

Tribal Coins And The Mahābhārata : Study in Correspondence.

Prof. Devendra Handa*

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh) may be regarded as the foundation supporting the edifice of Indian culture. To call them as mere epics or to compare them with the epics of the West is not justified because of their unique influence on the life of the people of India through the ages. The Mbh dealing with the family feud resulting in the overthrow of the Kauravas by the Pāṇḍavas forms the nucleus which assumed the present form by periodical additions of different kinds making it a compendium of the fourfold aims (*puruṣārthacatuṣṭaya*) of human existence and encyclopaedic in nature

*Dharme hyarthe ca kāme ca mokṣe ca bharatarṣabha/
Yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na tat kvacit//*

A study of the Mbh is important from the point of view of history also. Since the nucleus of the family feud, with all its additions and interpolations, developed into an account of a great war in which practically all the peoples and potentates of the period took part siding either with the Kauravas or the Pāṇḍavas, we get a lot of informations regarding various *janapadas* which participated in the Mahābhārata war or have incidentally been mentioned.

1. **The Āgreyas :** The Mbh (*Vana Parva*, 254/20) mentions the Āgreyas, a republican people, who were conquered by Karna during his expedition of the western quarter.

Dr. P.L. Gupta thinks that the name 'Āgreya' is derived from 'Agra' and is corrupted into Prakrit 'Agācca' or 'Agāca'. He has unidentifed them with the people who issued square and round copper coins bearing the legends *Agodaka Agāca janapadasa and Agācamitapadabhiṣ(ṭh)ayina(h)**, found from Agroha and the surrounding region.³ M.J. Przyluski, however, equated Agrodaka with Aggalapura, town of the Punjab region, mentioned in the *Vinayapīṭaka* as lying on the great trade-route which ran from the valley of the Gaṅgā to Taxila, and very ably and correctly identified Agrodaka with modern Agroha near Hisar in 1926.⁴ L. D. Barnett⁵ identified the Aggalas with the 'Agalasseis', who, according to the Greek historian Diodorus,

* Prof. Devendra Handa, 1401, Pushpae Complex, Sector - 49-B, Chandigarh - 160047

were living in the neighbourhood of the Siboi (Śivas, Śibis) of the Jhang district (now in Pakistan), and who, according to Quintus Curtius, gave stiff resistance to Alexander. Bela Lahiri thinks, "Since Agroha (in the Hissar District) is far separated from Jhang, the identification of the 'Agalasseis' with the 'Agāchas' seems to be doubtful'.⁶ Dr. P.L. Gupta, however, thinks that the legends among the Agrawal Community of a struggle between Alexander and the Agroha people supports the identification of the 'Agalasseis' with the 'Agācas' of coins.⁷ It may be pointed out that like many other tribes who fought against Alexander (viz. The Siboi, Maloi, Oxydrakai etc) in the north-west but later shifted to Rajasthan, and Agalasseis too may have shifted from their original habitat and settled at and around Agroha later. The name 'Agalasseis as recorded by the Greek historians seems to be the exact transcription of the word 'Agrāsaḥ', an optional nominative plural form of Agra according to a grammatical rule of *Vedic* Sanskrit. The word Agāca, however, may better be derived from Agra-tya or its derivative from Āgreya. (Cf. *Pāścātya*, *Dākṣiṇātya*, etc) rather than Āgreya. Dasgupta derives Agāca from Agratya thus : Agāca < Aggaca < Aggacca < Agratya.⁸

The passage of the *Mbh* gives us some idea of the location of the tribe also as it mentions the Āgreyas alongwith the Bhadras, Rohitakas and Mālavas. The Bhadras seem to have been the people residing around the modern town of Bhadra (Bhādarā), located at a distance of about 65 km west of Hissar on the old bed of the *Vedic* river Dṛṣadvatī, identified with modern Chitang or Chautang.⁹ A part of the town is located on a huge ancient mound which yields, amongst others, early historic remains also. The Rohitakas may be well imagined to have been the people of the modern town of Rohtak which is referred to at another place also in the *Mbh* in the context of the Yaudheyas. The Mālavas were located around Nagari near Chittorgarh in Rajasthan. The reference to the Āgreyas in the *Mbh* thus seems to indicate the period when they were located at and around Agroha and not in north-west Punjab of Pakistan. The relevant text of the *Mbh* may not, therefore, have been finalized before the second-first century BCE, which approximately is the date of their coins, found from Agroha and elsewhere.

2. **The Ārjunāyanas :** The Ārjunāyanas have been mentioned in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha* and then in Samudragupta's *Prayāga Prasasti* alongwith the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Prārjunas etc.¹⁰ J. F. Fleet held that the Ārjunāyanas may have been connected with the Pandoouoī or Pāṇḍava tribe of Punjab mentioned by Ptolemy.¹¹ Some other scholars also believe that, as their name indicates, they may have descended from the third

Pāṇḍava Arjuna just as Yaudheyas are believed to have descended from the eldest Pāṇḍava brother Yudhiṣṭhira.¹² The Ārjunāyanas issued some copper and base silver coins, which have come down to us.¹³ Allan¹⁴ placed them 'within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra' and mostly scholars have accepted this view. On the basis of the actual discovery of their coins from the old mounds of Nohar and Dhanasia in tehsil Nohar of district Ganganagar in Rajasthan it may be said that they occupied the Nohar-Bhadra region of district Ganganagar.¹⁵ They were located immediately to the west of the Agras with which their coins show some similarity. Some of their coins contain legends which have been deciphered as '*Ārjunāyanānām jaya Bhadrarāmasa*'.¹⁶ We feel that the intended legend was '*Bhadrarāmasa Ārjunāyanānām jaya*' and the first word of the legend here indicates the name of the capital city of the Ārjunāyanas just as in the case of Agra and Śibi coins which contain the legends *Agodaka Agāca Janapadasa* and *Majhimikāya Śibi Janapadasa* respectively, and thus refer in their metropolises Agrodaka and Majhamikā (Modern Nagari near Chittor in Rajasthan). It is, however, strange that a tribe which finds mention in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha* and *Prayāga praśasti* and whose name seems to be connected with Arjuna has neither been mentioned in the *Mbh* nor in any of the *Purāṇas*. Is it not possible then that they were better known after their chief city and were called Bhadrās? The verse from the *Mbh* quoted above in connection with the Agras and their contemporaneity with them seems to point in the same direction.¹⁷ They are also identified with the Bhadrakāras which sometimes have also been mentioned as madrakāras, which according to Candragomin were a section of the Śālvas.¹⁸

3. **The Audumbaras :** The Audumbaras or Udumbaras are mentioned in the *Mbh* (*Sabhā Parva* 52/13) as bringing presents for Yudhiṣṭhira. They are known to us from some other literary works and a number of their copper and very few silver coins issued by their kings Śivadāsa Rudradāsa and Dharaghoṣa.¹⁹ The silver coins belong only to the last mentioned ruler. They may be described as follows :

Obverse : On left filleted trident with a kettle-drum below the prongs and battleaxe attached to the shaft further below on the right, tree in an enclosure on right, Brāhmī legend around *Mahadevasa raño Dharaghoṣasa* from IX to V o'clock and *Odu(m)-barisa* below from VIII to VI o'clock.

Reverse : Saga Viśvāmitra standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over *katyavalambita* (akimbo) left arm. Kharoṣṭhī legend in front *Viśpa/mitra*; around *Mahadevasa raño Dharaghoṣasa*, below *Odubarisa*.

The portraiture of the saga betrays Greek impact but the label inscription helps us identify the figure satisfactorily. The relationship between the Audumbaras and saga Viśvāmitra was first brought to light by K.K. Dasgupta²⁰ on the basis of the *Kālikā Purāna*, generally believed to have been written between seventh and tenth centuries CE. Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, however, traced the antiquity to a much earlier period by pointing out three different passages in the *Mbh* according to which Gāndhī's wife had to embrace the *udumbara* (fig.) tree before giving birth to Viśvāmitra. The antiquity of the myth, as pointed out by Prof. Shastri, can be taken back to a considerably earlier period, though in somewhat different forms. Viśvāmitra belonged to Kuśika *gotra* 'sept' which was also the *gotra* of the Audumbaras. This *gotra* finds mention in the *Vedic* texts.²¹ Pliny also refers to the Audumbaras as Odombeores on the mouth of the river Indus. Cunningham located them in the Kaccha region and Jayaswal identified them with the modern community of Gujarati Brahmins of Audumbara caste and regarded them to be their descendants.²² Probably like many other tribes of the north the Audumbaras, or probably one of their section, migrated to western India in ancient times.

The tree depicted on the Audumbara coins was conjecturally though correctly identified as fig tree (*ficus glomerata*) by Cunningham²³ but the story of Viśvāmitra's birth provides certainty to this identification.

The reverse of the square copper coins of the Audumbaras shows a storied temple with trident-axe on right. It was referred to as a pointed-roofed temple of two or three storeys with pillars by Cunningham.²⁴ John Allan took it to be a Buddhist structure - 'two-storeyed domed stūpa.'²⁵ K.P. Jayaswal described it as a secular structure, which represented either the mote-hall of the Audumbaras or some other public building.²⁶ It was, however, S.V. Sohoni who correctly identified it as a Śaiva temple citing the evidence of Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and pointed out that the temples of this type were still popular in the Kulu and Beas valleys.²⁷ A complete absence of such structural temple, belonging to the early historic period, however, indicates that these temples must have been of perishable materials like wood. Since the sacred, thorny, fruit-giving, milky and fragrant trees were not recommended to be used for construction in ancient times, fig wood may not have been used in such temples. It is quite likely that the Audumbaras introduced the word *udumbara*, which later became conventional for the doorsill in the construction of temples.

In a *Vṛtti* 'gloss' on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Candragomin gives an important piece of information in a verse in his *Vyākaraṇa* (II.4, 103) which says :

*Udumbarās-tilakhalā-madrakārā yugandharāḥ/
Bhuliṅgāḥ Śaradaṇḍāśca Śālvāvayava-sañjñitah//*

i.e.the Udumbara, Tilākhalā, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍa are the sections of the Śālvās. A passage of the *Mbh* (II, 48/12) refers to the Audumbaras as *durvibhāgāḥ* :

*Kāyavyā Daradā Dārvāḥ Śūrā Vaiyāmakāstathā/
Audumbarā durvibhāgāḥ Pāradā Bāhlikaiḥ saha//*

Dr. Moti Chandra took the word *durvibhāga* in the sense of 'disunited' and as qualifying the preceding word *Audumbarāḥ*. He thus held that the epic passage "may point to the Audumbara connections with the Śālva federation of which the Udumbaras with the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhuliṅgas and Śaradaṇḍas were a member".²⁸ Dasgupta, however, takes the word *durvibhāga* in the sense of 'difficult to be disunited', i.e. strong.²⁹ The distribution of the Audumbara coins which have all been found from Pathankot, Kangra, Jwalamukhi and Irripal in the present Hamirpur (old Kangra) district indicate that they were a well-knit people living in the neighborhood of the Vaiyāmakas (Vemakas) whose coins too have sometimes been found from the region.

4. **The Kulūtas :** The *Mbh*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas* mention the Kulūtas under various phonetically similar names likes the Ulūtas, Ulūkas, Kolūkas, Kaulūtas, Kulatthas etc. in the *Bhīṣma Parva* (8/58) they are mentioned as Ulūta and associated with Kashmir, Gandhāra, Abhisāra etc. whereas at another place in the same *Parva* (8/64) they are referred to as Kulattha and classed with the Yavanas, Cīnas, Kāmbojas, Hūṇas and Pārasīkas. Their country has been mentioned in the *Karṇa Parva* (12/475 & 485). *Sabhā Parva* (27/5 & 11) refers to the Kulūtas and their king Brhanta who was vanquished by Arjuna during his conquest of the quarter :

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*³⁰, Bharata is said to have met *Kulūtdhipati* Jaya between the Vipāś and the Irāvātī while going to Kekaya from Ayodhyā. The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the Kaulāta or Kaulūtaka amongst the western tribes, but the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* places them in the north-eastern division at one place (14/29-30) and in the northwest division at another (24/22). They are mentioned alongwith the Trigarttas and Cīnas in one place (10/11) and with the Madras in two places (4/22 & 17/18). Dr. P. L. Gupta concludes on the basis of these references that "the people called Kulūta were

divided into two distinct groups : one existed in the Himalayan region close to Trigarta and the other in the Punjab in the neighborhood of Madra."³¹ It may be pointed out that the Trigarttas and the Madras were probably neighbors in ancient times and the references to the Kulūtas living in the neighborhood of Trigarttas and the Madras should not be interpreted in terms of two different people bearing the same name.

Coins and literary works like the *Brhat-Saṃhītā*, *Kādambarī*, *Bālabhāra*, etc. leave little doubt to their exact name having been Kulūta. About a dozen copper coins of the Kulūtas are known to us. The first one, a round copper coin of Vīrayaśas (now in the British Museum, London), was published by Cunningham but unfortunately he did not record the provenance of his coin.³² Later, eleven square copper coins were obtained by Marshall³³ in the excavations at Sirkap (Taxila). They belong to Vīrayaśa, Vijayamitra, Satamitra and Āryamitra. It was, however, Bergny who read the name of the tribe as Kulūta correctly on these coins.³⁴ P. L. Gupta thinks that "Since these coins were found in archaeological excavations and their provenance is beyond doubt Taxila, it can be said that these Kulūta rulers existed in the Gandhāra region. They were, most likely, the ones who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. They has perhaps little to do with the Himalayan region".³⁵ But since the name of Vīrayaśa is found on the British Museum as well as the Taxila coins, P.L. Gupta states further that "we are inclined to surmise that the Kulūtas originally inhabited the Gandhāra region, probably not far from Madra. Later when the local tribes of the Punjab were hard pressed by the foreign invaders - Indo-Greeks or Śaka-Pahlavas-the Kulūta people, in all likelihood, moved to the Himalayas and established a new kingdom in the area which is now called Kūlū (sic.). This perhaps took place in the time of Vīrayaśas".³⁶ If it is to be believed, we would have to establish the precedence of the coins of the Taxila type over the British Museum type. This has not been done by anyone yet. We have already seen above that the Kulūtas mentioned alongwith the Trigarttas and the Madras at two different places may have actually been the same people. The great scholar seems to have very conveniently forgotten that Taxila was a great center of art, culture, trade, education, etc. and coins from one region or place could go to such centers with traders or travelers. In literature we find enough of evidence to a place like Taxila. If the similarity of name of Kṛṣṇayaśa of the Kanhiara bishcriptual (*Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭī*) inscription,³⁷ only about 20 kilometers east of Kangra, holds any validity in this connection, it too points to the mountainous region being the original habitat of these rulers. Both, the coins and the *Mbh*, indicate the Kulūta to have been a monarchical state. Kulūta may not have been a

vary big and/or powerful state in ancient times and may have been forgotten soon. This may be the reason that when the epic and *Pauranic* accounts of their existence were added to them, not much authentic was known about them, not perhaps even about their exact name. This would indicate that the passages of the *Mbh* referring to them were interpolated much after their coin issuing stage, i.e. *circa* second century CE.

5. **The Kuṇindas :** The Kuṇindas have been mentioned in the *Mbh* at several places, sometimes under phonically variant names. At one place they are mentioned along with the Paiśācas and Barbaras, all describe as mountainous people (VII. 119, 14), while at another place (*Mbh*, II. 48, 3-4) they are referred to as cattle rearing and exacting *paipīlika* gold which they sent to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of his *rājasūya* along with other people.

Arjuna is stated to have conquered the Kuṇinda country and rendered the Kuṇindas as soldier-less (*Mbh*, II. 23, 13-14)-

Pūrvam Kuṇnda-viṣaya vaśe cakre mahī paṭi n /
Dhanañjayo mahābāhurnātīti vreṇe karmaṇā //
Ānartān-kālakūṭ āṃśca kuṇindāṃśca vijitya saḥ /
Sumṇḍalam pāpajitam kṛ tavānanusainikam //

Hundreds of their groups in the Himalayas and their king have also been mentioned in the *Mbh* (III. 141, 25-26)-

Kirāta-taṅgaṇākī rṇam kuṇinda-śata-saṅkulam /
Himavatymarairjuṣṭ am bahvāścarya-samākulam //
Subāhuś cāpi tān dṛ ṣṭ vā pūjayā pratyagr hṇata /
Viṣayānte kuṇindānāmī śvaraḥ prī ti-pūrvakam//

Other literary works attest to their mountainous habitat and their riches also. The distribution of their coins from Kaṅgra in Himachal Pradesh to Kashipur in Uttarakhand pinpoints their territory in the Shiwaliks and corroborates the evidence furnished by the *Mbh* that they were '*Parvata-vāsa-nitya*'.

We do not know whether Subāhu, the lord of the Kuṇindas mentioned in the *Mbh* (III. 141, 26), stands for his personal name or is just an adjective. We get the name of Amoghabhūti only on their coins. There has been some controversy whether Amoghabhūtisa has been used as a proper name or title meaning 'of unflinching faith'.³⁸ K. P. Jayaswal took it as an official title meaning 'of unfailing prosperity'.³⁹ Dr. P. L. Gupta holds that "The term Amoghabhūti stands for Śiva. It needs (sic.) not be said that Amogha and Bhūti, are the two names of Śiva. The Two names are put together to

highlight his two aspects. The entire legend on the coins may well be compared with the legend *Bhagavata Mahādevasa* on the Vemaki coins. The legend here conveys 'the god Śiva, the king of the Kuṇinda people'.⁴⁰ But some coins of a hoard found from village Chakkar near Mandi and published by Gupta himself bear the legend *Maha(ā)ra(ā)jasa Ama(o)ghabhu(ū)tis[y]**a leave little doubt to their having been issued by a king of the name of Amoghabhūti.⁴¹ Gupta's view that "Most likely, the Kuṇinda people lived first in the western part of Himachal Pradesh and at some time later they migrated to the east and settled in the region covered by Garhwal, Saharanpur and Ambala"⁴² is also based on a wrong assumption that only silver and neat fabric coins have been found in western Himachal Pradesh and that those found from Garhwal etc. are of coarse fabric.⁴³ I also do not subscribe to the general belief that the Citreśvara type copper coins showing unicaphalous and tricephalous Śiva which have been found only from Garhwal and are more than two centuries later than the Amoghabhūti type Kuṇinda coins belong to the Kuṇindas.⁴⁴

6. **The Kṣudrakas :** The Kṣudrakas have been mentioned in the *Mbh* at various places. In the Great War they had sided with the Kauravas (*Bhīṣma Parva* 51/16; 59/76; 87/7). Paraśurāma had annihilated the Kṣudrakas earlier (*Droṇa Parva* 70/11). Arjuna (*Karna Parva* 5/47) is also described to have killed them. Like many other tribes, they had brought presents for Yudhiṣṭira at the time of his *rājasūya* sacrifice (*Sabhā Parva* 52/15).

The Kṣudrakas find their first mention in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV. 2, 45).⁴⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar⁴⁶ identified the Kṣudrakas with the Oxydrakai of the Greek historians.⁴⁷ Magasthenes tells us that the Persians in the sixth century BCE had 'hired mercenary troops from India, namely the Hydrakes (Oxydrakai=Kṣudrakas)'.⁴⁸ This statement is repeated by Arrian also.⁴⁹ Evidently the Kṣudrakas had achieved rather international reputation as extraordinarily brave people in the sixth century BCE, so that even an alien ruler was tempted to hire them to accomplish his military designs. The *Mbh.* also depicts them as brave warriors. Even in the fourth century BCE, they were one of the most powerful republican states whom Alexander met during his retreat down the Indus. They lived to the north-east of the Mālavas, the Malloi of the Greek historians, who dwelt on the Hydaspes, i.e., on the Jhelum below its confluence with the Chenab.⁵⁰ The *Mbh.* (*Vana Parva* 52/15) also refers to them along with the Mālavas. They had formed a league with the Mālavas and gave a very stiff resistance to Alexander.⁵¹ Patañjali (I. 32; I.83; II. 412) seems to give the Indian version of their fight when he

says that they along come out victorious - *Ekākibhiḥ kṣudrakairjitam*-while the Greek historians talk of a treaty between them and Alexander. Since the Kṣudrakas are not traceable in the subsequent centuries and it was believed that they were amalgamated with the Mālavas, probably during their migration from the Punjab to eastern Rajasthan⁵² which had begun during the Indo-Greek occupation of the Punjab and probably continued down to the Scythian conquest.⁵³ The discovery of their copper coins bearing the *Brāhmī* legend '*Kṣudrakānāṃ Jaya*' from Pandusar in the Nohar tehsil of district Ganganagar in Rajasthan, however, proves beyond doubt that they had moved to that region from their original home and set up an independent republican state in northern Rajasthan during the second century BCE.⁵⁴ Their mention along with the Yaudheyas, Lalithās (Kuṇindas?) and the Uśīnaras in the *Karṇa Parva* (*Mbh* VIII. 4, 46) indicates that the relevant verse of the *Mbh* was composed before they settled in Rajasthan.

7. **The Mālavas :** The *Mbh* tells us of a hundred sons of king Aśvapati of Madra begot from his queen Mālavī as a result of the boon obtained by Sāvitrī from Yama (*Vana Parva* 297/59-60). They were all destined to rule for a very long time. The Mālavas are referred to as an important *janapada* of India (*Bhīṣma Parva* 9/60, 62). The Mālavas are said to have been vanquished by Nakula (*Sabhā Parva* 32/7), Karṇa (*Vana Parva* 254/20), Kṛṣṇa (*Droṇa Parva* 11/17), Arjuna (*Droṇa Parva* 19/16) and Yudhiṣṭhira (*Droṇa Parva* 157-28). Earlier, Paraśurāma too had annihilated these kṣatriyas (*Droṇa Parva* 70/11-13). After the Great War, the Mālvas are said to have attended the *rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira and paid him a rich tribute (*Sabhā Parva* 34/11 and 52/15). Their mention along with the Lalithas (Kuṇindas?), Trigartas etc in the *Droṇa Parva* [*Atha prahasyabī bhatsurlalithānmālavānapi/Mācelllakāmṭrigartāṃśca yaudheyāṃścārda-yac-charaiḥ*] (*Mbh*, VII. 18, 16)], with the Madrakas in the *Karṇa Parva* [*Mālavā madrakāścaiva*]. (*Mbh* VIII. 4, 46)] and with Śibis and Trigartad (II. 32, 7) indicates that these verses were composed when the Mālavas were still in the vicinity of the said tribes and had not moved to Rajasthan from where most of their coins have been obtained.

As noted above, the Mālavas had confederated with the Kṣudrakas to meet the challenge of Alexander (*Mbh* II.50, 15; V.57, 18; VI. 59, 13 etc). During their movement from north-west Punjab of Rajasthan, they seem to have settled in the present day Indian Punjab - in the Ferozepur, Bathinda, Sangrur, Ludhiana region to be more precise- to which they gave their name.⁵⁵ Recently, some small and light weight

square/rectangular copper coins which remind us of the Mālava coins have been found from Sunam in district Sangrur which forms part of the Malwa region of Punjab. They share the characteristic of the Mālava coins but seem to be anterior to them as is indicated by small hitherto unnoticed punch-marks. These coins may tentatively be associated with the Mālavas when they were living in the Malwa region of Punjab. The passage of their movement from Punjab to Rajasthan may be traced through the ancient site of Malab in the Faridabad district of Haryana which still bears their name and also yields early historic remains.

8. **The Pauravas :** King Pūru, the son of Yayāti from Śarmishthā, was the founder of the Paurava dynasty according to the *Mbh* (*Ādi Parva*, chapters 94 ff). His great grandfather Purūravas, is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* (VII. 103, 21-22) as the son of a ruler who migrated from Bāhli in Central Asia.⁵⁶ The *Rigveda* (*RV*) refers to the Pūrus as located somewhere near the Saravatī whose powerful ruler Sudāsa successfully fought the battle against ten kings (*Dāśarājña-yuddha*) on the banks of the Purushnī (Ravi). Kuru-śravaṇa (lit. glory of the Kurus) was the son of the famous Paurava king Trasadasyu (*RV*, IV.38, 1; VII. 19, 3). With the movement of peoples in the later *Vedic* period, some *Rigveda* tribes got amalgamated with others, some lost their identity and some new ones come into being. The great epic refers to a royal sage (*Rājarshi*) Paurava, born of a part of the demon Śarabha (*Ādi Parva*, 67.27-28). It also mentions a city protected by the Pauravas (*Puraṃ Paurava-rakshitam*), which lay not far from Kashmir. The mountainous Paurava king was defeated and killed by Arjuna (*Sabhā Parva*, 27-14-15; *Karṇa Parva*, 5.35; etc.). We know of the famous king Poros who was ruling over the territory between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) rivers and fought against Alexander. Poros probably represents the Sanskrit Pūru or Paurava⁵⁷. The *Bṛhatasmitā* (XIV.27), too, associates the Pauravas with northern tribes like the Madrakas and Mālavas-

***Ambara-Madraka-Mālava-Paurava-Kacchāra-Daṇḍapiṅgalakāḥ /
Māṇahala-Hūṇa-Kohala-Śītaka-Māṇḍavya-Bhūtapurāḥ //***

Elsewhere, the same text associates them with some mountainous tribes (*Paurava-Cīranivāsi-Trinetra-Muñjādri-Gandharvāḥ*), the Trigartas, etc.

It was probably on the basis of later literary reference and Greek historians' reference to Poros that the authors of the *Vedic Index* postulated that either the Hydaspes was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others moved eastwards, or the later Pūrus represent a successful onslaught upon the

west from the east.⁵⁸ We know that Poros continued to rule over a large area after the exit and death of Alexander. The Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākshasa* of Viśākhadatta also refers to him as Parvataka (mountainous king) and gives details of his death. The Pauravas, however, may have continued to live in the region subsequently also.

Amongst seven Uncertain coins in the British Museum (Allans nos. 30-36) two names of Datamita and Vijayanayaya have been read recently but I have corrected these names as Imdrotamitra and Viajaya-yayī and also deciphered the name of Mahādeva on these coins.

9. **The Rājanyas :** The Rājanyas were mentioned by Pāṇini in his *Gaṇapāṭha* first. They have been grouped with the Śibis, Trigartas, Madras, Kekayas, Yaudheyas etc. in the *Mbh* (II. 50,14). They were put to death by Yudhiṣṭhira alongwith the Yaudheyas, Āraṭtas and Madrakas (*Mbh*. VII 132, 25)-

*Yaudheyāraṭ ṭ arājanyamadrakāṇām gaṇān-yudhi /
Prāhiṇonmṛ tyulokā Śūrān bāṇair-yudhiṣṭhiraḥ //*

A similar reference occurs elsewhere also (*Mbh*, VII. 136, 5).

Rājanya copper coins bearing biscriptual legends have been found from the Manaswal plateau of district Hoshiarpur.⁵⁹ The references in the *Mbh* clearly indicate the period when they were living in the Punjab. We may mention here that an archaeological site yielding Grey Ware, early historic and medieval remains bearing the name Rājinī Devī, after the goddess whose temple exists there, may have been connected with the Rājanyas. The female deity depicted on Rājanya coins may have been this Rājinī (< Rājanyā) Devī.

10. **Sāvitrī putrās :** Pāṇini has referred to about thirty *āyudha-jīvi-saṃghas*, i.e., tribes living by the profession of arms, under the three groups of Dāmnyādi, Pārśvādi and Yaudheyādi and the Sāvitrīputrakās figure in the first group. In Sanskrit suffix *ka* is added to a word in the sense of 'born amongst or in the family of'. So the word Sāvitrīputrakās means 'born amongst or in the family of Sāvitrīputrās'. The Sāvitrīputrakās thus trace their origin from the hundred sons of Sāvitrī and Satyavān. The story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān is given in details in the *Mbh*. and some other texts.⁶⁰

Sāvitrīputrakās have been mentioned in the *Mbh* amongst the Kuru warriors killed by Arjuna. It is for the first time that I have identified two of their square copper coins in the British Museum, London. One of these was included by Allen in his Catalogue in 1936 but remained unidentified⁶¹ or wrongly identified⁶² all these years. The second coin was a later acquisition and remained undeciphered and unidentified. I

visited the British Museum and saw these coins and later acquired their photographs and published them.⁶³ These coins show a stylized tree (?) and the *Kharoṣṭī* legend 'Sāvitrīputra janapadasa' on the obverse and a horse on the reverse. The use of *Kharoṣṭī* indicates that they coins were in use somewhere to the north of the river Sarasvatī as we have no coins from the south of this river with *Kharoṣṭī* legends. The Sāvitrīputra were closely associated with the Madras and the Śālvas and may have thus been ruling somewhere in their vicinity, probably between the Satluj and Rāvī but only future discoveries will enable us to pinpoint their territory. The coins belong to the later part of the second century BCE. The scarcity of these coins indicates that the Sāvitrīputras did not rule for a long period. The relevant portion of the *Mbh* may not have therefore been written long after the second century BCE.

11. **The Śibis :** Like most other tribes, the Śibis too were located in the Punjab in district Jhang (now in Pakistan). They are a people of great antiquity as this name occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and a *Ṛgvedic* hymn (X. 179) is ascribed to Śibi Auśīnara in the *Anukarmaṇī*. The Greek historians refer to them as Siboi or Sibae and locate them at the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Candrabhāgā = Chenab). All their coins, however, have been found from Rajasthan, mostly from Nagari near Chittor and some other places around. They bear the legend '*Majhamikāya Śibi janapadasa*' reminding us of some other tribes who have issued coins mentioning their metropolises. Majhamikā (Mādhyamikā) is generally identified with Nagari. Since most of the passages of the *Mbh* [**Kāśmī rāḥ Kundamānāśca Paurakā Haṅsakāyanāḥ / Śibi-Trigarta-Yaudheyā Rājanya-Madra-Kekayāḥ**// (*Vana Parva*, 52/14); **Śibī niḥsavākumukhyāṃś ca Trigartān Saindhavānapi** (*Ibid*, 267/28); **Tān Daśārṇān sa jītvā ca pratasthe pāṇḍunandanāḥ / Śibī ṃ strigartānambaṣṭ hān Mālavān Pañcakarpaṭ ān** // (*Sabhā Parva*, 32/7); **Ambaṣṭ hān Mālavāñchūram strigartān sa Śibī napi / Prāhiṇomṛ tyulokāya Krudho yuddhe Yudhiṣṭ hiraḥ** // (*Droṇa Parva*, 157/28)] mention them alongwith the Trigartas, Probably they are represented as located in the Punjab before their movement to Rajasthan.

12. **The Trigartas :** The *Mbh* contains innumerable references to the Trigartas whose king Suśarman too is referred to quite often.⁶⁴ They are described as wonderful charioteers (**rathodārāḥ mahārathāḥ**), knowing the 'science of bow' (**dhanurveda**), invincible by the enemies (**ajeyāḥ śatrubhiḥ**) and preeminent fighter (**dhurandhara-kṣatriyas**). Literally, Trigarta means 'three pits' and the term represents the three

valleys of the rivers Satluj, Beas and Ravi. They are equated with the Jālandharas (**Jālandharās = Trigartāḥ syuḥ**). Literary references point to the Kangara-Jalandhar region as their habitat. There is no evidence of their movement anywhere from this region. Allan had published a square copper coin of the Trigartas bearing a four-tiered 'stupa' and traces of Kharoṣṭhī legend on the obverse and three symbols with Brāhmī legend '**Trakata janapadasa**' on the reverse. Incidentally, this remains the only known coin of the tribe yet. Dr. P. L. Gupta has described the so-called 'stupa' as 'a four-storeyed pillar structure with a dome at the top and a curvilinear eave around the ground floor. The structure is supported by a high railing and probably also a gate or pillared-post in the front'.⁶⁵ I feel that the structure depicted on this unique Trigarta coin is only three-tiered and the pillared-post in front has a bird perched on it. It is my hunch that the bird depicted is a cock. As such, it is probably a *kukkuṭa-dhvaja* 'cock-post'. Such *dhvajās* 'posts, banners' carrying a weapon or the vehicle of the deity was a usual thing in ancient times. We know of some other *Garuḍa-* and *Kukkuṭa-dhvajās* also. This hunch of mine goes well with the description of the Trigartas in the *Mbh* as wonderful warriors. It is well known that *kukkuṭa* 'cock' is the emblem of the war-god Kārttikeya. The Trigartas, like the Yaudheyas, may have been the worshippers of Kārttikeya.

13. **The Vemakis** : The *Mbh* (II. 48, 12) refers to the Vaiyāmakas-

*Kāyavyā Daradā Dārvāḥ Śūrā Vaiyāmakāstathā /
Audumbarā durvībhāgāḥ Pāradā Bāhlikaiḥ saha //*

There are generally identified with the Vemakis who issued silver and copper coins. The known silver coins bear the following description.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised, a line below and a trident-axe in front under the head of the animal; Brāhmī legend around from XI o'clock *Rājño Vemakisa Rudravarmasa Vijayaka*.

Reverse : Bull standing to right, a wavy line below; lotus in front under the head of the animal; Kharoṣṭhī legend from IV o'clock *Raṇa Vemakisa Rudravarmasa* with *Vijayaya* below.

Some scholars also attribute similar silver coins but bearing the legend *Bhagavata Mahadevasa Rajaraja* in Brāhmī and *Bhagavata Mahadevasa Rajaraṇa* in Kharoṣṭhī to these people. I have, however, shown the un-tenability of this view. Some scholars attributed those coins to the Audumbaras which too is a false notion.⁶⁶ A new king bearing the name of Bhavavarman has also been brought to light by me recently.⁶⁷

A hoard of silver coins which included Vemaki, Audumbara, Bhagavata Mahadevasa type and Kuṇḍa coins was found in the early eighties from Palampur but was smuggled to London from where it was dispersed to various places.⁶⁸

The legend on the singular copper coin of the Vemakis was very controversial. It has recently been deciphered correctly by me as *Rājñ(o) Vemakisa Śivaghoṣasa* the correctness of which is vouched by two other coins in private collections which I have studied and published elsewhere. The references to the Vemakis in the *Mbh* seem to have studied and published elsewhere. The references to the Vemakis in the *Mbh* seem to have been put in *circa* first century BCE or so.

14. **The Vṛṣṇis :** The Vṛṣṇis were well-known people of ancient India from the later *Vedic* period onwards. They have been mentioned by Pāṇini and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* describes them as a republican corporation. The *Mbh* refers to Vṛṣṇi, a *kṣatriya* of the Yadu race, whose descendants come to be known as the Vṛṣṇis. Kṛṣṇa also belonged to the Vṛṣṇi clan.⁶⁹

In spite of copious literary references, a silver coin discovered by Cunningham and subsequently placed in the British Museum, has remained for long the sole evidence of their political existence. The coin bears a sort of *nandipada* standard in railing with a composite animal, half-lion and half-elephant, in front and circular Brāhmī legend '*Vṛṣṇi-rājajña-gaṇasya tratarasya*' on the obverse and an elaborate twelve-spoked wheel with Kharoṣṭhī legend *Vṛṣṇi-rājanna-ga...* with in a pellet border on the reverse. The coin is generally assigned to *circa* first century BCE. Cunningham did not record the provenance of this coin and published it under Audumbara coins.⁷⁰

The *Mbh* (XVI.7, 70), the *Bhāgavata* (X.60, 37-38; XI, 31, 25 etc.) and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V. 38, 19) indicate that the Vṛṣṇis were settled by Arjuna in the Pañcanada region after the calamity that befell on them at Dvārikā where they had established themselves when Mathurā, their original home, was invaded by the demons :

*Kānaneṣu ca ramyeṣu parvateṣu nadī ṣu ca
Nivasannāyāmāsa Vṛṣṇi-dārān dhanañjayah //
Sa pañcanadamāsādyā dhī mānatisamṛ ddhimat /
Deśe go-paśu-dhānyādhye nivāsamkarot prabhuḥ //*

Numerous seals and sealing found from Sunet, now in the municipal limits of Ludhiana in Punjab, furnish evidence of its being the Vṛṣṇi stronghold. About two and a half dozen small round copper coins published earlier by Rodgers have been attributed to ten Vṛṣṇi rulers by me who ruled here probably after the fall of the

Kuṣāṇas and before the rise of the Yaudheyas during the second-third century CE.⁷¹ The relevant portion of the *Mbh* referring to their settlement in the Pañcanada, thus, seems to have been added sometime as late as the third-fourth century CE.

15. **The Yaudheyas :** The Yaudheyas occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian republican tribes.⁷² The word Yaudheya is popularly derived from the root *yudh/yodh* (*samprahāre*) 'to strike, to fight'. The Yaudheyas kept up the tradition of being brave warriors. V. S. Agrawala⁷³ thinks that the earliest references to their existence occur in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (IV. 1, 178 and V.3, 117) and *Gaṇapāha*. The later work mentions them as an '*āyudha-jīvi saṅgha*', i.e., 'a tribe living by the profession of arms'. Śakaṭāyana, a grammarian referred to not only by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* thrice (III. 4, 11; VIII.3, 11 & VIII. 4, 50) but also in the *Nirukta* (1.12), *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* (III. 9, 12, 27) and the *Ṛik-prātiśākhya* (1.16 & XIII. 39) mentions them as '*śastropa-jīvi-saṅgha*' 'a group living by the profession of arms' - *Dāminī-Yaudheya-Pārśvādi-Vṛkāchhājan-enyaṅ* (*Śakaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa* III. 4, 145). The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 113) refers to the Śaivya (belonging to the Śivi dynasty) king Puṇyakeśa in the Yaudheya kingdom - *Puṇyakeśo Yaudheya-rājye Śaivyo rājā*. These references push back the antiquity of the Yaudheyas to the later *Vedic* period. They are, thus, one of the oldest tribes of India. Pāṇini belonged to north-west India and seems to have an intimate knowledge of the '*āyudha-jīvi-saṅghas*' living in Vāhīka-deśa-'*Āyudha-jīvi-saṅghāññyadvāhīkeṣya-brāhmaṇa-rājanyāt*' (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* V.3, 114). His mention of the Yaudheyas twice indicates the prominence and importance of the tribe during his times.

The Yaudheyas have been documented in our literature and inscriptions from about 8th century BCE to *circa* twelfth century CE and were at the height of their power from the middle of the second BCE to the fourth century CE (but for an interregnum of alien ascendancy) during which period they issued their coins also.⁷⁴ So much has been written about this celebrated republic that it is difficult to say something new. They have been mentioned at various places in the *Mbh*. Cunningham⁷⁵ traced their descent from Yudhiṣṭhira who has a so named Yaudheya begotten from his wife Devikā, daughter of Govāsaṇa of the Śaibya tribe, as mentioned in the *Mbh* (I.90, 83).

Yudhiṣṭhirastu Govāsanasya Śaibyasya Devikā nāma Kanyāṃ svayamvarāṃ lebhe/Tasyāṃ putram janayamāsa Yaudheya nāma //

The Yaudheyas have been described in the *Mbh* to have suffered defeats at the hands of Arjuna, Bhīma and Yudhisthira (*Drona Parva*, 19/16; 161/5; 157/30 etc.) and

even before the war, they are described to have been amongst the subordinate people who brought presents to Yudhisthira when he performed the *Rājasūya* sacrifice (*Sabhā Parva*, 52/14). Prof. Jagannath Agrawal had thus shown the untenability of this view long back⁷⁶ but some scholars go on following and supporting the view the Cunningham still.⁷⁷

The Yaudheyas have been described to have been conquered even by Nakula during his conquest of the western quarter⁷⁸ -

The association of Kārtikeya and his dear city Rohitaka (modern Rohtak) with the Yaudheyas is referred to here. That the Yaudheyas occupied the Bahudhānyaka region is evident from their earliest coins bearing the legend *Yaudheyānām Bahudhānake*. But the Yaudheyas have not been mentioned by their name directly. They have been called Matta-mayurakas, peacock is the vehicle of Kārtikeya, shown with him in the *Yaudheya Gaṇasya Jaya* type coins also. I think that the Yaudheyas were the earliest people to depict peacock with Kārtikeya though it became a significant feature of the images of the god during the Gupta period. Even the earliest depiction of cock with Kārtikeya occurs on a Yaudheya coin.⁷⁹

A unique silver coin of the tribe, now preserved in the British Museum, London shows six-headed Kārtikeya and six-headed Śaṣṭhī on the obverse and reverse and carries the Brāhmī legend *Bhagavata Svāmīno Brahmanyadevasya Yaudheya*.⁸⁰ On the copper coins of the class, however, the last word is missing and is sometimes replaced by the word *kumārasya*. Dr. Nisar Ahmad thought that since the word Yaudheya is substituted by Kumāra, this later word also stands for the name of a tribe like the word Yaudheya. He found some references in the *Mbh* and the *Purāṇas* regarding the existence of a tribe bearing this name and came forward with the theory that these coins belong not the Yaudheyas but to the Kumāras.⁸¹ Dr. P. L. Gupta commended this theory.⁸² Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri rejected this attribution on grammatical ground as the name of the tribe in the legend occurs with the genitive singular suffix *sa*.⁸³ Dr. Gupta treated Prof. Shastri's objection as 'grammatical jugglery' and not only vehemently upheld but even 'usurped' Nisar Ahmad's attribution later.⁸⁴ I have, however, demonstrated that the critical Edition of the *Mbh* does not contain the name of the Kumāra tribe and even if we accept it for the sake of argument, the tribe existed in the Dakṣiṇāpatha and not in the region where these coins are found. There are many specimens on whom the word Kumārasya too is missing but otherwise they are the same. The internal evidence of the coins themselves clearly indicates that the word Kumāra stands for Kārtikeya and not for any tribe⁸⁵.

We thus see that the *Mahābhārata* not only throws light on various tribes but also helps us to trace their descent, locate them and trace their movements even. With the help of the textual, archaeological and numismatic data at our disposal, we can in certain cases determine even the date of certain passages of the *Mbh* wherein we find references to these tribal republics.

References

1. See for details B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (Hindi), Lakhanau : Uttar Pradesh Hindi Grantha Academy, 1972, pp. 17, 20, 23, 70 etc.
2. I have utilized both the Critical Edition and the Gita Press Edition. When the *Parva* name is given, the reference should be understood to have been taken from the latter and when the Roman number has been used for the *Parva*, the references is taken from the former.
3. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (JNSI)*, IV; see also John Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India*, London : British Museum, 1936, pp. cliii, 279, Pl. XI.V. 9 and 282-83, Pl. XLV. 21-24 (henceforth *BMCAI*). See also Devendra Handa, *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, New Delhi (2007) : Aryan Books International, for the latest account, details and discussion of the tribal coins.
4. J. Przyluski, (1962), *Ancient Peoples of the Punjab - The Udambaras and Śālvas*, Eng. Tr. By Chitrabhanu Sen from the original French articles published in *Journal Aiatique*, 1926 and 1929, Reprint, Calcutta.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, X, pp. 237 ff.
6. Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India (Circa 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.)*, Calcutta (1974), p. 248 (henceforth *ISNI*)
7. *JNSI*, IV.
8. K.K. Dasgupta, *Tribal History of Ancient India - A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta 1974 (henceforth *THAI*), p. 9, fn. 45.
9. E. J. Rapson, (ed.), *Cambridge History of Ancient India*, Vol. 1, 3rd Reprint, Delhi, 1968, p. 72; B.C., Law., *Geographical Essay*, Vol. I, London 1937, p. 91.
10. See for details *THAI*, pp. 17 ff.
11. *Indian Antiquary*, XII, pp. 331, 349.
12. Alexander Cunningham (1882), *Archaeological Survey Report : Report for the year 1878-79 (CASR)*, XIV, p. 140.
13. P. L. Gupta "Coins of the Arjunayanas," *Numismatic Digest (ND)*, I (1977), pp. 14-18, Pl. II. 1-3.
14. *BMCAI*, p. lxxxiii.
15. Devendra Handa, *Studies in Indian coins and Seals*, Delhi 1985, p. 42.
16. Nisar Ahmad, "Coins of the Arjunayanas", *ND*, 17, 1993, p.18.
17. The Uttama-bhadras have been mentioned in the Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna as

having been defeated by his son-in-law Usavadāta near Pushkar [D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Calcutta (1965), p. 169.

18. For details see, M. R. Singh, *Geographical Data in The Early Purāṇas - A Critical Study*, Calcutta (1972) : Punthi Pustak, pp. 153 ff.
19. For details see, *BMCAI*, pp. lxxxiii ff, 122; *THAI*, pp. 38-70; *ISNI*, pp. 216-25.
20. *THAI*, pp. 43-44.
21. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Mahābhārata on the Relations between Viśvamitra and the Audumbaras", *Purāna*, Varanasi (1965), Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 362-66.
22. K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., Bangalore (1955) (henceforth *HP*), p. 161.
23. Alaxander Cunningham (1891), *Coins of Ancient India*, London (Reprint Varanasi, 1963) (henceforth *CAI*) p. 66.
24. *CASR*, XIV. p. 136; *CAI*, p. 68.
25. *BMCAI*, pp. 122f.
26. *HP*, p. 154.
27. S. V. Sohani, 'A Note on Audumbara Temple Coins', *JNSI* (1942), IV, pp. 55-57.
28. Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata*, Lucknow (1945), p. 90.
29. *THAI*, p. 39, fn. 7.
30. Śrī Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, Ch. 207, vv. 22-23.
31. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Numismatic History of Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi, 1988 : B. R. Publishing Corporation (henceforth *NHHP*), p. 10.
32. *CAI*, p. 66.
33. J. Marshall, *Taxila, Reprint*, Delhi (1975), Vol. II. p. 793; Vol. III, Pl. 252-57.
34. E.J. Rapson, 'Notes on Indian Coins and seals I', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1900) p. 125.
35. *NHHP*, p. 11.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *CASR*, IV, pp. 175-76.
38. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1875, p. 89.
39. *HP*, p. 70, fn. 1.
40. *NHHP*, p. 26.
41. Devendra Handa, 'Some Interesting Kuninda Coins', *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, No. 137 (1993).
42. *NHHP*, p. 26.
43. Devendra Handa, "A Note on the Kuninda Coins from Sumari and some other Sites" *ND*, (1991) vol. 15, pp. 18-22.

44. Devendra Handa, "The Attribution of the Chitresvara Type Coins", *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, New Delhi (1999), Vol. 2, pp. 33-43, Pls. II-III.
45. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, (1963) (henceforth, IP), pp. 455, 471-74
46. J.W. Mc Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch and Justin*, Westminster (1896), p. 238. Curtius, however refers to them as Sudracae.
48. R. C. Majumadar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 4th ed., Bombay (1968), p. 40.
49. *Indica* X. 10.
50. V.S. Smith, *JRAS* (1903), pp. 655 ff.
51. For details of their fight see Handa (1985), pp. 30 ff.
52. Jayaswal, *HP*, p. 146; A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 3rd ed., Delhi (1958), p. 120.
53. D. C. Sircar, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 163
54. See for details Handa (1985), pp. 30-35, Pl. XIII. 9-10.
55. The whole of the region is still known as Mālavā and its language is called Malwai. Places like Maler-Kotla and Malot in this region seem to contain the remnants of their name. Maler-kotla was originally the twin village, Mālera being the old habitation and Kotla belonging to the Muslim period. Maler may have been derived from Mālava-nagara (Cf. Bikaner < Bīkā-nagara). It has yielded three-dotted diminutive 8-ratti Indo-Sasanian silver coins which indicate its habitation in the early historian period. Malot seems to have derived from Mālava-kotṭa.
56. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., Calcutta, 1953, p. 25.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 12-13.
59. *BMCAI*, p. CXXIII.
60. *Mbh*, *Vana Parva*, chs. 293-99; *Devī Bhāgavata* IX. 26-28; *Matsya Purāṇa*, chs. 207-213; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, II. 36-41; *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, II. 23-24 etc.
61. *BMCAI*, p. 213, no. 20, Pl. xlv. 13.
62. Micheal Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol. 7, London (1976), p. 628 attributed the coin of Śivachatrapura Janapada.
63. Devendra Handa, "Coins of the Sāvitrīputrās", *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Cambridge (1998), No. 158, pp. 243-248, Pl. 55.4-5.
64. *Udyoga Parva*, 164/8; 166/9-13; *Bhīṣma Parva*, 56/4; 61/12-13; 72/7; 102/9-23; *Droṇa Parva*, 4/8; 11/17; 17/16-17; 19/16; 70/12; 141/2-8; 157/28; *Karṇa Para*, 8/18; *Śalya Parva*, 27/31-48; etc. See B.C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Poona, 1973.
65. P.L. Gupta, "Bearing of Numismatics on Early Indian Art History in the Background of Epigraphy" *Indian Epigraphy*, its bearing of the History of Art, Ed. Asher and Gai, New Delhi (1985), pp. 10-11, Fig. 15; *NHHP*, pp. 13-14.

66. Devendra Handa, "The Riddle of King Mahadeva", *ND* (1995), 19, pp. 1-12.
67. Devendra Handa, "New Vaimaki Silver Coins" *Numismatic Circular*, London (1993), Vol. CI, No. 6, p. 187.
68. Dr. Dilip Rajgor had passed on the photographs of this hoard taken in Delhi to me. I tried to trace its whereabouts and learnt that it had ultimately reached London from where it dispersed to various places. Dr. P.L. Gupta has also referred to it in his *NHHP*, p. 50, fn. 59. I have published some papers on the coins of this hoard from the photographs I had obtained.
69. For references see Handa (1985), pp. 66 f.
70. *CAI*, p.70, Pl. IV. 15; also *BMCAI*, p. 281, Pl. XVI. 5.
71. Handa (1985), pp. 66-74, Pl. XV. 1-3.
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