

# The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazāda

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IN THEIR comprehensive survey of the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, Jha and Rajgor<sup>2</sup> (hereinafter J&R) argue that Rudradāman I had three sons who followed him in ruling their kingdom: J&R name them Dāmajadasri, Dāmaghsada, and Rudrasimha. In this J&R went against the view of Rapson who, in his catalogue of Western Kshatrapa coins in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> had speculated that Dāmajadasri and Dāmaghsada were in fact the same person. Most authors seem to have accepted Jha and Rajgor's view.<sup>4</sup> In this paper, I present new information that strengthens the argument that these 'two' rulers were indeed one, and that his name was Dāmazāda. Part of the argument involves a radical new proposal: that we can distinguish different mints for the Western Kshatrapa coinage. This innovation also helps resolve another century-old problem.

The crux of the issue revolves around the fact that the name 'Dāmaghsada' as it is inscribed on the coins contains an unusual Brāhmī compound letter that is transliterated by most numismatists as *ghsa*. This letter appears also in the name of Chastana's father, normally written as *Ghsamotika*. In the first part of the paper, I argue that these names should be presented differently, as *Zamotika* and *Dāmazāda*, to better represent the way they must have been pronounced. The argument has two parts: first, that the compound letter is in fact not *ghsa* but *ysa*, and, second, that this compound letter (regardless of whether it was written as *ysa* or *ghsa*) was intended to represent the foreign sound *za* for which Brāhmī had no representation. In the second part of the paper, I explore the implication of this for the identities of Rudradāman's sons. In the third section, I explore the implications for another unsolved issue: whether Jivadāman had more than one reign.

The crucial piece of information which has emerged and which suggested this research is a coin that serves as a sort of 'Rosetta stone' for the letter *ghsa/ysa*: a copper didrachm of the Pāratarāja king Koziya that has his name included in the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend and also presents it in Brāhmī on the obverse. This king's name had hitherto been read by Robert Senior as Spajhayam,<sup>5</sup> on the basis of coins that carried only the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend. I personally preferred to read the

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare for his important contributions to the ideas in this paper and Stefan Baums for many helpful email exchanges on Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy.

<sup>2</sup> Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor, *Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*, Nashik: Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> E.J. Rapson: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, London, British Museum, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, R.C. Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* (3 volumes), London and Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group, 2001, henceforward abbreviated Senior.

<sup>5</sup> R.C. Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History, Vol. 4: Supplement, Additional Coins and Hoards*, Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., 2006, p. 18, types S45-S49.

name as Spajheya. But I then came across a coin carrying the usual legend on the reverse but an additional Brāhmī legend on the obverse which looked nothing like Spajheya, and which contained the conjunct letter *ghsa* or *ysa* that appears in the Western Kshatrpa names previously mentioned.<sup>6</sup> I sent photos of the coin (see Figure 1) to Harry Falk for his help in reading the legend. He was able not only to read the Brāhmī legend, but also to use it to correct the reading of the reverse legend, and he has now published his new reading.<sup>7</sup> The Brāhmī legend reads *Koysiya* (or *Koghsiya*), with the *ghsa/ysa* representing the Persian sound *za*, and this allows us to correct the Kharoṣṭhī version to also read *Koziya*.<sup>8</sup> The Kharoṣṭhī letters *Spa* and *Ko* look very similar and are easily confused, and it is well-known that Kharoṣṭhī *jha* has been used to represent the foreign sound *za*.<sup>9</sup> Thus this coin provides powerful evidence that the compound Brāhmī letter represents the sound *za*. Let us now turn to historical discussion of these points.



Figure 1: Copper coin of the Pāratarāja Koziya

### The Reading of the Names

The controversy over whether the compound letter should be read as *ghsa* or *ysa* is an old one. Figure 2 illustrates a coin of ‘Dāmaghsada’. We see at 5 o’clock the compound letter in question, and the difficulty in deciding if the letter reads *ghsa* or *ysa*. Divatia<sup>10</sup> reviewed the early literature on this issue. He pointed out that the

<sup>6</sup> The fact that the legend on my coin appeared to contain the same letter as did the Western Kshatrpa coins was first pointed out to me by Shailendra Bhandare when I presented the coin as part of a talk I gave to the Oriental Numismatic Society in London in July 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Harry Falk, ‘The Names of the Pāratarājas Issuing Coins with Kharoṣṭhī Legends’, *NC* 167, 2007, pp. 171-178.

<sup>8</sup> The letter *jha* in the Kharoṣṭhī legend has a diacritical mark that is still not fully understood. To allow for the possibility that this qualifies the sound *za*, Falk presented the name *Koziya* with an over-dotted *z*. I omit the overdot for simplicity.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the coins of the Indo-Greek kings Zoilos I and Zoilos II, whose name is rendered in Kharoṣṭhī as *Jhoila*.

<sup>10</sup> N.B. Divatia, ‘The Ancient Indian Symbol for the Foreign Sound Z’, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 26, 1921, pp. 159-170.

first author to address the problem was Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji, who favored *ghsa* over *ysa*. He was followed in this view by E.J. Rapson, F.J. Thomas, H.R. Scott and Devadatta R. Bhandarkar (writing in 1899). According to Divatia, the first author to appear to hold a different view was H.Lüders,<sup>11</sup> who preferred *ysa*, and he was joined by Bhandarkar (writing in 1915, apparently having changed his mind). Lüders and Bhandarkar in his later view based their opinion largely on the Andhau inscription. Having summarized these views, Divatia proceeded to examine the issue on phonetic, rather than epigraphic, grounds, and concluded that the correct reading was *ghsa*, and that this compound letter represented the foreign sound Z. Whereas I have no problem with the second conclusion, I find Divatia's argument for *ghsa* unconvincing. In particular, he mentioned, but then ignored, the fundamental problem with his argument: that *ghsa* contains a guttural element completely absent in *za* and *ysa*. Since his argument was supposed to be based on phonetic considerations, it seems to me that this problem is fatal.



Figure 2: Silver drachm of “Dāmaghsada”

Of the authorities reviewed by Divatia, the one whose view we need to examine more closely is E.J. Rapson. In his British Museum catalogue, Rapson took the reading of the letter as *ghsa* without comment, as if the issue was non-controversial, but then added that the name-part *ghsada* ‘may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian *zāda* “a son” ’ (p. cxxii). Rapson then concluded that ‘Dāmaghsada’ must have been the same person as Dāmajadasri. Reading the name as Dāmazāda seems to me a powerful argument to the effect that, no matter what the scribes and die-cutters intended to carve (*ghsa* or *ysa*), the sound they were intending to represent was *za*, since this gives us a coherent meaning for the name, something nobody has been able to suggest for ‘Dāmaghsada’. We will return to this point later, and turn now to the more recent literature.

<sup>11</sup> Falk, however, reports that the reading of the letter as *ysa* was actually first proposed by G. Bühler, ‘Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indische Kunstpoesie’, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 122, XI, Vienna, 1890, p. 48.

In his encyclopedic catalogue of ancient Indian coins, Mitchiner<sup>12</sup> seems to hedge his bets. In his mention of the Andhau inscription (p. 370), he refers to ‘*Raja Chashtana son of Ysamotika*’, but in his list of kings (p. 371) he lists ‘Chashtana s/o Ghsamotika’. Mitchiner does not list a king named Dāmaghsada or Dāmaysada, as he seems to follow Rapson in his belief that this king is none other than Rudradāman’s son Dāmajadasri. Accordingly, in his listing of the Brāhmī legends on the coins (p. 372), he lists two legends next to the name of the king he calls Damijada; one of the legends includes the compound letter we are discussing and the other is the normal legend of Dāmajadasri (*Dāmajadasriya*).

The more recent and most often consulted catalogues of Western Kshatrapa coins both take the spelling of the names as Ghsamotika and Dāmaghsada. J&R simply refer to ‘Chastana, son of Ghsamotika’ (p. 29) and ‘Dāmaghsada, ... son of Rudradāman’ (p. 32). They make no mention of the possible alternative readings Ysamotika and Dāmaysada, nor do they note how the names might be pronounced. Although they do not say so explicitly, it is quite clear that they intend the names to be pronounced as written.<sup>13</sup> Senior<sup>14</sup> has postulated the existence of another son of Ghsamotika named Dāmaghsada, thereby suggesting there were two kshatrapas by that name,<sup>15</sup> but otherwise lists the names in the same way as J&R, and likewise without guidance on pronunciation.

By contrast, in the literature on the Arapacana syllabary, the letter is unambiguously taken to be *ysa* and its pronunciation is clearly understood to be the foreign sound *za*, or a close variant thereof. Salomon, in his key paper on the Arapacana syllabary, addresses directly the question of the conjunct letter appearing in the name of Dāmaysada and in the British Museum seal of Avariysa, and says, ‘In both cases, the conjunct consonant in question was previously read as *ghsa* (Dāmaghsada, Avarighsa), due to the similarity of the letters for *ya* and *gha* in the Brāhmī script of this period. But the reading *ysa* is almost certainly the correct one, as shown, among other things, by the evidence of the Arapacana *ysa* in later texts’.<sup>16</sup> Further, as to the pronunciation, Salomon adds, ‘The conjunct YSA, as has long been recognized ..., was used in certain forms of Brāhmī script to represent the voiced sibilant /z/, occurring in Iranian names and loan words in Sanskrit’.<sup>17</sup>

To this accumulation of opinion and evidence, the Koziya coin presented earlier provides a crucial new element. It proves conclusively that the conjunct letter did not represent the sound *ysa* or *ghsa*, since the Kharoṣṭhī version of the name has a completely different letter *jha*. Given that it represents a foreign sound, no alternative other than *za* has ever been proposed. Further, given that the letter represents a

<sup>12</sup> Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and their Values: The Ancient and Classical World*, London, Hawkins Publications, 1978.

<sup>13</sup> I suspect that this is part of the reason why the *ghsa* reading is preferred over *ysa*, since Ghsamotika and Dāmaghsada are far more pronounceable than Ysamotika and Dāmaysada.

<sup>14</sup> Senior, Vol. I, pp. 130-131.

<sup>15</sup> Both J&R and Senior distinguish between kings named Dāmaghsada and Dāmajadasri.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Salomon, ‘New Evidence for a Gāndhārī Origin of the Arapacana Syllabary’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 110, No. 2 (Apr-Jun 1990), p. 257, n. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Salomon, p. 269.



foreign sound, the pronouncability of the letter is no longer an argument for reading it as *ghsa*. *Ysa* seems far more likely, as it contains no guttural sound. And, as Falk pointed out, the letter *ya* had been used in some Kharoṣṭhī legends to represent the sound *za*.<sup>18</sup> It seems fairly certain, therefore, that the letter is *ysa*, and it is even more certain that the intended sound is *za* or a close variant thereof.<sup>19</sup>

To add to this large body of evidence, we might also note the use of *ysa* in certain late Kushan coins.<sup>20</sup> Some of the coins often assigned to ‘Gadahara’ carry a Brāhmī legend vertically on the obverse that has most often been transliterated as *Piryosa* and has been understood to represent the Iranian name Piroz. Figure 3 illustrates one such coin from my collection (type 608 from Göbl’s catalogue).<sup>21</sup> We see the letters that might be read *Pi ra yo sa*. The crucial point is that the diacritic for *o* seems to be below the vertical representing *ra* and just above the letter *ya*, thus suggesting that it modifies the *ya*. Hence the reading *Piryosa*. However, suppose for a moment that the die-cutter actually wanted to inscribe *Piroz*, using the conjunct character *ysa* to represent the *z*. Given the vertical arrangement of the word, he would need to insert the diacritic for *o* at the *top* of the vertical shaft representing *ra*. But in this position the diacritic would overlap the bottom of the letter *pa*. Thus the die-cutter moved the diacritic mark half-way down the vertical of *ra*. In other words, my suggestion is that the diacritic *o* is actually meant to modify the *ra*, which is followed by the conjunct *ysa* representing *za*, and the transliteration of the obverse vertical legend can be restored as *Piroz*.



Figure 3: Coin of ‘Gadahara’ with legend of Piroz

<sup>18</sup> The Kharoṣṭhī legends on coins of Azes name him *Aya*, and Azilises is written as *Ayilisha*.

<sup>19</sup> For example, it is not impossible that the letter was pronounced like a French *j* or something similar.

<sup>20</sup> Joe Cribb has pointed out to me that this point has been made already by Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Kusana Coins and Sculptures*, Mathura: The Government Museum, 1986a, pp. 42-45.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Göbl, *Münzprägung des Kuṣānreiches*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984.

There are also some rare coins of ‘Gadahara’ that carry an obverse vertical legend that has normally been transcribed as *Yasada*.<sup>22</sup> Figure 4 illustrates one such coin. Might this obverse legend actually read *Zāda*? This reading is by no means certain, as the letter *sa* below the *ya* is attached by its *left* head-mark. In occurrences of the compound conjunct *ysa* in coins of Koziya and the previously discussed Gadahara-Piroz, the *sa* has been attached to the *ya* by extending the *right* vertical of the *sa* below the right side of the *ya*. Thus this legend might in fact read *Yasada*, although no one has been able to suggest a meaning or significance for it. If, however, the legend read *Zāda*, it could refer to a previous king’s (Gadahara’s?) son.



Figure 4: Coin of Gadahara-zāda?

Returning to the Western Kshatrapas, how should we present the names of the rulers who had this compound letter in their names? I would like to argue that we should use the letter *z* to present them, as *Zamotika* and *Dāmazāda*. Epigraphists might prefer to use *ysa*, on the argument that transliterations should be presented in a form as close to the original as possible. However, the renderings *Ysamotika* and *Dāmasyada* make the names very unpronounceable, and a reader who does not read the fine print would mispronounce the names terribly. Further, using *za* to transliterate this conjunct letter does not create any confusion with any other letters, since *za* is in fact the intended sound and there are no other letters that reflect this sound or use the letter *z*. And of course by using *za* we avoid the question of whether the actual transcription read *ghsa* or *ysa*. Finally, in the case of the name *Dāmazāda*, the proposed rendering would emphasize both its Persian roots and its meaning, ‘son of Creation’. I therefore propose that we use *Zamotika* and *Dāmazāda* to present these names.

### **Dāmagsada and Dāmajadasri as different spellings of Dāmazāda**

Let us turn now to the implication of this improved reading for the identity of this king. Rapson (p. cxxii) argued that *Dāmazāda* first issued coins on which his name

<sup>22</sup> Göbl, type 600.

was spelled *Dāmaghsada*,<sup>23</sup> but that later he Indianised the name to *Dāmajadasri*. Even later, his son Jīvadāman simplified this name to *Dāmajada* when naming his father on some of his coins. Jha and Rajgor (p. 8) however pointed out that:

Rapson had before him coins bearing the name *Dāmaghsada* only with the title of kshatrapa, whereas those with the name *Dāmajadasri* were with both the titles, kshatrapa as well as mahakshatrapa; and this was the main factor behind his conclusion that there was change from ---*ghsada* to *jadasri*. But now coins of *Dāmaghsada* issued as mahakshatrapa are known which absolutely nullifies Rapson's ... argument.

And they continued:

Apart from this the two names *Dāmajadasri* and *Dāmaghsada*, except for the first part, *i.e.*, *Dāma*, are quite different and it is not quite comprehensible why a ruler would use two different sounding names on his coins. Not only are the two names different, but also the way of expressing relationship with the father, Rudradāman, is different on the coinage of the two. ... These facts show clearly that *Dāmajadasri* and *Dāmaghsada* were sons of Rudradāman who ruled one after the other.

It is true that Rapson did not know of any coins of 'Dāmaghsada' as mahakshatrapa and that, now that we do have coins of his with this title, the argument that the different spellings for the same king *Dāmaghsada* and *Dāmajadasri* were sequential is untenable. On the other hand, now that we know that the compound letter *ysa* (*ghsa*) was intended to convey the sound *za* and that therefore the name of this ruler was *Dāmazāda*, the idea that there were two rulers *Dāmazāda* and *Dāmajadasri* (sometimes spelled by his son Jīvadāman as *Dāmajada*) is also untenable. *Dāmazāda* and *Dāmajāda*<sup>24</sup> are surely different spellings of the same name. Even today, many Indians substitute the sound *ja* for the foreign sound *za*.

How then can we account for these clear differences in spelling? I would like to suggest that Rapson's error was to assume that the differences were created by separation in time, that the different spellings were sequential. Rather, I would argue that they were separated in space. Coins with differently spelled legends were produced in different mints, which followed different conventions in transliterating the foreign sound *za*. In mint A, the king's name was spelled *Dāmajadasri*, while in mint B it was spelled *Dāmaysada* (*Dāmaghsada*). In fact, I believe that these mints

<sup>23</sup> To make comparison with the previous literature easy, I will maintain the transliteration *Dāmaghsada* throughout this section, rather than what I think is the more appropriate *Dāmaysada*.

<sup>24</sup> Note that I have added a long vowel *ā* in the name *Dāmajāda*. The Western Kshatrapa coin legends do not generally show the long a's and they have to be inserted on the basis of the context. Clearly the name *Dāmajāda*, as a variant spelling of *Dāmazāda*, needs the second *ā*.

maintained differences in legend and spelling over many different reigns, and I will set out the details below. But I would particularly like to highlight here the point that assigning coins of *Dāmaysada* (*Dāmaghsada*) and *Dāmajadasri* to different mints also accounts for the different treatment of *Dāmazāda*'s name on the coins of his son *Jivadāman*. In mint A, *Jivadāman*'s father was called *Dāmajadasri*, just as he was when he was reigning, while in mint B he was called *Dāmajāda*. Thus the one change that occurred over time was that in mint B the foreign sound *za* was transliterated as *ysa* (*ghsa*) during *Dāmazāda*'s reign, but as *ja* in *Jivadāman*'s reign. Note that the difference in time involved here is about 20 years, the period of *Rudrasimha*'s reign, so this was not a sudden switch. It may simply reflect the knowledge of individual die-cutters.

A full analysis of the mint structure of Western Kshatrapa coinage is beyond the goal and scope of this paper. However, I believe that the phenomenon of multiple mints must have started during the reign of *Rudradāman I*. We know from his inscriptions that he expanded his empire, as he speaks of 'territories gained by his own valour'. We also know that his coins can be divided into two varieties on the basis of a small difference in legends. Rapson (p. cxxi-cxxii) called these varieties a and b, J&R refer to them as varieties A and B. J&R's variety A carries the legend

*Rājno kshatrapasa Jayadāmasaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa,*

while variety B reads

*Rājno kshatrapasa Jayadāmaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa.*

In short, variety B drops the letter *sa* from the patronymic.

I believe these differences in legend can be attributed to differences in mint. Rapson had noted that 'the portrait on coins of Var. *b* is that of an older man than on coins of Var. *a*' (p. cxxii), thus indicating his belief that the two types were sequential. J&R did not offer any suggestion to account for the legend difference. I believe that the different mints hypothesis will prove a more robust explanation.

We see similar differences in legend arising in successive kings. For *Dāmazāda*, while he was titled Kshatrapa, we have:

A: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājno kshatrapasa  
Dāmajādasriya*

B: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājno kshatrapasa  
Dāmaysādasa*

and, while he was titled Mahākshatrapa, we have:

A: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa  
Dāmajādasriya*

B: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa  
Dāmaysādasa.*

Note that the coins do not show clear diacritics for the long vowels such as *ā*, which have to be inserted on the basis of the context. That is why we are now able



to introduce a second *ā* in the name to reflect the second long vowel in the name Dāmazāda.

Dāmazāda was succeeded by his brother Rudrasimha. The latter issued coins as kshatrapa from mint A only, with the legend:

*Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrassa Rājno kshatrapasa Rudrasihasa.*

There are no coins with the mint B style legend naming him as kshatrapa. Note that J&R appear to be in error on this point. In their text, they say that Rudrasimha's 'undated kshatrapa issues have --- *Rudradāmaputrassa*, those dated 110, 111 and 112 have *Rudradāmaputrassa*.' (pp. 33-34) If this were true, it would mean that Rudrasimha's undated kshatrapa issues were from mint B, while his dated kshatrapa issues were from mint A. However, it does not appear to be true. All the Kshatrapa issues that J&R list in their catalogue, whether dated or undated, have the *Rudradāmaputrassa* (i.e., mint A) legend (see J&R 301, 305, and 306, all undated, and 308-312, all dated). Senior also, in his comprehensive listing of Western Kshatrapa coins by type and date, shows only *Rudradāmaputrassa*-legend coins for Kshatrapa Rudrasimha issues (see Senior type 333). And this agrees with my own observations.

I should note here that Rapson (*BMC* 295) lists a coin of Rudrasimha as kshatrapa dated S. 102 and carrying the *Rudradāmaputrassa* legend. This coin, if attributed correctly, would pose a problem for my proposed scheme, as the legend would indicate that the coin was from mint B, where no other coins naming Rudrasimha as kshatrapa are known. However, the attribution is not correct. As J&R (p. 33) suggested, the coin is a mahakshatrapa issue. The coin is illustrated in Figure 5<sup>25</sup> and the detail shows a reconstruction of the legend which indicates where the letters *maha*, not visible on the flan, would have appeared. Actually, a close examination of the photograph shows that the very bottom of the letter *ma* is in fact visible on the flan.

As mahākshatrapa, Rudrasimha issued coins from both mints and the legends read:

- A: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrassa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudrasihasa*
- B: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrassa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Rudrasihasa.*

Note how the mints preserved the same pattern as they did with Dāmazāda's coins. Mint A called the father Rudradāmna, while mint B called him Rudradāma.

<sup>25</sup> My thanks to Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey for providing the photograph, courtesy of the British Museum

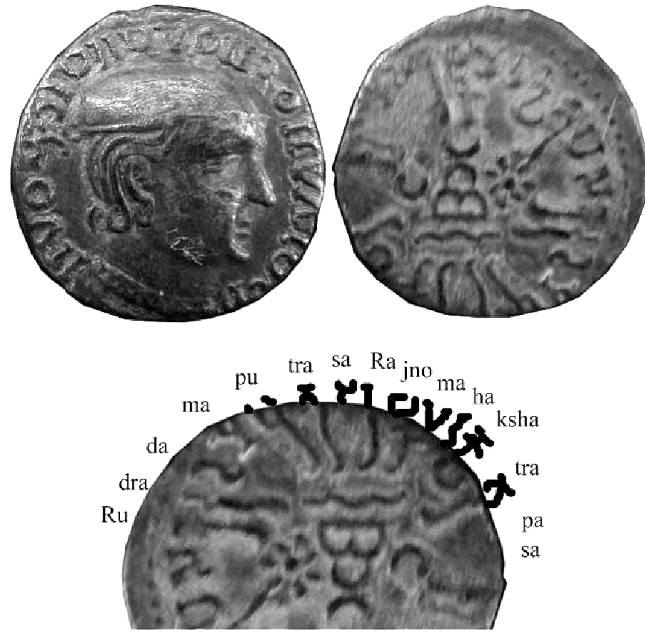


Figure 5: Rapson 295 with reconstructed legend

Finally, Rudrasimha was succeeded by Dāmazāda's son Jīvadāman, who issued coins as mahakshatrapa only from both mints. The legends follow the pattern established during Dāmazāda's reign, except that the compound letter *ysa* is replaced by a simple *ja* to represent the letter *za*. The legends read:

- A: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Dāmajādasriyaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmna*  
 B: *Rājno mahākshatrapasa Dāmajādasaputrasa Rājno mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmasa*.

Note that, whereas the output of mints A and B corresponded to J&R's varieties A and B for all other kings, they are reversed for Jīvadāman's coins. In other words, mint A coins of Jīvadāman correspond to J&R's variety B and mint B coins correspond to their variety A.

Apart from the differences in legend, I believe that the coins from the different mints display different styles. Coins from mint B are more uniform, with a very fine style and smaller heads and reverse devices. I suspect that mint B was probably smaller, with perhaps just one workshop, as the coins are quite uniform across all four rulers we have discussed. Mint A coins, on the other hand, display more variety of style, indicating perhaps that there were multiple workshops in this mint.<sup>26</sup> In general, the style is a little less fine, the heads and reverse devices are a bit bigger. Figure 6 illustrates the differences by displaying coins of the two mints.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly there were multiple mints within the category I have called 'mint A'.







Mint A		Mint B	
			
Rudradāman			
			
Dāmazāda		No coins known	
			
Rudrasimha, Ksatrapa			
			
Rudrasimha, Mahaksatrapa			
			
Jīvadāman			

Figure 6: Coins from the Different Mints

### Rudrasimha's 'demotion' to kshatrapa and the 'two reigns' of Jīvadāman

The dual mint structure and the observation that all Rudrasimha's issues as kshatrapa are from mint A may bear on two other long-standing questions in Western Kshatrapa history of the time, the 'demotion' of Rudrasimha to kshatrapa and whether or not Jīvadāman had two reigns.

The coinage of Rudrasimha displays a highly unusual pattern. There are, first of all, undated coins naming him as kshatrapa. All coins naming him as mahakshatrapa are dated, and the earliest date recorded is (Saka era) 100 (J&R 313-314, Senior 330.30AD and 330.30BD). The last known date for coins with the mahakshatrapa legend is 119 (J&R 345, Senior 333.49B). If this were all, there would be no problem - Rudrasimha would have been kshatrapa prior to S. 100 and then mahakshatrapa from 100-119. But there also exist coins naming Rudrasimha as kshatrapa which are dated in the years 110, 111 and 112! So something unusual happened roughly mid-way through Rudrasimha's reign.

When J&R wrote their book, they did not know of any coin dated 111 which named Rudrasimha as mahakshatrapa. This suggested to them, following Rapson's conclusion on more limited information, that it was possible that, some time in year 110, Rudrasimha was 'demoted' to kshatrapa again and stopped issuing coins as mahakshatrapa. Then, some time in the year 112, he was restored to his mahakshatrapa position and resumed issuing coins accordingly. Thus the mahakshatrapa coins from year 110 would have been early in the year, the kshatrapa coins would have been issued from late 110 to early 112, and the mahakshatrapa coins of year 112 would have been issued late in that year.

However, Senior (type 333.41B) has reported a coin of Rudrasimha that names him as mahakshatrapa and is dated 111. I have another such coin in my own collection. Thus the neat chronological theory of Rudrasimha's temporary demotion to kshatrapa is no longer tenable.

How then can we reconcile these seemingly irreconcilable facts? Senior, in a footnote associated with the mahakshatrapa coin dated 111, suggested, 'This coin surely indicates that the dated satrap issues were die engravers' errors?'<sup>27</sup> However, I believe there is a better explanation. Looking at the coins carefully, we see that all of the kshatrapa coins dated 110-112 (J&R 308-312, Senior 333.20D-333.22D) carry the *Rudradāmnāputrasa* legend, i.e., they were the products of mint A. And all the mahakshatrapa coins carrying dates 110-112 (J&R 333-337, Senior 333.40B-333.42B) carry the *Rudradāmaputrasa* legend, i.e., they were the products of mint B. Thus it appears that Rudrasimha retained his position as mahakshatrapa at the place where mint B was located, but was indeed 'demoted' to kshatrapa in the area where mint A was located. This would account for kshatrapa *and* mahakshatrapa coins carrying the same dates.

What accounted for the 'demotion' is still unknown and controversial. Rapson, on the basis of a coin of Jīvadāman (*BMC* 288) which he tentatively dated S. 100, suggested that perhaps Jīvadāman succeeded his father as mahakshatrapa while Rudrasimha was titled kshatrapa. Then Rudrasimha was able to wrest away the title

<sup>27</sup> Senior, Vol. II, p. 203, n. 1.



of mahakshatrapa. Subsequently, Jīvadāman was perhaps able to recover the title for a short time during S. 110-112, relegating Rudrasimha to kshatrapa again. Thus Jīvadāman had two reigns (c.100 or 110 and 119-120) and Rudrasimha had two stints each as kshatrapa (before 103 and 110-112) and mahakshatrapa (103-110 and 113-119).

This theory is both highly convoluted and very uncertain. As we can see from a photograph of the key coin in question (see Figure 7),<sup>28</sup> the date is not visible, as only the very bottom of the digit denoting 100 is present on the coin. In the catalogue, Rapson listed the date as 1[00], indicating correctly that the units and tens digits were not visible, but in the text (p. cxxv) he said that the date of the coin could be 100-103 or 110-113. He was led to those dates by two factors. First, he did not know of any Rudrasimha mahakshatrapa coins with those dates. Second, this coin was the only Jīvadāman coin he knew of which carried the *Jīvadāmna* legend; all four of the other Jīvadāman coins in the British Museum catalogue (cat. numbers 289-292) carry the *Jīvadāma* legend. Given his chronological theory of legend differences, Rapson needed to assign the *Jīvadāmna* legend coin to an earlier reign, distinct from the reign in 119-120.



Figure 7: Rapson 288, silver drachm of Jīvadāman

We can reject Rapson's argument on both these counts. First, we now know of Rudrasimha mahakshatrapa coins with all dates from 100 to 119; there are no gaps that need filling. Second, we also now know of year S. 119-120 Jīvadāman coins with both legends (*Jīvadāmna* and *Jīvadāma*) and can account for the difference in spelling by the difference in mints. Thus there is no reason to force Rapson's coin 288 into an earlier period; that coin could be dated 119 or 120 without needing any further explanation.<sup>29</sup> We can also reject Gupta's<sup>30</sup> and Senior's suggestion that the dated kshatrapa issues of Rudrasimha were die-cutter errors.

<sup>28</sup> Once again, my thanks to Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey for the photograph, courtesy British Museum.

<sup>29</sup> J&R had also rejected Rapson's suggestion, but had not provided an argument to rule out the possibility that Jīvadāman may have reigned as mahakshatrapa during 110-112.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted by J&R, p. 33.

Thus we are simply left with the unexplained conundrum that Rudrasimha was indeed reduced to kshatrapa again during S. 110-112 at mint A. J&R suggest that this ‘was due to a temporary diminution in his power as a consequence of some defeat inflicted on him by some other dynasty’ (p. 33). Now J&R thought this to be true for the whole kingdom, but we know that it was only in the area of mint A that the ‘demotion’ took place. Hence it seems less likely that the reduced power of Rudrasimha was due to an external power. Shailendra Bhandare, in a private communication, has indicated that he believes that an internal conflict seems much more likely.

The form of this internal conflict is hinted at by Senior. In his footnote suggesting that the dated kshatrapa issues were die engravers’ errors, Senior added: “But see the Rudrasena coin dated 112 below.” (p. 203, n. 1) The coin in question (Senior 339.60AD) is a unique coin issued by Rudrasimha’s son Rudrasena and dated 112. All other known coins of Rudrasena carry dates 121-144, so this coin dated 112 is highly anomalous. It would normally be rejected without question as an error of some sort. However, it is possible that it is of significance in light of the unsettled conditions around that date. From Senior’s numbering, we know that it carried legend A, i.e., that it was a product of mint A, precisely the mint where Rudrasimha had been demoted at this time. So this coin suggests the possibility that Rudrasena attempted to seize power at this time and forced his father to accept a demotion to kshatrapa. Another possibility is that Rudrasimha himself may have voluntarily reduced his title in an attempt to promote his son. Since Rudrasimha had succeeded his older brother Dāmazāda, he might have been fearful that his nephew, Dāmazāda’s son Jīvadāman, would exercise his strong claim to the throne at the expense of Rudrasimha’s son Rudrasena. Appointing Rudrasena as mahakshatrapa might then have been a ploy to improve his chances of succession. The truth, of course, is hard to know at this time.



*Figure 8: Silver drachm of Jīvadāman, dated S. 121*

Before concluding, I use this opportunity to present a previously unpublished coin of Jīvadāman from my personal collection which carries a date of 121. Hitherto, the

last known date for coins of Jīvadāman was 120 (J&R 362, Senior 336.2D). Thus this coin extends the known reign of Jīvadāman to S. 121, which is also the first year of known coins of Rudrasena I, and thereby closes a gap in Western Kshatrapa history. The coin is illustrated in Figure 8. It weighs 2.16 gm, has a diameter of 14-15 mm and the die axis is approximately at 4 o'clock. The coin carries a *Jīvadāma* legend, i.e., it is an issue of mint B.

## Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated that the Western Kshatrapa king referred to by many authors as Dāmaghsada was in fact named Dāmazāda and that this is the same king referred to as Dāmajadasri I. This discovery stems from recent work which has established that the compound Brāhmī letter read as the *ghsa* in Dāmaghsada in fact represented the Persian letter *za* for which Brāhmī had no fixed representation. The fact that Dāmazāda's name was spelled *Dāmaghsada* on some coins and *Dāmajadasri* on some others is explained by the suggestion that these coins were produced at different mints which were following different conventions in representing the foreign sound *za*.

The division of the coinage of the period into different mints allowed me to also look at the question of whether Dāmazāda's son Jīvadāman had one or two reigns. The two-mint hypothesis was shown to be capable of explaining all seemingly anomalous coins without requiring a second (early) reign. It is quite likely therefore that Jīvadāman had one reign, during the years S. 119-121.

The idea that Western Kshatrapa coins were produced at multiple mints appears to be new, although it should not be surprising. Especially at times when the kingdom was large, it would be quite normal for the king to authorize the functioning of several mints. Recognition of this possibility opens up a seemingly large area for future research into Western Kshatarapa history and it is my intention to pursue this in subsequent work.