CHAPTER VII

Seals and Sealings

The history of seals and sealings in India goes back to the age of Harappa Culture. The real purpose of most of these seals and sealings is still debatable. Technically, the word 'seal' denotes an engraved stamp with reversed motifs and letters. A sealing means an impression of a seal taken on any material or stuff which may be attached to a document for its security or authenticity. A seal impression also served as an exit pass for leaving a particular locality. Some of the sealings contained merely religious formulas. They served as votive offerings or mementoes which the pilgrims carried with them from religious places.

Like other antiquities seals and sealings reveal several facets of ancient cultural heritage. These throw interesting light on the ancient religious and educational institutions, administrative systems, trade and commerce. Seals and sealings form an important source-material for the writing of ancient Indian history. They have been obtained from deserted ancient sites and excavations. Names of known and unknown rulers, powerful queens, nobles, officials, educational institutions, temples, stupas, monasteries, economic organizations occur on
them. A number of personal seals and sealings have also come to light from several places.

LITERARY EVIDENCE

The availability of a large number of seals and sealings and their association with political, socio-economic and religious institutions of India indicates their wide popularity. According to the Mahābhārata on the occasion of the siege of the city of Dwārakā by the Sālavas, none was allowed to go out or enter the city without having a seal or valid pass (1). The Harivamśa Purāṇa also mentions that all persons desirous of going out should possess a seal of the king and the doorkeeper was not to admit a person who did not possess it (2).

The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya mentions an officer who was designated as 'Mudrādhyakṣa' 'Superintendent of Passports'. He used to issue passes (Mudrās) after charging one māsaka (3) per pass to the people entering in and going out of the country (4). Those nationals who entered or went out of the country without pass had to pay a fine of 12 pāṇas according to Kautilya (5). Use of fake passes was considered illegal and the man using it was liable to the first amercement (6). A foreigner was liable to the highest punishment (7) for this guilt. The विक्रियाधिकार (Superintendent of pasture Lands) checked these passes and used to inform the king when he sensed
certain danger from the enemies (9).

In the Rāmāyana, Hanumāna is said to have carried away Rāma's signet-string to Sītā for identification purposes (10). In Kalidasa's Sanskrit drama Abhijnāna Sakuntalam, King Dusyantha's signet-string also serves the same purpose. Mudrā-rākshasa, another Sanskrit drama, by Visākhadatta, is wholly based upon the signet-ring of Rākshasa, a minister of Mahāpadma Nanda. The name of the drama is interpreted as 'युग्मा श्रीप्रति राचासा:यड्यमाणय' wherein Rākshasa was won over through a mudrā (signet ring).

According to the Arthasastra, seals were used to authenticate the official documents and correspondence (11). These were also used for sealing merchandise articles.

The offering of Votive-tablets in the stūpas was considered as an act of great merit. The discovery of heaps of baked clay tablets bearing the stūpa device in the āśrama of Ājīvaka Mitra has been referred to in the Harsa-charita (12).

MEDIUM FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF TOKENS

According to the Mitakshara commentary seals were manufactured from gold, silver, copper, iron, etc. (13). The literary reference to gold seals is available but no such seals are actually known. Silver seals, too, in India are very rare (14) but iron, copper and bronze seals have been found in plenty from
different ancient sites of the country. Besides these materials, clay, ivory, bone and stone also were utilized for the manufacture of seals and sealings. The discovery of a large number of clay seals and sealings shows that they were in great use. Seven hundred and ten seals were found only in one chamber at Basārh (16) and six hundred and ninety from monastery no.9 at Nālamā (17). A board of about 600 clay sealings has been found at Jhūsi (18) in the Allahabad district. Similarly a large number of clay seals and sealings have been discovered either from excavations or from surface collections. This indicates a widespread popularity of seals and sealings.

**IMPORTANT SITES**

The notable seal yielding sites of India are:

Chandraketugarh, Basārh, Vaisāli, Kumarhār, Nālamā, Sārnāth, Rajghāt, Mathurā, Ahichchhatrā, Hastināpurā, Sunet, Purānā Qilā, New Delhi, Kauśāmbī, Bhītā, Jhūsi, Lachhehhāgir, Sankisā and Sahet-Mahet.

The sites of Kauśāmbī, Bhītā, Jhūsi, and Lachhehhāgir lie in the Allahabad district.

These sites of the district have yielded several types of seals and sealings manufactured from clay stone, copper, ivory, bone and other stuffs. The important types are described below.
SEALS AND SEALINGS OF RULERS

RAJA PARVATA

This sealing found from Kausambi is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (19). It bears the legend Räño Parvatasya with the device of a pole surmounted by lion on the extreme left with a three arched hill below the legend. At the extreme right end there stands a pole topped by a spoked wheel.

We know of a king Parvata from Kausambi coins (20). These coins preserve hill, tree in railing and a wavy line with the legend Parvata. Symbols found on the sealing are lacking on these coins. Another noteworthy difference between the legend of the coins and the sealing is that the former is in Prakrit whereas the latter is in pure Sanskrit. There exists a palaeographic difference too in the legends of the two. The Brahmi characters found on the clay sealing resemble the Brahmi of the 1st-2nd century A.D., while the palaeography of the coins belong to 2nd-1st century B.C. These differences in language, style, symbols and script induce us to hold the view that the king Parvata of Kausambi coins and Räño Parvatasya of this sealing appear to be different from each other representing different periods of history of Kausambi. (Pl. XXVI, Fig 1)

ASYAGHOSA

A clay sealing bearing a reversed triratna inside a U shaped frame at the top and a legend Asyaghosasya in the first
century A.D. Brāhmī Characters below it from Jhūsī is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (21). Another clay sealing with the legend Rājña Asvaghoṣayya found from Rajghat also is preserved in the same Museum (22). The Brāhmī Characters of both the sealings belong to the same period. The coins of Asvaghoṣa (23) have been found at Kausambi.

Thaplyal noticed one more clay sealing of Asvaghoṣa from Rajghat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (24). He refers to an inscription of a ruler of the same name on the Aśokan Pillar at Sārnāth and expresses the possibility of all of these persons to be identical. Here I would like to add that the clay sealing from Jhūsī bearing the same name may also be attributed to Asvaghoṣa of Kausāmbī coins, Rajghat sealings and the Inscription of the Aśokan Pillar at Sārnāth referred to above.

**CLAY SEAL OF DHANABHŪTI**

Prof. K.D. Bajpai published (25) a clay seal bearing a Svastika and another symbol—a combination of Indradhwaja and taurines—and the legend Dhanabhūtisa in the characters of circa first century B.C. from Kausāmbī. He attributes this clay seal to the king Dhanabhūti, son of Agaraju (Aṅgarāja) of Kausāmbī occurring in an inscription incised on the pillar of the eastern gateway of Bharhut (26) on the basis of close similarity between the letters on the seal and the epigraphs. Dr. Thaplyal noticed a clay sealing bearing the legend Dhanabhūtisa together with a
Sankha and Swastika symbols. It was found at Rajghat and is now housed in the Department of A.I.H.C. and Archaeology H.H.U. He attributes this sealing to Dhanabhūti II and assigns it a slightly later date on the basis of Brāhmi Characters occurring on it (27).

In the absence of any royal titles it cannot be held with certainty that these seals belonged to a king of that name. It might have belonged to ordinary citizens of the places of their origin.

A Clay Sealing of Hastipāla (?) from Kausāmbī

This clay sealing was first published by Prof. K.D. Bajpai who read at the top the Brāhmi legend as Hathipalasa (28) in the characters of 1st century B.C. Below the legend occur three symbols:

(a) Taurine symbol with the prongs turned downwards.
(b) An ornamental taurine with the prongs upwards and having three arrows attached to it downwards.
(c) Indradhwaja.

Prof. Bajpai ascribes this sealing to Hastipāla (29) king of Kausāmbī who according to him may be identical with the king on whose coin the legend Hathipalasa has been read by him. This copper coin is housed in the Allahabad Museum. The legend of the sealing has been read by Dr. Thaplyal as Vadhapalasa. He thinks that Vadhapāla of this sealing is identical with his
homonym, who was son of Dhanabhūti I (30) referred to above. To me the reading of Thaplyal appears to be correct.

**IVORY SEAL OF VANGAPALA (?) FROM KAUSAMBI.**

This seal, presently housed in Allahabad Museum (No.137) was published by Dr. Kala. He read it as vangaPalasa written in the 1st century B.C. script. He identifies him with the ruler of the same name occurring in the Pabhosa inscription and on some coins (31). Prof. Bajpai differs from him and assigns to VangaPala of this seal a slightly later date than the \textit{VangaPala} of Pabhosa inscription and the coins. He holds the view that \textit{VangaPala} of this seal was the ruler of Kausambi and has nothing to do with his homonym whose name occurs in the Pabhosa inscription and the coins referred to above by Kala(32).

Dr. Thaplyal reads the legend as 'Nathnapalasa' (Hastipala-lasya) (33) and relates him to Vadhapala on the grounds of provenance, palaeography and name-endings. As the seals of Dhanabhūti, Hastipala and the sealing of Vadhapala were discovered at Kausambi, Thaplyal believes that Bharhut and Kausambi were under their direct control (34). To me also the reading of Thaplyal appears to be correct. ($pL. XXVIII. I b\& I b$)

**A SMALL CLAY SEALING OF VARUNAMITRA FROM KAUSAMBI**

I came across this sealing in the private collection of Shri Suryabhan Dwivedi, a resident of Kausambi. The sealing has a raised knob above and the Brāhmi legend \textit{Varunamitrasa} in
the characters of about 1st century B.C. on the lower surface.

Allahabad Museum preserves a stone inscription in which occurs the name Raiṅo Varunamitasa. Several coins of this ruler are known from Kausāmbī. From Andechhhatra too the coins bearing this name have been published earlier. Varunamitra of Kausāmbī inscription, coin and sealing appears to be the same person.

1. A CLAY SEALING OF RĀJMITRA FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

A small circular clay sealing with an oval impression bears the legend ‘Rājmitasa’ in the characters of first century B.C. The sealing is in the collection of Allahabad Museum (35).

Prof. Negi published an inscription of Rājmitra reading Raiṅo Rājmitasa savise savabhe (36) and holds it to be anterior to that of the inscription of Kaniska found at Kausāmbī and assigns to it about the close of the first century B.C. or early part of the next century. Dr. Altekar holds two views about it. At one place he assigns Rājmitra and Prajāpatimitra first half of the first century A.D. while elsewhere he places them towards the close of the 2nd century B.C. (37). The paleography of this sealing fits quite well in the time range suggested above. Therefore, Rājmitra of this sealing, coins and the inscription appears to be the name of the same ruler of Kausāmbī.
CLAY SEALING OF VIJAYAMITRA FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

The circular sealing bears the figure of a bull standing, facing left before a trisūla or stāndard. Below the head of the bull there is a taurine inside a u-shaped frame. The legend above the bull in characters of circa first or second century A.D. reads 'Viṣṇumitrasya'. The sealing is presently housed in Allahabad Museum (38), (PL. XXVI, Fig. I).

Allan published several coins of Viṣṇumitra (39) and assigned him to the Ayodhyā dynasty. The sealing mentioned above contains the same device as found on the coins published by Allan referred to above. But there is a variation in the legend of the two. The legend on the coins reads as Viṣṇumitrasya. But the characters of both legends belong to the same period and the bull standing before a standard occurs on the coins as well as on the sealing under description in the same manner. Under the circumstances stated above, both Viṣṇumitrasya may be identified as the same person (40).

K.K. Thapalyal describes (41) a clay sealing from the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi bearing a legend in two lines. It reads:

(1) - Viṣṇumitra Putrasya
(2) - Siṣṇumitrasya

(i.e. Siṣṇumitra, the son of Viṣṇumitra) Unfortunately the provenance of this sealing has not been recorded by Thapalyal,
but he identifies Vijayamitra of the Allahabad Museum sealing with Vijayamitra, father of Sivamitra, of the Bharat Kala Bhawan sealing (43).

CLAY SEALING OF BHĪMASENA FROM BHĪTA.

The sealing (43) bears a bull standing to left with a woman standing in front. Behind the bull is a post of thunderbolt. The legend above the bull reads: (Rā) jīna Vās (1) Ṣth(i)-Puttra-
sva Sīrī Bhīmasena (Sva) in the character of circa second or third century A.D. There is a bow and arrow at the top.

Thaplyal noticed a clay sealing bearing the legend Rājē Bhīmasenas (y) a in the Bharat Kala Bhawan Museum from Rājghāt (44). On the basis of common devices and legends found on both of these sealings he identifies Bhīmasena of these sealings with his namesake.

Rājē Bhīmasena of these two sealings appears to be identical with Mahārāja Bhīmasena of the Gīnjā hill inscription of the year 52 (45) and the Bāndhogarh inscription of the year 51 (46). The coins bearing the name of this ruler have been found at Kauśāmbī (47). One clay sealing of Bhīmasena has recently been seen by me from the same site. All these evidences suggest that Bhīmasena's rule extended over the regions comprising Bāndhogarh, Kauśāmbī and Bhīta. The discovery of solitary stray clay sealing of Bhīmasena at Rājghāt does not prove conclusively that his territory extended upto that extent. It
might have travelled along with some of his documents sent there.

**CLAY SEALING OF SIVAMAGHA FROM BHITA**

This sealing bears (48) identical devices found on the sealing of *Bhimasena* discussed earlier. The legend in this sealing reads: *Mahârâja Gautamîputrasya Śrî Śivamâghanâya* (49) in the characters of 2nd-3rd century A.D.

The presence of identical devices on the sealing of Sivamagha as well as Bhimasena suggests that they belonged to the same family. Sivamagha of this sealing, a ruler of the same name referred to in a Kausâmbi inscription (50) and also Bandhogarh inscription (51) appear to be the same person. Sivamagha's coins have been found from Fatehpur and Kausâmbi in large numbers (52).

**CLAY SEALING OF GAUTAMIPUTRA VRISHADHVAJYA FROM BHITA**

This sealing (53) bears a pile of balls or dots with a post on each side in field, a wavy line below and sun and crescent symbols above. The legend around the margin reads: *Śrî Vindhyabhâdrama- Mahârajâsya Mahâsvara- Mahâsaññatirigata. Râjyasya Vrîṣadhvajasya Gautamîputrasya*. The legend is executed in the characters of about 300 A.D.

Marshall tries to find out some relation between the ruler referred to in the above sealing and Gautamîputra Śrî-
Sātakarni, Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarni and Gautamīputra Vilivayakura on the basis of matronymic 'Gautamīputra'. But this view does not appear to be correct in view of the new discoveries of sealings of Mahārāja Gautamīputra Sivamagha, Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vijayamagha and Rāja Vasisthiputra Bhūmisenā from Bhitā, Kausāmbi and Rājghat.

Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vriśadhvaja is known only through this sealing.

**CLAY SEALING OF VIJAYAMAGHA FROM KAUSAMBI**

The sealing is presently preserved in the Allahabad Museum (54). It bears a bull standing to left before a trisūladhvaja (Partly damaged). Behind the bull stands a woman facing with her left hand resting on the hip while the right is pointing towards the bull. At the top right edge, above the hind part of the bull, there is a round disc, probably representing a moon or sun.

Below this group of symbols, occurs the Brāhmī legend (Mahārā) jasya Gautamīputrasya Śrī Vijayamghasya in 2nd-3rd century A.D. characters. (PL. XXVI. Fc 1)

Below the legend there occur a bow and arrow on the left and a tenarched hill on the right. There is a wavy line on the lower most region of the sealing.

So far Vijayamgaha was known from coins only (55). This
is the first sealing of this king in which occurs his name along with his royal titles of Maharāja and Gautamiputra.

**Clay Sealings of Magha (?): Rulers from Jhūsi**

One clay sealing in the Allahabad Museum (56) bears a bull standing to left before a woman with a circle of dots around her lower part. Below these motifs occurs a fragmentary legend (R)janō Gautamī Pu........ (Rājāno Gautamī Pu....) in the Brāhmī characters of 2nd-3rd century A.D. Below the legend is a bow and arrow on the left, and a three arched hill on the right.

The common devices of the bow and arrow, arched hill, bull and woman in the Jhūsi, Kausāmbi and Bhitā sealings suggest that the sealing under consideration belongs to one of the rulers of the Magha dynasty whose name, unfortunately is missing from it.

Another clay sealing (Allahabad Museum No. Jh/340) also bears a fragmentary legend reading Gotamiputrasya on its lower most edge in the Brāhmī characters of C.3rd cent. A.D. Above the legend is an arched hill. In the centre is shown a bull to left standing before a fluttering flag. Above the head of the bull is a spoked wheel.

The woman and bow-arrow motifs found in the other Magha sealings discussed above is missing in this specimen but the moon or crescent is replaced here by a spoked wheel. The
Placement of the legend also is changed. These finds suggest that Kausāṃbi, Bhīta and Jhūsi were included in the territory of the Magha rulers.

**CLAY SEALING OF KING KAUTSIṆTRA PRAUṆṬHAṆĪ FROM KAUSĀMBI**

Mahārāja Vasīśṭhīntra Bhīmagena and his son Mahārāja Kauṭsiṇtra Prauṃṭhaṇī (Kosbhīntra Patrasirī) are known through their inscriptions found at Bāṇḍhagārah (57) and Gīnja (38).

The known dates of Kauṭsiṇtra Prauṃṭhaṇī from Bāṇḍhagārah inscriptions are 86, 87 and 88. This ruler is also known through a coin from Bhīta (39). No seal or sealing of this king was known so far. It is the first example being described. The sealing is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (60). (PL. XXVI, FIG. I)

The sealing bears a bow with an arrow placed above it at the top. Below the bow is the legend Bāṇa Kauṭsiṇtra Ščī, Prauṃṭhaṇīravah in the Brahmī characters of about 2nd century A.D. horizontally. On the extreme left, below the legend, appears to be a flag or standard, then follows a woman standing on a blossomed lotus. Next to her stands a beautiful bull to left. Behind the bull on the extreme right is seen another pole like object. Below the forelegs of the bull there are three balls. All these devices are found on the sealings of other Magha rulers found in the region stated above.

The legend of the above described sealing is in pure
Sanskrit and is said Kautsiputra while in the inscription Prākrit expression Koshiputa has been used. It is not known why two different languages have been used in different records of the same ruler.

CLAY SEALING OF KANIŚKA FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

This clay sealing is rectangular in shape and was exhumed from Kausāmbī excavations. It preserves the legends :-

1- Mahārājasya rājāti
2- rājāya devaputrasya
3- Kanisakasya Praye
4- ga

Prof. G.R. Sharma renders the legend : In the service of Mahārāja Rājāshikra Devaputra Kaniśka (61). Thaplyal rendered it as the stamp of Mahārāja etc. (62).

There is a vast difference of opinion among the scholars about Kaniśka's reign in this part of the country. Dr. Altekar, Thaplyal (63) and Negi (64) hold that his reign extended up to Vārānasī, Kausāmbī and some part of Bihar on the other hand Bajpai (65) is not inclined to accept this view. He holds that the limit of Kaniśka's empire did not exceed east of Mathurā. According to him coins and seals are portable objects and they should not be taken as indicative of Kaniśka's rule over these regions. However, the matter is still debatable and no conclusion could be inferred upon this state of our knowledge.
The following archaeological evidence however, goes against the latter view and supports the former.

(1) The inscription of the year 3 of Kaniska's reign engraved on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image from Kausambi, housed in the Allahabad Museum (66) donated by the Buddhist nun Buddhmitra.

(2) Sarnath Buddhist image inscription (67) of the year 3 donated by friar Bala and Buddhmitra nun jointly.

(3) An inscription from Kausambi containing the name of Kaniska on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image housed in the Allahabad University with regnal year obliterated (68).

The occurrence of these inscriptions dated in the reign of Kaniska at Sarnath, Sravasti and Kausambi itself indicates his sovereignty over these regions because an independent and self respecting ruler will allow the installation of such images which bear the name of an alien ruler inside his own territorial limits. It would be an infringement of his own sovereignty.

(4) A fragmentary inscription of the emperor Vasiska has also been reported from Kausambi (69).

(5) A sealing of Kaniska also was discovered at Kausambi(70).
(6) A heard of more than 30 Kuśāna copper coins was found from Jhūsī and housed in the Allahabad Museum. Inspite of these, stray pieces of the Kuśāna copper coins are seen from Kausāmbī and other sites of the district.

(7) Stratigraphic records at Kausāmbī also indicate that Kuśāna levels have yielded a large number of terracotta figurines bearing the distinct features of Saka-Parthian workmanship. These objects of art occur only in the 'Kuśāna strata which indicates clearly that Kausāmbī was occupied by the Kuśānas during this period (71).

(8) Kuśāna coins and sealings occurred in KSB I-II and sub-period VI in association with 'Mitra' and Nava and the Mughals (72) at Kausāmbī. At Bhītā also copper coins of Kaniska, Kuviska and Vāsumadeva were found (73). These epigraphic, numismatic, artistic and stratigraphic records could not be brushed aside merely as accidental finds imported from other centres. Therefore, the former view appears to me to have stronger footings on the above grounds.

**CLAY SEALINGS OF DUROVADATTA AND SIVADATTA (OR SANVADATTA)**

These two clay sealings have been unearthed at Kausāmbī.
by Prof. C.R. Sharma and are housed in the Kausāmbī Museum of the University of Allahabad. These have been assigned to the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. (74). Dhruvadatta and Sivadatta or Sarvadatta have been taken to be the rulers of Kausāmbī. As the legends on these sealings do not contain any royal titles they could not be assigned to any ruler with certainty. They might have belonged to certain private individuals.

THE SEAL OF TORMĀNA FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

The seal of Tormāna found at Kausāmbī is supposed to be restruck on that of the Joshitarāma monastery (76). Restruck coins have been known in Indian History, but a restruck seal or sealing was not known earlier. A sealing with the legend Hūmarāja was also found at Kausāmbī (77). This sealing also is said to belong to the same ruler.

From the discovery of these sealings and the arrow-heads of a particular (named as 'K') type from Kausāmbi, it has been adduced that it fell to the onslaughts of the Hūna king of the above sealings (78). On the basis of literary and numismatic evidence it has been held that his sway extended upto Vārāņasī and Magadha (79).

CLAY SEAL OF MINIRAKULA FROM KAUSĀMBĪ

Thaplyal refers to the discovery of this seal from Kausāmbi as described by Chattopadhyaya in his work Early History of
North India, P. 167 (30) Mihirakula was the son and successor of Toramāna. In history he is well known for his cruelty and ruthless persecution of Buddhists. He was defeated by Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya and Yasodharman (31).

On one of the clay sealings of Bhita (32) Marshall reads the legend (Bhaṭṭā) raka-Mahārājādhiraṅga in the Brāhmī characters of the 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. The name of the ruler is missing. Another clay sealing from the same site reads Mahādevyā (m) Śrī Rādmatyeḥ in the characters of 4th-5th cent. A.D. (33) Marshall says that the title Mahādevī was applied in the Gupta period to the wives of paramount sovereigns and also in some cases to the wives of Mahārājas.

ADMINISTRATIVE SEALS AND SEALINGS.

Marshall found a clay sealing at Bhita with a sejant lion to left and a legend reading Senāpati..... below in northern characters of the 4th–5th century A.D. (34). He interprets the word as the 'Lord of the army', a rank inferior to Mahāsenāpati.

Another type of administrative sealing, bearing the figure of standing Gaṇa Lākṣmī with a legend in Gupta characters has the reading (1) Mahāśvapati Mahādānānāyaka Viṣṇura (2)Kṣita Pāḍānugrihitam- Kūmāramāṇyaḥdikaranasya.

(PL.XXVI.Fig. II b)
It was discovered at Bhita (86). The inscription means 'seal' of the office of the councillor of the heir apparent, a recipient of the favour of Mahāsvapati, Mahādanāyanāya Visnurakshita. According to this sealing, the functions of Mahāsvapati (Chief officer of horse or cavalry) and Mahādanāyanāya (Chief Judge of Chief officer of Police) appear to be combined together.

**PRATIHĀRA CLAY SEALINGS**

A Bhīta sealing (86) depicts a bull recumbent to the left and preserves the legend—

Pratihāra orvisakhurudrāma—

From the above legend it is obvious that this was a joint seal of two Pratihāras, Visākha and Rudrāma (87).

Thaplyal refers to a rectangular copper seal from Kausāmbi bearing a two lined legend in the characters of the 4th century A.D. The first line of the legend reads Pratihāra while the second line is stated to have been tentatively read by Dr. Altekar as Kālakirakaksha (87a). Thaplyal expresses the probability of his being a Pratihāra of the royal family ruling at Kausāmbi (88).

**ARĀVụ CLAY SEALINGS**

Marshall discovered a clay sealing at Bhīta (89) bearing a chakra, śrīvatsa (90) and śankha symbols at the top and a legend in the characters of the fourth cent. A.D. The legend reads—
Amâtya-Isvarachandrasva, (sculpt), of Amâtya Isvarachandra. Another sealing from the same site and of about the same period reads Amâtya-Isvarachandrasva (sculpt) (Kâ) (Amâtya-Isvarachandrasva)(31). One of the Bhîtâ seals (22) bears a fan-tailed peacock on a pedestal in one of the two impressions and the legend Amâtya-DhâraMedhâsa (sculpt) in Gupta characters. No. 28 of Bhîtâ seals (22) bears the same legend, but has no device. Another Bhîtâ sealing bears the legend Amâtya-Salasva in Kusâna characters and Śrîvatva symbol (28). No. 40 of Marshall's list of seals from Bhîtâ has the legend Amâtya-Mâgadhâna in second or third century A.D. characters and a Śrîvatva symbol.

A clay sealing from Jhûsi reads Amâtya-Isâra (sculpt) (26) while another sealing bears a bear to the left and the legend reading Amâtya-Hrîdhârânasva (26) in the characters of 2nd cent. A.D. In the first sealing the latter part of the legend is not distinct. The second sealing appears to be a 'seal' of office of an Amâtya-established at Pratîchhâmpura, now called Jhûsi.

Several seals of Amâtya have been obtained from different ancient sites of the country such as Basârâ and Râjghât. A sealing from Râjghât, housed in the Allahabad Museum (97), shows a couchant bull and the legend Amâtya-Salasva in Gupta characters. Sealings of Amâtya-Janârdana from the same site are preserved in several important Museums of North India.

The Amâtyas of these seals and sealings performed various administrative duties, as is testified from ancient
Kumarāṃatiādhikarana sealings

A Bhītā clay sealing (90) bears Lakshmi standing on a lotus with elephants anointing her in the upper field and legend 'KU mārāṃatvādhikaraṇaṇaya' in the characters of 4th-5th century A.D. in the lower one. Marshall interpreted the legend as 'Seal of the office of the counsellor of the 'Heir-Apparent'. This legend occurs on sealings found from Bhārāh, Rājghāt, Mālandā and Ahīshahatra also.

Another clay sealing of the office of Kumārāṃātya attached to great cavalry leader and Mahādāmaṇīyaka- Viṣṇurakshita has been discovered at Bhītā (103). It bears the Gajalakshmi device at the top and legend, 'Mahaśvarapati Mahādāmaṇīyaka Viṣṇurakshita. Pādamurahita Kumārāṃatvādhikaraṇaṇa. (PL II, XXXVI, F 15(b))

Senapati clay sealings

A clay sealing from Bhītā bears the figure of a lion and legend Sena (a)pati in characters of the Gupta period (101). Mahāsenapati and Baladhikararana sealings regarding the military administration have also been discovered at Rājghāt, Ahīshahatra (102) and Kanauj (103).

Aṣṭapati sealing

An oval clay sealing discovered at Bhītā (104) depicts a
Shakra and a śankha above. Below these devices occurs the legend 'Āśvala Paṭī Jayantās (v) A.' (Seal) of cavalry officer Jayanta. Clay sealing of Mahāśvapati, Mahādamanāyaka Vismukrākṣita from Bhītā has already been discussed. Mahāśvapati appears to be an officer of a higher rank than that of the Āsvapati.

**Āyuktaka Sealing**

(PL. XXVI. F2 R (A))

The Allahabad Museum preserves a clay sealing (105) from Bhītā bearing the legend Āyuktakādhiśrāvyasya in the characters of the Gupta period in the lower field. Major part of the upper field is broken. Another sealing, obtained from the same site, has Gaṅgalakṣaṇa at the top and bears the following legend in three lines in characters of circa 4th century A.D. (106).

1- Mahārāja Śaṅkarāsimha-
2- Pādiya (āyukta) adhī-
3- Karana

'Seal) of the office of Āyukta attached to Mahārāja Śaṅkarāsimha.

**Vīsava Sealing**

The Vīsavas constituted the part of a dhukti and up to some extent, corresponded to the districts of today. The officer incharge of a Vīsava was designated as Vīsavarātā. Every
Viṣaya had an office and its official seal. One such Viṣaya
sealing from Bhīta (107) bears the Gaialakṣaṇī device and the
legend.

1- Samaha (?) rṣa (?) Viṣayādhī.
2- Karanasya

"(Seal) of the office of the district of Samaha(?) rṣa."

RELIGIOUS SEALS AND SEALINGS.

Hinduism and Buddhism, two principal religions of India,
are adequately represented in seals and sealings. Bhīta, Jhūsi
and Kausāmbi, the principal ancient sites of the district, have
yielded several sealings which throw ample light on the prevail-
ing religious beliefs of the people of their times.

SIVA.

Marshall discovered eleven religious sealings from Bhīta
(108). One of them bears a ṛṣiśalasurasū in the upper field
and the legend Kālēsvāra Prīvatā (May Kālēsvāra be pleased)
in Gupta characters in the lower one.

Kālēsvāra is one of the names of Śiva and according to
Marshall the sealing was an offering at some Śiva temple at
Bhīta. Thaplyal suggests the location of the temple at Vārānasī
(109). However, none of the above assumptions could be ruled out completely.

The sealing No. 16 of the Bhita list reads, 'Kālanjara Bhāṭṭarakaṇa (of the Lord of Kālanjara) in Gupta characters. Above it occur a Śivalinga, an umbrella, a trident and a pile of balls. Most of these symbols indicate Śaiva symbols. According to Marshall the sealing was issued from a Śaiva temple situated on Kālanjara hill in the Bania district though he found no remains of a temple there. Thaplyal also expresses the possibility of the sealing belonging to Kālinjara hill, which had been a famous place of pilgrimage in the past as referred to in the Mahābhārata and several purāṇas (110). No. 16 of the same list also appears to be a similar specimen.

Sealing No. 17 bears the legend, 'Bhadresvara' in northern characters of 4th or 5th century A.D. Above it occurs a male seated figure.

According to Marshall, the male figure represents Śiva and Bhadresvara is the name of the Śivalinga of Kālanjara, an unidentified place.

Other Śaiva sealings discovered at Bhīṭā bear the legends Nandi, Namīśa and Bhagavata Mahēsvarasva (111).

A clay sealing from Bhīṭā in the Allahabad Museum (112) bears a cumbant bull to left and a crescent with a legend
Reading Devasya in the Kuśāna Brāhmi characters, Thaplyal may or may not be correct in holding Devasya as the name of Śiva (113) but the bull and crescent definitely prove it to be a Śaiva object.

A clay sealing from Jhūsī, preserved in the Allahabad Museum (114), bears the legend Īśvaranandīsa (115) in Gupta characters, with a bull recumbent to right. Another specimen (116) from the same site bears a bull to left before a trisūla like object. Above the bull is a dot enclosed by a circle and below its face is seen a cluster of dots. Clay sealings from the same site bearing the legends Dha Ma (117), Yānādhana (118) and Yādhadhana preserve the Śaiva symbol, trisūla parāsū.

As these sealings are datable to 2nd–3rd century A.D., their occurrence suggests the existence of some Śaiva temple during that time at the site from where they were issued.

Thaplyal describes an oval clay sealing from Kausāmbi (119) in the collection of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University bearing the legend, 'Lauṭakasya Bhavavatika,... along with a trisūla Parāsū, which according to him clearly suggests its Śaiva character.

Another Kausāmbi sealing in the Allahabad Museum (120) depicts Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull. Pārvatī is on the left side of Śiva who holds a trisūla in his hand. This extremely interesting specimen appears to be the only anthropomorphic
representation of Śiva and Pārvatī in glyptics.

The discovery of these sealings clearly testifies to the popularity enjoyed by Śaivism in these places in ancient times. The Śaiva devises depicted on the sealings indicate that Śiva was represented in all the three possible modes—anthropomorphic, theriomorphic as well as aniconic.

**VAISHAVA SEALINGS**

That Śaivism and Vaisnavism flourished side by side is testified by the discovery of seals and sealings from different ancient sites of the district. They contain various Vaisnava symbols and motifs which indicate the popularity of this cult.

A large number of these seals and sealings from Bhitā bear sāṅkha and chakra. Bhitā seal Nos. 5, 6, 8, 41, 51, 92 bear the design of sāṅkha at the top while Nos. 21, 43, 88 and 99 that of a chakra and on Nos. 3, 7, 33, 57 and 89 sāṅkha and chakra both accompany together (121). Two sealings from Jhūsi bear these symbols together (122). One of these sealings has the legend sāṅkaraśakti, while the legend in the other one is lost. Allahabad Museum sealing No's. 386 and No. 402 from Jhūsi with the legends 'śaiva, svāmī' and 'viṣṇugupta' respectively bear a chakra and a Vaisnava symbol, at the top. The legend svāmī might be referring the god Viṣṇu who is also known as sāṅkaraśakti.

Allahabad Museum preserves several sealings from Jhūsi
bearing the Vaisnava symbols sañkha, chakra and gada along with the legend Padmanabha. This legend is found in four Variants Padmanabha (123), (3) Sri Padmanabha (124) (3) Sri Padmanabha. Svāmin (125) and (4) Sri Padmanabha. Svāmin (126). All these refer to the same deity. The word Padmanabha may be interpreted in Sanskrit as 'Padma Nābha' yasyasah Padmanābhah. These names represent the Sesasāyī form of Viṣṇu from whose mavel shoots forth a lotus stalk with Brahma at the top of it. Accordingly, a clay sealing bearing a chakra flanked by a sañkha on either side and the legend Padmanabha was unearthed at Bhīta by Marshall (127). The discovery of these sealings shows the existence of a shrine of Padmanabha at Jhūsi and most probably it housed an image of Viṣṇu in the above form.

The fragment of a sealing from Jhūsi (128) bears a Śrīvatsa, a gada and a chakra at the top and the legend in Gupta characters as given below.-

1.------------ Lokaikanāthasya
2.------------ Dyādikartuḥ
3.------------ rtasvāmin

All the symbols in the sealing are Vaisnava and Lokaikātha, occurring in the first line of the legend is one of the names of God Viṣṇu.

A clay sealing from Bhīta (129) bears the legend (Namabhairava) to Vāsudeva (vāya), "Salutations to Lord Vāsudeva" with
the Vaisnava wheel symbol above it. The legend is a famous Bhagavata motto repeatedly uttered by the Vaisnavas.

Two clay sealings from Jhusi (130) bear a Vaisnava motto legend 'Jitau Bhagavata' (Victorious is the Lord) with a pair of feet above. Thaplyal refers to several seals and sealings bearing this legend discovered at different places of India and abroad (131). Seals and sealings referred to by him bear Vaisnava devices, like Sankha, Chakra and Srivata while the Jhusi sealings have a pair of feet on their upper part.

Another Vaisnava clay seal was noticed earlier by Thaplyal (132) in the private collection of Sri Ram Chandra Tandon at Allahabad. It reads:

1- Jitau Bhagavata va (2) Sudovena
   'Victorious is the Lord Vasudeva'

A hoard of about five hundred clay sealings was found at Jhusi and at present is preserved in the Allahabad Museum. These sealings bear the device of a Chakra, a Srivata, a Sankha and the legend reads Pannalabha or Puunlabha. Dr. Chhabra takes the legend for Punnalabha meaning 'acquisition of money (133)', but it may better be interpreted as Punnalabha meaning 'acquisition of merit'.

It is apparent from these specimens and the evidence of the sealings discussed earlier that Jhusi had been a very
sacred spot for the Vaishnavas in the ancient past. These
sealins were distributed among the devotees by the priests
of shrines as prasāda.

GODDESS LAKSHMI AND CAJALAKSHMI

Lakshmi in India has always been considered the Goddess
of wealth by all the communities irrespective of their
religious beliefs and leanings. In the ancient literature
she has been addressed Śrī Lakṣmi, Padmahasta, Padmasambhava
and Padmanā, etc. She has been represented almost through
every medium of ancient art, like stone, terracotta as well
as metal. In seals and sealings also she is very frequently
represented. A few examples coming from the ancient sites
of the district are described below -

A clay sealing from Jhūsi, in the collection of Allahabad
Museum (124) shows Lakṣmi standing. Her left hand rests at
the hip and the right one is bent at the elbow and is raised
up. She also holds a lotus stalk in her left hand. There
appears a Śankhā-like object on the left and a vase on the
right.

Marshall (126) unearthed four clay sealings depicting
Cajalakṣmi. On nos. 33 and 34 of Marshall's list the goddess
does not stand on a lotus flower which is quite distinct on Nos. 35 and 42. On former two specimens Lakṣmī is shown standing, facing. One elephant from either side is pouring water on her head. Right hand of the goddess is raised in the abhaya pose, while the left is lowered on the side and holds an indistinct object. Marshall tries to identify it with Garuda. Banerji takes it to be a ghauki and Thaplyal sees the possibility of its being a representation of lotus bud (136). But it is so indistinct that nothing specific can be made out of it. In no. 35, she stands on a lotus with elephants anointing her from both sides. Her right hand holds a lotus and is raised above elbow, while coin-like objects are emerging out of a pot held in her lowered left hand. In no. 42, also the goddess stands on a lotus with elephants on the sides in similar position. But her hands are raised above elbow. She holds a cone in her right hand and a bird (garuda) in the left. There are vases from which are seen flowing out coins or some other object. In this sealing the dwarfish figures are conspicuous by their absence.

Another sealing bearing the representation of GaiaLakṣmī was discovered at Kausāmī (137). It is restructured with the legend 'Taramāna'. On it the goddess is shown standing on a blossomed lotus. There is no attendant. As usual, elephants have been shown on long stalks of lotuses. To Thaplyal there
seems to be a Gāruda figure on the right of the goddess. Her right hand rests on the hip, while the left is lowered downwards. A frequent use of this motif has been noticed in the sealings found at Nājghāṭ, Basārha, Nalanda, Ahichchhatrā and several other ancient sites of north India.

All the devices depicted on the GaiaLakshmi described above are associated with Aīrāvata, Lakshmi and Śaṅkha. All are among the fourteen Ratnas obtained from the Churning of the Ocean. Lotus is most intimately associated with Lakshmi is born in water. It is the symbol of beauty, freshness and purity. The elephants accompanying the goddess are symbolic of prosperity and regal pomp and sometimes they are identified with two nīdhis, Śaṅkha and Paśu. Water is considered a symbol of creation and Lakshmi is intimately associated with creative energy.

OTHER DEITIES

A Bhītā clay sealing bears a vase on a pedestal and the legend ‘Sarasvatī’ in the Gupta characters (138). Marshall held the Sarasvatī of the legend to be the goddess of speech (139), while at Thaplyal it appears to be the river goddess represented by a ghaṭa symbol (140).

A clay sealing from Bhītā depicts a dancing peacock
Standing to left with the legend Sri Skanda Sarasvata (141). The legend may be explained both ways. Sri Skandaśūra may be taken as the name of a private individual who issued this seal and adopted peacock, the vehicle of Kartrikēya as his emblem. It may also be taken as a sealing belonging to a temple of Skanda Kartrikēya referred to here as 'Sri Skandaśūra' valiant Skanda. The sealing of Amātya Dharmanēya (142) also bears a fantailed peacock, as on silver coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. In the legend of another sealing from Bihār one Mahārāja Cuntominātra Vṛṣabhaśeṣa is described to have dedicated his kingdom to Mahāśeṇa (Kartrikēya) (143).

THE SEALING OF YAKSHA DHANVĀŚRI

The Yaksha worship has been prevalent in India since long and even now the village people propitiate the Yaksha and Yakshīs in the name of Ṣakha and Jākhini by preparing a high mound outside the village with their offerings. Several stone images and terracotta figurines discovered from different ancient sites represent Yakshas and Yakshīs.

Only stone and terracotta representations from Kausāñē are so far known. The sealing referred to above from the same site mentions the name of a Yaksha, who according to Prof. Dajpāl does not occur even in such works as the Mahānāyūrī and the Divyavādāna (144) which particularly deal with the names of the Yakshas. This sealing bears the figure of
a Makara (Crocodile) to left in the upper field and a Brähmi legend in early fourth century A.D. characters, in the lower one. Prof. K.C. Bajpai reads it as follows:

"Mahasamrata- Yakshaśya Dhanyasriyah"
"(Seal) of the great and immortal Yaksha Dhanyasri".

GHOSTARANAMAHAVIHARA SEALING
FROM KAUSAMBI.

This sealing is preserved in the Kausambī Museum of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University. K.K. Thaplyal has read it as follows:

It bears the device of a Chakra flanked by a deer on either side and the following legend in Gupta characters.

1. Kausambīya Ghostarana−ma (hāl)

2. Vihāra bhikṣu Samghasvā

"(Seal) of the congregation of monks in the Ghostarana Mahāvihāra at Kausāmbi" (146).

The counterstruck sealing ascribed to Teramāṇa and described earlier also contains similar seal impression of the monastery. Both literary and archaeological data prove
that the Chositarana monastery was in use from the 6th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. It was seen by Fa-hien in the early fifth century and by Huen-tsang in the 7th century A.D. The latter saw it in ruins. Excavations carried out at the site prove that it was destroyed by the Huns.

It may be noted that besides Kausambi, the Mahavihara sealings have been discovered at other Buddhist sites, such as Sarnath, Kasika, Nalanda, Rajendrapura etc. (146).

**Sealings Containing Buddhist Creed**

Forty five impressions taken from one mould contain the well known Buddhist creed: *Ye dharmah hetu Prabhavah hetum tasan tatvasate avadata te sa Gha Ye nivedha ovam Ved-Vah Mahasramanah* in the characters of 6th or 7th century A.D. These were unearthed at Bhitakeswar by Marshall (147). Kausambi also yielded similar votive sealings.

**Migama Seals**

The term 'Migama' has been variously interpreted in ancient Indian literature (148). According to the authoritative sources the word signifies either an association of traders or a town. Sometimes the word is found connected with the Vedic or non-Vedic traditions. The word occurs in literature as well as in inscriptions, coins and seals (149). According
to Allen' the word 'nigama' denotes 'mercantile money token' issued by traders, or 'trade token,' coin of commerce' (180).

These 'nigama' seals were used at the commercial centres or in the towns mainly inhabited by a particular group of traders. Some 'nigama' sealings discovered in the Allahabad district indicate intensive economic activity in this region. They are described hereunder:

**NIGAMA CLAY SEAL FROM JHUSI**

The sealing from Jhusi, housed in the Allahabad Museum (181) bears a tree in railing on the left and *twistaka* device on right above. Below occurs the legend 'Jagama' in the characters of 2nd-1st century B.C.

**BAHATATI. NIGAMA SEAL FROM BHITA**

Marshall found an interesting clay seal in the Bhita excavations. It contains a legend 'Sahitiita nigama' in the characters of 3rd-2nd cent. B.C. Marshall says that the ruined structure in which the seal was found probably belonged to a nigama or Corporation (183).

**KULIKA. NIGAMA SEALING FROM BHITA**

Marshall also unearthed another interesting clay sealing containing a *Narimada* symbol and the legend *Kalikanigama* (sa) meaning, 'of the Corporation of Kulikas' in the characters of
4th or 5th century A.D. at Bhītā (163). Marshall agreed with the view of Vogel that Kulika was the name of a tribe and not a generic name as suggested by Bloch.

Bhītā excavations yielded sealings bearing the legend na (al)gana, Nigamara, ni(gana) and nigamara all in the Kusāna Brahmī script. These sealings belonged to the guilds (154).

**SEALS AND SEALINGS OF SRESTHIS**

Marshall found an ivory sealie with its inscribed surface surrounded by a beaded line at Bhītā. It shows a tortoise on the left along with the legend Sresthi Jayavamsa (155)' (Seal) of Banker Jayavasu'. Due to the presence of the tortoise (156) on the sealie Marshall presumed that the seal belonged to a Vaisnava devotee.

**A COPPER SEAL FROM KAUSĀMBI**

On a copper seal from Kausāmbi, now in the Allahabad Museum (157) occurs a two line legend in characters of 4th-5th century A.D. The reading is—

1- Sresthi- Putra Go
2- Pa

**A CLAY SEALING FROM KAUSĀMBI**

The sealing which is in the Allahabad Museum contains
in its upper region an oval impression containing a standing female deity holding a pair of fish in her left lower hand. Below occurs the legend Śresthi Vasunaka in the characters of 5th–6th century A.D.

The discovery of all the above described seals and sealings indicate that the 'Śresthis' played an important role in the economic setup of this region in ancient times very much like the Seths and Sāhūkars of today. Śresthis, most probably represented bankers and wealthy merchants. This word occurs in ancient literature as well as in the epigraphical records (159). (PL.XXVI. Fig I)

In addition to these a number of seals and sealings of various types have been picked up from the surface of ancient mounds scattered in the Allahabad region. It is but proper to describe these also along with the excavated material.

COPPER SEALS

AN UNINScribed COPPER SEAL

An uninscribed copper seal in the shape of a ring from Kausāmbī, showing two antelopes standing face to face with upraised heads, has the resemblance of an eye (159). Three taurine and two svastika symbols are engraved around and in between these animals. One taurine is seen behind each one
of the animals close to their tail, while the third symbol occurs at the top. One of the svastika symbols is shown in between the animals and the other below their forelegs. (PL. XXVII. F. 1)

The devices on this seal tend to indicate their religious character. Similar motifs have been noticed in the early Buddhist art of India. Cunningham refers to the scenes of the Maica jātaka (160). Deer has a high sanctity in this country. Hermits in ancient India reared the animals called 'Āśrama Mṛigas'. According to the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, the Āśrama of Rishi Agastya was known as Viniḍamṛigasavītaḥ (Served by humble antelopes) (161). According to Manu, where Kriṣṇamṛiga roams about in a natural way that is a holy land worth performing ablutions (vaśīva), otherwise it is the country of impious people to be called as Mieekshulha Desa (162). This view is further strengthened by Pāthimasi which says that the land where Kriṣṇamṛiga roams about, the Dharma becomes four legged (163) there. Again, king Duṣyanta, in the Sanskrit drama Abhijñānaśākuntalam of Kālidāsa, was forbidden to kill Āśrama Mṛigas, being chased by him, by the inhabitants of Kāṇva's Āśrama.

The custom of carrying the deer skin by the Maṇavakas still exists at the occasion of Upasvāya ceremony of the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. All these facts indicate that the seal has some religious bearing. It probably belonged to certain religious establishments existing at Kauśāmbī in the 2nd
century B.C. In this regard another possibility also may not be ruled out. The deer is found standing on Kumilda coins (164) in the same posture before the goddess and the mode of placing different symbols too have been observed almost in the same manner. Due to the presence of these similarities, may it not be attributed to the Kumilda tribe? It might have travelled to Kausambi somehow from the place of its origin.

COPPER SEAL OF KAUSIKIKA

An oval copper seal from Lachshhāgir has a pair of crescent device placed back to back on either side of a vertical line drawn in between them (165). Below the device occurs the legend Kauśikasava in the reversed Gupta characters of about 5th century A.D.

Kausika has been used as the name of an individual in ancient literature. It also denoted gotra of a tribe. Kausika was the name of a son of Vāsudeva by his wife Vaiśālī (166). The descendants of the sage Viśvāmitra are also called 'Kusikas'. Brāhmaṇa families of Kausika gotra (167) are still found in India. The legend 'Kauśikasava' on the seal may indicate the name of some person or it may simply refer to the gotra. (PL. XXVII. fig)

COPPER SEAL OF SAGAL

This circular copper seal again from Lachshhāgir (168)
shows a bull seated to the right in front of a Śrīśila paraga in reversed form with a crescent above the head of the animal. Below it occurs the legend 'Sakalasva' in reversed characters of about 5th century A.D.

The legend Sakalasva is the Prākritic form of Śakalasva or Śakalasva or Śakalasvā. In ancient India Śākala was the name of the capital city of the Madra people residing in Punjab. Madra have been mentioned by Pāṇini, the renowned Sanskrit grammarian (169). This city has been identified with modern Sialkot which is situated between two rivers, the Chenab and the Ravi (170). Śākala as a city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (171). Pāṇini has termed Śākala as a Charana of Rig Veda. This Charana was established by Āshārya Śākalya who prepared Pada Pātha of the Rig Veda. Those who studied the Śākala Sambitā were called Śākala or Śākalaka (172). These Charanas were organised on the pattern of the republics existing during the age of Pāṇini and as such they have been called by him as Samāha. As a Samāha, they had their seals with their own devices and legends (173).

It may, therefore be presumed that the sealing bearing the legend 'Sakalasva' belonged to the 'Śakala Charana' of the Rig Veda. It may be observed that several Charana sealings have been discovered at Rājghat (174) and several other ancient sites in northern India.
COPPER SEAL OF 'ARYADASNA'

This seal from Kanșâmbî (175) has a Śrīvatsa symbol above two horizontal lines. Below occurs the legend 'ARYADASNA' in the reversed characters of about 4th–5th century A.D. The seal undoubtedly belonged to an individual called ARYADASNA.

VĀGDHARMA SEAL

This copper seal from Jhusi (176) bears the legend VĀGADHARMASVA in the reversed Brāhmī characters of about 3rd or 4th century A.D. There is a trisūla with a parśva in the centre dividing the legend in two parts.

The correct Sanskrit version of the legend would be VĀGADHARMASVA. The legend appears to be a motto like Dharmakar̥tavya (177) and Satyanāyatinānritam (178) on certain seals described by Agarwal and Gupta respectively.

In Sanskrit literature we come across words like 'VĀGDHARMA' and VĀMNAYATAPA. Manu says that it is our Sāṅgata śadharma to speak the truth which is not harsh to others and not to tell a lie which is dear to others (179). In these words Manu suggests that the VĀGDHARMA which had been coming from our hoary past should be followed by one and all. The Bhagvatgītā also elaborates the word VĀMNAYATAPA in a similar manner which denotes the same meaning (180). 'Vāgdharma here indicates correct or truthful speech.'
SEAL OF SREENIHUTRA GOPA

This seal from Kausambi bears the legend Sreenihutra Gopa in the reversed characters of about 5th century A.D. (121).

It is evident from coins, seals and sealings that the Nigans were organisations formed by traders in ancient India. The Sreenihtra were the members of the Nigans. This seal belonged to a person named Gopa, who was the son of a Sreenihtra.

SEAL OF BARBARIKA

This seal from Kausambi (122) in the form of a ring contains the legend Barbarika in the reversed Brāhmi characters of about 2nd century A.D.

It appears to be the personal seal of some resident of Kausambi. (P.L. XXVII. Feq III)

STONE SEALS FROM THE ALLAHABAD REGION.

These seals may be placed in two distinct categories—(a) Uninscribed and (b) inscribed. The first type contains symbols of varied types usually noticeable on ancient Indian coins and early Indian antiquities. The second type contains both the symbols and the legend. These seals do not reveal the name of any ruler yet they are of importance from the paleographic point of view.
UNDESCRIBED STONE SEALS

(1) A seal from Kausambi (183) preserves different group of symbols on both the faces in reversed form. The area on one side is square and the other is circular. The middle portion of the piece of stone is rounded, having a circumference of 4.2 c.m. It is executed on a dark brown stone containing some white patches. The following symbols occur on the square face of the seal.

Humped bull to the left before a fishlike object, Ujain symbol on the top right corner; a Jayadhwaia below the bull and a taurine on the right lower corner.

The circular face of the seal contains a lion with upraised tail standing to left before a Jayadhwaia; Ujain symbol is seen a little above its body. A taurine is also shown below the animal.

Motifs like, bull before a tree, taurine and Jayadhwaia are usually seen on ancient copper coins, but a bull before a fish has not been noticed on coins.

The symbol noticed on the circular face of the seal are also common separately but as a group, the symbol lion before a Jayadhwaia, is a rare one. This group of symbols, i.e. lion before the Jayadhwaia, is noticed on some uninscribed Taxila coins (184). Alien assigns their origin to Uttar Pradesh (185).
On the basis of the Mauryan polish of the stone and symbols the seal can be assigned to about 200 B.C.

(2) Another uninscribed stone seal from Kausāmbī has a square base with a knob having a hole in it for suspension. At the rounded top of the knob there is an arrow mark to indicate right direction for taking stampage. On each of the four sides of the square base of the seal there are engraved symbols like Tauri, Javadhwaia, Svasti, and Steel-Yard, all inside semi-circular panels.

The main face for stampage contains a taurine flanked by a straight thick line resembling Brāhmī Ra, on either side. This symbol has been noticed on uninscribed Taxila coins of class I, Variety (a) (186).

Taurine, Svasti, and Javadhwaia symbols, as engraved on the outer square sides of the seal are quite common on Kausāmbī inscribed and uninscribed cast coins but the so called steelyard is absent in them. This symbol has been noticed on two types of Huvama coins from Taxila. On the reverse of one variety (b) and on the obverse of variety (e) of the coins referred to above (187). Second example of this symbol, topped with a crescent, is found on uninscribed cast coins from Ayodhyā, type III from Shāh-kī-Dherī (188). Since these coins belong to 2nd cent. B.C. (189) and this symbol occurs on this seal, the seal may also be assigned to the same period.
INSCRIBED STONE SEALS

SEAL OF BHAKHALA OR BHAGALA

This seal from Kausāmbi has a circular surface with a knob (180). Originally the knob had a rounded top which is damaged now.

The circular surface bears a taurine symbol parallel to the legend Bhakhalasa or Bhagalasa in the reversed Brāhmī characters of early 2nd century B.C.

The type of taurine above the legend in the seal is noticeable on the obverse and reverse of certain varieties of Taxila coins. Allan's class 2, variety (a) and class 3, variety (c) (181) have taurine symbol on the reverse side while on variety (d) of class 3, it is seen on the obverse (182).

The legend Bhakhalasa or Bhagalasa is the Prākrit form of Sanskrit Bhakhalasya or Bhakalasya which seems to be the name of an individual. In the absence of any title it can not be attributed to any ruler of the name. This seal belonged to a man named Bhakhala or Bhagala.

SEAL OF MANDA VARMA OR NANDI VARMA

This seal from Kausāmbi made of dark green stone is square in shape (183). It had a knob above, which is lost now.
It bears a Syaṅtika on the top left corner above the alphabet Ṛa, and the legend Ṛadavamśa in the reversed Brāhmī characters of 2nd century B.C.

There is a circular panel on the left lower corner of the seal near the letter Ṛa. The legend Ṛadavamśa may correctly be read as Ṛanda vaṃśaḥ. The owner of the seal therefore was Ṛanda varman or Ṛandivarmā.

**SEAL OF MULĀ**

This seal from Kausāmbī (194) preserves the legend Mulasā in the reversed Brāhmī characters of 2nd century B.C.

The seal has a round base with knob above, having a hole in it for suspension. The seal resembles the lid of a tiny round casket.

The word Mulā is a Sanskrit word, meaning root or origin. In Buddhist literature this word occurs at several places as an affix to certain words. The words Mulavatikarṣapa and Mulavatikarṣapūra also occur in the Vinaya Pitaka (195). Terms with the affix Mulā like Mulavatī, Mulaklesa, Mulakēruṇa, Mulatāva, Mulaśatibhi, Mulavitiṇāna, Mulasamāvahabheda, Mulavastivādina and Mulavastivādinaś are also found in Buddhist literature (196). The seal was acquired from Kausāmbī, which was an important centre of Buddhism for several centuries. Sealings of an individual named Muladeva have also been found at Rājghāt and Jhūśi (197).
THE SEAL OF BHĀVITA

This seal from Kausambi in slaty stone is rectangular in shape (193). It has four faces. On one face there is the legend Bhāvita in the reversed Brahmi letters of about 2nd century B.C. On the second, a Svastika, on the third, a pole inside a railing topped by a triratna and on the fourth face a Śrīvatsa symbol. The seal belonged to an individual named Bhāvita.

The Svastika symbol is commonly met with in ancient Indian coins, seals and sealings, but triratna on a Pillar within railing is rare. Allan has published only three examples of this type (199). Out of these three, two are found on the obverse of the so-called Kanaaj coins of Brahmanitra and Sūrya Mitra (200) while the third one is noticed on the obverse of a Vṛṣṇi coin (201). Śrīvatsa symbol, as shown in the seal is also noticeable on some Sātvāhana coins. Śrīvatsa on coins is very rare. Several clay sealings preserving this symbol have been found from Jhūsi and other sites. Probably this symbol developed from the Maṅgala symbol occurring on certain tribal coins of Northern India (202).

THE SEAL OF SRI DĀSA

It is a tiny seal from Kausambi (203). It is in brown stone having a holed knob with round top and a round base. It contains
the legend **siddha** in reversed Brāhmī of 2nd century B.C. The legend **siddha** is Prākrit form of Śrī Dāsā. Śrī Dāsa appears to be the name of the owner of the seal.

**SEAL OF NĀGASENA OR NĀGASESANA**

This square shaped seal from Kauśāmbī in the Allahabad Museum bears a legend in reversed Brāhmī characters of about 2nd century B.C. in two lines (306). It reads —

Nāga Se

Sana

The two line-legend when read together, shows Nāgaseṣana to be the name, which appears to be rather unusual. But if it is read in a clockwise manner it becomes Nāgaseṣana correct (Nāgaseṣaṇa). This appears to be more appropriate. The seal belonged to a man named Nāgasena.

**SEAL OF VAŚUKA**

This seal from Kauśāmbī is circular in shape (306).

It bears indistinct symbols above a horizontal line in the centre of the circular surface. Below the line occurs the legend Vasukasaṇa in the reversed Brāhmī characters of about 2nd century A.D.

The seal belonged to an individual called Vasuka or Vaśuka.
SEAL WITH THE LEGEND VRIDDHIRASTU

This seal from Bhītā is engraved on a tiny rectangular carnelian piece (206).

It bears the legend 'Vriddhirastu' in the reversed Brahmi characters of about 2nd or 3rd century A.D. It means 'Let there be prosperity'. It is a motto seal like 'Siddhirastu' (207). Satyam Javati mā bruṭa, Dharmā Kartaṃva (208), Haridarana, apsarāda, Jitabhāravatā (209), and Dharmā Rakshati Rakṣita (210). (PL. NXXVI. Fig. III.)

Besides stone, clay and copper seals mentioned above a few ivory and bone seals have also been discovered in the Allahabad region. From Bhītā Marshall discovered five ivory seals, most of them belonging to the 4th-5th centuries A.D. (311).

These seals bear the legends (1) Gṛṣṭhika-Jayavasūda (2) (Seal No. 2); (2) Dharmadīvasa Samkhyaśa (3) Puṭrasya (Seal No. 3); (3) Puṣ (sh) Xavridhiṣiṣva (Seal No. 6); (4) Nāgaradīṣiṣva (Seal No. 8). They are assignable to the 4th-5th centuries A.D. (5). The legend on the fifth seal has been read by Marshall as Nāgaradīṣva (Seal No. 5), which appears to be a doubtful reading. It may be Nāgaradattasya. We cannot however, be certain about this reading, because the letter between the .ASCII and a is a bit indistinct on the plate. Marshall has assigned this seal to the Kushana period (312). Evidently all these ivory seals were personal.
In the collection of the Allahabad Museum there are five ivory seals. Two of them contain only symbols; the remaining three have legends.

A seal (No. 238) from Lachhehāgir bears a taurine and a Jayedhwai symbol. The symbols on the seal are very much similar to those found in the uninscribed variety of early cast coins. The seal from Lachhehāgir belongs to 2nd century B.C.

Seal No. 486 from Kausāmbī is another uninscribed ivory specimen which has a Svastika symbol and also a symbol like Brāhmī 'Ra'. This seal may also be assigned to the same period.

Seal No. 86 from Kausāmbī contains on its oval area the legend Dāvaramahāśā in the reverse Brāhmī characters of about 100 B.C. The region below the round knob at the top is ornamental. The seal, obviously, belonged to Dāvaramahāśa, an individual whose Prakritised name was Dāvaramahāśa. (PL. XXVIII: Fig. 12 a & b)

Seal No. 137 from Kausāmbī bears a Svastika and the legend Hathipalas (213) originally read as Vanmanalasa by Dr. Kala (214). It is in the Brāhmī characters of about 1st century B.C. According to Thaplyal Hathipala of the seal is Hastipala who ruled over Kausāmbī (215).

Allahabad Museum bone seal (No. 497) from Jhūsi contains a spirited seated lion with upraised tail. The lower part has a blurred legend of which only the last letter is readable.
This seal has a close resemblance with the Bhita sealing bearing the legend Senāpati (316).

OTHER TYPES

A good number of seals and sealings, uninscribed as well as inscribed have come to light from the Allahabad region. The uninscribed sealings usually have symbols like tree-in-railing svastika, Jayadhyayā, Udiānti and hollow cross. There are also sealings depicting various interesting subjects. Some of them are described below —

A cylindrical clump of clay from Kausāmbi in the Allahabad Museum bears an eye shaped seal impression containing two trees, four human figures and two seated dogs (317). The trees are shown one above the other. Under the tree, at the top are seen two seated persons, one, on the right and the other on the left inside a beaded enclosure. In the lower region is a dog seated inside a beaded enclosure. On the right side there are two men in movement. One of them holds a stick in his right hand. The sealing may be assigned to the Sunga period. (PL.XXVI.F.51)

The scene on this object is interesting. It was held earlier that the scene related to sporting by monkeys. But this view is not correct. None of the figures is actually perched on the trees. Only the faces of human figures resemble those
monkeys. This may be due to the defect of the seal die.

To me, the men seated in the upper part seem to be ascetics. The two figures below may represent hunters.

Another clay sealing from Kausambi depicts a man armed with a bow. He is facing a camel with two riders moving towards him (218). The man on the right appears to be resisting the forward march of the camel riders. The sealing may be dated to 2nd-1st century B.C. (PL. XXVI, FIG. 1)

A third specimen of an eye-shaped clay sealing from Kausambi depicting certain unspecific scene, is in the private collection of late Shri R.C. Tamion of Allahabad. He has described the sealing as follows:

In the centre of the sealing there stand two human figures. One of them is tall and the other is short in stature. The latter figure stands to the right of the centre and the shorter one to the left. The taller figure holds a long bow in his hands (219). Behind him at the extreme right stands a chariot with two long eared spirited horses yoked to the vehicle. The figure of a charioteer with his raised whip is also present on the chariot. There are three pitcher like objects over heading the shorter figure. The sealing preserves two taurine symbols; one over the head of the tall figure, and the other near the bottom.
Shri Tandon has made an attempt to identify the above described scene with that of Prince Vasumitra accepting the surrender of a Yavana king during the course of protection of the Asvamedha horse released by Pushyamitra at the time of Asvamedha (220). He feels that his interpretation is tentative.

Tandon suggests for it a date somewhere in the middle or later part of the 2nd century B.C. while K. K. Dhalalikar assigns to it a date near about first century B.C. (221). The latter date seems to be more plausible.

One circular clay sealing from Kausambi in the Allahabad Museum (222) shows an elephant holding the neck of a boar with his trunk and is trampling it with one of his forelegs.

The scene most probably depicts an event in a forest where the elephant was charged by the boar and he is retaliating.

Among the inscribed categories a number of religious, personal and several other seals and sealings have been found. A site-wise short survey of these is attempted here.

BHITA

A clay sealing from this site housed in Allahabad Museum (223) bears the legend Sulaphalavikana in the early Suṅga characters. Thaplyal rightly assigns it to the makers of arrow-heads, or spear-heads, or both (224). [L. XXVI. F. 1]
The reverse side of the sealing contains a pot like symbol having a long neck.

Another clay sealing from the same site bears a conch and *triratna* above and the legend *Śarmāṅkasva* (225) in the Brāhmī characters of about 3rd-4th century A.D. It appears to be the name of an individual.

Marshall discovered a large number sealings from Bhītā, falling under the category of individuals. The sealings bearing the legends *Pusasa*, *Pusamitasa* and *Devasa* (226) belong to 1st century B.C. Some of the sealings belonging to 4th-5th centuries contain the following legends: *Dhārakava*, *Jayasenasa*, *Bhūtakasa*, *Bhūbhulasa*, *Gagasa*, *Virudhanāgavāḥ*, *Bhadusama*, *Vārasya*, *Namia*, *Rudrasimha*, *Indradattaḥ*, *Vishnusahira*, *Śrī Skaṃgasūrasya*, *Padmanābhasya*, *Kausikadevasya* *Chūrakasva*, *Āryavarakshita*, *Āditrasya*, *Anantadattasya* and *Yakshanāga* (227).

From this site the sealings bearing the place names also have been discovered. They also belong to the Gupta period. The geographical names are: *Chitragrama*, *Rudikata*, *Jatevagrama* and *Vicchhīramā* (228). These place names have not so far been identified.

**Jhūśī**

The mounds of Jhūśī, the ruins of ancient Pratisthāna,
have not so far been excavated. They are yielding antiquities from surface in plenty. These antiquities include terracotta figurines, coins, ivory objects, seals and sealings etc. On stylistic and palaeographic grounds these finds may be placed within a time range extending from 3rd century B.C. to 10th century A.D.

The Allahabad Museum preserves a fine collection of seals and sealings from this site. They either belong to certain individuals or are of religious nature, belonging to certain religious institutions. A few of them are described hereunder-

An uninscribed copper seal (Jh/101) depicts a temple or palace (229) with three KALASAS at the top. The structure at the top resembles early Buddhist chaityas. To the left is seen a man under a parasol held by an attendant. In the lower portion is shown a chariot to right with the two persons seated in it. (PL.XXVII, Fig. WJ)

The man under the parasol must be some royal personage who had come to visit the temple. The seal belongs to early Sunga period.

The Museum clay sealing no Jh/130 bears a SHAKRA, flanked by combats, above and the legend SANKARANASA, in the characters of about 5th century A.D., below.
The symbols Shakra and Saṅkha are the attributes of Visnu. It shows that the seal belonged to Saṅkaranāga, who was a Vaiṣṇava.

A black clay sealing (Jh/158) in the Museum's collection contains a fragmentary circular legend around the rim. Three letters of the legend are damaged and illegible. Remaining part of the legend reads 'Tosita' in the Brāhmī characters of about 3rd century B.C. Tosita may have been an individual whose titles in the sealing are damaged and illegible.

The sealing may be assigned to 3rd century B.C. on palaeographic grounds. *(Fig. XXXIII. Fig. 1)*

A clay sealing (Jh/232) bears the legend Kausika in the characters of about 500 A.D. It may be attributed to an individual or a gātra.

The Museum clay sealing no 253 from the above site contains a conch above and the legend Jñākasa below in the Brāhmī characters of 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. The legend appears to represent the name of certain individual called Jñāka, a follower of Vaiṣṇava religion.

The clay sealing no 260 bears a trisūla in the upper field and the legend Vara dharma (Vara Dharma) in the characters of about 500 A.D. in the lower field.

This sealing appears to be a religious tablet issued by a Saiva establishment for distribution among its devotees.
as memento. It may also be a motto seal like Satyan Jayati
Nārada, Dharmaśatirakṣhitah, Vāsishthaya, Vīrdhīkṣayā
Dharmaśaktyayā etc.

The fragment of a clay sealing (Jh/288) in the Museum
bears the legend Bhūmikasya in the characters of 4th–5th
cent. A.D. Bhūmika seems to be the name of an individual to
whom the sealing belonged.

The clay sealing (Jh/232) bearing the legend Balikharikasa
in the character of 1st century B.C. also belonged to an
individual.

The clay sealings (Jh/232, 296 and 296) preserving Śrivatīsa,
conch and lotus symbols along with the legend Panvalābha or
Pannalābha certainly belonged to certain Vaisnava religious
institution flourishing during the Gupta period at Jhūsi. A
hoard of about one thousand sealings of this description has
been acquired by the Museum.

A circular clay sealing (Jh/460) in the Museum preserves
a standing female figure with right hand bent at the elbow and
raised up. The left hand is held at the hip. There is a spouted
jar on the right bottom and a dwarfish female attendant on the
left. Probably the main figure holds the stalk of a lotus in
her left hand rising up to her shoulder. She appears to be
goddess Lakṣmī.

There are a number of triangular lumps of clay from the
above site in the Allahabad Museum (Jh/286, 304, 390, 400 and 401)
with devices impressed on two sides. One of the sides bears foliage flanked by a vase. Below it there is an indistinct legend, probably, Nigamasa (?). Another side preserves a male figure standing with a bow and arrow in the lion slayer posture as found in the gold coins of Čhatragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Below this figure also are visible traces of an indistinct legend in the characters of 5th century A.D.

A clay sealing (Jh/463) of the Museum from the aforesaid site, bearing a seated bull to left in the upper field and the legend Jāvarāda (Deva or Datta?) in the lower one, may suggest that Jhūsi was not purely a centre of Vaiṣṇava cult but Saivism too prevailed there.

A circular clay seal (Jh/463) bears an arrow and a pole inside a railing above and the legend Mātrikasya in the Gupta characters below.

A lump of clay (Jh/470) bears a chakra in the upper half inside an oval impression. The lower part contains the legend Viśhyavarmā in the Gupta characters. It is obvious from the legend that the sealing belonged to a private individual whose name was Viṣṇyavarmā.

The sealing no. (Jh/472) bears the legend Dhanaghosasa in the Brāhmī characters of about 1st or 2nd century A.D. Dhanaghosa may have been a well-to-do man of ancient Pratisṭhāna, who may have issued this sealing.

The Museum preserves a number of clay sealings bearing different attributes of Viṣṇu, such as śrīvaiṣṇa, chakra, cadā
Sankha and Padma in the upper field and legends Padmanabha (Jh/355, 362, 369, 371, 394 and 437), Sri Padmanabha (Nos. 352, 353, 356, 410, 411 and 413) and Sri Padmanabha Swamin (Nos. 334 to 337, 405 and 406) in the lower field. These legends and devices, found on the above sealings, indicate that they belonged to the temple of Visnu called Padmanabha.

These legends can be assigned to Gupta period on palaeographic grounds.

CLAY SEALINGS OF BHATTIMITRA

A number of oval clay sealings (Nos. 474 to 479, 481 to 485 and 490 to 494) of Bhattimitra preserved in the Allahabad Museum were found at Jhusi. They are of two varieties. One variety (Nos. 474, 479 and 483 to 485) bears the legend Bhattimitrasya above a ladder-like demarcation line flanked by a pole, inside railings, on either extremities. The second variety (Nos. 476, 478, 477, 473, 481, 482 and 490 to 494) contains two poles and a tree-like object inside a railing above the horizontally laid ladder-like line. The same legend occurs in the lower half portion in the Brâhmi characters of about 2nd-3rd century A.D.

As there exists no royal title before the name and no coin containing this name has come to light so far, it would be appropriate to attribute this seal to a private individual whose name was Bhattimitra, a resident of this place.
Two clay sealings (Jh/323 and 503) of the Allahabad Museum from Jhusi bear a pair of feet above and the legend Jitagr Bhaskara below, in the characters of 4th–5th cent. A.D.

This legend is a benedictory formula like Jitagr Manomath of a seal-die from Bhita (230). These sealings were distributed among the devotees by the temple priest for religious propagation.

One clay sealing (Jh/505) from the above site, in the Allahabad Museum, bears a Nandi standing facing in the centre; a pole topped with a circle and a crescent above it on the left and a plant with a flower at the top occurs on the right. The lower portion is occupied by a two line legend.

1. .......... Maryamataya deva
2. Devasya Dharasrama

The legend may be assigned to the 4th–5th cent. A.D. The devices above the legend point to the fact that the sealing belonged to a private individual Dharasrama who believed in Saivism.

A black clay sealing (Jh/509) of the Museum contains a conch above the legend Savradattaya in the Brahmi characters of about 2nd century A.D. The conch is one of the attributes of Visnu. It indicates that the owner of the sealing was a Vaishnava.
A number of clay sealings (Jh/254, 255, 308 and 420) in the Museum's collection bear trisūla and the legend Vāgaḍha-
Masya (Vāgdharmasya) in the characters of 5th century A.D.

A clay sealing (Jh/310) contains the Vaiśnava device of Chakra flanked by a Sāṅkha on either side, above and the legend Māgadatta in the Gupta characters. From the devices found on the sealing it is quite evident that Māgadatta was a Vaiśnava.

The fragment of clay sealing (Jh/311) in the Museum preserves goddess Lākṣmī being anointed by two elephants. The legend below is broken and lost.

The Museum clay sealing no. 321 bears the legend Sarvakasa (Sanskrit Sarvakasya) in the characters of 3rd century B.C. The sealing has a knob with a hole for suspension. Sarvaka may be the name of a Saiva devotee.

Allahabad Museum clay sealing no. 336 from Jhūsi has a series of concentric circles containing a couchant bull to right and the legend Īśvaranāṁṣa (Sanskrit Īśvaranāṁsh) in characters of C. 1st century A.D. It may mean 'of the Nādi of Śiva'. As such it indicates that this sealing was an offering for the Nādi of Śiva. It may also have been the name of the issuer who was a devotee of Śiva. The sealing was either a religious one or was personal.

A clay seal (Jh/333) of the Museum having a knob with a hole bears the legend Dāmasya in the reversed characters of
5th century A.D. There is an indistinct tiny animal above it.

The legend Damasya in the seal appears to represent one of the characteristics of Dharma as enumerated by Manu (331). Thaplyal thinks that Dam may also be the name of the person to whom the seal belonged (332). As such it may be explained both ways.

The Museum sealings Nos. 338 and 346 are oval black clay sealings from Jhūsi. They bear the legend Varasya in the 3rd-4th cent. A.D. Brāhmī characters.

The Museum clay sealings (Jh/309 and 351) from this site bear fragmentary legend Ga ra sha na mula na around the rim and a pole topped with a fish (?) inside a railing. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the early 2nd century B.C.

A black clay seal (Jh/356) of the Museum contains an animal in the upper field and legend Dattasa (Dattasya) in the lower part in the characters of about 6th cent. A.D. Datta seems to be the name of a private individual.

**SWĀMĪ** SEALINGS IN THE MUSEUM

The clay sealings of Śrī Padmanābha svāmī (Jh/334 to 337, 405 and 406) have already been referred in this chapter. There are some more sealings whose legends end in Svāmī. They are as follows:

Clay sealing no. 367 bears the legend DevaSwāmī in the Gupta characters inside an oval insuse. Another clay sealing
(Jh/398) bearing a chaakra (wheel) above, contains the legend Satyasaṃśādī below, in the characters of Gupta period inside an oval incuse. Two clay sealings (Jh/398 and 412) preserve the legend Viṣṇusvāmī in the Gupta script inside a rectangular incuse. One of the clay sealings (Jh/442) bears Siddhasvāmī inside a rectangular incuse in the characters of about 4th-5th cent. A.D.

The legends Satyasaṃśādī and Viṣṇusvāmī appear to be the names of god Viṣṇu like Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī, Devasaṃśādī, and Siddhasvāmī probably refer to god Śiva. These clay sealings probably belonged to the temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. They may also be the names of private individuals representing respective religious establishments as their heads.

**TRAVIDYA CLAY SEALING**

This sealing (Jh/373) shows a human figure seated on a lotus seat and bears the legend Travidyaśaṃsa in the characters of 5th century A.D. The sealing is damaged from all sides.

The human figure on the lotus seat above may either be Āchārya or Brahma. Thaplyal came across two other Travidya sealings. One in the U.P. Department of Archaeology, Lucknow from the village Kaharabhar (district Pratapgarh) and the other in the collection of the Archaeological survey of India, New Delhi, obtained in the recent excavations at Indrapat
Elsewhere these *traividyās* are mentioned along with the Agraḥāra villages where they resided. The sealings mentioned above do not refer to them.  \( \text{P.L. XXVIII.F.C.I} \)

An oval clay sealing (Jh/403) bears a *ghakra* above and the legend *Vishnugupta* in Gupta characters below -

*Vishnugupta* of the above sealing seems to be a private individual who was a *Vaiṣāṇava*.

The clay sealings bearing the legends -

*Kardanakasa* (Jh/441), *Jayarakasa* (Jh/453) in the characters of 2nd century A.D. and *Somasya* (Jh/454), *Vaiikasya* (Jh/457) in Gupta characters represent the private individuals of the place. *Muladeva*, the name of a private individual, also occurs on one of the clay sealings from Jhūṣi in the characters of 1st century B.C. *Mūladeva* was also the name of a ruler of Ayodhya, as known from the copper coins.

**KAUSĀMBI**

Kausāmbī too does not lag behind in any respect from Bhūtā and Jhūṣi. Some of the seals and sealings discovered at Kausāmbī are given below. All the items described below belong to the collection of the Allahabad Museum unless stated otherwise.
SEAL WITH LEGEND SAKATHINA (?)

This circular seal (K/138) made of greenish stone contains the legend Sakathina or yakathina on the top part around the rim in the characters of 2nd century B.C. In the lower portion there is a jaevahvaja symbol.

The legend may represent the name of some person.

SEALING BEARING JETHAKASA

This oval clay sealing (K/253) bears the legend Jethakasa in the Brāhmī characters of about 1st century A.D. The legend is placed in between two semi-circles of dots. Clay sealings with legends Jethadatas and Jyesthamitrasya have already been noticed at Rājghat (234). A clay sealing bearing the legend Jesakasa has also been found from Jhūsi (235).

The present sealing appears to be a personal one and was issued by some ruler or individual whose name was Jathaka or Jyesthaka. The sealing bears a thick mark on its reverse which may be the thread mark.

CLAY SEALING WITH LEGEND KULAKSHARA

This clay sealing (K/234) bears two lines above and the legend Kulakshara in the characters of about 6th century A.D. The sealing has been published by M.N. Nagar (236).

A clay sealing (K/314) in the Museum contains the legend Pativedanā in the script of 2nd century B.C. Below is an
Ulissima symbol.

The legend indicates a Buddhist term which may mean a report or request' to some one to whom it was meant.

SEALING OF VISVEDEVA

The sealing under description (K/278) bears an edifice, probably a temple, above. Below the structure is the legend Visvidavasanam in Brāhmi characters of about 2nd century B.C. The seal is impressed upon a lump of grey clay. (PL.XXVI. Fig.1)

Two sealings of the same description, with fragmentary legenms have been published earlier by Prof. G.R. Sharma (237). He read the legend as Sa. Da. Ma. In our specimen the legend is complete and very distinct. The correct reading of the legend, therefore, is Visvidavasanam which may mean 'Like Visvedevā'. Visvedevās, according to the Visnu Purāṇa, were the sons of Dharma from his wife Viśva (238). Wilson quotes Manu, saying that Visvedevās are the class of gods to whom sacrifices should be offered daily (239). They are enumerated in the Vāyu Purāṇa as ten, the Matsya (240) mentions twelve of them. Visnu Purāṇa also enjoins their worship on the occasion of Śraddha (241). As such the device in the upper region as well as the legend seem to indicate the religious character of the sealing.

SEALING BEARING GOVADANASA

The Museum clay sealing no. (K/407) bears the legend
Govadana in a circular form around the rim in the Brāhmī characters of about 2nd century B.C.

The legend means 'of Govadana'. Govadana and Gomukha are synonyms. Gomukha is the name of a jain Yaksha also. The sealing may be attributed to Gomukha Yaksha who has been named here as Govadana. Or it may be a personal sealing.

A circular clay sealing (K/435) bears a conch above and the legend Bhairavādise in the Gupta characters. It is evident from the legend and device of the sealing that it belonged to a Vaiṣṇava individual.

The clay sealing no. 466 from this site bears the legend Dhanava in the early Śunga Brāhmī characters. The sealing appears to be a religious one.

The sealing (K/468) bearing a reversed flower at the top and the legend Varkasana in Gupta character below does not explain any specific purpose, as it is indistinct.

Another clay sealing (K/473) with the legend Maghavasa or Maghavisa inside a square incuse in the Brāhmī character of about 1st century B.C. seems to be a personal one.

A clay sealing (K/501) depicts a female deity standing facing, holding a pair of fish in her left suspended hand. Probably she holds a flower bud in her right hand. She stands on a pedestal, below which is an indistinct legend in the Gupta characters.
The Museum has two clay sealings of नाविक (K/503 and K/519) in its collection from Kausāmbi. On a clump of clay there is impressed the legend नाविकसा along with an Ulasmī symbol before it inside an oval frame.

M.M. Nagar published a terracotta seal matrix from Kausāmbi (242) bearing the same legend. He interpreted it as the '(seal) of a boatman'. Thaplyal also agrees with him and he considers it a seal referring to a profession (243). But it is not so, because the coins of नाविक, who had been a ruler of Kausāmbi, have been referred to by J.S. Negi (244) and K.D. Bajpai (245). In the light of the discovery of the coins the legend नाविकसा may not be accepted as a term referring to a profession. It appears to be the proper name of a king who issued the seals and coins referred to above.

A round sealing (K/317) in greenish material bears the circular legend सॅनिदेवेव in the Brāhmī characters of early 2nd century B.C. A clay sealing (K/504) bearing the same legend from the same site is also housed in the Museum. It is obvious from the legend that these sealings were used as religious tablets for propitiating सॅनिदेवेव.

A clay seal (K/520) with a knob, having a ज्वस्तिका at its top, bears the legend पासिकसा in the reversed Brāhmī characters of 2nd century B.C. पासिका seems to be the name of a private individual.
Another clay seal (K/321) contains a *mandisya* on the upper part with a double horizontal line below. In the lower half is the legend *Mandisya*, the '(seal) of Mandi' in the reversed Brāhmī characters of about 2nd century A.D.

The Museum clay sealing No. K/524 preserves the legend *Ghosakasa* in the script of 2nd century A.D. along with a rectangular *ghata* type symbol.

The Allahabad Museum houses one clay sealing (R/207) with the same legend discovered from Rājghat the name *Ghosaka* of these sealings may be attributed to a private individual or to a ruler having this name.

Another clay sealing (K/525) from Kausāmbi gives the *legend* . . . *Pahasasa* (*Unahasasa* ?) in the Brāhmī script of first century B.C.

M.M. Nagar noticed a clay sealing at Kausāmbi with the legend *Rathikasa* written in circular depression in the 2nd century B.C. characters. He thinks that the seal belonged to a charioteer (246).

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CHAPTER VII

FOOT NOTES

2- न पापुढ़ा नामप्रियति नवापुः प्रेमस्यति | Mahābh- 16-19, Poona edition.
27. 

28. *Vide ASI AR 1911-12, P. 45*

29. Arthasastra 34-I

30. Ibid 34-2

31. Ibid 34-3

32. Ibid 34-4

33. Ibid 34-5

34. Ibid 34-6

35. Ibid 34-12

36. Rāmāyana 5.35.2

37. See above at 9.

38. HarsaCharita- Uchchhvāsa VIII.


40. Harsa Charita- Uchchhvāsa VII......


42. K.K. Thaplyal- Studies In Ancient Indian Seals- Foot Note No. I, P. I.
17. Ibid.
18. These are preserved in the collection of Allahabad Museum.
19. Allahabad Museum S/R Nos. 495 and 513. Also see J.N.S.A.L.
20. Allan, BMC.AI, p. 150, Pl. XX-10, also see Smith, IMC. P. 155, Pl. XX, 4.
22. Ibid- N/54.
23. Allan, BMC.AI, p. 150, Pl. XX-6.
29. Ibid- P. 45.
33. J.I.S.I., XXIV, P. 20, Also see- Studies In Ancient Indian Seals- P. 28.
34. Ibid.
37. J.N.S.I. IV, P.2 and Ibid PP.140.
39. Allan- CGAI, PP. 138-139, Pls. XVII-23, XVIII-1,2,4,5 etc.
40. J.M.S.I. Vol. XVIII, Part II, Pl. VI, 6
41. Thaplyal- Studies In Ancient Indian Seals- P. 33, Pl. V-6
42. Ibid. PP. 33-34.
43. ASI-AR. 1911-12, P. 51, No. 27 of Pl. XVIII.
44. Thaplyal- Studies In Ancient Indian Seals- P. 36, Pl. IV, 2.
45. A.S.R. XXI, P. 119, Pl. XXX.
46. J.A. XXXI, P. 177, No. 1
47. J.M.S.I. Vol. VIII, P. 16
49. Marshall reads it as Sivam (e) ghasya.
50. EI, XVIII, P. 159, No. II
51. EI, XXXI.P. 184, No. XIV.
53. A.S.R. 1911-12, PP. 50-51, Pl. XVIII, No. 25.
55. J.M.S.I. , IV, P. 11.
57. EL.XXII, Pl. 167ff.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Negi, Indological studies, PP. 62-63.
66. EP. Ind., XXIV, P. 210.
68. Negi, some Indological studies, P. 61.
69. Ibid, P. 62, also footnote, No. 2.
70. Ibid. P. 60. Also see, KK, Thaplyal, studies in Ancient Indian Seals, P. 43, Pl. III, No. 5.
72. Ibid, P. 66.
73. IAAR, 1954-55, P. 18, Pl. XXXII
74. Ibid. P. 18.
75. Ibid.
77- IA, IA, IA, 1954-55, P. 18, Pl. XXXII-B.
78- Thaplyal- Studies in Ancient Indian Seals - P. 62
79- Ibid.
80- Ibid.
81- Ibid - P. 63.
82- IA, IA, IA, 1911-12, P. 52, No. 29
84- Ibid, No. 31.
85- Ibid, No. 32, also see Allahabad Museum S/R Nos. Bh/146 and Bh/219.
86- IA, IA, IA, 1911-12, P. 55, No. 52.
87- Thaplyal- Studies in Ancient Indian Seals - P. 98.
88- Ibid.
89- IA, IA, IA, 1911-12, P. 55, No. 36, Pl. XIX.
90- Marshall called it an uncertain symbol. Ibid.
91- Ibid - No. 41
92- Ibid - No. 37(a), P. 53, Pl. XIX.
93- Ibid. P. 54, No. 38, Pl. XIX.
94- Ibid. No. 39, Pl. XIX.
96- Ibid S/R No. Jh/349.
97- Ibid S/R No. R/149.

99- *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12, P. 53, No. 35, Pl. XIX.

100- See, Foot note No. 71 above.

101- *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12, P. 52, No. 31, Pl. XVIII.


104- *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12, P. 53, No. 33, Pl. XVIII.

105- Allahabad Museum- S/R No. Bh/124.

106- *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12- P. 53, No. 34, Pl. XVIII.

107- Ibid- P. 54, No. 42.

108- Ibid. P. 49, No. 14 to 24, Pl. XVIII.


110- Ibid.

111- *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1911-12, Nos. 19,10 and 23, Pl. XVIII, P. 50

112- Allahabad Museum S/R 23.

113- Thaplyal- *Studies In Ancient Indian Seals*, P. 144.

114- Allahabad Museum S/R 326.


| 117- | Ibid S/R 244, 243. |
| 121- | A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12- "Seals" |
| 122- | Allahabad Museum S/R 130 and 426 |
| 125- | Ibid- Nos. 252, 393, 405 and 406. |
| 126- | Ibid- Nos. 335, 336, 337. |
| 127- | A.S.I.A.R. 1911-12, P. 58, No. 88, Pl. XX |
| 132- | Ibid. P. 164- See also *J.M.S.I.* Vol. XXIX, P. 27 |
| 133- | Lalitkala, No. 9, P. 12. |
| 135- | A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12, Nos. 32, 34, Pl. XVIII and Nos. 35-42, Pl. XIX. |
| 136- | Thaplyal- *Studies In Ancient Indian Seals*. P. 181, N.B.2 |
| 137- | Ibid. P. 182, Pl. XXII- 2. |
138. A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12, P. 50, No. 18, Pl. XVIII.

139. Ibid. P. 50, No. 18.

140. Thaplyal, Studies In Ancient Indian Seals, P. 189.

141. A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12, P. 58, No. 23, Pl. XI.

142. Ibid. P. 53, No. 37 (a).

143. Ibid. P. 50-51, No. 25, Pl. XVIII.

144. Bull. of Ancient Indian History and Arch. l, No. 1, PP. 61-62.


146. Ibid. PP. 207 to 215.


J.N.S.I., Vol. XXIV, P. 22, also, Allan, B.M.G., Introduction, CXXVI.

150. Allan, B.M.G., CXXVI.


153. Ibid. P. 56, No. 55A.

154. Ibid. P. 56, Nos. 57 to 62.

155. Ibid. Marshall reads it as Sreshti Jayavasuda (h).

156. Ibid. P. 48, No. 2.
159- Allahabad Museum S.R. No. 100, Also J.N.S.A.I., XXVII, Part I, 1966, P. 24, Pl. XII-1.

160- Stūpas of Bharhut, P. 50-51

161- कः श्रीमद्युगस्तस्य तोरे मिष्कुलकटः ।
कास्तिक्याक्षः श्रीमान् विनेत्रमूल विशेषतः ॥

बाप काल, २९, विन - विन

162- कृष्णाभासलु प्रति मुखो यज्ञ स्वपालम् ।
स नेत्रो यात्रायो देयो प्रेमश्चेष्टलम् परः ॥

कुकु ॥ २७, २६ २६

163- विकस्मात बाजुकुपभि: स्वम्युदेतार्षि नदी सुप्रस्थोधनंपुर: ।
यावदं कृष्णत मूर्गाविभरति तत्र क्रियकुष्ठादे क्षति ॥

Quoted by Rangaswami Aiyangar Rajdharma, P. 60.

164- Allan, B.M.C.A.I., Pls. XXII-XXIII


166- H.H.Wilson, Vishnu Purana, PP.350-51.

167- Ibid. p. 324.

169.- Panini's Astadhyayi, 4-2-31

170.- D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, P. 94, Note 25; also CHI, 1

171.- साक्ष्य नाम नामावप्रमाण निर्णया !
बातिका नाम वाक्यकालेश्वरं वृत्त सुनिन्दित्तम् !

कृज प्र ५४-५५ |

172.- V.S. Agrawala, Panini Kālina Bhārata, P. 297 and 314.


174.- J.N.S.I., XX, PP. 195-201; and XXIII, P. 409.

175.- Allahabad Museum S/R No. K/237. This seal was earlier published by me in J.N.S.I., XXVII, 1965, Part I, Pl. XII-7, P. 29. I read the legend as Aryadatta which now appears to be a wrong reading.

176.- Allahabad Museum S/R No. Jh/439, also J.N.S.I., XXVII 1965, Part I, PP. 30-31, Pl. XII, 9

177.- J.N.S.I., XIX, Part I, P. 71, A clay seal bearing the same legend from the same site has been acquired for Allahabad Museum, No. Su/ 269.

178.- J.N.S.I., XXIV, P. 181.

179.- सत्यं ब्राह्मणं ब्राह्मणं ब्राह्मणं तत्त्वस्तत्त्वस्तन्त्रिपायस् |
पितृः च नान्तुं ब्राह्मणं कि स्वातन्त्र्यं !

कृज ४-१२ |
ବନ୍ଦେଙ୍କରେ ବାତ୍ତ୍ରକ ସାଧୁ ନିଯୋଜନି କରି ଓଡ଼ାଇ ।

ସ୍ତ୍ରୀଯାଯାମାପ୍ତରେ ଭାଗ ଯେବ ମାନ୍ତ ତେପୁ ଭାଗଗୁଡ଼ି କରିବା ପାଇଁ।

ମାନ୍ଦ୍ରିତା- ୧୩-ନା।


184- Allan, B.M.C., P. 237, Nos. 7 to 11, Pl. XIV, 4, 5, 6 & 7.

185- Ibid, P. CXXXVIII.

186- Allan, B.M.C., P. 219, Pl. XXXII, 2, 1.


188- Ibid, P. 219, Pl. XVI, 8, 9 and 10.

189- Ibid, P. 219, Pl. CXXXVII and 143.


191- Allan- B.M.C., P. 216, Pl. XXXI-16, 12, 14, 13 and also P. 239, Pl. XXXV-4.

192- Ibid, P. 230, Pl. XXXIV, 8 and 9.


195. Rahula Sankritrayana, Vinaya Pitaka (Hindi), PP. 176, 302, 346 and 369 etc.


199. Allan, R.M.G., PP. 147 and 281; XCIII and CLV, Nos. 104 and 191 respectively.

200. Ibid, Pl. XIX, 11-12.

201. Ibid, Pl. XVI, 5.


208- *J.M.S.I., XXVIII*, Part II, 1956, P. 206, Pl. VI-1
209- Ibid, XXIV, PP. 181-182, Pl. X. 4, 5, 5a
211- *A.S.I.A.R., 1911-12*, P. 48, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8, Pl. XVII.
212- Ibid.
215- Thaplyal, Ibid.
217- Allahabad Museum S/R No. 95.
218- Ibid S/R No. 362.
220- Ibid.
221- Ibid, PP. 33 to 36.
223- Ibid. Bh/136.

227. A.S. A. Asa 1911-12, P. 56, Nos. 63, 64 and 65 respectively.

228. Ibid, PP. 57 to 59.


230. 'Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. XIV-XVI, 1938-60 P.8, Pl. 8b, Dr. Kala's Paper: 'Antiquities from Jhansi in the Allahabad Museum'.

231. सत्यापन सम्बन्धी व्यापक सूचीपत्रोक्त रिति:।
सत्यापित तत्त्वमोंचो दस्ताक प्रस्तुताय!।


233. Ibid. P. 258.


236. Some Inscribed Seals from Kosam; J.H.P.H.S., Vol.XII.
Part I, P. 83, 1939.

237. Excavations at Kausambi 1957-59, P. 85, Pl. 49; Nos.1 and 2.

238. H.H. Wilson, Vishnu Purana, PP. 99-100.
239- Manu, III, 121.


241- Ibid, P. 256.


244- J.S. Negi- *Some Indological Studies*, P. 63, footnote-1.


246- As footnote No. 242.