

Voces valent nil Panium minaces.
 An membra telo geritis scelesti
 Figenda? Patent aditus ad arcem.
 Vestrum Patrem misereat Supremum.
 Conditam saxo retinemus arcem
 Boumque plenam Sarama, atque equorum.
 Eam Panes vigilantes tuentur.
 Vanum tibi hoc est iter irritumque.
 Vos o superna numina invocata
 Factis sacris propitia huc adeste.
 Raptas boves restituant latrones.
 Respuant Panes animum hunc superbum.
 Faventibus Sarama freta divis
 Ausa es ad nostras penetrare sedes.
 Ne redeas; te faciam sororem.
 Boves optatas tibi partiemur.
 Ego nec fratres neque vos sororem
 Novistis, Indrus superique testes,
 Qui me boves vehementer reposcunt.
 Panes abeste pro cul hinc profani.

On certain symbols or devices on the gold coins of the Guptas.—By W.

THEOBALD, M. N. S. L. Bedford, November, 1884.

The following remarks have resulted from the perusal of an interesting and instructive paper on the Gupta coinage by V. A. Smith, Esq., published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, for 1884.

The idea now advocated may have doubtless occurred to others who have made the Gupta and Indo-Scythian coins their study, but it does not appear to have been published, nor is it in any way alluded to by Mr. Smith in his paper on these coins.

The three symbols referred to are the 'fillet' and the 'cornu-copiæ' as they appear on the Gupta coins, as contrasted with similar symbols on Bactrian, Indo-Scythian and other coins, and the 'footstool' which occurs on both the copper and gold Gupta and Indo-Scythian coins, beneath the sealed figure of 'Ardochro,' and it is for these two latter symbols or devices, that a new, and it is believed a more correct interpretation is now offered.

THE GUPTA 'FILLET.'

The object to which the term 'fillet' has been applied and which Prinsep and Kittoe term a 'noose' is common not only on the Gupta coins, but on a variety of others, notably the Indo-Scythian of probably in part cotemporary date. Mr. Smith retains the term 'fillet' for this object "for convenience" but adds "in many cases I believe it would be more proper to follow Prinsep in calling it a '*paśu*' or noose." The question whether the term 'fillet' be used or 'noose' may not seem of much importance so long as the objects alluded to are believed to be identical, but should this be otherwise, then it is clearly desirable not to unical one, by applying to it, a name properly applicable only to the other. It is moreover an instance of an error, simpler perhaps or minor in degree but identical in kind with another to which attention will presently be invited. It may be perhaps urged, that on coins of quasi-coarse execution like the Gupta coins, little weight can attend to the precise form of the symbol, and that the object thereon may form its general aspect be considered as copied from the more artistic 'fillet' or wreath, of Greek art, but admitting this, we are all the more thrown back, in our efforts to determine the precise significance in this particular case, of the object or symbol represented, to other data, and more general reasons than those afforded by the distinctive or artistic treatment of the symbol itself.

Not to carry the discussion further afield than India, and the country subjected to the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian kings, it may be observed that the 'fillet' or 'wreath,' (for in numismatics, the wreath is a more artistic and florid variation of the fillet, *quoad* the symbolism involved) occurs on coins in five distinct positions. 1st, In the hand of Nike or Victory, as in those of Azas and Vonones. 2nd, Encircling the king's head. 3rd, On a standard, or 'javelin' and called a staff, carried by the King or Priest, as in many Indo-Scythian coins. 4th, Either on the head or in the hand of the figure on the reverse of some Bactrian and many Indo-Scythian coins. 5th, Occupying the reverse of some Bactrian coins as in some of Antimachos.

In all of these instances it is clear that one and the same symbol is intended, representing one and the same idea, *e. g.*, paramount power, crowned by the symbol of paramount holiness. This symbol was of course the old 'fillet' or '*vitta*' of classic times the *vitta tenuis*, *insigne pudoris*, as Ovid calls it, the outward sign, whether borne by king, woman, or priest of power and purity.

On the reverse however, of the Indo-Scythian coins, we find such an intrusion of personages from the Hindu pantheon as renders caution necessary in accepting the same symbol, or what might be regarded as

the same symbol, as indicating the same or any approximately similar idea, and we find ourselves carried back rather to the worship of Isis, than that of Vesta. In support of this view it seems almost sufficient to adduce the fact of the appearance on these coins of Śiva, under the name of Okro, with either two or four arms and one or more* heads, and with his appropriate '*vahana*' in attendance, the bull Nandi.

Now the 'noose' in the hand of Śiva, can hardly with reference to that deity's functions and character be regarded as having any symbolical connexion or reference to the 'fillet' on Greek or Roman coins, but rather as representing a phallic symbol, appropriate enough in the hand of the Indian Siva or his consort or 'Śakti,' the tender Párvatí, or the formidable Durgá. But admitting that the symbol of the 'noose' is no longer the same as the 'fillet' when met with on the Gupta or some Indo-Scythian coins, it must not be inferred that it is exclusively a symbol of Śiva, as it is also borne on some Gupta coins by a goddess, who is probably, as Mr. Smith maintains intended for Lakshmí, the consort of Vishṇu, as indicated by the lotus throne whereon she is seated. Whilst therefore in the hand of the goddess seated on a lion, the symbol represents the 'noose' or '*paśu*' of Śiva, in the hand of his 'śakti' Párvatí or Durgá, yet when it is borne by the goddess throned on a lotus, it probably represents a female anthem homologous with the *sistrum* of Isis, and typical of the fruitfulness whereof Lakshmí is the dispenser and fountain head. Indeed it is curious, should the view presently to be developed with regard to the 'cornu-copiæ' be accepted, that both symbols carried by the goddess, variously seated on a lion, throne, or lotus on the reverse of the Gupta coins, should be equally appropriate, whether such goddess is supposed to represent Párvatí or Lakshmí.

* It is usual to speak of the polycephalic Śiva, as three-headed or three-faced, but this view is hardly supported by the coins, or any necessity of Hindú mythology. On the coins, this form of Śiva or 'Okro' is represented not as though it were the artist's intention to represent three, but rather four heads or faces. What is depicted is, a full face in front flanked by two faces in profile, and with obviously room behind for a fourth face such an ideal figure corresponding very exactly with the well-known four-headed 'linga.' See for example fig. 26 in the Plate of Indo-Scythian coins in 'Jainism' (E. Thomas) which type is also occasionally met with on the copper coins of Oerki with the king on the obverse seated on a couch, with one leg uplifted thereon. Now Śiva though a polycephalic deity, is not one whose mythological attributes, like Diana's "*Tria virginis ora Dianæ*" necessitate a triform conception of his person, and therefore the image on the coins of Oerki and Bazdeo may fairly be regarded as representing not three but four heads. Had the artist wished to represent the god in a triform shape, he would have produced a figure resembling that of Janus, with two faces, neither of them in full profile, but this he has never attempted.

The above considerations therefore lead to two inferences: 1st, that the 'noose' symbol on the gold Gupta coins, represents wholly different ideas from those symbolised by the 'fillet.' 2nd, that the 'noose' symbol on these coins, is of ambiguous import, and that it represents indifferently the 'noose' of Śiva when borne by a goddess, whom we have other reasons for regarding as his Śakti, whether under the form of Párvatí or Durgá; or when it is borne by a goddess presumably identified with Lakshmí, it is then no longer the '*paśu*' of Śiva but a feminine symbol, analogous to the '*sistrum*' of Isis, and that it is by collateral indications only that it can be decided in which sense, in each case this symbol is to be construed. See Inman's *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names*, Vol. I, p. 527.

Having thus considered the probability of two symbols of entirely different significance being united or confounded under the term 'fillet' it remains to see if another and more interesting example of this union, and the resulting observation or blending of the ideas, is not afforded by the 'cornucopia' as it is termed, on the Gupta coins, and if an exotic symbol is not in this case also made to do duty for a different and peculiarly native idea.

THE GUPTA 'CORNU-COPIÆ.'

It may be granted at once that the 'cornu-copiæ' on the Indo-Scythian coins is exotic in its design, and copied probably from Roman coins of the period. The idea too is doubtless the same, and, as on Roman, so on Indo-Scythian coins the 'cornu-copia' is the symbol of good fortune, prosperity and abundance. This classic type of this particular symbol is seen on coins figured in *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XX, figs. 4 and 5, and also on the plate of coins in *Jainism* (Edward Thomas) fig. 16. In one gold coin of Ooerki, in my possession, the classic idea of the 'cornu-copiæ' brimming over with the kindly fruits of the earth is well displayed, and on either side project, what are clearly intended to represent corn-ears. Generally, however, the treatment is more conventional, though in every instance it would seem as if fruits or corn were the objects intended to be understood as filling the 'horn.' So far as I know, the 'cornu-copiæ' is always borne, on these gold coins by the goddess Ardochro, standing. In the Pesháwar find there were several of such coins and one with the legend of Mioro (No. 49 of Catalogue) but whether with the usual standing figure of a goddess is not quite certain, though such is probable from the wording of the catalogue. In copper coins, however, of Ooerki, of the elephant and rider type, the 'cornu-copiæ' though usually carried by the goddess Ardochro, is also occasionally seen in the hand of Mao. Now the name Mao on these coins, is

generally applied to a male deity, whom the crescent moon behind his shoulders proves to be the masculine moon, the *Deus Luna*, or 'Soma' of the Hindús. But on those coins whereon the 'cornu-copiæ' is borne by Mao, the deity is feminine and without the crescent moon behind her shoulder, or in other words the title Mao is occasionally bestowed on the deity usually named *Ardochro*.*

In every single instance that has come under my observation, the 'cornu-copiæ' on the Indo-Scythian coins in gold or copper of Ooerki, Kanerki, or Bazdeo, though various in design, never present the peculiar type which it assumes on the Gupta coins, neither is the peculiar type of the Gupta cornu-copiæ ever represented that I am aware of on either the gold or copper coins of the ordinary Indo-Scythian mintage, though seen in some coins of a different type classed by Wilson with the Guptas: A. A. Pl. XVIII, fig. 25 and by Mr. Smith as Indo-Scythian, one being figured on his Plate IV, fig. 6. Prof. Wilson (A. A. p. 427) describes these as "rude coins" and so perhaps many of them are; but two in my possession attributable to 'Bri Shaka' and 'Sita,' are as well designed and as clearly cut and stamped as the bulk of the Gupta coins, though displaying a stiff and formal mannerism quite distinct from either the Gupta coins on the one hand, or the Indo-Scythian on the other.

On the copper coins the 'cornu-copiæ' is either entire, or bifid at the top. In all the specimens I have seen of the 'cornu-copiæ' borne by Mao, it is distinctly, and sometimes deeply bifid, whilst the same symbol on the copper coins whereon *Ardochro* is figured, is entire at the top. This, however, is not a distinctive character, as on the gold coins *Ardochro* is represented bearing both types of the symbol. In A. A. Pl. XII, fig. 5 and Pl. XIV, figs. 4 and 5, the undivided type of cornu-copiæ is figured and this is certainly the commonest form, but a gold coin of Ooerki figured by Thomas (*Jainism*, Pl. 11, fig. 16) the cornu-copiæ is distinctly bifid, though not to the same extent as is seen on the copper coins with more on the reverse, and I have a very similar gold coin with the 'cornu-copiæ' distinctly though not deeply bifid. It is not from the same die as that figured by Thomas, as the 'nimbus' is complete, whereas on the figured coin it is only represented on front of the king's face.

The 'cornu-copiæ' (as it is called) on the Gupta coinage differs considerably from either type of the symbol on the Indo-Scythian coins, and this difference is too constant and circumstantial to be the result

* On another of these copper coins of Ooerki, Mao is also represented as a male figure with nimbus, and no crescent behind the shoulders, but with the emblem of Vulcan; in his right hand a hammer, with a small handle (like the bamboo handle of an Indian smith's hammer) and in his left, resting against his shoulder, a pair of pincers precisely like those now used in an Indian bazaar by an iron-smith.

merely of accident or inferior execution. On this point Mr. Smith pertinently remarks: "The suggestion that the figure of the Ardokro goddess was adopted by Samudra in mere imitation of a foreign design does not appear tenable. The coins with this reverse undoubtedly show evident traces of foreign influence, but they are far from being mechanical copies of alien design."

If this view is correct, as is probably the case the question arises, whether this constant difference in type of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol which is found to exist on the Indo-Scythian and Gupta coins respectively, does not mark a corresponding divergence of ideas, represented respectively by each type of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol? That such is the case with the 'fillet' there are, as has been shown good grounds for supposing, and in like manner a close examination of the Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' suggests that the idea it represents is entirely different from that of plenty and abundance, and that it stands really for, and in an adoptive and conventional mode of representing the native object of symbolical worship, the snake or Nága.

The point wherein the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol on the Gupta coins, diverges from its classic prototype on the Indo-Scythian coins is this, that whereas the latter has always the appearance of a receptacle stored with the kindly fruits of the earth, among which, in the best executed examples, heads of grain may distinctly be recognised, the Gupta symbol is closed above by a more or less convex line ornamented by a variable number of approximately equal and equidistant pellets or dots. Now bearing in mind that the symbol may be intended for the divine Nága, it is by no means an undue stretch of the imagination to regard these pellets as a conventional mode of representing a polycephalic Nága, whether we regard each pellet as corresponding to one of the heads or a mere jewel or ornament indicative of as many heads as pellets. Of the coins figured by Mr. Smith on Pl. II, fig. 3 displays 5 pellets, figs. 3, 7, 8, show 7 pellets and figs. 1 and 11, 8 pellets and similarly in the figures given in A. A. Pl. XVIII, the number of pellets ranges from 5 to 8.

It yet remains to connect this Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' with the Nága and though Mr. Smith does not allude to any such idea yet both his own Plates and Plate XVIII of the *Ariana Antiqua* furnish on close examination sufficient evidence to establish this rather startling conclusion. In A. A. Pl. XVIII, fig. 6 the curved body of a snake is indicated on the right hand side of the figure, the entire animal being above the couch or throne whereon the goddess is seated. In fig. 8 of the same Plate, the body of the snake seems to pass behind the back of the goddess and come out in front of the right instep whence it curves up over the left knee, the tail resting on the throne. In fig. 9 a somewhat similar arrangement

is seen though not quite so clearly made out. Turning now to Mr. Smith's paper, the first coin suggestive of a serpentine termination of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol is fig. 3 of Pl. II. The snake's body in this coin comes round to the front, crosses the lap of the goddess and depends on one side from the left knee. This is not clearly to be seen on the plate, but is very distinct on a fine coin of the same type in my possession. In fig. 6, Pl. III, the goddess is represented sitting on a lion, and is described in the text (Page 186) as holding a flower in the left hand. Now this object is very unlike the flowers seen on other Gupta coins, as for instance in figs. 7 and 8 of the same Plate and in figs. 1 and 10 of Pl. II, and is with greater probability intended for a snake with distended hood, displayed on a level with the head of the goddess, a distinct fold of the snake's body being very distinctly seen in contact with the left knee. In some figure a sort of loop in this position may be held to represent the loose sleeve of the goddess, but in the present instance, it cannot possibly be thus explained, nor does there seem to be any alternative explanation to that now proposed.

Another indication of the true nature of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol borne by the Ardochro goddess on the Gupta coins is in the object seen at her feet. Of this Prof. Wilson thus speaks (A. A. Page 423). "Instead of the lotus also, and the Indian mode of being seated, the female is often represented as sitting on a high-backed chair, with her feet on a footstool." Now this 'Ardochro footstool,' so called, can only be so regarded, not because it bears any distinct impress of anything of the sort, but because it was plainly intended by the artist to represent something; and being at the feet of the goddess, a stool seemed a probable conjecture. But the stool so called, is simply the portion of a circle, and the execution of the coins is such as to render the idea wholly untenable that the artist lacked the ability of giving some closer resemblance to a 'stool,' to the object in question, had such been his design. The addition of only a few rough lines and cuts on the 'die' would have left no doubt, that a 'stool' was what the feet of the figure were reposing on; as it is, the feet are simply encircled with a line, the area enclosed by which being ornamented with pellets or dots. The coins figured in A. A. Pl. XIV, figs. 19, 20, 21, and 22 support this contention, that it is not from want of artistic capacity that the so-called 'stool' is so very imperfect a representation of the object specified.

If on the other hand the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol is regarded as a conventional or covert representation of the 'Nāga' or snake, then the 'stool' so called, at the feet of the goddess, at once resolves itself into the terminal coil of the monster's body, vindicating the powers of the artist from the reproach of inadequately representing what it was his intention to convey.

Supposing this interpretation of the 'footstool' so called is accepted, then the dotted area whereon the feet of the goddess rest; will represent the solid earth bounded or encircled by a fold of the mystic snake or Nága, whose presence is equally appropriate and in union with Hindú feeling, whether the symbol be regarded as introduced in honour of Śiva or Vishṇu, or to please the votaries of both.

There is an objection which might be raised, with reference to Pl. II, fig. 3 to the identification of the 'footstool' so called with the terminal portion of the snake's body, of which the cornu-copiæ represents the expanded hood, and that is that on the coin alluded to, the extremity of the tail of the snake is seen recurved over the left knee of the goddess, though the 'footstool' is also seen at her feet.

As previously remarked, however, a coin in my possession whilst displaying very clearly the tail of the snake as indicated in the Plate, offers a somewhat different treatment to that usually seen on both gold and copper coins, of the so-called 'footstool,' and this slight alteration in design, is no doubt caused by the very fact in question of the tail of the snake represented by the cornu-copiæ, being in this instance visible to its termination. Usually the tail is so arranged as to allow of the 'footstool' being considered as a terminal fold of the snake's body; in the case under consideration that is not so, and a slight but important modification is introduced which though present in the figured coin is still more clearly displayed on the finer coin in my possession. Usually the Ardochro footstool is represented by an oval line, bounded in part by the drapery of the figure, and which would very well represent a footstool if only some indication of legs were added. In my more perfect coin, the oval is incomplete, a clear space intervening between the ends and the drapery; in other words, it is no footstool which lies at the feet of the goddess but a curved snake. The coin is too well executed and in such preservation, that there is no room to doubt that such was the intention of the artist, and nothing but a foregone conclusion could allow of any doubt but that the cornu-copiæ on this coin represents one snake and the 'footstool' another.

On some less artistic examples, the line representing this snake is double, and it is not clear whether we are to regard this duplication, as representing a second snake, or as merely the result of inferior execution, my own impression strongly inclining to the latter conclusion.

A coin in my possession, procured in the Panjab, with the name 'Sita' on it, and of precisely the same class of coins as that figured by Mr. Smith, Pl. IV, fig. 6, proves that a similar interpretation of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol can be applied in their case also. This is not clearly seen on the figured coin, as what is really the snake's body, there

appears as what might be the sleeve from which the arm of the goddess protrudes, but on my more perfect coin, the sleeve or cuff appears as a fold above the loop which would seem to be intended as a fold of the snake's body, round the arm of the goddess, with the extremity of the tail just visible on her left knee.

In support of the views here put forth reference has only been made to coins in my own cabinet or those figured in the 'Ariana Antiqua,' Mr. Thomas's 'Jainism or the early faith of Aśoka,' and Mr. Smith's paper, all works readily accessible to the Indian reader, but an examination of the fine series of Gupta coins in the British Museum, strongly bears out the fact of the Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' being (by its mode of representation on the best samples) a conventional symbol of the 'Nāga' and the only point I cannot explain satisfactorily to myself, is how this very obvious interpretation has hitherto escaped the notice of the many far abler antiquaries than myself who have studied these coins; for once enuniated, the idea seems almost as obvious, as the celebrated problem of the egg propounded by Columbus.

The Square Silver Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmír.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, M. R. A. S., *Member of the Numismatic Society, London, and Associate Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* (With 3 Plates.)

When I wrote my small paper on "The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmír" I mentioned the fact of my possessing square silver coins of five Sultáns. The publication of my papers on the coins of Kashmír caused other numismatists to search and the result was a great find of coins of both the Sultáns and Máhárájahs. I too was aroused from my lethargy and led to see if I could not get a few more coins, and I dared to hope that as I had published the copper coins of ten Sultáns, I might perhaps secure the silver coins of the same number of kings. I tried all the bazaars of the Panjáb, but they gave me nothing. A friend of mine travelling from the Jhelum to Kángra along the outskirts of Jammú tried every village bazaar, and he was successful in getting several coins amongst which was one of Mahmúd Sháh a name hitherto unknown in the annals of Kashmír, and of whom I have not as yet seen a copper coin. But more than this he obtained the *silver* coins of no less than five of the old Máhárájahs in fine condition. These are round and are similar to the copper coins only of much finer workmanship. This success led me to try for myself in Jammú and its environs.



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