

The Yaudheyas Coins

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Abstract- The Yaudheyas tribes occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian tribes. In this paper main focus is to find out the Yaudhey tribes republic coinage and their impact on ancient Indian history. This tribe issued a long series of coinage over centuries from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd -4th centuries C.E. These coins circulated in the north Indian states of Punjab , Haryana , and Western Uttar Pardesh. The research paper presentation would focus on the unique characteristics of these ancient coins.

The Yaudheyas occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian republican tribes. The earliest references to their existence occur in Panini's Asladhyayi 2 and Ganapatha. The later work mentions them as an ayudha-jivi sangha, i.e., a tribe living by the profession of arms. Cunningham identified the Sambracae of Curtius. Sabagrae of Orosius and Adraistoe of Arrian with the Yaudheyas but on the evidence of the findspots of the Yaudheya coins Jayaswal was inclined to identify with the Yaudheya republic the great republican territory beyond the river Beas described by Alexander's historians as •"exceedingly fertile" whose "inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war and living under an excellent system of internal government: for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation."? Jayaswal had rightly pointed out that this description of Arrian tallies with Kautilya's account of some ganas as 'varttasastropajvinah. & Altekar endorsed the suggestion of Jayaswal. Cunningham!° believed that the Yaudheyas were the descendants of Yaudheya, the son of Yudhishthira by his wife Devikā, daughter of Govāsana of the Saibya tribe, as mentioned in the Mahabharata-11

The Matsya Purana (ch. L, v. 56) also echoes this tradition. Some other scholars have also followed Cunningham in tracing the descent of the (audheyas from Yudhishthira. 12 The Harivamsa, 13 however, traces the descent of the Yaudheyas from Numismatic Studies Nga, the son of Usinara (the younger brother of Sibi). This tradition is also recorded in some Puranas like the Vayu (ch. 99), Brahmanda (III.74). Brahma (ch. 13), Matsya (ch. 48) etc. 14

The Mahabharata groups the Yaudheyas with the Sibis, Trigartas etc., Drona place!5 and with the Madrakas and Malavas at another. 16 in the and Karna18 Parvas, Arjuna is stated to have defeated the Yaudheyas. The Udyoga Parva (166.9) refers to a war between the Yaudheyas and Yudhishthira. Nakula also defeated them in his conquest of the Western Quarter. 19 Tato bahudhanar ramyar gavasuadhanadhyanyavat | Kartikeyasya dayitain Rohitakamupadravat | Tatra Yuddham mahadurttam Surair- Mattamayurakaih | Marubhumin sa kartsyanena tathaiva Bahudhanyakam | Sairsakam Mahettham ca vase cakre mahadyutih ! Akrosam caiva rajarsi tena yuddhamabunmahat || Tan dasaran sa jitua pratasthe Pandunandanah | In the Sabha Parva, the Yaudheyas are described as having brought presents for

Yudhisthira at the time of the Rajasuya.²⁰ In the light of all these references describing the Yaudheyas as fighting against the Pandavas and paying homage to Yudhisthira like other tribes, the theory of the Yaudheya descent from Yudhisthira should be discarded for good. Whatever may have been the reasons, Alexander did not measure swords with the Yaudheyas.²² They, however, seem to have been subjugated by the Mauryas and have not been mentioned by name in the Arthashastra. Patanjali refers to them in his Mahabhasya.²³ Even though defeated, they have been described as rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Ksatriyas' (Sarvaksatr=aviskrta-via-sabda-jat = otsek = avidheyanam Yaudheyanam) by Rudra-daman in his Jungagarh Inscription.²⁴ The Buddhist text Mahamayuri ascribable to the early centuries of the Christian era, refers to Puranjaya as the tutelary Yaksa of the Yaudheyas.²⁵ A third century inscription from Bijayagarh (near Bayana, district Bharatpur, Rajasthan) refers to a Maharaja. Mahasenapati elected by the Yaudheya tribe: Yaudheya-gana-puraskrtasya Maharaja Mahasenapati.²⁶ A Mahasenapati of Viradvara is referred to in a clay sealing from Rohtak²⁷ and another sigil from Agroha²⁸ throws much welcome light on the titles of their leader and the political organization of the tribe - Yaudheya-gana-puraskrtasya Mahara-ja-Mahaksatrapa-Mahasenapater = Indra-mitra-gritasya Maharaja-MahaksatrapaSenapater = apratihata-sasanasyadharma-mitra-Nandvarmanah || Their power and prestige, however, seems to have suffered considerably at the hands of Samudragupta who subjugated them along with many other tribes and made them tax-paying- Samatata-Davaka-Kamarupa-Nepala-Kartrprur-adi pratyanta-rpatibhi-Malav = Arjunayana-Yaudheya-Madrak = Abhia-Prarjuna-Sanakanika-Kaka-Kharparik=adibhisca saruva-kara-dan = ajña karana pranam = agamanena...²⁹ Being located in the Punjab-Haryana region, they seem to have suffered another blow at the hands of the Hunas in the fifth century A.D.

The Bratsamhita refers not only to the Yaudheyas located in the northern division at various places³⁰ but also to another people called Yaudheyaka and their king.³¹ The Markandeya Purana (LVIII.47) also refers to the Yaudheyas among the peoples of north India while the Garuda Purana (LV.II) places them in the Madhyadesa. The Suras of the Maha-bharata³² and the Bhagavata Purana³³ and the Mattamayurakas of the former³⁴ have also been identified with the Yaudheyas.³⁵ The Candra-vyakarana of Candragomin³⁶ and the Kasika³⁷ too, contain references to the Yaudheyas. The Yasastilaka Campu of Somadevasüri (tenth century A.D.³⁸) contains a vivid description of the Yaudheyas, their country and their city Rajapura. This Rajapura has been identified by Handiqui with Rajapura in district Patiala on the Ludhiana-Ambala section of the Northern Railway.³⁹ Since Rajapura is not an old town and has not yielded any old relics, not to say of Yaudheya remains, this identification cannot be upheld. Somadeva was writing in the tenth century A.D. when the Yaudheyas were politically a nonentity. His description may have been based only on hearsay and tradition and may not be very reliable. Awasthi's identification of Rajapura with modern Rajor or Rajorgarh of the Alwar district as the capital of the Yaudheyas,⁴⁰ too, cannot be supported for the same reasons. The inclusion of the names of the Yaudheyas in the eleventh century grammatical work Sarasvattkantha bharana and Vaijayanti a lexicon of the succeeding century, is also reminiscent only of their old glory and popularity. From circa fifth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D., thus, the Yaudheyas seem to have experienced vicissitudes of fortune. But for an interregnum during the first-second century A.D. of the Scythian supremacy, the Yaudheyas were probably at their height. Co the flood eng the pro extending struck their coins also.

Yaudheya Coins

Since the first discovery of the Yaudheya coins (Classes 1,2 and 3 of Allan) in 1834 by Captain Cautley from Behat near Saharanpur In U.P.⁴¹ numerous hoards and stray pieces have been reported from an area extending from Himachal Pradesh to northern Rajasthan and from western U.P. to the erstwhile Bahawalpur State, now in Pakistan (Fig. 1). Cunningham found Yaudheya coins plentifully in the country to the westward of the Jumna. ⁴² He also states to have found these coins 'all over the country as far as Delhi and Ludhiana.⁴³ In 1891, he referred to two large finds made at Sonpath, between Delhi and Karnal. ⁴⁴ Elsewhere, he states to have obtained four coins (Class 3) in the Kangra district and "The silver piece, and upwards of 300 copper pieces between the Sutlej and Jumna Rivers. "⁴⁵ Cunningham also reported the discovery of Yaudheya coins "to the west of the Sutlej, in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahrer, and Multan and to the eastward in Bhatner, Abhor, Sirsa, Hansi, Panipat and Sonpat."⁴⁶ During 1888-89, Rodgers procured specimens of Class 2 and 3 from Jagadhari⁴⁷ and Class 6 at Hansi and Kharkaudah near Sonepat. ⁴⁸ In 1936, Birbal Sahni brought to light from Khokrakot (Roh-tak) coins and coin-moulds (Class 2) of the Yaudheyas.⁴⁹ Later, he published the details of the technique of casting these coins. ⁵⁰ In 1938-39, a big hoard of coins of Class 6 was discovered in a field while digging a canal close to the village of Jaijaivanti, about 40 kms west of Rohtak, now in district Jind. Of the 54 coins of this hoard acquired by Uttam Singh Rao, 29 pieces bore the word dui and 4 tri at the end of the legend. ⁵¹ In 1940, Prayag Deyal brought to light a hoard of 164 copper coins (Class 3) discovered in 1936 from the village Panjya, Khat Bana, in Jaunsar Bawar, Tahsil Chakrata of district Dehra Dun, revealing a number of varieties not known earlier. ⁵² Olaf Prufer published in 1951 a round cast copper coin from Baghaura in district Gurgaon showing the Bull-Elephant devices but with the legend Yaudheyanam only.⁵³ Five years later, Kala brought to light a hoard from Lansdowne in district Garhwal (U.P.) of which he could recover only 119 coins including 72 pieces of Class 3: 25 of Class 4 and 15 bearing the legend Ravanasya (Class 8 of Dasgupta).⁵⁴ Yaudheya coins (Class 2) are said to have been found from excavations at Hastinapura⁵⁵ and Purana Gila, New Delhi.⁵⁶ A hoard of one maund and thirty-seven seers (nearly 6000) coins of Class 6 was obtained from Malhana near Sonepat. ⁵⁷ Another big hoard of Yaudheya coins of Class 6 was discovered in July, 1961 while digging a drain in a village about four miles from Sonepat. ⁵⁸ A hoard of 170 coins (Class 6) was recovered some years back from the Central State Farm, Hisar⁵⁹ and another one of 43 pieces at Bishan in district Rohtak ⁶⁰ 23 coins of the same Class were obtained from Khokrakot in the premises of the Mechanical Sub-Division of P. W.D. (B & R). Jind Road. Rohtak of which three coins are with Dr. Manmohan Kumar (M.D.U., Rohtak).⁶¹ Three coins (Class 6) were obtained from Jasat in district Gurgaon along with Kusana and Kota coins by Mr. Mohinder Singh of the Kurukshetra University. One of these is die-struck while the other two are cast. ⁶²

Professor Bajpai reports that Class 2 coins have been found in eastern Haryana and also in DehraDun, Saharanpur and Meerut districts of Uttar Pradesh. ⁶³ Six to seven hundred coins of Class 2 are preserved in the Jhajjar and Narela Gurukulas under Swami Omanand Sarasvati who has also recovered nearly 8500 coin-moulds of Class 2 from Naurangabad. about 35 km from Rohtak on road to Bhiwani. ⁶⁴ Earlier, nearly 1.000 coin-moulds of the same Class were reported by Birbal Sahni from Khokrakot-Rohtak. ⁶⁵ Swami Ji has not mentioned the exact find spot/s of these coins. Some of his coins presumably come from Rohtak and Naurangabad. He. however, mentions that most of his coins of this type come from Meerut district in U.P. ⁶⁶ Bajpai refers to the discovery of about two dozen coins of this class from Muradnagar (district Meerut) along with light by Bajpai is that "About 10 of the two dozen coins were found silver-plated. "⁶⁷ Swami Ji also observes that copper and bronze coins (Class 2) were cast at Naurangabad and that specimens of the

bronze coins show traces of the wash of a silver alloy on them. 68 Coins of Class 3 have in the recent years been recovered from Tehri-Garhwal, 69 Mandi region (Chakkar hoard).70 etc.71

Coins of Class 4 seem to have been confined to the Garhwal region. As noted above. Lansdowne has yielded 25 coins of this Class bearing the legend Bhanuva (one specimen showing the legend as rajño Bhanuva and another as Bhanuvasya) and 15 coins bearing the legend Ravanasya (Class 8 of Dasgupta). 72 K.K. Maheshwari has also published two copper coins bearing the legend rajño Bhanu(gha), i.e., coins of Bhänughosa which he thought was a Yaudheya chief like Bhanuvasa. 73 Coins of Bhänughosa have been found in the Chakkar hoard also brought to light by P.L. Gupta. 4

Besides a square copper coin of Class 5 published by Allan, one round cast pieces has been obtained from Baghaura in district Gurgaon. 75Swami Ji also refers to the discovery of Yaudheya coins of this Class bearing the legend Yaudheyanam only. 75

Stray finds of Yaudheya coins, mostly of Class 6, have been made from a number of sites: Sunet near Ludhiana in Punjab; Naurangabad-Bamla.Hisar. Bhiwani, Dadri, Sagwan. Sidipur Lova. Asan, Atayal Anwali, Meham. Mohanbari, Karauntha,77 Agroha, Baghaura, Bhalaut, Asandh, 78 Rewari, Sanghel etc., in Haryana; Meerut, Bijnor, Muradnagar, Hapur etc., in U.P.79 and Sambhar, Rangmahal, Pallu,80 Pandusar, Dhanasria81 etc., in Rajasthan, Some interesting Yaudheya coins exist in private collection also. More than 30.000 coin-moulds of Class 6 have been recovered from Sunet since 1884 when they were first published by Hoernle.

82

We thus see that coins of Class 1 are known from Behat only: Class 2 from Rohtak, Naurangabad, Jagadhari, Behat. Meerut. etc.: Class 3 from Jagadhari, Behat, DehraDun, Tehri-Garhwal, Chakkar, etc.; Class 4 from Garhwal: Class 5 from southern Haryana and Class 6 from a very extensive area including the present day Punjab (generally south of the Sutlej). Haryana, northern Rajasthan and southeastern Pakistan. The coins of Class 6 are the most extensive.

The distribution pattern of the various types (Classes) of Yaudheya coins, thus, makes it clear that they had been occupying different regions at different periods. 83 With various discoveries, referred to above, it has become essential to take stock of the information available now and revise some of our views held earlier.

Allan had classified Yaudheya coins into six classes. 84 K.K. Dasgupta grouped them in eight classes. 85 Allan's classification, however, has been more popular and has therelore been adopted by us also while referring to the discovery of the various coln-types as mentioned above. He assigns the following dates for these different classes-Classes 1,2 and 5:second-first century B.C. Classes 3 and 4 :second century A.D. Class 6third-fourth century A.D.

According to Allan, "Class 1, of the coins of the Yaudheyas consists of a series of small coins of potin without the name of the tribe. The slightly scyphate fabric, metal, and provenance connect them with coins of Class 2 bearing the name of the tribe."86 Coins of this Class, showing five different varieties (a-e) are all round and bear a stamp from a round die much smaller than the fan of the coin. But for var. e which shows the Brahmi legend Maharajasa, all other varieties are uninscribed and have plain reverses. Since these coins of Class 1 were found at Behat with coins bearing the name of the Yaudheyas, 87 they have been attributed to the Yaudheyas. Mere association, however, cannot be regarded as a firm basis of attribution. Kuninda coins were also found from Behat. Then why can't these coins be regarded as Kuninda?

Allan refers to metal and scyphate fabric also, besides the common provenance, for their association with the Yaudheya coins. The scyphate fabric is the result of the die-striking technique which was commonly used at that period. And so perhaps the metal also in that particular area. The symbology of these coins of Class 1 is quite different from that of the definitely known Yaudheya coins. The Vijayini symbol, the Indradhvaja, the sun or star, the double and the inverted trident found on these coins are not to be seen on any definite Yaudheya coin. Even the tree-in-railing is of a different variety. The title Maharaja is also not met with on Yaudheya coins. Yaudheya coins have been found from various places besides Behat but such coins have never been found associated with them. Nor have similar coins been found from any site other than Behat. There is thus no plausible ground to attribute these small coins to the Yaudheyas. Bajpai has rightly rejected their attribution to the Yaudheyas. 88 Smith had not included them in his catalogue as the Yaudheya coins. They are probably local coins of Behat. 89

Coins of Class 2 of Allan (Varieties a-d) show bull before a railed Yupa with the Brahmi legend Yaudheyanam Bahudhanake on the obverse and elephant® with some subsidiary symbol/s on the reverse. These coins were restricted to the Bahudhanya region. Initially these coins were die-struck®1 but later they seem to have been prepared with the help of clay-moulds found in larger numbers from Khokrakot (Rohtak) and Naurangabad. Way back in 1936, Allan, on the basis of an analytical study of the available specimens, had distinguished two fabrics in these coins: a larger size with square characters in the inscription and a smaller neater size with the inscription in rather cursive Brahmi characters, and had rightly visualized these coins to have been issued from atleast two mints.92 An interesting clay seal from Naurangabad bearing the legend Rohita-Yodheya-janapada-praka Nakanagar(i indicates that Nakana-garai) i.e., Naurangabad was made the new capital by the Yaudheyas of Rohtak probably because Khokrakot (Rohtak) had earlier been sacked by the Indo-Greeks who also held sway over the region for some time during the second-first century B.C.93 The Yaudheyas seem to have set up their mint at Naurangabad as is evident from by about 8500 coin-moulds found from the place. Coins issued from Rohtak and Naurangabad, though of the same type, may have differed in minute details to which Allan had pointed out much before the discovery of Naurangabad and its relics. We hope that a micro-study of the coin-moulds from Rohtak and Naurangabad would enable us to distinguish the coins of these two mints.

Allan and Dasgupta have distinguished three varieties (a-c) in this Class but the positions of the bull and the elephant on the obverse and the reverse and the mode of putting the legend indicate that the varieties must have been more than those recognised by the numismatists till now.

Coins of Class 3 are later in date (later second century A.D.) and are closely connected in style and type with the coinage of the Kunindas. 94 The class is represented by one silver coin and a large number of copper coins divisible in various varieties (a-i of Allan and a-j of Dasgupta). The silver coin shows on its obverse six-headed Kartikeya, standing, facing, holding spear in right hand and resting the left on hip, with Brähmi legend which has been read by Allan as Bhagavata-svamino Brahmanya Yaud-heya or Yaudheya-bhagavata suamino Brahmanya (sa or sya),95 and the reverse representing six-headed goddess standing facing on lotus called Laksmi by Allan with six-arched caitya surmounted by chatra and nan-dipada on left. an elaborate tree on right and a wavy line below.96

Copper coins of this series are quite numerous. They show very rough workmanship and have very fragmentary legends always without the name of the Yaudheyas. The legend is Bhagavata-Suamino Brahmanya-devasya to which sometimes Kumarasya is also added. Typologically, these copper coins are

similar to that of the silver. Commenting on the different varieties, Allan remarks that "Var. a is the same as the silver; var. b differs only in that the symbols on each side of the goddess exchange places. On var. c Laksmi and Kartikeya exchange position. On vars. d-h the goddess on the reverse is replaced by the deer with whom she appears on the obverse of the coins of the Kunindas, and the deer is accompanied by certain small symbols... which we have already met on the coins of the Kunindas. The differences in these varieties are slight. On var. h the word darma appears above the deer, presumably for dharma, and the tree in railing is replaced by a temple. On var. 1 Kartikeya is replaced by Siva holding his trident.. As pointed out above, quite a good number and varieties of these coins have come to light recently, mostly from the Garhwal region of U.P. and the Sivalik hills of H.P. Very recently, P.L. Gupta has doubted the reading of the legend on the silver coin and its attribution to the Yaudheyas.⁹⁸ He observes that "A big portion of the coin, towards the edge, containing the legend is broken and missing. This is quite clear in the illustration, given in the Catalogue. From XII to VI o'clock, the edge portion is all gone; nothing of the legend is available on that side except the trace of a letter at about V o'clock. Then from VI to XI o'clock only a faint trace of the legend is available; it is difficult to make out anything of these traces. It is only between 9 and 12 o'clock that a few truncated letters may be seen; and of them only Brahma uses fairly clear; the preceding letters may be presumed to be suamina. On the basis of these few letters, it may only be surmised that the legend on the coin might be Bhagavato Suamino Brahmanya and that it ended with any word like Yaudheya is simply a conjecture. ~99

The said coin has been mentioned, described, discussed and illustrated by a large number of scholars¹⁰⁰ since Cunningham published it first in his report of his survey during 1978-79.¹⁰¹ Though his reading of the legend has been modified and improved upon by others, no scholar has doubted the existence of the name of the tribe on this coin nor its attribution to the Yaudheyas. The illustrations in Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. VI.9 and Mitchiner's Types 598 and 940 are so clear that they do not leave even an iota of doubt regarding the existence of the name of the tribe on the said coin between III o'clock and VI o'clock.¹⁰²

Copper coins of this class do not contain the name of the tribe and show the legend Bhagavata Suanino Brahmanya devas(y)a Kumaras-(y)a.¹⁰³ Finding the word 'Yaudheya' of the silver coin substituted by

'Kumara. Nisar Ahmad attributed these coins to a forgotten ancient (1c1-4a) Indian tribe Kumāra. He argued that "the identical legend pattern adopted on the Yaudheya silver coin and these copper coins is indicative of the fact that both these words were used on the same line. Further, it seems somewhat strange that on one place Kartikeya is called by the name Brahmanya and on the other, by two names Brahmanya and Kumāra and that, too, the second at the cost of the tribal name Yaudheya. Therefore the word Kumara which occurred on the copper coins may be taken as the tribal name like Yaudheya used on the silver coin.*¹⁰⁴

This attribution has been rejected by Ajay Mitra Shastri on grammatical ground as the name of the tribe in the legend occurs with the genitive singular suffix sa (Kumarasa).¹⁰⁵ P.L. Gupta, who had observed in 1978 that Nisar Ahmad's arguments have some weight but it needs further probe before it is accepted*¹⁰⁶ has treated Shastri's criticism as grammatical jugglery and has not only tried vehemently to uphold Nisar Ahmad's attribution¹⁰⁷ but passed it on as his own attribution recent-ly.¹⁰⁸ A critical study of all the references to the word Kumara shows that they were a people of Dakṣināpatha and not of the eastern Haryana-Dehra Dun-Garhwal region which is the provenance of these coins. And no text associates them

with Brahmanyadeva or describes them as his worshippers as provided by the internal evidence of the coins themselves. On the contrary, there is copious literary evidence regarding the association of the Yaudheyas with Karttikeya depicted on these coins. 109

There are some coins of Class 3 (Class 4 of Dasgupta) which show the Kartikeya and Deer devices on the obverse and reverse and carry the legend Bhagavato-Suamino Brahmanyadevasya Darma-traya (or Darmattaya as read by P.L. Gupta. In his obsession to prove that the word Kumara in the coin legends as discussed above stands for the name of a tribe (as it substitutes the word Yaudheya of the silver coin), P.L. Gupta has gone to the extent of offering a very ridiculous suggestion that the word Darmattaya also stands for an unknown tribe. 110 Darmattaya does not occur anywhere in literature or epigraphs as the name of a tribe but darma-traya makes some sense. Future discoveries will prove as to which reading is correct. Whatsoever, however, may have been the actual form of this word, it does not seem to denote the name of a tribe. Allan had described only one coin of Class 4 bearing the legend Bhanuva which was found with more than 300 coins of Class 3. 111 Subsequent discoveries 12 have yielded coins of Ravana. Bhanughosa and Jaya-varmā which too may perhaps be put along with the coin of Bhanu-varma. Before the publication of the Chakkar hoard which has added the names of Bhanughosa and Jayavarmā to the list, Nisar Ahmad had discussed the attribution of the coins of Bhanuvarma and Ravana and concluded that they were the local rulers of Garhwal. 113 Since the coins of all the four rulers mentioned above have nothing common with the Yaudheya coins besides the common provenances, there are no valid reasons to attribute them to the Yaudheyas. P.L. Gupta has attributed these coins to the family of Varsa-gana one of whose scion Silavarman is known to have performed four asuamedha sacrifices as evidenced from the brick inscriptions discovered at Jagatram near Kalsi on the bank of the Yamuna in Dehradun district. 114 In regard to Class 5, we have already seen above that Allan published a square die-struck coin (0.5", 9.5 grs) but Olaf Prufer brought to light a round cast piece (0.6", 12.5 grs) from Baghaura in district Gurgaon. Swami Omanand Sarasvati also mentions the discovery of similar round pieces but does not give any details. 115 These coins show a great similarity with coins of Class 2 and also belong to the same date, second-first century B.C. 116 It is also notable that the coins of both Class 2 and 5 are die-struck as well as cast. 117 Bajpai considers Class 5 as only a variety of Class 2. 118 A fragmentary coin-mould from Naurangabad corroborates it and reveals that the coins of both Class 2 and 5 were cast together at Naurangabad. 119

Yaudheya coins of Class 6 had the widest circulation and have often been found in large hoards as noted above. The void created by the exit of the Kusanas seems to have been filled up largely by the Yaudheyas. Not unoften, the hoards contain both, the Kusana and the Yaudheya coins of Class 6. The Yaudheyas may have re-used and restruck some Kusana coins also. 20

The discovery of more than thirty thousand coin-moulds of Class 6 from excavations and surface collection from Sunet, as noted above, reveals that the place was the Yaudheya mint-site. Seals and sealings with the legend Yaudheyanam Jaya-mantra-dharanam 21 further indicate that Sunet was probably the Yaudheya capital also in the third-fourth century A. D. Coins of Class 6 are based on Kusana module and show on the obverse Kartikeya standing holding a lance with the Brāhmi legend Yaudheya ganasya jaya around. On the reverse is a female deity generally identified as Kartikeya's spouse. Coins containing the words dui and tri after the legend on the obverse and accompanied by specific subsidiary symbols on the reverse constitute second and third varieties. The significance of dui and tri is a matter of debate amongst the numismatists but the discovery of the coin-moulds from Sunet has shown that all the three varieties were cast at Sunet

and simultaneously, setting at rest the theories that dui and tri stand for second and third victories, mints, republics, members of the confederation etc.

The Yaudheyas were subjugated by Samudragupta who, after subjecting them to pay a tax and appear in obeisance (Karadananakarana pranamagamanena) left them autonomous. The tax was perhaps a bit too heavy which seems to have been telling on their economy as they stopped minting fresh coins after fourth century A.D. Their political power, how-ever, seems to have suffered a fatal blow at the hands of the 'barbarian' Hunas in the fifth century A.D. whereafter we find their reminiscences only in literature.

Notes and References

1. B.C. Law, Tribes In Ancient India, Poona, 1943, 77-78; A.B.L. Awasthi, Yaudheyam ka Itihasa, Lucknow, 1961.
2. V. 3,117.
3. IV. 1. 178 and V.3, 117.
4. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report (CASR), vol. XIV, 142.
5. K.P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Part 1, third ed, Bangalore City, 1955, 67. The identification of the Yaudheyas with the Abstanai, Sambastae, Sabarcae, etc., of the classical accounts is generally not accepted now. See H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, fifth ed., Calcutta, 1950, 255-56; K.K. Dasgupta, THAI 198-99: Allan, BMCAI, clii.
6. According to Smith (JRAS, 1897, 889), Beas was "The boundary between the Yaudheyas east of that river and the Madrakas to the west." The distribution of the coins of the Yaudheyas (See map, Fig. 1) however, does not indicate that the Yaudheyas occupied the territory beyond the Beas at the time of Alexander's invasion.
7. Arrian V. 25.
8. Jayaswal, op. cit., 57-58.
9. JNSI, XI, 50.
10. CASR, XIV, 140.
11. Mahabharata (Gita Press edition). Adi Parva, ch. 95, v. 76. Visnu Purana (Gita Press ed. IV. 20-44), however, refers to Yudhishthira's marriage with the princess Yaudhey in a suayamuara who later gave birth to a son named Devaka - Yaudhey Yudhishthirad = Devakam putram = avapa.
12. A.S. Altekar, JUPIIS, vol. XVI, Part 1, 56; D.C. Sircar The Age of the Imperial Unity, 161: H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 544; M.K. Sharan, Tribal Coins — A Study, Delhi, 1972, 64ff.

13. Harivamsa (Gita Press edition), 31, 24-27.
14. THAI, 196.
15. Mbh. (Critical ed.) II. 48, 13.
16. Ibid., Drona Parva, 132.25; 136.5.
17. Ibid., Drona Parva, 18.16.
18. Ibid., Karna Parva, 4.46.
19. Ibid., Sabha Parva, 29, 4-7. Sce also JNSI, XLVI (1984), 75-77.
20. Ibid., Sabha Parva, 48, 14-15.
21. Cf. Jagannath Agrawal, "An Ancient Republic of the Punjab: The Yaudheya-gana, * M.S. Randhawa Felicitation Volume, Chandigarh, 1970, 49-55. Their connection with the Central Astan Yautiyas as suggested by Buddha Prakash (Political and Social Movements In Ancient Panjab, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1964, 105) has also been generally rejected by scholars (THAI, 228, [n. 103]).
22. One of the reasons may have been that the Macedonian soldiers were afraid of the Yaudheya warriors. See J.W. Mc Crindle, Invasion of India by Alexander The Great, Westminster, 1986, second ed., 226.
23. IV. 1, 117.
24. Epigraphia Indica, VII, 42f.
25. Journal Asiatique, 1915, 45 and 96-97.
26. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III, 251-52.
27. Swami Omanand Sarasvati, Ancient Seals of Haryana, Jhajjar, V.S. 2031.
28. JNSI, XXXII, 157-60.
29. CI, III, 8.
30. IV. 25; V. 40, 67, 75; XIV.28, XVI.22; XVII. 19 etc.
31. IX. 11 and XI.59.
32. Mbh. (Cr. ed.). Sabha Parva, 29.4-5.
33. XII. 1.36.
34. Supra 32.
35. Jayaswal, op. cit., 149: JNSI, XLVI, 55ff.

36. IV.3, 93.

37. V.3, 117.

38. Yasastilaka of Somadeva, Nirnaya Sāgara Press ed., Book 1: K.K. Handiqui, Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, Sholapur, 1949, 395.

39. Ibid.

40. Awasthi, op. cit.

41. JASB, III, Pl. XVIII: IV, Pl. XXXIV: Priscp, Essays, I, 84-85, Pls. IV, 11-12, VII.3; XIX. 22; XXI. 16 & 17.

42. CASR, II, 14.

43. CASR, XIV, 140.

44. Alexander Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India (CA), reprint., Varanast, 1963, 76.

45. Ibid., 79. Cunningham's statement regarding the discovery of four pieces from Kangra district is very doubtful as during the last one complete century of numismatic discoveries, not even a single Yaudheya coin has been found from that area.

46. Alexander Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, reprint, Varanasi, 1963, 245.

47. C.J. Rodgers, Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1988-89, List of Coins, 4.

48. BMCAI, cli.

49. Current Scle, vol. IV, No. 11, 796-801.

50. Birbal Sahni, Technique of Casting Coins in Anclent India, Bombay, 1945, 4fr.

51. Ibid., XXIV, 138.

52. JNSI, III, 109-12.

53. Ibid., XIII, 101-02.

54. Ibid., XVIII, 46ff.

55. Ancient India, Nos. 10-11, 22, 101 ff.

56. Indian Archaeology 1970-71 A Review, 10.

57. Sudharaka (Jhajjar), vol. XII, No. 11, (July, 1965), 9.

58. JNSI, XXIV, 138.

59. It is now preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chan-digarh.

60. See the subsequent article in this volume for details.

61. Information from Dr. Manmohan Sharma.

62. These coins were examined by us sometime back through the courtesy of Sh. Mohinder Singh.

63. K.D. Bajpai, Indian Numismatic Studies, New Delhi, 1976, 27.

64. Swami Omanand Sarasvati, Ancient Mints of Haryana, (AMH) Jhajjar, V.S. 2036, 37 and 109. Swamiji has referred to three fragmentary coin-moulds discovered from Kausambr (*Ibid.*, 54, Nos. 140-41). Since he purchased these coins-moulds from a dealer at Allahabad, the latter seems to have misinformed Swamiji about the true provenance.

65. Sahni, loc. cit.

66. Sarasvati, AMII, 46.

67. Bajpai, loc. cit.

68. Sarasvati, op. cit., 37. See also Sahni, op. cit., 11.

69. ND, 11, 21f.; JNSI, XLVII (1985), 106-122.

70. ND. II, 21f.: XI, 28Π.

71. ND. VIII, 24-36; XI, 28Μ.

72. JNSI, XVIII, 46ff.

73. ND, II, 21fΓ.

74. *Ibid.*, XI, 28Μ.; NIIII, 29-30.

75. JNSI, XIII, 101-102.

76. Sarasvati, AMII. 40.

77. Bhagwan Deva Acharya, Vṛa-bhumi Haryana, Jhajjar, 1965, 131M.

78. JNSI, XL, 94-95.

79. Acharya, loc. cit.

80. ТИЛ, 196.

81. Devendra Handa, "Coins from Nohar Area", Auagahana, Sardarshahar (Rajasthan), vol.

I, No. 1, 86.

82. PASB, LIII (1884). 138-39

83. P. L. Gupta, JUPIIS, XXIII (1950), 169f. and Geographical Distribution Of The Tribal Coins In Seminar Papers On The Tribal Coins of Ancient India, edited by J.P. Singh and Nisar Ahmad, Varanasi, 1977 (SP). 49-69.

84. Allan, BMCAI, cxl, VII-cliif and 265-78.

85. THAI, 201-11.

86. Allan, BMCAI, exl vil.

87. Ibid.

88. Bajpai, op. cit., 26f.

89. SP. 44-45, fn. 65.

90. Bhramar Ghosh (Indian Culture III, 763), Smith (IMC, 180. Pl. XXI, 13) and Dasgupta (THAI, 202, coin 111) see horse on one variety.

91. A.N. Lahiri in SP, 79-80.

92. Allan, BMCAI, cxlix. Allan found on var. d the legend in two distinct words and in cursive characters only. He dated these coins to the late second-first century B.C.

93. Devendra Handa, "An Interesting Yaudheya Seal from Naurangabad", JESI, XV, 81-85.

94. Allan, BMCAI, xl ix-cli.

95. Ibid: D.C. Sircar (Studies in Indian Coins, Delhi-Varanast-Patna, 1968, 357) reads the legend as Bhagavato Suamino Brahmanyasya, Yaudheyanam

96. Allan, BMCAI, PL. XXXIX.21: THAI, Coin No. 112; Sircar, op. cit., Pl. VI.2. See also CAI,

78, PL. VI.9; CASR, XIV, 143, Pl. XXXI. 12.

97. Allan, BMCAI, cl.

98. ND, XI 28M.

99. Ibid.

100. Rapson, IC, 14-15, Pl. III. 15: JRAS (1903), 291: IMC, 165; BMCAI, cxlvx and 270, Pl. xXXIX.21: JRASB (Letters), vol. II, No. 3, 91: JNSI, XIII, 160-63; D.C. Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, Delhi, 1968, 357: M.K. Sharan, Tribal Coins - A Study, New Delhi, 1972, 110; Bela Lahiri, Indigenous States of Northern India, Calcutta, 1974, 204; THAI, 203 and 216; Mitchiner, op. cit., vol. 4, 331, Type 598 and vol. 7. 637, Type 940; SP.

Various Papers: JNSI, XXXVIII, 113-14, etc.

101. CASR, XIV, 193, Pl. XXXI. 12.

102. Our detailed paper on the attribution of this coin is being published elsewhere.

103. BMCAI, cl and 270-75

104. SP, 185-86.

105. ND. VIII, 35-36.

106. Ibid., II, 23.

107. Ibid., XI, 130f.

108. NHHP, 27-29.

109. The problem of The Attribution of Brahmanya-deva Type Coins has been discussed by us in details in a paper which will be published elsewhere.

110. ND, XI, 38.

111. BMCAI, cl and 275. Also see CASR, XIV, 145.

112. JNSI, XVIII, 46-48; ND, II, li 18f; NHHP, 29-30.

113. JNSI, XLVII, 106-112.

114. NHHP, 30.

115. AMH, 40.

116. BMCAI, xlix; JNSI, XIII, 101-102, Pl. III.41.

117. SP, 80.

118. INS, 28.

119. See for details our paper "Yaudheya Coins of Class 5" to be published in Prof. Lallanji Gopal Felicitation Volume.

120. JNSI, XL, 92-93 and 94-95, Pl. I. 1-4.

121. PASB, LIII (1884), 137ff; ASH, 155, Pl. V.2.

122. Handa (1985), op. cit., 87-92.