The region of Kapiśa and Gandhāra was far famed in the history for its trade and commerce from the remote ages. In some older Chinese work, the country of Kapiśa is being described as a great rendezvous for traders. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang noticed considerable activities in trade and commerce in this valley. Not only he met several caravans on his way to India, but also referred to the cities of Kia-pi-si, and u-to-kia-han-cha (Und) where many valuable rarities were collected from other regions. It is not unlikely that these cities served the purpose of the principal trading marts of this valley. It is probable that the towns of Lan-po, Nagara and Hilo are halting stations and trade centres on the principal route of this valley. Hsüan-tsang referred to Shan horses of Kapiśa and mentioned as its product saffron and timber.

In the Harshacharita of Bāṇabhāṭṭa, the court poet of Harshavardhana (circa A.D. 606-642), we find indirect reference to the mercantile activities of this region. Bāṇa noted that Harshavardhana's stable was full of best breeders of Aṛaṭṭa (N. Kathiawara), Śindhu (western portion of the Lower Indus Valley), Kāmboja (N. Eastern Afghanistan), Bharadvāja, Vanāyuja (Bamu district) and Pārasika (Persia). All these countries were well-known to ancient Indians as the famous breeders of horses and trading in horse was carried on by these countries with the rest of India from the ancient times. Bāṇa's reference indicated that it was continued to be so in the
period under review. Moreover, Bana also referred to the use of saffron, safflower, different varieties of wine and others in everyday life, which formed a part of valuable export trade of this area in the previous ages.

While describing the marriage preparation of Rajyasri, he noticed various kinds of fabrics like stabrak, prianga, netra, etc. along with Kshauma (linen), Dukula (bark-silk), Lalantujj (Myslin), etc.

Of these, stabrak, a kind of heavy fabric, studded with pearls or jari work, originated in Persia and was exported to India through the region concerned. Prianga, another kind of dyed and printed silk cloth is mentioned many times in central Asian documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein. That variety was exported to India possibly from central Asia or from China through central Asia to this region and thence to India proper. Netra was a kind of silk garment of fine and light texture, also an item of import, from central Asia. The Chinese pilgrim told us that the countries of central Asia produced silk and serge, skins and woolen clothes, and traded with their neighbours in these articles.

Bana expressly stated that all the skilled artisans of all the countries including those weavers of different types of fabrics were invited by Prabhakaravardhana for taking part in the marriage celebration of Rajyasri by producing their different wares in that very city (Thaneswar).
The above references of Bāna indicate the existence of highly flourishing trade in this region with outside world in the first half of the 7th century A.D. It is not unlikely that not only different kinds of silk fabrics, saffron, wines, were exported through this region to India but also skilled artisans including weavers and sculptors were invited by the kings of different countries of India who settled them in their respective countries.

Shortly after Hsuan-tsang's departure, Arabs appeared on the political scene as already stated. Their attention towards this area and India was drawn by its fabulous wealth. Although their first and foremost objective was spreading of Islam, they were equally attracted to India by the lure of booties. As stated earlier, "in 637 A.D. Persia was conquered, and within five years the whole of Persia as far east as Herat was annexed to the growing empire of the Arabs. By A.D. 650, they advanced as far as Oxus and all the countries between the river and Hindukush were included within it".

They now turned their attention towards India. In this attempt, they came into conflict with the three bordering states of Kabul (Kapiṣa-Gandhāra), Zabul and Sind. They conquered Sind in 708 A.D. But their war with these two states was a protracted one and continued with vicissitudes. By the large scale looting and destruction of people and property, unprecedented in its history, affected its economy greatly. Business transaction with outside world almost came to
stand-still in this region as its result, specially in Kapisa. Use of a different but lesser known route from Gandhāra through Udayāna to China during these turbulent days indicates this fact. Other Chinese pilgrim who came to India by the southern Chinese route, followed this road on their homeward journey. Even Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang returned by way of Anderab, Pamir region, Tarim basin to China. The use of this diversionary route suggest that trade and commerce of central Asia was diverted to this highway due to the result of Muslim inroads.

In the case of Persia and Khurasan, free flow of commerce ceased for a short period through overland route and it was diverted to the sea route. With the rise of the Abbasids, the affairs of Khurasan became somewhat settled. In 736 A.D. Balkh was made the capital of Khurasan. Possibly, trade was resumed with this area after a peace treaty was signed by the two warring sides during Al-Mamun's reign.

As earlier referred to, Caliph Al-Mamun achieved a notable victory over Kabul Shah Pathi Darmi-deva in circa A.D. 815-16. Kabul Shah not only paid homage to the Caliph but also accepted Islam. As a result of Kabul Shah's defeat Kabul, Gandhāra, Punjab and Sind upto frontiers of Kaśmīr came under Muslim subjugation for a short while. The emergence of Brahman Shahis in the region of Kapisa and Gandhāra also helped to stabilize the political condition of this area.
Thus, we can infer that from hence the region of Kapisa and Gandhara along with north western part of India were opened to the Khurasani (Musalmān?) traders from that time.

The trade once resumed, was developed very rapidly. Thus, in the Hudud-ul-Ālam, we find reference not only to different land routes but also important centres of trade and commerce along these routes.

Parvan, on the Hindukush (near Begram) was mentioned as the gateway of India. Silver mines were located in two small towns of Panjhir and Jaryaba near Anderab, from which money was coined. These metals along with coined money and lapis lazuli of Badakshan were exported to India. Laghman was described in the Hudud-ul-Ālam as the emporium of Hindustan and residence of merchants from various quarters.

Dynpūr (Dunpur), a town situated on the bank of the Kabul river, opposite to Laghman was the residence of merchants from all Khurasan. In both these towns lived Muslim merchants and both are prosperous and pleasant.

Ninhar, another trading mart of this area during 7th century is just casually mentioned without reference to its merchantile activities. It is likely that this place lost its importance as a trading mart due to emergence of Dynpūr. Vayhind (Und) was a large town and an important centre of commerce Hindusthani merchandise such as musk, camphor, aloe wood, ambergris, pearls, corundum, diamonds, corals, as
well as multifarious drugs and wonderful textiles came to this country.

The description of different centres indicate certain changes. Now Muslim merchants took over the central Asian and Persian trade from the people of this area. This state of affairs continued at least up to the first half of 10th century. Masudi noticed presence of Khurasani merchants in Multan. Ibn Khurdad Beh not only mentioned different trade routes but also referred to towns situated on these routes. Ibn Haukul gave a detailed description of not only Khurasan but also of India. The Kuvalayamala, refers to a caravan of Gandhāra's merchants who went to Surāpaka with horses for sell and embarked on a journey to different islands in Indian ocean. with the emergence of Yaminid dynasty as a dominant power, again business transaction between these two regions checked for a short while. It was soon resumed. Even during the days of Sultan Mahmud, we find reference to caravans travelling between Hind and Khurasan in full security. This was achieved by the Sultan after a peace treaty with Anandapāla. Anandapāla strictly adhered to the conditions of the treaty.

From the above references we can infer that a thriving trade existed here throughout the centuries except certain occasions. The people of Kapisa and Gandhāra carried on a flourishing business with India and outside world throughout the period, except certain occasions.
Trade was mainly carried through overland routes in the zone under our consideration. Though intersected and partially surrounded by mountains, the regions of Kapísá and Gandhára had within their limits a number of roads from ancient period. The most important among them was the Fu-Ho (Balkh), Fan-yen-na (Bamian) Kapísá (Begram) Lan-po (Laghman) Pu-lu-sha-pula (Peshawar) Wu-to-ka-han-tu (Und) Ta-cha-si-la (Taxila) highway. The starting point of this principal artery lay at Balkh. From Balkh, the road ran in a south-south-east direction and reached Bamian on the Hindukush. From here, crossing the Hindukush and a black ridge the route reached Kápišá, the capital of Kapišá i.e. the modern Kápišá-Begram. From Kápišá-Begram the road ran towards east and covering a distance of 600 li reached the capital of Lan-po i.e. modern Laghman. Then crossing the Kabul river, the highway reached Nagara i.e. modern Jalalabad. The next halt on this road was the city of Hadda. From Hadda this route came to Pu-lu-sha-pu-la i.e. Peshawar. From here this highway ran towards north-east and again crossing the Kabul river reached Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti (Pushkaravatí, modern Charsada in the Hastangarh group of villages). The next halt is Pu-lu-sha or moder Palodhari. From this city the route ran to a north-easterly direction and reached the temple of Bhimá. From Bhimá's shrine the highway turned towards south-east and came to U-to-ka-han-tu (or Waihand, i.e. modern Und.). Kapísá-Begram and Und were two of the
important centres of trade in the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra where valuable rarities were collected. Therefore the principal marts and trade centres in this route in the period concerned were Bactria i.e. Balkh (as already referred to as the starting point), Bamian, Kāpiśi-Begram (later Parvan, and Kabul), Laghman, Jelalabad (later Dynpur), Peshawar, Charsada and Und. Hadda and Palo-dheri were some of the halt­ing stations.

From Und, crossing the Indus this route ran to Ta-chas-i-la i.e. Taxila. Here it joined the principal artery of Northern India which connected Magadha with Taxila. Thus the route connected eastern India with north-western part of India. Main flow of Indian commerce passed along this route to Und and thence to Kāpiśi (Begram) and Balkh. In Balkh the road converged with the great Northern and southern routes of China and also with those of central Asia, Persia, Asia-Minor and Arabia, and the merchandise of all these countries came to India from Balkh along this road. Thus, this highway was the principal connecting link between India and outside world throughout the period concerned except on certain occasions.

With the arrival of the Arabs, free flow of commerce through this route was stopped for a short while, and several diversions were adopted. These diversionary routes were also well-known from ancient times, but less frequented for its difficulties. Of these secondary roads, the first was the diversion by which Hsüan-tsang travelled from Tsao-kuta (Ghazni).
to Fa-li-shi-tang-na or Kabul through northern frontiers of Kapiśa to An-ta-lo-fa i.e. Andarab. From Andarab this path ran through modern Mungan, Ragh, Badakshan, Kokcha, Pamir to Kashgar and joined Southern route to China. As already stated above, this was in use during the first half of the 7th century A.D.

The next two roads joined the main thoroughfare of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra from the north. The first came from the Balti or Little Tibet through Darel, and Swat, Sālātura (Lahore) to Und and the second linked Balkh-Peshawar highway to China through Tibet-Kaśmīra and Swat. These two ways were used during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

A number of roads converged with principal artery of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra from southern side. The first path ran from Siestan-Ghazni-Kabul to Laghman and the second was the direct route from Ghazni to Laghman. A western offshoot of this road joined it with Seistan-Persia and Arabia.

From Und, another road ran along the left bank of the Indus to the port of Debal. A continuation of this road connected Debal with Broach, Surat, etc. Thereby indrecting that sea-trade was equally open to the traders of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra. The Kuvalayamalā cited a reference to traders who went to Surat and Broach through this way and embarked on ship from there with cargoes for the islands in the Indian ocean (as earlier referred to.)
All these routes existed throughout the centuries and a valuable trade was carried on between the regions of Kapiša and Gandhāra and India on the one hand and also with the area concerned with China, Central Asia, Persia, Arabia and the kingdoms on the shores of Caspian sea and Byzantian empire on the other, except on certain occasions.

With the increase of sea-trade, importance of these land routes diminished considerably.

Horses, saffron, timber constituted the principal products of Kapiša besides its fruits, spring wheat and cereals.

Horses formed one of the important articles of trade of this area from the days of Jatakas. From that period, Kámboja, Persia and region round Sindhu were famous for its high quality studs and a highly organised horse-trade was carried on between these regions and India. It was continued to be same in the following centuries.

In Hsūan-tsang's time Kapiša's horses were called "Shen" horses and the countries of Kámboja, Vanāyuja, Sindhu, Aratta, Bharadvāja and Persia continued to be best breeders of horses. Bāna's reference to the horses of these different states in Harshavadhanā's stable indicated that a thriving business was in existence between these countries and India. These countries retained their fame upto 13th century A.D.
The horse-trade of Persia and Arabia, Balkh was carried on by the traders of Kapisa and Gandhāra and the traders of respective countries with India through these areas under our consideration. Pehoa in Rajasthan was one of the important centres of horse dealers who came to that area from the region concerned. Even horse dealers of Gandhāra visited Surpāraka with their merchandise in the period under review.

Saffron was one of the valuable article of trade of Kapisa. "Saffron was produced from the dried stigmas and the part of the style of saffron crocus, a cultivated form of crocus Sativus; the wild variety is also known and in some cases used. "Saffron flower blooms in late autumn. The flower is purple and the stigmas of this flower has a orange red colour and has a sweet scent." It is used as perfume, dye, medicine, spice, and in beauty-care.

Hsüen-tsang noticed its cultivation in Kapisa and also in the valley of Helmund. Two of the synonyms of saffron are Vahlīka and Kāśmira-janma found in the Kosas (Lexicons). That is, it is a product of both these countries Bahlīka (Bactria) and Kāśmira (Kashmir). It is likely that Kapisa along with these three countries traded with India in this valuable article in our age. Bāṇabhāṭṭa noted its extensive use as medicine, dye, perfume, paste, powder used in cooking and beauty care of his time. Rājaśekhara like Bāṇa noticed its general use in the daily life of the people of his time. This indicates that though costly export items, saffron became...
not only a part and parcel of the daily life of the people of India during our time, but also became an item of an extensive trade with India and China, all through the centuries under consideration by Kapisa and its neighbours. About timber we have very little information except Hsüan-tsang's. Fruit was another export item. Rājaśekhara probably referred to this trade when he mentioned grape as one of the characteristic product of North India. Early Arab historians referred to the export of fresh fruits from Kabul and its neighbouring areas to Khurasan. As already stated above, Kapisa, became a synonym for a kind of grapes like Ḥārahūra in later lexicons. It suggests that grape was exported to India from Kapisa.

Kapiṣa was famous for its wine in ancient India called Kapiṣāyani surā, prepared from grapes. Kapiṣāyana surā formed another important articles of trade of Kapisa. Isafotida was another such article of trade, which grew wildly all over the areas of Tsao-ku-tao and Bāḻhika (Bactria) and Kapisa. In later years indigo was added to the list. According to Idrisi, in the fertile land of Kabul a good deal of best quality indigo was cultivated. It was very famous. Source of Srotomāna or antimony has been located at Kapiṣa, Sindhu and its surrounding areas by the authors of Kosas of our time thereby indicating a brisk trade in antimony between the countries of Kapiṣa, Gandhāra, Sindhu, with India.

Idrisi also referred to the export of cotton clothes of this region to China, Khurasan and Sind.
Besides Kapisa's products, Gandhara was noted for some of its articles. In the Sanskrit lexicons of the period concerned, Gandhara became a synonym of Cinnabar like 'Balhika' and Kasamir-janma. Gandhara was known to be the source of good quality Cinnabar to the Indian people. Gandhara was also famous for its woolen goods as early as in the days of Rig Veda as referred to above. Possibly, it was continued to be so in the period concerned. This country was reputed for its sugar cultivation. Sugar-candy, a product of sugar-cane was exported to China from this area which was known to them as 'rock-honey'.

Thus, the regions of Kapisa and Gandhara transacted a brisk business in horse, saffron, fruits, wine, asafoetida, antimony, lead, cinnabar, with India throughout the ages concerned. Besides their own trade, the countries of Kapisa and Gandhara controlled the volume of Indian commerce to outside world and its vice versa.

From India itself came wonderful textiles, drugs, diamonds, pearls, corundum, ambergrys, camphor, aloe-wood, musk, etc. which were exported through central Asia to China on the one hand and to the countries of the Caspean Sea, Persia and Arabia on the other.

From China, central Asia and Persia, Arabia were collected various kinds of silks, leather (seric skins), furs, pearls, precious stones, gold and silver, horse etc. which were exported to India through this land. These goods
along with Indian merchandise were exported to western world and China by the port of Debal and Broach in later part of the period concerned.

Therefore, we can conclude that a valuable trade was in existence between the regions of Kapiša and Gandhāra not only with India, but also with Khurasan, China, Iran, Iraq and the countries on the Caspian Sea-coast. Finds of Sāmantadeva's coins in Posen in Eastern Europe points to its trade connection with the regions of Kapiša and Gandhāra in those days.

Agriculture was the most important feature of economy in every country. Here also agriculture was the mainstay of rural economy. Agriculture reached an advanced stage here and a number of cereals like wheat, barley, millet, pulses and fruits, vegetables, saffron, indigo, etc. were cultivated.

Hsuan-tsang not only recorded the different crops of the land of Kabul river but also noted that they varied according to climatic conditions.

According to him, colder climate of Kapiša produced various cereals including spring wheat, barley, saffron, asafoetida and fruits. In the milder climate of Lan-po "upland rice, and sugar-cane" were grown. It had much wood but little fruit. Nagara, though surrounded on all sides by steep mountains, had a mild climate. Grain and fruits
were produced in abundance. Gandhāra which belonged to warm zone, with no frost and snow. This country had luxuriant crops of cereals, and a profusion of fruits and flowers. It had much sugar-cane and produced sugar-candy. Varana (Bannu) being a country of cool climate had regular crops. Tsao-kuta had regular crops. According to Hsüan-tsang, early wheat was abundant and vegetation was prolific; the land produced saffron and asafoetida; the latter plant grew in the valley of Lo-mo-yin-tu.

Among these cereals, crops and grains we may include wheat, barley, rice, sugar-cane, pulses, etc. Mention may be made of grapes, apples, apricots, pears, peaches, plum, pomegranet, sweet oranges, and water melon among fruits.

Besides grains and fruits saffron, and indigo and asafoetida were cultivated in this valley.

Already at the end of 10th century, use of canals for irrigation was known. Al-beruni noted the high degree of proficiency in building ponds, canals, wells, etc. of the Hindus. Remains of old beds of canals, wells, aquaducts proves the importance of irrigation in the field of agriculture.

Therefore, we can conclude that the region of Kapiša and Gandhāra were rich in agriculture throughout the ages concerned.

Like every country cattle-rearing is closely associated
with agriculture in this region. Horses are the characteristic animals of the regions of Kapisa and Gandhara and its nearby areas. The people of this area was known to ancient Indians as the best horse breeders. As already stated a brisk business in horse was carried on by the people of this area with India.

Arabs included sheep in the list along with horse. The wool is collected from sheep for making woolen clothes and blankets. Gandhara was well-known for its production of woollies and blankets as early as in the time of Rig Veda.

Industry is another contributing factor of the economic life of this area in the days of Hsuan-tsang. Woolen and cotton clothes, spirit, distillery and brewery, metal works and sugar candy may be mentioned as some of the industries. Our information in this field is very meagre.

Hsuan-tsang noted the use of woolen, serge, fur and cotton clothes by the people of this area during the first half of the period under review. While describing Bamian, he stated that the clothes used by the people were produced locally. It is possibly same in this case also, as we know woolen clothes and blankets are a speciality of this valley from the time of Rig Veda. The sheep supplies wool for making woolen fabrics and blankets, which were exported to
India. Idrisi recorded that cotton clothes were made here and exported to Khurasan, China and Sind. Sugar was another important industry of Gandhāra. Sugar and sugar candy were exported to China and sugar candy was known to them as rock-honey. The Chinese knew the process of making sugar (or sugar-processing) for the first time possibly from this area.

Metal working was another such industry. In Panjher and Jaryaba are two silver mines from which silver was extracted. Another iron-mine was located in the Kabul valley by Idrisi. It produced grey-coloured veined metal which became very sharp. Most probably it is used for making swords, arrows, spears-points, knives, etc. Utbi said that soldiers of Brahmanapala, son of Ānandapāla, used white swords, blue spears and yellow coats of mail. This indicates the existence of a growing iron industry in this period.

Brewery and distillery may be two other industries of this area as we know the wine Kapiṣāyana was prepared in Kapiśa.

Hsüan-tsang made mention of grape wine and wine made from sugar-cane. Kapiṣāyana or Kapiṣāyanī surā was famous in ancient India. Many tray and palaques discovered in Taxila shows the actual process of production of grape-wine in the first few centuries of the Christian era. At first, grapes were collected in vats with pipes. A man was trading on grapes with another on his shoulder for squeezing the syrup.
The syrup, thus produced, passed to another pot through the pipe. Possibly then the syrup was stored in a cool place for some time after adding yeast, which became intoxicating drink afterwards. From the references preserved in the lexicons of the period under review, it appears that the buying and selling of distilled spirits is on the hands of a class of traders called Śuandika. Even yeast was sold by only a class of traders named manda-hāraka. It also preserved the process of brewing and distilling spirits in it, which corroborated the above mentioned process, shown by the Taxila trays and plaques. It seemed from the picture of the contemporary India, preserved in literature, that each type of trade and industry was taken up by a kind of guild. It is not unlikely that the industries were existed on the same basis in the regions of Kapiša and Gandhāra as well.

The medium of exchange in the land of Kapiša and Gandhāra was money. The people of this region was the most coin-minded people of all India. Full-fledged coinage system prevailed here from the time of the Indo-Greeks, even earlier. Indo-Greeks based their currency system on the coinage of their mother country. They issued a lighter weight standard for India. Thereafter various devices and weight standards were used by the kings of this area. Money was coined in gold, silver, and copper in the previous centuries.
In the period under review, Hsuan-tsang noticed the use of small gold, silver and copper coins which differed slightly from that of the other countries in appearance. It is likely that these coins may mean the Sassanian-Epthalite currency which were prevalent here in the later part of sixth century and first part of 7th century A.D.

The Hudud-ul-Alam, a work of 10th century, noted the presence of large variety of coins in the Kabul valley. According to the anonymous author of this work, "the money with which their trade was carried on, were of various kinds", e.g., barda, nakhwar, shabani, kabahra, kimban, kurah, each of them having different weight." Unfortunately we have no information about all these coins except barda which may be a Muhammadan coin. Kabahra may mean the coins of Kabul valley, i.e. the coins of the Hindu Shahis (of bull and horse man type).

The early Arab geographers and historians referred to the use of Tatariya and Tahiriya dirhams, and dinaras in and around this region. Dirhams of the Arabs usually denoted a silver coin. Sir A. Cunningham equated Taraşıya dirhams with Gadiya (silver) coins weighing about 66 grains. Tahiriya dirhams may indicate the coins of Tahirid dynasty.

The word dināra was used by Kalhana to mean both gold and copper money. Al-bīrūnī stated that the Hindus used the term Suvarna as the weight for gold measure.
The different monetary names mentioned above, not only indicate the existence of gold, silver and copper standards in the region concerned and its neighbouring areas but also corroborates Hsuan-tsang's statement. Moreover, it points to the flourishing condition of the trade in those days.

Silver and copper coins and later on billon coins were found in abundance in the zone and the period under review. But no gold coin have been found except that of Kidarites Sasanians and one of Shahi Bhimadeva. By the term gold coin, Hsuan-tsang possibly used to mean the former. Finds of Bhimadeva's gold coin proves the existence of a gold standard in the later part of the period under survey.

The coinage of the zone and the period under consideration may be roughly divided into two classes. Class I consists of the coins of Turkish Shahis and Class II comprises the coinage of the Hindu Shahis. Class I series had its prototype in Sasanian coins. Class II may be generally called, based more or less on Indian device.

On the basis of the types Class I coins may again be classified into two serieses. The series 'A' has on its obverse bust of king (sometimes copied the bust of Khusrub II), and fire altar with attendants on its reverse. The coins of this series has been assigned to NAPKI MALKA by Cunningham who deciphered the name from the Pahlavi legend. This series bears legends in two scripts Bactrian and Pahlavi, and traces of another script.
Dr. B.N. Mukherjee reads the Pahlavi and Greek legend of one such silver coins, now preserved in the Hermitage, Leningrad, which copied the bust of Khusru II as its obverse device and fire-altar with attendants as its reverse type as stated earlier. The Pahlavi and Greek legends deciphered by Dr. Mukherjee are as follows:

**Pahlavi legend**

KLM KSN

= N(Α)S (Α)K M(Α) LK

= Nisag the lord, or the lord of the Nisag family;

**Bactrian legend**

(SAH)O TARAKA NICAFA

= Nisaga, the lord belonging to the Tarkhan family.

Taraka Nisaga or Nisak Malka has been identified by Dr. Mukherjee with Tarkhan Nizak of the Muslim sources who ruled in Badghis region of Khurasan in 651 A.D. The above-mentioned coin is dated in the year 47 i.e. 667 A.D. That is, this king was in occupation of Khurasan from 651 A.D. and it was still under his rule in 667 A.D. At least two variants of Nisaga Malka's coin can be noticed. The first group copied the bust of Khusru II and fire altar device with Greek and Pahlavi legends. The second group was issued with his own head or bust. This group shows a beardless head of king with crescent on head-dress which is surmounted by a buffalo's head and which is further adorned with wings. Pahlavi legend is left.
The reverse depicts usual fire altar with two attendants; an ornamental wheel over each attendants heads; two letters to left.

Coins of another group has been attributed to this king by Cunningham. This group reveals a beardless head of king to right with tris'ula in the middle of crescent on forehead. Epithalite symbols behind head. Legend is in corrupt Greek letters. Sio Shano = Śrī Shahi. Reverse has fire altar with attendants. The obverse device of this group shows several variations. Several plated coins have flag before the face with usual coin device. A few bears on its obverse beardless head of king to right with two trisūlas and two crescents on head dress holding flower in right hand before face with Indian legend Śrī Shahi. Another few shows a countermark on the neck Tiri in Indian letters.

Therefore, it is possible that Nisak Malka issued these three groups with three types of legends for three different part of his empire. He issued both silver and copper coins. The standard weight for his silver coins range between 46.5 to 41 grains. Weight of his copper coins vary between 52 grains to 50 grains and other two denominations vary between 47-48 and 26-23 grains.

Series B may be further sub-divided into two groups on the basis of their devices. Group A continued the earlier device of king's bust and fire altar with attendants copied...
from the coins of Shapur II. This group used Bactrian and Brahmi legends which reveals name of a king Tigino Shao.

The obverse Bactrian legend has been read by Cunningham and Göbl as follows:

1. Sri Shono or Shoho and
2. CPTOTINIgOY0 = Sri Togini Soo respectively.

Dr. Mukherjee more correctly deciphers the legend as CPI Togini Soo. The Brahmi legend in two lines on the reverse has been deciphered by Cunningham as Srī Yadevi-māna Srī and by Göbl as Srīmā devi on right and Pāre Srī on left. Göbl further reads Pahlavi legend in left field as Wāst (Wyst = 20). Dr. Mukherjee deciphers the Brahmi legend as follows: On right, Srīmā devi = Mother earth and on left Vasu Srī and Pahlavi legend: BWM = year 20. Year 20 may be attributed to the era of Yazdward III 708 + 20 = 728 A.D. Another coin type in copper or billon portrays head of king on the obverse and an object on the reverse. On the basis of similarity of king's bust this coin may be doubtfully attributed to this king.

Thus, Shahi Tigin issued both silver and copper coin and possibly billon also. His silver currency has several denominations and weighs about 50 grains and 46 grains. His copper or billon coin weighs about .97 grammes.

Second series of section B are issued by two kings Vasudeva and Vahi. Vasudeva's coins bears the head of
king with a large wings on head dress, as on coins of Khusru II.

As referred to above, Göbl and Dr. Mukherjee reconstituted the obverse Pahlavi and reverse Brahmi and Pahlavi on the basis of several coins as follows:

Pahlavi:  
1. CPI "S mr't'  
2. Spwr bg hwt'p  
3. Whm'n'o mrt'n  
4. MLK'  
5. Gdh/ 'P2Wt +

Reverse: (1 or 2) Syh Krm' n s'vin  
(2 or 3) hdw  
(3 or 4)  
(4 or 5) Ts' Z'wl st'n  
(5 or 6) Sri Vasudeva

(1 or X'o clock of inner legend).

A copper coins weighs 1 gramme with same obverse and reverse device may be doubtfully attributed to this king as mentioned before. The legend is in Pahlavi:

Spyr' bg' hwt'h  
Trt  
Eyi/Z'wlst'n.

Cunningham read the Pahlavi and Brahmi legends of a similar type is as follows: the Pahlavi legend in inner
left is X Af Sut and to inner right is Saf Varsu Tef = Sri Varsu Deva and the marginal legend is Saf Varsu Tef-Wahman x Multan Malka = Sri Vasudeva, king of Bahman Multan. The reverse bears the head of sun-god with Brahmī legend to right and left. According to Cunningham, Indian legend to right is Sri Vasudeva and Pahlavi legend to left is Tukan Zaulstan (India, Zabulistan) and in margin is Sapadalakshan = Sapādalaksha = (Rajputana).

Another variety of Vasudeva or Vakhudeva's coins is known. It bears on its obverse the head of king based on the type of Khusru II. The Pahlavi legend on the obverse cannot be read. Inner legend to right is Sri ... va ... ra or vl. Vakhudeva. Instead of Sun-god reverse portrays the usual fire altar with attendants.

The silver coins of Vasudeva weigh about 52-51 grains and his copper coin weighs about 66 grains. Another king Vahi also issued coins with king's bust and Sun-god, as its obverse and reverse device. Cunningham reads the corrupt Greek legend Śrī Shono and Indian legend in circle outside as Śrī Hitivi-cha Airān-cha Paramesvara Śrī Shahi Tigīn Dāvaja. "The fortunate sovereign both of India and of Persia, the fortunate Shahī Tigīn, the son of Heaven."

Göbl deciphers the corrupt Greek legend as Śrī Shono as Brahmi legend as Śrī Hetivira Kharala Vāhi Tigina deva
Kāritam. Dr. Mukherjee reads the legend as Śrī Hitivira Airān cha Paramesvara Śrī Vāhi Tigina Deva Kāritam = Done by Śrī Vāhi Tigin, illustrious hero of earth (Śrī Hitivira = Kshiti = Shiti = hiti = sh becomes kh), lord of Iran.

Pahlavi legend on the reverse on the left Saf Takifu Tef = Śrī Tigin Devaja and Tukan Kharasan Malka. According to Gobl, the reading Haft = Haft = 77 and on right Tygyn' HWR' S'N MALKA = Tigino Kharasan Malka = Lord of Taki and Kharasan.

Cunningham’s coin No. 9 in Pt. X in Later-Indo-Scythian weighs about 52 grains. According to Cunningham, average weight of Tigin’s two coins vary between 48 and 52 grains conforming to the previous standard.

So, Class I series of coins were issued by at least two groups of kings Nizak Malka and Shahi Tigin. Round shaped copper and silver money copied very faithfully the Sāsānian currency which only differed in the use of tri-lingual legends. The trilingual legends were arranged in the left, right and on the margin of the coin type both obverse and reverse. Weight of the silver coins of Series 'A' group varies between 46 to 41 grains and Group 'B' varies between 52 to 50 grains as stated above. Several denomination of the copper coins were known. The first is about 66 grains, the second varies between 52 to 50 grains and the third is about 46 grains and the fourth ranges between 26 to 23 grains. Except the first and the fourth, all other denominations were found among silver coins. As the kings adopted Sāsānian device
in every detail it is not unlikely that they followed the same weight standard in the case of metrology also. Depiction of the device on the coins of Class I series is of good order.

Class II coinage consisted of another series of coins which bore different devices like bull and horseman, elephant and lion, lion and peacock, king on elephant etc.

Among these, bull and horseman type, appear on the coins of Indo-Greek, Sakas, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas, Guptas and on the money of the Hūnas. But recumbent humped bull did not appear in any one of them. Introduction of recumbent humped bull, religious symbol throughout the earlier centuries, is an unique feature of the coins of the Shahis. Horseman of this series bears clear affinity to the Indo-Parthian king on horseback than those of the Hūnas who adopted it from that of the Guptas. This is probably due to the popularity of that particular coin device. This series of coins bear legends in two scripts on corrupt Greek and Śāradā. At least two varieties are known. The first variety reveals name of Spalapatideva both in corrupt Greek on the reverse and Śāradā on the obverse. Śāmantadevah's coinage bears remains of corrupt Greek legend which is misunderstood by successive moneyers and was replaced by simple Śāradā in the coins of Vakkadeva, Bhīmadeva's money. But Khadavayaka's coin showed adl in Arabic along with Śāradā script and therefore, scholars believed him to be a subordinate ruler of the Muslims. Bull and horseman type was issued in silver,
copper and later in billon as well. This type became the prototype of the coinage of the most states of north India in the medieval period. The moneyers copied the device and the legend in every detail from the coins of Sāmantadeva except the inclusion of the issuer's name. But the legends Mādhava Śri Sāmantadeva, Aswari Śri Sāmantadeva, may indicate that these kings not only based their coin-standard on that of the former, but also commemorated Sāmantadeva like Bhīmadeva for some reason at present unknown. (Aswari = horseman or king on horseback).

The second type has as its obverse device elephant walking to the right and legend in Sarada. The reverse portrays lion to right with its tail over back and on some coins single letters like D, Pi, R, V, appear below the lion. Use of elephant and lion as types are nothing new to this area. Its presence is noticed in inscribed and un-inscribed local coins of Taxila and also in punch-marked coins. Elephant appeared as the first time in Eukrađis's coin as "Kāvīśīya nāgara devata". Thereafter, we find it again and again on the money of other Indo-Greek kings, Indo-Parthians, Scythians and Saka Satraps. It seems from the representation of elephant on Shahi coinage, has some sort of significance. Either it signifies importance of elephant forces of Gandhāra, which is celebrated in ancient literature and Muslim chronicles, or it has some religious significance. White elephant was connected with Buddhism in these regions.
Elephant was also the mount of Indra, king of gods. Sculptural scenes depict in these regions attendance to Buddha.

In the days of Hsüan-tsang, a small town in Kapisa was called Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse. Watters rendered it as Śvetavaras or Śvetavat or town of India. In either way elephant's importance in relation to Buddhism was quite well-known. Representation of elephant possibly signifies its religious importance.

The lion was depicted for the first time on uninscribed cast coins and local coins of Taxila. Some of the unassignable die-struck coins also bear the figure of lion on them. The coinage of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Sākas, shows this motif, but not invariably. Goddess seated on lion is found in the Kushana currency and in Gupta coins. Lion is the mount of Mahishāsuramardini Durgā, whose worship is quite common to the people of this area. It is likely that the presentation of lion may be connected with this worship. This type was issued by both Sāmantadeva and Vakkadeva in copper only.

The third type presents peacock with outspread wings to left on the obverse and lion to left with Indian legend Śrī Kumāra on the reverse. Appearance of this motif is noticed on the punch-marked coins, coins of western Satraps, Guptas, Maukharies and Hūnas. This type was adopted by the Shahis from one Hūma currency who copied it from western Satraps. As is already well-known, peacock is vehicle of
God Karttikeya. This deity was venerated by the people of Kapisa and Gandhara during the period under review. The king in question possibly used this motif for that very reason.

Fourth type is only represented by a single specimen of Sāmantadeva. It depicts king on elephant like the Kushanas and the Guptas. A single gold coin of Bhimadeva now forms the fifth type of this series of coins, which bears on its obverse the standing figure of king giving or receiving something from a female figure standing by his side. The reverse presents a deity, seated on lotus bud and rājadānd in her left and right hand respectively. This device recalls the conch-type coins of Chandragupta II and type coins of Kumāragupta II. The legend in Sāradā reveals name of Śrī Śahi Bhimadeva on the obverse and Śrīmad Guṇanidś Sāmantadevaḥ on the reverse. Though the idea might have been taken from the above-mentioned Gupta coins, the Shahi coin shows originality. Therefore, on the basis of the devices coinage of the Class II may be subdivided into five types.

M.D. Macdowell, again, on the basis of execution of coin devices, purity of metal, use of scripts, traced three phases of evolution in coins of Class II series. According to him, as Spalapatideva's money shows better execution of the coin-device and good rendering of corrupt Greek and Sāradā script with 70% alloy of gold and silver.
Spalapati Deva was the first issuer of these currency in the regions concerned.

The second stage in the gradual debasement of the coins can be represented by those coins with an alloy of 66%. The Bactrian legend, misunderstood by successive moneyers, was gradually replaced by Sāradā script. In this group, Macdowall assigned the coins of Sāmantadeva with simple and visarganta legends, those of Vakkadeva, Khadavayaka and Bhimadeva. In his opinion, Spalapatideva was the first issuer of this currency as referred to above. He was followed by Sāmantadeva and Vakkadeva and Khadavayaka, whose coins bore the Arabic title adl. Macdowall suggested that he must be a protegee of the Muslims who owed allegiance to them.

Sāmantadeva's coins with line drawing of bull and horseman types, with a greater percentage of copper and silver contents, represents the third stage. There is very little gold in these coins. In Macdowall's opinion these coins were issued by Jayapāla and his successors after Sāmantadeva's death. He attributed these coins to Jayapāla for whom we did not find any coins.

Thus the weight remained constant but the purity of metal contents was depreciated by degrees by the introduction of higher percentage of alloy. This same tendency was found in the Gupta coinage where weight remained same but the latter issues contained a high percentage of alloy.
In silver, several denominations are found. The first varies between 54 to 50 grains, the second between 46≤40 grains and the third is of 38 grains. Like silver, copper has at least six or seven denominations. They are of 52-50 grains, 46 grains, 40 grains, 30.3 grains, 23-24 grains, 19 grains, 12 grains and 5.1 grains. The solitary gold coin of BhimaDEVA weighs about 68.5 grains.

About the weight standard of Shahi currency, scholars are of different opinion. Sir J. Prinsep identified the weight standard of this latter group with tankās of three māshas. However, Dr. D.B. Pandey opined that tankā was introduced into India after the Muslim conquest. L. Gopal calls it Purana weight standard of 58 grains. Dr. Pandey supports his view. He takes the single gold coin of BhimaDEVA weighing about 68.5 grains to be a specimen of AṛdhA-suvarṇa of 40 ratis (40 x 1.8 = 72.0 grains).

Sir A. Cunningham identified the silver weight standard of Shahi coins with dramma (drachma) standard, known in that period and its various units. In his opinion, silver coins with 54 grains average weight may be equated with Paṇchiyaka-dramma, known to be as piece of "five boddikas" with a full weight of 56 grains (11.2 x 5 = 56 grains). Both Lalani Gopal and D.B. Pandey's views differed from Cunningham, as already stated above. There is slight difference between two scholars regarding the last denomination. While L.Gopal
takes it to be one-eighth of the standard weight (7.0 grains). D.B. Pandey points to Cunningham's specimen weighing about 5.1 grains to be nearer 5.4 grains and may be taken as Āḍḍyārtha Māṣhaka of three ratis (3 x 8 = 5.4 grains). The loss of weights of coins are taken by them due to the depreciation in coin weight at the time of their issue.

In this connection it is to be noted that weight standard of the earlier kings may be taken into account. Silver and copper coins of Nisak, the lord, Napki Malk and others reveals the earlier mentioned varieties of coin denominations such as 52-50 grains, 46.41 grains for silver, and 66 grains, 51-50 grains, 47-46 grains, 41 grains, 26-23 grains as stated above.

The resemblance between the two weight standards suggest that the latter is the continuation of the former. It may be reformed dirham standard of the Arabs. It seems Shahis continued the earlier weight standard with slight changes. All the coins of Class I and Class II are round shaped and die-struck. Though the execution of second class shows deterioration in successive stages, the depiction of the first two types of this class are of good order. Bull and horseman type of Sāmanta deva became the prototype of almost all the countries of north India except a few.
Trade and commerce of the regions of Kapisa and Gandhāra exerted considerable influence on the life of its people. Merchantile activities formed a part and parcel of their life. These territories came to be rendezvous for traders in the former times, as stated above. Hsuan-tsang noted that Bamian was one such centre which was much visited by traders. The city of Kāpiši, possibly Laghman), Peshawar, Udakhanda, are some of the important marts of these areas where lived a number of businessmen.

In the ages concerned, the residents of these countries continued the age-old business transaction in horse, saffron, wine and *silk, etc. with India and different neighbours. Commerce was on the hands of Vaishyas or trading caste. But no hard and fast rule was maintained in this regard. Even, Sudras took part in the commercial activities of these areas. The Samāriccha Kāhā and the Kuvalayamālā describe in detail the maritime activities of traders of Gandhāra, as stated above.

At first, one of the important seṭhins of Gandhāra who intend to go to a certain place made his decision known to the public and invited traders and businessmen to join his caravan for which he appointed a number of armed guards. Some traders joined his caravan. They were provided with money and provisions by the former who became its leader.

When preliminary arrangement for food and armed guards, and carts were made, the caravan started for their various
Broach and Pehoa are two of the emporiums of India, much visited by the Gandharan horse-dealers. Besides horse, they have other commodities to sell in these markets.

From the reference in the Kuvalayamālā it seems Gandharan traders embarked on ships from Broach and went to visit different islands in Arabian sea and Indian ocean.

The situation was changed in the later part of the ages concerned. A considerable portion of trade was now in the hands of Muslim traders. Muslim businessmen lived in the cities of Kabul, Laghman, Dympur, even in the Jayapāla's capital Und and carried on trade with Khurasan and China. Khurasani traders came to visit these cities in large numbers. Upto Jayapāla's time Kapiśa and Gandhāra's trade with India rested on the hands of the traders of these areas. Debal and Broach acted as the two important ports of this region through which sea-trade with Persia, Ceylon, Malaya, China was carried on.

Importance of the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra in relation to the outside world was tremendous. Not only these countries had their own business, but also these territories controlled Indian commerce, as stated above. The region under consideration is the gateway of India. So again, business transaction with Kapiśa and Gandhāra's nearest neighbours passed through these regions. With the development of sea-trade, these areas importance to the outside world was gradually diminished.
Thus the economic history of the land of Kapisa and Gandhāra has considerable influence upon the history of ancient India.
Notes and References


2. Watters, Vol.I, pp. 123-24; Su-kao-seng-chuan, Ch.2 (No. 1493); K'ai-Yuan-lu, Ch. 7.

3. Watters, Vol.I, pp. 122, 221; pp. 64, 68, 82, 94; p. 115 — Bamian, the nearest neighbour of Kapisa was much frequented by traders. — Life, p. 36.

4. Hsüan-tsang even noted looting of several caravans by Turkish robbers between O-ki-ni and Kieu-chi (Kuchi) and Kieu-chi and Poh-lu-kia. — Life, pp. 36, 40, 41.


7. As on note 5; Beam, Buddhist Record of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 54.

8. Harsha., Ch. 2, p. 28.


10. Harsha., Ch. IV, pp. 13-14; Kädambari, Ch. iii, pp. 7, 12, 14; Ch. 87, 144.


16a. See Chapter on Political Background.


17a. The Classical Age, p. 166.

18. See Chapter on Political Background.


21. Ibid., p. xxxvi, No. 32.

22. Ibid.


24. I-ting, p. xxviii; also see Notes 20, 21 above.
26. See Chapter on Political Background, f.n. 159.
29. Ibid., pp. 6, 10.
30. Ibid., also see Chapter on Political Background, f.n. 177-187.
33. Ibid., § 23, 79; 24, 10, 58.
34. Ibid., § 10, 54.
35. Ibid., § 10, 55.
36. Ibid., § 10, 54, 55.
37. Ibid., § 10, 50.
38. Ibid., § 10, 56.
39. Ibid., § 10.
41. Ibid., Ibn Khurdad Beh referred to at least one route leading from Karkuz in Persia to Debal and another from Debal to Kanauj, another road linking it to Malabar coast.
42. Kuvalayamala, 64, 28-35; 66, 18-24; trans. 31-32.
44. Ibid., p. 36.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
58. Ibid., Vol.I, p. 221.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., Vol.I, pp. 122, 221.


Baladhuri, Pt. XII, pp. 19-23; Pt. XII, pp. 31-36; Pt. XVI, pp. 39-45; Pt. XV, pp. 51-101; Pt. XVI, pp. 105-124; Pt. XVII, pp. 127-133; Pt. XVIII, pp. 141-155; Pt. XIX, pp. 159-206; Baladhuri's descriptions of the Arab attack on all these territories leaves no doubt about the network of land routes which connected Arabia on the one hand with all these countries. Besides, Masudi and Ishtakhari gave even minute details about the different highways connecting modern Arabia, Iran, Persia, Seistan, Kirman, Sind and Azarbaizan, Merv, Balkh, etc. — HIED, Vol.I, pp. 18-25, 26-30, 31-40, 12-17.

Ibid.

Life, Introduction, p. xxix; "The Shaman Hiuem-Chiu could not return to China through Kapisa on account of the Arabs (between A.D. 664-70 A.D.)."


75. As on notes 71, 73, 74 above.


77. Life, pp. 192-93; Sharma, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 34. Jaypala invaded the kingdom of Sabuktigin through Laghman-Ghazni road.


79. Kuvalayamala, 65-15-19; p. 31; Hsüan-tsang mentioned a few of the halting stations of Sind in his itinerary. Muslim geographers gave detailed description of the port of Debal and cities of Multan, Mansura, Alor, etc. situated on either western or eastern bank of lower Indus. All these cities were in a flourishing condition due to trade. According to Firishta, Shahi empire extended as far as Multan, thereby indicating the existence of route which connected Debal with Und. See also note 41 and 66 above.

80. As on note 79 above.

81. Kuvalayamala, p. 31.
83. I-tsin, p. XXVIII; Sastri, South Indian Influence in the Far East, p. 17.
85. As on note 9.
86. Ibid.
89. Harsha., II, p. 18.
90. Kav. 17, p.94; Abhidhana, III,V. 298-318; Vaij., pp. 65-71; and see note 91 and 92.
92. Ibid.
93. As on note 81. According to the information preserved in Pehwa Prasasti, a horsefair was held there in every Pisācā Āṭṭhakā, p. 187.
94. As on note 5.
95. George Watt, The Commercial Products of India, 1908, ii, 592-93; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1768, p.811 — "A product manufactured from the dried stigmas and part of the style of the saffron crocus, a cultivated form of crocus sativus; some of the wild forms are also employed. The purple flower which blooms in late autumn is very
similar to that of common spring crocus, and the stigmas which protrude from the perianth, are of a characteristic orange red colour; the fruit is rarely formed. The Egyptians, though acquainted with the bastard saffron, do not seem to have possessed the true saffron, but it is named in the south of Sol. IV, 14 among other sweet smelling herbs. It is also mentioned by Homer and Hippocrates.

Saffron has long been cultivated in Iran and Kashmir and supposed to have been introduced in China by the Mongol invasion. The chief seat of cultivation is early times, however, was in Cilicia.

Saffron was used as an ingredient of the complicated medicines of early times, that it was much used in cookery is evidenced by many writers; the Chinese used to employ it, largely and the Iranians and Spaniards still mix it with their rice."

96. References to saffron's use as dye, powder, paste, medicine etc. in the contemporary Indian literature suggests its popularity among the people of India, thereby indicating the existence of a valuable trade between the region concerned and India." See Kādambarī, pp. 12, 15, 40-41, 133, 144; Karpuramanjari, V. 13. II. V. 37, 201; Kāv. 17, p. 94; Dhanvantariya Nighantu, p. 96.


99. Bana refers to saffron's use as paste, powder, medicine etc. in Harshacharita, Ch. IV, pp. 14, 16 and in Kadambari, pp. 12, 15, 40-41, 133, 144.

100. Kay. Ch. 17, p. 94; Karpuramani, I, V. 13; II, V. 37, 201.

101. As on note 94.

102. Kay., Ch. 17, p. 94.

103. Baladhuri, pt. XIX, Ch. VIII, 430, p. 203.

104. Kasi on Panini, IV. 2. 99; Abhidhaha, Ch. III, p. 171.

105. See Chapter on Geographical Background, note 3.

106. Ibid.


108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Abhidhaha, Ch. IV, p. 157; Astamag hr., II, V. 5, p. 17, X.


112. Abhidhaha, IV, 106-107, p. 155; V. 127, p. 158; Astamag hr. II. 4.

113. Ibid.

114. See Chapter on Geographical Background.


116. Ibid.


118. Ibid., § 8, 1, 6; § 9, 11; § 12, 27-18-22; § 23-26; § 24, p. 109.

119. See notes 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

120. HIED, Vol. I, p. 11.
126. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
133. As on note 123 above.
137. ASI AR, V, pp. 4-5.
138. As on notes 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.
139. Ibid.
140. As on note 135.
140a. R.V., IV, 7567; see also note on Geographical Background.
143. See note 140a; see also chapter on Geographical Background.
145. As on note 115 and 116.
147. Ibid.
149. As on note 144.
150. Ibid.
151. Sharma, op. cit., p. 45.
153. See Chapter on Geographical Background, note 3.
154. Taxila, pl. 144, no. 66-67; and wine drinking scenes on no. 63.
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid.
159. Ibid.
160. Ibid.
161. Later Indo-Scythians, pp. 112-293; pl. I-X; see note 158 above.
162. Ibid.
164. Minorsky, § 10, 39.
165. Ibid.
167. Ibid., p. 3, f.n. 4.
170. Sachau, Ch. XV, p. 160.
    Later Indo-Scythians, pp. 276-283; pl. VII, Nos. 1-18,
    VIII, 1-17; IX. 1-24; X. 1-11.
172. Ibid., N.C. 1898-94, pp. 184-95, pl. XV.
173. Ibid., pp. 166-88; pl. XII, XIV.
174. A. Ghosh, "A Unique Gold Coins of the Hindu Kings of
175. See note 172, pp. 289-293; pl. X, No. 5-11; Göbl, Documents
    Zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunen in Bactrien Und Indien,
    Weisbaden, 1967, Vol. III, pl. 43f. and see F.N. 29 in
    the Chapter on Political Background.
177. See note 175.
178. See note 176.
179. Dr. B.N. Mukherjee, A paper which will be published shortly.
180. See chapter on Political Background, p. 55, f.n. 32.
181. Ibid., and also F.N. 35.
183. Ibid., p. 288, pl. X, Nos. 3 and 4.
184. Ibid., pl. X, No. 3.
185. Ibid., p. 287, pl. IX, No. 18.
186. Ibid., pl. IX, No. 20.
188. Ibid., pl. IX, No. 19.
189. Ibid., p. 287, No. 21; p. 289, pl. X, No. 6.
190. Ibid., pp. 287-89, pl. IX, 18; X, 1-3, 5; pl. IX, 19, 20, 21, 24; X, 4; pl. IX, No. 22, 26.
192. Ibid.
193. As on 191, p. 28, pl. X, No. 5.
195. See note 93 in the chapter on Political Background.
196. As on note 193.
197. As on note 194.
198. Ibid.
199. See Chapter on Political Background, p. 62, notes 98 and 99.
201. See notes 191-94.
202. As on note 200.
203. Later Indo-Scythians, pp. 290-92, pl. X, Nos. 7-11. See also chapter on Political Background, p. 65.
204. Ibid., f.n. 120.
205. Ibid., p. 65, f.n. 121, 122.
206. Ibid., p. 66, f.n. 124.
207. Ibid., p. 66, f.n. 128.
208. Ibid., p. 55, f.n. 128.
209. Ibid., p. 66, f.n. 128.
210. Ibid., p. 66, f.n. 129.
211. Ibid.
212. Ibid., pp. 66-67, f.n. 129.
213. Ibid.
215. See chapter on Political Background, p. 68, f.n. 137.
216. Ibid., p. 291, pl. X, No. 9.
218. As on note 215, p. 68, f.n. 142.
219. As on note 216.
220. As on note 218, p. 69, f.n. 145, 146.
221. As on note 216.
222. Ibid.
223. Later Indo-Scythians, p. 293, pl. X, No. 11.
224. Ibid., pp. 287-88, pl. IX, No. 18, X, No. 1-3, 5.
225. Ibid., p. 287, No. 20, 21.
226. Ibid., pp. 287-88, pl. IX, 22, 23.
227. Ibid., p. 291, pl. X, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 6; Pl. IX, No. 21.
229. As on note 158 above.
230. As on note 228, p. 63, Nos. 5-9, pl. VII, 5-9.
231. See G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, The Coin Types of Saka-
     Pahlava Kings, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 4, pl. 1.
232. See note 228.
233. See note 230.
235. Ibid., p. 198.
236. As on note 232.
238. Ibid.
239. Ibid.
241. Ibid.
247. Taxila, III, pl. 219, No. 105, pl. 220, No. 114, No. 117, 118, pl. 221, No. 121; Inghott, fig. Nos. 188, 189, 190, 92, 66, 59.
249. Ibid.
251. Ibid., pt. IV, p. 288, Nos. 30-36, pl. XX, No. 10.
253. Ibid., pl. XX, Nos. 91-92.
254. See chapter on Religious Condition.
255. See note 240.
257. Allan, op. cit., p. 25, Nos. 1-17, p. 276, Nos. 82-97.
258. *Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XV, Nos. 5-14; pl. XXI, Nos. 13-31; pl. XXIV, Nos. 13, 14, 15.


260. D.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 188.

261. Whitehead, op. cit., p. 198, Nos. 137-152; *Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XV, No. 16.

262. A. Ghosh, op. cit.

263. Ibid.

264. *Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. 87, No. 257.

265. As on note 262.


267. Ibid.

268. Ibid.

269. Ibid., p. 193.

270. Ibid., pp. 145, 195.

271. Ibid., pp. 193-213.

272. Ibid.

274. Ibid., p. 193.

275. Ibid.

276. Ibid., pp. 193-213.

277. Ibid.

278. Ibid. As on note 171, 174, 175.

279. Ibid.

280. A. Ghosh, op. cit.

283. L. Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p. 182.
284. Pandey, op. cit.
285. Ibid., p. 194.
286. Coins of Medieval India, p. 51.
287. Ibid.
289. Pandey, op. cit.
290. As on notes 288, 289.
291. As on note 2 above.
293. See notes 4, 5, 6.
294. See note 42.
295. Ibid.
296. Ibid.
297. Ibid.
298. Ibid.
299. Ibid.
300. See notes 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 41a, 42.
301. Ibid.; notes 36, 39, 40, 41, 41a, 42.
302. Ibid.
303. As on notes 92 and 93.