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# THE AUDUMBARAS

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# THE AUDUMBARAS

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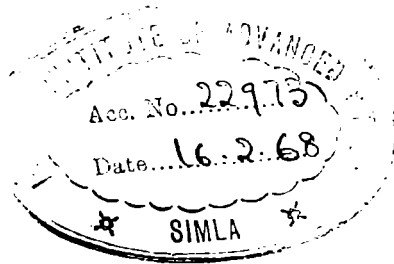
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TO MY MOTHER

SRIMATI SUPRITY DASGUPTA

## FOREWORD

The present booklet contains a comprehensive study of the Audumbaras, one of the prominent republican peoples of ancient India, based on literary and numismatic evidences. The endeavour of this young scholar, who was once my pupil at Presidency College, and one of the junior colleagues at this College, is expected to rouse academic interest of all those who like to study the republican traditions of ancient India. I hope it will be possible for us to publish similar booklets containing information regarding other important tribes which is so very essential for a proper understanding of the growth and development of the governments in ancient India.

Sanskrit College  
Calcutta  
December, 1965

GAURINATH SASTRI  
*General Editor*

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## PREFACE

Republican traditions are pretty old in India. If the term *Vairājya* used in connection with the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* means republican state, Republicanism may be believed to have emerged in some parts of India in the 9th or 8th century B.C. In Buddha's time (6th century B.C.) many of the states of North-eastern India had republican form of government, the most well-known example being the Lichchhavi state. The *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini composed sometime in the 5th century B.C. refers to a number of republican states, and the existence of such states in the next century is attested by Megasthenes who described them as 'kingless states'. But with the rise of the Mauryas and the consequent growth of the highly centralised form of government, the republican states fell on evil days and most of them were absorbed into the Mauryan body-politic. The mighty imperial fabric set up by Chandragupta Maurya and enlarged and reared up by the genius of Aśoka crumbled within fifty years of the death of the latter. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the assassinator of Maurya Brihadratha and the founder of a new line, came to power sometime about 185 B.C. and took over what was left of the great empire. However eminent a ruler he was, he seems to have failed to prove himself the master of a far-flung empire like that of Aśoka and indeed it is doubtful if the different parts of India were ruled with as much authority from the centre as had been exercised in the preceding era. The preference for a local or regional autonomy must have been strong enough to counteract every move that may have been made after the Mauryas to build up and stabilise any kind of imperial organisation. The condition became worse after the passing of Pushyamitra when, as contemporary evidences show, northern India turned to be a congeries of states like Mathura, Ayodhya, Magadha and a host of others. The rise and continuance of these states may be placed in the period extending from circa 150 B.C. to 72 B.C., the latter date being that of the termination of the Śuṅga dynasty.

The republican traditions were nurtured and preserved by a number of tribes like the Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras of pre-Buddha days, the Lichchhavis, the Trigartas, the Yaudheyas and a host of others. Some of them issued coins and the significance of the word *gaṇa* occurring on the coins of the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, for instance, can be explained with the help of the *Avadānaśataka* of the early Christian era which uses the word *gaṇa* as distinguished from *rāja*—*Kechid deśā gaṇ-ādhinā(h) kechid rāj-ādhinā(h)*. Similarly, the Classical writers like Megasthenes, as has been stated already, would have us believe that in the fourth century B.C. non-monarchical forms of government were not uncommon in the Punjab. The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to *āyudhajivī* and *vārttīśāstropajivī* tribes who appear to have maintained republican traditions. Available evidences would thus show that no attempt to form a monarchy of a centralised type was made by the tribes like the Yaudheyas and the Mālavas. And there are a lot of evidences to show that not only the territories of these two tribes are to be included as non-monarchical ones, but many other tribes also may be believed to have followed a republican constitution. Geographically, most of them flourished in the Punjab, a region which "throughout the historic age, from the Vedic times to our day . . .

has offered a protected shelter to the native tribes menaced or pursued by the conquering foreigners". Indeed, references to the 'kingless' and 'independent Indians' like the Mallas in the Classical accounts tend to show that before the emergence of the Mauryas there existed in the Punjab, and obviously in other parts of India too, a host of independent tribes. They had to bow before the imperialist Mauryas, but after the passing away of the Mauryas, they came out of their grooves and restored themselves to their former position. Independent tribal principalities with the republican form of government were set up in different parts of India, specially in the Punjab and north-western parts of India.

Such a prominent tribe was the Audumbaras. As the following pages will show, their antiquity can be pushed back to about 8th century B.C. References to them in literary sources are numerous and coins issued by them are also not inconsiderable. They are believed to have left the trace of their name in a sub-caste called the Admera. Along with other tribes like the Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas they might have submitted to the Mauryas, but reasserted themselves after the fall of the latter.

In the troublous period following the death of Pushyamitra Śūṅga, when northern India was in a welter due to the centrifugal tendencies among the Indians and the foreign inroads, the Audumbaras together with others succeeded in maintaining themselves somehow, diplomatically or militarily, in their hard struggle for existence, details of which are, however, not available. An attempt has of course been made by W. W. Tarn to show that the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas and others were subjugated by Menander, but it has been shown (*infra*, p. 21f) that there is hardly any solid basis for this theory. Numismatic and other evidences rather point to their independent existence. The Audumbaras seem to have merged with other tribes or dwindled in importance as they have left no independent coinage to be attributed to the third-fourth century A.D. Absence of their name in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta supports this conclusion.

History of India in the post-Maurya- pre-Gupta period is indeed one of a host of ambitious monarchical and non-monarchical states. And a survey of this period shows a predominant feature of Indian history: the operation of a corporate spirit guided by an essentially local outlook. Source materials for the history of this period, is not very rich, and hence the picture is far from being complete. Nevertheless, if all available sources are patiently and assiduously hunted up, more materials may be discovered and if these are pieced together an overall pattern is likely to emerge.

With this expectation, an attempt to outline the history of the Audumbaras has been made in the following pages. For this purpose, every possible source has been intensively utilised. Such sources include not only those previously examined by others but also some new ones like the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* and the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharāṇa* (the last-named text is generally ignored) which have not received the attention they deserve. No material has been incorporated in the work without careful scrutiny. I have tried to bring together all the available data and subjected them to a detailed and systematic examination.

I venture to suggest that many a gap in the post-Maurya- pre-Gupta period may be filled up if the history of other tribes like the Kuṇḍas, the Mālavas, and the Yaudheyas is written on similar lines. In the present treatise I have offered some suggestions for which I may claim originality, for instance, in connection with the significance of the figure of Viśvāmītra on two silver coins of the Audumbaras—a peculiarity hitherto unexplained. It is for scholars to say how far I have succeeded in my task of building up the history of the Audumbaras.

It is my duty to express gratitude to my respected teacher Dr Benoy Chandra Sen, Professor of Indology, Sanskrit College for his constant help and stimulating guidance in writing out my thesis, 'Tribal coins of Ancient India (2nd century B.C.-4th century A.D.)' of which the present monograph forms a part; and to Dr Gaurinath Sastri, also my teacher in the Presidency College, for kindly including this monograph in the 'Sanskrit College Research Series'. My sincere thanks are due to Sri Haran Chandra Neogi of the department of Ancient Indian and World History, Sanskrit College, for preparing the Index, to Sri Dhruva Ray for drawing the Map and to Dr Amarendranath Lahiri of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, for preparing photographic reproductions of the coins of the Audumbaras belonging to the cabinet of the British Museum. I must specially thank in this connection the British Museum authorities for allowing me to reproduce illustrations of the said coins belonging to their collection. I would also thank Sri Nanigopal Tarkatirtha, Editor, Publication Department of the Sanskrit College, for supervising the publication of the present monograph. I am indebted to Dr Sisir Kumar Mitra, Professor of Ancient Indian and World History, Sanskrit College, and to my friend Dr Bratindranath Mukherjee of the same College for much encouragement. In conclusion, I must add that without my mother's fostering care and affection it would not have been possible for me to carry out my research activities.

*Department of Ancient Indian History  
and Culture,  
University of Calcutta,  
December, 1965*

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

## ABBREVIATIONS

APP	..	Ancient Peoples of the Punjab.
CAGI		Ancient Geography of India by Cunningham.
CAI	..	Coins of Ancient India.
CASR	..	Archaeological Survey Reports by Cunningham.
CCBM		Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India.
CCIM		Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Vol. I.
CCPM	..	Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum.
CHIS	..	Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II.
DHI	..	Development of Hindu Iconography
GBI	..	Greeks in Bactria and India.
GI		Gazetteer of India.
HILA	..	History of Indian and Indonesian Art.
HP	..	Hindu Polity.
IVKS	..	India of the Vedic Kalpasutras.
IG	..	Indo-Greeks.
IHQ		Indian Historical Quarterly.
IPA		India as Known to Panini.
IPP	..	India in the Time of Patanjali.
JA	..	Journal Asiatique.
JAS		Journal of the Asiatic Society (New Series).
JASB	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JNSI	..	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JRAS	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASB		Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
OH		Our Heritage.
PIHC	..	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
SBE		Sacred Books of the East.
SCCIM	..	Supplementary Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum
SE	..	Struggle for Empire.
SSG	..	Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.



*Mahābhāshya*<sup>6</sup>, *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup>, *Harivaṁśa*<sup>8</sup>, *Purāṇas*<sup>9</sup>, *Bṛihatsamhitā*<sup>10</sup>, *Chīndra-  
vyākaraṇa*<sup>11</sup>, *Kāśikā*<sup>12</sup>, *Vaijayanti*<sup>13</sup>, *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*<sup>14</sup>, *Sarasvatikan-  
ṭhābharṇa*<sup>14a</sup> and *Saṁkshiptasara*<sup>14b</sup> which contain references to the  
Audumbaras. Pliny also appears to have mentioned them under the name

<sup>6</sup>*Nyakshatriyārshañīto yūni luṅviñoh* : II. 4. 58; on this Pāṇinian rule  
Kātvāyana says : *Anīorluki tadrājādyurpratyayasyopasaṁkhyānam* and this  
is further explained by Patañjali thus : *Anīorluki tadrājādyurpratyaya-  
syopasaṁkhyānam kartavyam Baudhikḥ pitā Baudhikḥ puttraḥ Audumbariḥ pitā  
Audumbariḥ puttraḥ*.

<sup>7</sup>*Sabhāparvan*, Chapter 50, verse 13; edited by Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa,  
cf. *Audumbarā Durvibhāgā Pārada Bāhlikaiḥ saha*.

The Great Epic mentions the Audumbaras along with tribes like the  
Durvibhāgas, Pāradas, Bāhlikas etc. all of whom were inhabitants of North  
India, some of them living on the North-western fringes of India.

Dr. Moti Chandra in his *Geographical and Economic Studies in the  
Mahābhārata*, p. 90, taking *Durvibhāga* in the sense of 'disunited' uses it as  
an adjective of *Audumbarāḥ*. He thus holds that the Epic passage in question  
"may point to the Audumbara connections with the Sālva federation of  
which the Udumbaras, the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas,  
Bhulingas and Śaradaṇḍas were a member." But such an interpretation is  
hardly acceptable. *Durvibhāga* cannot be taken in the sense of 'disunited,'  
The sense is just the opposite. It means 'difficult to be disunited', cf.  
Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 487. Since the Epic passage  
appears to be a mere enumeration of some North Indian tribes, *Durvibhāga*  
included in it seems to be the name of a tribe. Even if the word *Durvibhāga*  
is taken as an adjective, it is better to take it as an adjective qualifying the  
following word *Pārada*. In that case, the interpretation will be that the  
Pāradas were 'difficult to be disunited', i. e. strong.

<sup>8</sup>Verse 1466; Asiatic Society edition.

<sup>9</sup>The *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (91. 98), *Brahmāṇḍa* (III. 66. 70) *Mār-  
kaṇḍeya* (58. 10) etc. contain references to the Audumbaras or the Udumbaras.

<sup>10</sup>*Bṛihatsamhitā*, XIV, verse 4. It places them in the north-west with the  
Kāpishthalas. Arrian in his *Indika* (Ch. IV) refers to a people called Kambi-  
stholi dwelling on the Hydraotes or Ravi who may be identified with the  
Kāpishthalas of the *Bṛihatsamhitā*.

<sup>11</sup>II. 4. 103. K. C. Chatterji's edition, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup>IV. 1. 173. Damodara Sastri's edition, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup>Bhūmikāṇḍa, Verse 39. See *IHQ*, Vol. XX, p. 219-26; also *OH*, Vol. VII,  
Part 1, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>IV. 266. Eggeling's edition, p. 314.

<sup>14a</sup>. I. VI. 76 and IV. I. 86. T. R. Chintamani's edition, pp 122, 133.

<sup>14b</sup>. See *Taddhitapāda* Section, 223, Gurunatha Vidyānidhi's edition p. 46.

Odombeores.<sup>15</sup> The *Vinayapiṭaka*<sup>16</sup> and the *Mahāmāyūrī*<sup>17</sup> refer to a place called Udumbara which evidently was named after the tribe.<sup>17a</sup>

Now, the text which contains the earliest reference to the Audumbaras, as has been mentioned before, is the *Gaṇapāṭha*. It is generally believed that the major portion of this work, if not the whole, was composed by Pāṇini who may be placed somewhere in the fifth century B. C.<sup>18</sup> Hence the tribe certainly existed in the fifth century B. C.

That the Audumbaras flourished even before the fifth century B. C. is not unlikely. Among the literary texts mentioned above the most important in the present case is the *Chāndravyākaraṇa*, composed by a Buddhist scholar named Chandragomin. Chandragomin is usually believed to have flourished in about the fifth century A. D.<sup>19</sup> This work in a *vr̥tti* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives us an important piece of information in a verse which says—

*udumbarās-tilakhalā-madrakūrā yugandharāḥ |*  
*bhulingāḥ śaradaṇḍās-cha sālva'rayava-saṃjñitāḥ||*

<sup>15</sup>*Historia Naturalis*, VI, Sec. 75. Pliny places the Odombeores or Odonbeores on the mouth of the Indus. They may appear to be different from the Audumbaras who issued coins as well as the Udumbaras who find mention in the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*. Cunningham and others have located the Odombeores of Pliny in Kachelha or Cutch region and incidentally it may be noted, as Jayaswal has done in his *Hindu Polity* (p. 161), that "they have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name. . . the modern community of Gujrati Brāhmins of the Audumbara caste." Thus the findspots of coins and the references in the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* and the work of Pliny indicate that there were three Audumbara countries, one in the north-eastern Punjab, another in the north-western Punjab and the third in Cutch. But in fact all these tracts appear to have been inhabited by three sections of the Audumbaras, thus showing their migrations presumably at different periods of history.

<sup>16</sup>II. 299. The text refers to a village named Udumbara. J. Przyłuski identifies U-du-ma of the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* named *Dulva* with Udumbara of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*, cf. *APP*, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup>Edited by Levi, *JA*, 1915, p. 44. The text states that the *yaksha* of Udumbara was named Aṇḍabha.

<sup>17a</sup>Cunningham also observes: "I think it more probable that it must be the name of the town or district, as we have several examples of such names being placed on coins, as, *Yaudheya*, *Śibi*, *Ujeniya* and *Mālavana*," *CASR*, Vol. V, p. 154-55. Elsewhere he says: "The name Odumbara must be that of the town or district in which they (i. e. coins) are discovered." *CASR*, XIV, p. 116.

<sup>18</sup>To quote Dr. S. K. Belvalkar: "Although we cannot be certain whether any word now found in the *Gaṇapāṭha* existed in Pāṇini's day, still the book of our present *Gaṇapāṭha* may safely be considered as coming from the hands of the grammarian himself." *SSG*, p. 24.

According to Agrawala "a date nearer the 5th 5th century B. C. for Pāṇini appears more probable," *IPA*, p. 474.

<sup>19</sup>Belvalkar gives A. D. 470 as the approximate date of Chandragomin (*op. cit.* pp. 58-59) but Dr. S. K. De places him in the sixth century A. D., *History of Bengal*, Vol. 1, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 296ff.

The verse can be translated thus : Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍa—these are the sections of the Sālvas.

The fact stated in the verse is supported by the *Kāsika* and the *Vaijayantī*, the first being a work of the seventh century A. D. and the latter of the twelfth century A. D. The tradition regarding the Audumbaras as their being one of the sections of the Sālvas is thus found to have been well established by the time of Chandragomin.

Now, the earliest mention of the Sālvas is met with in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>20</sup> which is generally believed to have been composed in the eighth century B. C. According to a passage occurring in this text—

*yudadvai mah'idabhakarma samappasyata mamaiva prajā sallvanām  
rājanoh' bhavisyanmama brāhmaṇo mamavvaiśyā yattu mah'etavatkarma-  
ṇah samāpitena mah'ubhayathā sallvānprajātirekshata' iti sa' esa eva  
śriresha esho'nnādaḥ* || (X.4.1.10.)

This has been translated by Eggeling thus—

(Syāparna once said) if this my sacrificial performance be complete, my own race would become the kings (nobles), Brāhmaṇas and the peasants of the Sālvas ; but even by that much my work which has been completed my race will surpass the Sālvas in both ways ; for this (Agni, the fire-altar) indeed, is (social) eminence and fame, and an eater of food.

The above passage bears testimony not only to the antiquity of the Sālvas but also the high degree of eminence and prosperity attained by them.

The tradition recorded in the quoted verse of the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* may refer at least to the time of the Vedic text when the Sālvas were already a powerful people. They could not have reached the position as reflected in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* without antecedent growth and preparation. This may require the beginning of their history to be traced to a period even earlier than the time of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The different constituent sections of the Sālvas, including the Audumbaras, may have existed in the same period and their amalgamation was probably one of the causes of their political and material success as witnessed in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In this connection, reference may be made to the Madrakāras who are also said to have formed one of the allied tribes along with the Audumbaras. These people appear in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>21</sup> and the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣhad*<sup>22</sup>, a fact which may also suggest the contemporaneity of the Audumbaras with the Sālvas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Another people, the Yugandharas, whom the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* includes in the Sālva group are mentioned in the

<sup>20</sup>*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE, Vol. XLIII, p. 344.

<sup>21</sup>VIII. 14. 3

<sup>22</sup>III. 3. 1; 7. 1

*Mantrapāṭha*<sup>23</sup>, the date of the composition of which may not have been far from the date of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The Sālvas who in this text appear to have been alluded to as Salva have been said "to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariot on the banks of the Yamunā."<sup>24</sup> Attention may be drawn to a river named Śaradaṇḍa, probably identical with modern Śarāvati in the Punjab, which is mentioned in the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa (68. 15) and it may be supposed, not without reasons, that the peoples living on and near the banks of the river, were known as the Śaradaṇḍa to whom the *Chāndravyākaraṇa* alludes.

We shall not be wrong in concluding, therefore, that the Audumbaras existed in the Brāhmaṇa period although they have not been mentioned explicitly in contemporary texts. Probably they had not yet become sufficiently prominent which may account for the omission of their name in the texts such as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>24a</sup>

#### *Origin of the name of the tribe*

The tribe is known both as Udumbara and Audumbara, the latter name appearing in genitive in Prakrit on coins as *Odu(m)barisa*. The term Audumbara is the *taddhita* form of the word Udumbara and it means either the people connected with the *udumbara* i. e. the fig tree (*ficus glomerata*) or a country where that tree grows in abundance. It is interesting to note that the Nurpur district where Cunningham found some coins of the tribe was, according to his report, a place noted for its fig trees.<sup>25</sup> Cunningham notes that the old name of the district was Dahmeri or Dahmbeori which appears to have been derived from the Audumbara. In another place he says that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which is not an improbable abbreviation of the Audumbara. The old name was changed to Nurpur by Jahangir in honour of his wife Nurjahan.<sup>26</sup> Cunningham's suggestion has not been accepted by Rapson, according to whom, the name Damari or Dahmari is more allied to Damara which occurs with Kūluta and other places in the account of the North-Eastern division of India in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*.<sup>27</sup> Cunningham alternatively suggests that "as Udumbara is also a name of silver, it is quite possible that the Audumbara may simply refer to the prevailing red colour of

<sup>23</sup>II. 11. 12

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.* Commenting upon this *mantra*, which occurs as a *sūtra* in the *Āpastamba Gṛhya-sūtra* (which is generally placed before Pāṇini's grammar) in VI. 14. 5, Haradatta observes that the Sālva country was situated near the bank of the Yamunā. Dr. Winternitz observes: "According to our *Mantra* we should have to place either the Sālvas or at least the Yugandharas forming one division of the Sālvas somewhere near the Yamunā." See *IVKS*, p. 97.

<sup>24a</sup>See my article "Antiquity of the Audumbaras" in the *PIHC*, 1961, pp. 44-47.

<sup>25</sup>*CASR*, Vol. XIV. p. 116.

<sup>26</sup>*CASR*, Vol. V, p. 155

<sup>27</sup>*JRAS*, 1900, p. 540

the hilly district of Nurpur<sup>28</sup>. This suggestion, according to him, receives some support from the fact that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which appears to be a likely abbreviation of Audumbara.<sup>29</sup> But the suggestion is untenable in view of the fact that the other tracts wherefrom Audumbara coins have been found are not of red colour.

Whether the particular place-name Darmeri or Dharmeri is an abbreviation of Audumbara is a matter of controversy. But there cannot be any dispute about the fact that the name Audumbara is derived from the word *Udumbara*, which means a fig tree. The tree that appears on the coins of the tribe has been identified by Cunningham with the *Udumbara* or fig tree.<sup>30</sup> This identification cannot be regarded as definitely established since tree-motif is commonly found on early Indian coins. But the name of the tribe shows its connection with the fig tree which must have been one of basic importance in its history.

Among the coins of the Audumbaras we come across an interesting variety represented by two specimens, made of silver and round in shape, each bearing a bearded male figure on the obverse with a legend which refers to Viśvamitra, i. e. Viśvāmitra, and a tree in an enclosure on the reverse.<sup>31</sup> This shows that the person named on the obverse had some connection with the Audumbaras. But how and why Viśvāmitra came to be connected with this tribe? Allan holds that "Viśvamitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown"<sup>32</sup>. But a connection, in fact, can be established between the sage and the tribe on the basis of an evidence which has escaped the attention of scholars. The the evidence is furnished by a story about the birth of Viśvāmitra to be found in *Kālikāpurāṇa*.<sup>33</sup> which is also traceable in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 115; XII.49;

<sup>28</sup>CASR, Vol. V, p. 155

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>CASR, Vol. V, p. 154 and CASR, Vol. XIV, p. 117.

<sup>31</sup>See *infra* for details of these two coins.

<sup>32</sup>CCBM, Anc. Ind., p. lxxxiv

<sup>33</sup>Vangvasi edition, chapter 82; Venkateswara edition, Chapter 85. The present writer in an article published in the *JAS*, Vol. III, No.1, 1961 has tried to establish the connection between the sage and the tribe on the basis of this story together with other pieces of evidence. The association is also echoed in the *Harivaṃśa* (loc. cit.) where the tribe has been described as belonging to the family of Viśvāmitra. Further, the tradition may be traced back to the days of the *Rigveda*, for while in the third book of the *Rigveda*, which is attributed to Viśvāmitra, the sage calls himself the son of Kuśika (III, 33, 5), the *Vāyu* (Anandasrama edition, 91, 97-98) and the *Brahmānda* (Venkateswara edition, III, 66, 70) -Purāṇas assign a tribe called the Audumbaras to the Kuśika or Kauśika *gotra*. And thus the common origin of Viśvamitra and the Audumbaras as found in these sources affords the basis of an intimate connection between the two. In other words, the name of the tribe was derived from *Udumbara* or fig tree and Viśvāmitra was their 'national sage'. This seems to be signified by the occurrence of the name and the figure of the sage on the two rare coins of the tribe.

Udumbara is known to be the name of a descendant of the Sage Viśvāmitra and the founder of a *gotra* of the Kauśika group, cf. Brough, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, pp. 157-48, 153, 157.

XIII.14). The most important point to note in the story is that the mother of Viśvāmitra in order to have a child, embraced an *audumbara* (fig tree). The story, however, contains a lot of miraculous and unbelievable things but the association of Viśvāmitra's birth with the fig tree is very useful in explaining the occurrence of his name and figure on coins of the Audumbaras. At the same time it shows that the tribe was intimately connected with the fig tree and their name was evidently derived from that tree (*udumbara*), the tree presumably being worshipped by the tribe as a totem.

### Coins of the Audumbaras

Coins of the Audumbaras can be divided into the following classes and varieties according to metal, size, legends and symbols.

#### CLASS I

Coins belonging to this class are made of copper and square in shape. They have revealed the names of four kings, viz., Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dhara-ghosha and Mahādeva. The legends appearing on them are of the same type and "the use of long vowels such as *a*, *u*, *ai*, and *au* seems to have been avoided both in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī" legends, thereby getting *Sivadasa*, for *Sivadāsa*, *Rudradasa* for *Rudradāsa*, *Odu(m)bari* for *Audu(m)bari* and even *Mahadevasa* for *Mahādevasa* in Brāhmī. The full legends restored from different specimens are given below :

#### Variety A

Obverse : Tree in an enclosure on left ; forepart of an elephant to left on right. Undulating line below. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī : *Mahadevasa Raṇa Sivadasasa*.

Reverse : Pointed roofed temple of two or three storeys;<sup>34</sup> trident with an axe on right. Legend in Brāhmī : *Odubarisa Sivadasasa* (sometimes the word *Odubarisa* appears as *Odubarasa*).

The provenance of the coins of the variety in the collection of the British Museum is not known. But some of the coins, as the report of Cunningham goes, were obtained at Pathankot. For specimens see *CCBM*, p. 122, pl. XV, 1 ; also *SCCIAM* Vol. I by B. B. Bidyabinod, p. 49, No. 1. Sri Bidyabinod wrongly describes the trident appearing on the reverse as the plough. He takes the reverse as the obverse and vice versa.

<sup>34</sup>I have accepted the description of Cunningham's. For an interpretation see *infra*.

**Variety B**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Mahadevasa Rañña Rudradasasa*.

Reverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī : *Odubarisa*.

Coins nos. 7-11 of the *BM* Catalogue were found at Irippal in the Kangra district in the Punjab in 1913. For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 122, pl. XV, 2, 4, 10; p. 123, pl. XVI, 3. Also see *JASB*, 1914, Num. Suppl. XXII, p. 250, pl. and *SCCIM*, p. 49, No. 3, 4, 6, 12, which are poor specimens.

**Variety C**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshthī : *(Maha) devasa Rañña Dharaghosha (sa)*.

Reverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī : *(O)dubar(i)sa*.

For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 125, pl. XIV, 15 ; also *SCCIM*, p. 49, No. 2, which of course does not bear any Kharoshthī legend. Here also Bidyabinod has taken the obverse as reverse and vice versa.

**Variety D**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshthī : (top) *Mahadevasa*, (right) *Odubarisa*.

Reverse : Same. Legend in Brāhmī : (right)..... *sasa*(illegible), (left), *Odubarisa*.

Coins nos. 15-20 of the *BM* Catalogue were found at Irippal. For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 124, pl. XV, 5. The coin No. 5 of the *SCCIM* (p. 49) presents some novelty in introducing the Brāhmī legend with the motif of a tree, the forepart of an elephant, etc., which usually occur on the obverse. Here also Bidyabinod takes the obverse as reverse and vice versa. But the coin no. 7 is described otherwise.

## CLASS 2

Coins belonging to this class are made of silver and round in shape. They furnish the names of two kings viz. Mahādeva and Dharaghosha. It is to be noted here that the unique coin of Rudravarmā, attributed to the Audumbaras by Cunningham, Whitehead, Allan and others, cannot be classed with the coins of the Audumbaras since it bears the name of a tribe styled Vemaka. Mr. R. C. Kar has correctly attributed it to the Vemakas and not to the Audumbaras<sup>35</sup>. For reasons stated elsewhere<sup>36</sup>, I have accepted his views and have hence refrained from including the coin of Rudravarmā in the classified lists of the coins of the Audumbaras. The legends appearing on the coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha, restored from a number of their coins, have been given below.

<sup>35</sup>*IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 59-62.

<sup>36</sup>See my article *The Vemakas and their coins*, published in the *OR*, Vol. IX, pt. 2, pp. 73 ff.



**Variety A**

Obverse : Humped bull on right ; lotus flower (?) in front. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Bhagavatamahadevasa* (around), *Rajaraña* (below).

Reverse : Elephant to left ; trident on left. Legend in Brāhmī : *Bhagavatamahādevasa* (around), *Rajarāja* (below).

These coins appear to have hailed from Pathankot. For specimens, see *CAI*, p. 68, pl. IV, 5 and *CCBM*, p. 123, pl. XIV, 16. Cunningham reads *Rājaraja* on the reverse the side which he takes as obverse.

**Variety B**

Obverse : Humped bull on left,  on left,  above. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Bhagavatamaha(devasa)* (around), *Rajaraña* (below).

Reverse : Elephant to left ; traces of legend around. Below *Rājaraja*.

The provenance of this coin is unknown. For specimen, see *CCBM*, p. 123, pl. XIV, 17.

**Variety C**

Obverse : Viśvāmitra, standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Legends in Kharoshthī : in front *Viśpamitra* ; around *Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoshosa* ; below *Odubarisa*.<sup>37</sup>

Reverse : Trident with axe on right ; tree in an enclosure on left. Legend in Brāhmī : around *Mahādevasa Raña Dharaghoshasa* ; below *Odubarisa*.

This variety is represented by two specimens only, one in the Punjab Museum, the other in the British Museum. The British Museum specimen was found by Cunningham at Pathankot.<sup>38</sup> For the Punjab Museum specimen, see *CCPM*, p. 167, pl. XVI, 136, for the British Museum specimen, see *CAI*, p. 67, pl. IV, 1 and *CCBM*, p. 124, pl. XIV, 14.

## CLASS 3

Coins belonging to this class are made of copper and round in shape. On the basis of Cunningham's attribution, these coins have been classed with those of the Audumbaras by later numismatists. They have revealed the names of four rulers generally ending in *mita*, i. e., *mitra*, the names being Ajamita, (Āryamitra), Mahimita (Mahimitra), Bhānumita (Bhānumitra) and Mahābhūtimitra. It appears that the *mitra* group of kings were different from Mahādeva and Dharaghosha and the *dāsa* kings like Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa. The coins of these *Mitra* kings may be placed later than the coins of other Audumbara kings already referred to.

<sup>37</sup>Whitehead reads the obverse and reverse legends as *Rajña Dharaghoshasa*.

<sup>38</sup>*CAI*, p. 67



**Variety A**

Obverse : Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Raṇa Ajamitasa*.

Reverse : Elephant to left, tree on left. Legend in Brāhmī : *Ajamitasa*.

For specimens, see *CCBM*, pp. 125-26, pl. XV, 13-15. ; also *CAI*, pl. IV, 7. The coin was found at Pathankot. Cunningham takes the obverse as reverse and vice versa.

**Variety B**

Obverse : Same. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Raṇa Ajamitra(sa)*.

Reverse : Elephant to the left with rider. Legend in Brāhmī *Rājīu (Ajamitra)*.

The provenance of this coin is not definitely known. For specimens, see *CAI*, p. 69, pl. IV, 9 ; *CCBM*, pp. 126, 287, pl. XLIII, 1.

**Variety C**

Obverse : Elephant to right ; traces of legend.

Reverse : Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī : *Asata . . . hakra (?)*.

The provenance of this coin is also unknown. For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 126, pl. XV, 16.

**Variety D**

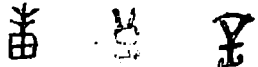
Obverse : Standing male figure. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Mah(i)mitrasa*.

Reverse : Elephant to left : Legend in Brāhmī : *Mahamita(sa)*.

This coin was found at Pathankot. For specimens, see *CAI*, p. 69 pl. IV, 9 ; also *CCBM*, pp. 126-27 pl. XV, 17-20. Cunningham reads on his specimen (*Rā*)jña in Kharoshthī and *Rājanya* in Brāhmī.

**Variety E**

Obverse : Elephant to left. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Raṇa Bhānumitrasa*.

Reverse : Symbols like the following :  Legend in

Brāhmī : (*Ra*)ṇa *Bhānumita(sa)*.

This coin was found by Cunningham at Pathankot. For specimens, see *CAI*, pl. IV, 12, and *CCBM*, p. 127, pl. XV, 1, 2, 19, 21, 22 and pl. XVI No. 3. The Indian Museum has got a similar coin which has been attributed by Smith to *Bhānumitra*.<sup>39</sup> Smith, however, has taken the obverse as reverse. There is also another worn-out coin of the variety in the Indian Museum.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup>*CCIM*, p. 166.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

**Variety F**

Obverse : Same.

Reverse : Similar symbols plus undulating line (snake ?).

The provenance of this coin is not recorded. Though the legend cannot be read, Smith has attributed it to Bhānumitra, cf *CCIM*, p. 166.

**Variety G**

Obverse : Male figure standing to left as in Variety A, undulating line on right. Kharoshthī legend is illegible.

Reverse : Elephant to left with rider. Legend in Brāhmī : .....*Bhānumita(sa)*.

The provenance is not known. For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 128, pl. XLIII, 2.

**Variety H**

Obverse : Elephant to left. Kharoshthī legend : *Kaṅga (-)numitrasa (?)*

Reverse : Elephant to right before a tree in railing Brāhmī legend : .....*numitrasa*.


The provenance of the coin is not recorded. But it may be attributed to Bhānumitra. For specimen, see *CCBM*, p. 128, pl. XLIII, 3.

**Variety I**

Obverse : Same as in Variety G. Legend in Kharoshthī : *Mahābhūti mitrasa*.

Reverse : Same as in Variety G. Brāhmī legend illegible. The provenance is not recorded. For specimen, see *CCBM*, p. 287.

**Variety J**



Obverse : Symbol 


Reverse : Legend in Brāhmī : *Bhagava(ta) Mahadevasa*. Standing figure holding in right hand a trident and a battle-axe combined.

Rapson drew the attention of the scholarly world to this peculiar copper coin in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900 (pp. 112 ff, Pl. No. 12). According to his information, the late White King possessed two specimens of this coinage. The accompanying photograph of one of the specimens published in the above-mentioned journal does not, however, help us to make a detailed discussion of the variety. Among the features of this specimen, the first that attracts our attention is the legend *Bhagava(ta) Mahadevasa*<sup>41</sup> appearing on the reverse of the coin. It recalls a similar legend

<sup>41</sup>*JRAS*, 1900, p. 112.

which is noticed on some coins of the Audumbaras. On those coins the legend also appears in Kharoshthī and the words *Rajarāja* and *Rajaraña* are added to the legends in Brāhmī and Kharoshthī respectively. As the legends on the Audumbara series and the present coin are practically identical, this may be considered to be a strong ground for including this variety in the Audumbara series. The probability of this attribution is enhanced when another point is taken into consideration, the point being the "standing figure holding in right hand a trident and battle-axe combined". The standing figure (of a male according to Rapson) is reminiscent of the similar device appearing on the Audumbara coins which reveal the names of four rulers ending in *mitra*, while the combined trident and battle-axe recalls the same motif appearing on the coins of Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha and Mahādeva of the Audum-

bara series. The only novel feature of the coin is the symbol  which is found on its obverse which according to Rapson may represent some form of the *Liṅgam*. It is to be noted here that this symbol is counter-marked on a coin of Uttamadatta, a prince of Mathura<sup>42</sup>. And what is of more interest with regard to that Mathura coin is that it bears on the obverse the legend *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* indicating [thereby that the particular coin of Uttamadatta was restruck by one with his own symbol 

whose name or title was Mahādeva. It seems that this Mahādeva was no other than the Audumbara king or leader who struck a number of coins, both in copper and silver. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows: Firstly, the legend *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* of the countermarked coin appears on the coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. Secondly, the curious symbol  on

Uttamadatta's coin is exactly similar to that which occurs on Mahādeva's coin as described at the outset. And as that coin of Mahādeva has already been assigned to the Audumbara series on the grounds of legend, epigraphy and motif, it is quite likely that Mahādeva of Uttamadatta's coin belonged to the Audumbara tribe.

It may be presumed, therefore, that Mahādeva of the Audumbara king or leader came into contact with Uttamadatta of Mathura and as he is seen to have restruck the coin of the latter, it may be inferred, that the relations between them were hostile. Mr. S. V. Sohoni<sup>43</sup> has suggested that Uttamabhadra, who is said to have been relieved of the Mālava pressure by Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta in his Nasik inscription is not the name of a tribe but the name of a person and that person was no other than Uttamadatta,


<sup>42</sup>CCBM, Ancient India, p. 177, pl. XXIV, 17.

<sup>43</sup>JNSI, Vol. VII, pp. 27 ff.

the king of Mathurā. Thus Sohoni is inclined to hold that Uttamadatta came into conflict with the Mālavas as well as the Audumbaras. But such a view cannot be accepted on the following grounds. Firstly, Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta flourished in the first half of the second century A. D. Secondly, all the coins of Hindu rulers of Mathura such as of the *Mitras* and *Dattas*, "cover the period from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B. C." (*CCBM*, Anc. Ind., p. cxi). Uttamadatta can in no way be relegated to the first century A. D., far less to the time of Nahapāna. Thirdly, the rulers of Mathurā, the one-time feudatories of the Śuṅgas, belonged to the period when the Śuṅga empire was tottering due to the Greek invasion on the one hand and family fouds on the other, i. e., in the second-first century B. C. Lastly, a tribe called Uttamas, presumably the Uttamabhadras, has actually been mentioned along with the Daśārṇas in the *Bhīshmaparvan* (Siddhānta-vāgīśa's edition, VI. 9. 41) of the *Mahābhārata*.

It appears, therefore, that Uttamadatta was a local ruler of Mathurā and a contemporary of Mahādeva and thus he cannot be identified with Uttamabhadra of the Nasik inscription. Uttamadatta flourished in the second-first century B. C. and the epigraphy of silver coins of Mahādeva whose contemporary he was, seems to confirm this. Perhaps Mahādeva carried his arms into the territory of Uttamadatta and after inflicting a defeat upon the latter restruck his coins. Both the original and the restruck coins of Mahādeva, however, do not bear any Kharoshthī legend on them like the Audumbara species. The use of Brāhmī, adopted by Mahādeva, appears to have been well established in Mathurā, where his restruck coin has been found. As regards the original one, it may be noted that its provenance is not recorded and what appears to be probable is that such monoscriptual coins were meant for the more easterly parts of the Audumbaras. But all these are to be treated, however, as hypothetical and until further specimens are forthcoming, we are to remain satisfied with only one conclusion, which seems to be quite reasonable, that the coinage under review is to be attributed to Mahādeva, the Audumbara ruler, who at some stage of his career came into conflict with Uttamadatta of Mathura.<sup>44</sup>

#### Variety K

Obverse : Tree in railing  on right. Undulating line on left.

Reverse : Temple ; traces of Brāhmī legend.

The provenance of coins of this variety is not known. For specimens, see *CCBM*, p. 125, pl. XV, 11 and 12. Allan describes the line on the obverse as 'Cobra' and the temple as 'Stupa.'

<sup>44</sup>See my article 'A Rare variety of Audumbara coins' in *IHQ*, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. 1. pp. 75ff.

Coins of the Class 3 pertaining to the *Mitra* rulers have been doubtfully assigned to the Audumbaras by some numismatists such as R. D. Banerji, but S. K. Chakraborty has attributed the coins of Mahimitra and Ajamitra, on grounds of style, to the Audumbaras. He is of the opinion that "they were the rulers of the tribe, of which the national god was Mahādeva or Śiva"<sup>45</sup>. It is interesting to note here that the name Bhānumitra occurs also in the series of coins of the Pañchāla *Mitra* rulers.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to show in the present state of our knowledge as to whether these *Mitra* rulers were related to the Audumbara *Mitra* rulers. P. L. Gupta, however, assigns the coins of Class 3, i. e., the coins of the Audumbara *Mitra* rulers to the *Mitra* kings of Pañchāla.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Chronology of the Audumbara Coins*

Cunningham found coins of the Audumbaras, to recapitulate a fact mentioned previously, along with those of a few foreign rulers such as Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophares, Kanishka and Huvishka. This fact is important inasmuch as it shows that the territory of the Audumbaras had been under foreign rulers down to the second century A. D. Among the coins discussed above, those of Class I "may be presumed to be the earliest, as distinctly Indian in type and showing no trace of foreign influence".<sup>48</sup> On grounds of palaeography R. D. Banerji, Allan and others have assigned these coins to the first century B. C. According to R. D. Banerji the Brāhmī letters occurring on these coins "belong to the 1st Century B. C. when angular forms had taken place of the more cursive alphabet of the inscription of Aśoka. The letters of the Kharoshthī legend would also point to the same date".<sup>49</sup> It seems, however, that these coins belong to a period a little earlier, say, in the latter half of the second century B. C. The square copper coins bearing the name of the tribe as well as the names of the kings Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dharaghosha—probably precede those of the foreign rulers such as Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophares etc. Among these kings, again, Śivadāsa appears to have flourished earlier than Mahādeva and Dharaghosha. Silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha betraying foreign influence, seem to favour such a contention.

The above-mentioned silver coins of Mahādeva and Dharaghosha, appear to indicate that these two rulers came into contact with the Bactrian king Zoilus or some of his predecessors or successors inasmuch as their coins are based on Græco-Indian model both from the points of view of type and metrology.<sup>50</sup> Hence their coins seem to be later in date and they may be placed in the first century A. D.

<sup>45</sup>*JRASB*, Num. Suppl. XLVI, 1936, p. 74.

<sup>46</sup>*CCBM*, Ancient India, pp. 195-97, pl. XXVII, 15-20.

<sup>47</sup>*IHQ*, 1951, p. 205.

<sup>48</sup>*CCBM*, Anc. India, p. LXXXIII.

<sup>49</sup>*JASB*, 1914, Num. Suppl., p. 249.

<sup>50</sup>See *infra*, pp. 20-21.

As the coins of the *Mitra* rulers (Class III) omit the name of the tribe, R. D. Banerji was reluctant to assign them to the Audumbaras.<sup>51</sup> P. L. Gupta on the ground of *Mitra* surname attributes them to the *Mitra* rulers of Pañchāla, and conjectures that those *Mitra* kings succeeded the Audumbaras in the area wherefrom this specimens came.<sup>52</sup>

One may however point out the omission of the tribal name in the series of the *Mitra* rulers but mere omission of the name of the tribe cannot be considered as a ground for non-assigning the *Mitra* series to the Audumbaras. for we have instances of tribal coins where the name of the tribe does not occur (cf. Class I and 4 coins of the Yaudheyas, *CCBM*, Anc. Ind., pp. 265-75), a fact which shows that in classification of coins, type and fabric are more important than the mention of name of the tribe concerned. Further, the omission of the tribal name in the series in question may be due to factors such as the change in the constitution of the Audumbaras with the increase of the authority of the rulers of the tribe who gave their own names only in the coin-legends. Similarly it would be risky to attribute these coins to the *Mitra* rulers of Pañchāla or to any other *Mitra* dynasty of Madhyadeśa simply on the ground of the occurrence of the *Mitra* surname.<sup>53</sup> Tendency to adopt the surname of the celebrated dynasty by other less known and later dynasties is a feature of the socio-political history of ancient India (cf. the adoption of the *Gupta* and *Pāla* surnames by different dynasties of Northern India after the appearance of those two famous dynasties). On the other hand, we have come across coins of a king named Vijayamitra (cf. *Taxila* by Marshall, Vol. 2, p. 820, pl. 243) who has been described therein as belonging to the Kulūtas. If the Kulūtas, a neighbouring tribe of the Audumbaras, could have had a king with a *Mitra*-name-ending, the Audumbaras might have equally got rulers with *Mitra* name-endings. The coins of Ajamitra, Mahimitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra, therefore, are to be attributed without any doubt to the Audumbaras.<sup>53</sup> Chronologically speaking, these coins without the tribal name may be placed after those of Dharaghosha, Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, etc.

#### *Interpretation of the Devices and Symbols on the Audumbara Coins*

The devices and symbols which occur on the Audumbara coins are : (i) tree in an enclosure, (ii) elephant (sometime its forepart), (iii) bull (sometimes humped), (iv) lotus flower, (v) an undulating line, (vi) trident with axe, (vii) pointed roofed temple, (viii) figure of Viśvāmitra and (ix) some symbols noticed on variety E of class 3. Let us now examine these devices and symbols.

<sup>51</sup>*Op. Cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>52</sup>*Op. Cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>53</sup>A comparative study of coins of *Mitra* rulers of Mathurā, Pañchāla and the Audumbaras "will show that the respective peculiarities of different series of the local and tribal coins are so well-marked that we cannot attribute them to a single dynasty." *JNSI*, XX, 123. As to the *Mitra* name-ending of them different local rulers it may be suggested that "to bear the surname *Mitra* was possibly the fashion of the day," *Ibid.*, p. 128.

(i) Tree in an enclosure : Cunningham identifies the tree with the *udumbara* fig-tree. The tree may be the 'eanting badge' (or *lāñchchhana* or heraldic crest) of the tribe or it may represent what is known as the *sthala-vriksha* of the locality where the coins were in currency. Allan is reluctant to identify the tree necessarily with the *udumbara* because of the commonness of the tree-motif on early Indian coins<sup>51</sup>. There is some force in Allan's argument, for in ancient India the tree-cult was widely prevalent. The cult goes back to the days of the Indus civilisation and early Indian sculpture and coins bear testimony to it. References to *chaityavrikshas* and *devāranyas* in the Epics further prove the antiquity of the cult.<sup>51</sup> Mention may be made of the tradition which states that each Buddha had his own tree, e.g., Gautama attained enlightenment (*sambodhi*) under the pipal tree. In short, trees are regarded from time immemorial as abodes of gods (and sometimes gods themselves personified) and hence venerated by peoples of India belonging to different religions even now.

It is, therefore, in the light of the above statement difficult to identify this tree with the *udumbara* (fig-tree) with certitude, though such an identification cannot be an impossible one. The tree seems to represent the *sthala-vriksha* of the tribe and as such it was put into an enclosure or railing like stūpas and other sacred objects.

(2) Elephant : Cunningham describes in his *Coins of Ancient India* only one coin on which the elephant occurs. But his specimen was so poor that he had to satisfy himself with a drawing instead of a photograph from a cast. And in that drawing the entire body of the elephant is found above the undulating line but on the coins belonging to the Irrippal find, the head, trunk and the forelegs only are to be found. Figure of elephant, it is to be noted in this connection, also occurs on a number of coins (cf. coins of Vāyudeva, Śivadatta, and some other coins found at Ayodhya; Kāḍa coins; coins of Bṛihaspatimitra I found at Kauśāmbī; some coins found at Taxila; coins of the Uddehikas; some Ujjayanī coins, etc). That the elephant to use get veneration from ancient Indians will be evident from the Buddhist tradition which says that Gautama entered into the womb of his mother Māyādevī as a white elephant in her dream and a sculptural representation conforming to this tradition is found on a railing of Bharhut. Thus the elephant was one of the animals which was venerated by the Audumbaras.

(3) Bull : This popular animal appears on the coins of the Audumbaras and like the elephant also occurs on a number of ancient Indian coins (cf. coins of Ayodhya, Taxila, Kauśāmbī, and of the Agras Yaudheyas, etc). Regard for this animal by ancient Indians is attested by the archaeological finds

<sup>51</sup>*Op. Cit.*, p. LXXXIII.

<sup>51a</sup> Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 6-8.

at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and other sites of the Indus civilisation<sup>55</sup>. Bull is the *vāhana* of the great god Śiva, and as such is also found on seals unearthed at ancient sites like Basarh, Besnagar, Bhitia, etc. On account of the occurrence of the trident and the battle-axe, all being theriomorphic representations of the god Śiva, it appears that the Audumbaras were votaries of Śiva and hence with the great god also respected his *vāhana*. In other words, the bull represented here appears to be Śiva's *vāhana*, Nandi.

(4) Lotus flower (?): Allan has identified the object under the head of the bull in the 'Bull : Elephant' type coins with the lotus flower. It may also be taken to be a *Chakra* or discus and may be a countermark. To the Indians the lotus is a sacred flower, symbolising Śrī or fortune and its use on the coins of the Audumbaras along with other religious objects seems to be justified.

(5) Undulating line : The undulating line appearing on the coins of the Audumbaras was described by Cunningham as a snake<sup>56</sup>. Allan only once accepts this identification (Var. K.). S. K. Chakraborty argues that when a zigzag line occurs with a hill symbol, it may signify a river and that in such case the hill and river are the special local features. In the present case, as there is no hill symbol, the zigzag line must have been used for merely ornamental purposes<sup>57</sup>. There is no reason, however, why the zigzag line itself should never have the meaning which it carries except when it is associated with the hill symbol. The tree and the river appearing together on the coins probably symbolise the fertility of the country and the resultant affluence of the tribe concerned.

The zigzag line in the present case may represent the river called Udumbarāvati which finds mention in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali<sup>58</sup>, as well as in the *Harivamśa*. This river as the name suggests may have been connected with the land of the Audumbaras. It has been identified by B. N. Puri with a small tributary joining the river Beas near Gurudaspur<sup>59</sup>.

(6) Trident with axe : The *triśūla* was regarded as a sacred symbol not only by the Hindus but also by the Buddhists (cf. the early Buddhist art Sanchi, Bharhut etc.) and the Jains (cf. the sculptures found at Kankali-tila

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<sup>55</sup>Not only ancient Indians, but peoples of many parts of the ancient world venerated bulls. For instance, the Hellenic god Dionysus in European folklore is sometimes seen represented as a bull and this form of the God was an "expression for his character as a deity of vegetation specially as the bull is a common embodiment of corn-spirit in Northern Europe," *Golden Bough* (St. Martin's Library), pp. 513, 611.

<sup>56</sup>*CASR*, XIV, p. 136

<sup>57</sup>*JRASB*, Num. Suppl., 1936, p. 61.

<sup>58</sup>IV. 2. 71; II, 287.

<sup>59</sup>Chapter 8, 167, L. 0511.

<sup>60</sup>*IPP*, p. 71. For the tributary see *Imperial Gazetteer*, Atlas.



near Mathura). Here, however, the symbol stands for the great god Śiva. In the drawing of Cunningham we find a shaft surmounted by a wheel instead of the *triśūla* as well as a *svastika* on a pillar to the left of the temple. But on the coins of the Irrippal find the trident is clear and in some cases it is marked with a flying banner.

Considering *triśūla* as the tribal insignia, S. K. Chakraborty writes : "*Triśūla* is the special weapon of Śiva and is found in Vimaka (i. e. in Rudravarmā's coins) and Audumbara coins. . . . . in the Audumbara coin the trident is highly elaborate and is perhaps the figure of their standard. . . . . On occasions the national standards of the tribes figure in their coins. The Audumbaras appear to be very fond of their tribal insignia and three different varieties are employed by them. The symbol on the reverse of the Viśvūmitra type coin to the left of the *udumbara* tree is a trident—battle-axe—a *triśūla* and axe combined. The same symbol is found on the reverse of a hemidrachm of Zoilus."<sup>61</sup>

On the reverse of the Audumbara coin of the 'Elephant : Temple' type, a pillar is shown on each side of the temple. The one on the left has a *svastika* on it and the object which surmounts the pillar to the right seems to be a wheel with 'pendant garlands'. According to Cunningham the wheel represents the *Dharmachakra*.<sup>62</sup> There is no doubt that the symbols and the temple invest the type with a religious character.

(7) Pointed roofed temple : The object which appears on the square copper coins and the silver coin of Dharaghosha was described by Cunningham as a pyramidal temple of two or three storeys, the lower storey being supported on four or six pillars<sup>64</sup>. Allan describes it as a 'two storied domed stupa'<sup>65</sup> while K. P. Jayaswal took the building as a 'mote hall or some other public building' of the tribe<sup>66</sup>.

As regards this shrine, Mr. S. V. Sohoni has drawn our attention to the third act of the *Pratimānātakam* of Bhāsa<sup>67</sup>. In that act Prince Bharata looking out for a suitable resting place before entering Ayodhya notices a temple at a distance without a weapon (*praharaṇam*) or banner (*dhvaja*) outside as an emblem of the deity worshipped inside. Bhāsa thus refers to a custom of placing some object outside a temple to symbolise the god worshipped in it. The temple on the Audumbara coin shows a *dhvaja* and trident, and, battle-axe

<sup>61</sup>*Op. Cit.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>62</sup>*CASR*, XIV, p. 136; also *CAI*, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup>*CASR*, XIV, p. 136; also *CAI*, p. 66.

<sup>64</sup>*CAI*, p. 66.

<sup>65</sup>*Op. Cit.*, pp. 122ff.

<sup>66</sup>*HP*, p. 161.

<sup>67</sup>*JNSI*, Vol. IV, p. 56.

(*praharaṇam*) and on that ground Mr. Sohoni concludes that it must have been a Saivite temple. He further suggests that the familiarity of the Indians with the early Roman temple coins through trade led to the adoption of this type. A. S. Altekar, while commenting on Sohoni's view, refers to a parallel furnished by a *Garuḍadhvaja* in front of the temple of Vāsudeva which was erected by Heliiodorus, the Greek ambassador at Vidiśā, towards the end of the second century B. C., the approximate time of the our coins. J. N. Banerjia endorses the view of Sohoni and describes the temple as "a Śaiva shrine with double domes and multiple pillars".<sup>68</sup>

Thus it appears to be almost certain that the structure represented on the Audumbara coins stands for a shrine. While referring to the coins of the Irippal find, R. D. Banerji pointed out that the building appearing on those coins is a three-storeyed one and slightly different in shape from that appearing on Cunningham's coin<sup>69</sup>. In any case, the building may be regarded as one of the earliest representations of a well-developed temple model. A. K. Coomaraswamy describes the buildings on the Audumbara coins "structural shrines or pavilions"<sup>70</sup>. In this connection, he refers to the pavilion with a double-ornamented plinth and enshrining figures of Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena to be found on a coin of Huvishka<sup>71</sup>. The Audumbara coins are, however, prior to the coin of Huvishka. Hence they are important for supplying us with the earliest representations of the ancient Indian temples.

The shrines appearing on the Audumbara coins seem to have constituted the proto-type of the Pallava *rathas*, a suggestion which is based on the view of S. K. Saraswati which finds the resemblance between the Pārvati temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhāra, the Lād Khān, the Koṅṅ Goli and the Meguti temples at Aihole etc. on the one hand and the storeyed pavilions of the Audumbara coins on the other<sup>72</sup>. The Audumbara structures have certain characteristics which are commonly associated with the *Drāviḍa* temple style as known later times.

(8) Figure of Viśvāmitra : Cunningham describes the figure on the silver coin of Dharghosha as that of Śiva<sup>73</sup>. But it will be more appropriate to take the figure as that of Viśvāmitra since the name of the sage is given in the coin-legend. He was indeed the 'patron saint' of the tribe with which his connection has been already shown to have existed from literary evidence.

<sup>68</sup>CHIS, p. 799.




<sup>69</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 248.






<sup>70</sup>HIA, p. 45.



<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>72</sup>SE, p. 533.

<sup>73</sup>CAI, p. 61. Dr. J. N. Banerjia (DHI, p. 121) describes the figure as Śiva-Viśvāmitra, taking Viśvāmitra as one of the appellations of Śiva. Though the trident and battle axe on the reverse shows Śaiva affiliation of the tribe, in the light of Viśvāmitra's connection with the *udumbara* the figure concerned appears to be that of Viśvāmitra and not of Śiva.

(9) As regards the symbols  and  (see coins of class III), it may be noted that both of them occur in the Pañchāla series (*CCBM*, pp. cxviii-cxix, 192-204). The former symbol appears also on some coins found at Ayodhā (*CCBM*, p. 133) and on a class of Kuṇinda coins (*CCBM*, pp. cl, 159-67). The symbol  is undoubtedly a variety of the well known

 or  which was described by Prinscp as a *Jayadhvaja* (see *JASB*, IV, p. 628). Elsewhere we have tried to explain the nature of the symbols  and . The nature of the present symbol characterised by two hooks below is difficult to be explained. Probably it also represents a *Jayadhvaja*; or like *Svastika* and many other symbols it is invested with some religious significance. Equally difficult is to explain the nature of the other symbol  which may be described as a Brāhmi *M* with two hooks below.

Allan has refrained himself from making any attempt to explain these two symbols. As to the other two symbols  and , it may be observed that the latter symbol is probably a solar one while the former is the well-known *nundipada* symbol, and thus both of them appear to have had religious signification.

#### *Foreign Influence on the Audumbara Coins*

As regards the extent of the foreign influence on the Audumbara coins, it may be mentioned that this can be noticed only on the silver coins of Dhara-ghosha and Mahādeva. The influence of foreign metrology on these coins is shown by the fact that they conform more to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins which is of 40 grains than to the indigenous measure which is of 56 grains.<sup>71</sup> As for example, the silver coins of Mahādeva (Class 2, Varieties A and B) weigh 33 and 31 grains while those of Dharaghosha (Class 2, Variety C) weigh 37.5 (*CCBM*) and 43.7 (*CCPM*) grains. Thus the weights of the silver coins of the Audumbaras, varying from 31 to 43 grains, may be taken to have conformed to the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins. In regard

<sup>71</sup>The later Greek kings used what is known as the Indo-Persian weight-standard of 86.45 grains. The hemidrachms of the Indo-Greek kings weigh substantially the half of a Persian siglos of 86.45 grains, or perhaps do little less, the average being, say, 40 grains. The Indo-Persian weight standard of 40 grains adopted by the Indo-Greek kings influenced the coinage of the rulers and tribes who came after them.

to devices, it may be seen that the figure of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghosha bears a strong resemblance to Hercules crowning himself as found on the hemidrachms of Lysias; the club has disappeared but the lion-skin is present. Besides, the coin itself also shows 'unmistakable foreign influence' from the standpoint of fabric. A touch of foreign influence is also discernible in the adoption of the attributive epithet like *rajaraju* (*rājarāja*) by Mahādeva on coins of Class 2. Besides the Indo-Bactrian influence the Scythian influence on some Audumbara coins may also be noticed; as for example, one may find out a resemblance between the standing poses of Pallas who holds thunderbolt in right and aegis in left hand on a coin of Azilises (*Numismatic Chronicle* 1890, pl. X, 5a) and of Viśvāmitra on the silver coins of Dharaghosha, though the figure of the latter looks like that of a sage.

### *Political Condition of the Audumbaras*

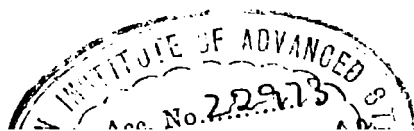
The early history of the Audumbaras is extremely obscure. Przyluski, however, conjectures that they had to bear the brunt of the Aryan aggression, as a result of which event there was a division among the tribe.<sup>74</sup> According to him, the *Mahābhārata* refers to the Adumbaras of the Punjab while the authors of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* intended to imply the Southern Udumbaras. It is true that available evidence, numismatic as well as literary, tends to show that there were more than one section of the Audumbaras, specially when Pliny places the Odombeores on the mouth of the Indus (see fn. 15). But the supposition of the division of the tribe due to the Aryan attack is purely conjectural. The literary references to the Audumbaras, on which Przyluski bases his view, are much later than the time of the Aryan infiltration in the Punjab. In the time of the *Śatupatha Brāhmaṇa*, i. e. in about the eighth century B. C., as we have tried to show before, the Audumbaras might have existed probably as member of the Sālva group. But there is no evidence to suppose that the Sālvas or the Audumbaras were attacked by the Āryans and were, hence, divided into two groups. The Audumbaras appear as an independent tribe not earlier than the time of the *Gaṇapāṭha* i. e. about the fifth century B. C. In short, nothing definite can be said about the early history of the Audumbaras.

Numismatic evidence shows that the tribe must have asserted its independence and formed a separate state in about the second century B. C. Thus what happened to the Audumbaras between the fifth and the second centuries B. C. is at present unknown.

In this connection, however we may refer to a theory of Tarn<sup>75</sup>. According to him, Menander, an Indo-Greek King of the second century B. C., extended his dominion not only up to the Punjab but also up to Mathura. Tarn believes

<sup>74</sup>a. *APP*, p. 24.

<sup>75</sup>*GBI*, pp. 238-40.



that *-ene* of *Kulindrene* referred to by Ptolemy marks it as a Greek province and he thinks further that Ptolemy locates the *Kulindrene*, in 'the Upper Beas, Sutlej, Jumna and the Ganges'. *Kulindrene* is obviously connected with *Kulind* of Indian sources. On the provenance of their coins, the *Kunindas* are assigned to the upper Beas and Sutlej. From these arguments Tarn infers that the *Kulindrene-Kunindas* thus living somewhere between West Panjab and Mathura were under the Indo-Greek ruler Menander. Tarn further concludes that the *Audumbaras*, the findspots of whose coins would place them on the Upper Beas and so in a territory contiguous to that of the *Kunindas*, were also under the same Indo-Greek ruler.

Even if for the sake of argument we do not deny the feasibility of the theory of the extension of Menander's empire up to Mathura, it is extremely difficult to prove on the basis of Ptolemy's evidence that it embraced the whole territory to the south of the Himalayas stretching from the Panjab to Mathura. A. K. Narain has shown that the place-names ending in *-ene* in Ptolemy's *Geography* do not necessarily indicate them as appellations for Greek provinces.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, Ptolemy has never explicitly stated or implied that his idea of *Kulindrene* was based on an information gathered in the period of Menander. Hence it cannot be proved that the *Kunindas* and the *Audumbaras* living in the Himalayan region were subjugated by Menander. In fact, we have coins of the tribes assignable to the second century B. C. and not to the first century B. C. as Tarn believes. Thus the *Audumbaras* and *Kunindas* ruled independently in a century which saw the rise of Menander and maintained their independence probably till the end of the first century A. D. When they disappeared from the stage of history is not known at present.<sup>76a</sup>

As regards the form of the government of the *Audumbaras*, nothing can be said with certainty. Jayaswal holds that the tribe was a republic and it "had an elective king."<sup>77</sup> One must take note in this connection of the expression *raña* in the legend 'Mahādevasa *raña* Sivalasasa Oḷubari a'. This may mean that the leadership of the tribe was assumed by Śivalasa. What is difficult to explain in this case is the significance of the word 'Mahādeva'. Allan remarks that the word is used as a regal title; at the same time he also says that it may have been the name of a ruler especially when we have a silver coin bearing it.<sup>78</sup> P. L. Gupta, however, does not accept the word 'Mahādeva' as used in the sense of a regal title on the ground that an expression which has this applied to the god Śiva could not have been used by a tribal leader.<sup>79</sup> Stressing the occurrence of representations

<sup>76</sup>IG, p. 52.

<sup>76a</sup> Altkar's supposition that the *Audumbaras* eventually merged in the Madra republic (*The Vakataka Gupta Age*, p. 31) lacks positive evidence.

<sup>77</sup>*Op. cit.* (third edition) pp. 153-54.

<sup>78</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii

<sup>79</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 204.

of a temple and trident peculiar to Śiva, he suggests "that the word Mahādeva refers here to god Śiva himself."<sup>80</sup> Śivadāsa's coin, therefore, shows that the coin belonged to god Śiva, to king Śivadāsa (or others) and to the tribe Audumbara. In his opinion this interpretation is supported by the legend *Bhagavata Mahādevasa*.<sup>81</sup> As regards this legend, Gupta rejects Allan's view that it means 'of Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat' and himself suggests that it should be taken as meaning 'of the almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings'. In this connection he points out that though treatises on ancient Indian polity are not aware of the rule in the name of any god, coins, in fact, were issued by the Kuṇḍas and the Yaudheyas in the names of their respective presiding deities.<sup>82</sup> The conception of a polity in which the ruler is considered as a 'mere agent of his god' was current. To sum up, therefore, the tribal organisation of the Audumbaras does not appear to be a republican government. We may believe that the tribe had some form of theocratic government on the lines of those obtaining among certain contemporaneous tribes such as the Kuṇḍas. The practice of dedicating the state to a god and its government being carried on by a human agent is thus shown to have been current among some tribes of ancient India. The Śisodiyā Rāṇās of Udaipur and the rulers of Travancore were found to have a similar institution amongst them until recent times.

#### *Religious and Economic conditions of the Audumbaras*

The coins of the Audumbaras that bear the device of a structure along with a trident and a battle-axe may afford some help in this controversial matter. As we have already shown, the structure may signify a Śaivite temple. The trident and the battle-axe, the former being a special weapon of Śiva, and the names of the issuers of coins such as Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa, are clearly indicative of the Śaiva affiliation of the Audumbaras. The coins that bear the figure of a bull also point to the same conclusion, for the bull probably stands for Nandi, the *vāhana* of Śiva. This combined symbol, i. e., the trident and the battle-axe appears sometimes with Śiva on the reverse of the coins of Vema Kalphises, the legend on the reverse of whose coins is: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa VimaKathphisasa* or *maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima-Kathphisasa tratara*.<sup>83</sup> The same symbol is also seen on the coins of Vāsudeva and Vasu, and it is to be noted that when Samudragupta issued coins in imitation of the coins of the late Kushānas, he changed that symbol and introduced the Garuḍa symbol peculiar to the Vaiṣṇava faith. The replacement of the hill symbol with a crescent above, possibly a Śaiva one, by the Garuḍa symbol on Chandragupta II's

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup>CCPM, Vol. 1, pl. XVII, 36.

silver coins, struck in imitation of the coins of those of the Western Satraps may be cited here as a parallel instance. In short, the available evidence is enough to justify the inference that the Audumbaras, at least a section of them, professed the Śaiva faith.<sup>84</sup>

The Audumbaras were advantageously situated on the great route of commerce which through Sākala, Agrodaka and Rohitaka ran from Takshasilā to the Gangetic valley. It was a route from Magadha to Kāśmīr.<sup>85</sup> Besides, their territory stood on the openings of several Himalayan valleys serving as natural intermediaries between the mountains and the plains. It is to be noted that Pathankot where a number of coins of the tribe were found, being the junction of the commercial routes from Chamba, Nurpur and Kangra, was an important commercial centre.<sup>86</sup> J. Przyluski relating the story of the cloth of Kodumbara as found in some ancient texts like the *Milinda Pañho* and the *Vessantara Jātaka*, has attempted to show that the Udumbaras or the Audumbaras thrived for their trade in this type of precious cloth.<sup>87</sup> The Audumbaras may have grown prosperous through the sale of woollen goods manufactured by them in the markets of the plains. Pathankot is still a well-known centre for the production of woollen goods and shawls.<sup>88</sup> The economic affluence of the Audumbaras is also attested by Buddhist texts like the *Vinaya* (viz. the section called *Chullvagga*). The silver coins of the tribe, though not many in number, also show that they were one of those few ancient Indian tribes issuing silver coins, whose financial position may be presumed to have been sound.

#### *Ethnology of the Audumbaras : Their social position*

Though K. P. Jayaswal<sup>89</sup> takes most of the republican peoples of the Punjab and Sind on the basis of the evidence of the Greek authors as belonging to the "perfect and pure Aryan type of the Hindu", it is difficult, however,

<sup>84</sup>J. Przyluski in his *La Légende de l'Empereur Asoka* (p. 10-66) has, however, shown that the merchants of ancient India contributed in the diffusion of the Buddhism along the great commercial routes of India, notably on the route which ran from the lower valley of the Ganges to Kāśmīr, through Mathurā. According to him, before the beginning of the Christian era "the capital of the Audumbaras and the city of Aggalapura were recognised as citadels of Buddhism in the north-western regions". (*APP*, p. 12.). Further he conjectures that the word *Mendhaka* of the *Divyāvadāna*, corresponding to *Mndaka* in Pāli, which means 'ram' may recall 'Aja' (which means he-goat) of the name of Ajamitra, a king of the Audumbaras (*Ibid*, p. 12;27). But here it may be mentioned that Ajamitra is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Āryamitra. So far as the coins are concerned they do not reflect the affiliation of their issuers to Buddhism.

<sup>85</sup>*APP*, p. 12.

<sup>86</sup>*GI*, cf. Pathankot.

<sup>87</sup>*Op. cit*, pp. 13ff.

<sup>88</sup>*GI*, cf. Pathankot.

<sup>89</sup>*HP*, p. 188.

to describe with any certainty the Audumbaras as such. Jayaswal's view may hold good as to the people like the Ārjunāyanas and the Sālankāyanas, their names being "proof positive of orthodox origin", but the Audumbaras appear to stand on a different ethnic scale. With the help of linguistic evidence, Przyluski attempts to determine the ethnic origin of the Audumbaras. He says: "*Udumbara*, Sanskrit name of *Ficus glomerata*, become, part of a numerous series of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryan from the Austro-Asiatic. *Udumbara* means at the same time, a country of the Punjab and the inhabitants of this region."<sup>90</sup> The word *kodumbara*, the name of a variety of woollen goods, was also the name of the people who manufactured the tissues. *Udumbara*, *Odumbara*, *Kodumbara* may be thus regarded as variants of the same name, applied to an Austro-Asiatic race in North.<sup>91</sup> To Przyluski, these people, ethnically non-Aryan, appear to have been the speakers of an Austro-Asiatic language,<sup>92</sup> who, according to Herodotus,<sup>93</sup> were neither Aryans nor Dravidians. Przyluski has placed them particularly in the marshy regions where Pliny later on located a people called the Odombeores, presumably a section of the Audumbaras who migrated from the north to Kachh on the seacoast.<sup>94</sup> In this connection it may be added that the name of the Adamvira or Admera section of the Johiya Rajputs in the Punjab is reminiscent of the name of the Audumbaras.<sup>95</sup> In the modern community of the Gujrati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste also the name of the tribe appears have been survived.

Przyluski is of the opinion that the Indo-Aryans had penetrated into the centre of the Austro-Asiatic masses and proceeded slowly towards the south-east and he is thus almost certain of the ethnic affiliation and the language of the Audumbaras. According to him, the Audumbaras had "close affinities with the Kol populations (or Munda) who even to this day subsist in Chhotonagpur region". But it is risky to settle the question of their ethnology on the basis of a word or two. It is possible to answer such questions with the help of numismatic and other evidences of more reliable nature.

Like the view of Jayaswal, the theory of Przyluski is also of the nature of a hypothesis and therefore cannot be accepted as certain. The history of the Audumbaras is, however, to be deduced from their association with Śiva<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup>III. 98-102.

<sup>94</sup>See *Supra*, fn. 15.

<sup>95</sup>*CAGI*, p. 281.

<sup>96</sup>Śiva by the first century B. C. when the Audumbaras flourished, was incorporated into the Brahmanical pantheon as a result of an amalgam of the Vedic Rudra and the non-Aryan Śiva cf. Śiva-Pasupati on a Mohenjo-daro seal.



and from references to them in early Brahmanical texts as well as from the distribution of their coins and their peculiarities. On the basis of available evidence it appears that the Audumbaras, even if they were foreigners, were absorbed in the Indian population with the passage of time and became fully Hinduised. Patañjali's reference<sup>97</sup> to the Udumbaras (a variant of the Audumbaras) together with the Bodhas as belonging to the Kshatriya *gotra* is a positive point in this direction.

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<sup>97</sup>II. 4. 58. Bodhas belonged to the Sālva group and lived somewhere in the eastern district of the Punjab, cf., *IPP* p. 75.

## APPENDIX

### *The Vemakas*

One coin definitely belongs to the Vemakas. It is a round silver coin and belongs to the Lahore Museum (Western Punjab)<sup>1</sup>. Bergny<sup>2</sup> was the first to read the name *Vemaka* in the coin-legend which has been generally accepted. There is another coin which is of copper and square (not traceable at present), originally noticed by Rodgers and wrongly attributed by him to Hermacus, may also be assigned to the same people<sup>3</sup>. Its type and fabric are common to those of the Lahore Museum specimen which bears the legend *Vemakisa* (or *Vamakisa*). The legend on the former, as read by Allan, is *Vamaka—papasa*.

The first coin, i.e. the silver coin "was found in a field near Jwalamukhi in company with three silver pieces of the Kuṇindas and 28 Philopator hemidrachms of Apollodotus". The provenance of the second coin is not very certain, but as Allan informs us, it "came from the Punjab, probably from the Hoshiarpur district"<sup>5</sup>. Thus the two coins come almost from the same locality where the habitat of the people may be looked for.

If the copper coin can be definitely attributed to the Vemakas, it will be seen that they like some of their neighbours issued both silver and copper coins. Copper was commonly issued by most of the tribes and it would be rather unusual if coinage of the Vemakas was confined to silver alone. The two coins may be taken as representing two different classes, based on differences in shape, legend and metal.

### CLASS I

(Silver, round)

Obverse : Bull right, lotus in front. Legend in Kharoshthī :

*Raṇa Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayata.*

Reverse : Elephant right with upraised trunk, trident with axe on left.

Legend in Brāhmī : *Rājño Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaka (?)*.

N. B.—Cunningham read *Rajna* instead of *Raṇa* on the obverse. Whitehead accepts his reading, *CCPM*, p. 167. The reading *vijayata* on the obverse suggested by Cunningham, Rapson and others is accepted by Allan in the text of his *Catalogue* (p. 125), but in the *Introduction* of the same work, he proposes to read *vijayaya* instead of *vijayata* and says that *vijayaya* is a Prakrit equivalent of *vijayaka* (occurring in the Brāhmī legend), which is an adjective meaning 'victorious'. *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi. Allan correctly reads *Vemakisa* in the *Introduction* of his *Catalogue*, p. lxxxv.

<sup>1</sup>*CCPM*, p. 167, Pl. XVI, No. 137. Also *CCBM*, p. 125, Pl. XIV, 13.

<sup>2</sup>*JRAS* 1900, p. 419. His reading was accepted by Rapson who observed that *Vemaki* stands for *Vaimaki*, *ibid*, p. 429.

<sup>3</sup>*CCBM*, p. 280, Pl. XLV, 14. It may be noted here that the correct form of the tribal name is *Vemaka* and not *Vamaka*, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>*CAI*, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup>*CCBM*, p. cliv and fn, 2.

## CLASS 2

(Copper, square)

Obverse: Elephant right,  behind. legend in Brāhmī :*Vemakajanapadasa.*Reverse : Bull Left, and  and  above.

N. B.—Allan tries to read *Rāja* before *V—mak—napapasa*, but is not very sure as to his reading, for he says that what he reads as *Rāja* “may, however, be a *nandipada*,” *op. cit.*, p. cliv. On the analogy of *Rājanya*, *Śibi* and *Trigarta* coin-legends, it appears that the legend on the present coin is most probably *Vemakajanapadasa*. The coin does not bear any Kharoṣṭhī legend and hence the side with the Brāhmī legend has been taken as obverse.

*Rudravarmā, the ruler of the Vemaka tribe*

Cunningham<sup>6</sup> and Whitehead<sup>7</sup> attribute the coin of Rudravarmā to the Audumbaras. Allan<sup>8</sup> also subscribes to their view. In the words of Allan<sup>9</sup> : “His (Rudravarmā’s) types are those of Mahādeva, except that the elephant is to the right. The elephant and trident with axe on handle again suggest the attribution to the Audumbara dynasty” In other words, Allan attributes the coin to the Audumbaras mainly on the ground of typological resemblance. As regards the second coin, Allan is not quite certain about its attribution and he concludes it in the list of ‘uncertain coins’. But he seems to be in favour of ascribing it to the Audumbaras since it bears the figures of a bull and an elephant which are found also on the coin of Rudravarmā and on the silver coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series. Besides, according to him,<sup>10</sup> the legend *V—mak (-)(-) napapasa : Vemaka* —“would suggest a further link with Rudravaraman and the Audumbaras.”

Apparently on the ground of the typological similarity between the coin of Rudravarmā and the coins of Mahādeva of the Audumbaras, Rudravarmā may be said to have belonged to the Audumbara tribe. But a very important point needs to be considered here. The coin in question expressly states that Rudravarmā was a Vemaki (*Vemakisa Rudravarmasa*). And if *Odu(m)bari* appearing on the coins of the Audumbaras means ‘a ruler of the Odumbara tribe’, Vemaki should likewise mean ‘ruler of the Vemaka tribe’ in which case Rudravarmā would

<sup>6</sup>*CAI*, pp. 66, 68, Pl. IV, 6.

<sup>7</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>8</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. oliv.

appear to have been a ruler of the Vemaka tribe and not of the Audumbarā (Odumbara). R. C. Kar has, therefore, rightly attributed the silver coin of Rudravarmā described above to a tribe called the Vemakas.<sup>11</sup>

The possibility of Rudravarmā's affiliation to a tribe other than the Audumbaras was also pointed out by Allan and Rapson. Allan takes Vemaki as representing "an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras,<sup>12</sup> while Rapson<sup>13</sup> observes that "a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source". A glance at old literary texts will show that the word *Vemaka* is not a rare one.

The word *Vemaka* in Sanskrit which etymologically means 'weaver' (see Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1013) appears as the name of a sage in the *Harivaṃśa*<sup>14</sup> and *Brahmapurāṇa*<sup>15</sup> whose wife brought up the Kaurava king, Ajupārśva, the great grand-son of Janamejaya Parikshit. As the evidence of the coins shows, *Vemaka*, stands for a tribe. In this connection one may refer to the *Mahābhārata*<sup>16</sup> wherein a people called the Vaiyāmakas (in some editions Vairāmaka) is mentioned along with the Audumbaras and the Darvas, Kāsmīras, Trigarttas and other tribes. The name *Vairāmaka* also occurs in the *Mahāmāyūri*.<sup>17</sup> Attention may also be drawn to the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Utpala on

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<sup>11</sup>*IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 59-62. R. D. Banerji first expressed doubts as to the attribution of coins of Rudravarmā, Mahimīta, Bhānumīta, Virayāsas, and Vṛṣhṇi to the Audumbaras. As regards the coins of Mahimīta and Bhānumīta, they have been attributed by us to the Audumbaras on grounds stated before, p. 15. For R. D. Banerji's view, *JASB*, 1914. Num. Suppl., p. 248.

<sup>12</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>13</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>14</sup>III, 1. 14-15.

<sup>15</sup>XIII, 136-37. A comparison of the verses embodying same story in the *Harivaṃśa* and *Brahmapurāṇa* shows that *Remaka* in some manuscripts of the latter text is apparently a scribal mistake for *Vemaka*.

<sup>16</sup>*Sabhāparvan*, Chapter 50, verses 13-14 ; edited by Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa, cf.

*Kairātā Daradā Darvāḥ Śūrā Vaiyāmakāstathā/  
Audumbarā Durvibhāgāḥ Pāradā Bāhlikaiḥ Saha||  
Kāsmīrāścha Kumārāścha Ghorakā Haṃsakāyanāḥ/  
Śibi Trigartta Yaudheyā Rājanya Madra Kaikayāḥ||*

The tribe called the Darvas gave rise to the name of their country Darvābhisāra which corresponds to the Punch and Naoshora districts of Kashmir, the Kāsmīras were evidently the people of modern Kashmir ; and the Trigarttas appear to have lived in the Jullundur Doab.

*Vaiyāmaka* of the above passage is derived from *Vyāmaka*. If *Vyāmaka* is to be taken identical with *Vemaka*, which gives rise to *Vaimaka* or *Vaimaki*, it is to be assumed that the person called *Vemaka* was also known as *Vyāmaka* or that *Vemaka* and *Vyāmaka* were two different personalities.

<sup>17</sup>*Vairāmaka Balo Yaksha Avantyaṃ Priyadarśanaḥ*, l. 48, See *JA*, 1915, pp 43, 95 ; also *JUPHS*, Vol. XV, pt. 2, pp. 28, 42.

Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*<sup>18</sup> which refers to a tribe named Vaimaka in the north-eastern division of India, along with the Kāsmīras, Daradas and Darvabhīmurās (apparently a mistake for Darvābhisāra). It is difficult to say whether all these three forms—*Vaiyāmaka*, *Vairāmaka* and *Vaimaka*—are to be regarded as approximations to the numismatic form *Vemaka*, but sufficient weight is to be attached to the fact that the Vaiyāmakas of the *Mahābhārata* are associated with tribes like the Audumbaras, Daradas etc. inhabiting the regions where the Vemakas also appear to have lived with them as neighbours. The findspot of the silver coin of Rudravarmā also tends to support the conclusion that the Vemakas, to which Rudravarmā belonged, were neighbours of the Audumbaras and other tribes of north-western India. The close resemblance between the coin-types of the Vemakas and those of Mahādeva of the Audumbara series, as already noticed, should "suggest proximity of mints and of districts of circulation, for as Rapson has already pointed out Indian coin-types are predominantly local in character". Thus there is little room for doubt that the Vemakas and the Audumbaras were neighbours but not identical.

<sup>18</sup>*Atha prāguttarasyaṃ Kauluta Brahmapura Kuṇḍa Divādina Fāra  
Nashṭarājya Varāśhtra Vaimaka Nalkattasīṃhāra Clēna Tanṣana  
Śāryaka Parvataka Kāsmīra Darada Darvabhīmura Jalāsura Patola Sairindhra  
Kuchintana Kināta Paśuṣāla Chīna Suranālākūmi Dīrasthala Derodjānāri.*

This quotation is from Parāśara and it finds place in the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Utpala on Varāhamihira's work (see S. Dvivedi's Edition. Pt. I, pp. 293-94). Parāśara is believed to have been earlier than Varāhamihira who mentions Vaśiṣṭha and Nagnajit as early authorities and Utpala makes extracts from these two authorities.

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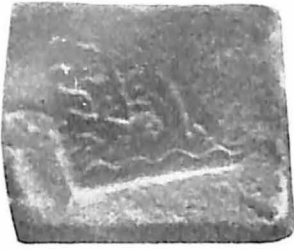


# PLATES

### PLATE I

1. Obv. Tree in an enclosure on left; forepart of an elephant to right (not distinct). Undulating line below. Legend in Kharoshthī: *Mahadevasa Raña Sivadasasa* (fragmentary). Rev: Pointed roofed temple of two or three storeys. Trident with an axe on right. Legend in Brāhmī: *Odubarisa Sivadasasa* (not distinct). Copper rectangular. Latter half of the 2nd century B.C. P. 7.
  2. Same as above but the name of the issuer is *Mahādeva*. P. 8.
  3. Same as above but the forepart of an elephant is not visible. The name of the issuer is *Rudradāsa*, P. 8.
- [*N. B.* Coins reproduced here (Pls. I-V] are shown as double the originals.]

PLATE I



1



2



3



## PLATE II



4. Obv: Viśvāmitra, standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Legends in Kharoshthī: in front *Viśvamitra*; around *Mahādevasa Rañā Dharaghoshasa*; below *Odubarisa*. Rev: Trident with axe on right. Tree in an enclosure on left. Legend in Brāhmī: around *Mahādevasa Rañā Dharaghoshasa*; below *Odubarisa*. Silver round. 1st century A.D. P. 9.
5. Same as 3, Kharoshthī legend is slightly clearer than that on no. 3. Forepart of an elephant is visible but the tree in an enclosure to left is indistinct. P. 8.
6. Same as nos. 3 and 5. Both the tree and the forepart of an elephant on the obverse are visible P. 8.
7. Obv: Humped bull on left,  on left,  above. Legend in Kharoshthī *Bhagavatamaha (devasa)* (around), *Rajarañā* (below). Rev: Elephant to left. Traces of legend around. Below *Rājaraja* in Brāhmī. Silver round. 1st century A.D. Variety B. P. 9.

PLATE II



4



5



6




7



PLATE III

8. Obv: Humped bull on right. Lotus flower in front. Legend in Kharoshthī: *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (around), *Rajaraja* below. Rev: Elephant to left. Trident on left. Legend in Brāhmī: *Bhagavata Mahadevasa* (around), *Rajaraja* (below). Silver round. 1st century A.D. variety A. P. 9.

9. Obv: Tree in railing.  on right. Undulating line on left.  
Reverse: Temple. Traces of Brāhmī legend. Issuer uncertain. Copper round. 1st century A.D. variety K. P. 13.

10. Obv: Bull right. Lotus in front. Legend in Kharoshthī: *Raṇa Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayata*. Rev: Elephant right with upraised trunk, trident with axe on left. Legend in Brāhmī: *Rājño Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayaka*. Silver round. 1st century A.D. P. 27.

PLATE III



8



9



10



PLATE IV

11. Obv: Male figure standing to left holding a spear in right hand. Legend in Kharoshthī: *Raīa Ajamitasa*. Rev: Elephant to left, tree on left. Legend in Brāhmī: *Ajamitasa*. Copper round. 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. P. 10.
12. Obv: Elephant to right. Traces of legend. Rev: Tree in railing. Legend in Brāhmī: *Asata...hakra* (?). Copper round. 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. P. 10.
13. Obv: Elephant to left. Legend in Kharoshthī: *Raīa Bhānumitrasa*.

Rev: Symbols like the following:  Legend in

Brāhmī: *(Ra)īa Bhānumita(sa)*. Copper round. 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. P. 10.

14. Same as no. 11.



PLATE IV



11



12



13



14



PLATE V

15. Rev: Elephant to left. Legend in Brāhmī: *Mahimitasa* (illegible). Copper round. 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. P. 10.
16. Same as above.
17. Obv: Standing male figure. Legend in Kharoṣṭhī: *Mah(i)mitrasa*. Copper round. 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st century A.D. P. 10.
18. Same as 13.
19. Same as 17.
20. Same as the obverse of 11.

PLATE V



15



16



17



18

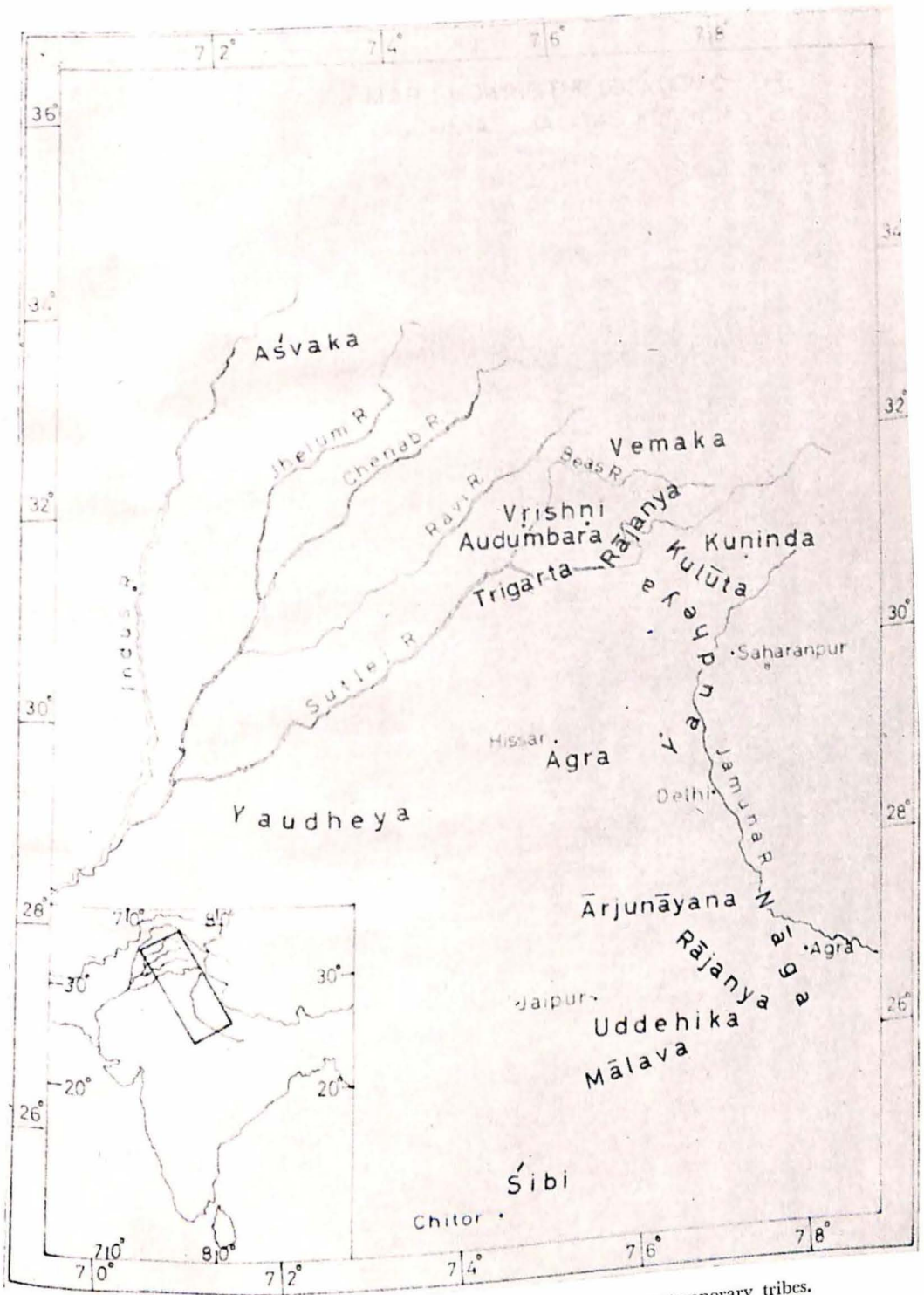


19



20

# PLATE VI



Map showing the location of the Audumbaras and other contemporary tribes.

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