventy-one coins of Kaṇiṣka are kept in the collection of Mathura Museum. Among them seventy coins are made of copper\textsuperscript{226} and one coin is made of gold.\textsuperscript{227} The copper coins of Kaṇiṣka were collected from Sonkh, Tehsil Māṭ and Salempur well of Mathurā, Barabanki hoard and a private collector of Mathurā.

Copper coins can be classified into two categories- \textit{King at altar and deity} type of coins and \textit{Elephant rider and deity} type of coins.

i) \textit{King at altar and deity type}- Sixty-eight copper coins of such type are housed in the Mathura Museum. On the obverse is found the King standing facing left with right hand rests over altar. In some coins Greek legend appears on the obverse. One coin of such type has Kadphises symbol to left. On the reverse is found depictions of different deities like
Mão (11 coins), Oesho (8 coins) (Pl.XXXII), Mirro (9 coins), Athsho (10 coins) (Pl.XXXIII), Oado (17 coins) (Pl.XXXIV), Nanā (5 coins), Ardoksho (2 coins) and 6 coins with unidentified deities.²²⁸ Five such coins housed in this collection have been found from Mathurā itself. These are-

1. A coin with deity Mao from the excavations at Sonkh.
2. A coin with deity Mao from Tahsil Māṭ.
3. A coin with deity Mīro from Tahsil Māṭ.
4. A coin with deity Oado from Tahsil Māṭ.
5. One coin with deity Oado from Salempur well.

ii) Elephant rider and deity type- Two copper coins of such type are kept in the collection of the Mathura Museum. On the obverse is found the King riding on an elephant. One coin has deity Oado and another has an unidentified deity on the reverse.²²⁹

Average sizes of these copper coins range between 1.60cm and 2.90 cm, while the smaller sizes of coins vary between 0.60 cm and 1.20 cm. Average thicknesses varies from 2.7 mm to 5 mm, while thinner types of coins vary between 1mm and 1.5mm. In average the coins are weighing between 7.125gm and 16.990gm, while lightweight coins vary from 0.695gm to 4.245gm.

Apart from the above, a gold coin of Kaniska kept in the Mathura Museum bears a standing king on the obverse and a deity on the reverse. But, unfortunately measurement, weight and provenance of this coin is unknown.²³⁰ (Pl.XXXV)

Coins of Huviška:

Ninety-four coins of Huviška are kept in the collection of Mathura Museum. Among them ninety-three coins are made of copper²³¹ and one coin is made of gold.²³² The copper coins of Huviška were obtained from
We can classify the copper coins of Huviṣka housed in this Museum into five types- Standing king and deity type, Standing king and elephant rider type, Elephant rider and deity type, King in reclining/resting posture and deity type and King in reclining/resting posture and elephant rider type.

i) Standing king at altar and deity type—Seven copper coin of Huviṣka kept in the Mathura Museum bear standing king on the obverse with right hand on the altar and different deities (like Mirro, Nanā, Ardoksho and unidentified seated four-armed deity) on the reverse.233 Two such coins with an unidentified deity on the reverse have been found from Tahsil Mat, Mathurā.

ii) Standing king at altar and elephant rider type—Four coins of Huviṣka kept in the Mathura Museum bear standing king on the obverse with right hand on the altar and elephant rider on the reverse.234 Three such coins have been reported from Mathurā itself. Two coins have been found from Tahsil Mat and one from Gosna Kherā.

iii) Elephant rider and deity type—Twenty-two copper coins of such type are kept in the Mathura Museum. On the obverse is found the king riding/sitting on an elephant. In one coin from Ujjain, the king holds a club in his right hand. On the reverse is found representations of different deities like Mao (3 coins) Mirro (5 coins), Nanā (2 coins), Athsho (1 coin), Ardoksho (1 coin), Śiva Nandi (1 coin) and unidentified deities (9 coins).235 One such type of coin (with deity Mao on the reverse) housed in
the Mathura Museum collection has been found from Tahsil Māṭ, Mathurā.

iv) *King in reclining/resting posture and deity type* - Fifty eight coins of such type housed in the collection of Mathura Museum bear the king in reclining posture on the obverse. One coin from Maholi, Mathurā has a legend on the obverse starting at 8 O'clock. The reverse of these coins bear different deities like Mao (10 coins) (Pl.XXXVI), Mirro (24 coins) (Pl.XXXVII), Athsho (4 coins) (Pl.XXXVIII), Oado (4 coins), Oesho (2 coins), Śiva Nandi (3 coins), Ardoksho (2 coins) and unidentified deities (9 coins) on the reverse. Seven coins of such type housed in this museum have been reported from Mathurā itself. These coins are:

1. A coin with deity Mao from Maholi.
2. A coin with deity Mao from Gosna well.
3. A coin with deity Mirro from Gosna well. In this context we should mention that in the catalogue of Mathura Museum, this coin is classified under *king reclining and deity* type, but on the basis of the obverse device this coin should be considered as *King seated with head to left and deity* type of coin. Here the king is seated with head to left, both legs down and holds a spear in his left hand in front of his face (Pl.XXXIX). Almost similar type of coin has been reported in the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.

4. A coin with deity Mirro from Pālikherā.
5. A coin with deity Athsho from Pālikherā.
6. A coin with deity Oesho/Śiva Nandi from Pālikherā.
7. A coin with deity Mirro from Sonkh.

v) *King in reclining/resting posture and elephant rider type* - Only one coin of such type is kept in the collection of Mathura Museum. On the obverse
the king is found in reclining posture and on the reverse is found elephant rider instead of deities. This coin was found from Surat.238

Besides, one copper coin of Huviška bears an unidentified device on the obverse and deity *Pharro* on the reverse.239

Average sizes of these copper coins of Huviška range between 2cm and 2.60cm, whereas smaller coin is of 1.40cm. Average thickness varies from 2mm to 4mm, while thinner types of coins vary between 1.3mm and 1.5mm. The coins are weighing between 3.305gm and 15.915gm.

Apart from above a gold coin of Huviška kept in the Mathura Museum bears bust of the king on the obverse and double deity on the reverse.240 (Pl.XL) unfortunately measurement, weight and provenance of this coin is unknown.

**Coins of Vāsudeva:**

One hundred sixty eight coins of Vāsudeva are kept in the Mathura Museum. Among them one hundred sixty seven coins are made of copper241 and one coin is made of gold.242 We have little information about the provenance of these copper coins. One coin was found during excavations at Sonkh and another coin was collected from a private collector of Farrukhabad.

Except one coin all the copper coins of Vāsudeva in the Mathura Museum can be classified under *King at altar and deity type.*

i) *King at altar and Śiva Nandi or Oesho type*- Thirty copper coins of such type are kept in the collections of Mathura Museum. On the obverse the king is standing with right hand on altar and on the reverse is found Śiva with Nandi. (Pl.XLI & Pl.XLII) In two coins dots appear on the right side of the deity.243

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ii) **King at altar and Ardoksho type**: One hundred thirty six coins of such type are housed in the Mathura Museum. On the obverse the king is standing facing right with right hand on altar and in upraised left hand he holds a rod like object. On the reverse is found the representation of the deity **Ardoksho**. (Pl.XLIII & Pl.XLIV) In some coins either the deity is encircled by the border of dots or the border of dots appears below the deity.  

Besides, in one copper coin of Vāsudeva, the king is found in seated position on the obverse with crowned head and holds a trident in his right hand. On the reverse is found the representation of the deity **Ardoksho**.  

Average sizes of these copper coins vary from 1.80cm to 2.60cm. Average thickness ranges between 2.5mm and 4.5mm. The copper coins kept in the Mathura museum are weighing between 5.605gm and 8.995gm.

The coin cabinet of Mathura Museum also possesses a gold coin of Vāsudeva bearing a standing king on the obverse and Śiva Nandi on the reverse (Pl.XLV). The measurement, weight and provenance of this coin are unknown.

**Later Kushāṇa Coins:**

In his *Catalogue of Mathurā Museum*, J.Ph.Vogel reported two gold coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers. But, the name of the issuers and the provenance of the coins are not mentioned in the Catalogue. Both the coins bear king standing at altar on the obverse. One coin has legend **bha (?) to left, sena** (V. A. Smith reads as sita) under the arm and **shāka** to right. Another coin has legend **bha** to left, **syā** under the arm (?) and **shāka** to right. On the reverse is found representations of throned goddess, **Ardoksho**. The first coin is 119.8gm in weight.
Kushāno-Sasanian Coins:

In his *Catalogue of Mathurā museum*, J.Ph.Vogel reported a gold coin of a Kushāno-Sasanian ruler. But, the provenance of the coin is not mentioned in the catalogue. On the obverse is found the king standing to left at altar with trident in his left hand. He wears richly ornamented coat and conical cap. *Svastikā* symbol appears between king’s leg and a monogram places below the king’s left arm. Greek legend *Shaonana Shao Bazodeo Kushano* appears on the obverse. On the reverse is found Śiva and bull with legend *Oesho*.²⁴⁹

The Indian Museum, Kolkata acquired Kushāṇa coins from time to time. Although, the provenances of these coins are not always mentioned in the Catalogues, but available records show that since 1924, two coins of Soter Megas, eleven coins of Wima Kadphises, a large number of coins of Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva, imitation coins of Vāsudeva, one copper coin of Kidāra Kushāṇa and several Kushāno-Sasanian coins were obtained from Mathurā.²⁵⁰

COIN MOULDS: In our discussion on the distribution of coins of the Greater and Later Kushāṇa rulers in and around Mathurā, we have tried to pointed out the fact that it is very difficult to identify the manufacturing of coins of the Kushāṇas from Mathurā and its surroundings. The discovery of such coins from Mathurā never helped us to know their point of origin, whereas the site of Sonkh possesses some evidences of coin moulds for the manufacturing of punch-marked coins, rather than the coin age of the Kushāṇas.

Twenty-six fragments of circular coin moulds of terracotta for casting punch-marked coins have been unearthed from Levels 23 to 22 (Late Kṣatrapa to Early Kushāṇa) at Sonkh.²⁵¹ Although the excavation
report never specifies the exact number of such moulds recovered from the Early Kushāṇa levels, quite a considerable number of specimens have been reported from the Early Kushāṇa levels. Among six illustrated specimens, five have been unearthed from the Early Kushāṇa level (Level 22). The best two specimens are described below-

1. Fragment of a top or bottom disc of a coin mould set. The blank outer surface shows concentric grooves and the inner face consists of two complete and the halves of two more coin sockets of rectangular and rounded shape. One socket is blank and the other has indefinite traces of symbols. It is grey in colour and 5.5 cm in length.²⁵² (Pl.XLVI, 1)

2. A small fragment of an inner disc of a set of coin moulds having one and two sockets on each face respectively. Two sockets are blank and one socket shows three human figures standing side by side. It is grey in colour, 2.3cm in length and 2.4cm in breadth.²⁵³ (Pl. XLVI, 2)

**SEALS AND SEALINGS:** Atleast three terracotta seals and two terracotta sealings have been unearthed from the Kushāṇa period at Mathurā. The terracotta seals include- a seal reading Vijayasivagramarddah²⁵⁴ (Pl. XLVII, 1), a seal reading Bhutapala-sa-gamasa²⁵⁵ and a seal reading Vasatasya²⁵⁶. The terracotta sealings include – a sealing with legend Maharaja Tra (?) mah²⁵⁷ and another sealing with legend Yuvabalas.²⁵⁸

Six seals and twenty three sealings or seal-impressions have been found from Periods III to VI at Sonkh. Among them one seal and eight seal-impressions were reported from the Kushāṇa period. Besides, two seal-impressions or sealings, probably of the Kushāṇa period have been unearthed from the Apsidal Temple No. 2.²⁵⁹ The best selective specimens are illustrated below:
1. A terracotta seal with square stamp and perforated cylindrical knob has been unearthed from the Kushāṇa period (Level 22) at Sonkh. An incised rosette is found on top of the seal. The seal is three-lined-
L. 1: Nandyāvarta symbol.
L.2: amoghanaṃdisa (negative)
L.3: Svastikā and Śrīvatsa symbols.

From the legend it is clear that the seal was “of Amoghanandi”.
It is 2.6 cm in height and brown in colour. The script portion measures (2.5X2.6) cm.²⁶⁰ (Pl.XLVII, 2)

2. An oval shaped sealing or seal-impression (Pl.XLVII ,3) of unbaked clay has been found from the Kushāṇa period (Level 21) at Sonkh. It bears a mutilated impression of a man either standing or walking right with arms stretched to the sides and holding an indistinct object in his left hand. On the right leg appears a sword (?), hanging down from the garment. It is grey in colour and measures (3X2.3) cm.²⁶¹

3. A circular terracotta sealing or seal-impression with plano-convex projection has been found from the Kushāṇa period (Level 17) at Sonkh. It bears a circle of convex dots surrounds a trident-cum-battle-axe symbol and a small bisected circle to the right of it. It is light brown in colour and 3.5 cm in diameter.²⁶² This sealing might have been associated with the Śaiva cult. (Pl.XLVII,4) A sealing with trīśūla-cum-axe symbol has also been reported from the Kushāṇa contemporary period (Sub-Period VI) at Kausambi.²⁶³

4. A circular terracotta sealing or seal-impression with plano-convex projection has been unearthed from the Kushāṇa period at Sonkh. It bears Nandyāvarta symbol followed by a line Brāhmi legend reading Kāṃbelasa. From the legend it is clear that the seal was “of Kāṃbela”. It is grey in colour and 0.8 cm in diameter.²⁶⁴ (Pl.XLVII ,5)
5. A mutilated sealing or seal-impression with two lines of Brahmi script has been found from the Apsidal Temple No. 2 at Sonkh. A perforation is visible in the elevated central part. The text is written in the Kushāṇa Brahmi script and reading:

L. 1...........putrasa.
L. 2 ahik [o] śikasa.

It measures (4X3.4X2.4) cm.²⁶⁵ (Pl.XLVII, 6)

Apart from the above, a terracotta sealing with legend Yavanikanam in Brahmi characters of the 2nd century A.D. has been reported from Mathurā and now housed in the collection of the Mathura Museum.²⁶⁶ Terracotta seals and sealings have also been reported from the Kushāṇa contemporary period at Hastināpura²⁶⁷ (Period IV) and Kauśāmbī²⁶⁸ (Sub-Periods V-VI). Some Kauśāmbī specimens also bear svastikā and śrīvatsa symbols such as Sonkh.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed different numismatic sources considered for our study. Before analysing the above materials it is to be noted that our observation about the Kushāṇa coins found from the Mathurā region should formulated on the basis of coins found from the stratified contexts at Sonkh and treasure troves reported from this region, as we have meagre information about the provenance of coins housed in the Mathura Museum as well as the typology, measurements and devices of the coins found from excavations at Mathurā and other sources. In this context we should mention that our interpretations are not decisive, rather suggestive.

Except a gold coin of Kadphises from a treasure trove of Mathurā and five gold coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniśka, Huviśka, Vāsudeva and Later Kushāṇa ruler kept in the Mathura Museum, all the coins we have studied are made of copper. Moreover, the provenances of the gold coins housed in the Mathura Museum are unknown. Although, Cunningham
has reported about Soter Megas coins from Mathurā, not a single such type of coin has been found in the stratified contexts at Mathurā or at Sonkh.

The different types of coins reported from the Mathurā region are-

i) Copper coins of Wima Kadphises represent King at altar and Śiva Nandi type.

ii) Copper coins of Kaṇiśka represent King at altar and deity type.

iii) The copper coins of Huviśka represent King in resting/reclining posture and deity type, King seated with facing to right and deity type, King seated cross-legged and deity type, King seated with head to left and deity type, Elephant rider and deity type and Standing king at altar and deity type and Standing king at altar and elephant rider type. In this context it is to be noted that King at altar and deity or elephant rider type of coins are unusual so far as the coinage of Huviśka is concerned. But surprisingly, such coins are reported from Tehsil Māṭ and Gosna Khera of Mathurā.

iv) The copper coins of Vāsudeva represent King at altar and Oesho type.

v) The copper coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers represent King at altar and Oesho type and King at altar and Ardoksho type.

The obverse of the copper coins reported from the Mathurā region represents the king in different dresses, postures and attributes, almost similar to the features found in the available references.

i) The king is found in different postures like standing to left or facing left, seated to front with facing right or left, seated cross-legged or both legs down.

ii) Different objects like a fire altar and couch are associated with the king.
iii) In some coins the king appears as riding on elephant.
iv) The king is clad in various dresses like coat, trousers, tunic, and kurta.
v) The king bears different head-dresses like diadems and peaked head-dresses.
vi) Weapons or others objects held in kings; hands are- spear, sword, elephant goad, trident, trident-cum-battle axe, club, double trident, a circular object attached with a rod transversely. In one copper coin from the Apsidal Temple No. 2 the king holds in right hand an elephant goad over altar and a long shafted spear in his left hand. This is a common feature of the gold coins\textsuperscript{269} of Kaṇiśka and rare in copper.
vii) Most of the Kushāṇa coins found from the Mathurā region have some marks of divinity such as nimbus/nimbate and crescent halo round the kings head. Such signs of deification found on these coins probably indicate the belief of the Kushāṇas in the theory of divine origin of kingship, which may have brought from Persian, Chinese and Roman sources.\textsuperscript{270} This conviction/faith of divine origin is also reflected in the representation of Kaṇiśka between sun and moon on the drum of the Peshawar reliquary.\textsuperscript{271}

Except two coins housed in the Mathura Museum, all the coins reported from the Mathurā region have different deities on the reverse.
i) The deities found on the Kushāṇa coins of this region are the Indian deities like Śīva, Buddha, Greek deities like Helios, Persian deities like Mīro, Māo, Athsho, Pharro, Oado, Nanā, Ardoksho etc.
ii) Representations of Indian God Śīva or Oesho are found on the coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaṇiśka, Huviśka, Vāsudeva and Later Kushāṇa rulers. The god is found in different forms like- Four
armed Śiva with or without bull, two armed Śiva with bull. In most of the coins we have meagre information about the attributes of the God, but in some coins of Vāsudeva Śiva holds noose in left hand and spear in right hand.

iii) Rare representations of Buddha or Boddo appear on five coins of Kaṇiṣka found from treasure troves of Mathurā district.

iv) Helios is represented on one coin of Kaṇiṣka found from a treasure trove of Mathurā district.

v) Mirro is represented on the coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka. On some coins of Huviṣka, the deity is found standing left.

vi) Māo is represented on the coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka. The god is found in different forms like- the deity standing to left with right arm stretched left, the deity holds sword in left hand and right hand advanced. Crescent appears behind shoulders.

vii) Athsho is represented on the coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka.

viii) Pharro is represented on one coin of Kaṇiṣka of a treasure trove of Mathurā.

ix) Oado is represented on the coins of Kaṇiṣka with running to left, loose hair, both hands holding the floating cloth.

x) Nanā is represented on the coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka. In one of Kaṇiṣka the deity is found to right, nimbate and holding a sceptre.

xi) Ardoksho is represented on the coins of Vāsudeva and Later Kushāṇa rulers with seated and standing postures.

While discussing the representations of different deities, B.N.Mukherjee argued the following points:

a) The Kushāṇa moneyers’ knowledge of the Roman coin types and some cults of the Roman Empire (gained through direct Kushāṇa-Roman commercial interactions).

b) The Governmental policy to emphasis on deities indicating the right and might of the Kushāṇa rule.
c) The desire to reflect the faiths and religious ideas- Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian-current in Bactria.

Measurements of the Kushāṇa coins reported particularly from the Mathurā region is as follows-

i) Approximate sizes of the copper coins of Wima Kadphises are between 2.50cm and 2.90cm and thickness ranges between 4.1mm and 4.5mm.

ii) Approximate sizes of the copper coins of Kaṇiṣka are between 2cm and 2.65cm and thickness ranges between 3mm and 5.20mm.

iii) Approximate sizes of the copper coins of Huviṣka are between 1.90cm and 2.60cm and thickness ranges between 3mm and 4.5mm.

iv) Approximate sizes of the copper coins of Vāsudeva are between 1.85cm and 2.10cm and thickness ranges between 3.4mm and 4mm.

v) Approximate sizes of the copper coins of Vāsudeva' successors/Later Kushāṇa rulers are between 1.85cm and 2.2cm and thickness ranges between 3.1mm and 7.1mm.

The weight standards of Kushāṇa coins reported from particularly from Mathurā are as follows-

i) Approximate weights of the copper coins of Wima Kadphises are ranges between 13.231gm and 17.029gm.

ii) Approximate weights of the copper coins of Kaṇiṣka are ranges between 6.701gm and 17.381gm.

iii) Approximate weights of the copper coins of Huviṣka are ranges between 6.165gm and 14.920gm.

iv) Approximate weights of the copper coins of Vāsudeva are ranges between 6.827gm and 8.255gm.
v) Approximate weights of the copper coins of Vāsudeva’s successors/Later Kushāṇa rulers are ranges between 5.682gm and 9.756gm.

We have meagre information about the legends of coins found from this region. In one treasure trove (Treasure trove No. 4) from Mathurā some Brāhmī letters like tha, chhu, Bu, Na, Va, Sva, mu, ru, da, sa, ai, Ga appear on the obverse of the king at altar and Oesho type of coins. These types of Brāhmī letters are usually found on the obverse of the Oesho type of coins of Later Kushāṇa ruler Kaṇiṣka III. So, it is our assumption that the coins of this treasure trove may be attributed to Kaṇiṣka III. In another treasure trove (Treasure trove No. 5) from Mathurā, Brāhmī letters like chhu, jhu, ša, sa, vai, ga appear on the obverse of the king at altar and Ardoksho type of coins. These types of letters are also usually found on the obverse of the Ardoksho type of coins of Later Kushāṇa ruler Kaṇiṣka III. So, the Later Kushāṇa coins of this treasure trove may be attributed to Kaṇiṣka III.

To some extent, the numismatic sources help us to know about the history of the Mathurā region during the latter phase of the Kushāṇas. The coin hoards found from the Mathurā region may put some light in this context. Besides, two hoards (Treasure trove No. 4 and 5) from Mathurā, five hoards of gold coins from its neighbouring regions of U.P., Rajasthan and Haryana (from Jaunpur, Unao district and Meerat district of U.P., Village Dado Fatehpur (Jhunjhunu district, Rajasthan), and from Mithathal in Haryana) yielded some coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers. According to P.L. Gupta, these coins revealed a sequence of at least five rulers like Vasudeva II, Kaṇiṣka III, Bazeska (Vāsiṣka), Vasu and Śaka between Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva and Gupta king Samudragupta and probably Kushāṇa rule continued in this region.
up to the rise of Samudragupta.280 Here we should mention that, a number of Later Kushāṇa coins have also been found during excavations at Sonkh. This may also suggest that, the Later Kushāṇas ruled over Mathurā for a considerable period of time. Some scholars like A.K.Srivastava281 opined about Sasanian holds over the Mathurā region after the death of Vāsudeva. The Govindnagar hoard of Mathurā consisted of seven hundred sixty four coins of the Later Kushāṇa rulers and four hundred two Kushāṇa-Sasanian coins. It has been suggested that Later Kushāṇa coins with Brāhmī letters under the arm and other Sasanian features (like peaked headdress) on these coin probably indicate Sasanian influence during the period of the Later Kushāṇas. Besides, four hundred two Kushāṇa-Sasanian coins of bust of King and fire altar type have also been reported from this hoard.

Excavations at Sonkh have yielded five coins of Virasena with legends Virasenasa from the later Kushāṇa levels as well as from the Apsidal Temple No. 2 at Sonkh. Earlier, these types of coins have been reported not only from Mathurā, but also from Kanauj, Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhabad districts of U.P.282 The issuer of these coins is generally identified with Svāmī Virasena of the Jankhat (Farrukhabad) inscription of the 3rd century A.D.283 Scholars have identified Virasena as a Nāga king. K.P.Jayaswal284 identifies him as the second ruler of the Nāga dynasty of Kantipuri founded by King Nava Nāga and is said to have reconquered Kauśāmbi and Mathurā from the Kushāṇas.285 The findings of such coins from the stratigraphic contexts at Sonkh also confirmed his presence at Mathurā and suggest that, Nāgas possibly became popular during the later half of the Kushāṇa period and their coins were probably simultaneously used along with the Kushāṇa coins, though in lesser amount at Sonkh. Importance of the Nāgas during the Kushāṇa period is also attested by the epigraphic and architectural evidences.

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Although, we have inadequate information regarding the presence of punch-marked coins in the Kushāṇa period at Sonkh, excavations have yielded some terracotta moulds of such coins from the early Kushāṇa period (Level 22). In this context we should mention that, at Sonkh the Kushāṇa coins found to have been reported from Level 20 onwards and no coins have been recovered from Level 22 and 21. It may be assumed that, for some time in the early Kushāṇa period, punch-marked coins were probably in circulation at Sonkh and later gradually supplanted by the Kushāṇa coins.

The palaeography of a Kushāṇa copper coin with Brāhmi legend from the Apsidal Temple No.2 at Sonkh may suggest that this coin was minted at Mathurā286 and the Kushāṇas had at some stage of their rule a mint over there. In this context we should mention that, the Kushāṇa coin moulds are not available from the stratified contexts either in Mathurā or in Sonkh. In this connection it would not be unreasonable to assume that the coin moulds might have been damaged or lost in course of time. Such damage is not unexpected in the disturbed area of the excavated site.

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