

**POLITICAL & CULTURAL HISTORY OF
THE KUSHAN PERIOD IN PAKISTAN:
STUDY BASED ON NUMISMATIC
EVIDENCE**

By
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PART ONE
TEXT

**DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
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POLITICAL & CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD IN PAKISTAN: STUDY BASED ON NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Archaeology University of
Peshawar in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Approved by

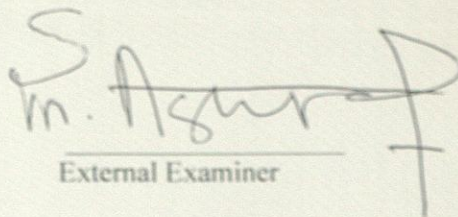
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To My Children
Ahmar & Ayla

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A. List of Abbreviation (Bibliography)

ACW	Ancient & Classical World: Oriental Coins and their Values (Mitchiner, M. 1978)
AP	Ancient Pakistan, Research Bulletin of the Dept. of Archaeology, University of Peshawar
AS	Afghan Studies, London
BMAUP	Bulletin of the Museum and Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh
BMC	British Museum Catalogue (Gardner, P. 1886)
BMC	British Museum Catalogue (Gardner, P. 1886)
CAC	Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands (eds. Alam, M. & Salter, D.E.K. 1999)
CH	Coin Hoards: Bulletin of the Royal Numismatics, London
CII	Corpus Inscription Indicarum (Konow, S. 1929)
DAK	Dynastic Arts of the Kushans (Rosenfield, J.M. 1967)
EM	Ex-Moneta: Essays on Numismatics, History & Archaeology in Honour of D.W. MacDowall, (ed. Jha, A.K. & Garg, S. 1998), 2-volumes.
EW	East and West, IsMEO
GAC	Gandhara Art in Context: East West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia (eds. Allchin, R & B, Kreitman, N. & Errington, E. 1997)
GDB	Donum Burns: Die Kusanmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und Die Chronologie (Göbl, R. 1993)
Göbl/G	System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kusanreiches (Göbl, R. 1984)
HAC	History, Art and Culture, Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta, 1990, 2- volumes
HCCA	History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Volumes (ed. Harmatta, J. 1999)
IA	The Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Geography, History, Numismatics, Languages etc.
IGISC	Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coins (Mitchiner, M. 1975-76)
IIA	Investigating India Art (ed. Yaldiz, M), Berlin
INC	Indian Numismatic Chronicle, India
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
LMB	Lahore Museum Bulletin, Lahore
NC	Numismatic Chronicle, London
ND	Numismatic Digest, Nasik
NS	Numismatic Studies, Delhi
ONS	Oriental Numismatic Society, London
PDK	Papers on the Date of Kanishka (ed. Basham, A.L. 1968)

PEIA	Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, (Prinsep/ Thomas, 1858)
PMC	Punjab Museum Catalogue (Vol. I; Whitehead, R.B. 1914)
RNS	Royal Numismatic Society, London
SAA	South Asian Archaeology, London
SAS	South Asian Studies, London
SRAA	Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Kamakura
SSRCC	Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Kamakura, 1994
TKS	Treasures of Kashmir Smast (Nasim Khan, M, 2006, in press)

B. List of Abbreviations (Text and Catalogue)

AC	Alexander Cunningham
Acc.	Accession Number
AE	Copper
AGC	Sir Allen George Clark
AHB	A.H. Baldwin Ltd.
AHM	Sir A.H. MacMohan
AL	A. Lillie Esq.
AR	Silver
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal
AV	Gold
Avg.	Average
BL	Bhagvan Lal
BM	British Museum
Br.	Brāhmī
CAB	C.A. Burns
CH	Chir Tope, Taxila
CJR	C.J. Rodgers Esq.
CM	Chanda Mall
DC	Dan Cunha
dn	down
EHC	E.H. Cobb
EIC	East India Company
Enn.	Enniskillen
ET	Edward Thomas
G	Göbl Catalogue, 1984
GCP	Government of Central Provinces
gm	gramme
Göbl/G	Göbl Catalogue, 1984
GOS	G.O. Solliran
HB	Honing Barger
HED	Col. H.E. Deane
HHH	Herakles Coins Hoard of Huvishka from Pakistan
HS	H. Simmons

HVB	Henry Vanden Bergh
IB	I. Bargon
IOC	Indian Office Collection
IOLC	Indian Office Loan Collection
JB	James Burgess
JL	Sir John Lawrence
JP	James Prinsep
JPR	J.P. Rawlins
K/S	Kushano-Sasanians
Khar.	Kharoṣṭhi
l.	left
Laf.	Col. Lafont
MM	Mohra Moradu, Taxila
NMK	National Museum, Karachi
OB	Oldroyd Bequest
Obv.	Obverse
OR	Office Record/ Oriental Registration
PG	Punjab Government
Pl.	Plate
r.	right
RBW	R.B. Whitehead
Rev.	Reverse
RS	R. Senior
RT	Robert Tye
SA	S. Album
SK	Sirkap, Taxila
Sr.	Serial Number
SRT	Sir Richard Temple
TM	Taxila Museum
TWA	T.W. Armitage
UMA	University Museum of Archaeology, Peshawar
UP	Uttar Pradesh (India)
WF	Wood Field
WH	W. Hoey
WPP	W.P. Parry
Wt.	Weight

C. Symbol for Coin Denominations & Legend Disposition in Dial Orientation (Catalogue)

Δ	Drachm
2Δ	Di-drachm
4Δ	Tetra-drachm
$\Delta/2$	Hemi-drachm
$\Delta/4$	Quarter-drachm
D	Dinar
2D	Double Dinar
D/2	Half Dinar
D/4	Quarter Dinar
h	O' Clock or hour normally begins at 1 O' Clock or 7 O' Clock
$\uparrow$	Upwards
$\downarrow$	Downwards
$\lrcorner$	Legend begins at 1 O' Clock
$\ulcorner$	Legend begins at 7 O' Clock
∇	Triangle

D. The Kushan Tamgas & Symbols

1. 	2. 	3. 	4.
5. 	6. 	7. 	8.
9. 	10. 	11. 	12.

E. Position of Akṣara & Symbols on Vasudeva I and Successors

a. Obverse:

1.	Upper outer right field (near left raised left hand of king)
2.	Proper outer right field
3.	Lower outer right field (near the bottom of trident/ scepter)
4.	Proper inner right field (under left arm of king)
4a.	Lower inner right field (near left foot of king)
5.	Between king's legs
6.	Lower inner left field (between right leg of king and altar)
7.	Proper outer left field (above altar)
8.	Upper outer left (front of standing king)
9.	Upper left field (near to head)

b. Reverse:

1.	Upper outer right field (above chair/ bull)
2.	Proper outer right field (near chair/ hind part of bull)
3.	Lower outer right field (near the leg of chair/ legs of bull)
4.	Bottom outer right field (close to leg of chair/ feet of bull)
5.	Between deity's legs
6.	Lower inner left field (near the legs of chair/ below head of bull)
7.	Upper outer left field (above chair/ above head of bull)

F. Diacritic Marks

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

According to international Indological usage, the following are placed as:

ṛ	ri	(Sanskrit/ Prakrit dialect)
ṝ	ri	-do-
ṣ	sh	-do-
ś	sh	-do-
ṇ	n	-do-
ṇ̄	n	-do-
Ś	Sh	-do-
ā	a	-do-
ṭ	t	-do-
ḍ	d	-do-
ṡ	m	-do-
ū	ue	(German dialect)
ō	oe	-do-
é	e	(French dialect)
ē	e	-do-
x	kh/ch	(Greek dialect)

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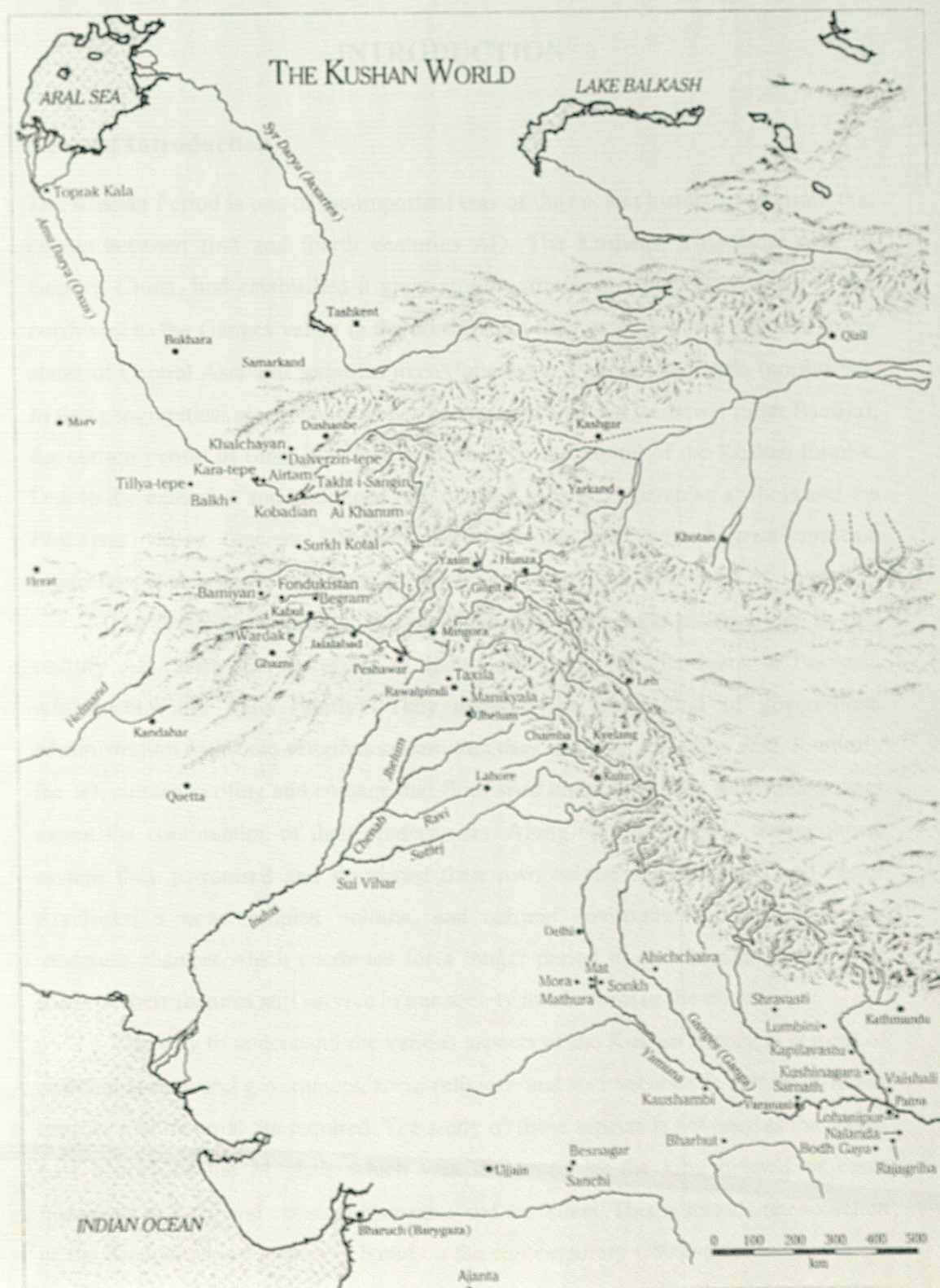
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Courtesy: Crossroads of Asia (ed. Cribb, J., Errington, E., 1992)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

The Kushan Period is one of the important eras of the ancient history of Pakistan that ranges between first and fourth centuries AD. The Kushans, a nomadic tribe of western China, had established a great empire stretching from Oxus valley in the northwest to the Ganges valley in the northeast of their extents which included many states of Central Asia and countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (northwest). In this geographical set up Pakistan has been a core area and Peshawar (after Bactria), for certain period of time, is known to have been the capital of the Kushan Empire. Due to the extensive and prolonged rule of the Kushans, Pakistan as a whole and the Peshawar valley (ancient Gandhara) in particular has secured great strategic importance and consequently huge establishments were developed there of the time.

The Kushans as a ruling dynasty, who appeared on the political map in first century AD, were the successors of Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthians in Pakistan, Afghanistan and India (partly). They adopted the same kind of government, administration and socio-religious system that they met with in certain area. Similarly the art, culture, writing and coinage that flourished under them also show to a greater extent the continuation of their predecessors. Along with the existed socio-cultural system they patronised and flourished their own culture and traditions and hence developed a new complex political and cultural environment. These were the moderate changes which continued for a longer period in certain regions and even some of their features still survive in our society in one form or the other.

The way to understand the various aspects of the Kushan history in respect of political system and government, socio-religious and socio-economic culture different sources and material are required. The study of these aspects is not easy as the recent past history of the Mughals which was illustrated by the king himself or court historians or local and classical historians and travellers. This multitude phenomenon of the Kushan period is usually based on the contemporary Chinese accounts, ancient traditions and travellers' reports, their coins, epigraphs and archaeological materials.

The study of these materials is of great importance and interrelated with one another but the major tool that plays a vital role particularly for understanding the political and cultural history are their coins. The coins are recognised a reliable and authentic source for the purpose as they were issued under the patronage and administration of king or state.

Historical Background: *Who were the Kushans?*

The term Kushan tends to be the name of the clan or tribe or dynasty usually appears on their coins and sometimes also in the inscriptions as a suffix term where they called themselves with the name Kushans. The word Kushan is derived from Kuei-shuang, name of the branch of a nomadic tribe Yüeh-chih, who were settled in the Oxus valley (Central Asia and the northern part of Afghanistan). According to Chinese sources, they were living in the north western border of China, the modern province Kan-su, and used to move along with their herds from one place to another. They were first mentioned in the Chinese accounts in the later decades of 3rd and beginning of 2nd century BC. It is recorded that they fought many battles with the Hsiung-nu, another nomadic tribe living in the same territory, later on known in the history as White Huns or Ephthalites (Hephthalites). In the last conflict that occurred between the two in BC. 165, the Yüeh-chih was defeated by the Hsiung-nu. In consequence of this defeat they left their homeland and moved towards west. While migrating towards Sogdiana (Samarkand), they carried out battles with the local tribes like *Sai* (Scythians) and *Wu-Sun* and finally arrived in the Sogdiana (or Oxus) valley and settled there. At the same time they crossed the River Oxus and also got the control of Bactria. The latter territory once had been the stronghold of Bactrian-Greeks who ruled there for a hundred years from mid 3rd to the mid of 2nd century BC. Henceforth they settled down in the said territories and divided into five branches and remained there in this position (semi-nomadic form) for about hundred years. It is recorded that they were arrived there around BC. 130 and a Chinese ambassador Chang-ch'ien visited them in BC. 128. He approached them to seek the assistance of Yüeh-chih against their common enemy the Hsiung-nu. It was one hundred years later that a tribe Kuei-shuang, probably the largest one emerged powerful among the others. The chief of the said tribe attacked the other groups and

brought them once again in unified form. Consequently the entire dynasty was known to be called with the tribe name Kuei-shuang or Kushans.

After this event the Kushans under the chieftainship of *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* (Kujula Kadphises) established a new kingdom in Bactria. He soon consolidated his position in Ta-hsia (Bactria) and invaded other countries like Kao-fu (Kabul), An-hsi (Parthia) and Chi-pin (Kashmir) and hence expanded his dominion to different directions. It is known from the coins of Kujula Kadphises (this name is found on his coins) that he had extended the Kushan rule up to Taxila as numerous coins of his reign have been reported from there. The Chinese accounts reveal that he died at the age of 80 and was succeeded by his son, *Yen-kao-chen*, i.e., most probably Vima (I) Takto who then further extended his rule over India. The coins of this ruler known with the name Soter Megas are commonly reported from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Northern India (upto Mathura).

After the establishment of Kushan Empire by Kujula and Vima Takto, the latter was followed by Vima Kadphises, third ruler of the dynasty and who likewise succeeded by the most famous king Kanishka the Great. It was during the reign of Kanishka that the Kushan empire spread over to Central Asia in the northwest and Ganges Valley in the east. In succession, Kanishka was followed by Huvishka and the latter by Vasudeva I. It was during the last years of Vasudeva reign (i.e., first quarter of third century AD) that the Sasanians appeared as a new rising power in Persia and hence became a threat to the western borders of the Kushan Empire. The Sasanians soon started to expand their rule beyond their boundaries, particularly towards the northwest territory of the Great Kushans (north of Hindu-Kush). It was soon after the death of Vasudeva I and perhaps during the reign of Kanishka II that Kushans lost Bactria, an important place of the empire, to the Sasanians from where they had once originated their ruling.

The Kushan Empire under Kanishka II, after the lost of Bactria, was now reduced that stretching from Kabul valley in the west to Uttar Pradesh in the east. This Kanishka (II) reorganised the Kushan kingdom in a new pattern and also struck his coins in a new style which remain existed until the collapse of Kushan rule in the mid of 4th century AD. The Post-Vasudeva period of this dynasty is generally known by the scholars as later Kushans. Vasishka who followed Kanishka II couldn't resist

more to the Sasanians therefore Kabul valley and Gandhara region were in turn slipped away from their control. After this the said kingdom further reduced to the eastern part, the territory between River Indus (Pakistan) and Uttar Pradesh (India). Vasishka was followed by another Kanishka (III) who ruled in the said reduced territory. The latter was succeeded by Vasudeva II. This ruler managed to recover some of their western territory at least Gandhara once lost to the Sasanians where he had over struck the coins of Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd I (the contemporary of Kanishka III and Vasudeva II).

After Vasudeva II, another sequence of the Kushan rulers is known as Shaka, Magra or Maśra, Māhi, Kipunadha, Gadahara or Gadakhra (Gadagra) whose coins are reported from Gandhara, Punjab. The coins of Shaka and Magra or Maśra are also known from the Mathura and western regions. In the west they were completely crushed by the Sasanians and Kidarites and in the east they were dethroned by the eastern rising power, the Guptas. In the east their complete end is uncertain most probably after AD. 340 and in the west in AD. 356/57 after the decisive invasion of Shapur II.

In government administration, the king was known as a supreme authority of the kingdom and commander-in-chief of the army. The certain kingdom included many provinces where the king used to appoint governors (satraps/ kshatrapas) there mostly the family members of his own choice. Then each province consisted of many districts and the constituency province was greatly independent in administration. The district unit of management included chief executive of the district accompanied by councillors and other officials. Further in the gross roots level, each village had its own head, who was assisted by committees and co-op members. The king remained a chief executive and was assisted by a team of ministers, advisors and councillors. The central establishment had different institutions and departments to perform various functions of the state and to facilitate services and security to the public. The certain system maintained health and education, trade and commerce, art and craft, revenue and finance, agriculture and social welfare departments etc. Thus the king used to collect the revenue to exercise the government affairs, to protect the boundaries of the kingdom and to manage the military expeditions and to maintain the law and order.

The king always showed great honour and regards to the public religion. There were different communities generally divided on religion basis were living freely to perform their own religious activities. It was due to the liberal policy of the Kushan kings that Buddhism flourished and numerous stupas with respective institutions like monasteries and viharas established in that period. Alongside, Jainism also flourished in the east as various Kushan period epigraphs from Mathura regions are inscribed on their images. Similarly different cults of Hinduism far and wide and Persian religion in the west not only exercised but flourished under the Kushans and the same were also reflected on the Kushan coinage. In respect of the dominance role of Buddhism, this era is famous for the establishment of four great schools of Buddhist art. Accordingly, Bactrian School of art in north of Hindu-Kush, Kapisene School of art in Kabul valley, Gandhara School of art in Peshawar valley, Taxila and including the Uddiyana style art in Swat valley, and the Mathura School of art in Uttar Pradesh were established for the purpose.

The Kushan coins show religious elements from the very beginning and the predominant features appeared from the time of Vima Kadphises (third ruler) which were continued down till the end of their rule. The certain deities were also labelled by their names from the time of Kanishka I, the fourth ruler of the Kushan. Accordingly the reverses of certain coins regularly exhibit the figures of various deities or related features. These deities were shown to represent the Kushan mythology which appeared in the guise of Greek, Persian and Indian origin. These popular religions were co-existed in the said kingdom and the people of different communities were the followers of their respective beliefs and thoughts. It was generally thought that the kings of this dynasty always honoured the divinities of different religions therefore they, in the interest of their subject, depicted the images of gods and goddesses on their coins. Now the different evidences show that the Kushan kings had their own nomadic religion and the deities appeared on their coins were of their belief but appeared in the form of Greek, Persian and Indian Pantheon. It is generally considered that they depicted such numerous deities on their coins for their political stability and with except few of them, these various images were entertained for their own thought and satisfaction.

Coinage of the Kushans

For understanding the history of the Kushans, study of different sources is required like the contemporary accounts of historians and travellers, archaeological finds, epigraphic documents and their coins. All these sources are interconnected, with the negligence any of them, the concerned history will not be achievable. The most important source of the Kushan history is their coins on the basis of which the present research is formulated. The Kushan coins always show great attraction for scholars, collectors, dealers and historians in respect of their metallurgy, designs and historical perspectives. The certain coins are known in gold and copper and both constitute several types and varieties. The early two rulers Kujula Kadphises and Vima Takto struck their coins apparently on the existed pattern of their predecessors. They therefore issued their coins in copper (and rarely in silver) in the style of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians and represent similar deities and other designs and likewise struck in the same weight. The remaining Kushan kings engineered their own style of coinage, which initiated by Vima Kadphises, developed by Kanishka I and perfected by Huvishka and the said tradition was then followed by the successors. Vima Kadphises issued bilingual coins like his predecessors, having Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse. He introduced Roman weight standard for the gold and struck the gold and copper coins in several denominations. He used varieties of obverse designs including the standing figure of king (copper & silver only) which became models for his successors. The reverse exhibits only one design that is the figure of Oesho with or without bull or his emblem battle-axe. It was Kanishka I who initiated the most exciting and interesting series of coins. This king made some remarkable changes i.e., the Greek script was replaced with Bactrian-Greek script and similarly Greek titles were replaced with Persian or Bactrian titles and also inscribed the dynasty name Kushan in the same manner. Similarly he discarded Kharoṣṭhi legend from his coins and the reverse was used to accommodate the names of the deities that were inscribed earlier in Greek and then in Bactrian. Kanishka coins are famous for their reverse varieties which chiefly represent the divinities of Persian and Indian mythologies. After him this pattern was followed by his successors. The obverse design, both of gold and copper coins of this ruler is almost uniform, display the standing figure of king facing to left. In contrary his

successor, Huvishka, reverted to the obverse designs of Vima Kadphises gold. Like the latter, he depicted various designs such as elephant rider, cross-legged figure of king, bust of king, bust of king emerging from rock, enthroned figure of king etc. Huvishka coins do not display standing figure of king. The obverse of copper coins of this ruler likewise shows different designs such as elephant rider, king seated cross-legged and king in reclining pose etc.

Vasudeva I onwards, the obverse of gold and copper coins, like Kanishka I uniformly exhibit the standing figure of king facing to left. Similarly the reverse deities became to diminish on the Vasudeva and his successor coins. Accordingly the reverse design during the later Kushans is only confined to two types, one having Oesho and bull type and another enthroned Ardoxsho. Kanishka II generally followed the style of Vasudeva I coins. Like the latter, having the Oesho and bull design, he introduced a new reverse design of the enthroned Ardoxsho. Vasishka, the next ruler after Kanishka II continued to issue his coins in the same pattern as were adopted by his predecessor. The obverse legend is now no more legible to identify the king name. Their successors Kanishka III and Vasudeva II also retained the same designs for their coinage. After Vasudeva II the later kings stuck their coins in one reverse of enthroned Ardoxsho only. In this regard only Brahmi akṣaras are intended to distinguish the coins otherwise all the later Kushan coins are same.

The Kushan coins are an important source which discloses various aspects of the dynastic history. In viewing this, there are many aspects which require detailed study of these coins to know much about the political set up particularly the later phase of the Kushan Empire. Kushans were the successors of Indo-Bactrian-Greeks and Scytho-Parthians in Afghanistan and Pakistan therefore their coins show close relations with the coins of their predecessors. Similarly the succeeding dynasties like Kushano-Sasanians, Guptas, Kidarites and Hephthalites, following the Kushans in the respective territories, obviously retained the Kushan pattern for their coin designs. In this regards chapter three discusses similar connections that how the Kushans adopted the pattern of their coins from their predecessors and then how they established the true Kushan coinage. The Kushan coinage likewise contributed a lot and played a dynamic role for formulating the monetary system of the subsequent dynasties. Besides the political history and monetary system, the Kushan coins likewise reveal

important aspects of the cultural profile in terms of crowns, dresses, thrones, languages and writing and religions of the said era.

Previous Researches

History of the study of Indian coins goes back to the second half of 18th century and the proper numismatic work of the Kushans took place in the beginning of 19th century. In terms of these achievements the two decades (from 1825 to 1845) are remarkable where the elementary scholarship firmly began on the subject under discussion. After which it is a continuous process and many great scholars have done tremendous job on their part and now it is the responsibility of the present scholars who concerned with this field to promote it further. For understanding and promoting this art the study and analysis of the previous research is definitely much important. Regarding this study a brief survey of the way of their method, analysis and classification of the coins and approach to the conclusion will be discussed and it will help us towards the proper direction. For understanding this process the pioneer work of Charles Masson, H.H. Wilson, James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham is taken for consideration that how they initiated this study and then developed by the other. Then there is a long history of the Kushan Numismatography which is difficult to explain here all such progress individually.

In the second half of the 20th century many eminent scholars expedited the work on Kushan coinage, history and inscriptions. In responding to all these major works, Robert Göbl in 1984, published a monumental atlas *Münzprägung des Kusānreiches* on the Kushan coinage containing the coins from Vima Kadphises to the end of dynasty. The certain book comprises coins of all the best and major known collections of the world and thus produced an extensive catalogue of the Kushan coins. It presents a detailed and comprehensive classification of the coins to their respective kings and further simplified into different groups, types, varieties and with numerous emissions. His major contribution is the die study of the Kushan coins and then with the help of these tools he also demarcated mints and their production. The systematic numbers of such coins are now widely used by the scholars as reference number for the Kushan coins. In this regard the undersigned also follow this pattern (text and coins refer to the Göbl numbering), which is much convenient to find the

certain coin or type for other information in the Göbl catalogue. Instead of this new approach many problems with these coins are now tracing out for the research and their possible results. Sometimes he misleads the proper sequence of the coins such as the Post-Vasudeva series both in gold and copper. The arrangement of later Kushan coinage is of excellent quality but he avoided in placing these coins in the frame of particular kings and merely called the coins of different usurpers. In this way neglected the historical importance of the later Kushans. For the proper arrangements and analysis of the later Kushan copper coins, the present scholar takes this opportunity as a case study to classify and understand them in his research.

This monumental work was followed by his other book on the same topic known as *Donum Burns* which is usually the continuation of his previous research but this book also included the coins of early Kushans and sometimes he has modified his old theme. In the light of Göbl contribution and with the help of new discoveries, since then, many eminent scholars have forwarded new theories for updating the Kushan history and coinage. Amongst them, the work of Joe Cribb is outstanding, who on the basis of solid evidence made a tremendous contribution to understand the Kushan coinage and their chronology. Here a list of some of the recent researches and contributions to the Kushan coinage and history after Göbl catalogue (1984) is given for understanding:

Joe Cribb in his article entitled *Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology* presented wonderful explanations for the end of Kushans in Bactrian, Kabul valley and Gandhara and the emergence of Kushano-Sasanians and their parallel issues in their respective kingdoms¹. In this work, he produced an important chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian kings and their contemporary later Kushans. In his other article, Cribb resolved the problem of Heraüs coins and assigned this series to Kujula Kadphises as earlier it was the disputed series of the Kushan coins². Another contribution of Joe Cribb is the classification and sequence of the later Kushan kings and their coins and with the collaboration of Oddy; he conducted the study and analysis of the debased gold coins of later Kushans³. The most astonishing discovery of the Kushan period is found in the form of Rabatak Bactrian inscription

¹ Cribb, J., 1990/b.

² Cribb, J., 1993.

³ Cribb, J., 1995.

of Kanishka which bears many important information concerned with the history of early Kushans and particularly it granted a name to the nameless ruler (Soter Megas) i.e. Vima Takto. This discovery was presented by Sims William and Joe Cribb in the fourth volume of *SRAA*⁴. In other contributions, Cribb elaborately discussed the nature, scope, iconography and other aspects of Śiva (Oesho) images on Kushans and Kushano-Sasanian coins⁵. Cribb, in his other publication, discussed and find out the die links, workshop and mint organization of the early coins (Greek) of Kanishka and their transition to another series (Bactrian) in a very technical analysis⁶.

Tanabe in the first publication of *SRAA* presented a gold coin of Kanishka I with new reverse image of Anemos, which reveals very useful information about the religious policy of Kanishka⁷. Another contribution of Tanabe is based on the study and analysis of the Kushan god Oesho in new perspectives⁸. In recent researches Burns carried out an extensive study and analysis on the gold coins of later Kushans. Similarly Gupta and Mitterwallner worked a lot on the later period of Kushan coins and history. In this regard P.L. Gupta also wrote a book entitled *Kushana Coins and History* which normally based on the previous researches and coins discussions. The contribution of Mukherjee in different aspects of the Kushan coinage and history is remarkable of which his book entitled *the Rise and Fall of Kushans* is outstanding.

Problems and Issues

With the commencement of the study of ancient coins of India, the Kushan coins were generally treated to unknown rulers of the Indo-Scythic dynasty of Central Asia who also extended their rule to the Indian territory. In this way nothing was known about them even name and succession of the rulers, geographical extents of the kingdom and the date that who were they? And when and where did they rule? In this regard their coins and epigraphs played a significant role for the establishment of their history. The coins of this era are found in abundance hence attracted the scholars for their fine executions, decorative designs and the use of valuable metal gold along with the copper. In 1830s, Masson collected a large number of the Kushan and the

⁴ Cribb, J., 1995-96.

⁵ Cribb, J., 1997/a.

⁶ Cribb, J., 1998.

⁷ Tanabe, K., 1990.

⁸ Tanabe, K., 1992.

Indo-Greek coins from Begram (Afghanistan) and tried to classify them to their respective rulers. He published his work in three memoirs in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and successfully classified the certain coins into different classes' as such more than one class for each dynasty. This initial work was soon accomplished by a celebrated scholar, James Prinsep, who contributed many important papers on the ancient coins of India. His work on the Kushan coinage is of great outstanding whereas he identified many names of the Kushan kings and also read the names of several deities found on the Kushan coins. He also succeeded to identify the successors of the Kushans who had followed the coins pattern of the latter. He described many coin series and sensibly organised them in a proper sequence. Prinsep likewise identified the names and iconography of the reverse deities of the Kushan coins. After the work initiated by Masson, developed by Prinsep and onwards them, the subject art was firmly established by a well known contemporary scholar Wilson. He compiled a very comprehensive and research oriented book *Ariana Antiqua* in 1841, based on numismatics and other antiquities that discovered in Afghanistan. Here he identified some more names of the Indo-Scythic kings (Kushans) and described these coins in a systematic pattern. This scholar discovered the name and coins of Kujula Kadphises and separated the gold coins of Vasudeva and successors after Kanishka and Huvishka.

It was during the time of Cunningham (i.e. last quarter of the 19th century) that he first identified the term Kushan since then this name is well recognised to all the scholars. Moreover he pronounced the rulers' names in appropriate form like Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasishka and also separated the later Kushan coins from the main series. Most importantly he reconstructed the Kushan history in a very systematic manner and explained the hidden era of ancient history of Pakistan (including neighbouring countries) that covering a period of more than three hundred years.

This is the continuous process and long efforts of the scholars for the last two centuries that the numismatic research is now in the position to interpret the various aspects like political, cultural, socio-economic and socio-religious history, monetary system etc. of the ancient times. In spite of various achievements in this field, still many problems persist with the coinage and political and cultural history of the

Kushans. The certain problems usually found parallel with all the ancient coins of India and Pakistan.

In this regard the basic problem is the lacking of historical sources and other contemporary accounts due to which the Kushan history is yet to be completed. One of the most debatable aspects of the Kushan history is the beginning of Kanishka reign. It is widely recognised that Kanishka I had founded his own era, the so-called Kanishka Era, but the Christian year in which he inaugurated it, has been a matter of great dispute. For understanding this issue two international colloquiums (on the Date of Kanishka) have been held one in 1913 and another in 1960. In this regard the third one has recently been concluded at the closing of twentieth century in Vienna. Few years ago with the discovery of Rabatak inscription and other related evidence, this problem to a greater extent has been settled down and the beginning of Kanishka era is now normally placed in the first quarter of 2nd century AD. But this issue is not yet solved with entire satisfaction. In recent discoveries, the Rabatak inscription led to understand the old issue i.e. the identification of a name Vima Takto for nameless ruler (Soter Megas) who is now recognised as the second ruler of the Kushans. His name has also been confirmed from other similar accounts but its later part is known in different ways. The analytical study of the Kushan coins also identified some rulers of the later Kushans such as the position and sequence of Kanishka II and Kanishka III. The order of succession concerned with the kings like Huvishka, Vasishka and Kanishka is now followed in the same manner.

Instead of these achievements (partially) again there are many other issues of the Kushans which need proper considerations in the light of new discoveries and fresh analysis such as the absolute sequence of the kings particularly of the later Kushans, first regnal years of Kanishka I, end and decline of the Kushans. Similarly other problems concerned with the coinage and socio-cultural history of Kushans to be analysed in the scope and right of deities appeared on the reverses, issuing order of the coins particularly of the gold, coins classifications of the later Kushans, proper classification of the Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva copper coins, mint system of the later Kushan gold etc. remains uncertain. In viewing these issues many undiscovered and unsettled features of the Kushan coinage, many hidden faces of the political and cultural history of the Kushans are yet to be discovered.

Research Programme and Objectives

The ancient coins of India as a general and of the Kushan period in particular are an important tool with the help of which one can understand the various aspects of the history. The main objectives of this thesis is to overcome some of the old problems regarding the chronology of the Kushan kings, typology of their coinage and resolving the classification of Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva copper coins, system of akṣara on the later coins. This numismatic study along with the help of other contemporary sources will reveal the new aspects of the political and cultural history of the Kushans. The numismatic evidences of the Kushan history may be carried out in the following scientific way for the solution of the above cited problems.

Intrinsic Study of Coins

The numismatic data such as types, designs, inscriptions, monograms, weights, metals basically and moreover overstrikes, stylistic aspects, die-adjustments, flans, die-studies etc are the important tools for the study of coins. In the light of these analyses the Kushan coins can be correlated and compared with the coins of other dynasties that how the Kushans originated their coinage from the preceding dynasties. This analytical research highlights the adaptation, continuation and termination of various coin designs of a king and greatly help to distinguish the coins of one king from the other. With the help of certain data the important aspects of the history such as chronology, cultural impacts and religious activities of the Kushans are studied freshly.

Extrinsic Study of Coins

The numismatic evidences like hoards, site finds, and various collections of coins and proper context of the archaeological are the great sources for understanding the geographical extents, political strength the succession of their ruling and the occupation and termination of their power in different territories in the frame of certain times.

This systematic procedure is adapted to the study of the known series of Kushan coinage including the new discovered coins to which the research scholar has

collected from the previous studies. Similarly the old and new material is consulted that obtained during his coins survey in Pakistan and abroad. In this regard the research scholar organise the whole series of Kushan coins and reclassify them in a proper sequence particularly the later Kushan coins. The following categories of coins are taken comprehensively in such a manner as:

Study of Coins Collections

For the research of these coins many coins collections were conducted like the cabinet of British Museum. British Museum contains the world best known collection of the Kushan coins. Getting these opportunities the scholar thoroughly studied all the gold and copper coins of the Kushans which enabled him to re-classify the Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva gold and copper coins systematically. In the meanwhile the research scholar also studied the Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva copper coins collected by Charles Masson from Begram (Afghanistan) in 1830s, which are greatly important for the extrinsic study of Kushan coins.

Coins Survey in Pakistan

The research scholar visited many museums in Pakistan, heartland of the Kushans, and examined the major collections of coins and thus collected useful data of the certain period. This data is very important as most of the coins have come from the known context. The scholar mainly focused on the coins of Taxila Museum and stray coins in the National Museum, Karachi. In the result of this study a very useful series, the fraction coins of Kujula, came for discussion that were not properly explained before this.

Study of Coin Hoards

The third study area, which is equally of great importance, is the Kushan coins in the form of hoards reported from different localities in Pakistan and Indian territories. This kind of coins mostly belonged to the later phase of the Kushans and hence they help to understand the extension and end of the Kushans in the respective areas. This comparative study of the various hoards of later Kushans was not elaborately discussed earlier. In this regard the most important one is the Lahore hoard of later

Kushans, yet to be published, containing 64 gold coins ranging from the period of Vima Kadphises to Shaka. Two more fresh hoards of later Kushans are known from the Rustam area (Mardan District); Rustam-A containing 11 coins and Rustam-B only 5 and all belonged to Kipunadha of the later Kushans. The combination of these hoards obviously confirms the ruling of the later Kushan rulers and provides evidences for the mint organization in the western part of their kingdom. Other known gold hoards of the later Kushans reported from the western part of their territory (present Pakistan) are: Sargodha hoard, Punjab hoard, Swat hoard, Bannu Hoard-A, Bannu Hoard-B etc. A new copper hoard of Vasudeva I containing 280 coins belonged to the late phase of Huvishka and early phase of Vasudeva I. This hoard determines the sequence of Vasudeva coins and their relation with the coins of predecessor ruler.

Besides the above hoards of the later Kushans from northwest regions, similar gold coins hoards of the same periods are also known from the east, such as Jaunpur hoard, Meerut hoard, Unnao hoard, Jaipur hoard, Jhunjhunu hoard, Hisar hoard, Auction coins and Kushan coins from Mathura. Moreover copper hoards are also reported from Mathura region like, Mathura hoard (Lot # 4), Govindnagar hoard etc.

Looking to the previous experiences, new researches and discoveries the present work is based on four kinds of researches. In the light of the available sources this research goes through:

- (a) All research works done before Göbl Atlas, 1984 (era of the beginning and development).
- (b) Göbl publications of 1984 and 1993 (Reference work for compilation)
- (c) Recent discoveries and researches, and (progress towards problems)
- (d) Fresh discoveries.

In the guidance of these frameworks and perspectives, the coins and their features are usually referred to Göbl research (b) and sometimes also to the previous work (a) and for the commentary and discussion to the recent discoveries and researches (c) and for the formulation of historical and cultural results to the first three point (a, b, c) in general and fourth (d) in particular.

The main objectives of the study of these coins are to reconstruct the political history of the Kushans and understand the sequence of the coins of the later Kushans.

This research similarly discusses the geographical extents of the Kushan Empire and socio-religious and cultural history of the Kushans. The most notable problem regarding the later Kushan copper coins is their sequence and hence to define the demarcation between the coins of Vasudeva I and his successors. The same problem is concerned with the gold coins of Vasudeva I whereas the later coins are usually known for the other rulers of the same name. The copper coins are not properly examined, always misinterpreted and usually assigned to Vasudeva I. It is therefore that the said coins are taken as the case study.

In the light of the available data and the updated research this study will lead to determine a sharp boundary between the Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva coins. In this respect the research scholar attempted to identify the latter issues to their respective kings and to accomplish them in the political set up of the Kushans.

Chapter II

HISTORIOGRAPHY: PREVIOUS RESEARCH & ACHIEVEMENTS

Beginning of the Study of Kushan Coins

Col. Todd was the first scholar, who in 1825 arranged and illustrated the copper coins of the Kushans but that time they were not yet identified and simply considered these coins of the Indo-Scythic kings and henceforth known after them¹. The name of Indo-Scythic was already known to Schlegel. In this classification which represents the ancient coins of India were arranged into five groups: (a) Bactrian coins, (b) Mithridates coins of Parthians, (c) Indo-Scythic coins, (d) & (e) Hindu coins. Accordingly the coins of second group belonged to Soter Megas and the third group which included the coins of Great Kushans constitute a separate class which later became the coins of the Kushan dynasty.

The coins of these rulers, the afore-mentioned groups, are stylistically different therefore placed in various groups but in term of sequence they present a sensible arrangement. In chronology they succeeded well by means of the coins of Soter Megas (of group-a) were followed by the coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and finally the small coins of Kanishka I (of group-b). In viewing this attempt of Todd, it really presents a systematic chronology of the Kushan kings such as (1) Vima Takto (Soter Megas), (2) Vima Kadphises, (3) Kanishka I and (4) Huvishka as this order authentically known today. Besides the order of kings whose names yet to be discovered the said author described the certain coins in a decent manner.

Later on in 1832, Prof. Wilson presented a new sequence of the Indian coins and described the gold and copper coins equally². This classification comprised four groups in which the Kushan coins were placed in the last group, known as the coins of Hindu origin. Like Todd, this scholar also was unable to identify the name of a

¹ Todd, J., 1825: 318-42.

² Wilson, H.H., 1832: 560-606.

king or particular dynasty but proposed that they belonged to various periods and different princes. On the basis of similarity and characteristics the Kushan coins were assigned to the Indo-Scythian tribe. Further the coins of Kanishka I, on the basis of reverse designs, were attributed to different princes that belonged to the same dynasty. On these coins he identified the use of uniform script and similar symbols. It was a sensible approach that the gold coins were placed first and then the copper. The gold coins were arranged such in order to represent the series of Huvishka, Kanishka, Vasudeva, Gupta, Vasishka, Gupta, Kidara and Gupta coins. Consequently the copper coins were managed to represent the coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas), Vima Kadphises, Huvishka, Kanishka, Indian coins, Huvishka (seated cross-legged type), Vasudeva, Post-Vasudeva and Indians (Gupta coins). It was the first successful attempt whereas the gold coins of the above mentioned rulers and the copper coins of Vasudeva and new types of the other rulers were included in the list of Kushan coinage. In both cases (gold and copper) the order of Huvishka and Kanishka coins was treated in inappropriate way otherwise this sequence at that stage was a landmark achievement of the scholar. Likewise due to the close resemblance of the copper designs of Vasudeva and Vima Kadphises, certain coins of Vasudeva were placed along with the coins of Vima Kadphises. Contrary to it, the sequence of gold coins of Vasudeva I, which comes after Kanishka and Huvishka, was of excellent arrangement. Similarly a coin of similar design most probably of the later Kushan was placed after Huvishka coins. The Wilson sequence of gold and copper coins is found below:

<i>Gold Coins</i>	<i>Coin No</i>	<i>Copper Coins</i>	<i>Coin No</i>
Huvishka	1	Vima Takto (Soter Megas)	23-25
Kanishka	2	Wima Kadphises	26-28, 30
Vasudeva I	3-4	Vasudeva I	29
Vasishka	6	Huvishka (Riding)	31-34
Gupta	5, 7	Kanishka I	35-36
Kirada	8-10	Huvishka (Cross-legged)	37-38
Gupta		Late Kushan	41
		Huvishka (Reclining)	42
		Indian	

Soon after this, James Prinsep compiled an article on the coins collection of Burnes, who had collected these coins during his journey from India to Afghanistan and Central Asia (Bukhara), through Punjab (Pakistan) and Kabul valley. Prinsep illustrated the coins of Macedonian and Syrian kings (Antiochus), Bactrian coins of Greek princes (Diodotus, Euthydemus I, Apollodotus) of Afghanistan and the Sasanian coins (Shapur II). It is due to the common style and design that the copper coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas) were placed among the coins of the Bactrian kings³. In this work the most important aspect was the identification of a copper coin of Kanishka I. It was the first time that Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the Greek legend on the Kushan coins i.e., the name KANHÖKOY. Further he rightly conjectured that this would be a coin of Kanishka, a Tartar or Scythic conqueror of Bactria⁴. On the basis of similarity in style, designs and legend, he identified some more coins (Vasudeva I) of the same dynasty which on the reverse showing the figures of a Brahmanic bull and priest (Oesho and bull) dressed in Indian dhoti. The author called these coins to the Indo-Scythic dynasty as the said name was earlier adopted by Wilson and Schlegel. Further he included two more coins of the unidentified rulers (one each of Vasudeva and Huvishka; Prinsep No.16 & 18, pl. II) to the list of Indo-Scythic kings⁵ and also elaborated that the coins of earlier prince are common throughout upper Hindustan.

The Contribution of Charles Masson

During the glorious era of Prinsep and Wilson, another scholar known as Charles Masson (originally American), who contributed much to the Indian numismatics by discovery of coins and antiquities and their identification, classification and periodization⁶. He spent a lot of time in explorations and excavations in Kabul valley and from there he collected bulk of coins and other antiquities. This collection later on became a good base for researches to understand the political history of the Bactrian Greeks and their successors in the Kabul valley and its surrounding. As a result of these discoveries, Masson produced three valuable memoirs on the coins of

³ Thomas, E., 1995 (1858)/1: 13, 36 (Pl: II-13).

⁴ Ibid, p. 38 (Pl: II.10).

⁵ Ibid, p. 42, (Pl: II.16 & 18).

⁶ Masson, C., 1834; 1836/a; 1836/b.

Bactrian-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians. In his first memoir, he classified the coins into five main groups such as (1) Grecian, (2) Indo-Scythic, (3) Parthians, (4) Brahmanical and (5) Muhammadan, in which he discussed the Grecian (Greek) and Indo-Scythic (Kushan) coins in great details⁷. He organised the coins of Kujula Kadphises including Su-Hermaeus series and Vima Takto (Soter Megas) in the 4th and 5th series of Greek coins. In the Indo-Scythic group, the coins of Kanishka were placed in the first series, Vima Kadphises (including Vasudeva I) in the second, and Huvishka and Kanishka II in the third. He read the name "Sotereagas" (ΣΩΤΗΡΗΓΑΣ) on the coins of Soter Megas (Vima Takto) and identified four types for this ruler. Similarly he deciphered the legend on these coins such as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡΗΓΑΣ ΟΟΗ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ. Alongside, he identified names of kings such as Kanishka and Vima Kadphises. Masson thus added the names of "Sotereagas" (Soter Megas or Vima Takto), Kanerkos (Kanishka I) and Kadphises (Vima Kadphises) to the list of the Kushan kings. Further he carried out the sub-classification of Kanishka coins by reverse designs and Huvishka by obverse and reverse as well. The obverse designs of Huvishka coins like king riding on elephant, king seated cross-legged, king reclining on couch were considered as reverse designs and on the latter two the king figure was identified as female figure. Like Prinsep, he also accommodated the copper coins of Vima Kadphises and Vasudeva together. This misconception was usually created by the similarity of obverse and reverse designs and yet unidentified names of the rulers. Masson further concluded that the Śiva and bull Nandi coins are numerous found in this country and in certain group, the various coins might be included of several princes as they vary in point of execution⁸. In this memoir he produced a remarkable list of the Kushan coins that present the sequence as:

Grecian 4th Series: Hermaeus III (Kujula Kadphises) and "Sotereagas" (Soter Megas)

Grecian 5th Series: Unarranged Hermaeus (Kujula Kadphises)

Indo-Scythic Series 1: Kanerkos

Indo-Scythic Series 2: Kadphises (Vima Kadphises including the coins of Vasudeva I)

⁷ Masson., C., 1834: 155-174.

⁸ Ibid, p. 174.

Indo-Scythic Series 3: Elephant rider, reclining and cross-legged types (Huvishka) and the coins of (Kanishka II)

In second memoir, Masson explained the Greek coins in good detail but the copper coins of the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) were not treated in the same way⁹. In this article, Masson included many gold coins of the Indo-Scythic kings and also described them elaborately in the style of catalogue. It is due to the neat writing on gold coins that he deciphered the legend on Huvishka and Vasudeva coins such as PAO NANO PAO OOHPIKI KOPANO for the earlier and PAO NONO POOBO PAONOKO NONO for the later respectively but could not understand them for the king name. In the same way he also read the name of a few deities such as NANAIA and HAIOC on the reverses of Kanishka coins. Along with the gold coins, on the copper coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas) which were referred to in the fourth series (Nysaeen) of Greek coins, he read the legend as BACIAEVC BACIAEWN ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC. In the second memoir the author properly demarcated the obverse and reverse designs on the gold coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka Huvishka and Vasudeva but was still away to put them in their proper sequence. The sequence of these coins presented by Masson is found as Vima Kadphises, Huvishka, Kanishka, Huvishka Vasudeva and Huvishka. This arrangement of the Kushan coins was superb with except of the gold coins of Huvishka where they misperceived the scholar by their different varieties.

In his third memoir, Masson reported the number of coins that he had collected during his field work and arranged them in their proper order and also discussed the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) deities briefly¹⁰. The coins of Kujula (Hermaeus I and II) and Vima Takto/ Soter Megas (great king or with the title BACIAEVC BACIAEWN ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC) were usually recorded in the group of Greek coins. The Kushan coins were arranged for their kings like Kadphises, Kanishka (Kanerkos & Kanerki family), Huvishka (Series 3: figure seated in native fashion; Series 4: couch-lounger; Series-5: elephant rider), Vasudeva (Series 6: reverse of bull and priest-Okro) and Kanishka II (Series 7: female with cornucopia)¹¹. The important

⁹ Masson, C., 1836/a: 1-29.

¹⁰ Ibid, 1836/b: 537-351.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 547; 350-351.

feature of this classification was the recognition of Oesho and bull coins for a separate king (Vasudeva) which he rightly placed after Huvishka. Another significant aspect of this classification was the identification of Huvishka coins by their obverse types and the coins of this ruler are now found in the same order with corresponding reverse deities. Viewing this order and arrangement of Masson, the sequence of the Kushan coins (from Greek to Indo-Scythic) is almost completed ranging from Kujula Kadphises to Kanishka II. It is indeed a great contribution of Masson that he established a very good sequence of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian (including Indo-Parthians) and Kushan kings and their coins. From the time of Masson it was the real beginning of this branch of numismatics in respect of coin discovery and their identification, decipherment and classification etc.

The Contribution of James Prinsep

James Prinsep, a celebrated scholar, had begun his career as assayer from Calcutta mint. He had been the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society and also the editor of the journal of the Society. He worked hard and contributed several important papers on the coins, palaeography and other related antiquity of the ancient times of India. At the same time he also studied the famous coins collection of Masson reported from Begram-Kabul (Afghanistan). One of the major contributions of Prinsep is the decipherment of ancient scripts of India with the help of which the obscured chapters of Indian history began to disclose.

Prinsep, working on the Greek, Kushan and succeeding periods of coins, followed the Masson's way of classification and description and reconstruction of the chronology of kings and dynasties. Accordingly he stepped ahead and promoted this art on firm basis. He identified many new coins and their features and also discussed the related problems for their possible solutions. In terms of the Kushan coins he made the following contributions:

- a) Differentiated the Hermaeus coins from Su Hermaeus (Kujula) and the latter were marked as the coins of Kadphises.
- b) Recorded the coins of Kujula Kadphises and read out the Greek inscription found on these coins.

- c) Deciphered the legend on Kushan coins
- d) Divided the Indo-Scythian (Kushan) coins into two major groups, (i) the Kadphises coins, and (ii) the "Kanishki" (Kanishka) and successor coins.
- e) Classified the Kanishka coins into two groups by: (i) the Greek legend *Basileus Basileus* group and (ii) substituted legend *raonao rao korano & rao* (*Shao Nano Shao Kushano & Shao*).
- f) Described the reverse deities appeared on the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka and made their connections with the Persian religion (Zoroastrian).
- g) Understood the scheme of derivations of the Hindu coins (Gupta coins) from the Kushans (later Kushans).

The advanced research of James Prinsep appeared in various articles that were undertaken on the miscellaneous collection of coins and different discoveries of coins and related antiquities. It is interesting to know about the systematic study of Prinsep that he carried out for understanding the Kushan coinage. His approach towards this direction is very intellectual and impressive. In this regard the mode of coins identification, the way of their understanding and the decipherment of legend adopted by Prinsep is briefly projected here for knowing the above mentioned points.

Prinsep went through the new varieties from Masson's drawings and other series and successfully deciphered the Greek legend ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ or better known as ΚΟΣΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ¹². He identified the Augustus type coins to Kadphises on the basis of obverse legend and the reverse design of enthroned Jupiter (not deity but seated king)¹³. In deciphering the legend (ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ) these coins were assigned to Kadphises (Vima Kadphises). Similarly on the other coins of Kujula he read the legend ΖΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ (ΟΥ) ΧΡΑΝΟΥ, by finding the name Kadaphes were likewise associated them to the series of Kadphises coins.

He correctly identified the pure Hermaeus coins and separated such coins showing enthroned Zeus and legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ from the crude coins displaying an extra word ΣΥ and reverse with standing Herakles. He

¹² Thomas, E., 1995 (1858)/1: 357.

¹³ Ibid, p. 193-94.

pointed out that the "Su Eramaeus" followed the coins of "Undopharrus" (Gondophares) who had in turn followed the coins of Hermaeus (pure). Accordingly the coins with the reverse Herakles were called as Kadphises or "Eramaeus" coins and on one of the coin he read the legend as NO KΑΔΦΙHC whom Masson called Hermaeus II coins. He showed the link of this series with the "Su Eramaeus" (Kujula Kadphises) on one hand and NO KΑΔΦΙHC with Herakles reverse (Kujula Kadphises) on the other and further correlated with that of Indo-Scythian raja and bull coins of this prince (Vima Kadphises)¹⁴. He thus differentiated the Su Hermaeus (Kujula Kadphises) coins from Hermaeus (pure) and put them to king called as Kadphises (Vima Kadphises). As mentioned earlier that one of the coins bearing legend Kadphises and therefore associated them with other coins of Kadphises. In this connection Prinsep discovered another new type for this king.

Regarding the degenerate style of Greek legend, he traced out various crude letters such as P, A, the K and M occurring on the coins (of Vasudeva) what were called the raja and bull coins (or Kadphises) with the legend (P) AONANO PAO OOHO KO (PANO). In this form of writing the angularity of three letters P, N, and A was swallowed up. Its transliteration was *rao nao rao* and *korano*, being an attempt to understand the certain series other than the Kadphises coins¹⁵. For the word *kopano* (Kushan) he showed different explanations; with the Greek word *Kotranos*, with the Persian word *Sahib-qiran* and *Zul-karnain* and *Krishna* in Sanskrit as well as Persian¹⁶. He also presented the variations appear with the first part of the name Kadphises like -OOX, OKMO, OOKMO, OOHN and OOMO.

Prinsep reported that two varieties of the gold coins of Kadphises were known and the third variety (biga type) is reported by Smith from Banaras. He described three gold coins known from Banaras: (a) king riding in biga, (b) bust of king to right (reverse Śiva and bull), and (c) bust of king to right (reverse Śiva alone). For biga type the author commented that it is a unique type and the king is shown in Grecian or Roman war chariot, drawn by two horses and driven by an *auriga* and the

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 192-93.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 129.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 131.

inscription he read perfectly as BACIAEYC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC and on the reverse a long Pehlevi (Kharoṣṭhi) inscription¹⁷.

He carried out two principal divisions of the Kushans coins that assigned to the rulers of two families: (1) the coins of Kadphises family, and (2) the coins of Kanerki family. It was the first time that the Kushan coins were classified into two groups. Prinsep made explanation that none of the Kanerkos coins have a Pehlevi legend (Kharoṣṭhi) and similarly all his successors continued the same practice. In this way it is better to place Vima Kadphises as the last of the Pehlevi series, immediately before Kanerkos (Kanishka)¹⁸.

On the basis of legend variations he classified the coins of Kanerki (Kanishka I) into two groups (a) the early coins inscribed with Greek legend BACIAEVC BACIAEWN and (b) later coins with substitute legend PAONANO PAO (gold) or simply PAO (copper). In the light of the inscriptional varieties it was proposed that the word PAOKANHPKI should be equivalent to BACIAEVC BACIAEWN¹⁹. On the gold coins of Manikyala he read the correct legend of Kanishka coins such as PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO and found the name Kanerki²⁰. The legend may be interpreted "king of kings, Kanerki, the splendid". Earlier the name of Kanishka was read as Kanerkos by Masson²¹. Identifying the Greek name KANHPKI he made its connection with similar name in other sources such as the Kashmiri *Kanishka*, the Chinese *Kia-ni-se-kia* or the Arabic *Kanik*.

It was observed that on the Kanerki coins, the common obverse design of the Indo-Scythic family displaying a standing raja clad in Tartar coat inscribed with PAO KANHPKI and with variety of reverse designs and corresponding legends. The same devices were continued upon several succeeding coins of the *rao nano rao* series and with some more obverse varieties such as bust of king, elephant rider and cross-legged king (Huvishka). Earlier the coins of Huvishka were well known but his name was obscured and that was Prinsep who not only deciphered the legend on these coins but discovered the name "Kenorano" for the said ruler (i.e. Huvishka). Accordingly

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 228-229.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 227.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 127.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 128.

²¹ Masson., C., 1834: 159, 163.

on the copper coins of Huvishka, he read the legend KENOPANO (Kenorano)²². Similarly he also read the legend as PAONANO PAO OOHPI KOPANO on the gold coins found at Manikyala.

He noticed 4-armed image on the reverse of Kanishka coins and read the legend OKPA (OHPO) and showed the corresponding word in Zend or the Sanskrit *arka*, common appellation of sun. It is also a great contribution of Prinsep that he deciphered the names of deities on the reverse of Kanerki coins such as NANO, NANAIO, MIOPO, MITPO, AΘPO, OAAO. He further elaborated that the same deities continued upon several succeeding coins of the *rao nano rao* series and also associated them with the obverse designs²³.

Prinsep showed the importance of images on these coins that it is a sacred personage may be gathered from the glory which invariably encircles its head. It was noticed that costumes of these figures differ greatly from the Grecian and mostly resemble with the Persians. He gives comments on the word NANAIA accompanied by the figure in Indian character, facing to right, apparently a female bears a lotus. He finds out the roots of associated word NANI or ANAIA the Anahith of the Greek and Anahid of the Persian mythology²⁴. He explained the word Manaobago which is corresponding with the Zend language. Similarly he interpreted Helios the sun, Mioro written MIΘPO or MIOPO also Zend pronunciation Mithira Persian name of the sun and it degenerates to MAO or HAO. He found some more names like AΘPO or MAΘPO the Zend word refers to sun. The author also illustrated the figure of Buddha appeared for the first times on the Kushan coins. He noticed the novelties in the figure and therefore found it different from the others and mentioned that with the exception of this all other deities refer to the sun, under his various names and attributes. The author at that stage avoided to identify this figure as Buddha and similarly unable to decipher the accompanied legend on these coins²⁵. Prinsep showed the appellation of Mithraic to the very numerous coins which representing the extension of the religion of Zoroastrian in some parts of Bactria and the Punjab²⁶. He

²² Thomas, E., 1995 (1858)/1: 127

²³ Ibid, pp. 225-226.

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 131-32.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 135.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 136.

also forwarded explanations for the word ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ which he for the first time noticed on a coin of Huvishka, was understood for the meaning as "the great sun", *arda* or *arta* in making the correlation of it with Ardashir and Artaxerxes²⁷.

In a note on the new varieties of the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coins, the author tried to develop the transition from the Mithraic or Indo-Scythic coinage to Hindu series. He described a new coin of Kanishka from Masson collection which displaying an armed-figure on the reverse and inscribed with corresponding legend ΟΡΑΑΓΝΟ (Orlagno). The author argued for ΑΓΝΟ to represent Sanskrit word by means the god of fire and the word ΑΡΔ is replacing the *Artha*²⁸. Similarly he quoted a similar coin of Huvishka with bust portrait of the king on the obverse and the reverse name ΦΑΡΟ with the standing figure. He understands this word to represent the new deity who holds a spear and shown with flaming shoulder. He read the name "Pharo" which correlated with the word "Phraa", the name of Alexandrian light house and this certainly existed in the ancient language of Persia as the Personification of light or heat – analogous to Mithra – sun. He interprets a gold coin of Kanishka with reverse legend ΝΑΝΑΡΑΟ and ΝΑΝΑ is similarly found with the bust type of Huvishka. He reported an ΑΘΡΟ reverse type of Huvishka from Court's drawings and with obverse legend ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ²⁹. In this connection he discovered another new gold type from Courts collection, having the bust type of Huvishka on the obverse with reverse deity standing to left and the illegible legend i.e. ΡΑΝ. On the gold coin of Huvishka he accurately read the legend ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ for which he made two explanations, the first part *Mang* in Persia – name of the moon and *Bhaga* in Sanskrit – 'splendour', 'glory' and is given as a synonym of the moon as well as of the sun or Manaobago 'Lord of the Months'³⁰.

He elaborately described the Kushan coins of Manikyala discovered by Ventura and put them in the sequence of rulers such as Kanishka (Kanerkos), Huvishka and Kadphises. For Kanishka coins, he placed larger coins before the

²⁷ Ibid, p. 229.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 361.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 363.

smaller and for Huvishka coins he followed the order of obverse type – elephant rider, reclining pose and seated cross-legged pose³¹.

Prinsep conjectured that the Kanauj coins having on the obverse a standing king in the style of Kadphises (specifically Vasudeva I) and Kanerki (Kanishka I) and the reverse bearing enthroned goddess similar to the last series of Indo-Scythic coins (Kanishka II type). Looking to these similarities Prinsep rightly suggested the links of Kanauj coins (particularly the gold coins of Gupta dynasty) with the Indo-Scythic and the certain pattern might be derived from the latter³². The gold debased coins of Kirada/ Kidara series were considered second series of imitation of the coins of Kushan³³.

One of the great contributions of Prinsep is the decipherment of the ancient scripts of India. He carried out the comparison on Bactrian Pehlevi (Kharoṣṭhi) inscription appeared on the reverse of coins, in which he deciphered the letters of Kharoṣṭhi inscription was called as Pehlevi inscription with the help of Greek corresponding letters that found on the Greek coins³⁴.

The Contribution of H.H. Wilson

Wilson has been a contemporary scholar of Masson and Prinsep therefore they shared their views and benefited from one another and finally he produced a gigantic source book known as *Ariana Antiqua*. This book is basically compiled on the Masson's discoveries in Afghanistan. The contribution of this scholar on the Kushan coins can be found in two phases: the first one before the discoveries of Masson and Prinsep as already mentioned and the final phase came after the contribution of the latter scholars. The later work like his early research is very important where he made the coins classification of Greek, Scytho-Parthian, Kushan and subsequent dynasties. He arranged the Kushan and other coins in their proper sequence and described them in the form of a catalogue³⁵. In this book the author identified the coins of various kings

³¹ Ibid, p. 119.

³² Ibid, pp. 125-130, 270.

³³ Ibid, p. 374.

³⁴ Ibid, pp. 180-194.

³⁵ Wilson, H.H., 1997 (1841).

or group of kings in their respective dynasties. Technically he established this classification on the basis of fabric, style, design, legend and symbols of coins.

Wilson rearranged the coins of Kujula previously known as Su-Hermaeus series, Kadaphes or Kadphises and separated them from the genuine Greek coins of Hermaeus. Prinsep already presented this classification but it was in the initial stage and now Wilson perfected it on firm basis. Before Prinsep, Masson identified these coins to Hermaeus (I, II and III). Here Wilson elaborately discussed the Su-Hermaeus coins and found them different from the Hermaeus (genuine) in terms of material, types and execution and more importantly the modified style of name³⁶. It is noteworthy to note that he deciphered the reverse legend on these coins, read as *Dhama-piasa kujulakasa sakusa kayadaphasa* while on the Hermaeus coins *Moharajasa tadarasa Heramayasa*. For the script (Kharoṣṭhi) he used the term Arian while Prinsep called it Pehlevi script. In this legend he proposed name and titles of the king but still away to discover the name of Kujula. Similarly he puts some other coins, having the same obverse and reverse devices, to this king (Kujula) with new obverse legend such as *Korso kozolou kadphizou*. Following this, on another coin (Augustus type) of the same ruler he rightly read the corrupt Greek legend *Zathou kozolou kadaphes korano* as was known to Prinsep. He further argued that on these three varieties, the Arian (Kharoṣṭhi) legend remains same; hence the original words *Kujulaka Kayadapha* are the same with the Greek *Kozolou Kadaphes*. On the basis of these he assigns the certain coins to the same prince and conjectured the name for Indo-Scythic king mentioned in Chinese literature as *Kiu-tsio-kio*³⁷. It was the important achievement of Wilson that he separated the Kujula coins from Kadphises (Vima Kadphises) and associated the name of this ruler with Chinese mentioned name *Kiu-tsio-kio*. After this assumption this name used for Kujula is well recognised and all scholars undoubtedly follow the same view. He placed these coins after the Greeks and before the coins of Śakas (Indo-Scythians).

Another contribution of Wilson is the identification of the coins of nameless ruler called as great king of kings, the preserver (Soter Megas). He put the coins of this ruler among the coins of Indo-Parthians who had followed the coins of Śaka.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 307.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 309.

Earlier Masson mentioned certain coins with the name "Sotereegas" but he arranged these coins amongst the Greek rulers after Eukratides. Wilson further explained that after this ruler the coins known for the Indo-Scythian princes of Kabul are placed in succession.

Wilson followed the Prinsep's view that the Indo-Scythic dynasty has two main division of kings i.e. the Kadphises family and the "Kanerkes" (Kanishka) family. He proposed a region to these coins the Kabul valley, Jalalabad and spreading along the Indus and extended eastwards into the Punjab. It was elaborately explained that the Indo-Scythian coins were issued in gold and copper and Kadphises was the first in this line who initiated this practice. Besides Kadphises, "Kanerkes" and "Oerkes" (Kanishka and Huvishka), the Gupta kings also struck their coins in gold and the same were followed by the coins of the later rajas of Kanauj. On the gold coins he read the legend as BACIAEYC OOH(K)MO KΑΔΦΙCΗC, the first and final words stood for 'Kadphises the king' and the middle one for an undefined additional title of the king³⁸. The said author described the silver and copper coins of this ruler with uniform designs having standing figure of king on the obverse and Śiva with bull on the reverse. On the basis of similarity of tamga he connected the coins of this prince with that of the nameless king of Indian style (Sorter Megas or Vima Takto).

Prof. Wilson, following the classification of Masson and Prinsep identified some more copper coins of similar design, depicting standing figure of king on the obverse and Śiva with bull on the reverse, but found them of inferior execution (Vasudeva I). It was the remarkable achievement that he arranged these coins after the good coins of Kadphises. Before this Prinsep also suggested the Śiva and bull coins would be the issues of more than one king. In this classification Wilson traced out some differences on the later coins (inferior) like a different costume of the king seemingly a mail dress, left hand of king supports a trident or spear on the obverse and the reverse figure is still Indian and the head of bull always faces to left while on the perfect coins it is to right. He concluded that these differences denote a different period or a provincial origin but still uncertain³⁹.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 349.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 352.

It is his noteworthy contribution that he designated a new gold series of coins and classified it separately to a new king named "Baraoro" (Vasudeva). In this classification he arranged these coins after the coins of Huvishka hence recognised the successor of the latter. In these coins he found the name variants "Baraoro", "Varaoro" (Vasudeva) and also discussed the coins of similar designs of the Kushano-Sasanians and uncertain or "Ardokro" (Ardoxsho) coins (including copper) of the Indo-Scythian series (later Kushans). It was the first attempt that gold coins, recognised for king "Baraoro" (Vasudeva), were placed accurately after the coins of Huvishka. On the basis of a new reverse design (Ardoxsho) and with uniform style of the standing figure of king he grouped these coins separately. The Ardoxsho series of later Kushans containing the coins of Kanishka II and Vasishka were also treated in the same manner and accommodated them in a proper sequence after Vasudeva.

Consequently this classification led to a separate series of various coins including the new types for some new rulers other than those already known previously. The sequence of the Indo-Scythian (Kushan) dynasty along with the others was established as:

1. Greek coins (Bactrian-Greeks and Indo-Greeks)

2. Barbaric Kings

- i. Su-Hermaeus coins of Kadaphes or Kadphises (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan)
- ii. Coins of Śaka or Sai (Indo-Scythian)
- iii. Coins of the Great King of Kings, the Preserver (Vima Takto, Kushan)

3. Indo-Parthians

4. Indo-Scythian Princes of Kabul (Kushan)

- i. Kadphises (Vima Kadphises)
- ii. "Kanerki" or "Kanerkou" (Kanishka I)
- iii. "Kenorano" (Copper coins of Huvishka)
- iv. "Ooerki" (Gold Coins of Huvishka)
- v. "Baraoro", "Varaoro", Varahran (Vasudeva I & Kushano-Saasnian)
- vi. Uncertain or "Ardokro" coins of the Indo-Scythic Series (later Kushans)

5. Coins of the Sasanian Kings

The Contribution of Alexander Cunningham

Masson, Prinsep and Wilson were the pioneers in this field who had founded the Indian numismatics. It was then Alexander Cunningham who systematically developed and firmly established this art in a new way. Cunningham not only recorded and illustrated the coins in catalogues but also reconstructed the chronology and political history of various dynasties.

Cunningham carried out a long essay on the Indian coins reported from Kashmir and concluded that the early coins belonged to the Indo-Scythian kings Oerki or Hushka, and Kanerki or Kanishka. He further argued that these princes were Buddhists and they founded cities named after themselves, of which Hushkapur was existed as long as AD. 958 and Kanishkapur is inhabited even at the present day⁴⁰. He demonstrated for the Kushan design of standing king on the obverse and enthroned deity on the reverse was known to have been used for long duration of thirteen hundred years. Cunningham reported that the Indo-Scythian coins were struck in gold and copper only and the silver coins are not yet reported. On the gold coin of Kanishka (III) he read the legend PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO, "the king of kings, "Kanerki, Korano". Making the connection of word "Korano", he found a similar word on the coins of "Kadaphes Zathus" and suggested it to be the name of some prince from whom these Indo-Scythians were proved to be originated. Further he correlated this word with the Greek word *Koronis* "with curling horns", and the Arabic *Zulqarnin* or "lord of the horns" both point to Alexander the Great hence interpreted the term "Korano" as a "descendent of Alexander".

On the later Kushan gold coins he correctly recorded the Indian Pali letters like *chu* and *vi* on one issue, similarly *bha* and *vasu* on the second, and *bha* and *sita palaka* or *sita maka* on the third. This was the first attempt that he added the later Kushan coins with the reading of individual letters in Indian style (Brahmi). Cunningham identified these coins for the Kushan kings Kanishka and Jushka but they belonged to the later Kushan kings Kanishka III, Vasudeva II and Shaka. It was

⁴⁰ Cunningham, A., 1843: 5.

the significant work of Cunningham who decently read the Brahmi letters such as *chu, vasu, bha, sita* and *maka (shaka)*⁴¹.

Cunningham carried out a notice of ten unpublished coins of the Indo-Scythians, containing three of gold and seven of copper⁴². In this article he explained the legend of Kozola (Kujula) coins and the early history of the dynasty to which he belonged. On these coins the obverse legend was read as ΖΑΘΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΦΕC ΧΟΝCΥ or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡC or ΚΟΡCΟ and the corresponding reverse legend *Yatugasa Kujula kasasa*. Cunningham explained the meaning of legend as "(coin) of the king of the *Kuei-shwang*, Kozola-Kadaphes". It was described that *Kuei-shwang* was one of the tribes of the Great *Yüe-chi* which could be identified with the *Asiani* one of the people who driven the Greek out from Bactria. He proposed the title *Zathos* would be only the Greek rendering of the Zend *Khshathra*, a king name with similar four other readings. It is stated that the *Kuei-shwang* occupied a city to the south of Samarkand, called as *Kuei-shwang-na*, another tribe *Shwang-mi* occupied the country called as *Shang-mi* to the south of Wakhan and a third tribe, the *Hieu-mi* occupied the country on the upper Oxus or Wakhan⁴³.

He also read the reverse legend on Kadphises coins as *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sabatugahi-surasa mahi-surasa Hima Kadphisasa tatasa*, "(coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the everywhere destroying hero, the hero of the world"⁴⁴.

Of the coins distribution the gold coins belonged to Huvishka and Vasudeva and the copper coins to Kanishka and Huvishka. For the Huvishka gold coins he described a new reverse showing winged female figure with accompanied legend ΟΑΜΙ (ΟΑΝΙ) ΜΑΟ (Oanindo). This figure was compared with the similar figure on the coins of Menander, Azes and Gondophares. He forwarded several explanations for the reverse legend but could not decipher it accurately. Similarly he read the obverse legend ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ Ο (ΗΚΚΙ) ΚΟΡΑΝΟ and the king name "Hoerki" identified with Hushka a Tartar king of Kashmir. On another gold coin of Huvishka he read the reverse legend ΟΜΒΟΔ or ΟΔΙΒΟΔ which was considered for either

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 21-23.

⁴² Cunningham, A., 1845: 431-441.

⁴³ Ibid, pp. 433-434.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Aum Buddha or Adi Buddha but the actual reading of this word is MIOPO inscribed with the reverse figure of sun-god⁴⁵. On Vasudeva gold coin he reported a new reverse design of three-headed and three-armed (actually four-armed) male figure, clad in Indian dhoti, wearing sacred string and holding out in his three hands three different objects in one of them is noose. For the reverse legend he read the name Okra (Oesho) and suggested that this figure is the personification of Indian god Śiva. The obverse legend of this coin was read as PAONANO PAO BAAANO KOPANO "the king of kings, "Balanus" (or Bala), "Koran". Cunningham argued for the name "Balana" discovering for the first time upon a coin and the certain king was belonged to the Indo-Scythian dynasty⁴⁶.

On the reverse of copper coins of Kanishka he described the running figure and read the accompanied legend as OAAO and the same legend was already known to Prinsep. For this word Cunningham presented several explanations and associated it with the Persian wind god 'Bad'. In this list he observed two more copper coins of Kanishka with reverse designs of enthroned Buddha and standing Buddha respectively. The enthroned Buddha is definitely a new addition while the standing Buddha was already reported by Prinsep from Manikyala⁴⁷. Cunningham properly described these figures and read the accompanied legend as O BOAA CAM or AAO BoΔ CAMA may be intended for OM BOΔA CAMANA. Its interpretation will be Aum Adi Buddha Sramana or simply Adi Buddha *Sraman* for *Sramana* as "ascetic" which is a common appellation of Buddha⁴⁸.

The last four copper coins were rightly attributed to the Indo-Scythian king "Kenorano" (Huvishka); one with Mao reverse and three with Ardoxsho reverses but the later figure is shown in various styles and the associated legend as APΔOXPO⁴⁹.

Later on, he undertook an extensive research on the coins of Alexander's successors in the east and published in a series of articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle*⁵⁰. He presented his comments on the Masson's division of Hermaeus coins

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 435.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 436-437.

⁴⁷ Thomas, E., 1995 (1858)/1: Coin: 11 (Pl: VII).

⁴⁸ Cunningham, A., 1845: 438-439.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 439-440.

⁵⁰ Cunningham, A., 1872: 21-30179-185.

that the first and second type of coins (King I and II) belonged to a single king Hermaeus and the third type (King III) bearing two names i.e. Soter Hermaeus in the Greek legend and of Kujula Kadphises in the Arian belonged to Kujula Kadphises. From the joint names he concluded his remarks that Hermaeus must have been the last of the Indo-Greek kings and that Kujula Kadphises must have been the Scythian prince who occupied the Greek kingdom in India. He suggested that it is proved by the final disappearance of the name of Hermaeus from these coins which were replaced by the name of Kujula Kadphises in the Greek legend without any alteration of the type⁵¹.

In deciphering the Greek legend on Kujula coins, he found the king name as KOZOLA KΑΔΑΦΕC or KOZOYAO KΑΔΦIZEC, his title was ZAΘOY and his tribe name was the KOPANO. Further he explained the Greek word *Zathou* or *Zawu* and correlated it with the Arian word (Prakrit) *Yau*, *Yaung* or *Yavuga* in the reverse legend. This title may be intended with the *Shao-wu* which Chinese assigned to all the kings who were descendent of the Great Scythian ruler *Wen*. Later on this title was changed to *Rao* (Shao) by Kanishka and his successors. He also made explanations that the tribal name "Korano" is written on the coins and its parallel name *Gushan* is found in the inscriptions of the said dynasty. In this regard he showed the change of letter from *sh* to *r* in the middle of a word however the rule of this change was confined to the initial of a word. These coins reveal that the Greek power was terminated by a Scythian chief named Kujula Kadphises who was the *Zawu* or *Shao* of the Kushan tribe⁵².

He quoted the Chinese reference that the chief of the *Kuei-shwang* tribe of the Great *Yüe-chi* named *Khiu-tsiu-kio* conquered the other four tribes of the nation. After this unification he conquered *Kao-fu*, *Kipin*, *Hantha* or *Ophiana* and Parthia⁵³. He also incorporated some of the references of Trogus that Bactria and Sogdiana were subdued by the Scythian tribes *Sarancae* (Saraucae) and *Asiani* and afterwards that the *Asiani* gave kings to the Tochari and overthrow the *Sarduchae* (Saraucae or Sagaraucae). Like Wilson, Cunningham also recognised Kujula Kadphises of the coins with the Chinese name *Khiu-tsiu-ki*, who had occupied the Greek dominion in

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 179-180.

⁵² Ibid, pp. 181-82.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 182.

the Kabul valley and part of the Parthian kingdom. According to Chinese annals these events took place about 100 years after the embassy of *Chang-kian* who visited the *Yüe-chi* during the period 139 to 126 BC⁵⁴. According to Chinese sources *Khiu-tsiu-ki* died at the age of 80 years and was succeeded by his son *Yen-kao-ching* who extended the *Kuei-shwang* realm into India.

Cunningham contributed a very comprehensive article on the Heraüs or Miaüs coins entitled "Coins of the Indo-Scythian king Miaüs, or Heraüs". In this article he included all the three types of coins of the certain ruler like the silver tetra-drachm, silver oboli and unique copper coin. The tetradrachm coins show bust of king on the obverse and king riding on the obverse with accompanied Greek legend TYIANNOYTOΣ MIAOY ΣAKAB KOIIANOY. He described the oboli coins with bare headed king on the obverse and male figure standing to right on the reverse with Greek legend MIAOYC KOP(or Γ)CANOY. On the obverse of copper coin he identified the head of king to right with Arian legend (Kharoṣṭhi) *Maharayasa* and on reverse the king is riding on horse to right as on the tetra-drachm and the corresponding Greek legend imperfect⁵⁵.

He recorded two types of king names written in Greek i.e. Heraüs on the tetra-drachm and Miaüs on the oboli. Cunningham drew the speculations of many scholars who assigned these coins to Heraüs, the king of Śakas. He criticised reading of the previous scholars and their attribution to the Śakas and boldly recognised the king of these coins known as either Heraüs or Miaüs the king of Indo-Scythians⁵⁶. He gave remarks on Gardner reading of the word ΣAKA who omitted the last letter B and proposed the new reading ΣANAB and its variants on rare examples are ΣANAOB and ΣANABIV. Cunningham explained that the said word would represent the native title of *tsanyu*, or *chanyu*, "chief", or "king"⁵⁷. In this article he also discussed the word "Korsan" with "Korano" and "Kushan" as it found on the said coins. Similarly he re-examined the word Kushan on the Kujula Kadphises coins and "Gushan" or Kushan on the Kanishka inscription from Manikyala. Similarly he also discussed the find spots of these coins which mostly come from the different regions of

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 183.

⁵⁵ Cunningham, A., 1888/a: 47-58.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 53.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 48-49.

Afghanistan and on the basis of Arian legend (Kharoṣṭhi) on the copper coin these coins were likely issued from south of Hindu-Kush. He also tried to find out the connection of these coins with those of the Kujula Kadphises. For the certain coins, Cunningham proposed a date that could be issued in the latter half of the first century BC. Further, on the assumption of Chinese references, he correlated the name Miaüs or "Miaios" of these coins with *Yin-mo-fu*, the king of *Kipin*. Here Cunningham re-examined the early history of Kushan derived from *Kuei-shwang* a tribe of the *Yüechi* and their origin and migration from China to Central Asia and their settlement in Bactria. In his final remarks Cunningham argued that Kushans were distinguished from the Śakas in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samduragupta⁵⁸. He concluded that Heratīs, or Miaüs, was king of both peoples – of the Kushans by inheritance and of the Śakas by conquest.

In 1888 Cunningham produced a comprehensive study on the Indo-Scythian coins which covers different aspects of the Kushan and other coins of the Scythian origin. He conceded three hundred years to the rule of Indo-Scythian dynasty in north India. It was a vast study therefore Cunningham divided his work into three parts such as (1) historical notices of the Indo-Scythians, (2) notes on the coins of the Indo-Scythians and (3) descriptive lists of the coins.

Besides this, he also described minor subjects like the (a) Arian legends (Kharoṣṭhi) on the coins, (b) the monograms on the coins of the Śaka kings and (c) the monetary systems.

Historical Notices

In this section Cunningham traced out the early history and origin of the name of Indo-Scythians. He referred to different sources like the word "Indo-Scythia" was first mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* used for the provinces on the both banks of Indus. Dionysius termed them "Southern Scythians" now well name of "Indo-Scythians". The countries they occupied included of Bactriana (Sogdiana, Bactria and Margiana), Ariana (from Heart on the west to Indus on the east), the Punjab (from

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 55-56.

Taxila to the junction of five rivers) and Sind (lower Indus Valley)⁵⁹. He explained that the Scythians were described by the Greeks as *Massagetae*, Persian called them as *Saka* or *Sacae* and Pliny referred them *Aramii* and added that both in their life style and habits they resembled the Parthians. Cunningham alluded to Strabo reference who mentioned the manners of the Bactrians and Sogdians as are highly civilized although their style was still nomadic⁶⁰. He distinguished the various races of Scythians who had occupied the border provinces of Persia and India are as follows:

BC ? *Sakas* or *Sacae*, the *Su* or *Sai* of the Chinese.

BC 163. Kushans, or *Tochari*, the Great *Yüe-chi* of the Chinese.

AD 440. *Kidarite*, or Later Kushans, the Little *Yüe-chi* of the Chinese.

AD 470. *Ephthalites*, or White Huns, the *Ye-tha-i-li-to* of the Chinese.

Then he fully described the early history of the above races such as their origin, migration, settlements and occupations. In this regard he reconstructed the early history of the Kushans with the help of Chinese and classical accounts. Accordingly, Chinese quoted a word *Ta-yue-chi* for the "Great Lunar Race" and were not recognised by the Later Chinese writers under the name of *Tu-ho-lo* or *Tochari*, as mentioned by *Hwen-Thsang* (Hsuan-tsang). In the light of Chinese sources he narrates that in the early second century BC the horde of the great *Yüe-chi*, or *Tochari* was driven across the Jaxartes by the *Hiong-nu* (Hsuing-nu) and they reached to Sogdiana in BC. 163. During their march towards west they fought with the *Su* or *Sai* whom they dispersed from their homeland and after a while the *Yüe-chi* continued their migration into Bactria which they occupied about 130 BC. As a result of *Yüe-chi* arrival the *Ta-hsia*, or *Dahae*, then went to the west towards Margiana, while the *Su* or *Sakas* retreated to the south towards Drangiana⁶¹.

Cunningham explained that the Chinese accounts assume the date of Great *Yüe-chi* or *Tochari* occupation of Bactria about BC. 130. He reported their several contests with the Parthians towards west. It is referred that the Chinese General *Chang-Kian* visited the *Yüe-chi* in BC. 126, for getting their help against the *Hiong-*

⁵⁹ Cunningham, A., 1888/b: 222.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 223-24.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 226-27.

nu but he could not succeed. It is reported that *Chang-Kian* had found the *Yüe-chi* in full possession of Bactriana⁶². Cunningham remarked for the other notice that the *Yüe-chi* remained there for one hundred years, it was about BC. 16, the chief of the Kushans subdued the other four tribes of the *Yüe-chi* and adopted the title of "King of the Kushans". This chief was called by the Chinese *Khieu-tseu-kio*, now identified with Kujula Kadphises of coins. He crossed the Hindu-Kush Mountains and occupied *Pota* and *Kipin* and took the control of Kabul valley⁶³. It is mentioned that he was succeeded by his son *Yun-kao-ching*, in the first century AD who extended the kingdom up to Punjab.

In the same paper, Cunningham discussed the coins of *Heraüs* or *Miaüs* and compared the certain coins with one of the Chinese references which records that the people of *Kipin* had issued coins both in gold and silver, with the head of a man on one side and a horseman on the other. The said description of coins is matching with the coin types of *Miaüs* or *Heraüs* and the nameless king but the latter coins are known in silver and copper and not in gold. He remarked on the Chinese notices of *Kipin* which was ruled by a king named *U-to-lao* who was contemporary with the Emperor Wuti. Later on the son of *U-to-lo* was dethroned by *In-mo-fu* who made himself king of *Kipin* in BC. 49.

To this king (*In-mu-fo*) Cunningham associated the *Heraüs* or *Miaüs* coins with the title of *Turannountos*. Gardner read the legend ΣΑΚΑ and therefore called these coins of the Śakas but Cunningham correctly identified the legend ΣΑΝΑΒ or ΣΑΝΑΟΒ on the said coins. He also deciphered the legend ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ instead of ΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΥ of Gardner, and identified the early rendering of the tribal name of the Kushans on the coins of Kujula Kadphises. He also remarked on the word *Sanaob* a Greek rendering of the native title of *Tsanyu* or *Chanyu*, "Son of Heaven" or king. Accordingly the whole legend alludes to king *Miaüs* or *Heraüs* would be a Kushan king⁶⁴.

In the following year (i.e. 1889), Cunningham compiled a very comprehensive essay on the historical notes, chronology of kings and coinage of the Kushans. Here

⁶² Ibid, p. 227.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 228.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 246-47.

he repeated the statements of Strabo and Trogus regarding the early history of Tochari in Bactriana. Following to this he also incorporated the notices of Chinese accounts in respect of *Yüe-chi* migration and their settlement in Bactriana and the conquering of *Kieu-tsieu-khio*, as chief of the Kushan a tribe of the *Yüe-chi*⁶⁵.

Kujula was succeeded by his son *Yen-kao-ching* or *Yun-kao-chin-tai*, who is known to have conquered India and appointed his generals to rule there. Cunningham identified this king with "Wema", or "Hema Kadphises" of the coins who also ruled for a long period as known from his numerous coins reported from Punjab and NW India. He made explanations of the word "Yun" or "Yen" interchangeable to "Wen" or "Hen", would be the king name simply "Wen", while Kadphises the title as was the same of his predecessor and his unique gold issue confirm this title as the king shown driving a chariot⁶⁶. On the coins of this ruler Cunningham identified his name OOHMO in Greek which seemed to represent "Wemo" and "Hema" in native characters.

Cunningham acknowledged king Kanishka the successor of Vima Kadphises as the Chinese sources named this king *Kia-ni-se-kia* (i.e. Kanishka). He reported several dated inscriptions and numerous gold and copper coins for this ruler. Cunningham also recognised him a great patron of Buddhist teacher as his name is famous in Buddhist history. Further he also confirmed this statement in the light of Buddha figure depicted on the gold and copper coins and the gold coins represent the Buddha name as BOΔΔO. He added one of the inscription of Kanishka where he calls himself king of the Kushans, or *Gushans* and also taken a clue from the Kashmiri records that this king is said to have been a *Turushka*⁶⁷. In this connection he also added some of the references from the Muhammadan authors.

Cunningham remarked for the territory of the Kushans that during the period AD 220-280, they said to have occupied *Kipin* or Arachosia, *Ta-hia* or Bactria, *Kao-fu* or Kabul, *T'ien-chu* or India and their capital was *Lu-kien*, or simply *Kien-shi* or *Lan-shi*⁶⁸. It is reported that about AD. 425 or 430 the warlike of the *Yüe-ti*, named *Ki-to-lo* occupied Kabul and Kan-to-lo, or Gandhara and five districts to the north of

⁶⁵ Cunningham, A., 1889: 268-69.

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp. 270-71.

⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 271-72.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 273.

Gandhara. During this time the White Huns appeared as new ruling dynasty on the bank of the Oxus. Cunningham mentioned the Chinese reference that *Ki-to-lo* before leaving to defence against the White Huns he appointed his son in *Purushapura* (Peshawar), as king of Gandhara and thus established a separate kingdom of the "Little Yüe-ti", or Little Kushans⁶⁹

Cunningham showed that coins, inscription and Chinese accounts are the only sources for understanding the history of the Kushan dynasty. In this respect he recorded the dated inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva ranging from 7 to 98 years of an unknown era. He found names of four different Macedonian months in the Indo-Scythian inscriptions and thus drew the conclusion that the Seleukidan era must be adopted for the purpose. He also followed the suggestions of Thomas that they exercised the Seleukid era by dropping the hundreds which was a common tradition of the Indians reckoning the *Saptrashi Kal*. With the Indo-Scythian inscriptions for instance, the dates, 9, 11, 18 and 28 of Kanishka and of 33, 39, 47 and 51 of Huvishka may either referred to a new era, such as the *Saka Kal* of 78 AD., or to the year 9, 11, 18 etc of the Seleukidan era by leaving out 400. In the earlier case the year 7 of Kanishka would be $78+7=85$ AD. and in the latter case subtracting 407 of the Seleukidan era, equal to AD. 95-96 AD. For these dates Cunningham referred to the Seleukidan era and fixed them in the absolute chronology for the following four rulers of the Indo-Scythian dynasty⁷⁰.

Kanishka	$7 = 407 - 312 = 95$ and 96 AD
	$28 = 428 - 312 = 116$ and 117 AD
Huvishka	$33 = 433 - 312 = 121$ and 122 AD
	$51 = 451 - 312 = 139$ and 140 AD
Vasudeva	$83 = 483 - 312 = 171$ and 172 AD
	$98 = 498 - 312 = 186$ and 187 AD

Cunningham further attempted to confirm these dates by the discovery of gold coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, and Huvishka, in the Ahin-Posh Stupa along with some Roman gold coins of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina (the wife of Hadrian). With these evidences, Cunningham conceded the following chronology of the Kushan kings:

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 274-75.

BC. 10. Kujula Kadphises
 AD. 35 Wema (Vima) Kadphises
 AD. 75. Kanishka
 AD. 120. Huvishka
 AD. 160. Vasudeva, still reigning in AD. 186.

The cited dates of these inscriptions would only be adjusted to nine years earlier by the adoption of the *Śaka Samvat*, beginning with AD. 78 = 1, as the era in which the certain dates are reckoned⁷¹.

Cunningham said that after Vasudeva there is no more name in the recorded inscription but the subsequent rulers of the Kushan dynasty are known by their numerous gold coins of the seated "Ardoxsho" (Ardoxsho) type. In characteristics these coins are similar to the early Gupta gold coins of Chandragupta and Samudragupta but they mostly found in ruder execution. Along with this series there are also numerous coins of the Sasanian period which must be assigned to post Vasudeva era⁷².

Cunningham listed the coins of the Little *Yüe-ti*, for a period about AD. 450, they represent Kidara Kushana Shahi the name of their leader. He recorded that the kings of this dynasty had established their rule over Gandhara and probably also over Kashmir. Cunningham attributed all those coins to the said dynasty which represent the name of Kidara and the certain name was lasted for many generations. He explained that during the expedition of *Kitolo* or Kidara, the *Ye-tha-i-li-to* or Ephthalites (Hephthalites) carried out the invasion in the Oxus valley. Soon after the Ephthalites conquered these territories, extended their rule towards east and about AD. 470 they defeated the Kidara and thus terminated the supreme authority of the Kushans forever⁷³.

In this article Cunningham also commented the coin finds of Vima Kadphises and successors that their coins are found as far eastward as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur and available in all the bazaars of the Gangetic Doab and in great quantity around Mathura. He summarised the interaction of Roman coins in India, weight of Roman

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 275.

⁷² Ibid, p. 276.

⁷³ Ibid.

coins and their influence on the Kushan coins. Cunningham also highlighted the relationship of the Kushans with the Kidara Kushans and the Sasanians.

Notes on the Coins

Here Cunningham decidedly drew a demarcation line and markedly distinguished the Śaka coins on the one side and Kushan coins on the other.

- a. Śaka coins retained the worship of the Scythian Herakles and there is no evidence of the Persian or Indian worship of the planets and elements. The Kushan kings after Kujula adopted the Sabeanism of Bactriana with a mixture of the worship of Indian gods.
- b. Second difference was detected in the form of monogram which is totally absent from the Kushan coins, while the Śaka coins constantly show this feature with numerous varieties as was seen on the Greek coins.
- c. The third difference was found in the form of metal; Śaka continued to use the silver and copper for their coins and the Kushans introduced the gold for silver.

Looking to this criteria, the Miaüs or Heraüs coins which lacking the monograms, Cunningham called these coins of the Kushan king and not a Śaka king⁷⁴.

Cunningham remarked on the absence of silver coins of the Kushans and advocated that there were the extensive coinages of silver money of the Greek kings were still in circulation and they were exchanged at the rate of 12 silver for 1 gold. Again he expressed his mystery about the absence of silver from the Kushan coinage⁷⁵.

Cunningham carried out the comparison of the Greek god Herakles with the Indian god "Okro" (Oesho) who on some of the Kushans coins carries same attributes like club or mace and noose as usually accompanied with Herakles. But in most cases the figure is depicted like Indian god with the addition of extra arms and heads⁷⁶.

The Arian Alphabets: Here Cunningham realized that no intelligible progress on the reading of native legend has come forth after the work of James Prinsep. He pointed out that several important names in the native legend to be read as Gondophares and

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 294.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 295-96.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 299.

Abdagases. He presented the summary of his work where he discovered the true form of many letters like G, GH, BH, STR, SP, PH, CH, CHH, SW and RM⁷⁷. Besides this he reported the discovery of the important word Kushan on the coins of Kozoulo Kadphises and Khushan on the coin of Kozola Kadaphes that identified with the Greek KOPANO and XOPAN respectively. In this connection some other names were observed like reading of month names in the native characters, the title of *Rajine* on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, the true reading of the title of ZAOOY or *Zavou* earlier it was known ZAΘOY, or *Zathou*. In this regard he also claimed for the true reading of the name of BAZO-ΔHO or "Vasu Deva" and on the small copper coins it is shortened to BAZ-ΔHO true spoken form of "Bas-deo"⁷⁸.

Monograms: Cunningham reported that the Greek monograms on the coins of the Indo-Scythians are comparatively few; they are about fifty on the coins of the Śaka kings but even one on those of the Kushan kings. He speculated that "the occurrence of the same monograms on the coins of many consecutive princes of different dates has sufficient evidence to show that they cannot be the names either of magistrates or of mint-masters, and must therefore be the names of cities where the coins were struck"⁷⁹. Further he elaborately explained the objections carried out by M. Chabouillet and Gardner.

Monetary System: Cunningham alluded to the Attic weight standard that was exercised by the Greeks for the weight of their coins and the metal ratio was known at the rate of 10:1 (silver to gold). The weight of gold stater was 134.4 grains with the ratio of 10 silver then the resultant value of silver is 1,344 grains, this is divided by 20 produce the weight of the silver drachm as 67.2 grains and its double di-drachm 134.4 grains and the hemi-drachm 33.6 grains. After Eukratides he reported sudden increase in the Greek weight of silver (actually Indian weight standard) i.e. di-drachm having become 146.3 grains, hemi-drachms 36.48 grains. He analysed that this increase was carried out at the ratio of one-tenth. Thereafter the same weight was followed by the succeeding dynasties until the time of the Indo-Scythians and Kushans. The Kushans introduced the gold coins and replaced the silver. The Kushan gold staters (dinar) are

⁷⁷ Cunningham, A., 1888/b: 202-203.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 203-204.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 205.

known in reduced weight from the full Attic standard of 134.4 grains down to 123.2 grains and the quarter stater found an average weight of 30.63 grains. He remarked that on the basis of Gupta gold coins which were called as dinar would therefore be the name of Kushan coins. Cunningham calculated the ratio of Kushan gold to silver at the rate of 1 to 12⁸⁰. He also reported the import of Roman gold to India and its circulation along the silver coins in the southern part of the Kushan Empire. The Roman coins were struck at the weight of Roman standard of 123 grains with the name of aureus and dinar, in the result of this import the Kushans who struck their gold coins at the same weight were probably called as dinar⁸¹.

Classification of Coins

The great contribution of Cunningham is the extensive classification of Indo-Scythian coins which he divided into several different classes and then each class of coins are discussed in great details and they were published in the various volumes of *Numismatic Chronicle*. These classes are shown corresponding with the several different periods of their history⁸².

Class A. – *Rude Imitations of Greek Coins*, from first occupation in BC. 163, down to the establishment of the Kushans in 116 BC.

Class B. – *Coins of the Śakas or Sacae – Scythians* in Arachosia and India, from BC. 116-16.

Class C. – *Coins of the Great Yüe-chi, or Kushans*, in Kabul and N.W. India, from BC. 16 to AD. 200.

Class D. – *Coins of the Later Kushans* in Kabul and N.W. India, after AD. 200.

Class E. – *Coins of the Little Yüe-chi, or Lesser Kushans*, in Peshawar and N.W. Punjab, after AD. 430.

Class F. – *Coins of the Ephthalites, or White Huns*, on the Indus, in AD. 480 to 600.

Class A. Rude Imitations of Greek Coins

Cunningham considered this class the imitations of the small silver coins of Alexander the Great, and of the larger silver pieces of Seleukus I and Antiochus I of Syria, and of the Bactrian king Euthydemus, Demetrius, Eukratides, and Heliokles.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 216-219.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 220.

⁸² Cunningham, A., 1889: 301.

These Bactrian imitations are found in abundance of silver coins of Euthydemus and copper coins of Heliokles. Some of these imitations also bear native characters⁸³.

Alongside the imitations, Cunningham included the coins of Hyrkodes which were evidently designed in native style. He identified two distinct kinds of coins to Hyrkodes; one depicts the war-god on the reverse and the other exhibit fore-part of a horse. The first type is inscribed with Greek legend and the second type sometimes bears Greek characters on the obverse and Parthian on the reverse or Parthian appeared on both sides. He read the obverse inscription reads as YPKWΔOY and the corresponding Parthian inscription as *Karatakin* or *Garatagin*. The Greek legend on the reverse of large coins was deciphered as MAKAPOY APΔHΘPOY which Cunningham interpreted for "Ardethra or Makar" and "Makar" was considered for Bakar, the legend preserved by Alberuni⁸⁴. Cunningham placed the coins of Hyrkodes in the first century due to the later style of angular omega III instead of round.

Class B. Coins of the Sakas (or Sacae-Scythians)

In this class Cunningham included all the coins which represent names either of Parthian origin, or of kindred forms, beginning with "Moas" and Vonones and terminating with Pakores. He described the coins of three different families of these princes, the "Moas" and Vonones were contemporary where Gondophares comes later. He showed that the reverse of these coins bear literal translations in the Indian Pali language and in Arian characters of the Greek legends of the obverse.

In this class Cunningham put the coins of Miaüs or Heraüs and nameless ruler of the Kushan dynasty after Azes, the Śaka Scythian king and before the dynasty of Gondophares. He analysed the Miaüs or Heraus coins along with the nameless king (Vima Takto) and reviewed his previous study on the Miaüs or Heraüs coin⁸⁵. In this analysis he considered that Miaüs was a contemporary of Kujula and both the princes used uniform type of word KOPCAN for the name of their tribe⁸⁶. He explained the Greek title ΣΑΝΑΒ in a different way, the said word is intended for the Scythian title of *tsanyu* which is a contraction of *tsemhi-kuthu-tanju* or "Heaven's son great". He

⁸³ Ibid, pp. 303-04.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 304.

⁸⁵ Cunningham, A., 1890: 103-114.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 111.

alluded the meaning of this title is as same as that of Chinese *Tien-tse* or "Son of Heaven" which could be correlated with Indian inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva where the title is found in the form of "Devaputra" or "son of god". In this way ΣΑΝΑΒ ΚΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ as *tsanau-korsanou*, was considered equal to *devaputra* Kushana. In support of this titles Cunningham correctly deciphered the Arian legend *Maharaja (ya) devaputara Ku* on the copper coin of Heraüs. According to these evidences he rightly associated the coins of Miaüs or Heraüs to the chief of the Kushan tribe of the great *Yüe-ti* and was evidently not a Śaka king. He conjectured that this ruler under the name of Miaüs or Heraüs would have been the father as well as the predecessor of Kujula Kadphises who had united the five tribes of the Great *Yüe-ti* and got victory over the last Greek prince Hermaeus⁸⁷.

Cunningham also remarked on the nameless king (Soter Megas) who would be the immediate successor of Miaüs known from his titles ΒΑΚΙΑΕΥΚ ΒΑΚΙΑΕΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΚ. He carried out the outline of the coins of Vima Takto (nameless ruler), which are common in all over Punjab, Kandahar and Kabul valley, they are known in several types but none of them bear a single letter of any name. All coins carry 3-pronged symbol where two of them showing 4-pronged symbol and he called it mistake of the die-cutter. He realized that nameless ruler had established an extensive rule stretching from Bactria to Mathura that lasted for a long period of time.

On these coins he noticed a syllable *vi* and the said letter is also found on the copper coins of Vima Kadphises might be used this letter as king initial (Vima Kadphises). In this comparison he observed the style of sceptre shown in front of the face which is quite peculiar on the coins of Kushan kings. It was noted that the said monogram (3-pronged symbol) which is common on the coins of this monarch hence distinguish the coins of this ruler from those of the Scythian and Parthian dynasties of Moas, Vonones and Gondophares. This symbol likely connects him with the Kushan kings. Similarly the bust style of king also advocates his relation with the Kushans but the horseman type inclines towards the type of the Śaka kings⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 112.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 113.

Cunningham reported that the coins of nameless king (Vima Takto) are known in copper only and the coins found in the Mathura region constitute local coinage which is not reported from other regions. In this study he recorded five types of Vima Takto, which are as follows:

1. Crest-helmeted bust of king & king riding on horseback to right.
2. King riding on horseback to right & Zeus standing to right
3. Radiated head of king to right & king riding on horseback to right.
4. Diademed bust of king to right & Zeus standing facing.
5. Śiva standing facing & Ardoxsho standing to right.

Class C. Coins of the Kushans, or Great Yüe-ti

In this class Cunningham repeated his previous comments concerned with the coins of Miaüs and Heraüs and again confirmed his position in the Kushan dynasty⁸⁹.

He also re-examined the early history of the Kushans and previewed it in the light of Chinese notices mentioning their origin, settlement and early occupation under the leadership of *Kieu-tsiu-khio* and then the succession of *Yun-kao-ching*. The early two kings were called as "Kujula Kadphises" and "Wema Kadphises", the names represented on their coins. Cunningham recorded that "Wema Kadphises" was succeeded by Kanishka who is confirmed from his numerous coins, Kashmiri source *Rajatarangani* and *Manikyala* inscriptions. He also described the Śaka era in which the dated epigraphs of Kanishka are recorded. He drew the conclusion that Kanishka was not the founder of the Śaka era but assumed that the Śaka king Chastana was the actual founder of the Śaka era⁹⁰.

In this classification, he revisited the dated inscriptions of the Kushan kings and presented the sequence of these kings in absolute chronology of the Christian era. The order of kings along with corresponding dates is follows as:

- BC. 10. Kujula Kadphises
- AD. 30. Wema (Vima) Kadphises
- AD. 70. Kujula Kara Kadphises (Kujula Kadphises)
- AD. 78. Kanishka (I)

⁸⁹ Cunningham, A., 1892: 40.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

AD. 120. Huvishka

AD. 150. Vasudeva (I)

AD. 176 = S. 98 – latest date of Vasudeva

Kujula Kadphises

Cunningham recoded that the coins of this monarch are found in abundance in the Kabul valley and in the Western Punjab. It is evident from his coins that he had dethroned king Hermaeus as he inscribed his own name Kujula Kadphises on the reverse and also retained the name of the previous king, Hermaeus, on the obverse and finally he removed the latter name from these coins. Along with this type Cunningham also identified the same blundered legend as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ on the small coins of Hermaeus with obverse design of Victory figure and reverse of enthroned Zeus⁹¹.

He also described a new and rare type of Kujula with helmeted enthroned king on the obverse and armed figure with spear and shield on the reverse. He noticed another type for this ruler, the Augustus type, with different name of the king Kozola-Kadaphes, the coins of said type would likely to be issued from a separate mint. Cunningham also assigned the bull and two-humped camel type to this king earlier known to Azes, and read the native legend as *Kujula-kara-Kaphsasa* or *Kaphasa* and the title *devaputra*. On other coins, he found variety of native legends like *Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahatasa Heramayasa*, *Kujula kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramthidasa*, *kuyula kasasa Kushana yavuasa*, and *kuyula kapsasa dharmathidasa Khushanasa yauasa*.

Vima Kadphises

Cunningham remarked that the coins of this ruler are found in limited variety. The reverse design is monotonous in character depicting the figure of the Indian god, Śiva. On some coins the god is exhibited standing alone with a trident in his right hand and tiger's skin over left arm and water vessel in the left hand and on the other the god is accompanied by a bull. On the small gold coins the reverse is displaying the trident of Śiva⁹².

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 46.

⁹² Ibid, p. 47.

Similarly he described the obverse variety of this ruler. Accordingly on the obverse of double dinar the king enthroned and holding a flower in his left hand, on other coins king holding a club either in front of his face or resting on his shoulder. On a single gold dinar the king is riding in a two horse chariot⁹³.

On these coins Cunningham read the Greek legend as BACIAEVC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC as on the copper coin, or simply BACIAEVC OOHMO KAAΦICHC as on the gold coins. He recorded the native legend in the possessive case *Maharajasa rajadhirajasa sarvaloga iṣvarasa mahiṣvarasa hima kathpiṣasa tradata* both on the gold and copper coins⁹⁴.

Kanishka

As mentioned earlier Cunningham derived name of Kanishka from Chinese accounts both in its full form as *Kia-ni-se-kia* and also in its short form as *Ka-ni-kia*, or *Kanika*. He quoted the Kashmiri account which calls him Kanishka; Alberuni identified its shortened form *Kanak*. In the epigraphic records his name is written as Kanishka both in Indian (Brāhmī) and Gandharian characters (Kharoṣṭhi). On the coins the Greek name is KANHPKOY and KANHPKI which will be known as "Kaneshka", taking the abnormal P to be intended for *sh*⁹⁵. He suspected that the adoption of a modified form of the Greek *rho* as P, *sh*, on the coins of Miaois and Kujula might have been purposely applied to show its intimate connection with the original P or *r* (*rho*)⁹⁶.

On Kanishka coins Cunningham noticed various changes of his religious belief. He took the reference of the Chinese pilgrim, *Hwen Thsang* (Hsuan-tsang), "he had no faith either in right or wrong, and he slightly esteemed the law of Buddha"⁹⁷. On his early coins, Cunningham detected the Greek form of deities such as Helios, Salene, and Hephaistos and on the later coins he observed the mixture of Mazdean fire-worship and Indian nature worship and by his conversion to Buddhism⁹⁸. He

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 48.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 55.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 55.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 48.

recorded several dated inscriptions of Kanishka, ranging between 7 to 28 years, of his regnal era that would be referred to the Śaka era of 78 AD.

Huvishka

Cunningham called this king Huvishka of his inscriptions and "Hushka" of Kashmirian history. His dated inscriptions occurring in the regnal years 33 to 64 would be referred to the Śaka era 78 AD. Cunningham reported his numerous coins in different types and identified on them the same composite cult of Mazdean and Indian origin as those of Kanishka. On some coins he noted different elements like the Mazdean Ashaeixsho and Oaninda, and the Indian Mahasena, Skanda Kumara, and Vishakh (Bizago). Cunningham described various obverse designs of the gold coins of this ruler such as bust of king (common), head of king (rare), king enthroned and king riding on elephant. On the other hand the copper coins represent full-length figure either riding on an elephant, or lounging on a couch, or sitting cross-legged. On two rare copper coins, which are now lost he also noticed the king was shown on his knees before the goddess Nana⁹⁹.

Vasudeva

Cunningham put in succession this ruler after Kanishka and Huvishka. He associated Vasudeva with the latter kings by the similarity of coinage in weight, execution and type and in the application of Greek inscription. It is reported that the coins of this ruler are common all over the Punjab and in NW India. He remarked that the inscriptions of this ruler are comparatively rare so far reported only from Mathura. These records are known in the Indian character. Accordingly these inscriptions record his reign between year 74 and year 98 or from AD. 152 to 176.

Cunningham, on the coins of Vasudeva, found the little modification of Kushan tamga, which is distinct from his predecessors. In this regard he also mentioned a small copper coin which displaying this type of symbol on one side and his name *Vasu* in Indian characters on the other. This coin actually belonged to another Vasudeva (II) of the later Kushans. In reverse images of this ruler

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 49.

Cunningham detected an innovation that the figure of the god Śiva is represented with three heads and four arms in the typical Indian style¹⁰⁰.

Types of the Coins and Kushan Deities

In this study Cunningham carried out the analysis of various deities of different pantheons on the Kushan coins. He classified these deities found on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva into seven groups and associated them to the worship of seven planets. In this regard he mentioned thirty different types of deities and some of them found difficult for explanation particularly he faced the problem in respect of their source where their names are derived either from India or Persia¹⁰¹. There are many deities like Miiro is the Persian Mithra, Mahasena must be the Indian god of war, the goddess Nanaia has her derivation from Persia and the Skanda-Kumara (Skanda-Kumara) the son of the Indian god Śiva apparently show their roots. In this respect the termination of all the male names in "O" apparently indicates an Iranian influence. Cunningham also speculated that the Kushans belonged to a Turk tribe of the Scythians about whose worship we know nothing. He also derived information of the use of deities upon the coins of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, the first one adopted the type of standing Herakles and the latter followed the type of the Indian god Śiva and his bull. He also explained that the Greek had already identified the Indian god with Herakles even from the time of Alexander¹⁰².

Cunningham came to understand that the basic element of worship in ancient India and Persia was derived from a common source. The Indian gods are well known by their nature and mythology. The Persian gods originally comprised the sun, moon, and the four elements of fire, wind, earth, and water with the firmament of Heaven as a whole. It is shown that later on they adopted the worship of Urania from the Assyrians. Cunningham presented the list of seven planets to which the Persian deities are associated, they are: Sun-Mithra, Moon-Mah, Mars-Bahram, Mercury-Tir, Jupiter-Ahuramazd, Venus-Anahid and Saturn-Kewan.

In the types of Vima Kadphises, Cunningham presented a unique copper coin but also showed its doubtfulness might be an issue of the successor king Kanishka.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 50.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 51.

¹⁰² Ibid.

On the obverse of this coin he detected a three-pronged tamga of nameless ruler (Vima Takto). The obverse depicts standing figure of king sacrificing to right and the reverse carries double faced bust, the right face being beardless and the left face bearded. On the basis of these features, Cunningham suggested that the nameless king and Vima Kadphises were contemporary¹⁰³. Later on Joe Cribb attributed this coin to Vima Takto¹⁰⁴.

Cunningham classified the gold coins of Kanishka into two groups. Group-A comprise the finest coins inscribed with Greek title BACIAEVC BACIAEWN with the reverse figures of HAIOC, CAΛHNH, HΦAICTOC and NANAIA. Group-B coins display native title PAONANO PAO substituting the Greek and the corresponding reverse figures MIIPO, MAO, AΘPO, NANA copied exactly from group-A coins. He summarised that remaining gods are partly Persian and partly Indian with the exception of Greek god HPAKIAO, with whom the Indo-Scythians identified the Indian god OKPO (Oesho). In his explanation the standing figure of OKPO carrying a club is the facsimile of Greek figure Herakles but the other figures of OKPO in which he carries trident or with many arms and heads are certainly of Indian style¹⁰⁵.

Cunningham re-examined the Buddha coins of Kanishka. On the gold coins, he found the Greek legend BOΔΔO and on the copper, he deciphered the accompanied legend CAKAMANO NOYΔO, or Śākya-Muni Buddha. It was stated that on some of the coins the figure of Buddha is shown sitting in native style on the ground with right hand raised but on these coins he avoid to read the legend. In his arrangement of deities which constitute seven classes associated with the seven planets and in the order of seven week days. With the addition of the image of Buddha the latter constitutes an eighth class. He arranged the known deities on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka in the following groups:

Group A. (Sun): (1) Helios, (2) Miuro, (3) Ashavixsho (Ashaeixsho), (4) Aino, (5) Ombor

Group B. (Moon): (1) Salene, (2) Mao, (3) Manaobago

Group C. (Mars): (1) Hephaistos, (2) Athsho, (3) Loc, (4) Arvo-aspo (Lroaspo), (5) Maaseno (Mahasena), (6) Skando-Komaro, (7) Bizago, (8) Orlagno, (9) Oanindo

¹⁰³ Ibid, pp. 55-56.

¹⁰⁴ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 98, 118, 142 (Type: 8, Figure: 15-f).

¹⁰⁵ Cunningham, A., 1892: 57.

Group D. (Mercury): (1) Oado

Group E. (Jupiter): (1) Mazdohano (Mozdoano), (2) Pharro

Group F. (Venus): (1) Ardoxsho, (2) Shaoreoro, (3) Ride, (4) Nanaia or Nana, (5) Zeiro

Group G. (Saturn): (1) Herakilo, (2) Oksho, (3) Sarapo, (4) Horon, (5) Oxsho, (6) Oaxsho

Group H. (Buddha): (1) Boddo, (2) Saka-mana Boudo

The Kharoṣṭhi script which was earlier known as Arianian or Arian and now he proposed it a new term Gandharian.

After this, Cunningham fully described the coins along with their legends of all the great Kushan kings in a catalogue form and the certain types are illustrated in the plates. He adopted different kinds or arrangements for the typology of the Kushan kings. For the early kings like Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, he concentrated on the obverse design and then the reverse varieties. For the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, he emphasised on the typology of reverse deities and not on the obverse design. The coins of Vasudeva were treated in the normal style, in deities Nana was followed by Okro (Oesho) and then Okro (Oesho) with bull in different varieties. Here he also accommodated a copper coin of Vasudeva II with tamga and reverse legend *Vasu* placed it in the beginning. Besides this Cunningham distinguished the following obverse varieties on the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva¹⁰⁶ such as:

- A. The Raja standing to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand and pointing downwards with his right hand towards a small altar. He wears long tunic, trousers, Tartar boots and conical helmet. A sword at his left side and a small flower behind his head
- B. The Raja standing left as above but with the addition of a trident over the altar.
- C. The standing as on A. Legend is corrupt simply read as PAONANOPAO BAZΔHO and omitting tribal name Kushano.
- D. The Raja as on A. The legend very corrupt and the tribal name omitted.
- E. The Raja as on A, with the addition of a trident to the left and the symbol of *Tri-ratna* and *dharma-chakra* on the left.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 125.

F. The Raja as on A, but the execution is rough and rude. Trident to left and Triratna (Nandipada) to right, with three dots overhead, three dots between feet and six dots to right. Legend is extremely corrupt.

Obviously the last three varieties belonged to Post-Vasudeva period. He mentioned that Oesho and bull coins were prevailed in Kabul valley and were adopted by the Sasanian kings for their Bactrian coins and the Ardoxsho coins prevailed in the east, where they were followed by the Gupta kings in the middle of the 4th century AD¹⁰⁷.

Class D. Later Indo-Scythians (Great Kushans)

It is in this class of coins that Cunningham learned and accepted the name "Kharoṣṭhi" or "Kharoshtri" for his Gandharian script of India after the new discovery made by Buhler¹⁰⁸. After his previous essay Cunningham now fully adopted the word Kushans for the Indo-Scythians. In this study he detected that the Kushans were Turk and their language would have been Turki but they were illiterate therefore they used the existed system of writing of their predecessors, the Greek and the "Kharoshtri" (Gandharian i.e. Kharoṣṭhi). He explained that during the reign of Kanishka they discontinued the practice of Greek and inscribed Indo-Scythian or Kushan Greek with the addition of a new letter *P*, *sh*. In this regard he also derived the information from *Hwen Thsang* (Hsuan-tsang) who reported 25 alphabets of the Kushan writing. Cunningham detected the similar number of alphabets with the Greek characters which are 24 and suggested the 25th letter *sh* of the Kushan style¹⁰⁹.

Cunningham observed peculiarity of several Greek letters from the time of Vasudeva. These letters like Z, H, and N appeared in different styles and other letters like A and Δ always shown in the form of "O"¹¹⁰. It was a great contribution of Cunningham that he distinguished the coins of Kanishka II and placed the coins of said ruler after Vasudeva (I) and also identified the accompanied Indian letters in the

¹⁰⁷ Cunningham, A., 1892: 115.

¹⁰⁸ Cunningham, A., 1893/a: 105.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 114.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 114-15.

various fields¹¹¹. He described that the reverse types of all the later Kushans are found in two varieties the seated goddess *Ardokhsho* (Ardoxsho) and standing god Oesho with his bull and argued the former type prevailed in the east and was adopted by the Gupta kings and the latter type prevailed in the Kabul valley and was followed by the Sasanian kings. The obverse design of these coins is uniform showing standing figure of king holding either sceptre or trident in the raised left hand and the right hand sacrificing over altar.

He classified the Late Kushan coins into two major classes, class A and class B. It is interpreted that the certain coins established the money of the Kabul valley and the Punjab since Vasudeva's death till the time of Kidara Shah i.e. from 80 or 200 AD to 425 AD¹¹².

Coins of Class A

Cunningham defined that class-A comprising numerous series of gold coins inscribed with the names of Kanishka or Vasudeva in Greek letters and bearing Indian letters in the right outer field. The obverse is the same depicting standing figure of king facing to left, but the reverses have two different designs as mentioned earlier¹¹³. For these coins, he showed their production from two different places; the Oesho and bull coins belonged to the western provinces and Ardoxsho coins to the eastern provinces of the Kushan Empire¹¹⁴. The Greek inscriptions on these coins found in corrupt form and represent the names and Kushan titles of Kanishka and Vasudeva on the obverse simply PAONAO PAO KANHPKO KOPANO or PAONAO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO. Similarly the reverse legend reads either APΔOXPO, or OKPO. All these coins display uniform kind of symbol as it appeared on the coins of Vasudeva. Cunningham explained the nature and position of Indian letters usually appear in three positions (1) right outer field, (2) between the king's feet, and (3) on the lower left field. He remarked that on some coins they would likely represent the name of satraps or governors of particular provinces. He arranged these letters in the following way:

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 115.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 116.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Reverse Ardoxsho

King	Obverse			Reverse
	<i>Left</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Right</i>	
Kanishka (II)			Pa	
	Ha		Vi	
	Nya	Tha	Vi	Tha
	Nya		Viru	Ru
	Sa	Chu	Vasu	
	Sa	Ga	Vasu	
	Khu	Chu	Vasu	
	Bha	Ga	Vasu	
	Vai	Tha	Chhu	Tha
	Vai	Tha	Si	Tha
		Pu	Mahi	
			Bhri	

Reverse Oesho

King	Obverse			Reverse
	<i>Left</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Right</i>	
Vasudeva			Ha	Ha
	Raju	Gho	Rada	
			Pri	
Kanishka (II)	Ga	Gho	Hu	
	Ha	Tha	Aum	
	Ga	Gho	Phri	

Coins of Class B

Cunningham basically recorded the gold coins for this class but also included some of the copper coins but the latter suspected as forgeries. He noticed Greek letters on the margin of these coins but illegible and merely represented in "ooo" (omicron). It was observed that the Indian letters are shown in two or three places and for the identification of these coins he followed the classification of Edward Thomas that he had adopted 10 years earlier. In this class, he included the later coins which were struck in monotonous style showing standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned *Ardokhsho* (Ardoxsho) on the reverse. The only difference among these coins is the use of various letters in different places and the letters now also appeared under the left arm of the king. In certain coins, Thomas identified the names of *Shaka*, *Kushan*, *Gada*, *Shandhi* (Kipunadha) and *Mahi* and associated them to five tribes. Cunningham agreed with the Thomas names *Shaka*, *Kushan* and *Mahi* but he

has a different view for the names of *Gadaha* and *Shandi*. He read *Gadahara* and *Gadakhra* or *Gadaha* (also *Gadagra*) and *Pakalahadhi* or *Pushkalandhi* for *Shandi*¹¹⁵. Cunningham thought that the *Mahi* coins belonged to class-A coins so placed them in previous group.

Cunningham carried out explanations for the name *Shaka* and *Gadahara* for some cities whereas the earlier was taken for *Shakala* the capital in the eastern Punjab and the latter for *Nagarahara* ancient city near Jalalabad¹¹⁶.

It is the great contribution of Cunningham that he correctly identified the name *Gadahara* and *Gadakhra* and thereafter the same is being followed by the scholars without any hesitation but there is a lot of controversy over the name of *Shandi* or *Pakalahadhi*. For the arrangement of these words Cunningham suggested proper right field for the name of places, the seats of distinct satrapies and under left arm for the name of satraps, or governors of provinces tributary to the great Kushan kings of Gandhara. Similarly the Gupta kings retained the middle area (under left arm) for the king name written perpendicularly. Cunningham elaborated the distribution of these letters in the following table¹¹⁷.

King	Obverse			Reverse
	<i>Left</i>	<i>Middle (under l. arm)</i>	<i>Right</i>	
Mi	Khai	Mi	Shaka	
Sita	Bha	Sita	Shaka	
Bha or Bhu	Te	Bha	Shaka	
Saya, Salya	Bha	Saya	Shaka	Ru
Saya, Salya	Bha	Saya	Shaka	
	Bha		Shaka	
Pra		Pra	Shaka	
Peraya	Kapan	Peraya	Gadahara	Sha
Kirada	Kapan	Kirada	Gadahara	Ghasha/Yasha
Samudra	Pu	Samudra	Gadahara	
Bhadra		Bhadra	Pakalahdhi	
Bashan	Nu	Bashan	Pakalahdhi	

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Class E. Later Indo-Scythians (Scytho-Sasanians)

In this section Cunningham discussed the coins of Kushano-Sasanians and Sasanians and suggested the name of Scytho-Sasanians while earlier they were known as Indo-Sasanians. He noted that the coins of this series are usually reported from Afghanistan. He observed that the early coins have close affinity with the later or posthumous coins of the Kushan king Vasudeva. Like Vasudeva these coins bearing same designs of standing king and Oesho and bull, same symbols and legends and struck at the same weight. Later on, these coins gradually became thinner and broader with a slightly convex obverse and the Greek legend became debased. Gradually the dress and headdress of the king changed to the Sasanian style and the name of Sasanian king replaced the name of Vasudeva and the hair now shown in bushy form. Similarly the reverse legend also showed different versions of name from simple Oesho to *Borzono*¹¹⁸. In this series he described the coins of Hormizd, Shapur and Varahran.

Class F. Later Indo-Scythians (Little Kushans)

Cunningham grouped these coins separately after finding out the reference from Chinese sources which mention the name *Ki-to-lo* hence identified with Kidara. Accordingly he dated the establishment of their kingdom in Gandhara about AD. 425 to 430. In historical reference Cunningham traced Kidara as founder of the dynasty, who placed his son in the kingdom of Peshawar while he went towards west to defend his kingdom against the White Huns (Hephthalites)¹¹⁹. He reported that Kidara is said to have conquered five different territories or provinces. The Chinese account mentioned the coins of this dynasty were known in gold and silver. Cunningham confirmed this statement and remarked that they struck their coins in gold and silver while the gold coins are common as compare to the latter. The gold coins show standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned goddess on the reverse of the Kushan style. The silver coins are generally based on the Sasanian style having bust portrait of the king with his name, title in Indian characters and the reverse display

¹¹⁸ Cunningham, A., 1893/b: 166-177.

¹¹⁹ Cunningham, A., 1893/c: 184-85.

Sasanian fire-altar with attendants. On certain coins, he reads the native legend *Kidara Kushana Shahi*, or "Kidara king of the Kushans"¹²⁰.

Cunningham reported their coins from the region of Punjab. He described that later on White Huns took the control of their domain and dismantled their power which was known for a short period. It is noticed that the name Kidara lasted for long time and the early Muslim historians recorded the name as *Kitorman* and *Kitoran* and the said name still existed in Kafiristan, Chitral where the chief is called as "Shah Kitor"¹²¹.

¹²⁰ Ibid, pp. 185-86.

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 185.

Chapter III

NUMISMATIC METHODS: HOW KUSHAN COINS CAN BE STUDIED

A. Kushan Coinage

Early Kushans

Kujula Kadphises (Coin # 1-23)

The coins of Kujula Kadphises are normally known in copper but few in silver such as the Heraüs series. Since Kujula Kadphises was the first ruler of the dynasty, therefore no appropriate pattern was developed to which the Kushan coins could be identified. Before him, the chiefs of the *Yüeh-chih* (or *Yue-Zhi*) to which his family *Kuei-shuang* belonged, settled in Bactria and usually imitated the Greek coins for the monetary transactions. Taking into consideration, Kujula also followed the same tradition hence the basic pattern of his coins was based on the Hermaeus, the last Indo-Greek king in the Kabul valley and Gandhara. Besides this, his coins also show various features of the other contemporary dynasties and regional traditions¹. In this way, the coins of Kujula are interesting and important for understanding the early history of the Kushans and their coinage. This phenomenon, by adopting the various coin designs of different dynasties, obviously narrates the step-by-step extension of the Kushan rule under Kujula into different region.

In this connection various types of this ruler are known that were issued and circulated in a particular area like the Heraüs issue in Bactria, Hermaeus type in the Kabul valley and Gandhara, Augustus portrait and enthroned figure with Zeus coins in Taxila, Bull and camel coins in Kashmir and Taxila etc. Accordingly Michael Mitchiner has arranged and assigned the coins of Kujula Kadphises to different localities that were minted and circulated in the concerned regions².

Some of the coins of Kujula have been known for their debatable nature like the 'Heraüs issues' whom most of the scholars, from the outset of this research, consider for a separate king, came to rule in north of Hindu-Kush. But now some of

¹ Cribb, J., 1993: 107-134 (Pl. XXIII-XXVII).

² Mitchiner, M., 1978: 388-396.

the scholars associate these coins with king Kujula as first ruler of the Kushan dynasty³. Cribb certainly declares the Heraüs coins for king Kujula⁴. Accordingly the fraction coin of the same series from Taxila accompanied with numerous other coins of Kujula Kadphises obviously shows the unique practice of this ruler. Further this piece of evidence confirms that the said series of coins were issued by king Kujula. As the coins of Kujula Kadphises composed on various designs of different origin, are broadly classified into three main series: (a) coins in the name of Heraüs, (b) coins in the name of Su-Hermaeus and (c) coins in the name of Kujula Kadphises (bearing Greek and Kharoṣṭhi names). These coins are inscribed in various styles with the Greek and Kharoṣṭhi legends and in most cases bearing the dynasty name, Kushan. In this classification each series comprising different types and varieties including the cut coins which are recently noticed in the Taxila collection.

It is certain that Kujula Kadphises adopted the basic pattern of Hermaeus for his coins which struck in Kabul Valley and the said coins were used to be widely circulated south of Hindu-Kush as numerous coins of this type are reported from Taxila⁵. The standard coins of Kujula seemingly reflect the Hermaeus type. In his first step he introduced the reverse design of standing Herakles and inscribed his own reverse legend bearing name and title of the king in Kharoṣṭhi. Finally he replaced the name of Hermaeus from obverse and wrote his own name in Greek.

The so-called 'Heraüs' issue, both tetra-drachm (coin # 1) and obol (coin # 3), owes its origin to the silver copy of Eukratides which seemingly originated in Bactria. On the basis of coin design, denomination, the border decoration of bead and reel and the style of inscription the certain coins can be connected to those of the silver coins of Eukratides. This connection was not so direct but was transmitted in other series like Indo-Parthian style horseman with flying Nike. Having proto-type of Greek, the changes can be seen in the form of long hair of the king, barbarian diadem replaces the Greek diadem, diadem tie becomes shorter and the king now wears a collared tunic. The reverses similarly showing changes like mounted king on the tetra-drachm and standing figure on the obol replacing the mounted Dioscuri and palms and *pilei* of Eukratides in the respective series. On the other hand, these coins obviously show

³ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 2.

⁴ Cribb, J., 1993: 107-134 (Pl. XXIII-XXVII).

⁵ Marshall, J., 1951: 3 Volumes.

their connection with Parthian coins particularly of Gondophares such as the addition of a winged victory behind the mounted figure on the reverse while on the Parthian coins the mounted king is shown on the obverse. Another similarity is noted in the form of letters between the horse legs. On the Heraüs coins, it is a Greek word *Sanab* and on the Parthians there are different kinds of Kharoṣṭhi letters. The critical analysis of Cribb and the evidence of Heraüs cut coins along with other series of Kujula coins in Taxila obviously indicate that the issuer of 'Heraüs' coins was Kujula Kadphises.

Another noteworthy coin type of Kujula (coin # 19), has the portrait of King Augustus facing to right on the obverse and the king seated in curule chair of Roman style on the reverse obviously indicate the said type was derived from the Augustus type. On Augustus coins, the king is seated to left on the curule chair (reverse) but on the Kujula coins the reverse direction of king is changed to right⁶. The direction has no importance as it is normal on coin designs similarly on one of the coins the head of king is shown facing to left instead of right (coin # 21). This type struck on the pattern of Roman style reveals the history of the trade links between the Kushans and Romans⁷.

The bull and camel type (coin # 22) of Kujula perhaps struck in the region of Kashmir and widely circulated in Taxila derived from the copper imitation of Zeionises/ Jihonka, the Scythian satrap in Jammu and Kashmir valley⁸. This derivation suggests the extension of Kujula in the east that he might have taken Kashmir through the upper Indus passes. Further this type also shows the relation of Kujula Kadphises with his successor Vima (I) Takto as the same was followed by the latter. The obverse of these coins depicting nandipada symbol which was also retained by his successors Vima (I) Takto and Vima (II) Kadphises on their coins.

The Scythian connection with Kujula can also be traced in a rare type (coin # 16) of seated cross-legged king and standing Zeus which is similar to the silver coins of Azes II⁹.

⁶ Göbl, R., 1960: 80.

⁷ Ibid, pp: 76-78.

⁸ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 122-123.

⁹ Mitchiner, M., 1975/a: 570-573 (Type: 860-866); Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 2.

New Fractions of Kujula Kadphises

The interesting series of fraction coins, newly added to the Kujula Kadphises, are reported from Taxila and few also from But-Kara I. The inventory of these coins provide a new sequence of Kujula Kadphises coins and also show new denomination and confirms the position of Heraüs coins to king Kujula Kadphises.

These fractions are found in the form of cut pieces of the actual coins. They are found in half and quarter and some also in three-fourth fractions. These coins are known in different types including those of the Heraüs coins. This was the unique practice of Kujula Kadphises as his similar coins are also reported by Göbl from Swat (But-Kara I)¹⁰. Different possibilities might be expected in the implementation of this practice such as:

- a) Deficiency and procurement of metal
- b) Ignorance of small dies and the resulted production (little) of lower denominations
- c) No standard currency of his own so he had no such scheme or idea to establish an organized monetary system
- d) Panic situation in new established ruling of the Kushans in new acquired territory of Pakistan as such coins are reported from this area only
- e) The coins were cut by the successors and not by the king himself
- f) Urgent need of the small denomination as he has always been involved in the establishment of Kushan kingdom in the present territory of Pakistan and had no such time to reform his currency

This exercise was most probably carried out due to the shortage of small denominations once its need was felt, in the light of above-mentioned possibilities, then the intact and ordinary coins of all types were allowed by the king to be broken and might have been legally accepted for circulation. This practice, which includes all kind of coins those of the early coins of Heraüs and Hermaeus and late issues of Augustus, was certainly undertaken in the final stage of his reign.

¹⁰ Göbl, R., 1976: 22-23, 94-95.

Vima Takto (Soter Megas) (Coin # 24-43)

Earlier the coins of this king were always known for a nameless ruler of the Kushan dynasty. On the basis of similarity with the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Parthians the coins of this ruler were therefore put in the sequence of these dynasties. The major problem concerned with the coins of this ruler is that they don't display a proper name of the king and usually bear the Greek titles like *Basileos Basileon Soter Megas* and hence this ruler was known with his titles Soter Megas. Masson¹¹ read the name "Sotereagas" and later on Cunningham¹² rightly deciphered it Soter Megas then the latter one was being commonly used for a long time until 1995 when Joe Cribb¹³ discovered a proper name i.e. Vima Takto. Due to the obscurity of his proper name and large number of coins with peculiar features of this ruler therefore they are well attracted to the scholars. Accordingly these coins were analyzed to make their relations with other similar series. Regarding this, the two works of different aspects are of great importance, one is produced by MacDowall¹⁴ and another by Cribb¹⁵.

MacDowall rightly classified the coins of Soter Megas into four distinct groups and marks them for different mint places where they were issued and circulated. According to his classification, the coins of Soter Megas are known as: (a) issue of western Gandhara (coin # 24-26), (b) issue of Mathura and the Punjab¹⁶ (coin # 30), (c) issue of Kapisene or Bactria (coin # 28-29), and (d) the general issue (coin # 31-33) that circulated throughout his kingdom. The coins of first type have close affinity with the Parthian coins, struck in billon, are bilingual and remaining three types are of copper and monolingual containing the Greek legend only. The coins of Mathura & Punjab category seemingly derived from the barbarous copies of the silver coins of Heliokles¹⁷ and the coins of Kapisene or Bactrian origin are likewise the derived copy of the silver coins of Eukratides¹⁸, the Greek kings of Bactria. MacDowall further divides the general issue into three categories on the basis of letter

¹¹ Masson, C., 1834: 62.

¹² Cunningham, A., 1892: 71.

¹³ Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97-123.

¹⁴ MacDowall, D.W., 1968/a: 28-48.

¹⁵ Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97-123.

¹⁶ Mitchiner, M., 1975/4: 285, 302 [about this series of coins, Mitchiner rightly states, that they actually belonged to Bactria series due to the metrological and typological basis].

¹⁷ MacDowall, D.W., 1968/a: 40.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 31.

styles that indicates a transitional phase between the coinage of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises¹⁹. He describes that Soter Megas had adopted two types of weight system i.e. Attic standard and Indian standard²⁰. The weight of Attic standard which is slightly heavier was much common and the Indian weight was confined exclusively to Zeus coins in Gandhara. With the combination of these weights, Attic di-drachm and Indian tetra-drachm, Soter Megas formulated a new weight standard for his general type later on regularly exercised by his successors for the various denominations of their copper. In this ways the new denomination of Soter Megas makes a transitional link between the coinage of Kujula and that of Vima Kadphises and successors²¹. MacDowall remarks that the local issues like the tradition of Kujula Kadphises were stuck in the beginning and later on, he constituted a general issue that based on the local coinage and hence changed the tradition of local varieties²².

It is the major contribution of Joe Cribb that he discovered a proper name i.e. Vima Takto to the nameless king or known with the titles Soter Megas that appear on his coins²³. After the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka I, the reading of an identical word Vima Tak on some of the coins earlier attributed to Vima Kadphises, and with the identification of some more coins (coin # 34-43), Cribb established a new sequence of Vima Takto coins. In this way he identifies the bull and camel type to this king with the king name Vima Tak on them and the said type was already exercised under Kujula Kadphises. Therefore the common type makes a link between the two. This type is a new addition after MacDowall study. These coins were struck in Attic standard and are known in large and small denominations. Cribb on the basis of die arrangements and size of the coins further classifies the new types into several sub-varieties. With the exception of broader issues (drachm), the bull and camel coins usually carry magnate contents which are also detected on the in the same series of Kujula Kadphises²⁴. Hence this issue is the continuation of the bull and camel series of Kujula Kadphises. The latter had derived this pattern from the copper coins of

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 41.

²⁰ MacDowall, D.W., 1960: 70; MacDowall, D.W., 1868: 40.

²¹ MacDowall, D.W., 1968/a: 41.

²² MacDowall, D.W., 1997: 236.

²³ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97-98.

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 118-119.

Zeionises/ Jihonika which were used to be designed for the Kashmir region²⁵. Cribb making the relation of first type of Soter Megas with that of the Parthian king Sasan identifies an overstrike issue. Accordingly a certain coin of Soter Megas was overstruck on the coin of Sasan²⁶. Regarding this issue, he also reads the name "Vema" in Kharoṣṭhi written on the reverse. In this connection a sequence of certain types of Vima Takto can be traced out with those of the coins of his predecessor Kujula Kadphises and the existed pattern of the Greek and Parthian coins²⁷.

In the light of recent researches, the coins of Vima Takto are arranged into different types and their varieties which also include the new added coins of Joe Cribb. With the exception of last two types (coin # 34-43) all issues of this ruler regularly displays three or four pronged tamga on one side or on the both. After this the said tamga with progressive modifications was retained in throughout the Kushan coinage and thus became as a characteristic feature of the Kushans. The coins of Vima Takto inscribed in Greek and Kharoṣṭhi bearing the following varieties of legend. (a) BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC, (b) ΒΑΠΝΕΙ ΒΑΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΔΟΟΤΙ, (c) OOHMO TAK [TO] (d) TAPO OANAXAO..... (e) *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa vema*, (f) *[deva]putrasa vema tak[ta] maha*, (g) *maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema tak[ta] maha*, (h) *maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa [vema] tak[ta]*, (i) *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema [takkho]*

Vima (II) Kadphises (Coin # 44-67)

The Coins of this ruler are known in gold and copper therefore the gold coins are placed before the copper. A rare silver coin (coin # 62) struck in the copper design also reported to him which is normally known as the mint trial pieces²⁸. The gold coins are known to have struck in the weight of Roman pattern called as dinar of 123 grains or 8.00 grammes and these are known in four denominations such as standard dinar, double dinar, half dinar and quarter dinar. The multiple denominations, like standard dinar, are common whereas the sub-multiples are quite rare. Vima (II)

²⁵ MacDowall, D.W., 1968: 39; Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 119.

²⁶ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 120.

²⁷ Ibid, 1995-96: 97-123.

²⁸ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 19.

Kadphises followed the weight Attic standard of Vima (I) Takto for his copper and the certain coins are known in three denominations such as tetra-drachm, di-drachm and drachm. The heavy coins are much common then the other two. Henceforth the weight system i.e. Roman dinar for gold and Attic drachm for copper of this king became the standard pattern of the Kushans. Thereafter, his successors regularly retained it as set criteria for their coinage²⁹. Although the range of denominations was limited after Vima; the gold coins normally known in dinar and quarter dinar whereas the weight of copper coins rarely found stable in the reign of Huvishka and successors³⁰. In the time of later Kushans, the gold coins were issued in debased metal and similarly the copper coins were passed through the process of progressive reduction in weight.

Besides the adaptation of weight system from Vima (I) Takto, the coins of Vima (II) Kadphises show other close resemblances with the coins of earlier obviously show his direct succession from Vima (I) Takto. The common feature between the two found as (a) style of Greek legend BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC, (b) four-pronged tamga, (c) nandipada symbol, (d) Kharoṣṭhi letter *vi*, being the common initial of the two (e) hand position of king i.e. raised holding arrow (Vima I) and club (Vima II), and (f) bead and reel and decoration of the border.

Gold Coins (Coin # 44-62)

The gold coins of Vima (I) Kadphises, the originator of this tradition, are better known for their purity containing 97% gold³¹ or little bit higher as 98.5% gold³². The gold coins of Vima Kadphises struck in several obverse designs and with three reverse varieties (a) Śiva standing alone, (b) Śiva accompanied by the bull and the latter facing to right and (c) trident set in a stand, the attribute of Śiva. For the striking of these coins he used 28 obverse dies³³. All these issues are bilingual contains Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse. The common Greek legend is BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KΑΔΦΙHC begins at 1^h and

²⁹ MacDowall, D.W., 1960: 63-74.

³⁰ Ibid, p.73.

³¹ Burns, C.A., 1998: 186.

³² Maity, S.K., 1958: 171 (Table: II).

³³ Burns, C.A., 1998: 186.

Kharoṣṭhi legend is *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratora* that begins at 12^h. The short Greek legend is BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAΔΦICHC begins at 7^h or 1^h and similarly the second legend of Kharoṣṭhi is *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa*. The obverse design are found as: king riding on elephant to left (coin # 44), king riding in biga to right (coin # 47) and bust portrait of king facing to left (coin # 58) are quite rare and unique. Similarly in reverse, the trident design, depicted on the quarter dinar only, is also rare and unique (coin # 61). The king riding in biga (coin # 47) and the king enthroned on low cushion (coin # 48) types having close similarities with the Roman coins are therefore said to have derived from the west³⁴.

Some of the obverse designs of Vima Kadphises like king riding on elephant, king seated cross-legged and king portrait emerging from rock obviously imitated by king Huvishka, the successor of Kanishka, for his coinage. The other reverse design of Vima i.e. oesho standing alone but of four armed was an adequate design of Kanishka and Huvishka coinage. The two-armed Oesho but with different attributes is commonly shown on the reverse of copper coins of Huvishka.

Copper Coins (Coin # 63-67)

The obverse and reverse designs of the copper coins are monotonous in character showing standing figure of king on the obverse and oesho with bull like gold on the obverse. The obverse design depicts standing figure of the king sacrificing at altar to left, is derived from the reverse design of the Parthian king Gotarzes who ruled from AD. 40/41 to 51³⁵. This obverse design thereafter became as a standard design of the Kushan coinage and was adopted by Kanishka I, Vasudeva I and all later Kushan kings. After Kushans the general pattern of standing king was also retained by the Kushano-Sasanians in the west and Guptas in the east for their gold coins. Similarly the reverse design of oesho and bull but facing to left was regularly exercised by Vasudeva I, later Kushan kings from Kanishka II to Vasudeva II and their contemporary, the Kushano-Sasanians. The copper obverse design of Vima

³⁴ Göbl, R., 1960: 81; Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 3.

³⁵ Mukherjee, B.N., 1960: 110.

Kadphises is found in two varieties: (a) the monolingual with bead and reel border and (b) bilingual without border decoration having Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse. The coins of first variety known in tetra-drachm and drachm are rare and belonged to the Bactria origin as the coins of same pattern of Kujula and Vima (I) Takto were originated there³⁶.

Great Kushans

Kanishka the Great (Coin # 67-181)

The coins of Kanishka, in many aspects, have close resemblance with those of his predecessor, Vima (II) Kadphises and therefore the coins confirm his succession in the certain context. The coins of this ruler are famous for their novelties and remarkable changes that he introduced into the Kushan coinage.

Vima (II) Kadphises Connection

The basic pattern of Kanishka coinage was same as was initiated by Vima Kadphises. Like his predecessor, Kanishka struck his coins in the same metals i.e. gold and copper and used the same weight of Roman standard. The gold coins are known in two denominations dinar and quarter dinar and the copper coins in tetra-drachm, di-drachm, drachm and hemi-drachm which issued in different series. For the obverse of early coins he retained the Greek legend on the style of Vima I and Vima II i.e. BACIAEYC BACIAEWN and name of king. Kanishka also followed the same arrangement of coin design of Vima Kadphises such as obverse was constantly reserved for the portrait figure of king and the reverse exclusively for the representation of a Kushan deity. The common obverse design of Kanishka both in gold and copper is the standing figure of king sacrificing at altar which is certainly copied from the copper coins of Vima Kadphises but the king now holds a sceptre in his raised left hand earlier on Vima coins the said hand was shown holding lapels of a coat. Moreover a club and tamga shown in the right field of Kadphises coins are now absent from the coins of Kanishka. Another obverse design in gold, known in quarter dinar only, is the bust of king emerging from rock to left and holds sceptre in his raised left hand also derived from the gold coins of Vima Kadphises and again the

³⁶ Mitchiner, M., 1978: 405.

hand position is different. The reverse design used to display the religious devices is also the continuation from Kadphises coinage however this ruler employed variety of deities for which his coins are famous. The origin of Kushan tamga is related to Vima (I) Takto but it was matured in the time of Vima (II) Kadphises who used it on the obverse behind the figure. Kanishka I slightly modified the previous tamga and specified it for his reverses and usually shown in front of a deity.

Kanishka Novelties

The coins of Kanishka I are characteristically distinguished from his predecessors by the use of new inscription. All coins of Kanishka both gold and copper are monolingual; the early coins are characterized by Greek legend appear on both sides and then Bactrian legend on the both replaces the earlier. On the other hand, the coins of Vima (II) Kadphises are uniformly bilingual showing Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse as was the tradition of the Indo-Greeks and then their successors. From the time of Kanishka I the use of Kharoṣṭhi script as a regular legend (except rare coins of Huvishka) disappeared from the Kushan coins and henceforth its use is rarely seen.

Kanishka I abandoned the practice of dual legends usually concerned with the king's name and titles that appeared simultaneously on both sides of a coin. In this scheme, the king retained a standard legend, earlier in Greek and then in Bactrian, for the obverse to show the name of king and dynasty and uniform title where the figure of king is depicted. Similarly the reverse legend, of the obverse style, manifests the name of a concerned deity whose image is executed in the said side. In reverse design the image of deity is usually shown in profile to left or right where tamga is placed in front of deity and the deity name behind the figure. This reverse style showing the figure of deity accompanied by its name is derived from Roman coins. This style of Kanishka became as a standard pattern of the Kushan coins and was regularly retained by all the subsequent rulers. But in the time of later Kushans particularly from the reign of Kanishka III, the Bactrian legend began to diminish and illegible and the Brāhmī akṣara became predominant as the only legible inscription to be understood for a king name. Then in the reign of Vasudeva II, Brāhmī akṣara apparently display the king name i.e. Vasu (Vasudeva II).

Coins Classification

The coins of Kanishka I are basically divided into two broad groups, such as Greek style and Bactrian style of coins. This classification is applied equally for the gold and copper coins of Kanishka I.

Greek Style (Coin # 68-72, 104-107)

The Greek pattern was adopted for his early coins in which the gold and copper coins were struck in uniform weight (8.00 gm) and in one standard denomination i.e. dinar for gold and di-drachm for copper. These coins are well executed and exhibit Greek legend on both the sides. The obverse legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΟΥ equally appear on the gold and copper coins and the figure of king is shown standing to left with right hand sacrificing over altar wearing either forward pointing bonnet with a circle or low rounded cap with a crescent. The reverses of these gold coins exhibit a set of six deities, represented with Greek names such as ΗΛΙΟΣ, ΣΑΛΗΝΗ, ΝΑΝΑΙΑ, ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, ΑΝΕΜΟΣ and ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ. The reverse design with Greek name ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ on the gold coins is not yet found but this name was used to re-cut for the Bactrian name ΟΗΡΟ is traceable on these coins³⁷. Similarly the reverses of copper coins show two Kushan deities of the same characteristics known with the Greek names ΗΛΙΟΣ and ΝΑΝΑΙΑ hence the number of deities on copper is limited.

Bactrian or Kushan Style (Coin # 73-103)

Kanishka coinage of other groups in terms of design and execution are similar to the previous coins but are distinguished by the use of Bactrian inscriptions. In this arrangement the obverse legend ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΙ ΚΟΡΝΑΟ is represented on gold and its short style ΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΙ on copper. Kanishka added the name of dynasty with his own name which certainly indicates his reverting to the style of Kujula who had used similar name on his coins. At the end of Greek issue, while retaining the previous design intact, the tools being used to stamp the both sides of the coins were rearranged with the Bactrian script. Accordingly, traces of some

³⁷ Cribb, J., 1998: 94.

erased Greek legends are visible on the coins struck from the new tools³⁸. In these arrangements the old reverse tools were also modified and re-engraved for the new reverse legend of the coins. The Greek coins were not completely changed in one time but were made in different stages as Joe Cribb identifies four such phases of transition and the sequence of dies.³⁹ In this respect the reverse design depicting Bactrian name AΘPO was re-engraved replacing the Greek name ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ. Having adopted this pattern, the Greek names ΗΑΙΟC, ΣΑΛΗΝΗ, ΝΑΝΑΙΑ, ΑΝΕΜΟΣ and ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ changed to Bactrian names ΜΙΠΟ, ΜΑΟ, ΝΑΝΑ, ΟΑΔΟ and ΟΗΡΟ respectively. The wind god Oado was no longer appeared on gold coins with new legend but its application was shifted to the copper coins with Bactrian name ΟΑΔΟ⁴⁰. This deliberate policy is important and can be understood for many aspects. Basically it showing a change in official language from Greek to Bactrian and can also be explained for a political set up and new religious policy as well. The images of gods remain unchanged due the adaptation of new language except the wind god Anemos who losses his wings when renamed. On the other hand majority of these and new deities showing their close similarities to the Iranian nature in terms of their iconographic appearance and the prescribed names and these changes are also reflecting in the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka⁴¹.

Gold Coins (Coin # 68-103)

In this broader classification, the gold and copper coins of Kanishka I are treated separately. Kanishka used pure gold like his predecessor containing 97% gold⁴². For the striking of such coins he applied 63 obverse dies. The gold coins on the basis of inscription, denomination, head dress and style of the king and arrangements of the deities are mainly divided into three groups: (1) Greek inscription, (2) Bactrian inscription for early coins and (3) Bactrian inscription for later coins. Adopting the same pattern, the copper coins are divided into four groups: (1) Greek inscription, (2)

³⁸ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 110.

³⁹ Cribb, J., 1998: 93-96.

⁴⁰ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 110.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 77-111.

⁴² Burns, C.A., 1998: 189.

Bactrian inscription for early coins, (3) Bactrian inscription for later coins and (4) Bactrian inscription for small coins of later period.

Group A (Coin # 68-72): These coins are struck in uniform denomination of standard dinar inscribed with Greek legend BACIAEVC BAIAEWN KANHPKOY. Obverse has standing figure of king, wears long heavy dress of Central Asian style, right hand sacrificing over altar, in the left holds sceptre and wears two kinds of headdress (a) low cap with a crescent decoration and (b) forward-pointing bonnet with a circle. The reverses of these coins depicting a set of six Kushan deities accompanied by Greek names (a) Helios, (b) Salene, (c) Nanaia, (d) Hephaistos, (e) Anemos and (f) Herakles.

Group B (Coin # 73-86): This group is consisting of two types; the coins of first type are known in dinar and quarter dinar and the coins of second type which are not common identified in quarter dinar only and both the types are inscribed with Bactrian legend PAONANOPAO KANHPKI KOPANO. The first type is merely the continuation of previous types having similar standing figure of king facing to left, wearing same dress with right hand sacrificing over altar and holds sceptre in the left and headdresses remains same (a) low cap with a crescent and (b) forward-pointing bonnet with a circle. Besides the legend changes on these coins the king in addition holds an ankus in the lowered right hand. The reverse pattern similarly retains the deities of previous group but shown with different names inscribed in Bactrian language such as Miiro, Mao, Nana, Athsho and Oesho while wind god of the previous group shifted to the copper coins and no longer appeared on gold. The second type of this group that is a new, having bust of king holds sceptre in the left hand emerging from rock to left. This type has close resemblance with one of the types of Vima Kadphises, where bust of king is shown emerging from rock but the attributes of both kings are different. The coins of this type exclusively struck in quarter dinar and the reverses are designed with the Kushan deities like Athsho, Mao, Nana and four-armed Oesho. Cribb argues that the latter coins were basically designed in Greek legend but issued from the re-cut dies of Bactrian legend⁴³.

Group C (Coin # 87-103): The coins of this group, in general appearance, are similar to the previous two groups and particularly show close association with the second

⁴³ Cribb, J., 1998: 95.

group as they inscribed in Bactrian inscription. The coins of this group belonged to the later stage of Kanishka and can be distinguished from the second by the headdress of the king who now wears tall round helmet with crest ornament. These coins are common and struck in two denominations i.e. dinar and quarter dinar. The reverses of these coins exhibit numerous deities other than those of the previous groups, the new deities are known as Buddha (standing), Ardoxsho, Lroaspo, Manaobago, Mozdoano, Nanashao, Orlagno and Pharro. Moreover the said deities are sometimes shown in various attitudes and similarly with different kind attributes.

Copper Coins (Coin # 104-181)

The basic pattern of the copper coins of Kanishka I is same to his gold coins. The coins are generally occurred into two main groups, the coins of Greek legend and the coins of Bactrian legend.

Group A (Coin # 104-107): The coins of this group in every aspect are identical with those of the first group of gold coins and similarly struck in one denomination i.e. di-drachm (= gold dinar). They are identified by the use of Greek legend that appeared on the both sides, obverse usually comprising the name and titles of the king and the reverse names of the corresponding deities. In this regard the obverse legend is BACIAEVC BAIAEWN KANHPKOY. The obverse design of standing king is also identical to the first group of gold coins and similarly shown with two headdresses (a) low cap with a crescent and (b) forward pointing bonnet with a circle. The reverse design of these coins containing two deities such as Helios and Nanaia hence the number of deities is less than the same class of gold coins.

Group B (Coins # 108-181): This group, like the gold coins, is marked by the change of legend from Greek to Bactrian and the obverse legend is comparatively short, having title PAO and name of the king KANHPKI and reverses showing the names of corresponding deities. In this group the coins were struck in different denominations such as tetra-drachm, di-drachm, drachm and hemi-drachm hence the types are arranged in the same order. In copper the reverse deities are known as Ardoxsho, Athsho, Buddha (seated and standing), Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado and Oesho and enthroned Pharro (?). Some of the deities, like in gold, are also shown in different attitudes other than the ordinary one. The coins of large size (tetra-drachm) are much

common. In this group the coins of lower denomination (drachm) are very interesting (see Table 2). Accordingly, the obverse has standing figure of king sacrificing at altar to left and accompanied by the Kharoṣṭhi letters depicted in the left field. These letters are known as *cha*, *ji*, *se*, *su*, *sam* of which *ji* and *cha* are common and the other are rare that known only on Mao reverse coins. The obverse legend on these coins is found in two different positions in one variety it begins at 1^h and in other between 8^h and 10^h. The reverses of these coins are designed with various deities like Mao, Miïro, Nana, Oado and Oesho. It is important to note that the diverse style of legend appear on all these reverses. Following these coins the further small group of coins in the same type i.e. struck in hemi-drachm also carrying Kharoṣṭhi letters but this time one letter only i.e. *cha* in the same position on the obverse and with four reverse deities such as Mao, Miïro, Nana and Oesho. These coins are crude in style therefore the legend is not clear, in one example it begins at 9^h and in other at 1^h but it is not easy to decipher and found the letters in proper order and right position.

Besides the above classification, there are two other types of noteworthy. One is known in tetra-drachm and another in hemi-drachm. In appearance the coins of this tetra-drachm are similar to the coins of common tetradrachm but are identified by the addition of a Kanishka tamga on the obverse. Moreover the design (of obverse and reverse) and style of the legend of this type are also varied. These variations seemingly indicate that they were issued from a different mint. The reverse deities associated with this type are known as Athsho, Mao, Miïro, Nana, Oado, and 4-armed Oesho. The coins of a new type of hemi-drachm showing enthroned king on the obverse instead of the ordinary standing pose. The reverse deities on these coins are known as Mao, Miïro, Nana and Oesho (2-armed only).

Huvishka (Coin # 182-522)

Huvishka basically followed the general pattern of his predecessor Kanishka I. The gold and copper coins were struck in the same weight standard, inscribed in the same legend (Bactrian) with similar titles and also the reverse pattern of deities remained same. The reverse tamga of his early coins is identical with that of the Kanishka but later on he added a bar to the middle stem of the said tamga hence the latter one is called as Huvishka tamga. The reverse scheme of deities with their names invariably

follow the style of Kanishka however he incorporated numerous new deities of which some of them are shown in hybrid style and similarly some are depicted in pair of two and three. It is usual under Huvishka that a deity of certain character is displayed in various attitudes, variety of attributes and in different name spelling. Unlike Kanishka I he did not use the figure of Buddha on his coins.

On the other hand, the obverse designs of Huvishka coins are quite different from Kanishka I and they show great similarities with those of Vima Kadphises. The king is normally shown in imperial style wearing princely dress of glory and the figure is depicted in various attitudes and mostly displayed in a pose of bust portrait. Like Vima Kadphises the king is riding on elephant to right, king is emerging from rock, king seated cross-legged and bust portrait of king designs appeared in gold. The copper coins like gold also represent various poses of king such as riding on elephant to right (or left), seated cross-legged and reclining on couch to left (or right). The copper designs of Huvishka which copying the styles of his gold coins are completely different from all the Kushan kings.

Gold Coins (Coin # 182-408)

In respect of execution and metal contents the gold coins are broadly arranged into two classes (a) the early coins of crude style and in debased gold containing 93.45% gold contents and (b) later coins of good workmanship and struck in fine gold containing 96.0% gold. Thus the average contents in these coins are 95% gold⁴⁴. C.A. Burns records 119 obverse dies for the gold coins of this ruler⁴⁵. The gold coins of Huvishka present a lot of varieties in their obverse types and with the combination of their reverses the number reaches in hundreds. In viewing the obverse typology and variety and with respective reverse designs it is not easy to explain each and every type separately. It is therefore various types are arranged into groups, where they highlight the characteristic features of such corresponding groups.

Group A (Coin # 182-276): The first three types of this group are rare and showing diversity in their style and designs such as king riding on elephant, king seated cross-legged and bust of king facing to r. The remaining types are much common and king

⁴⁴ Maity, S.K., 1958: 171 (Table: II) ; Burns, C.A., 1998: 189.

⁴⁵ Burns, C.A., 1998: 189.

usually facing to l. As a whole the coins of this group are characterised by the following features as:

- (a) Headdress consists of a tall rounded helmet with crescent in the centre and a circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at the forehead.
- (b) Ribbons of diadem behind the head of king, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated with lattice-like effect.
- (c) King wears simple tunic with pleats and with jewelled yoke around neck.
- (d) King has galamucha (untidy side burns) and prominent wart.
- (e) No use of nimbate around the head of king.
- (f) King holds: (i) ankus in the l. hand and spear in the r., when king is riding, (ii) bird standard tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and club in the r., when king is seated cross-legged and (iii) holding ankus (or sword) in the l. hand and club in the r. when king is shown is profile emerging from rock to l. or r.
- (g) Reverse has two kinds of tamgas i.e. of Kanishka and Huvishka on the reverse where the latter one is more common and sometimes completely dominates the other in a single type and particularly replaces the first in last varieties.

Group Aa (Coin # 277-278): This sub-group (of group A) comprising only two types one is dinar with Miiro reverse and the second quarter dinar with goddess Nana reverse the latter one is very unique so far only one specimen of its kind is known. The obverse of these coins is almost same to the above group of coins but known with minute changes.

- (a) The major characteristic feature of these coins is the portrait design of king where the figure is shown in bust profile facing to l. or r.
- (b) Another important change comes in the form of king's attributes which are absent in this type as both the hands invisible.
- (c) The ornamented headdress of king is similar to the above-mentioned type 4, and ribbons of the diadem remains behind the head of king.
- (d) King wears same tunic and jewelled yoke.
- (e) King also has galamucha (untidy side burns) and prominent wart.
- (f) Like group-A, there is no use of nimbate around the head of king.

With except of a few changes the coins of this group are similar to the previous group (A) hence the coins of this small group may be considered as a sub group of group-A.

Group B (Coin # 279-342): The first type of this group somehow presents transitional elements which helps to link the coins of this group with the coins of previous group. Besides this there are several types with numerous reverse varieties. In all these types the king figure is always shown in profile emerging from rock to left. The important change on the basis of which this group can be distinguished from the above groups (A & Aa) is the introduction of a nimbus around the head of king which thereafter regularly retained for the sub-sequent series of coins. The following new features are marked for the making of this group.

- (a) Headdress consisting of a tall forwarded cap, pearl ornamented and a circular device at side, crest ornament at top and pronged symbol at the forehead and side flaps with cheek protection below.
- (b) Ribbons of diadem now decorated with lattice-like effect, normally fallen one each on both shoulders and in some cases two on left shoulder.
- (c) King wears variety of dresses such as: (i) imperial dress of lozenge pattern (ii) tunic with rolled lapels and held by a double clasp with and without mantle over shoulder in both the cases.
- (d) No traces of king's galamucha or prominent wart probably hidden by the side flaps.
- (e) King regularly holds a club in raised r. hand before face and staff or spear tied up with ribbon in the l. hand over shoulder.
- (f) Huvishka tamga completely replaces the Kanishka tamga so the latter disappears from the subsequent type of coins.

Group Ba (Coin # 343): There is only one type in the sub-class of group B. It is extremely rare, stylistically fine and well executed. The reverse exhibits a figure of Greek god Herakles which shows Syncretism with the Kushan deity Oesho. The obverse design is different from all other types, the king is shown seated cross-legged with head turned to l., otherwise the crown, dress and attributes of the king remains similar to group B therefore constitutes a sub-class of group B.

- (a) The headdress is little reduced in size but still appearing as forwarded helmet, highly ornamented and a circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at the forehead and with side flaps.

(b) Ribbons of diadem decorated with lattice-like effect, fallen one each on both shoulders.

(c) King wears imperial tunic with rolled lapels and held by a double clasp.

(d) King holds a club in the r. hand before face and spear tied up with ribbon in the l. hand over shoulder.

(e) Huvishka tamga continued.

Group C (Coin # 344-357): The types of this group are greatly similar to the types of previous groups (B & Ba). The basic change appears in the form of a headdress now the king wears conical type helmet decorated with rows of pearls and side flaps, and the ribbons with lattice shaped effect fallen one each on both shoulders. In this group one variety of attributes also added whereas king holds two headed club (or bird insignia) in the r. hand instead of a club and spear in the l. In other coins, king holds club in the r. hand and spear or staff in the l. over shoulder as shown in the preceding groups (B & Ba).

(a) Headdress in conical shape with row of pearls and crest ornaments.

(b) Ribbons of diadem decorated with lattice-like effect as above normally fallen one each on both shoulders and in some cases two on left shoulder.

(c) King wears variety of dresses such as: (i) imperial dress of lozenge pattern and (ii) tunic with rolled lapels and held by a double clasp with or without a mantle over shoulder in both the cases.

(d) Sometimes king has flaming shoulder but it is not a common practice.

Group D (Coin # 358-408): Generally the types of this group closely resemble the previous two groups (B, Ba & C) and particularly group C but the distinguished feature which separates it from the above is the introduction of horn decoration to the peaked crown. The number of types and reverse varieties are limited. One new type (coin # 407-408) also appeared in the group where the king is facing to r. and wears a turban instead of a crown and king has long hair in braids fallen on neck behind shoulders.

(a) Headdress now formed of a peaked crown with rows of pearls, crest and horn ornaments, as mentioned above the new type bears a characteristic turban.

(b) Ribbons of diadem decorated with lattice-like effect as above normally fallen one each on both shoulders and in some cases two on left shoulder.

(c) King wears variety of dresses such as: (i) imperial dress of lozenges pattern with mantle over shoulder and (ii) tunic with rolled lapels and held by double clasp and without mantle.

(d) In some examples king has flaming shoulder as seen in previous group.

Copper Coins (Coin # 409-522)

The copper coins of Huvishka, like his gold, are common and known in several varieties. The obverse as well as reverse designs are comparatively limited. In obverse there are three main types of which two are identical to his gold coins i.e. king riding on elephant to right and king seated cross-legged. The third type showing king reclining on couch, in relaxed attitude, is quite new and this is the first type of its nature appeared on the Kushan coins. The copper coins of Huvishka usually struck in Attic tetra-drachm obviously show progressive reduction in weight and changes in style towards crude form. Besides this the copper coins like gold also bears two kinds of tamgas the early tamga of Kanishka and later tamga (barred) of Huvishka. In viewing this, the coins are broadly classified into two main groups the early coins and the later coins. Finally a separate group (Group C) which is different from the two having the use of Kharoṣṭhi script on them and the depiction of deities of the last group is also very unique.

Group A (Coin # 409-434): This group comprising the coins of early period, which are very common and known in a standard type. In execution and style these coins are excellent, known in heavy weight and bearing certain type of deities. There are three basic designs of the obverse: (a) king riding on elephant to right holding a spear, (b) king reclining on couch to left, and (c) king seated cross-legged facing to right. The reverses of these coins equally represent Kanishka deities such as Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado and 4-armed Oesho that depicted on the cited obverses.

Group Aa (Coin # 435-436): The coins of this group retain the early tamga (1) but they are showing gradual reduction in weight (12-11 gm). There are two obverse types (a) king seated cross-legged facing to left and (b) king riding on elephant to right. The first type exclusively depicts the figure of Mao and the second type showing one deity i.e. two-armed Oesho on their reverses. The coins of latter type are very common and would likely be struck in a separate mint and later on the certain

type was also followed by his successor Vasudeva I. On the basis of size, weight, contents and execution the coins of Vasudeva I are similar to this type of Huvishka.

Group B (Coin # 438-519): This group is basically distinguished from the above by the barred tamga of Huvishka and moreover the coins of this group show a lot of variations in obverse as well as reverse designs. The coins of this group are struck in reduced weight ranging from 13 to 8 gms. This group also represents some of the imitations of Huvishka coins. In this group, the elephant rider type is predominant but shown in different directions either riding to right or left. Besides this the king on this type carrying various attributes such as spear, ankus and club that substitute to one another. These rider types comprise various reverse deities such as Ardoxsho, Athsho, Herakles, Mao, Miuro, Nana, Oado, 2-armed Oesho, 4-armed Oesho and Pharro. In other obverse designs the king is seated cross-legged and king reclining on couch are also well represented. Like elephant rider, the cross-legged type is depicted in various styles such as king facing to left or right holding a spear and in one case both arms of the king raised up. The reverses of these types accommodate the figures of Ardoxsho, Herakles, Mao, Miuro, Nana, and 4-armed Oesho. Overall this group is characteristically important for the predominant reverse deities Herakles and Ardoxsho which were completely absent from group-A coins. In this respect the figure of Herakles is very important. This deity is exhibited in various attitudes and likely to be adopted for the substitute of god Oesho.

The other two types belonged to later period of Huvishka reign, are known as the king in squatting position and the king seated with both legs turned to left seemingly derived from the seated cross-legged type particularly of the king's hands raised up type. These are the small coins of reduced weight normally found between 8 to 6 gm. The style and execution is not good and the legend is illegible on these coins. The reverse designs of these types are almost identical and displaying the figures of Ardoxsho, Mao and Miuro. In addition, the coins of a squatting type also represent a figure of 4-armed Oesho. It is suggested that the coins of these types were issued from the eastern mint Mathura⁴⁶.

Group C (Coin # 520-522): This is a small group and is identified by the characteristic feature of Kharoṣṭhi script on the reverse probably the deity name

⁴⁶ Mitchiner, M., 1978: 438-439.

replacing the Bactrian one. The reverse legend reads as *Yodhavade* (right-left direction) or possibly *devadhayo* (left-right direction). The obverse design of these coins is uniform having the figure of king riding on elephant to right holding a club in raised right hand. The reverses exhibit the figures of unusual deities probably the figures of Viṣṇu cult represented with multiple hands such as, 2-armed and 6-armed⁴⁷. They are known with one a single-head or three-heads (or perhaps 3). The 2-armed deity (of Vṣṇu cult) is found in Oesho style carrying trident in the right hand with same legend *Yodhavade*. The 6-armed figure of Vṣṇu cult is quite unique, as the figures of this cult are normally explained with multiple hands like 2-armed, 4-armed and 8-armed in the ancient Indian literature. On these coins, the 6-armed deity is standing in front of a tree with spread branches and holding a conch with his lower hands. Some of the other attributes identified with this deity are: crescent, sun and diadem.

In one of the early gold coins of Vasudeva I, the immediate successor of Huvishka, also depicts the figure of 4-armed Vasudeva⁴⁸. These coins of Huvishka are well struck and the Bactrian legend on the obverse is clearly visible. These coins are known in reduced weight. The certain coins are associated to the later stage of Huvishka reign and most probably issued from a separate mint certainly in Gandhara as the legend is Kharoṣṭhi and one of them is found from the famous Śivaite site, Kashmir Smast.

Vasudeva I (Coin # 523-603)

Vasudeva I, the last ruler of great Kushans, succeeded to Huvishka and reigned for a long period. In coinage he retained the Kushan pattern introduced by Vima (II) Kadphises and then developed by Kanishka I and also followed by Huvishka. His gold coins are normally known in dinar but also struck in quarter dinar as was the style of his predecessors. In copper with the exception of one series all coins were issued in one denomination i.e. tetra-drachm but of reduced weight (11.7 gm). In coin design Vasudeva I didn't follow his predecessor but he reverted to the standard pattern of Kanishka I and like him the obverse of gold and copper coins equally bear

⁴⁷ Cribb, J., 1997: 16-17.

⁴⁸ Burns, C.A., 1985: 52-53.

the standing figure of king. The reverse scheme of this ruler is generally similar to Kanishka I and Huvishka but he employed only few selected deities. The reverse design is mainly consisting of Oesho and bull which copying the reverse design of Vima Kadphises but the direction of bull is changed from right to left. In this way the coins of Vasudeva I have close resemblance with that of the coins of Kanishka I on one hand and Vima Kadphises on the other. The gold and copper coins of Vasudeva I like Kanishka I are struck in the same style.

Gold Coins (Coin # 523-556)

The gold coins of this ruler like his predecessors were struck in high contents, containing 97 to 95% gold⁴⁹. For the making of his gold coins, 80 obverse dies are known⁵⁰. As mentioned earlier the gold coins are known in two denominations of the pattern of Kanishka I, i.e. dinar and quarter dinar. The obverse design of Vasudeva I comprising the figure of king clad in chain mail dress standing to left is found uniform throughout the series. With this obverse design other elements like a trident in the left field, nandipada symbol or akṣara in the right field were gradually added later on. On the basis of style, design, treatment of the coins and the addition of extra features the gold coins of Vasudeva I are identified for two mints such as mint- A and mint- B. The coins of each mint are further classified into three major phases (see Table 3).

Mint A (Coin # 523-528, 541-544, 551)

Phase I (Coin # 523-528): The characteristic feature of this phase of coins is the early style of king standing at altar to left, has short hair with banner behind head and the obverse legend begins at 7^h. The reverse designs of these coins represent various deities such as 4-armed Vasudeva standing facing, Nana standing to right and single-headed, 2-armed Oesho accompanied by bull facing to l. In the latter variety, the figure of Oesho is shown as single headed and in the sub-variety bull is licking the foot of Oesho. In reverse the deity name is placed in the left field and tamga in the right.

⁴⁹ Maity, S.K., 1958: 171 (Table: II); Burns, C.A., 1998: 192.

⁵⁰ Burns, C.A., 1998: 192.

Phase 2 (Coin # 541-544): The coins of this phase are generally similar to that of the previous phase but can be distinguished from them on the basis of addition of a trident stands behind altar in the left field. Once its practice started then it was retained by all his successors till the end of the Kushan reign. The obverse legend similarly begins at 7^h. In reverse there is only one variety i.e. single headed and 2-armed Oesho accompanied by the bull standing to left. In early coins the reverse legend is arranged in the left field as in phase-1 but in later coins the legend is placed in the right field. In last variety of this phase Oesho has flaming halo around the head.

Phase 3 (Coin # 551): In last phase of gold coins, the general features of second phase are retained but characteristically the symbol of nandipada is added in the obverse right field. The obverse legend remains same beginning at 7^h. A single headed and 2-armed Oesho with bull standing to left, Oesho has flaming halo and legend inscribed in the right field and tamga in the upper left became as a standard style of these coins. The coins of this mint belonged to the western territory of Vasudeva was probably located in Bactria. Later on the coins of this style were imitated (Coin # 557-585) and followed by the Kushano-Sasanian kings who, after Vasudeva I, were contemporary with Kanishka II in the respective territory of the Kushans.

Mint B (Coin # 529-540, 545-550, 552-556)

Phase 1 (Coin # 529-540): The early coins of this phase are not very fine and slightly inferior from the coins of mint-A. This rude style differentiates the certain coins from the above mint. In obverse design the king is normally standing at altar to left, wearing chain-mail dress and no use of a trident in the left field. Again the early coins have flaming shoulder of the king and later coins without flaming. Except one variety the obverse legend begins at 7^h. In reverse there is only one deity (Oesho) but shown in different varieties. In some varieties Oesho standing alone as single-headed, 2-armed and holding a diadem and a trident but in others, Oesho accompanied by the bull and is represented in several sub-varieties. Amongst these varieties, in one example the bull is licking the foot of deity, in other variety Oesho is 2-armed and 3-headed and in one other variety Oesho is 3-headed and 4-armed in dancing pose with

bull behind him. In most cases the reverse legend is placed in the right field but sometimes in the left field also.

Phase 2 (Coin # 545-550): The characteristic feature of this phase is the addition of a trident in the obverse left field as was observed in the second phase of mint-A. The obverse is depicting a figure of longed-hair king who is sacrificing at altar standing to left. These coins fall into two sub-varieties: (a) king wears chain mail dress and the legend begins at 7^h (b) king wears coat with chain mail dress and legend begins at 1^h. In first variety there is only one reverse type exhibiting 3-headed and 4-armed Oesho accompanied by the bull and the legend is found in the left field. In second obverse variety there are several small varieties such as (i) 3-headed and 4-armed Oesho with bull and bull facing to left, (ii) 3-headed and 4-armed dancing Oesho with bull and bull facing to right, (iii) 3-headed and 4-armed dancing Oesho with bull and bull facing to right licking the foot of deity and (iv) single headed and 2-armed Oesho with bull facing to left and Oesho is shown with linear halo or without halo. In these varieties the reverse legend is placed either in the left or right fields.

Phase 3 (Coin # 552-558): The coins of this phase are similar to Phase 2 but characteristically bearing the addition of Brāhmī letters in the right field; earlier in obverse and then in reverse also. A few coins bearing some other additional features like nandipada. In obverse there are three main types, such as (a) addition of nandipada in the right field, (b) triangle under left arm of the king near trident and (c) the proper use of Brāhmī letters such as *pri* and *pu* in the right field. The reverse design of these types is almost uniform having single headed and 2-armed Oesho accompanied by the bull facing to left. In later coins a triangle is added to the shaft of a trident and on some coins Brāhmī letter *ha* is also added. Moreover the figure of Oesho is represented in three different forms such as without halo, with linear halo and with flaming halo around head. The reverse legend is invariably located in the right field and tamga in the upper left field.

The coins of this category are said to have issued from the central part of the Kushan Empire. In this regard the certain mint was located somewhere in Gandhara (Peshawar). After Vasudeva I, the obverse style of this mint was carried on by Kanishka II and his successors.

Copper Coins (Coin # 586-601)

The copper coins of Vasudeva I in many details are identical with his gold coins. The copper coins with except one example were usually struck in one denomination and they obviously show reduction in weight progressively. The obverse design exhibits the figure of king sacrificing at altar to left, wears chain mail dress. In reverse design a single-headed and 2-armed Oesho accompanied by the bull standing to left is normally found in uniform style and related features. In obverse, there are many small varieties which showing the development of Vasudeva I coinage such in order as:

- a. King sacrificing at altar, no trident in the l. field, single pennant to the stem of r. trident, legend 1^h, weight: 10.5-10.0 gm (coin # 586)
- b. As above, a trident is added in the l. field, single pennant to the stem of r. trident, legend 1^h, weight: 10.2-7.5 gm (coin # 588)
- c. As above, a trident in the l. field, double pennant to the stem of r. and l. tridents, legend 1^h, weight: 10.10-07.0 gm (coin # 589)
- d. As above, a trident in the l. field, no use of pennants to the stem of trident, legend 1^h, weight: 09.0-7.4 gm (coin # 590)
- e. As above, a trident in the l. field, no use of pennant to the stem of trident, bar added to the l. trident, legend 1^h, weight: 09.0-7.5 gm (coin # 591)
- f. As above, a trident in the l. field with bar omitted (Var. e), semi-circle of dots added to the stem of r. trident, legend 1^h, weight: 08.8-7.0 gm (coin # 593)
- g. As above, a trident in the l. field, small size and has no use of additional features like bar and semi-circle of dots, legend 1^h, weight: 09.0-6.8 gm (coin # 594)
- h. As above, a trident in the l. field, small size and has no use of additional features, legend 7^h, weight: 08.8-7.0 gm (coin # 595)
- i. As above, a trident in the l. field, small size and tamga added in the right field, legend 1^h, weight: 09.0-8.0 gm (coin # 596)
- j. As above, a trident in the l. field, nandipada added in the r. field, the stem of l. trident sometimes contains bar or ribbon or with battle-axe, legend 7^h, weight: 09.0-6.2 gm (coin # 597)

After the nandipada series of Vasudeva I, the coins of similar design but with the addition of some other features were used to issue continually. These coins not belonged to Vasudeva I but could be attributed to his successors. During the time of later Kushans, the later coins of Oesho and bull become crude and debased in style, contents and execution and progressively decreased in weight. For detail of further classifications see case study (coin # 604-615).

Besides the main series there are small copper coins generally similar to the early coins (variety-a) showing the figure of king standing on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. But due to the style of designs, execution of coins and metal contents which showing silver in good quantity, the said coins perhaps issued from a separate mint probably located in the region of Mathura.

Later Kushans

Kanishka II (Coin # 616-632, 638)

Kanishka II, the first ruler of the later Kushans, is said to have succeeded Vasudeva I and ruled for more than eighteen years of Kanishka era (Kanishka II Era). Kanishka II struck gold and copper coins of Vasudeva I style and the coins of this ruler can be distinguished from his predecessor by obverse legend that bearing the name of Kanishka and by the use of Brāhmī as well as Kharoṣṭhi letters appeared in the obverse right field. The gold coins are normally struck in dinar and rarely in quarter dinar. The copper coins are known in one denomination but gradually fall to reduced weight. The significant feature of Kanishka II coinage is the new reverse deity i.e. enthroned Ardoxsho facing frontally holding a diadem and a cornucopia. After Kanishka II this reverse design was regularly retained by all his successors and later on this practice was also continued by the Guptas for their coins.

Gold Coins (Coin # 616-634)

From the time of Kanishka II, the gold coins showing little debasement and the chemical analysis records their percentage ranging from 95 to 87% gold⁵¹. For the striking of these coins he used 45 obverse dies⁵². Kanishka II formulated his coinage

⁵¹ Maity, S.K., 1958: 171 (Table: II); Burns, C.A., 1998: 192.

⁵² Burns, C.A., 1998: 192.

on the pattern of Vasudeva I and like him the gold coins were issued from two mints. The early coins of this ruler are known in Oesho and bull reverse type and these coins which are rare found in two varieties. One variety of coins belonged to mint-A and another variety of coins belonged to mint-B. Mint-A coins are identified by chain-mail dress and short hair of king and characteristically showing nandipada symbol in the right field and also contains Brāhmī akṣaras in various points. On the other hand mint-B coins are distinguished by the embroidered dress and long hair of king and Brāhmī akṣaras in various points. These coins are exclusively struck in dinar.

Kanishka II soon introduced a new reverse design of enthroned Ardoxsho. This reverse design is found in three different styles such as (a) deity standing to right holding a flower (or palm branch) and a cornucopia, (b) deity enthroned without back-rest of chair and holding a flower (or palm branch) and (c) deity seated on a high-backed throne holding a diadem and a cornucopia. The first two varieties which are quite rare are depicted on the king's chain mail obverse design of coins normally assigned to mint-A. The third variety which is more common appeared on the king's embroidered coat obverse design of coins is attributed to both mint-A and mint-B. The coins of same design are likely issued from separate mints distinguished by the use of akṣaras obviously indicating for the reshuffling of his mint organisation. In this scheme the western mint was shifted from Bactria to Mathura in the east and the second was retained in the same place. It was due to the Sasanian invasion and perhaps the occupation of Bactria the Kushans might have shifted the said mint from Bactria to Mathura. In the last variety, the small quarter dinar is also reported.

Besides the general issue (coin # 616) there is a rare coin having the figure of goddess Nana seated on a lion on the reverse. The obverse of this issue is also very interesting having the standing figure of king sacrificing at altar to left wears a long tunic probably a chain-mail coat but uncertain and with sword under garment. He holds a trident in the left hand as can be seen on his early coins of Oesho and bull and Ardoxsho as well where the king is clad in chain-mail dress. Surprisingly this coin don't exhibit any akṣaras on any side and the obverse Bactrian legend is well inscribed and the style of letter is similar to his other coins. The arrangement of akṣaras on his gold coins is follows as:

Oesho & bull Type (Coin # 616-617)

Obverse	1	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1	6	7
		<i>vi</i>				<i>pu</i>	<i>pa</i>		<i>viru</i>		tamga
	<i>vi</i>	<i>nandipada</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>ga</i>			<i>tha</i>	tamga

Ardoxsho Type (Coin # 619-632)

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1/2	3	6	7
	<i>pa</i>							tamga	<i>pa</i>		
	<i>pa</i>							tamga			
	<i>bhi</i>									<i>ha</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>					<i>ha</i>				<i>la</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>									<i>ja (?)</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>					<i>pu</i>		<i>ha</i>		<i>la</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>					<i>pu</i>				<i>la</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>	<i>ru</i>			$\therefore$	<i>pa</i>		<i>viru</i>			tamga
	<i>vi</i>	<i>ru</i>				<i>ha</i>				<i>ru</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>					<i>Pa or ja</i>		<i>tha</i>			tamga
	<i>vi</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>pa</i>				<i>ru</i>	tamga
	<i>vi</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>pa</i>		<i>tha</i>			tamga

Copper Coins (Coin # 633-634)/ Imitation (Coin # 635-638)

In copper the Oesho and bull coins of this ruler are not yet reported and identified. All the copper coins of Kanishka II are known in one type showing standing king on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the obverse. The obverse design like his gold represents the king in imperial dress and holds a sceptre in the left hand. The reverse Ardoxsho is also similar to his gold wears long robe and holding a diadem and a cornucopia. The obverse design has two types distinguished by the use of letter *vi*, in one variety it is in Kharoṣṭhi script and in other it is inscribed in Brāhmī. The early coins having letter *vi* are fine and well executed but the later series of this ruler become cruder and progressively decrease in weight.

Vasishka (Coin # 639-649)

The gold coins of this ruler are comparatively less common as it is known from the number of coins and also from the number of dies which are 19 that he applied for the obverse designs⁵³. On his gold coins the Name BAZHPKO (i.e. Vasishka) in Bactrian legend was first deciphered by Göbl, who published four such coins collected from

⁵³ Ibid, p. 195.

various museums⁵⁴. There is a major problem with the coins of this ruler that the letters of Bactrian legend are often truncated and partially preserved so it is difficult to trace the name of ruler until the coin is in good condition and provide some legible letters. However on the basis of coin style, letter arrangements, and metal contents and most importantly the use of akṣara hence make it possible to identify the coins of Vasishka. Earlier the certain coins were attributed to different rulers of the later Kushans.

In copper, it is difficult to identify the coins issued by Vasishka because they don't provide any assistance in the form of obverse legend and in the use of akṣara. Except in few cases such as *vi* for Kanishka II, *chhu* for Kanishka III and *Vasu* for Vasudeva II which help to understand these coins otherwise the attribution of copper coins to the later Kushan kings is very difficult.

Gold Coins (Coin # 639-649)

The gold coins of Vasishka like his predecessor showing gradual debasement which concentrating to 93% gold⁵⁵. On some of the gold coins of this king the Bactrian legend, which is much cruder and usually off flan traces the letter of his name BAZHPKO certainly the coins of Vasishka and the same name is also known from his epigraphic records. The gold coins of this king are known both in Oesho and bull and Ardoxsho reverse varieties as the combination of these reverses and with particular obverse features were originated by his predecessor. After Kanishka II, this ruler also followed the same tradition. The coins are found in two denominations such as dinar and quarter dinar while the latter one is not common. Like his predecessor, Vasishka similarly continued the practice of Brāhmī akṣaras that appeared in the various fields of obverse and sometimes reverse also. The depiction of these letters can also be understood for the analysis of mint system of the later Kushans. The arrangements of Brāhmī (and Kharoṣṭhi) letters on the Oesho and bull and Ardoxsho varieties as is follows:

⁵⁴ Gupta, P.L., & Kulashreshtha, S., 1994: 135.

⁵⁵ Burns, C.A., 1998: 195.

Oesho & bull Type (Coin # 639-645)

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	5	7
	<i>vi</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>pa</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga
	<i>su</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga
	<i>su</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>ha</i>			tamga
	<i>su</i>	<i>ha</i>			<i>tha</i>				tamga
	<i>su</i>			<i>va</i>	<i>tha</i>				tamga
	<i>su</i>	<i>na or ha</i>		<i>va</i>	<i>tha</i>				tamga

Ardoxsho Type (Coin # 646-647)

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	5	7
	<i>vi</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>pa</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga
	<i>mi</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>pa</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga
	<i>si</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga

Kanishka III (Coin # 650-671)

The coins of Kanishka III are well represented both in gold and copper. In term of akṣara the gold and copper coins both are known in many series.

Gold Coins (Coin # 650-664)

Kanishka III followed the tradition of the later Kushans having the gold coins in dinar and rarely in quarter dinar. These coins were struck in a standard pattern of two reverses and with respective obverse designs. The coins of this ruler are known in better execution than that of Vasishka. The scheme of akṣara remains same, he retained some of the letters of the previous king but used new distinctive akṣara of his own choice.

Oesho & Bull Type (Coin# 650-653): There are two main series in the classification of obverse right field akṣara: (a) the *hu* coins and (b) the *pri* coins and both display uniform akṣara *gho* between the king's legs. The coins of first series are common which are known from the number of coins and dies, where he applied 17 obverse dies and for the latter only 2 obverse dies. The percentage of gold in the both series is same struck at 93 % gold⁵⁶.

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	5	7
	<i>hu</i>				<i>gho</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga
	<i>hu</i>				<i>gho</i>				tamga
	<i>pri</i>				<i>gho</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga

⁵⁶ Ibid: p. 197.

Ardoxsho Type (Coin # 654-664): Following the Oesho and bull type, these coins likewise comprise two series (a) the *chhu* coins and (b) *hivara* coins. The first series manifest many varieties in akṣaras, common like the first series of Oesho and bull type. The number of obverse dies is also increased (i.e. 27) but they are inferior in terms of metal quality containing 90 to 82.5% gold⁵⁷. The coins of *hivara* series, like the second series of Oesho and bull, are comparatively rare, consisting of one variety only and the obverse dies restricted to 2 in number and identical to that of the fore-mentioned *pri* series. Contrasting to *chhu* coins, the gold percentage of this series is much higher containing 96% gold and this percentage is also above than the Oesho and bull coins⁵⁸.

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1	7
	<i>chhu</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga
	<i>chhu</i>				<i>tha</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>tha</i>	tamga
	<i>chhu</i>				<i>va</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga
	<i>chhu</i>		<i>ga</i>		<i>va</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga
	<i>chhu</i>				<i>bha</i>	<i>khra</i>			tamga
	<i>chhu</i>		<i>thai</i>		<i>va</i>	<i>khra</i>			tamga
	<i>chhu</i>				<i>va</i>	<i>khru</i>			tamga
	<i>chhu</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>va</i>	<i>khru</i>			tamga
	<i>hivara</i>				<i>bhi</i>	<i>ga</i>			tamga

Copper Coins (Coin # 665-671)

Like gold, the copper coins of this ruler are known in two reverse varieties, the Oesho bull type and enthroned Ardoxsho type. These coins, lacking the proper legend and can be distinguished by the presence of akṣaras which are identical with his gold coins. In this connection some of the coins, which don't bear such letters and have close similarities with those of the akṣara coins are listed for this king. These coins are well made but struck in reduced weight standard ranging between 5.93 gm to 3.60 gm. In Oesho and bull type, the figure of king is shown in bulky form and wearing belt round waist. In Ardoxsho type, the reverse figure of deity is fat and much stylized. Both the copper types bearing opposite akṣaras to the gold parallel coins

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 199; Maity, S.K., 1958: 171 (Table: II).

⁵⁸ Burns, C.A., 1998: 201.

such as Oesho and bull type has letter *chhu* and Ardoxsho type has letter *hu* and *gho*. On the gold coins they are found in reverse order.

Vasudeva II (Coin # 672-694)

Amongst the kings of later Kushans the coins of Vasudeva II, both in gold and copper, are predominant in number. Similarly these coins also present numerous varieties particularly the copper coins are very interesting in this regard. He was the last Kushan ruler to issue the Oesho and bull type. After him this type completely disappeared from the coins of Kushan kings. It was during the reign of this king that standard obverse legend (Bactrian) became difficult to read and now the king name *Vasu* is written in Brāhmī in the obverse right field. It is also from the time of Vasudeva II that the king name was used to be inscribed in local script (Brāhmī).

Gold Coins (Coin # 672-687)

The gold coins of this ruler are found in plenty usually identified in two different reverses (a) the Oesho and bull type and (b) Ardoxsho type. It is convenient to classify them under these categories.

Oesho & Bull Type (Coin # 672-677): The Oesho and bull type which bears Brāhmī *akṣara rada* in the right field are attributed to this king as the Bactrian legend partially preserve the name of king such as BAZOKOPANO. The first part of king name is clearly visible i.e. *Vasu* which is identical with the Brāhmī legend *Vasu* preserved in the Ardoxsho type of coins of this ruler. Göbl assigns the Oesho and bull coins with the cited legend and *akṣara rada* to king Vasishka and reads the legend as Vaskushana equivalent to Vasishka⁵⁹. Cribb & Oddy studying the metal analysis of later Kushans attributed the certain coins to king Vasudeva II⁶⁰. On the other hand Burns associated the gold coins of *rada* type to an independent prince under the name of same word i.e. *Rada* a local prince in Kashmir first under the great king Vasudeva I and then Vasishka⁶¹. Further Burns doesn't consider "Vaskushana" as a separate king as the said name is occurring on these coins. It is due to the style of coins, metal contents, coin legend and their find in the hoards; obviously indicate that they are

⁵⁹ Göbl, R., 1984: 49 (Series: 628 & 629).

⁶⁰ Oddy, W.A., & Cribb, J., 1998: 275-292.

⁶¹ Burns, C.A., 1985: 60-61; 1998: 195-97.

belonged to the western mint. The coins of this type are found in considerable number, were struck from 15 obverse dies and containing 93 to 87% gold⁶².

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	5	7
	<i>rda</i>			<i>ga</i>	<i>gho</i>				<i>tamga</i>
	<i>rda</i>			<i>ga</i>	<i>gho</i>				<i>tamga</i>
	<i>rda</i>		<i>dra</i>		<i>gho</i>	<i>rju</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>rda</i>				<i>gho</i>	<i>ga</i>			<i>tamga</i>

Ardoxsho Type (Coin # 678-687): The second type with Ardoxsho reverse bearing Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the obverse right field is the most common series of this ruler. The coins of this design are widely reported from Gandhara in the west and Mathura in the east of the Kushan territory. Gupta who read the Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* on these coins doesn't correlate this word with the name of Vasudeva⁶³. It was under this ruler that the use of Brāhmī akṣara (*ga*) appeared under left arm of the king (obverse) thereafter it became as a regular practice of the subsequent rulers of the Kushans and Guptas. Alongside Brāhmī akṣara *vasu*, these coins also represent various other akṣaras mostly of one letter but at the end two letters also i.e. *bra* in different positions of the obverse. These letters can lead to determine the mint places of certain coins. As the coins of this type are numerous also showing plenty obverse dies which are 58 but metal analysis showing a lot of debasement that ranging from 91 to 77% gold⁶⁴.

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1	7
	<i>vasu</i>				<i>chu</i>	<i>khu</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>				<i>chu</i>	<i>sa</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>				<i>vi</i>	<i>sa</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>				<i>vi</i>	<i>bha</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>			<i>ga</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>bha</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>			<i>ga</i>		<i>bha</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>			<i>ga</i>		<i>vi</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>vasu</i>			<i>bhra</i>					<i>tamga</i>

Copper Coins (Coin # 688-694)

The copper coins of this ruler are very interesting having several varieties in obverse and reverse designs. The coins are known in reduced weight ranging between 4.50

⁶² Burns, C.A., 1998: 197.

⁶³ Gupta, P.L., 1998: 253-56.

⁶⁴ Burns, C.A., 1998: 201.

gm and 3.00 gm. The copper coins of this ruler are smaller in size but thick and well executed. The style of design is also good and but little rudimentary. The following copper types are known to this king:

- (a) King enthroned and facing with enthroned Ardoxsho reverse
- (b) King standing at altar with enthroned Ardoxsho
- (c) King standing at altar with Oesho and bull
- (d) Name *Vasu* in Brāhmī and Vasudeva tamga
- (e) Word *Pra* in Brāhmī and Vasudeva tamga

Of these the coins of first type, like gold series, exhibit similar Brāhmī akṣaras *vasu*, *bha*, *vi* or *ga* in the same positions indicating as parallel issues obviously struck in the early stage. The coins of first type are very common and some of them also reported as overstrikes made on the copper coins of Kushano-Sasanian kings Peroz I and Hormizd I particularly common on the later one⁶⁵. The coins of other four types are very rare and particularly the last types. The *pra* type is little bit doubtful but on the basis of tamga style and treatment of the coins it can be assigned to the reign of Vasudeva II and Göbl also reported the said coin for the same ruler⁶⁶.

The so-Called Late Later Kushans

Magra/ Maśra Coinage (Coin # 695)

Scholars usually read the name of subject coins in different ways such as *maśra*⁶⁷, *magra*⁶⁸, *mashra*⁶⁹. The coins of Magra/ Maśra are extremely rare and found in a single reverse type of enthroned Ardoxsho. Burns records 4 obverse dies and 85% gold for these coins⁷⁰. After Vasudeva II the reverse design of Oesho and bull was discontinued and onwards this, the coins of all succeeding rulers are reported in a single reverse design of enthroned Ardoxsho. The coins of this ruler are known in one denomination i.e. dinar. The obverse design has some peculiarities such as king

⁶⁵ Cribb, J., 1985: 310-314.

⁶⁶ Göbl, R., 1993: 166 (Coin: 728, Tafel: 60).

⁶⁷ Burns, C.A., 1983: 43, 51-52; Göbl, R., 1984: 39 (Series: 578).

⁶⁸ Gupta, P.L., 1998: 251-52.

⁶⁹ Cribb, J.A., 1985: 306-307.

⁷⁰ Burns, C.A., 1998: 201.

sacrificing at altar to left, holds a wheel standard in his left hand usually king has sceptre in this position. The king headdress is of different style it is a low cap covering the entire head including ears and neck and ornamented with dotted design due to this style the ribbons behind head disappear. Similarly king wears long tunic without chain-mail with exaggerated hem and long band across the chest from left shoulder and belt round waist with a dagger. King wears a unique style of short trousers like dhoti with lower portion of legs is uncovered. The obverse Bactrian legend is partially preserved read as *Shaonano Shao*..... The obverse akṣaras style similar to Vasudeva II coins, *magra/ maśra* in the right field, *ga* under left arm and *khu* in the lower left field. The reverse features of enthroned Ardoxsho remains same like the other later Kushan kings but it is even in better style.

Māhi Coins (Coin # 696-697)

The coins bearing Brāhmī akṣaras *Mahi*, probably name of the Kushan king, are very rare like the *Magra/ Maśra* coins and reported in gold only. These coins are struck in one standard denomination (dinar) and also known in one reverse type. These coins are similar to other late later Kushan kings and retaining the akṣara style of Shaka. In style and execution they have close resemblance with that of the Shaka coins. The obverse as well as reverse style is in crude form and the hem of king's dress in more exaggerated shape that pointed out to both sides. The akṣaras scheme like Shaka is simple having *mahi* in the right field, *mi* or *pu* under left arm of the king. Burns reports 2 obverse dies for akṣara *mi* and 5 obverse dies for akṣara *pu* and both contain 78% gold⁷¹.

Shaka Coins (Coin # 698-710)

The gold series termed as *Shaka* coins followed the coins of Vasudeva II, *Magra/ Maśra* and *Mahi*, in respect of metal contents, style of coins, use of akṣaras and hoard evidence. The coins of Shaka series are identified so far in gold only and like Vasudeva II they are found in abundance. All coins of Shaka are struck exclusively in Ardoxsho type. The coins of this king are known in dinar and quarter dinar. He was the last Kushan king to issue the quarter dinar after him this tradition came to an end

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 205.

and all coins were then struck in one denomination i.e. dinar only. There are minute traces of the Bactrian legend on the obverse and now Brāhmī akṣara was used to be inscribed with the name of a king as the name of, Magra/ Maśra, Māhi and Vasu(deva) were noticed on previous coins. Similarly the single Brāhmī akṣara gradually developed to two and three letters and letter on to four letter also. The word Shaka is constantly inscribed in the obverse right field and the other variable akṣara also regularly appears under left arm of the king. But the akṣara between king's legs disappeared from the coins of Shaka as have been the common style of later Kushan coinage. Burns records the number of dies and the relevant percentage in separate series and he marked these series such as: *mi* coins contains 78% gold (related to the *mi* coins of Mahi with same percentage of gold), similarly *pa* coins 11 obverse dies and 76% gold, *bhra* coins 21 obverse dies and 75% gold, *bha* coins 8 obverse dies and 62% gold, *sya* coins 16 obverse dies and 56% gold and *sita* coins 47 obverse dies and 59% gold⁷². The scheme of akṣaras appeared on these coins is as follows:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1	7
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>mi</i>		<i>me</i>			tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>mi</i>					tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>pa</i>					tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>bhra</i>					tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>bha</i>		<i>Vi</i>			tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>sya</i>		<i>bha</i>			tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>sita</i>		<i>vi</i>			tamga
	<i>shaka</i>			<i>sita</i>		<i>bha</i>			tamga

Kipunadha Coins (Coin # 711-712)

The coins inscribed with the Brāhmī legend *Kipunadha* are comparatively common and evidently reported from the western territory (Pakistan) of the Kushan kingdom. The term Kipunadha is problematic, always pronounced in a different way and never in a standard form however the cited word adopted by Cribb⁷³ is used here. The Kipunadha coins which struck on the Shaka style certainly come after him and most probably after Māhi. These coins retain the same characteristic features as were adopted by Shaka, struck in one denomination and in a single reverse design of enthroned Ardoxsho. The king's style on the obverse is slightly stylized and shown in

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Oddy, W.A., & Cribb, J., 1998: 275-293.

short stature and tilted in the middle with arched hem of the dress. The reverse Ardoxsho is depicted in crude form with her head often off the flan. The akṣara pattern also similar to Shaka coins normally appeared in the right field and under left arm of the king. The right field akṣara *kipunadha* is stable and the akṣara under l. arm is variable found in two varieties: (a) *bhadra* and (b) *basata*. The coins of variety-a show 35 obverse dies and 56% gold and the coins of variety-b identify 55 obverse dies and 56 to 15% gold⁷⁴. The akṣaras of Kipunadha coins are found as:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	1	7
	<i>kipunadha</i>			<i>bhadra</i>					<i>tamga</i>
	<i>kipunadha</i>			<i>basata</i>		<i>na</i> or <i>ru</i>			<i>tamga</i>

The so-Called Kidarite & Samudra Coins

There is a long series of coins which comes after Kipunadha are arranged here in the following order. These are the debased gold coins struck in a standard dinar denomination, single reverse design and crude style.

(A) Yosa/ Kirada (Coin # 713)

A coin inscribed with the name Yosa/ Kirada is evidently rare and unique; so far only one specimen has been recorded by Göbl⁷⁵. This coin certainly speaks for one obverse die and contains 55% gold. The single coin is reported from Kabul by Burns. The obverse design represents king sacrificing at altar to left and holds a sceptre as the usual features of these coins but the dress worn by the king is quite different. The king wears a long apron of imperial style with lower hem round finishing and dotted ornament on the border. Headdress of the king is also of a different style shown in small round crown with crescent at the forehead. The reverse design is usual displaying enthroned Ardoxsho of the later Kushans style. In the scheme of akṣara *kirada* is depicted in the right field, *yosa* under left arm of the king and *na* or *ru* in the lower left field. On the basis of akṣara *na* in the lower left field which makes its connection with that of the last series of Kipunadha whereas similar letter appeared in

⁷⁴ Burns, C.A., 1998: 206.

⁷⁵ Göbl, R., 1984: 44 (Coin: 599).

the same place. Earlier this place was empty after Shaka coins and then reutilized in the last series of Kipunadha.

(B) Samudra/ Gadakhra (or Gadagra) (Coin # 714)

In sequence, the Samudra coins come after Yosa/ Kirada therefore issued in the interval between Yosa/ Kirada and Kirada/ Gadahara. The words *gadakhra* or *gadagra* and *gadahara* are usually treated as like a same word but inscribed in different ways⁷⁶. P.L. Gupta has different views that name Gadahara and Gadakhra/ Gadagra may not be understood for a single person but there two kings existed who ruled in separate territories. He further explains that the word Piroyasa or Pirayasa, the name of Sasanian king Peroz found along with Gadahara therefore the certain coins belonged to the western territory under the control of Sasanians. On the other hand the name Samudra, means the name of Gupta king Samudragupta appeared with word *gadakhra/ gadagra* and showing a different tamga, the coins of this combination belonged to the eastern territory under the control of Guptas⁷⁷.

In sequence of akṣara *gadakhra* (or *gadagra*) coins come first and then the *gadahara*. In this connection the word *gadakhra* or *gadagra* was first introduced on the coins of Samudra and then with a different style occurred on the subsequent coins of Kirada/ Gadahara. Another point of these coins which works like a bridge between the Yosa/ Kirada and Kirada/ Gadahara coins is the absence of Brāhmī akṣara *kapana* from Samudra/ Gadakhra and Yosa/ Kirada coins but later on this word became as a constant feature of the *Gadahara* and subsequent coins. Regarding this the word *kapana* comes later therefore the Yosa/ Kirada and Samudra/ Gadagra coins which lacking this word will certainly be placed earlier. The connection of these coins with the preceding series of Yosa/ Kirada can also be traced in the form of imperial dress of the king that commonly found on the two series respectively.

Most of the scholars consider these coins for the Gupta king Samudragupta as they represent the Brāhmī akṣara *Samudra* corresponding with the first part of the name of said ruler. Moreover, the style of this king is different from the Kushan kings, as usually appeared on their coins. Here the king sacrificing at altar to left

⁷⁶ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 41.

⁷⁷ Gupta, P.L. 1998: 264-265.

holds a sceptre in the left hand but unclear, wearing imperial dress of jewels with lower hem in round shape. The headdress is also different from the normal Kushan style it comprising a globe within large crescent. Another peculiarity is found in the form of a trident that stands in the l. field containing a crescent in the centre (on middle prong) and the ribbons fallen equally like a balance on either side of the shaft. In the scheme of Brāhmī akṣaras, the word *gadakhra* (or *gadagra*) appeared in the right field, *samudra* under left arm of the king and letter *pu* in the lower left field.

(C) Kirada/ Gadahara (Coin # 615-719)

The gold coins containing Brāhmī akṣaras *Kirada/ Gadahara* constitute an important series perhaps of Kidarite coins followed the coins of Samudra. The coins of this series were struck from 25 obverse dies and containing 63% gold. Like *gadakhra* and *gadagra* the akṣaras *kirada* and *kidara* are also known as variants of the same word⁷⁸. These are the thick and small coins showing the figure of king, clad in Kushan dress, sacrificing at altar with usual trident tied up with ribbon behind the altar and the enthroned Ardoxsho shown on the reverse. These coins showing akṣaras of the style of Samudra and predecessors that appeared in the right field, under left arm of the king and lower left field. The new akṣaras known as *kapana* appeared from the very beginning of Kirada/ Gadahara coins then not only retained for these coins but also continued in the following series of coins. The use of this akṣara also distinguish these coins from the Yosa/ Kirada coins which lacking this akṣaras but containing akṣaras *na* or *ru* which is similar to Kipunadha later coins hence the Yosa/ Kirada coins are earlier in order and hence show no room in the current sequence. Another feature that differentiates these coins from the Yosa/ Kirada is the dress and crown of the king. In Yosa/ Kirada coins the king is shown wearing imperial ornamented dress with crescent crown while in the Kirada/ Gadahara coins the king wears later Kushan dress of dots and peaked helmet. In the later issues of Kirada/ Gadahara series a new type of reverse akṣara introduced and thereafter its practice was regularly continued till the end of this line of coins of the so-called Kidara. T

he constant use of left field obverse akṣara (*kapana*) and the addition of various reverse akṣaras that separate the subject coins from the above mentioned series (Yosa/

⁷⁸ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 41.

Kirada and Samudra/ Gadahara) and further makes its connection with the following series of coins such as Piroyasa/ Gadahara, Hanaka/ Shaha and Kidara/ Kushan which bearing the same features. The obverse and reverse akṣaras are arranged as:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	2	7
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>kirada</i>		<i>Kapana ma</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>kirada</i>		<i>Kapana tho</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>kirada</i>		<i>Kapana na</i>		<i>yasha</i>	<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>kirada</i>		<i>Kapana</i>		<i>yasha</i>	<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>kirada</i>		<i>Kapana</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>tamga</i>

(D) Yasada/Gadahara (Coin # 720-721)

This is a small series of coins follows the common coins of Kirada/ Gadahara. For these coins Burns records 3 obverse dies and 66% gold⁷⁹. On the basis of similarity of akṣaras particularly the *gadahara* and *kapana* and resemblance of style the coins definitely come after the above coins. In many aspects these coins have close similarity with the preceding series of Kirada/ Gadahara coins and can only be distinguished from the above by the change of akṣaras. The akṣaras are occurring as:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	2	7
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>yasada</i>		<i>Kapana</i>		<i>tada</i>	<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>yasada</i>		<i>Kapana</i>		<i>mada</i>	<i>tamga</i>

(E) Pirayasa/ Gadahara (Coin # 722-726)

The word Piroyasa or Pirayasa is usually associated with the Kushano-Sasanian or Kidarite king, Peroz, and their circulations are usually reported from the western territory, the territory under the Sasanians. These coins very similar to the preceding series of Kirada/ Gadahara and Yasada/ Gadahara coins hence placed after them. In characteristic features these coins are identical with the Yasada/ Gadahara coins and can only be differentiated from them by the change of akṣaras. The scheme of akṣaras is follows as:

⁷⁹ Burns, C.A., 1998: 203.

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	2	7
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>pirayasa</i>		<i>kapanaṇa</i>			<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>pirayasa</i>		<i>kapana</i>		<i>tada</i>	<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>pirayasa</i>		<i>kapana pa</i>		<i>tada</i>	<i>tamga</i>
	<i>gadahara</i>			<i>pirayasa</i>		<i>kapana</i>		<i>sha</i>	<i>tamga</i>

(F) Hanaka/ Shaha (Coin # 727)

In term of execution, rude style of king and Ardoxsho figures, metal contents and use of akṣaras these coins followed the coins of Pirayasa/ Gadahara series. In connection with the above series, these coins continuously bearing akṣara *kapana* in the lower left field and also retains the use of reverse akṣaras in the same place. The following combination of akṣaras is found as:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	2	7
	<i>shaha</i>			<i>hanaka</i>		<i>kapana</i>		<i>bya</i>	<i>Tamga</i>

(G) Kidara/ Kushana (Coin # 728-730)

In sequence the last series is known as the coins of Kidara/ Kushana. These coins have crude form of the king figure and the body is curved in course of making a space for the akṣara under left arm of the king. These coins like above were also issued in debased gold metal and the colour almost turned to whitish or blackish by rust. In connection with the above these coins retain the same Brāhmī akṣara *kapana* in the lower left field while other akṣaras occupied in the same conventional positions are changed with the theme. The akṣaras in their various positions are found as:

Obverse	2	3	3a	4	5	6	Reverse	2	7
	<i>kushana</i>			<i>kidara</i>		<i>kapana</i>		<i>salad</i>	<i>Tamga</i>

Case Study: Vasudeva & Post-Vasudeva Copper Coins

Historiography (Origin of the Study of Kushan Coins)

The Kushan copper coins, earlier mentioned as the coins of Indo-Scythic kings, were for the first time properly arranged and illustrated by Col. Todd in 1825⁸⁰. He arranged the Pre-Islamic Indian coins simply into five groups: (a) Bactrian coins, (b) Mithridates coins of Parthians, (c) Indo-Scythic coins, (d) & (e) Hindu coins. In this

⁸⁰ Todd, J., 1825: 318-342.

classification the coins of 2nd group actually belonged to Soter Megas and third group definitely to the Great Kushans. The said groups are stylistically different hence arranged in separate groups but chronologically they succeeded well by means the coins of Soter Megas were followed by Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and again small coins of Kanishka I. In viewing this sequence of the coins, they reveal a systematic chronology of the Kushan kings such as Vima (I) Takto (Soter Megas), Vima (II) Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka as known today. The coins to which this group is concerned, the copper series of Vasudeva I and Post-Vasudeva, were not mentioned in the above-described groups of Todd.

Few years later, Wilson presented a new list and sequence of the Indian coins and described the gold and copper coins equally⁸¹. This classification comprises four groups in which the Kushan coins are treated in the last group, known as the coins of Hindu origin. Like Todd this scholar was also unable to identify the name of kings or dynasty but stated that the certain coins belonged to various periods and different princes. On the basis of similarity and characteristics, the Kushan coins, were assigned to the Indo-Scythian tribe. Further the coins of Kanishka I were declared to different rulers but belonged to the same dynasty as they bear similar characters and symbols. In this sequence the gold coins were arranged first to be followed by the copper. The gold coins were placed in order to represent Huvishka, Kanishka, Vasudeva, Gupta, Vasishka, Gupta, Kidara and Gupta series of coins. Consequently the copper coins were arranged to represent Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises, Huvishka, Kanishka, Indian coins, and Huvishka seated cross-legged coins, Vasudeva and Post-Vasudeva and Indians (Gupta coins). So this was the first attempt where the coins of Vasudeva were represented in the list of Kushan coins however the names of these rulers were not yet deciphered on these coins. In viewing this, both in gold and copper, the order of Huvishka and Kanishka coins are found in an inappropriate order. Overall the sequence is good and having the gold coins of Vasudeva after Kanishka and Huvishka but due to the similarity of designs the copper coins of Vasudeva were assigned to the class of Vima Kadphises. The copper coins of both kings generally display a common design such as standing king on the obverse and oesho and bull on the reverse. The differences of these coins were considered as a

⁸¹ Wilson, H.H., 1832: 560-606.

variety of the principal type. Another coin of the similar design most probably of late Kushan is placed after Huvishka. The resulted sequence of gold and copper coins may be found as:

<i>Gold Coins</i>	<i>Coin #</i>	<i>Copper Coins</i>	<i>Coin #</i>
Huvishka	1	Vima Takto (Soter Megas)	23-25
Kanishka	2	Vima Kadphises	26-28, 30
Vasudeva I	3-4	Vasudeva I	29
Vasishka	6	Huvishka (Riding)	31-34
Gupta	5, 7	Kanishka I	35-36
Kirada	8-10	Huvishka (Cross-legged)	37-38
Gupta		Later Kushan	41
		Huvishka (Reclining)	42
		Indian	

After a year, Prinsep contributed an article on the coins collection of J. Burnes that the latter had collected during his journey from India to Afghanistan and Central Asia (Bukhara), through Punjab (Pakistan) and Kabul Valley. Prinsep illustrated the coins of Macedonian and Syrian kings (Antiochus), Bactrian coins of Greek princes (Diodotus, Euthydemus I, Apollodotus) of Afghanistan and the coins of Sasanian (Shapur II). In addition, he recorded the copper coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas) among the kings of Bactria⁸². In this work the most important aspect was the identification of a copper coin of Kanishka I. On these coins, he succeeded to decipher the king name KANHÖKOY and rightly conjectured that it would be a coin of Kanishka, a Tartar or Scythic conqueror of Bactria⁸³. Similarly on the basis of uniform style, designs and legend he identified some more coins (Vasudeva I) of the same dynasty with reverse design of a bull accompanied by a priest (Oesho dressed in the Indian dhoti). Prinsep called these coins by a term Indo-Scythic and the said term was already in use adopted by Wilson and Schlegel. In this respect he included two more coins one each of Vasudeva and Huvishka (Prinsep # 16 & 18, pl. II) to the list

⁸² Thomas, E., 1995 (1858)/I: 36: (Pl. II.13).

⁸³ Ibid, p. 38 (Pl. II.10).

of Indo-Scythic kings⁸⁴. Further he commented that the coins of earlier prince are common throughout upper Hindustan.

During the glorious era of Prinsep, another British scholar known as Charles Masson (originally American), contributed very much in the field of numismatics by discovery of coins and antiquities and their identification, classification and periodization⁸⁵. In the result of his discoveries from Afghanistan, Masson produced three valuable memoirs on the coins of Indo-Bactrian-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians. In his first memoir, he classified the coins into five groups, in which he discussed the Greek (or Grecian) and Kushan (Indo-Sythic) coins in great details⁸⁶. He arranged the coins of Kujula Kadphises including Su-Hermaeus series and Vima Takto (Soter Megas) in the 4th and 5th series of Greek coins. Following them, in the Indo-Scythic group, the coins of Kanishka were placed in the first series, Kadphises (including Vasudeva I) in the second, Huvishka and Kanishka II in the third. He succeeded to read the name "Sotereagas" (ΣΩΤΗΡΗΓΑΣ) on the coins of Vima Takto (Soter Megas) and identified four types for this ruler. Similarly he read the legend BACIAEVC BACIAEWN KANHPKOY and BACIAEVC BACIAEWN CWTHPHEΓAC OOH KAΔΦICHC on Kanishka and Vima Kadphises coins and likewise identified the names of these rulers. Further in the sub-classification, he arranged the copper coins of Vima Kadphises and Vasudeva together by the similarity of their obverse and reverse designs. In this regard he didn't differentiate the coins of two rulers as previously done by Prinsep. Masson rightly conjectured that the Śiva and bull Nandi coins are numerous found in this country and in certain group various coins might be included of several princes as they vary in point of execution⁸⁷.

In the second memoir, Masson presented the Greek coins in a good detail but the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) coins were not treated in the same way⁸⁸. In subject article, Masson included many gold coins of the Indo-Scythic kings and also described them properly in the form of catalogue. It is due to the neat writing on gold coins that he

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 42 (Pl. II.16, 18).

⁸⁵ Masson, C., 1834, 1836/a, 1836/b: 3- Memoirs.

⁸⁶ Masson, C., 1834: 155-174.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 174.

⁸⁸ Masson, C., 1836/a: 1-29.

deciphered the legend on Huvishka and Vasudeva coins such as PAO NANO PAO OOHPI KOPANO for the earlier and RAO NONO POOBO RAONOKO NONO for the later respectively.

In his third memoir, Masson recorded the number of coins that he collected during his field work and arranged them in their proper order and also discussed the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) deities briefly⁸⁹. This time, he arranged the Indo-Scythic (Kushan) kings by their types such as Kadphises, Kanishka (Kanerkos & Kanerki family), Huvishka (Series 3: Seated in native fashion, Series 4: Couch-lounger and Series-5: Elephant rider), Vasudeva (Series 6) and Kanishka II (Series 7)⁹⁰. In viewing this order and arrangement of Masson, the sequence of the Kushan coins from Greek to Indo-Scythic is follows as from Kujula Kadphises to Kanishka II. It is indeed a great contribution of Masson that he established a very good sequence of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian (also Indo-Parthians) and Kushan kings and their coins.

James Prinsep followed the same way of classification and sequence of the Kushan coins once established by Masson. On the basis of legend variations, Prinsep identified two different groups of Kanerki (Kanishka I) coins one with the Greek title BACIAEVC BACIAEWN and the other its substitution PAONANO PAO (gold) or simply PAO (copper). He rightly proposed that PAOKANHPKI be equivalent to BACIAEVC BACIAEWN⁹¹. Prinsep succeeded to decipher the name "Kanerkou" of Huvishka on the coins of this ruler whereas earlier it was unknown. Similarly on the gold coins of Manikyala he correctly read the legend as PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO and found the name Kanerki⁹².

Regarding the degenerate style of Greek legend, he marked some rude letters such as P, A, the K and M on the copper coins (of Vasudeva) what were called the *raja* and bull coins of Kadphises with legend (P) AONANO PAO OOH KO (PANO). Its transliteration was made as *rao nano rao* and *korano*, being an attempt to understand the certain coins for a new king other than the Kadphises coins⁹³. In this connection, he showed several explanations for the word *korano* (Kushan).

⁸⁹ Masson, C., 1836/b: 537-351.

⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 547, 350-51.

⁹¹ Thomas, E., (1995)1858/1: p. 127.

⁹² Ibid, p. 128.

⁹³ Ibid, p. 129.

Prinsep made two principal classes of the Kushans coins, which he assigned to two families (i.e. Kadphises and Kanerki). On Kanishka coins, he identified a standing figure of king (raja) clad in Tartar coat, inscribed with Greek legend PAO KANHPKI and with variety of reverse (deities) and corresponding legends. He remarked that the same devices continued upon several succeeding coins of the *rao nano rao* series and with some more obverse varieties such as bust of king (Kanishka I), elephant rider and cross-legged king (Huvishka).

Prof. H.H. Wilson, following the method of Masson and Prinsep, compiled a gigantic book (*Ariana Antiqua*) on the Masson's discoveries in Afghanistan and arranged the Kushan coins and others in their proper sequence and catalogue⁹⁴. In this book the author identified the coins of various dynasties and further classified them to different kings and with detailed commentary. Technically, he established this classification on the basis of fabric, style, design, legend and symbols of coins. In this classification the Su-Hermaeus were found different from the Hermaeus in terms of material, types and execution and more importantly the modification of a name⁹⁵. On these coins, after the detailed analysis Wilson discovered the name of Kujula. Similarly the said author incorporated some other coins to the account of this ruler. On the basis of his comprehensive research he assigned certain coins to the same prince and conjectured the name *kiu-tsiu-kio* to this king that is recorded in Chinese accounts⁹⁶.

Wilson explained that the Indo-Scythian coins were issued in gold and copper and Kadphises was the first to initiate this practice. Besides "Kadphises", "Kanerkes", "Ooerkes", and the Gupta kings also struck their coins in gold. On the gold coins, he read the Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH(K)MO KAΔΦICHC, the first and final words understand for 'Kadphises the king' and the middle one was known for undefined additional title of the king⁹⁷. He interpreted that the silver and copper coins with uniform devices having standing figure of king on the obverses and Śiva with bull on the reverse. Due to the similarity of tamga, he connected the coins of this prince with that of the nameless king (Sorter Megas or Vima Takto). Wilson, like the

⁹⁴ Wilson, H.H., 1841.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 307.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 309.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 349.

classification of Masson and Prinsep, identified some more copper coins of similar design showing standing king on the obverse and Śiva with bull on the reverse but of very inferior execution. In this classification, he placed these coins after the good coins of Kadphises. Moreover on the later coins he pointed out some differences like a different costume of the king seemingly a mail dress, left hand of the king supports a trident or spear on the obverse and the reverse figure is still Indian and the head of bull always faces to left while on the perfect coins it is to right. He thus concluded that these differences denote a different period or a provincial origin but still uncertain⁹⁸.

The last class of the inferior coins of Kadphises, later on called the coins of Vasudeva, is the subject of discussion to which the present case study is concerned. Wilson classified another new series of gold coins, which he placed separately to a king called Baraoro (Vasudeva). These coins are arranged after the coin series of Kanerki and Oerki. Similarly the Ardoxsho series of later Kushans, containing the coins of Kanishka II and Vasishka, were also dealt in the same manner and accommodated in a proper sequence after Vasudeva. In this regard the new gold coins of Baraoro are treated along with the cited copper coins for understanding the copper issues of Vasudeva. Accordingly this study shows the process that how the copper coins of Vasudeva were studied and classified by various scholars and to know the problems concerned with them.

The next comprehensive catalogue, comprising the coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, came after a long interval, was produced by Gardner⁹⁹. It was the first time that the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva were arranged properly after the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. In this book the author reported 24 gold coins of Vasudeva of which 6 are barbarous (Post-Vasudeva) showing swastika symbol on the obverse and similarly a nandipada symbol was shown appearing on the obverse of latter issues. Gardner also illustrated a Nana reverse coin and placed it among the earlier coins. Alongside the author also recorded 9 copper coins with good one earlier, followed by tamga coins (obverse) and finally the barbarous coins where legend is not legible. In this way, he presented a very good sequence, which

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 352.

⁹⁹ Garner, P., 1886.

accommodates all the coins of Vasudeva in their proper order. Looking in broader perspectives the same order is still valid even at the present time. Gardner's classification is as follows:

Gold Coins

1. *Obv.* King at altar standing to l; *Rev.* Nana standing to r. (BMC: 1-2)
2. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Two-armed, tricephalic Oesho alone (BMC: 3-4)
3. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Two-armed, tricephalic Oesho and bull (BMC: 5-6)
4. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Two-armed, one headed Oesho and bull (BMC: 7)
5. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Two-armed Oesho and bull feeding (BMC: 8-9)
6. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Oesho and bull, with symbol to l. (BMC: 10)
7. *Obv.* King at altar to l. with trident in l. field; *Rev.* Oesho and bull to l. (BMC: 11-13)
8. *Obv.* King at altar to l. with nandipada symbol; *Rev.* Oesho and bull to l. (BMC: 14)
9. *Obv.* King at altar to l. with Brāhmī letter *ha*; *Rev.* Oesho and bull to l. (BMC: 15-17)
10. *Obv.* King at altar to l; *Rev.* Crossed-legged (dancing) Oesho and bull (BMC: 18)
11. *Obv.* King at altar to l., barbarous with nandipada and swastika symbols; *Rev.* Oesho and bull with swastika symbol (BMC: 19-24)

Copper Coins

1. *Obv.* King at altar to l; *Rev.* Oesho and bull (BMC: 25)
2. *Obv.* King at altar to l, and tamga to r; *Rev.* Oesho and bull (BMC: 26-27)
3. *Obv.* King at altar to l, *Rev.* Oesho and bull (BMC: 28-29)
4. *Obv.* King at altar to l. barbarous inscription, *Rev.* Oesho and bull (BMC: 30-31)
5. *Obv.* King at altar to l. trident disappears, *Rev.* Oesho and bull, inscription wanting

The copper coins are generally described as a single type and the changes are marked in two stages as No. 4 having barbarous inscription and No. 5 lacking the trident. This was the useful classification of gold and copper coins of Vasudeva. Onwards this, only copper coins of this ruler will be discussed as the requirement of the subject matter.

Masson, Prinsep and Wilson were the pioneers who founded the Indian numismatics, and then Alexander Cunningham systematically developed and firmly established this art in a new way. It was this scholar who not only illustrated these coins in catalogues but also reconstructed the chronology and political history of the said dynasty. It is (here) unnecessary to mention his other contributions but to discuss the achievements that he made towards the copper coins of Vasudeva¹⁰⁰.

Cunningham recorded fifteen coins of Vasudeva of which 9 are of gold with 6 of copper. In this classification six obverse varieties are known for gold such as A, B, C, D, E, and F and four for copper. The copper coins comprise the following varieties.

1. *Obv.* Brāhmī letter *vasu* only; *Rev.* Tamga of Vasudeva (Vasudeva II)
2. *Obv.* King at altar to l., *Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to l.
3. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Oesho and bull standing to l., (small coins)
4. *Obv.* King to l. as above; *Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, facing frontally

Looking to this classification of Vasudeva coins, the coins of variety 2 and variety 3 belonged to Vasudeva I, the coins of first and last varieties obviously belonged to Vasudeva II. Due to the similarity of last variety (4) with the gold coins of *vasu* series (Vasudeva II), the author therefore put this coin in the account of Vasudeva I. It is noteworthy to mention that he identified some new types for Vasudeva I but they are belonged to the later kings of this dynasty.

The credit goes to Cunningham for understanding the later Kushan coins where he classified these coins for the first time. This classification is of great importance for their off shoots. Accordingly, the Oesho and bull coins were prevalent in the Kabul valley and were adopted by the Sasanian kings for their Bactrian coins and the Ardoxsho coins were prevalent in the east and were likewise followed by the Gupta kings in the mid of 4th century AD¹⁰¹. Cunningham classified the later Kushans coins into two major classes, class A and class B. It is mentioned that the certain

¹⁰⁰ Cunningham, A., 1892: 40-82, 98-159.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 115.

coins had established the money of Kabul valley and the Punjab from the time of Vasudeva's death till the time of Kidara Shahi i.e. from AD. 80 or 200 to 425 AD¹⁰².

Cunningham defines that class-A has numerous series of gold coins inscribed with the names of Kanishka or Vasudeva in Greek letters and bearing Indian letters in the right outer field. The obverse is same having standing king facing to left, but the reverses have two distinct varieties: one depicting the figures of Oesho and bull and other enthroned Ardoxsho¹⁰³. He further argues for the production of these coins to two different places, the Oesho and bull coins belonged to the western provinces and Ardoxsho coins to the eastern provinces of the Kushan Empire¹⁰⁴. In this way the same classification may also be adopted for the copper coins of later Kushans because they were issued in the same types of reverses.

The first volume of the Punjab Museum (Lahore) catalogue, produced by Whitehead, is similar in style, pattern, and carries same sequence of the kings and description of the coins to that of the British Museum catalogue of Gardner. Whitehead reported 22 coins of Vasudeva of which 6 (PMC # 209-214) are gold and remaining (PMC # 215-230) of copper and in addition to it, two more coins included in supplementary list one each of gold and copper¹⁰⁵. The gold coins usually described under one type with several varieties and copper coins in two types with few varieties. The first type of copper certainly belonged to Vasudeva I having standing figure of king facing to left on the obverse and Oesho and bull standing to left on the reverse. The second type bears similar design of standing king on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse. The second type is now assigned to Kanishka II. The single copper coin ascribed to Vasudeva in the supplementary list is no doubt a coin of Vasudeva (II) having 4-pronged tamga on the obverse and Brāhmi letters *vazri* on the reverse.

In this way, Whitehead classification is simple for the copper coins of Vasudeva; he identified three types and illustrated one coin from each type. In present classification the said coins are described as: first type certainly of Vasudeva (12 coins), second type of Kanishka II (4 coins) and third type of Vasudeva II (1 coin).

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 116.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 116.

¹⁰⁵ Whitehead, R.B., 1971 (1914): 208-211, 214 (Pl. XIX, XX).

It was after a long interval that a standard classification of the Kushan coins was carried out by Prof. Rosenfield who described and illustrated these coins in a new pattern¹⁰⁶. He classified the gold coins of Vasudeva I into five types but doesn't mention the copper coins. The description and typology of the gold coins is remarkable and places these coins in an appropriate sequence. The present discussion is not concerned with the gold coins of Vasudeva but the order of types is very systematic and hence noteworthy to mention here.

Type 1: "Basic type (without trident in l. field)" with four reverse varieties.

Type 2: Addition of "Trident in left field"

Type 3: "Long haired king"

Type 4: "Triratna" in right field

Type 5: "Triratna and Swastika"

Type 6: Vasudeva dressed in tunic with Brāhmī letter *rada*, *gho* and *raja*.

The most significant and appropriate classification of the copper coins of Vasudeva I is known from the great work of Michael Mitchiner¹⁰⁷. This is the first comprehensive and likely to be the authentic classification so far of Vasudeva I copper coins. He presented these coins together with the gold and detected the resemblance and relation between the two. He identified these coins to various mints and thus divided them into three major groups with the corresponding mints. Another scholarly approach of Mitchiner is also of great noteworthy that he carries out the links of Vasudeva coins with those of his predecessor Huvishka.

Mitchiner basically classified the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva I into two major parallel series that were geographically separated by the river Indus¹⁰⁸.

According to this division, the first major mint of Vasudeva was located in the west i.e. Peshawar called as mint-A. It is shown that the Oesho and bull coins of Vasudeva were issued in succession to one of the series of Huvishka's elephant rider issues. Later on the same series of Vasudeva was followed by the Kushano-Sasanian rulers with the same design of Oesho and bull. Hence the same series with parallel

¹⁰⁶ Rosenfield, J., 1993 (1967).

¹⁰⁷ Mitchiner, M., 1978.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 1978: 445.

gold and copper issues evolved into the early coinage of Kushano-Sasanian kings struck after Ardashir, who had extended the Sasanian frontiers into the Kushan territory.

The second major mint, both for the gold and copper coins of Vasudeva I, was marked in the east i.e. Taxila called as mint-B. Mitchiner presents the inferior coins of Oesho and bull of Vasudeva, later on struck in different style but with same design, issued in succession to another series of Huvishka's elephant rider coins. After Vasudeva I, the same series was followed by the later Kushans such as Kanishka II, Vasishka, Vasudeva II and successors.

The third mint, separated from the fore-mentioned major mints, is identified in the further east region located at Mathura. This mint produced copper coins only and with rare half coins of similar design of Oesho and bull series and the coins of this mint come in succession to the squatting series of Huvishka¹⁰⁹.

Besides the above classification, he divided the gold and copper coins into three major groups which evolved chronologically. First group represents the early coins without trident (above altar) in the left field and the legend originates on them at various places such as 7, 11 and 1^h. The second group in this classification is marked for the coins having trident above altar in the left field and the legend begins at 7^h and the certain coins belonged to mint-A. The third group is almost similar to group-II but is distinguished by the legend position which begins at 1^h. The copper coins of group-I are heavier than the others and the script style is closer to those of Huvishka coinage. Later coins, both gold and copper, of group-II of Vasudeva I with legend 7^h adopted by the Kushano-Sasanians for their coins in the west, while the coins of group-III with legend 1^h followed by the later Kushans from the reign of Kanishka II in the east.

Besides these broader classifications, Mitchiner further divided the copper coins of Vasudeva I into several groups under three stages or series in each mint and this study evidently shows the gradual development of the certain coins¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 446.

A. *Sub-classification of copper coins of mint A (Peshawar mint):*

Series 1. These coins represent early fabric and script with angular letters of the legend PAONAO PAO BAZΔHO begins at 11^h with trident above altar and the average weight of these coins is 9.50 gm.

Series 2. The coins of this series are almost similar to the previous series having no distinctive feature of intermediate series.

Series 3. The coins of this series obviously show late fabric and script and the legend has standard round letters PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO begins at 7^h. The early coins of this series have no symbol and the later coins have nandipada in obverse r. field. Thereafter this series was followed by the Kushano-Sasanian rulers for their coinage in the west¹¹¹.

B. *Sub-classification of copper coins of mint B (Taxila mint):*

Series 1. These coins exhibit early fabric and script with round letters of the legend PAONAO PAO BAZΔHO begins at 1^h coins carrying weight 9.50 to 10.00 gm.

- a. Early coins have no trident above altar
- b. Later coins show trident above altar
- c. Similar to sub-group (b), but of reduced weight, having average weight 9.00 gm, display later form of Oesho's garment and little corrupt legend.

Series 2. The coins of this series exhibit intermediate fabric and late script with standard round letters of the legend PAO NANO PAO BAZΔHO begins at 1^h. Here the trident above altar is retained from the previous coins and continues till the end of series. The weight is lying between 8.50 and 9.50 gm and the following varieties have been recorded in this group.

- a. Normal trident stands behind altar
- b. Barred trident (horizontal bar added to the trident) in the l. field
- c. Laureate right trident (Semicircle of dots to the shaft of r. field trident)
- d. Symbol in obverse field like reverse (tamga in the r. field of obverse)

Series 3. This series obviously carries late fabric and script with standard round letters of the legend as above and likewise begins at 1^h. The coins are recorded in reduced weight occurring in 9.00 and 8.00 grams. It contains two varieties.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

- a. Without obverse symbol
- b. Obverse field symbol

This series led to the coinage of later Kushans who issued their coins in the same style from the mint located in the east (Taxila).

C. *Copper coins of mint C (Mathura mint)*

The coins normally belonged to the early stage and known for their small denomination (half) struck in local style and fabric¹¹².

Besides Oesho and bull issues of Vasudeva I, Mitchiner broadly classified the Post-Vasudeva copper series of Ardoxsho and Oesho and bull coins into several small periods up to the Kidarite and most of them are assigned to the Taxila mint. The summary of these coins in the concerned period is given below.

1. The Reduced Kushan kingdom of Kanishka II, Vasudeva II & Vasishka, AD 230-260

In the first group of Later Kushans, he marked two kinds of coins, such as major series and minor series of Taxila. The Ardoxsho coins (major series) are known to the period of Kanishka II, Vasudeva II and Vasishka and the Oesho and bull coins (minor series) to the period of Vasudeva II and Vasishka¹¹³. The details of this kind of classification are found as:

A. *Taxila Major Series: Ardoxsho reverse*

Kanishka II

1. King standing at altar to l., wears coat, a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *vi* in the r. field, legend PAONANO PAO KANHPKO KOPANO on the obverse & enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse; weight: 8.00 gm.
2. Similar to above but Kharoṣṭhī letter *vi* in the r. field instead of Brāhmī letter.
3. Similar to above, having no control mark and readable legend.
4. Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, the style is little crude, king's arms away from body and legs open and no use of control mark, legend is off flan; reduced weight: 6.00 gm.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid, pp. 458-60.

Period of Vasudeva II and Vasishka

1. King standing at altar to l., wears dotted skirt (chain-mail dress), holds trident instead of sceptre, another trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *ha* in the r. field, *gho* between legs and *ga* in the l. field, weight: 6.00 gm.
2. Design similar to above but crude style and with no control mark.
3. Similar to above, with traces of corrupt Greek legend and no use of control marks.

B. Taxila Minor Series: Oesho and bull reverse

Period of Vasudeva II and Vasishka

1. King standing at altar to l., wears coat without dotted ornamentation, Brāhmī letter *tha* between king's legs on the obverse and the reverse represents thin figures of Oesho and bull.
2. Similar to previous type but crude style and have no use of a control mark.
3. Similar to above, short and bulky figure of the king wears belt round body and lower hem curved in arched shape and with traces of a corrupt Greek legend.

2. The Kushan kingdom during the reign of Vasu and Chhu, c. AD 260-300

The second group of later Kushans consists of the coins of Vasu and Chhu. In this group Mitchiner classified the copper coins into three series such as first series, second series and third series of Taxila¹¹⁴. The details of these series are follows as:

Taxila First Series: Standing king & Oesho and bull coins

- a. Vasu coins; Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, reduced size; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm
- b. Chhu coins; Brāhmī letter *chhu* in the r. field, broader size; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm
- c. Anonymous but similar to Chhu coins; no use of letter; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm
- d. Chhu coins; Brāhmī letter *chhu* in the r. field; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm

Taxila Second Series: Standing king & enthroned Ardoxsho coins

- a. Vasu coins; Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field and *va* between king's legs; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm

Taxila Third Series: Enthroned king & Enthroned Ardoxsho coins

- a. Vasu coins; Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field; weight: 6.00-4.50 gm

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 462, 464.

3. The Last Days of the Kushan Kingdom: c. AD 300-360

This group of Post-Vasudeva coins covers the reign of Shaka and Kipunadha and with minor rulers Mahi, Gadahara, Shahi and Gadakhra or Gadagra. The coins of this group wanting the use of letter or marks and therefore Mitchiner generally termed these coins the anonymous issues of the fore-mentioned rulers. Again the coins fall into two major series i.e. Oesho and bull and Ardoxsho reverse with common obverse design having standing figure of king at altar faces to left. The coins are stuck in good fabric and the weight is ranging 7.00 to 5.50 gm¹¹⁵.

4. Kidara Kings & the Kingdoms their Successors c. AD 350-460

This group comprising various small groups of Kidarite family and the copper coins are arranged in the fifth group known as anonymous coinage of the Kidarites¹¹⁶. Here several types are known along with some marks or letters and the coins are usually with two reverse designs i.e. Oesho and bull and enthroned Ardoxsho. The coins are reported from the mint of Taxila and Jammu and Kashmir.

A. Taxila Series: Without symbols in the obverse field

1. Large Coins: weight 6-5 gm

- a. Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho
- b. Standing king and Oesho and bull

2. Small Coins of reduced weight i.e. 3-1 gm

- a. Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, ruder style and stereotyped of the deity
- b. Stylized standing king and stereotyped Oesho and bull
- c. Dumpy, crude coin series, Oesho and bull stylized and reduced to a group of straight lines

B. Jammu and Kashmir Series: With symbols in the obverse field

1. Large Coins: weight 6.00-3.00 gm

- a. Standing king with triangle under l. arm on the obverse, reverse depicts Oesho and bull with joint letters OP
- b. Standing king with triangle above three-pronged tamga under l. arm on the obverse and Oesho and bull with letter OH on the reverse.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 467, 470.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 475, 487-490.

- c. Standing king and Oesho and bull as above and triangle under l. arm of the king.
- d. Similar to above (c) but elongated figure of the king.
- e. Similar to above (d) with triangle under l. arm, stereotyped design, the final issue in this series.

2. Minor Series: weight 5.00 gm

- a. Standing king and enthroned Ardoxsho, triangle under l. arm of the king and with broad horizontal bars of the garment.
- b. Standing king and Oesho and bull, there are broad horizontal bars to the king's garment.

The most remarkable work on the Kushan coins is known as the famous atlas of Robert Göbl¹¹⁷. He distinctively classified the copper coins of Vasudeva I and successors and here it is no need to mention the gold series of this monarch. His classification is simple but little bit problematic and he assigned different series of Oesho and bull to Vasudeva I and his successors. His arrangement of these coins found as: 1000–1003 to Vasudeva I, 1004 to Vasudeva II, 1005–1007 to Vasudeva I or II, 1008–1009 to regent unknown, 1010–1010A to Vasudeva II and successors, 1011–1011A to Vasishka, 1012, and 1014 to Vasudeva I, 1013 to regent unknown. The Post-Vasudeva Ardoxsho series of copper coins also placed in the same way: 1015–1016 to Kanishka II, 1017–1019 to Kanishka II and successors and 1020–1025 to Vasu(deva) III.

The detail of copper classification is as follows:

A. Oesho Series

Vasudeva I

1000: These coins are 4-drachms only, weight: 10.18–9.69 gm. King at altar standing to l., wears chain mail dress, with pennant (1 or 2) to r. trident and no trident in the l. field, legend corrupt and begins at 1^h. In reverse Oesho and bull standing to l. with legend OHPO in l. field downward.

1001: 4-drachms only, weight: 10.42–8.92 gm. King at altar to l. as above, with pennant (1 or 2) to r. trident and addition of a trident in the l. field, legend corrupt and begins at 1^h. In reverse Oesho and bull as above with legend in the same position.

¹¹⁷ Göbl, R., 1984.

1002: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.68-6.65 gm. King at altar to l. as above, with no pennant to r. trident, a trident stands in the l. field, legend in good style begins at 1^h. In reverse Oesho and bull as above with legend in the r. field.

1003: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.67-7.56 gm. King at altar to l. as above, a trident stands in the l. field, addition of tamga in r. field, legend begins at 1^h. In reverse Oesho and bull as above with legend in the same position.

Vasudeva II

1004: 4-drachms only, weight: 9.04-7.66 gm. King at altar to l. as above, a trident stands in the l. field, nandipada instead of tamga in the r. field, legend as usual, begins at 7^h.

Vasudeva I or II

1005: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.35-7.68 gm. King at altar to l. as above but of small size, a trident stands in the l. field with the addition of horizontal bar to its r. shaft; no use of nandipada or tamga in the r. field; legend begins at 1^h.

1006: 4-drachms only, weight: 9.04-7.66 gm. King at altar to l. as above, a trident without bar stands in the l. field, but the addition of semi-circle of dots to the shaft of r. trident, legend usually begins at 1^h.

1007: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.25-7.95 gm. King at altar to l. as above but of small size, a trident stands in the l. field with battle-axe, no semi-circle of dots to the shaft of r. trident, legend off flan.

Regent Unknown

1008: 4-drachms only, weight: 7.14-5.33 gm, coins are debased. King at altar to l. but tall figure with lower hem curved, a trident stands in the l. field, addition of a triangle above tamga under l. arm of king, legend off flan.

1009: 4-drachms only, weight: 7.14-5.33 gm, coins are debased. King at altar to l. but short figure with lower hem curved, a trident stands in the l. field, addition of a swastika above triangle under l. arm of king, legend off flan.

Vasudeva II and Successors

1010: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.14-1.10 gm, imitation of series 1008 and 1009. King at altar to l. with lower hem curved or point-arched, a trident stands in the l. field,

addition of a triangle under l. arm of king, legend off flan. In reverse Oesho and bull as above.

1010A: Reduced weight, imitation of series 1010. Both sides merely depict parallel lines to represent king and Oesho and bull on the obverse and reverse respectively.

Vasishka

1011: 4-drachms only, weight: 7.95-4.43 gm. King at altar to l. with bulky body and belt round waist, a trident stands in the l. field, addition of Brāhmī letter *chhu* in the r. field, legend off flan.

1011A: 4-drachms only, weight: 7.95-4.43 gm. King at altar to l. with bulky body and belt round waist, a trident stands in the l. field, as above but Brāhmī letter disappears in the r. field, legend off flan.

Vasudeva I

1012: 4-drachms only, weight: 9.75 gm. King at altar to l. shown as tall figure and long legs, a trident stands in the l. field, legend off flan.

1014: Reduced weight: 5.50 gm. King at altar to l. shown as small figure, trident stands in the l. field, legend off flan.

Regent Unknown:

1013: Reduced weight: 5.30 gm. King at altar to l. similar to 1011 and 1011A.

B. Ardoxsho Series

Kanishka II

1015: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.60-7.49 gm, coins are excellent. King at altar to l. wears kaftan (long tunic), a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *vi* in the r. field, legend readable and begins at 1^h.

1016: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.56-7.58 gm, coins are excellent. King at altar to l. as above, a trident stands in the l. field, Kharoṣṭhi letter *vi* in the r. field, legend almost off flan and begins at 1^h.

Kanishka II and Successors

1017: 4-drachms only, weight: 8.51-1.82 gm, coins are little debased then above. King at altar to l. wears kaftan (long tunic), a trident stands in the l. field, akṣara disappears, legend off flan and begins at 1^h.

1017A: 4-drachms of reduced weight, coins are little debased. King at altar to l. as above, a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *vi* near drapery in the r. field, legend off flan and begins at 1^h.

1017B: 4-drachms of reduced weight, coins are little debased. King at altar to l. as above, a circle under l. arm of king, legend off flan and begins at 1^h.

1017C: 4-drachms of reduced weight, coins are little debased. King at altar to l. as above, a triangle of three dots under l. arm of king, legend off flan.

1017D: 4-drachms of reduced weight, coins are debased. King at altar to l. as above, a triangle of solid lines under l. arm of king, legend off flan.

1018: 4-drachms of reduced weight, coins are debased and degenerate in style. King at altar to l. as above, legend off flan.

Kanishka II

1019: 4-drachms of reduced weight 5.92-5.40 gm, coins are little debased. King at altar to l. wears chain mail-dress; a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *pri* in the r. field, *ga* in lower l. field and *gho* between legs, legend off flan. In reverse enthroned Ardoxsho as above.

Vasu (deva) III

1020: 2-drachms, weight: 3.55 gm, coins are small and thin. The obverse design contains a Brāhmī letter *vasu* and the reverse likewise *tamga* only.

1021: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King at altar to l. with curved hem of dress; a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, *vi* in lower l. field, legend off flan. In reverse enthroned Ardoxsho.

1022: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King seated frontally on a throne with curved hem of dress, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, *ga* under l. arm, and *ba* in lower l. field, legend off flan. In reverse enthroned Ardoxsho as above.

1023: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King enthroned as above, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, *ga* under l. arm, and *sha* in lower l. field, legend off flan.

1024: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King enthroned as above, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, *ga* under l. arm, legend off flan.

1024A: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King enthroned as above, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, legend off flan.

1025: 2-drachms, weight: 3.24 gm, coins are small and thin. King enthroned as above, Brāhmī letter *vasu* in the r. field, Brāhmī letter *vi* under l. arm, legend off flan.

Following this, Göbl produced another important book on the Kushan coins¹¹⁸. In this book he retained the same number to the certain series of coins and their order but sometimes he modified the previous order of coins and kings as well. Here he attempted to justify them in a new sequence. In previous catalogue there were many divisions of Vasudeva and successor coins but here he assigned all the Oesho and bull coins (1984 corresponding No. 1000 to 1010 and 1014) to Vasudeva I and (1011) to Vasishka. However the coins are arranged in the same order but in continuous number, Vasudeva I coins ranging from 481-594 and Vasishka from 705 to 710. Similarly the Ardoxsho series of copper coins ranging from 619 to 665 to Kanishka II, and 727 to 743 to Vasudeva II. The most interesting point of this catalogue is the withdrawal of Vasudeva III concept. Here he managed the Vasudeva coins to two kings named Vasudeva I (earlier Vasudeva I and II) and Vasudeva II (earlier Vasudeva III). In this classification the coins are found as:

A. Oesho and bull Coins

Copper coins of Vasudeva I

1. No. 481-485: King at altar standing to l, no use of a trident in the l. field and pennant attached to the shaft of r. trident.
2. No. 486-493: King to l. as above, addition of a trident in the l. field and pennant to the shaft of r. trident.
3. No. 494-497: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, pennant disappears.

¹¹⁸ Göbl, R., 1993.

4. No. 500-504: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of tamga in the r. field.
5. No. 507-510: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, tamga replaced with the nandipada in the r. field.
6. No. 511-512: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field with the addition of horizontal bar to the shaft of trident, no use of tamga or nandipada.
7. No. 513: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of semi-circle of dots to the shaft of r. trident no bar and other features.
8. No. 514: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of battle-axe to the shaft of l. trident and no other features.
9. No. 516: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of a triangle under l. arm of king and no extra features.
10. No. 517: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of Brāhmī akṣara *pra* in the r. field and other features absent.
11. No. 565: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of a triangle above tamga in the r. field.
12. No. 566: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, no additional marks but coins are debased and lower hem of the king dress in point-arched form.
13. No. 500-504: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of tamga in the r. field.
14. No. 568-576: King to l. as above, reduced size of the coin and king, degenerate style, lower hem of dress in point-arched form, triangle under l. arm.
15. No. 593-594: King to l. as above, early small coins of degenerate style.

Copper Coins of Vasishka

1. No. 705-710: King to l. as above, figure is fat with belt round waist, trident stands in the l. field, with the addition of Brāhmī akṣara *chhu* in the r. field or similar coins but the said letter disappears.

B. Ardoxsho Coins

Copper Coins of Kanishka II

1. No. 619-625: King standing at altar to l, wears kaftan (long tunic), trident stands in the l. field, with Brāhmī letter *vi* in the r. field.
2. No. 626-628: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, with Kharoṣṭhi. letter *vi* in the r. field.
3. No. 629-632: King to l. as above, style similar to the previous groups but r. field akṣara disappears.
4. No. 633-648: King to l. as above, trident stands in the l. field, crude style of the coins, including all kinds i.e. from large to small coins.
5. No. 649-652: King to l. as above, degenerate style of the king and reverse figure of Ardoxsho.
6. No. 653-657: King to l. as above, wears chain mail dress, Brāhmī akṣara *hu* in the r. field, *gho* between king's legs, and *ga* in lower l. field, good style with fat Ardoxsho on the reverse.
7. No. 658-660: King to l. as above, Brāhmī akṣara *pri* in the r. field, good style with Ardoxsho on the reverse.
8. No. 661-665: King to l. as above, lower hem of dress in curved (arched) shape, belt round waist, short body, various Brāhmī akṣara such as *da*, *va*, *pu* etc. in the r. field, reverse has crude but fat figure of Ardoxsho.

Copper Coins of Vasudeva II

1. No. 727: Obverse has Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* and reverse tamga only.
2. No. 728: Obverse has Brāhmī akṣara *pra* and reverse tamga only.
3. No. 729-733: King standing at altar to l, short thin figure, a trident stands in the l. field, Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. field, *ga* under l. arm, and *vi* between kings legs, the reverse is designed with enthroned Ardoxsho.
4. No. 734-740: King seated on a throne facing frontally, slim figure with open legs, Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. field and *ga* under l. arm, reverse has enthroned Ardoxsho.
5. No. 741-743: King standing at altar to l, short thin figure, Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. field, reverse is designed with the figures of Oesho and bull.

Fresh Study & Analysis

With the few exceptions, the copper coins of Vasudeva I, are similar to his gold coins. These coins are monotonous in character showing standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. Like gold issues, the copper coins of this ruler were continued to strike after his death by his successors later Kushans and Kushano-Sasanians in their respective territories. The later rulers retained the same design for their coins and in course of time the name of issuer king disappeared from the coins. Due to uniform design and absence of king name, it is difficult to differentiate the genuine coins of Vasudeva I from Post-Vasudeva copper. This problem is obviously seen in the above discussion and the said issue remains unsolved.

Taking this into consideration, the subject coins need to be studied freshly in more detailed analysis and will be looked for those elements which are common with his gold coins. It is suggested that the coins of both metals were issued to a certain stage by the king (Vasudeva I) himself and then after this stage they were followed by his successors. The main theme of this research is to find out the classification of Vasudeva I coins and then to demarcate a dividing line that could differentiate the coins of Vasudeva I (life-issues) from his successors.

Like gold, Kanishka II also launched enthroned Ardoxsho design for the reverse of his copper coins. Then Kanishka II onwards the two types i.e. Oesho and bull and enthroned Ardoxsho became the monetary designs of later Kushan kings and unfortunately they equally unable to present the name of a ruler to whom they were issued. The use of aksharas, similarity of features and other related symbols are the useful tools that greatly help to understand these coins for a relevant ruler or period. This study is based on the above-mentioned previous researches and fresh analysis of the coins of British Museum including a massive collection of copper coins of Masson from Begram, Afghanistan.

Oesho and Bull Coins

Vasudeva I (Normal Coins) (Coin # 586-601)

In term of style, fabric, weight and denomination the copper coins of Vasudeva I merely show the continuation of the last series of Huvishka (perhaps Phase 2) in the

same metal. The certain series of Huvishka coins bears obverse design of mounted king and reverse of two-armed Oesho standing facing. For obverse design Vasudeva I reverted to the pattern of standing figure of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka also the reverse design of Oesho and bull of Vima Kadphises. Hence Vasudeva I set out a new design both for gold and copper for his monetary system and with except few coins in gold this design is monotonous in character. The gold coins apparently indicate that they were issued in three phases from two mints. Copper coins in the same way show different phases of transition and the first two are identical and parallel with the gold coins. But in copper it is difficult to find out the mint system that how many mints were operated. Following the method of gold classification, the copper coins are also treated in the same way.

Phase I: Coin # 586: Weight: 10.40-10.00 gm. The coins of this phase are struck in broader flan and thin fabric. The obverse and reverse figures are bigger in size and struck in good execution but little cruder in style. The Bactrian legend on these coins is much cruder and illegible. The obverse shows king standing to l, nimbate, r. hand over altar and holds a trident in the l. hand, wears conical crown and chain-mail dress. There is single pennant attached to the shaft of a trident in the r. field and the sword around waist of king crosses the shaft of trident. The altar is dumpy and the flames emanate in the form of three rays. The reverse depicts the figures of Oesho with bull stands behind him to l. The figure of Oesho is tall and holds diadem in extended r. hand and trident in raised l. hand. The figure of bull is well represented, standing straight with tall legs and prominent hump and curved tail little away from the body. Oesho wears necklace over l. shoulder and short dhoti. Reverse contains rude tamga of four prongs with unfinished bottom in the r. field nearby l. arm of the deity. The obverse legend begins at 1^h but crude and not readable.

Phase II: Coin # 588: Weight: 10.20-7.50 gm. The obverse design of this phase almost same to the previous phase (I) but can be distinguished in the form of additional trident stands behind altar in the l. field. The new trident is shown with low shaft and short prongs. The figure of king is much cruder than the previous. The sword crosses the shaft of trident in the r. field and still single pennant attached to the shaft of same trident. Legend is illegible. The r. hand of king extended over altar is much closer to the said device and due to this position of king's hand and the

additional trident in the l. field the central rays of the altar disappear and the altar is still in dumpy form. In reverse Oesho and bull are same as on the previous phase of coins but tamga not clearly seen and legs of the bull not well balanced. Generally the coins of this group are little cruder than phase I.

Phase I or II: Coin # 587: Weight: 5.50-3.40 gm. These coins are the half of larger coins and seem to be placed here in normal coins of Vasudeva I under sub-group of I (or II), due to the excellent style of execution but seems to be issued from a separate mint. The obverse portrait of standing king is very much similar to the small issues of Kanishka I. In reverse the figures of Oesho and bull little in segmented style however of good workmanship. These coins show high percentage of silver contents.

Phase III: Coin # 589: Weight: 10.10-7.00 gm. In appearance the coins of this phase are similar to the previous phase (II), having rough style of execution and crude figures on the obverse as well as on the reverse. The characteristic feature of these coins is the mark of two pennants attached to the shafts of left and right tridents. The altar is still dumpy and legend not readable but seems to begin at 1^h. The reverse is similar to the coins of phase II. The reverse legend is given downwards in the l. field. In the above three groups the obverse and reverse designs always depicted in the middle of flan. Similarly the coins of these phases are similar in style and execution.

Phase IV: Coin # 590: Weight: 09.00-7.40 gm. Some drastic changes appeared in this phase. The coins struck slightly in reduced flan hence thick in fabric. The coins are not perfectly circular frequently cut from the sides (edges). In obverse the figure of king is well executed and in good proportion but slightly in short gesture, wearing conical crown and chain mail-dress. As usually, the r. hand sacrifices over altar and it is so close to the altar that touches the said device and holds a trident in the l. hand. Another trident stands in the l. field. The altar is slightly better and improved in shape and looks like a flower vase and the flames no longer visible however the altar is shown with raised rims to their sides and the trident behind altar is in appropriate style. There is no use of pennants and they likely disappear from the coins. The important characteristic of these coins is the reading of Bactrian legend PAO NANO PAO BAZOΔHO KOPANO at 1^h.

Due to the reduction of coins flan the reverse figures similarly treated in the corresponding size so becomes shorter but well proportioned. The hair of Oesho is

shown in a dotted line that fallen on his shoulders. The deity wears necklace and dhoti and the latter one becomes longer in size and always covers both the legs evenly and the pleats are seen in one or both sides. Legend OHPO is seen upwardly in upper l. field and tamga is placed in the r. field with lozenge-shaped (diamond) bottom whereas earlier it was open. Bull's tail becomes straight and closes to its body. The reverse design is well centred but sometimes head or legs of the Oesho or bull is shown off the flan.

Phase V: Coin # 591: Weight: 09.00-7.50 gm. The coins of this phase are similar to the previous phase (III), likewise body of the king is short, r. hand over altar and holds trident in raised l. hand, and sword crosses the shaft of trident. The figure is slightly tilted or curved in the middle and not perfectly straight. The belly is slightly forwarded in the middle and the upper body thus recessed to back. The striking feature of this group is the representation of a horizontal bar attached to the shaft just below the prongs of a trident in the left field. The reverse is same to the previous phase.

Phase Va: Coin # 592: Weight: 08.80-8.40 gm. This sub-phase is represented by very few coins. The coins of this small group are similar to the preceding one (Phase V) having similar bar on the shaft of trident in the l. field. These coins can be distinguished from the previous by the addition of a single pennant to the shaft of trident in the r. field otherwise obverse and reverse are the same.

Phase VI: Coin # 593: Weight: 08.80-7.00 gm. Generally the coins of this phase are similar to the preceding two phases of coins. The changes are seen in the form of removal of a bar from the trident in l. field and addition of a semi-circle of dots to the shaft of trident in the r. field. The sword hanging from king's waist still crosses the shaft of same trident (right one) and legend becomes to off flan. The reverse design contains similar characteristics of the previous last three phases.

Phase VII: Coin # 594: Weight: 09.80-6.80 gm. The coins of this phase are similar to the preceding phase of coins. They are small and with more short figures of the king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. These coins are simple having no additional marks and the previous semi-circle of dots removed from here.

Phase VIII: Coin # 595: Weight: 08.80-7.00 gm. The coins of this phase are almost identical with the coins of previous group with similar short figures and no additional

features. The characteristic feature of these coins has the changing position of obverse legend that begins at 7^h instead of 1^h as was continued down from the beginning.

Phase IX: Coin # 596: Weight: 09.70-7.60 gm. In size, these coins are smaller and with corresponding short figures on the two sides of the previous two groups (VII & VIII). These coins bear the characteristic tamga of Vasudeva in the r. field of obverse. This is the first feature of its kind seen independently in the r. field. The obverse legend is well depicted and begins at 1^h. In reverse the legs of Oesho are placed together and now covered up to ankles with dhoti and the pleats of which shown parallel coming down from both sides. The reverse legend is also well preserved in upper l. field and long hair of Oesho shown in a dotted line fallen upon shoulders.

Phase Xa: Coin # 597: Weight: 09.00-8.00 gm. The coins of this phase characteristically depict nandipada symbol in the r. field in place of a previous tamga. In execution the coins are similar to the previous class of coins. King body is slightly bent backward otherwise straight and well proportioned and wears chain-mail dress. Legend is well preserved that begins at 7^h. Some of the coins of this group apparently exhibit bar or ribbon to the shaft of a trident in the l. field. Reverse retains the similar features of the previous phases and the hair of Oesho still shown in the form of a dotted line around head.

Phase Xb: Coin # 598: Weight: 09.10-6.00 gm. The coins of this phase retain nandipada symbol of previous phase in the r. field. The coins can be distinguished from the previous phase (Xa) by the removal of bar and fillet from the shaft of trident in the l. field hence the said trident becomes plain. The legend begins at 7^h and reverse remains the same.

Phase Xc: Coin # 599: Weight: 08.60-6.00 gm. The coins of this phase occurred in nandipada group and they are uncertain due to the ambiguous style of a trident in the l. field. The obverse legend is same and begins at 7^h. Reverse design remains same.

Phase Xd: Coin # 600: Weight: 08.60-6.00 gm. This phase is associated with the nandipada series as the symbol is seen in the r. field. The distinctive feature of these coins has the addition of a battle-axe to the shaft of trident in the l. field. The figure of king becomes bulky and the sword round the waist of king crosses the shaft of trident in the r. field. Coin edges are not regular and the legend is almost off flan. The Oesho and bull figures on the reverse are executed in crude style therefore tamga and legend

are difficult to be seen. Oesho has long dhoti that covers the legs up to ankles evenly and the lower hem is in arched form.

Phase Xe: Coin # 601: Weight: 09.20-6.20 gm. The coins of this group stylistically are similar to nandipada series. Sometimes nandipada symbol is partially seen but the coins are crude and the additional features are unclear. The legend now completely disappears.

Unusual Coins of Vasudeva I (Coin # 602-603)

Group A: Coin # 602: Weight: 8.80-7.50 gm: These are rare coins quite different from those mentioned above, hence can not be fitted well into the normal or imitation series of Vasudeva I coins. In appearance these are larger coins depicting a triangle with wavy line or other additional features instead of nandipada in the r. field. King is usually dressed in chain-mail coat with r. hand over altar and holds a similar trident in the l. hand. The legend is cruder and illegible. Overall the style of king is unusual.

Group B: Coin # 603: Weight: 7.80-7.00 gm: These coins like above different from the other coins of Vasudeva I and look like forgery or imitation.

Post-Vasudeva I Coins (Imitation Series) (Coin # 604-615)

Group I: Coin # 604: Weight: 08.50-5.80 gm. Imitation and Post-Vasudeva I coins are identified from the normal coins of Vasudeva I by the degenerate style of the obverse as well reverse designs. In obverse king standing to l. with r. hand extended over altar, in l. holds trident and wears chain-mail dress but the details of other features are obscured. The figure of king is narrow in the middle seems to be wearing a belt round body (waist), similarly shoulder and lower dress become broader with hem of dress is straight. The position of l. hand (earlier levelled to shoulders) hangs down in winged style, little away from the body and thus shown in stylized form. The nose of king is now more projected and in stylized form and the upper head frequently off the flan and similarly pronged portion of the tridents, particularly of the right one off flan. The obverse legend disappears from the coins. The most important feature of Post-Vasudeva copper coins is the addition of early form swastika (shown like a plus mark) between r. hand of king and a trident stands in the l. field. In reverse, the figures of Oesho and bull are exhibited in degenerate style and they are shown in segmented form, the reverse legend as well as tamga disappears.

Group 2: Coin # 605: Weight: 06.80-5.60 gm. There are only few coins that constitute a sub-group of the above (1). In this way it is closely similar to the previous group in term of design, style and other features and degenerate at the same level. The characteristic change is noted in the form of mature swastika, now placed under l. arm of the king instead of left field and with the addition of a delta (or triangle) beneath it. The reverse design is similarly degenerate and the legend completely off flan.

Group 3: Coin # 606: Weight: 09.80-6.80 gm. Due to the use of swastika the coins of this group have close association with the preceding two groups (1A & 1B). The said swastika is found in the same place under l. arm of the king but now the triangle with long stroke is placed above the swastika instead of lower position. In these coins, the delta is displayed in conspicuous position while swastika is partly seen. The coins of this group are more degenerate and lower hem of the dress becomes curved inwardly. The hands and legs of the king are now bulky and thicker. The reverse design similarly exhibits degenerate style.

Group 4: Coin # 607: Weight: 07.50-5.20 gm. The coins of this group are not much different from the previous series of swastika, depicts standing figure of king with r. hand over altar which almost off flan, trident stands in the l. field with the fillet hanging down on both sides. The king holds a trident in his l. hand but the upper part (prongs) off flan. The figure is bulky and its style is degenerate, narrow in the middle and lower hem of dress slightly curved inwardly. A triangle or Kharoṣṭhi letter *er* with four pronged tamga beneath it appears under l. arm of the king. Reverse comprising Oesho and bull but hardly seen in complete form always found off the flan by means die was bigger than the flan. The pleats of Oesho dhoti are now clearly visible.

Group 5: Coin # 608: Weight: 07.40-4.40 gm. This group seems to be the continuation of groups 3 and 4. The style is much degenerate, upper head of the king disappears, the hand position become uniform, so the concept of altar in the l. field and the trident held by the king disappear, lower hem of dress is straight. Now there is merely a triangle under l. arm of the king while four pronged tamga or swastika (3 & 4) disappears. In reverse the figures of Oesho and bull are vividly shown in segments.

Group 6: Coin # 609: Weight: 07.20-2.00 gm. The coins of this group have close resemblance with that of the previous group (5) containing similar triangle under l. arm of the king. The only difference is seen in the form of dress hem which is found in curved shape.

Group 7: Coin # 610: Weight: 06.20-1.80 gm. The coins of this group are similar to the previous two groups (5 & 6) and like them pertaining triangle under l. arm of the king. The style is degenerate then previous groups and lower hem of dress in arched (pointed) form with its outlines distinctively in chain-mail composition and the waist of king is much narrow.

Group 8: Coin # 611: Weight: 07.20-2.60 gm. The coins of this group seemingly the continuation of group 5 where the style of lower hem is uniformly straight but here triangle under l. arm of the king disappears. Moreover the figure of king as well as the figures of Oesho and bull is smaller in size and much degenerate in style.

Group 9: Coin # 612: Weight: 06.80-1.40 gm. The coins of this group are likely the continuation of group 6, whereas the style of lower hem likewise curved inwardly but a triangle under l. arm of king disappears. The figures of both sides are shown in reduced size and much degenerate in style. The coins of this group are very common.

Group 10: Coin # 613: Weight: 05.80-1.80 gm. These coins, like the previous two groups, show their association with the preceding group (7). Accordingly the style of lower hem in point-arched shape and the middle body is extremely narrow. A triangle under l. arm of the king disappears and the figures of king and Oesho and bull are smaller, in reduced size and degenerate in style. The coins of this group are also common like the previous group (9).

Group 11: Coin # 614: Weight: 05.80-3.00 gm. These coins are thick but smaller in size. The figures on both sides are extremely rough, barbarous and degenerate in style. The obverse design merely represents a king figure and there is no use of additional features. The certain figure is much smaller in size. On the other hand the reverse is completely degenerate and the figures of Oesho and bull are merely represented by parallel vertical lines.

Group 12: Coin # 615: Weight: 04.80-2.60 gm. Like the previous group (11), the coins of this group are extremely debased and degenerate in style and execution. The small and thick coins belonged to the last degenerate stage of Oesho and bull coins.

The obverse figure is normally shown in outlines and the reverse carries thin parallel lines and normally shown in 3, 4 and 5 vertical lines, by means to represent the figures of Oesho and bull.

Kanishka III and Successors

Group 13: Coin # 665: Weight: 06.60-2.60 gm. The coins of this group are better in style and perfectly round in shape. The obverse figure of king is well executed. The figure is little tall and wears long heavy coat and belt round waist, lower hem of dress is straight and slightly broader. Brāhmī akṣara *chhu* is depicted in the r. field, and the legend remains off flan. The reverse design of Oesho and bull still in degenerate and segmented style and legend OHPO is written upwardly in the r. field.

Group 14: Coin # 666: Weight: 06.60-3.00 gm. In style and execution the coins of this group are similar to the preceding group (13) but show little degeneration. Brāhmī akṣara *chhu* disappears or likely to be off flan. The figure of king remains thick and bulky and has belt round waist and lower hem of dress is straight and broader. King carries sword round waist and the sword crosses the shaft of trident in the r. field. In reverse the figure of Oesho is taller and wears long robe, legend OHPO is written in the r. field upwardly.

Group 15: Coin # 667: Weight: 05.40-3.00 gm. This group represents only few coins and seems to be the last one in the series of *chhu* coins and degenerate style of the previous sub group (14). The obverse figure is short and lower hem of dress is much broader and slightly curved inwardly. Reverse has the similar Oesho and bull figures as are in the previous groups (13 & 14) but in degenerate style and shown in segmented form.

The coins of 6th series occur in weight between 8 and 4 gm, the style and application of akṣaras are similar to Vasishka and therefore Göbl placed them for king Vasishka (excluding last one).

Vasudeva II

Group 16: Coin # 688: Weight: 03.25-2.89 gm. The coins of this group are extremely rare. They are small but thick in fabric. The obverse displays standing figure of king and reverse style of Oesho and bull. The execution is good and the figures on both

sides are boldly well presented. Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* is given in the r. field hence the coins definitely belonged to king Vasudeva II.

Ardoxsho Coins

Kanishka II and Successors

Type 1: Coin # 633: Weight: 09.00-6.40 gm. These coins represent the early style of Ardoxsho series having excellent style, well made and the designs are perfectly executed. In obverse the king is standing to l. wears conical headdress and embroidered coat, r. hand over altar and holds a sceptre in the l. hand. Kharoṣṭhi letter *vi* in the r. field near elbow of the l. arm. The reverse has enthroned Ardoxsho of excellent style, wears long robe with ornamented mat underneath feet, holding a diadem in extended r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. The chair with high-back is of good style. Legend APΔOXPO is written downwards in the r. field.

Type 2: Coin # 634: Weight: 09.00-6.50 gm. In every aspect the coins of this type are identical to the coins of group-1 but the only difference occurring is the change of akṣara from Kharoṣṭhi to Brāhmī and the letter remains same as *vi* in the r. field. The reverse design is also same.

Type 1 or 2: Coin # 635: Weight: 09.00-4.50 gm. The coins of this type wanting the evidence of letter *vi* in the r. field, so it is difficult to identify them either for Kharoṣṭhi akṣara or for Brāhmī. The certain letter possibly is off flan, disappears or uncertain, otherwise the coins of this group are similar to the previous groups.

Type 3: Coin # 636: Weight: 08.20-4.60 gm. The coins of this category are identified by their cruder form than the early good coins of Kanishka II. In these coins, r. hand of the king is slightly away from his body which becomes little bulky and the features are no longer angular and excellent. Reverse design similarly shown in crude style and legend becomes off flan.

Type 4: Coin # 637: Weight: 08.20-2.80 gm. The coins of this type are step down and ruder in style than the preceding one (type 3) and the figure of king is bulky, both arms are further away from the body and look like wings of a bird. The details of dress are not much clear and similarly trident stands in the l. field goes beyond edges of the coins. The obverse legend particularly the name portion disappears. In reverse enthroned Ardoxsho appears as fat and degenerate in style and she is shown merely

the representation of a seated figure where other features like diadem and cornucopia disappear.

Type 5: Coin # 638: Weight: 02.40-0.60 gm. This type is represented by only few coins. In size these coins are thin and small and likewise bear small figures of king and Ardoxsho in much cruder style.

Kanishka III

Group 1: Coin # 668: Weight: 05.90-5.20 gm. The coins of this group are better than the last series of Kanishka II coins and the reverse carries characteristic figure of fat Ardoxsho. In obverse, king wears chain-mail dress instead of usual embroidered coat. More importantly, the obverse of these coins bears Brāhmī akṣara *ga*, *gho* and *ha* in different positions. On the basis of the use of Brāhmī akṣaras and style of the king, which are similar to gold coins, the certain coins seemingly identified to Kanishka III.

Group 1a: Coin # 669: Weight: 05.80-5.40 gm. In style of coins and features of the obverse and reverse designs the coins likely to be the continuation of previous Type (A) but Brāhmī akṣara disappears from these coins.

Group 2: Coin # 671: Weight: 05.90-5.00 gm. This group comprise only few coins. The certain coins with the corresponding designs are not of adequate style and appear in degenerate style. The coins are smaller in size and known in thin fabric. Kharoṣṭhi akṣara *pra* is inscribed in the r. field.

Group 3: Coin # 670: Weight: 05.80 gm. The coins of this group are known in crude style, much degenerate and containing uncertain letter like Roman A in the r. field. These are small and thin coins. In quantity there are only coins of this kind.

Group 3a: Weight: 02.43 gm. In style and execution these coins are similar to the previous groups (3) but the letters disappear from the obverse field.

Vasudeva II and Successors

Group Aa: Coin # 689: Weight: 04.40-3.40 gm. The coins of this group are thin and small but found in good style and excellent execution. These coins are not much common and over struck on the coins of Kushano-Sasanian kings. The obverse exhibits standing figure of king but shown in thin and reduced size and reverse has

enthroned Ardoxsho. Obverse carries Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. field by means name of Vasudeva I.

Group Ab: Coin # 690: Weight: 04.70-2.70 gm. The coins of this group are identical to the previous group but these are the normal coins and don not show any kind of overstriking.

Group Ac: Coin # 691: Weight: 04.0-3.00 gm. These coins are likewise small and thin and in good style. The obverse design carries slim figure of enthroned king facing frontally wears tall conical headdress. Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* is inscribed in the r. field and letter *ga* under l. arm. The reverse as usually carries the figure of seated Ardoxsho. These coins like group-Aa are also over stuck on the coins of Kushano-Sasanians.

Group Ad: Coin # 692: Weight: 04.40-3.00 gm. In fabric and style these coins are similar to the previous group, retaining enthroned figure of king on the obverse and seated deity on the reverse and with same akṣara *vasu* in the r. field. As usually, these coins are identical to the previous group of coins (Ac) but these are normal and do not represent overstriking. Among *vasu* series the coins of this group are comparatively numerous.

Group Ae: Coin # 693: Weight: 03.55 gm. The coins of this group are extremely rare and carry Brāhmī akṣara *vasu*. In terms of treatment and style of execution these coins are similar to the preceding group (Ad). The obverse contains merely Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* and reverse only tamga of the Vasudeva type.

Group Af: Coin # 694: Weight: 2.92 gm. In style and execution the coins of this group are similar to the previous group (Ae). The obverse contains a new Brāhmī akṣara *pra* instead of *vasu* and reverse similarly retains Vasudeva tamga. The coins of this group are extremely rare.

Group B: Weight: 03.40-2.20 gm. The coins of this group are rare having rude style of standing figure on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse. These coins contain Brāhmī letters in the r. field or under l. arm of the king such as letter *vz*.

Group C: These are the small debased coins in rude style where king is sometimes shown in outline. The reverse figure of enthroned Ardoxsho is similarly shown in degenerate style.

Chapter IV

KUSHANS & THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Name of the Kushans

The name Kushan or *Kushāṇa* frequently appears in their inscriptions (Indian and Greek/ Bactrian) and coins which denotes a family of ruler to whom they belonged. Mukherjee interprets the origin of the word *Kushāṇa* from *Kusha* although word Kushan itself perhaps form a stem if – *āna* and – *ān* are taken as adjectival suffixes¹. Accordingly the use of the expression *Kushāṇa* or Koshano (Kushan) as a stem is marked by epigraphic and numismatic sources².

The word *Kuei-shuang*, was known to have been pronounced as *Kyead-ṣyang* in Archaic Chinese and *Kjwei-ṣyang* in Ancient Chinese³ is no doubt a Chinese word spelt in several sources as *Kushāṇa*. The word Kushan is derived from the Chinese version *Kuei-shuang* which is recorded in the *Ch'ien-Han Shu*. This source mentioned the victory of *hsi-hou*, the said branch (*Kuei-shuang*) of the *Yüeh-chih* over the others in the region of *Ta-hsia*.

The *Hou-Han Shu* mentions a person called *Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* belonged to *Kuei-shuang* conquered the other four *hsi-hou*⁴. The coins represent various connotations of the Kushan such as KOIPANOY, KOPANNOY, KOΣANOY, KOPCONO, KOPEAN, XOPANEY in Greek and *Kushana*, *Khushanasa*, *Kushanasa* in Kharoṣṭhi on Kujula Kadphises and KOPANO on Kanishka and successor coins. Similarly the name *Gushanasa*, *Khushanasa* in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions and *Kushana* or *Kuṣaṇa* in Brāhmī inscriptions⁵.

The name Kushan is never mentioned in the historical accounts of India but the people of this tribe often represented with variations of the word Tokhari, such as *Tuṣkara*, *Tushāra*, *Tukhāra*, *Turushka*. The Purāṇas records the number of these kings as fourteen. In this connection there is an archaeological site still known as Tokri Tila

¹ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 1.

² Ibid.

³ Zürcher, E., 1968: 389.

⁴ Ibid, p. 367.

⁵ Cribb, J., 1993: 108-09, 130-31.

(mount of the Tokharas) near Mathura Obviously belonged to Kushan period as the statues of Kushan monarchs are reported from the same site⁶.

The classical western sources also report a relevant name of the nomadic tribe *Tocharoi* or *Tochari* who conquered Bactria in the mid second century BC. The same date of their occupation is well recorded by the Chinese annals. It is therefore suggested that the *Yüeh-chih* and TOXAPOI were the same people. The former territory of the Kushan once they occupied was called the "old territory of the Tu-ho-lo" by the *Hsüan-tsang* and Tukharistan (Tokharistan) by early Muhammadan geographers⁷.

Early History

The early history of the Great Kushans can be traced back in the end of second century and beginning of first century BC. According to Chinese annals *Shih-Chi*⁸, *Han-Shu*⁹ and *Hou-Han Shu*¹⁰ there were two nomadic tribes, the *Yüeh-chih* and the *Hsiung-nu*, had been living in the north-west border of China. It is told that the *Yüeh-chih* had occupied a region between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien, the modern province Kan-su of China. They moved about, following their cattle, from one place to another and they had the same customs as the *Hsiung-nu*¹¹. They comprised 1000,000 or 200,000 archers. The Chinese account recorded several conflicts that happened between the two, formerly the *Yüeh-chih* were strong enough and treated the *Hsiung-nu* with good contempt. *Shih-Chi* mentions that Mao-tun, the ruler of *Hsiung-nu* when succeeded to throne, he attacked and defeated the *Yüeh-chi* and finally the *Lao-shang* chieftain of the *Hsiung-nu* killed the king of the *Yüeh-chih* and made a drinking vessel from his skull¹². In the result of this defeat the *Yüeh-chih* left their homeland and moved towards west.

It is mentioned that when they reached on the Ili basin in the bank of Isikul, they came into conflict with other tribes, first with the Sai people whom they defeated

⁶ Rosenfield: 1993 (1967): 8.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Zurcher, E., 1968: 358-63.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 363-66.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 366-71.

¹¹ Ibid, pp. 360, 364.

¹² Ibid, pp. 360, 364-65.

and dispersed¹³. Then they fought with the Wu-sun, whom they defeated first but later on the latter defeated the *Yüeh-chi* thus they were compelled to leave this territory¹⁴. After this they advanced further west, passed through *Ta-yüan* (Farghana) and finally arrived in the region of *K'ang-chü* (Sogdia). They occupied this territory on permanent basis and at the same time they also crossed the river *Kuei* (Oxus) and subdued the land known as *Ta-hsia*¹⁵. About the speaking of this territory they had no great kings but everywhere they had built walled cities and appointed small heads. Their troops are weak and fear of war but they exceeds in trade and commerce. The *Yüeh-chih* occupied a capital of *Ta-hsia* called as *Lan-shih* which was rich for markets and articles¹⁶. *Han-Shu* records that the *Yüeh-chih* moved to *Ta-hsia* and divided the country into five *hsi-hou* (Yabgu) such as: (a) *Hsiu-mi* resided in the walled city of *Ho-mo*, (b) *Shuang-mi* resided at the walled city of *Shuang-mi*, (c) *Kuei-shuang* resided at the walled city of *Hu-tsao*, (d) *Hsi-tun* resided at the walled city of *Po-mao* and (e) *Kao-fu* (*Tu-mi* or *Tun-mi*) resided at the walled city of *Kao-fu*¹⁷. About 133 BC a Chinese ambassador known as Chang-Ch'ien visited the *Yüeh-chih* and he reported their occupation in the Sogdiana valley¹⁸. As mentioned above that after their arrival they divided into five branches and remained there in the same position for more than a hundred years until the reunification of them by *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh*.

Kushan Empire (Rise & Fall)

According to *Hou-Han Shu*, *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* (commonly known *Khiu-tsio-khio*) the chief of *Kuei-shuang* attacked and conquered the other four tribes, reunited them and declared himself as king of the said tribe. Thus he founded a new kingdom, was named *Kuei-shuang* (or Kushan)¹⁹. It is assumed that this event occurred about BC. 30 or slightly later as their arrival usually associated with the visit of Chinese ambassador, *Chang-Ch'ien*, who was there around BC. 133 (135-125) or little bit

¹³ Ibid, pp. 363, 365-66.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 366.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 359-60, 365.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 360-61.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 365, 367; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 2.

¹⁸ Zurcher, E., 1968: 359.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 367.

earlier and then they divided into groups and remained there in the same condition until their re-unification. *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* then invaded other countries like *An-hsi* (Parthia), *Kao-fu*, *P'u-ta* and *Chi-pin* (Kashmir) and took the control of these territories²⁰. *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* died at the age of more than eighty years and was succeeded by his son *Yen-kao-chen* as king of the *Kuei-shuang*. The latter king extended his kingdom in the south-east, destroyed *T'ien-chu* (India) and appointed a general to control it. The said source mentions that after this victory the *Yüeh-chih* became extremely rich and strong. It is said that the western countries called these rulers as 'the kings of the *Kuei-shuang*' while the Chinese (Han) still used to speak them with the old appellation 'the Great *Yüeh-chih*'²¹.

For the country of *T'ien-chu* (India), the *Hou-Han Shu* has remarks that the country of *T'ien-chu* is also called *Shen-tu*. The word *Shen-tu* is usually identified for Sind (lower Sind area). Its customs are the same as those of the *Yüeh-chih* but climatically it is low, humid and hot. The capital of this country is located on the bank of a large river. The people used to ride on elephants in warfare; they are weaker than the *Yüeh-chih*. They follow the way of the Buddha and therefore they avoid themselves not to kill or attack others²². This country has several hundred walled cities and each city has own king. It is mentioned that they are all slightly different from each other but they are together called *Shan-tu*²³.

Kujula Kadphises

The Chinese accounts refer to *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* who founded the Kushan empire is undoubtedly called as Kujula Kadphises of coins. Different Chinese name variants of this ruler are known like *Kieu-tsieu-khio*²⁴, *Qiu-jiu-zhen*²⁵, *Qiu-jiu-que* that could be pronounced either *k'yau-dz'yeu- k'yak* or *khuw-dzuw-khiak*²⁶. In this respect the first two syllables of his name (*Ku-ju*) correspond with the Chinese mentioned name (*Qui-jiu*). As cited above, after the unification of *Kuei-shuang* of the *Yüeh-chih*, the chief

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 363, 367, 371.

²¹ Ibid, p. 367.

²² Ibid, p. 368.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Cunningham, A., 1889: 269-70.

²⁵ Cribb, J., 1993: 131.

²⁶ Zurcher, E., 1968: 389; Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 102.

of this dynasty invaded other countries like *An-hsi*, (Parthia), *Kao-fu* (prob. Kabul), *P'u-ta* (central part of Afghanistan) and *Chi-pin* (Kashmir) and then died at the age of more than eight years. Now this statement and the extension of the Kushan power are also confirmed by the striking of his coins that were issued in different localities in various styles. The basic pattern of his coins was based on the Hermaeus, the last Indo-Greek king in the Kabul Valley and Gandhara. Alongside his coins also show derivative copies and features of the foregoing and contemporary dynasties like Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Indo-Scythians and Romans and regional traditions²⁷. The scheme by adopting the various coin designs of different dynasties, obviously narrates the step-by-step extension of the Kushans under Kujula into different region. In this connection various types of this ruler are known such as the Heraclius issue in Bactria, Hermaeus type in the Kabul valley and Gandhara, Augustus portrait type and enthroned figure with Zeus coins in Taxila, Bull and camel coins in Kashmir and surrounding etc. In this regard, the Mitchiner classification of Kujula coins is interesting who has assigned these coins to different localities where they were minted and circulated²⁸.

Cribb indicates his titles that early coins of this ruler were issued by him as Kushan clan chief (*Yabgu/Yaua/Zaoou*) which shown to be the title Kushan chief (*xihou*) adopted by *Qiu-jiu-qui* at the time of his accession to the power²⁹. His coins that are known in silver and copper evidently show his name, titles and dynasty name in great variations. The coins record his name *Kozoulo(u) Kadphizou*, *Kozola Kadaphes*, *Kozola Kadaphizoy* in Greek and Kujula *Kasasa* (or *Karasa*), *Kiyula Kaphasa* (or *Kadaphasa*), in Kharoṣṭhi. His titles and appellations are known as *zaoou*, *turannountos*, *sanab* (or *Sanaob*) in Greek and *maharajasa*, *rajatirajasa*, *yavugasa* (*yavusa*) *dhramathidasa* (*sacadhramathidasa*) in Kharoṣṭhi. Similarly the dynasty name shown in numerous styles like *Koiranou*, *Korannou*, *Korsanou*, *Korsano*, *Korsan*, *Khoransy* in Greek and *Kushana*, *Khushanasa*, *Kushanasa* in Kharoṣṭhi. This numismatic evidence obviously indicates the beginning of Kushan history under Kujula.

²⁷ Cribb, J., 1993: 107-134 (Pl. XXIII-XXVII).

²⁸ Mitchiner, M., 1978: 388-396.

²⁹ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 102.

There are several dated inscriptions of the early Kushan period that could be assigned to the reign of this king like the Takht-i-Bahi Kharoṣṭhi inscription of Gondophares³⁰, the Panjtār Kharoṣṭhi inscription in the Peshawar basin³¹ and the Taxila Silver Scroll Kharoṣṭhi inscription from Dharmarajika Stupa, Taxila³². The first one refers to *Vaiśakha* 1 of the year 103 (of Azes era) of *Maharaya Guduvhara* (Gondophares) and it also mentions the name of the *Erjhuṇa Kapa* (Erjhuna being an Indo-Scythian title for prince)³³. The second inscription describes the gift of two trees by an unknown scion of the *Urumuṇa* family in the year 122 of the *Maharaja Gushapa* or *Maharayasa Gushanasa*³⁴. The Taxila inscription records the dedication of relics there by a man from Balkh or Bactria in the year 136 of the *Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kushapa* or *Khushanasa*, i.e. the king, the king of kings, the son of the gods, Kushan³⁵. Cribb correctly interprets that the last two inscriptions called this king simply *Kushan* referred to years 122 and 136 (of Azes era) i.e. 19 and 33 years after the year 103 of the dated inscription of Gondophares³⁶. In Christian era the cited dates are corresponding with year 65 and 79 hence occur in the second half of the first century AD.

In this connection the Mat Brāhmī inscription of Vima Takto statue referring him as *Kushanaputro*, i.e. son of Kushan which indicates the name of king *Kushan* as Kujula Kadphises, the father of Vima I Takto. Kujula Kadphises, the founder of the Kushan dynasty usually known with his dynasty name *Kushan* is confirmed from the cited inscriptions which all refer to the same person. The Heraeus series coins of Kujula which are the earliest coins of this king also represent the same name simply *Kushan* (written in various styles) and the bilingual issue records his proper name Kujula³⁷.

Recently a new discovered Greek inscription of Kanishka I from Rabatak, Afghanistan mentions the names of early four kings including the name of this ruler

³⁰ Konow, S., 1929: 57-62.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 67-70.

³² Ibid, pp. 70-77.

³³ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 16.

³⁴ Konow, S., 1929: 70; Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 16.

³⁵ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 16; Cribb, J., 1993: 131.

³⁶ Cribb, J., 1999: 182.

³⁷ Ibid. & Cribb, J., 1993: 107-134 (Pl. XXIII-XXVII).

as King Kujula Kadphises, great grandfather of Kanishka. Further it also explains the sequence of these kings of which this king is being placed first³⁸.

The discovery of coins of the first four rulers of the Kushans is reported from the ancient site of Khotan, the military base of Ban Ch'ao's (AD. 73-107). The Hermaeus imitation coins assigned to Kujula Kadphises were carried out in use for overstriking by a Khotanese king. In other instance, the bull and camel type coins of another Khotanese king obviously revealing the derivation of copied design of bull and camel type of Kujula Kadphises about c. AD. 60³⁹.

It is suggested that Kujula was the successor of Indo-Parthian king Abdagases or probably Sasan in Gandhara and Taxila would have reign there between AD. 65 and AD. 79. In this regard, Cribb likewise incorporate some more evidences for the definite reign of Kujula in Indus region like the Kushans (Vima Takto) contact with the Ban Ch'ao before AD. 107. Kujula's coinage similarly shows its link with the coins of contemporary dynasties having some overstrikes with Nahapana during the period c. AD. 40-70. In the light of these evidences, Kujula Kadphises would have occupied the Kabul valley by c. AD. 50, and came down to Pakistan during the period c. AD. 60-75, took control of the lower Indus region c. AD. 70, and concluded his career c. AD. 80. It may be suggested that he began his career as conqueror north of Hindu-Kush before AD. 50, that is around AD 30s⁴⁰. On the basis of numismatic evidences, Boppearachchi also derived the same date (i.e., c. AD. 50) for the occupation of Kujula Kadphises in the Kabul valley and Gandhara⁴¹.

Vima (I) Takto

The Chinese account *Hou-Han Shu* records that *Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh* king of the *Kuei-shuang* (of *Yüeh-chih*) was succeeded by his son *Yen-kao-chen*. The latter king extended his kingdom in the south-east, destroyed *T'ien-chu* (India) and appointed a general to control it. The said source mentions that after this victory, the *Yüeh-chih* became extremely rich and strong⁴². In the light of epigraphic and numismatic

³⁸ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-142; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

³⁹ Cribb, J., 1999: 184.

⁴⁰ Cribb, J., 1993: 108-09, 132-33.

⁴¹ Boppearachchi, O., 1987: 208.

⁴² Zurcher, E., 1968: 367.

evidences, the son and successor of Kujula was called as Vima Takto⁴³. The second part of the name i.e. Takto or Taktu has been debated due to its suspected position and imperfect reading particularly the Kharoṣṭhi legend on coins hence it is re-deciphered with the name *Takshuma* by Mukherjee⁴⁴ and Mitchiner⁴⁵. Alongside, Cribb also correlates this name with different Chinese name variant of the ruler i.e. *Yen-gao-zhen* and alluded to different pronunciations like *iām-kāu-t'yen* or *jiam-kaw-trin*⁴⁶. The first syllable *Yen* of the Chinese name is presumably corresponding to the Bactrian Vima. The extensions of Kushan kingdom into India is proved by his coin finds, which are commonly found in the Mathura region apparently show the coins of first Kushan king in the east. Besides coins there are several activities of Vima Takto known in Mathura region like the famous massive Mat statue of a seated king and the corresponding Brāhmī inscription which previously known to king Vima (I) Kadphises. This inscription reads the king name with titles as *Devaputro kuṣānaputr(o) (sā)hi-Vema Tak(su)masya* and also reveals the relation of king with his predecessor. It bears same identification of king "Kushan", calling Vima Tak[o] (son of Kujula Kadphises according to the Rabatak inscription) the son of "Kushan" or descendant of "Kushan" and the name Kushan as cited above was used for Kujula Kadphises⁴⁷. The Mathura shrine (*devakula*) was first established by Vima (I) Tak[to] of the Mat inscription which previously associated with the reign of Vima Kadphises now the same would likely to be assigned to Vima I Takto⁴⁸.

The most significant feature of the Rabatak Greek inscription of Kanishka I, is the identification and recognition of King Vima Takto. Earlier only copper coins of this ruler were known and simply assigned to a nameless king or popularly known by his title Soter Megas who was likely to be the successor of Kujula Kadphises and predecessor of Vima Kadphises⁴⁹. The Rabatak inscription evidently shows his name as King Vima Taktu (Takto), the grandfather of Kanishka. As discussed earlier the said inscription interprets the names and sequence of the early four Kushan kings in

⁴³ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97-98.

⁴⁴ Mukherjee, B.N., 1997-98: 10.

⁴⁵ Mitchiner, M., 2001-2002: 43-50.

⁴⁶ Zurcher, E., 1989: 389; Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 102.

⁴⁷ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97, 100.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 102.

⁴⁹ MacDowall, D.W., 1968: 48.

which Vima Takto appears as the second to Kujula Kadphises and predecessor of Vima Kadphises⁵⁰. Due to this discovery a dated Bactrian inscription of Dasht-i-Nawur where he is named *Oohmo Tak* ... can also be assigned to Vima I Tak[to] inscribed in the year 279 that precedes the Khalatse inscription of Vima Kadphises (*Uvima Kavthisa*) with the accompanied date as 'year 284 (or 287)'⁵¹. It may be assumed that the inscribed date of the epigraph belonged to Eukratides era (BC. 172).

In the light of some other Chinese notices Cribb makes the connection of Vima (I) Takto with the reign of General Ban Ch'ao in Chinese Turkistan during AD. 73-107. The *Hou-Han Shu* account narrates the history and relation of Ban Ch'ao with the Kushans which had begun in good circumstances but ended in unfavourable situation. The certain date obviously speaks of General Ban Ch'ao's rule contemporary with the early Kushan realm hence it helps to understand the absolute chronology of the early Kushans. Perhaps it carries the account of Kh'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (Kujula Kadphises) and his son (Vima Takto) and the activities of Chinese General Ban Ch'ao recorded by his son Ban Yong in Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang) during AD. 73-107. It mentions the last direct contacts of Ban Ch'ao with the Kushans in AD. 86, when they (Kushans) sent tribute and in AD 90 and their military invasion was defeated by Ban Ch'ao. It is stated that these information gathered indirectly as late as AD. 107 when the latter retired to China. In this regard, Cribb assumes that Vima I had occupied the Kushan throne long before AD. 107 and even before AD. 90 to "conquer India"⁵². The presence of Vima (I) Takto rule in Central Asia is known from the discovery of his coins in Khotan. A bull and camel coin and a few regular coins of Vima (I) Takto are reported from there.

After the discovery of Rabatak inscription, Cribb also identified several coins for this ruler that were previously assigned to Vima Kadphises inscribed with name *Vema*, which was earlier exclusively the name of his successor Vima Kadphises. On the basis of style, design and other features, Cribb rightly attributed the famous series of Soter Megas coins to this king. The new coins given to this king are: (1) the bull and camel coins with the name *Vema* (in Kharoṣṭhi), (2) two coins of the "Soter Megas" type, the Greek contains usual anonymous inscription whereas name *Vema* is

⁵⁰ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-142; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

⁵¹ Sims William N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 100.

⁵² Zureher, E., 1968: 369-70; Cribb, J., 1999: 184

detected in the Kharoṣṭhi, and (3) a single copper coin with a seated image same as the Mat sculpture, accompanied by the Soter Megas symbol and the Bactrian inscription Oomo Tak ...and two figures on the reverse⁵³.

The other coins of this ruler are known to be issued after Kujula Kadphises' coinages characterised by their use of designs copied from and over-struck on the coins of Indo-Parthian king Sasan, contemporary of Kujula confirm his succession in the Gandhara and Taxila regions. Vima Takto coinage including the Soter Megas series apparently show their connection with his predecessor in the form of common features that would certainly be copied from Kujula Kadphises. The features can be noted as (a) bead and reel border, (b) common type of the bull and camel designs, (c) the common use of nandipada symbol, (d) the copy of bust of king and mounted king from the Heraüs coins of Kujula, (e) similarity of letters style, etc. All these features show great affinity with his predecessor Kujula Kadphises to whom he succeeded on the Kushan throne.

The coins attributed to this king bear his name and various titles such as *Oohmo Tak*, *basileos*, *basileosn*, *soter*, *megas*, *taro oanachao*, *ndooti*, *bapanei*, *bapanein* in Greek and *Vema* or *Vema Tak*, *maharajasa* (or *maharayasa*), *rajatirajasa* (or *rayatirayasa*), *mahatasa*, *tratarasa*, and *devaputrasa* in Kharoṣṭhi. The title *devaputrasa* meaning 'Son of God' used by this king in his inscription and coins has been known a common title of the subsequent Kushan rulers that often mentioned in their inscriptions. A similar title is also mentioned in the Chinese account *Nan-Chou Chih* where the king of *Yüeh-chih* is called 'Son of Heaven'⁵⁴. The coins of Vima (I) Takto are known for a transitional stage, although struck in local styles with variety of legends but he initiated a standardized currency and contributed two elements to the Kushan coinage the standard weight for copper coins and the symbol (known as tamga).

The widespread of his coins from Oxus valley in the northwest and Mathura region in the east and the various inscriptions and other finds show his vast ruling over the founded empire of the Kushans.

⁵³ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 97-98, 111-123; Cribb, J., 1999: 181.

⁵⁴ Zurcher, E., 1968: 372.

Vima (II) Kadphises

The famous Rabatak inscription of Kanishka the Great describes the genealogy of his forebears comprising their names, relations and chronology. The certain list of kings also contains the name of Vima Kadphises. Accordingly, he was the son and successor of Vima (I) Takto and was the third in succession after Kujula Kadphises and Vima Takto⁵⁵. There is no such Chinese record which could be known directly to mention his name among the *Yüeh-chih* (Kushan) kings of India.

Before the discovery of Rabatak inscription of Kanishka, the Chinese name *Yen-kao-chen* (now name of Vima Takto) was unanimously accepted for king Vima Kadphises. Therefore his position was considered second after Kujula Kadphises⁵⁶. Likewise the Mat Brāhmī inscription and other establishments including the massive statue and *devakula* were also attributed to this ruler⁵⁷. Similarly various inscriptions and several coins which containing merely name *Vema* or *Vima* were previously assigned to Vima Kadphises. The Rabatak inscription changed the history of the early era of the Kushan dynasty. It contributed a new ruler named Vima (I) Takto, the first part of whose name (Vima) is common with the first part of Vima Kadphises. Due to this implication and misconception the cited features of Vima (I) Takto were associated to Vima (II) Kadphises. Cribb in the light of Rabatak inscription carried out reclassification of the coins and epigraphs of these rulers in the context of typology and related features and datable framework of the Kushan chronology and the contemporary sources etc⁵⁸. In this respect some of the coins, few inscription, Mat statue with inscription and the referred *devakula* which previously attributed to Vima (II) Kadphises are now to Vima (I) Takto. After this reshuffling few of the inscriptions are still accommodated to Vima (II) Kadphises. This partition also solved some of the controversial matters particularly concerned with the second part of the name of Vima [(I) Takt] i.e. Takto, which was appeared on certain coins and inscriptions. Most importantly it ended the confusion of the Soter Megas series coins which were previously known for the nameless ruler.

⁵⁵ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 77-81; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

⁵⁶ Cribb, J., 1993: 131.

⁵⁷ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 43.

⁵⁸ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-142.

The Kharoṣṭhi rock inscription from Khalatse, near Ladakh, near the Tibet Kashmir border, of Vima (II) Kadphises reads the king name as *Ohimu Kathviṣa* dated in the year 284 (or 287) (earlier misread 184 or 187). In sequence it is certainly comes after the Dasht-i-Nawur inscription of Vima (I) Takto which inscribed in the year 279⁵⁹. The mentioned date has great probability that it would have written in Bactrian era the so-called Eukratides era that begun in BC. 172. Accordingly the date of Vima Kadphises will be acquired of the Christian era as 112 (or 115); however Cribb has different opinion about this era⁶⁰.

It is well understood that the coins of Soter Megas [Vima (I) Takto] were followed by the coins of Vima (II) Kadphises. The coins of this ruler copied the script styles and part of the inscriptions *basileos basileon soter megas* of the Soter Megas series coins of Vima (I) Takto and also continued the use of the Attic weight standard re-introduced for the coins of earlier king but with new denominations including the gold coins. They also retained some other features of the coins of previous king like *tamga*, *nandipada* symbol, and hand position in front of the king and bead and reel decoration.

Besides this, the reign of Vima Kadphises is known for great reformation in currency system of the region. He initiated gold coins on the pattern of Roman style and circulated it with the combination of copper. For the gold coins, he introduced Roman style weight standard from which the coins were likely to be designated as *dinar*. This pattern of Vima Kadphises became model for the Kushan coinage. This sufficiency of gold obviously speaks for the solidarity, prosperity, growth of economy and commercial activities of the Kushan kingdom. The Roman influence on the Kushans coins even from the time of Kujula Kadphises and now the other elements prove the Kushan relations with the Romans. The main source of the Kushan gold is known from the trade links that they had established with the Romans. The large scale trade activities are known from the coastal area of south west India where numerous gold coins of the Romans in the form of hoards are reported. It is observed that the said coins had been circulated in the coastal area of India along with the local silver coinage for a long time. In the central part of the Kushan Empire, the said

⁵⁹ Rosenfield, J., 1993 (1967): 19; Cribb, J., 1999: 182.

⁶⁰ Cribb, J., 1999: 197.

Roman coins were used to be re-coined for the Kushan coinage. The Kushans not only received the gold in the form of Roman coins but they also obtained in the form of bullion. In this connection Rosenfield reported a reference of Pliny that the Romans made payments in hundred millions to the eastern countries including India for the purchase of luxury products like pepper, muslin, silks and gems⁶¹.

The coins attributed to this king bear his name and numerous titles such as *Oohmo Kadphises*, *basileos*, *basileosn*, *soter*, *megas*, in Greek and *Vema* or *Vema Kathphishes*, *maharajasa*, *rajatirajasa*, *mahatasa*, *tratarasa*, *iśvarasa mahiśvarasa sarvaloga* in Kharoṣṭhi. Of these, the title *mahiśvarasa* "the lord of the earth" was known to be the epithet of Indian god Śiva whose figure (known as Oesho) is depicted on the same side where the king inscribed these titles. It is normally suggested that the king intended to show his association with Śiva which is the sole device of his reverse design.

The numismatic evidences from the Indian territory confirm his extensive rule in the Mathura region, Ganges Doab and Bihar in the east⁶². Similarly in the northwest extension, beyond the river Oxus, his coins are also reported from Central Asian territory like Takht-i-Sangin⁶³. Like the coins of other Kushan kings his regular coins are also found at Khotan⁶⁴. Cribb proposed the ruling of Vima (II) Kadphises in the beginning of second century of the Christian era i.e. from AD. 110 to 120 (or slightly earlier AD. 90-100)⁶⁵. If the Eukratides era is accepted for the Khalatse dated inscription of Vima Kadphises (AD. 112 or 115) then the reign of this ruler is quite parallel to the proposed period of Cribb and will likely to be extended beyond AD. 120.

Kanishka I

Kanishka the Great was the most outstanding and distinguished ruler of the Kushan dynasty. He is well reported in the Chinese historical accounts, Tibet and Indian Buddhist sources, epigraphic and numismatic records. There is no doubt that he was

⁶¹ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 21.

⁶² Gupta, P.L., 1994: 31.

⁶³ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 90-94.

⁶⁴ Cribb, J., 1999: 184.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

the successor of Vima (II) Kadphises and now the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka not only confirms his succession but also reveals his relation with his predecessors. As cited above, this inscription draws the outline of the genealogy of his forefathers and records that Kujula Kadphises (his) great grandfather, Vima (I) Takto (his) grandfather, Vima (II) Kadphises (his) father of king Kanishka. The Rabatak inscription is known to be written in the first year of his reign which demonstrates his all around activities like his coronation, subjugating the various Indian states and cities, genealogy and chronology of the Kushans kings, his association with the gods and the construction of a shrine⁶⁶.

Following the theme of Rabatak inscription in which he describes the success and extension of his kingdom in the east and subjugation of the Indian cities like Sketa, Kausambi, Pataliputra and Sri Campa. These achievements of Kanishka are well attested through the epigraphic and numismatic evidences. It is said that he had established a vast empire stretching from the Oxus valley (north of river Oxus) to Pataliputra (in the east) including parts of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the north-western territory of India.

It is well stated *inter alia* that the Kushans (Yüeh-chih) who migrated from the western border of China were settled in the Oxus valley with their capital at *Lan-shih* and subsequently started their career as ruling dynasty under the authority of Kujula Kadphises. After this, he occupied the surrounding territories namely *An-hsi* (Parthia), *Kao-fu* (Kabul valley), *P'u-ta* (middle Afghanistan) and *Chi-pin* (Kashmir) and established the Kushan kingdom. Then his successor Vima (I) Takto, as described above, further extended the Kushan hegemony in the east upto Mathura which is confirmed from his epigraphs and coin finds. After him, Vima (II) Kadphises further strengthened and consolidated the Kushan rule in the occupied territories of his predecessors and little bit extended further east as cited earlier. In the time of Kanishka I the Kushan Empire reached its climax where it expanded in every direction. It was under the rule of Kanishka that Kushans played a very dynamic rule in the Indian and international politics and cultural interaction.

⁶⁶ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 77-96; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

Numismatic Evidence and the Rule of Kanishka

The coinage of Kanishka to a great extent followed the pattern of his predecessor Vima (II) Kadphises and therefore his coins can be placed later in sequence. Most importantly he continued the metal combination of gold and copper that was initiated by Vima (II), the script style, titles and Greek language on his first series copy exactly the coins of his predecessor. In other features he followed the same tamga, obverse design of the standing figure of king, reverse design of Oesho (partly) and weight system both for gold and copper of Vima (II) Kadphises. In this way the coinage of Kanishka I apparently confirm his succession after Vima (II) Kadphises.

The coinage of Kanishka is also famous for their momentous innovations like the abandonment of previous use of Kharoṣṭhi legend, the substituting of language version from Greek to Bactrian, the display of deity name with the corresponding figure, multiplicity of deities of various pantheons and the depiction of Buddha image both on the gold and copper. After him his successor retained this pattern for their coinage hence Kanishka perfected the true Kushan coinage once originated by Vima (II) Kadphises and for some aspects the origin can be traced back in the reign of Vima (I) Takto.

The authority of Kushans in Central Asia is well known from their coins and the frequent notices of Chinese sources particularly concerned with the early Kushans kings. The coins of Kanishka and his predecessors are reported from the territory of Khotan⁶⁷. Like his predecessors, the coins of Kanishka are also well represented from the excavated site of Takht-i-Sangin⁶⁸. There are several sites in Afghanistan like Begram⁶⁹, Ahin-Posh⁷⁰, Chahar Bagh⁷¹, Surkh Kotal, which yielded plenty coins of Kanishka.

The influence of Kanishka in Khotanese region can be traced out in the discovery of his coins like those of his predecessors. More than 20 small copper coins of this ruler have been reported from the vicinity of a site accompanied by the coins of the Khotanese kings. It is also known that one Khotanese king copied the

⁶⁷ Cribb, J., 1999: 184.

⁶⁸ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 90-94.

⁶⁹ Masson, C., 1834, 155-174; 1836/a: 1-29; 1836/b: 537-351.

⁷⁰ Simpson, W., 1879.

⁷¹ Wilson, H.H., 1841: 103.

denomination system of these small coins of Kanishka. By the discovery of these Kushan coins and the historical accounts concerned with interaction of Khotanese with Kushans evidently yield an important evidence of absolute chronology. Accordingly the Khotanese kings associated through their coins with Kujula Kadphises should be dated before Ban Ch'ao's occupation of Khotan AD 73-107 and the coins associated with Kanishka I after it⁷².

Kanishka I rule, like in Afghanistan, is well known in the territory of Pakistan which is proved to be the core area of Kushans by the discovery of several epigraphs, historical accounts, plenty of coins from countless sites, art pieces from numerous Buddhist sites. Kanishka coins both from settlement and Buddhist sites are frequently known from Swat, Gandhara (present Peshawar valley), Taxila, Manikyala and other major regions.

A large number of coins of the Kushan kings (including those of the Kanishka I) and their imitations have been reported from the various sites of southern Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, which obviously speak of the Kushan realm in these territories. In spite of the presence of coins, B.N. Mukherjee and P.L. Gupta merely make their connection with the commercial activities which could be reached there through trade as being the close territories with the Kushan kingdom⁷³. Mukherjee in the light of these evidences further elaborates that the area around Pataliputra in Magadha (in South Bihar) might have become a tributary state of the Kushan Empire during the time of Kanishka. Now this statement is confirmed from the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka which also narrates the subjugation of Pataliputra⁷⁴.

Epigraphic Records

Bactrian Documents

There are two main Bactrian inscriptions of Kanishka I and both reported from the Afghanistan region as usually this kind of inscriptions is found there. Of these, the Bactrian inscription from Rabatak is of great importance. The said Rabatak inscription of year one proves the ruling and other activities of Kanishka I in the territory of Bactria (Afghanistan). In this connection there is another important

⁷² Cribb, J., 1999: 184-185.

⁷³ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 75-76.

⁷⁴ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-96; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

inscription of Kanishka from the same locality found at Surkh Kotal. It is fragmented and defaced epigraph (SK 1), however, can be read and understood for the name of ruling monarch i.e. the king of kings, the Kanishka who built this sanctuary known as "*bagolaggo (devakula)* in four years"⁷⁵. Another Bactrian document from the same site (SK 4) belonged to the reign of Huvishka also confirms the reign and sanctuary of Kanishka at Surkh Kotal⁷⁶.

Kharoṣṭhi Documents

The epigraphic records of Kanishka discovered in the territory of Pakistan are usually reported in Kharoṣṭhi which was used to write for the Prakrit dialects. As far as the epigraphs of Kanishka I are concerned, they are reported from various sites like the famous inscribed relic casket from Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Peshawar records the religious gift and Kanishka Vihara⁷⁷. This relic casket has a dated inscription which is said to have written in the year one of Kanishka era. There are several Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions in the name of Kanishka such as Manikyala stone inscription of the year 18⁷⁸, Zaida inscription of the year 11⁷⁹, Sui Vihar copper plate inscription of the year 11⁸⁰, which were previously associated to this ruler but now Lohuizen de-Leeuw assigns them to Kanishka II⁸¹.

Brāhmī Documents

Numerous Brāhmī inscriptions attributed to the reign of Kanishka I have been discovered from the Mathura and its surroundings. These inscriptions from various localities particularly in the east attest the ruling and extension of Kanishka in the certain regions. It is suggested that some of them were made in Mathura but were brought to other regions as were the border regions of Kanishka.

The results of archaeological excavations at Kosam confirm the Kushan occupation in the region where they likely to be succeeded the Maghas at the close of

⁷⁵ Harmatta, J., 1999: 428-429.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 430-32.

⁷⁷ Konow, S., 1929: 135-137.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 145-149.

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 142-145.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 138-141; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 67, 72.

⁸¹ Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E.V., 1986: 1-9.

first century AD. The said excavations produced a seal and one or possibly two pedestal inscriptions referring to king Kanishka. A dated inscription of the regnal year 2 of Kanishka has been found at Kosam, Allahabad district⁸². There are several dated Brāhmī inscription of Kanishka have been reported from Mathura such as of the year 4 of his reign recoding the installation of an object⁸³ and of the year 14 on a broken statue of Buddha⁸⁴.

A dated inscription recorded in the regnal year 16 of Kanishka, showing the dedication of a house, has been reported from village Dura in the Agra district⁸⁵.

An inscription from Sahet-Mahet, in the border region between the district of Gonda and Bahraich, records some meritorious acts during the reign of Kanishka by monk Bala Śāvasti (Śāvasti) that could be identified with the locality of Sahet-Mahet⁸⁶.

Amongst the three Sarnath inscriptions, one dated in the year 3 of Kanishka reign, mentions some meritorious acts at Bārāṇasi (Varanasi) by a friar called Bala together with Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara, and another alludes to the installation of an image by Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara on behalf of Bala. The said rulers mentioned with their titles were known to be the administrators under Kanishka authority in the Banaras region⁸⁷.

Historical Accounts

Chinese-Buddhist Accounts

The Chinese Buddhist accounts of the pilgrims, who paid their visits to India and particularly Gandhara from time to time, have recorded various campaigns and the Buddhist activities of Kanishka. These accounts are not contemporary with the reign of Kanishka but they have compiled the stories of various events concerned with this king and also reported the Purushapura (Peshawar) stupa of Kanishka. These evidences certainly show the various expeditions of Kanishka into different directions and his political interaction with the neighbouring countries. It is mentioned that he

⁸² Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 70, 73.

⁸³ Sircar, D.C., 1960-61: 9-10.

⁸⁴ Mirashi, V.V., 1941-42: 293-294.

⁸⁵ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 73.

⁸⁶ Bloch, T., 1981 (1905-06): 180-181; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 74.

⁸⁷ Vogel, J.Ph., 1981 (1905-1906): 173-177; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 73.

led his army to Pataliputra, Magadha in the east and Pamir and Chinese regions in the north east and Parthia in the west.

Kanishka's rule and his activities in the Gandhara region are reported in historical accounts. The Chinese account *T'ang hsi-yü chi* records a brief history concerned with this king "anciently king *Chia-ni-se-chia* (Kanishka) of the country of *Ch'in-to-lo* (Gandhara), whose majesty spread over the neighbour kingdoms and whose transforming (influence) penetrated the far-away regions, led his expedition to extend his kingdom (even) to the east of the *Ts'ung-ling* (Pamirs). Further it records the hostages of princes given to Kanishka. Accordingly, these princes lived in various countries of India and in the summer they returned to Kapiśa, whereas in spring and autumn they resided in the country of Gandhara⁸⁸. A similar quotation (the campaign of Kanishka in the Indian territory) is recorded by Mukherjee, written in chapter XI of the *Yun Yan tsa tsu*, composed by Tuan Ch'ng-che in c. AD 860, mentions "Formerly there reigned in *Kan-to* (Gandhara) a worthy and shrewd king; his name was Kanishka. He led his armies against all nations; none resisted him"⁸⁹. Kanishka who had built a great stupa and vihara in the vicinity of Peshawar is frequently reported by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien⁹⁰, Sung-yün⁹¹, Hsüan-tsang etc⁹². Later on Alberuni also records Kanishka stupa in the Peshawar.

The Kushan relations outside India are also known with the contemporary power of the Parthians. Chinese source the *Fu fa-tsang ying yüan chuan* expresses bad remarks about the role of *An-hsi* king with his neighbours who once ordered his soldiers to attack *Chi-ni-cha*, in response king *Chi-ni-cha* crushed him severely⁹³.

The Chinese account *Ta-T'ang hsi-yüing chi* records a fore-mentioned expedition of Kanishka in the Pamir region. It states that anciently king *Chia-ni-se-chia* (Kanishka) of the country of *Ch'ien-to-lo* (Gandhara), intended to enlarge his country in the east of the *Ts'ung-ling* (Pamirs). For the purpose he carried out his troops to the north east but the rulers of the frontier tribes in the region west of River

⁸⁸ Zürcher, E., 1968: 376-77; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 83.

⁸⁹ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 78-79.

⁹⁰ Zürcher, E., 1968: 374.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-76.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 376-77.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-87; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 82-83.

(Ho) (the Yellow river) sent their sons as hostages to king *Chia-ni-se-chia*, king of Gandhara, and the latter treated them kindly⁹⁴.

According to Chinese translated work *Ta chuang-yen lun chin*, of Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, done by Kumārajīva records a punitive expedition of king *Chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha* of the *Chū-sha* race into *T'ien-chu* (India). The Kanishka invasion to Pataliputra is reported by *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*. It narrates "the king of Pataliputra is attacked by the king of the *Yüeh-chih* named *Chan-t'an Chi-ni-cha*, and as a ransom he offers to *Chi-ni-cha* the most valuable things of his kingdom: the sage of Aśvagoshā, the Buddha's alms-bowl and a luck-bringing hen. *Chi-ni-cha* accepts the gifts and withdraws his army to his own country⁹⁵. In this direction there is another reference of the *Ma-ming p'u-sa-chuan* which tells a similar story about the invasion of Magadha by the Little *Yüeh-chih* (perhaps Great *Yüeh-chih* because there is no traces of the Later Kushans)⁹⁶. It is reported that the satrapal family of Nahapana and some early members of the group of Chashtana of western India would have ruled as satraps under the sovereignty of Great Kushans. In this regard the coins of Chashtana bear such evidences, they sometimes inscribed with the titles of Rajan Kshatrapas and in some cases with Rajan Mahakshatrapa. The certain coins of these satraps apparently show their ruling position. The similar titles of these satraps can also be observed in the Junagadh inscription of the year 72 that Rudradaman, grandson of Chashtana, also retained the title of Mahakshatrapa⁹⁷.

Another successful campaign of Kanishka into Indian territory is recorded in the *Yu yang tsa tsu*, as mentioned earlier composed in c. AD 860. It mentions the legendary story of the campaign of Kanishka against king *So-t'o-p'o-hen* (or (Satavahan) "of South India"⁹⁸. There are also some inferences of the presence of Kanishka in Malwa as the epigraph speaks of Malava and *Kanika* the names definitely identified with Malwa and Kanishka⁹⁹.

⁹⁴ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 83.

⁹⁵ Zürcher, E., 1968: 386; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 74-75.

⁹⁶ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 75.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 76-78.

⁹⁸ Ibid, pp. 78-80.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 81.

Hsüan-tsang narrates a detailed story of the fourth Buddhist Council at Kashmir that invoked by the king Kanishka¹⁰⁰.

Other Accounts

The historical book of Kashmir known as *Rajatarangani* composed by Kalhana refers to three kings called Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka who built three towns named after them. It further explains that the said kings belonged to Turushka race and built several structures¹⁰¹. In this respect there is a long historical account of Hsüan-tsang, which mentions that king Kanishka invoked the fourth Buddhist Council at Kashmir¹⁰².

The historical account records Kanishka expedition into Saketa. According to *Li-yul-gyi lo-rgyus*, a Tibetan source "Originally king Kanika (Kanishka), the king of *Guzan* (Kushan) and the Li ruler, king Vijayakṛiti, and other led an army into India and captured a city named *So-ked*. *So-ked* is identified with Saketa, located in the vicinity of Ayodhya in the Fayazabad district of Uttar Pradesh¹⁰³. In this regards Mukherjee derived information from the *Hou-Han Shu* that "the country of *Tung-li* has for its capital the city of *Sha-ch'i*; it is a large country". It further narrates that "the Great Yüeh-chih attacked the kingdom and enslaved it", where *Sha-ch'i* is identified with Saketa¹⁰⁴. The new Rabatak inscription of Kanishka the Great mentions the same name i.e. Sketa (Saketa) which was subjugated to king Kanishka¹⁰⁵.

The rule of Kanishka in Tokharistan is also referred to in a Khotanese manuscript from *Tun-huang* which records that "in Bahulaka-Vashayā in *Tahvārashtaima* (the district of Bāhlaka, in Tokharistan) there arose in the family of imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious (and) intelligent king of Jambudvīpa, by name Chandra-Kānaiska". It narrates the military activities of Kanishka where the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 72.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-96; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

king ordered many hundred thousands of troops in command of the contingent of Jambudvipa¹⁰⁶.

In the light of the above mentioned evidences of different sources and with particular reference of the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka I, he had established an extensive empire of the Kushans that stretching from the Oxus territories (northwest) to the parts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh certainly or even Southern Bihar. In this way the mighty empire included many states of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and North-Western and Northern India up to the reaches of Bihar and Orissa. It was the great empire in the contemporary world. During the reign of Kanishka I, Kushan Empire was greatly involved in International politics and military campaigns. It is stated that it was during his last campaign in which he led his army against the China but the army and high officials were not willing to move forward therefore they in the way planned for his murder. Accordingly, king Kanishka was killed in dishonour death by his ministers¹⁰⁷.

Kanishka Era & His Reign

The Kushan epigraphs are known to have been inscribed in four different kinds of eras such as the Azes Era, the Kanishka Era and the two unknown eras (one can be identified with Eukratides era) and the dating of all these eras are debatable. The Kanishka era plays a key role for understanding the Kushan history as the epigraphic dates of Kanishka I and successors were usually reckoned in this era. It is therefore a brief survey of this era is given below.

Besides Bactrian, numerous dated inscriptions in Indian scripts Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī of Kushan period have been reported from the various localities of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India and these inscriptions are inscribed in un-prescribed era most probably in Kanishka era. These dates are recorded in the period from year 1 to 98 (or 99) with no more than seven years interval between any two of them with the exceptions of the last dates (second era). The early dates are corresponding to the reign of Kanishka occur between 1 and 24 years evidently show the ruling period of the king.

¹⁰⁶ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 71-72.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 91.

It is widely recognised that Kanishka I had founded his won era, the so-called Kanishka Era, but the Christian year in which he inaugurated it, has been a matter of great controversy and it is not yet settled to entire satisfaction of all. After him this era was regularly continued by their successors like Huvishka and Vasudeva I and others as well. It is assumed that the later Kushans would have likely to follow another era associated with Kanishka II by omitting or dropping of hundred figures or originated a separate era by the latter. In this respect more than 150 dated inscriptions of the Kushans kings, Kanishka to the reign of Kanishka (III), are reported from different parts of the empire.

After numerous discoveries of the Kushan inscriptions the beginning of Kanishka era was seriously undertaken by the various scholars. At the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries various dates were proposed for the beginning of Kanishka era ranging from year BC. 57 to AD. 278, spread over more than three hundred years. Smith (including his own date) recorded nine different theories for the dates forwarded by different scholars, of which the projected dates were BC-57, BC-5, AD-60 or 65, AD-78, AD-80, AD-90 and AD-278¹⁰⁸. Soon after this, Banerji presented a similar list of the theories of various scholars and hence recorded eleven different proposed dates as were mostly known to Smith and elaborately discussed the said accounts and classified them into three main categories: (a) the dates in the Kushan inscriptions should be referred to an era of which the hundreds are omitted, (b) the Kushan inscriptions are dated in an era founded by Kanishka, and (c) the conclusions derived from the perspectives of the Chinese historians¹⁰⁹. In view of different opinions of the various scholars, it was therefore the first conference on the date of Kanishka, organised by the Royal Asiatic Society, was held in London in 1913. Soon after this the views of different scholars were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. During this conference, two main theories one for the argument of Vikrama era (= Azes era) dated BC. 58 and another for the Śaka era dated AD. 78 came forward. Most of the scholars like Kennedy, Fleet, Barnett,

¹⁰⁸ Smith, V.A., 1903: 1-2.

¹⁰⁹ Banerji, R.D., 1908: 27-28.

Longworth Dames etc. supported the first theory (BC. 58), while some of the scholars like Rapson, Thomas, Smith etc. followed the second theory (AD. 78)¹¹⁰.

In this connection a second intellectual conference on Kanishka date was held at SOAS (London) in 1960, in result of which A.L. Basham compiled the research papers of participants in the form of a book entitled 'Papers on the Date of Kanishka'. Like previous conference, the scholars were mainly divided into two groups; one group favoured the date of Śaka era i.e. AD. 78 and another group found the beginning of Kanishka era in the second century of the Christian era, precisely AD. 144. The positive aspect of this conference was the no supporter of old theory of BC. 58/ 57 of Vikrama (Azes era) era hence it faded out from this account. Many eminent scholars like Eggermont¹¹¹, Lohuizen de Leeuw¹¹², Maricq¹¹³, Mukherjee¹¹⁴, Kosambi¹¹⁵, supported the old theory of AD. 78 for the inauguration of Kanishka I era, but others like Dani¹¹⁶, Göbl¹¹⁷ and Gupta¹¹⁸ built up their theory for the year AD. 144¹¹⁹. Besides these divisions there is a third group of scholars, who moderately put the origin of Kanishka era in the first half of the second century AD, such as Allchin (between AD 115 and 143)¹²⁰, Bussagli (second half of the 1st and second half of the 2nd century AD)¹²¹, and MacDowall (AD 128/129)¹²².

Looking to the above mentioned theories the most widely accepted dates for Kanishka era are known as year 78, year 128 and year 144. The Indian scholars still follow the old theory and associate the origin of Kanishka era with Śaka era AD. 78. After the second round at London and particularly during the Vienna conference the scholars now mostly concentrate on the origin of Kanishka era during the third decade of the 2nd century AD.

¹¹⁰ Kennedy, J., 1912: 665-688, 981-1019.

¹¹¹ Eggermont, P.H.L., 1968: 88-92, 101-102.

¹¹² Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E.V., 1968: 133.

¹¹³ Maricq, A., 1968: 156.

¹¹⁴ Mukherjee, B.N., 1968: 204.

¹¹⁵ Kosambi, D.D., 1968: 123.

¹¹⁶ Dani, A.H., 1968: 64.

¹¹⁷ Göbl, R., 1968: 109-110.

¹¹⁸ Gupta, P.L., 1968: 120.

¹¹⁹ Basham A.L., 1968.

¹²⁰ Allchin, F.R., 1968: 31.

¹²¹ Bussagli, M., 1968: 55.

¹²² MacDowall, D.W., 1968: 148.

The explanations of some of the acceptable dates of Kanishka era according to the sequence of dates (ascending order early to late) are as follows:

The Argument for AD. 78

At the closing of 19th century and then during the first conference on Kanishka date this era was favourably supported and acknowledged by many scholars. The founder of this era was Oldenberg, who states that "the era of Kanishka is identical with the Śaka era which begins in 78 AD"¹²³. As mentioned above, most of the Indian scholars still consider this date to be the beginning for Kanishka era¹²⁴. The general opinion about the commencement of this era is that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era. The Śaka era is still being followed in India as one of the official calendrical system of the country. In the beginning this era was widely entertained by the Western Kshatras (of India) for their records ranging from the second through the fourth centuries AD. Rosenfield highlights the main characteristic feature of this theory on the basis of which the scholars used to follow this era¹²⁵.

- It is due to the style of name which is corresponding with the Indo-Scythians.
- It was thought that this era would have been started by a great king, for which Kanishka I is the most deserved personality as he was the most promising figure of the Indo-Scythian kings.
- Kanishka suzerainty was likewise acknowledged by the Western Kshatrapas, who undoubtedly used this era regularly for their dates.
- Kanishka is the only Indo-Scythian king, who likely to have commenced his own era.
- The historical implications place him in close proximity to this date.

The Argument for AD. 110-115 & 100/ 107-120

During the SOAS conference on Kanishka date, a new date for Kanishka I era was forwarded by A. K. Narain. According to this theory, Kanishka the Great originated his reign during the period AD. 110-115. Later on, Rosenfield also supported the

¹²³ Oldenberg, H., 1984 (1881): 214.

¹²⁴ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 13.

¹²⁵ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 254-55.

same theory. Rosenfield associated this date with the disturbance stage in the Kushan period after Kanishka I death and during the reign of Huvishka in which he struck barbarous coins, the destruction of Mat and Surkh Kotal shrines, and the retreat of Kushans in the east, the short lived rule of Vasishka (however belonged to Later Kushans). In the light of Junagadh inscription dated in AD. 150, to which Rosenfield considers a rough chronological bench-mark that could be correlated with the disturbed phase of the Kushans.

He also refers to the Chinese account of *Hou-Han Shu* that between AD. 107 and 113, the king of Kashgar sent his uncle and retainers to the (unnamed) king of the *Yüeh-chih* as hostages. In other reference *Hsüan-tsang* narrates a similar statement of hostages sent to Kanishka, the king of Gandhara, from the tribes west of Yellow River.

Cribb on the basis of numismatic, art and epigraphic evidences concluded the origin of Kanishka I era, first between the years AD. 100 and 120¹²⁶ and then reduced the seven year gape and places between AD. 107 and 120¹²⁷.

The Argument for AD. 125 & 127/128 or 128/129

The date of this theory was basically made on the assumption of two points. The first element argues for the absence of any reference to king Kanishka in the *Hou-Han Shu* records, which was compiled after AD 125 and therefore his accession must be placed after AD. 125. The second component is based on a series of calculations made by the Dutch Scholar, W.E. van Wijk. On the bases of his analytical research, Wijk proposed year AD. 128 to be a possible date for the beginning of Kanishka era¹²⁸. Marshall in his first attempt suggested that Kanishka would have come to the throne at the close of the 1st century AD., or later¹²⁹. Later on Marshall also proposed a precise date i.e. AD. 128 for the beginning of Kanishka era and accordingly reckoned the reigns of other Kushan kings¹³⁰. The western scholars usually put the

¹²⁶ Cribb, J., 1990: 176-177; 1992: 17-18; Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 105.

¹²⁷ Cribb, J., 1999: 190, 202.

¹²⁸ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 255-56; Falk, H., 2001: 131.

¹²⁹ Marshall, J., 1914: 973ff.

¹³⁰ Marshall, J., 1975 (1951): 71.

beginning of Kanishka era between AD.120 and AD. 144¹³¹ with more precisely years AD. 120 and AD. 129.

Very close to it, there is a well known theory of V.A. Smith who assigned the first year of Kanishka era to AD. 125, in which he connected this date with the Laukika era in which 3200 years were omitted as was the tradition of the reckoning of eras in India¹³². MacDowall, on the basis of numismatic evidences, supports the Van Wijk date AD. 128/129 for the start of the era of Kanishka¹³³.

The most recent researches advocate the beginning of Kanishka era for the year AD. 127. In this connection Harry Falk contributed two research papers and analyzed the certain date from two different aspects. He derived one result from the mathematical formula preserved in astronomical text written by one Sphujidhvaja in the 4th c. AD¹³⁴ and the second from the four examples of Gupta records which using double dates upon them¹³⁵. The results of both analysis are same i.e. AD. 127, certainly the beginning of Kushan era initiated by Kanishka I.

The Argument for AD. 144

Like the Śaka era (AD. 78), this date was being accepted to many scholars. The concept of this theory was originated just after the Second World War. According to Ghirshman Kanishka acceded to throne about AD. 144. The scholars who follow the theory of this date are Mitterwallner¹³⁶, Dani¹³⁷, Gupta¹³⁸. Rosenfield explains the following points on the basis of which various scholars follow this theory¹³⁹.

- The Shapur inscription at the Kaaba-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-e-Rustam speaks of the extension of Shapur's (Sasanian) power into major part of the Kushan Empire.
- The inscriptions written in the era of Kanishka no more extend beyond the year 98, which certainly the last date in the said era. Looking to this terminal point, Ghirshman associates this date with the invasion of Shapur I in result of which

¹³¹ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 13.

¹³² Smith, V.A., 1903: 31.

¹³³ MacDowall, D.W., 1968: 148.

¹³⁴ Falk, H., 2001: 122-133

¹³⁵ Falk, H., 2004: 167-173.

¹³⁶ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 13-14, 24-25.

¹³⁷ Dani, A.H., 1968: 64.

¹³⁸ Gupta, P.L., 1968: 120.

¹³⁹ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 256-257.

this reckoning came to an end. On the basis of archaeological material from Begram, Taxila and Roman Turkistan the Shapur's invasion may be traced out by the find of destruction and related evidences at various sites.

- It is certain that Shapur's campaigns in the eastern part of his empire occurred about AD. 243, by means subtract 98 from 243, the date AD. 144 are acquired.
- On the other hand similar calculations can also be drawn from the reign of Vasudeva. According to the Chinese source *Wei-li*, it is in AD. 230, a *Yüeh-chih* King Po-t'iao (perhaps Vasudeva) requested China to assist him against the Sasanians. On this assumption, Ghirshman associates the certain name with Vasudeva I, who ruled after the year 64/67 of Kanishka's era.
- In addition, Ghirshman proposed year 143 for Kanishka era on the basis of two evidences like: (a) the year 200 of the Dewai record which he thought to have been written in the year $(200-57=143)$ in the reign of Vima Kadphises) before Kanishka, and (b) on the evidence of the excavations at Begram¹⁴⁰.
- Mitterwallner put one more criteria for fixing this date to the Kanishka era that it is the only year which easily accommodate the relevant years of the Brähmi and Kharoṣṭhi dated inscriptions of the Kushan period¹⁴¹.

The Argument for AD. 232

This theory is formed on the assumption of the trilingual inscription written in Bactrian, Arabic and Sanskrit discovered in Tochi valley¹⁴². The Bactrian text bears an era beginning in 232/ 233, the Sanskrit date speaks for "year 32, month *Karttika*, on the second lunar day (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight". The Sanskrit date apparently stands for [39]32 where the figures of hundreds and thousands being normally omitted in the Laukika era. It is usually associated with the invasion of Sasanians in the east.

Many views are expressed by various scholars for the origin of this era. In this regard Humbach presents two possibilities; one for "Kushano-Sasanian era" and other for the "era of the little Kushans". On the other hand, Göbl argues for this era as that

¹⁴⁰ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 25.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, pp.13-14.

¹⁴² Sims Williams, N., 1999: 245.

of Kanishka I¹⁴³. For placing the date of Kanishka I during the first half of the third century, Göbl connects it from different angles like the Sasanian invasion in Bactria and the parallel rule of the Sasanians and Kushans in their respective areas, various features of the Kushan coins taken from the contemporary Romans coins etc¹⁴⁴.

Huvishka

The succession of Huvishka to the Kushan throne after Kanishka I is confirmed by the use of a die link between a late coin of Kanishka (Göbl # 80) and an early coin of Huvishka (Göbl # 314)¹⁴⁵. It is also confirmed by the continuation of Kanishka era of king Huvishka who inscribed his dates in the same era known from year 28 to year 64 or 67. The palaeographic style of these inscriptions also indicates the same chronology. The succession of Huvishka after Kanishka is well known from the coin designs and other features which he copied from the coins of Kanishka. The early coins (gold and copper) of Huvishka bear Kanishka tamga and then Huvishka tamga replaced the early one on the later coins which obviously show the transition from Kanishka to Huvishka. He used the same Bactrian legend with same titles initiated by Kanishka, copied the reverse design and retained the deity of Kanishka reign and the continuation of Kanishka tamga for his early coins. Although the obverse design of the both kings is different but in all other aspects the coins of Huvishka followed the coins of his predecessor.

Before the bifurcation of Kanishka era (Kanishka I era and Kanishka II era) and misconception about the rule of Vasishka among the Great Kushans it was generally assumed that the latter was a joint king with Kanishka I and then with Huvishka. In this regard it was also postulated that another Kanishka (Kanishka III) also interrupted the reign of Huvishka as the dates of two kings overlapping with each other. This hypothesis was developed on the dates of Kanishka I era, where two different dates, years 24 and year 28 of Kanishka I era, are associated with the king Vasishka. Similarly a single date i.e. 41 of Kanishka I era, is associated with Kanishka III while Huvishka begins his rule in the year 28 of the same era and carried on until the year 60 or little later. Therefore, this assumption can be rejected because

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 246.

¹⁴⁴ Göbl, R., 1999: 156-162.

¹⁴⁵ Cribb, J., 1999: 182.

there is no room for the intrusion of the above two mentioned kings during the ruling period of Huvishka. But these kings, Vasishka and Kanishka III, are now considered the kings of Later Kushans, where Vasishka followed the reign of Kanishka II and Kanishka III succeeded to his father Vasishka.

Huvishka ruled independently and held an area of equal length or even larger than the territories known under Kanishka the Great¹⁴⁶. The coins of Huvishka are known for their varieties and novelties where new designs appeared both on the obverse and reverse. Unlike his predecessors he did not depict his standing figure on the obverse. Like Kanishka the name is found in Bactrian legend as *Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano* and like him assumed the great titles that he was the great king of the Kushans.

The coins of Huvishka are reported from far and wide of the Kushan Empire once established by his predecessors. Huvishka coins are known from Takht-i-Sangin¹⁴⁷ in the extremely north (Central Asia) and Garahwal¹⁴⁸, Sonkh (Mathura)¹⁴⁹, Barbanki¹⁵⁰, Azamgarh¹⁵¹ in the extremely east (UP in India), with many important sites like Ahin-Posh, Surkh Kotal, Begram in Afghanistan, Swat, Charsadda, Peshawar, Taxila, Manikyala etc. in Pakistan as mid territory of the Great Kushans. Of these the Ahin-Posh collection of god coins greatly important for understanding the absolute chronology of the Kushans in general and Huvishka in particular. The certain collection contains the gold coins of Vima Kadphises (10), Kanishka I (6) and Huvishka (1) of the Kushans accompanied with the three gold Roman coins, one each of Domitian, Trajan and Sabina (wife of Hadrian). The Sabina coin indicates to have been struck during the period between AD. 128 and 137 and the Huvishka coin which is the later among these would have been issued during or after the reign of Sabina¹⁵². In this regard the argument of Göbl is greatly convincing who thinks that the coins

¹⁴⁶ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 90.

¹⁴⁷ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 90-94.

¹⁴⁸ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 151, 167.

¹⁴⁹ Hertal, H., 1993: 86, 314-15.

¹⁵⁰ Srivastava, G.S., 1969/3: 62-63.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 50-53.

¹⁵² Göbl, R., 1968: 143; Sims William, N. & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 106.

were deposited long after the death of Sabina and during the reign of Huvishka about AD. 160¹⁵³.

Unlike Kanishka I, there is no proper coverage in historical accounts for king Huvishka. There are numerous dated inscriptions recorded in the reign of Huvishka which usually show the meritorious acts and with except of few they do not express the activities of king in term of politics, expeditions, and other aspects of historical importance. He was the last ruler among the Kushans whose Bactrian inscriptions are known to have reported from north of Hindu-Kush. Of them one document is known from the famous site of Surkh Kotal¹⁵⁴ and another from Ayrtaam¹⁵⁵ on the northern bank of river Oxus. The first inscription is larger than the second and inscribed in the year 31 but doesn't mention the king name and the said date is certainly corresponding with the reign of Huvishka. This inscription records the restoration of Kanishka the Victorious sanctuary and the supply of water to the house of gods¹⁵⁶. The second inscription (Ayrtaam) is also of considerable length, inscribed in the year 30 and records the king name Huvishka. It states of the construction of a sanctuary for gods Pharro and Ardoxsho and digging of a well¹⁵⁷.

In Kharoṣṭhi epigraphs, an ample example is known of the Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51, which obviously mentions the name of the ruling monarch, Huvishka. This inscription belonged to the Buddhist records describing the relics of the Lard Śakyamuni in the Vagra-Marega Stupa¹⁵⁸. Similarly few other dated epigraphs in Kharoṣṭhi seemingly belonged to Huvishka period but they don't represent the name of king like Und or Hund (Swabi) inscription of the year 61¹⁵⁹. On the other hand, Brāhmī inscriptions from the eastern territory of the Kushans particularly from the Mathura region are found in good number. Accordingly Jaina image inscription of year 29¹⁶⁰ from Kankali Tila, Buddha image inscription of year 33¹⁶¹ from Mathura, Jaina image inscription of year 44¹⁶², Jain image inscription of

¹⁵³ Göbl, R., 1968: 143.

¹⁵⁴ Harmatta, J., 1999: 430-432.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 1999: 432-433.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 430-32.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 432-33.

¹⁵⁸ Konow, S., 1929: 170.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 170-171.

¹⁶⁰ Buhler, G., 1983 (1892): 385.

¹⁶¹ Bloch, T., 1981 (1905-1906): 181-182.

year 45¹⁶³, Jaina image inscription of year 50¹⁶⁴, Jaina image inscription of year 54¹⁶⁵, Jaina image inscription of year 60¹⁶⁶, and undated Jaina image inscriptions speak for Devaputra Huvishka¹⁶⁷ from Kankali Tila site, Mathura. There is no question that he was a great king of the Kushans but the available information are so meagre that they do not elaborate the political and administrative activities as could be noted under Kanishka I.

Vasudeva I

Vasudeva, the successor of Huvishka, is known as the last ruler of the Great Kushans. He ruled for a long period began his career in the year 64 or 67 and continued his reign till the year 98 (or 99) of Kanishka I era. Soon after his death it seems the empire disintegrated and most of the western parts went into the hands of Sasanians.

The most significant evidence of the succession of Vasudeva I is known from the use of Kanishka era where all the dates of this ruler follow the dated inscriptions of Huvishka. As cited earlier, Huvishka dates occurred between the year 28 and year 60 of Kanishka era and after him the dates of Vasudeva I, which mention the name of king fall between year 64 or 67 and year 98 or 99 obviously of the same era. According to these epigraphic evidences the ruling period of this king is ranging from year 1 to year 31 or 34. The dated inscriptions of Vasudeva in different scripts are known from different regions of Pakistan and India. In this respect a dated inscription of Kharoṣṭhi of the year 89 from Mamane Dheri (Charsadda) which doesn't mention the name of a king that certainly belonged to the reign of Vasudeva¹⁶⁸. In Kharoṣṭhi epigraphs, there is only one document which mentions the name of this ruler as Vasudeva Maharaja. It is undated and has been reported from the famous Buddhist site Rani Ghat in Gandhara¹⁶⁹. From the eastern territory of the Kushan there are numerous dated Brāhmī inscriptions of which many are belonged to the reign of this

¹⁶³ Buhler, G., 1983 (1892): 387.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 209.

¹⁶⁶ Buhler, G., 1983 (1892): 391.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 386.

¹⁶⁸ Buhler, G., 1984 (1894): 206.

¹⁶⁹ Konow, S., 1929: 172.

¹⁷⁰ Odani, N., 1986: 95.

ruler such as the Buddha image inscription of the year 64 or 67 from Palikhera¹⁷⁰, Jaina image inscription of the year 80¹⁷¹, Jaina image inscription of the year 86¹⁷², Jaina image inscription of the year 93¹⁷³, Jaina image inscription of the year 98¹⁷⁴ from Kankali Tila. For the epigraphic records of Vasudeva I, Rosenfield reported such twenty dated inscriptions of which only six Brāhmī documents mention his name.

It is generally said that one Buddhist Chinese Account is also known to speak for Vasudeva (I) of the Kushan king. *San-Kuo Chih* records that "in January 26, AD. 230, the king of the Great *Yüeh-chih*, Po-t'iao sent an envoy with tributes to King Wei"¹⁷⁵. This Kushan name is often associated with Vasudeva I and it is suggested that he had sent his embassy to China to seek their assistance against the Sasanians¹⁷⁶. This name is uncertain which is merely postulated for the political set up of the Kushan dynasty. The Chinese name Po-t'iao might be corresponded with his successor, Kanishka II. Along with numismatic evidence, if Kanishka I accession is placed in AD. 127, then this account record the event of Kanishka II.

The monetary system of this ruler is almost similar to his predecessors Kanishka I and Huvishka. The coins pattern of Vasudeva I obviously indicates his succession after Huvishka. Like his predecessors, he struck his coins in gold and copper and retained the same Bactrian legend i.e. *Shaonano Shao Koshano* and his name *Bazodeva* (Vasudeva). The second phase copper coins of Huvishka bearing the figure of two-armed Herakles can certainly be connected with the early copper coins of Vasudeva I but the latter are struck in different designs. In addition, the style of Vasudeva I tamga is very close to that of Huvishka tamga which certainly derived from the latter. Besides this, the palaeographic style of Vasudeva coins has great similarity with the Huvishka coin which now used to be written in cursive form and thereafter it completely changed to cursive style in the time of later Kushans and Kushano-Sasanians. The weight of copper coins of Vasudeva likewise has close

¹⁷⁰ Sircar, D.C., 1987 (1953-54): 181-83.

¹⁷¹ Buhler, G., 1983 (1892): 392.

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 388.

¹⁷³ Buhler, G., 1984 (1894): 205.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 205.

¹⁷⁵ Zürcher, E., 1968: 371.

¹⁷⁶ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 105.

matching with the copper coins of Huvishka which later on gradually reduced to low weight. All these features certainly show the succession of Vasudeva I to Huvishka.

Looking to coin designs, the choice of this ruler is very limited. With the exception of minor changes they are monotonous in character having standing figure of king on the obverse and Oesho and bull on the reverse. In other reverse designs they represent the figure of four-armed Vasudeva and goddess Nana. The figure of Oesho is shown in different varieties on his gold issues. The obverse designs both in gold and copper characteristically depicting different symbols which were progressively added to it and the certain designs were branched out into two. The nandipada type of Vasudeva I was adopted by Sasanians in Bactria and akṣara type was copied by later Kushan and from them the Guptas in the east.

The coins of Vasudeva are known widespread from Takht-i-Sangin¹⁷⁷ in the northwest and Sonkh¹⁷⁸, Meerut¹⁷⁹, Jaunpur¹⁸⁰ near Mathura in the east and numerous other sites like the well reputed Begram, Swat, Kashmir Smast, Ganghudher, Taxila, in middle territories of the Kushans. This wide circulation of his coins obviously show his extensive empire stretching from north of river Oxus (in the west) to the reaches of Bihar (in the east).

Kanishka II

Due to the close similarity of his coins with those of the coins of Vasudeva I there is no doubt that he was the immediate successor of Vasudeva I. In the beginning particularly before the concept of bifurcation of Kanishka I era (as discussed earlier), the position and succession of this ruler was very much doubtful. Various scholars like Lohuizen-de Leeuw¹⁸¹, Mitchiner¹⁸², Puri¹⁸³, Gupta¹⁸⁴, Mitterwallner¹⁸⁵, Burns¹⁸⁶,

¹⁷⁷ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 90-94.

¹⁷⁸ Hertal, H., 1993: 86, 314-15.

¹⁷⁹ Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 54-55.

¹⁸⁰ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30.

¹⁸¹ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E.V., 1949: 305-307.

¹⁸² Mitchiner, M., 1978: 456-460.

¹⁸³ Puri, B.N., 1965: 70-74.

¹⁸⁴ Gupta, P.L., 1998: 239-40.

¹⁸⁵ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 27-32, 193-94.

¹⁸⁶ Burns, C.A., 1998: 183-213.

Cribb¹⁸⁷ and others substantially separate the rule of Kanishka II from the early rulers and distinguish his coins from the predecessors and successors. According to this sequence it is known that after the departure of Vasudeva I in the year 98 (or 99) of Kanishka I era another Kanishka (Kanishka II) succeeded to the Kushan throne.

He was the first king of the later Kushans and initiated a new pattern for the Kushan coinage. After him the subsequent rulers adopted the same design for their coins. The obverse of a new type remains displaying standing figure of king but the king now wears imperial dress with a sceptre in the left hand instead of chain-mail suit with a trident in the left hand and the reverse is decorated with the enthroned figure of Ardoxsho. These coins were passed through the phases of transition by means the obverse of early coins is very similar to the Vasudeva I style and the reverse image of deity also exhibits similar developments, first in standing position, then seated on throne without back-rest and finally with high backed throne. With the exception of early coins, the production of Oesho and bull coins is extremely rare.

The coins of Kanishka II are reported from Takht-i-Sangin in the Oxus valley in the west, Begram in Afghanistan, Gandhara and Punjab in Pakistan and Mathura in India in the east. This wide circulation of his coinage shows his vast empire that was acquired by his predecessors.

On the other hand there are numerous such inscriptions in Brāhmī which are usually associated to king Kanishka II. Accordingly, the Jaina image inscription of the year 5¹⁸⁸, Jaina image inscription of the year 7¹⁸⁹, Jaina image inscription of the year 15¹⁹⁰ etc. reported from Kankali Tila, Mathura.

In this regard numismatic evidences as well as epigraphic documents confirm his ruling in the Oxus valley including Afghanistan, Pakistan and India upto Mathura.

At the same time numismatic and literary evidences indicate the collapse of Kushan kingdom in the northwest regions during the regime of this monarch.

¹⁸⁷ Cribb, J., 1981: 107; 1990: 176.

¹⁸⁸ Buhler, G., 1983 (1892): 381-82.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 391.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 382.

The Second Century of Kanishka I Era or New Era of Kanishka II

It is a great debatable issue where Kanishka II had commenced a new era or continued the previous era of Kanishka I for second century by omitting or dropping the figures of hundred. The concept was generally created by the assumption that Kushan dates in Kanishka era which occur between year 1 and year 98 (or 99) and not beyond these dates. It was also observed that the dates of some of the rulers are overlapping with one another like the dates of Vasishka and Kanishka (III) occur during the reign of Huvishka. The proper classification and identification of these dates were undertaken by Lohuizen de-Leeuw in her famous book *The Scythian Period* published in 1949. She solved this confusion on the basis of palaeographic, numismatic and stylistic analysis of art pieces. Eventually she came to the conclusion that Kanishka I era was continued by the later Kushans after Vasudeva by omitting (or dropping) of the hundred figure from the time of Kanishka II as the dates of this ruler are found freshly from year 5 to 18 as were seen under Kanishka I.

After this declaration now it is widely accepted that the dates of later Kushan kings such as Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III occurred in the second century of Kanishka era by means reckoning without the hundred figure. These dates seems to have begun after the hundred years of Kanishka I era and with the departure of Vasudeva I as his date after the year 98 (or 99) are not recorded. Later on, another Kanishka II began to rule and inscribed his dates without hundred figures hence the dates and names of the two Kanishka are found identical. The two kings of the same name are differentiated by their coins, style of palaeography and art.

In the result of this classification, Lohuizen de-Leeuw identified several dated inscriptions of Kanishka II both in the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī. The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions previously identified to Kanishka I are: Manikyala stone inscription of the year 18¹⁹¹, Zaida inscription of the year 11¹⁹², Sui Vihar copper plate inscription of the year 11¹⁹³, are now identified by Lohuizen de-Leeuw to Kanishka II¹⁹⁴. If the second century of Kanishka I era is understand and converted for Kanishka II era whereas it was also begun in the reign of latter king then it will be convenient to

¹⁹¹ Konow, S., 1929: 145-149.

¹⁹² Ibid, pp. 142-145.

¹⁹³ Ibid, pp. 138-141; Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 67, 72.

¹⁹⁴ Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E.V., 1986: 1-9.

distinguish the dates of later Kushans from the early era (first century of Kanishka I era).

Eruption of the Sasanians

The mint analysis of the coins of this ruler indicates that in the beginning he issued his coins from the two known mints once operated under Vasudeva I, one located in the west around Bactria and the other in the east probably in Gandhara (Peshawar).

Soon after his accession, he stopped to issue the coins from the western mint and seemingly shifted this mint to a new provenance where he reoriented his mint system and most probably established it in the Mathura region. On the other hand he kept intact the former eastern mint now known as the western mint after the move of previous west mint into the east. These changes were intentionally introduced and can certainly be associated with some kind of external movement. The numismatic as well as historical evidences show that the north-western part of the Kushan Empire was annexed by the Sasanian king Ardashir in the early years of Kanishka II rule. Then at the end of Kanishka II rule another invasion of the Sasanians took place under Shapur I around AD. 245 (or slightly later) in which they established the Sasanian rule in the conquered territories of the Kushan. Prior the Bactria would be lost to the Sasanians; Kanishka II shifted his mint from the certain territory to the safe one in the east. In this respect the historical accounts also advocate the Ardashir invasion in the north east (Kushanshahr) and submission of the Kushans whereas the ambassador of the latter paid homage to king Ardashir, first ruler of the Sasanians¹⁹⁵. It didn't mention the date but this event must have been appeared around AD. 230s as the latter ruled between AD. 224 and 241. In this regard the fore-mentioned Chinese referred to Kushan king Po-t'iao, recorded in AD. 230 can be linked to this king¹⁹⁶. Ardashir was succeeded by his son Shapur I, who ruled from AD. 241 to 272. The Naqsh-i-Rustam epigraphs of Shapur I inscribed in AD. 262 narrates the various invasions of king that "among other provinces Eranshahr included Kushanshahr forward upto Pskbwr and to the border of Kaš, Sogd and Čač", Pskbwr, or Purushapura (Peshawar) was the capital of Gandhara, "I possess" and "they all paid us

¹⁹⁵ Litvinsky, B.A. et al., 1999: 477.

¹⁹⁶ Zurcher, E., 1968: 371

tributes and were subject to us"¹⁹⁷. The exact date of this occupation is not known but in historical perspectives it is generally thought that Shapur I seemingly conquered Kushanshahr around AD. 245 or slightly later¹⁹⁸.

The Masson's coins collection from Begram yields numerous coins of Kanishka II¹⁹⁹ but then no evidences of the Kushan coins after this ruler. It obviously indicates that Kabul valley was still in hands of the later Kushan in the time of Kanishka II. In this connection the Kushan site of Takht-i-Sangin, north of river Oxus also contains some copper coins of Kanishka II and thereafter no coins of the Kushans from that area²⁰⁰. These evidences certainly prove that Kanishka II, after Great Kushans, was the last Kushan king in Kabul valley and also for a while in north of Hindu-Kush. The presence of these coins also denies direct arrival of the Sasanians in Bactria and Kabul valley after Vasudeva I but the Sasanians would likely occupied these territories including Gandhara during the reign of Kanishka II or just after his death. If the date AD. 227 of Kanishka I era is corresponding to the accession of Kanishka II who is known to have ruled for 17 years (or 18 or more than 18 years (=117/118 of Kanishka I era)) then the terminus date of Kanishka II will be estimated after AD. 245, and before AD. 250.

Vasishka

The succession of Vasishka after Kanishka II can be confirmed from the continuation of the so-called Kanishka I (II) era. The succession of this king can also be attested from the numismatic evidences which followed the pattern of Kanishka II. According to dated inscriptions of Vasishka which inscribed in the year 24 and 28 and perhaps 30 (?) as mentioned earlier certainly occurred in the second century of Kanishka era. It reveals that he ruled for a few years perhaps would have begun before the year 24. The last dated inscription of his predecessor is recorded in the year 18 (Kanishka II era), so it is suggested that during the gap between year 18 and year 24, the reign of Kanishka II seems to be concluded and consequently Vasishka would have followed to him.

¹⁹⁷ Litvinsky, B.A. et al., 1999: 479.

¹⁹⁸ Cribb, J., & Errington, E., 1992: 18.

¹⁹⁹ Masson, C., 1834: 163.

²⁰⁰ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 90-94.

The short ruling of this monarch is also attested from the coin finds and their number which are few and quite rare than the other rulers of the later Kushans. Following the style of later Kushans, initiated by Kanishka II, he struck his coins in Ardoxsho and Oesho and bull types and are known in gold only. The copper coins of this ruler are not yet identified.

The gold coins of Vasishka, as mentioned earlier, are rare and reported from many sites like Lahore (unpublished hoard), Jaunpur²⁰¹, Meerut²⁰² and Mathura²⁰³. Similarly the sphere of epigraphs of this ruler is limited, few of the inscriptions mention his name like the Kamra Kharoṣṭhi inscription of the year 30 (?) from Pakistan²⁰⁴ and Brāhmī Buddhist statue inscription of the year 24 from Sanchi²⁰⁵, and another inscription of the year 28 from the same locality²⁰⁶. These inscriptions show the king with full titles like *maharajasa*, *rajatirajasa*, *devaputrasa*, *tratarasa*, *jayadasa*. There is another Brāhmī inscription of the year 24 from Isapur (near Mathura) repeating the fore-mentioned titles of the king²⁰⁷. The Kharoṣṭhi inscription of the year 41 of Kanishka III from Arā (Pakistan) also mentions the name of this ruler (Vasishka) as his father²⁰⁸.

The gold coins as well as Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī inscriptions of Vasishka certainly confirm his position after Kanishka II and his ruling in the territories of Gandhara, Punjab (Pakistan) and Mathura (India).

Further Extension of the Sasanians

In historical accounts and numismatic perspectives the Kushans had lost Bactria, Kabul valley and Gandhara (perhaps partly) to the Sasanians during and after the reign of Kanishka II. From Gandhara, there are plenty copper hoards which represent the coins of Kushano-Sasanian kings: Peroz I, Hormizd I, Hormizd II and Peroz II. Similarly some hoards also carry the coins of Shapur II²⁰⁹. It is well proved from the

²⁰¹ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30 (Figure: 6-8, 11-12).

²⁰² Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 54-55 (Coin: 5).

²⁰³ Gupta, P.L., 1989: 135.

²⁰⁴ Dobbins, K.W., 1975: 105-109; Bailey, H.W., 1981-82: 78.

²⁰⁵ Bühler, G., 1984 (1894): 369-70.

²⁰⁶ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 112-112; Gupta, P.L., 1994: 136.

²⁰⁷ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 136.

²⁰⁸ Konow, S., 1929: 162-63.

²⁰⁹ Cribb, J., 1981: 84-106; 1985: 266-273, 321.

Kushan and Sasanian coins that during the reign of Kanishka II, Kushans first lost the north-western territory including Bactria then Kabul valley and partly Gandhara to the Sasanians. Later on after the departure of Kanishka II and perhaps also Vasishka, the Kushans also lost the control of Gandhara at least upto the river Indus. In this sequence the Kushano-Sasanian king Peroz I is said to have been contemporary with the Kushan king Vasishka whose coins are commonly found in Gandhara²¹⁰.

Kanishka III

The famous Arā Kharoṣṭhi inscription (Pakistan) refers to king Kanishka, of the Kanishka (II) era, is certainly assigned to the reign of Kanishka III after the above-mentioned dated inscriptions of Kanishka II and Vasishka. This epigraph was inscribed in the year 41 of Kanishka (II) era and depicts various titles of the king such *maharajasa*, *rajatirajasa*, *devaputrasa* and *kaisara*²¹¹. The first three titles are common in the Kushan epigraphs but the fourth title is quite new. The new title is apparently derived from the Romans where the king was often known with the title *Kaisara*. Konow refers to the statement of Pelliot who mentioned four different titles on the Kushan coins and epigraphs particularly on the document of this king showing the reflection of different kingdoms such as India, Iran, China and Roman Empire. According to this order the said titles are also arranged in the same sequence where *maharaja* is the Indian, *rajatiraja* the Iranian, *devaputra* the Chinese, and *Kaisara* the Roman title²¹². This document confirms the succession to his father Vasishka and also proves the ruling of this monarch in Pakistan. He was the last Kushan ruler whose written document is known after this ruler there is no such epigraphic evidence of the Kushan kings. In this regard, it is also difficult to determine the ruling period of Kanishka III that for how longer he exercised his rule.

Following the later Kushan style he issued gold coins both in Ardoxsho and Oesho and bull types. His copper coins are also identified in the same designs. The coins of this king are commonly found all over the Kushan dominion including Gandhara and Punjab in the west (Pakistan) and Uttar Pradesh (India) in the east. The Lahore gold hoard (unpublished) contains numerous coins of Kanishka III. On the

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Konow, S., 1929: 162-63.

²¹² Ibid, p. 163.

other hand various gold hoards from Indian Territory commonly include the gold coins of this king such as the Jaunpur hoard²¹³, Meerut hoard²¹⁴, Unnao hoard²¹⁵, Junjhunu hoard²¹⁶ and Hisar hoard²¹⁷ etc. The coin finds indicate his strong ruling in the eastern part including Rajhستان, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh provinces in India. Similarly his weak control in the western regions is attested from his coins as only Lahore hoard contains the coins of this ruler. Due to the increasing influence of the Kushan-Sasanians in the Kabul valley and Gandhara Kanishka III seems to have retreated towards east as the numismatic evidence support this explanation. In this regard Kanishka III would have been contemporary with the Kushano-Sasanian king Peroz I and also Hormizd I.

Vasudeva II

There is no epigraphic evidence that could identify the name and date of this ruler. The only source is the numismatic evidence which provides similar information that he was the great king of the later Kushans. On the basis of coins information, he would have succeeded to king Kanishka III, and was the last ruler of the later Kushans. In this connection he was also the last Kushan king who has issued the gold coins of Ardoxsho type in combination with the Oesho and bull type. After this the practice of Oesho and bull type completely disappeared from the Kushan coins, thereafter the coins were struck in Ardoxsho type only. Alongside he issued copper coins in the same design and in addition also struck some coins in other designs as well.

The gold as well as copper coins of this ruler are very common among the later Kushans. His coins are reported from different hoards reported by Cribb²¹⁸ and other areas like Lahore (unpublished hoard), Rustam (hoard-A: unpublished), Ganghuder (unpublished hoard)²¹⁹, from different sites of Taxila²²⁰ etc. in the west

²¹³ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30.

²¹⁴ Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 54-55 (Coin: 8).

²¹⁵ Srivastava, A.K., 1970: 31-33 (Figure: 7-9).

²¹⁶ Gupta, P.L., 1989: 135, 139.

²¹⁷ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

²¹⁸ Cribb, J., 1981: 93-108.

²¹⁹ Khan, G.R., 1999: 48-49, 58, 62.

²²⁰ Marshall, J., 1975 (1951): 821 (Coin: 269, Pl: 243).

(Pakistan) and Jaunpur²²¹, Meerut²²², Unnao²²³, Junjhunu²²⁴, Hisar²²⁵, Mathura²²⁶ in the east (India). The numismatic evidence shows that during the reign of Vasudeva II the later Kushans were succeeded to regain the control of lost territories at least of Gandhara from the Sasanians as he frequently overstruck the copper coins of the Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd I (and Peroz I also)²²⁷ in the said region. Moreover the coins of these rulers often found together in hoards reported from the various sites in Gandhara. Thus Vasudeva II extended his rule upto Gandhara. In this regard the Kushan ruler under king was stretching from Gandhara in the west to Uttar Pradesh in the east.

Magra/ Maśra, Māhi, Shaka & Successors

As mentioned earlier there is no epigraphic evidence of the Kushan king after Kanishka III, so the only source of their succession and political history are their coins. Due to the characteristic features and arrangement of akṣaras the coins of this group or kings come after the reign of Vasudeva II and all are struck in one design having standing king on the obverse and enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse.

The coins of Māhi and Magra/ Maśra are extremely rare and the Māhi coins are usually reported from the western region (Pakistan)²²⁸ and similarly the coins of Magra/ Maśra from the eastern territory (India)²²⁹.

The Shaka coins, like Vasudeva II, are known to have reported from all regions between Gandhara in the west and Mathura in the east. Shaka coins are much common in the western region than those of his predecessors are known to have reported from Rustam (hoard-A, unpublished), Bannu (hoard-A & hoard-B)²³⁰, Sargodha²³¹ in the west and Jaipur, Junjhunu²³², Hisar (known as Mithathal)²³³ and

²²¹ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30 (Figure: 1-15).

²²² Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 48-49, 54-57.

²²³ Srivastava, A.K., 1970: 31-33.

²²⁴ Pokharna, P., 1981: 25-35.

²²⁵ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

²²⁶ Gupta, P.L., 1989: 135, 139 (Pl. 14.11.9).

²²⁷ Cribb, J., 1981: 106-107; 1985: 314-15.

²²⁸ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1991: 69-92.

²²⁹ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 177.

²³⁰ Burns, C.A., 1985: 55-57.

²³¹ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1991: 69-92.

²³² Pokharna, P., 1981: 25-35.

Mathura²³⁴ in the east. The numismatic evidences show that Shaka was the last king of the Kushans who had retained the Kushan kingdom (reduced one) intact as it was achieved in the time of Vasudeva II. The presence of Shaka in the east is also recorded in the Gupta inscriptions that the Shaka are their neighbours²³⁵.

Gupta Eruption (East)

In terms of numerous coin finds of Shaka and also of Magra/ Maśra in the said eastern regions evidently show the substantial ruling of the Kushans upto Mathura. Their presence in these territories could also be confirmed by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. It reads *Daivaputra Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi* that certainly speaks for the neighbouring kingdom of the Shaka²³⁶. It is therefore suggested that in the beginning of Samudragupta reign, the Kushan kings Magra/ Maśra and then Shaka, were contemporary to the Gupta ruling in the east²³⁷.

Vasudeva II ruling in the east of Mathura is well attested whose coins are commonly reported from many coin hoards such as Jaunpur²³⁸, Meerut²³⁹, Unnao²⁴⁰ in UP but no coins of Shaka in these hoards (except Mathura). More importantly the Bijnor hoard (UP) containing 1 coin of Shaka (*sita* variety) and 4 coins of Kachagupta obviously show the direct succession of Gupta to the Shaka in UP. These evidences indicate the end of Shaka in the certain territories. Contrary to these finds, there are several coin hoards from west of Mathura like Junjhunu²⁴¹, Hisar²⁴², Mathura²⁴³ which yield good quantity of Shaka coins. These coins show their ruling in Rajhستان and Punjab while they had lost the eastern territory beyond Mathura to the Guptas.

Further the Gupta occupation is also known by the appearance of Chandragupta II inscription at Mathura, first inscription of the Gupta in the said

²³³ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 153.

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 182.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 182.

²³⁸ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30 (Figure: 1-15).

²³⁹ Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 48-49, 54-57.

²⁴⁰ Srivastava, A.K., 1970: 31-33.

²⁴¹ Pokharna, P., 1981: 25-35.

²⁴² Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

²⁴³ Gupta, P.L., 1989: 135, 139 (Pl: 14.II.9).

provenance, which inscribed in the regnal year 5 and Gupta era 61 corresponding to year 380 of the Christian era²⁴⁴. The Guptas might have annexed the eastern part of the former Kushans around AD. 340s. Similarly the Gupta succession to Shaka in the west of Mathura is confirmed by the coins evidence from Hisar hoard containing the Shaka and Samudragupta coins together²⁴⁵. After Shaka the eastern part of the Kushans from Mathura to Punjab was occupied by the Guptas and this was the ultimate end of the Kushans in the east. Thereafter the Kushans were reduced in the western part including Gandhara and Punjab only.

Late Later Kushans (in the West) and the Arrival of the Kidarites

The next rulers of the so-called late later Kushans after Māhi and Shaka are known as Kipunadha and perhaps Gadahara and Gadakhra (Gadagra) who had established their rule in a reduced territory in the west including Punjab and Gandhara. The gold hoards from many places like Sargodha²⁴⁶, Punjab hoard (Pakistan)²⁴⁷, Shaikhupura²⁴⁸, Rustam (hoard-B, unpublished) and stray finds convincingly prove their ruling in the certain territories (Pakistan). This period is very crucial, disturbed and similarly important for understanding the complete decline of the Kushans.

The rulers of this line were contemporary to the long ruling of the Sasanian king Shapur II and it is also recorded that the Gandharan region became under the direct administration of the latter. In these circumstances the kings of this group of the later Kushans were seemingly the vassal rulers under Shapur II. After Kipunadha the Kushan coins were perhaps issued by the Kidara rulers (a branch of the Huns) and the latter coins which are extremely debased bearing various names like Yosa/ Kirada, Samudra/ Gadagra, Kirada/ Gadahara, Yasada/ Gadahara, Pirayasa/ Gadahara, Hanaka/ Shaha and Kidara/ Kushana. The Yosa/ Kirada coins certainly follow the coins of Kipunadha having similar Brāhmi letter *na* (or *ru*) in the lower left field. Then Samudra/ Gadagra coins come next in sequence, which have close resemblance with the Yosa/ Kirada. The Samudra/ Gadagra issues are said to have the

²⁴⁴ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 182.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 178-180.

²⁴⁶ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1991: 69-92.

²⁴⁷ Mitchiner, M., 1975: 147-156.

²⁴⁸ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 121.

coins of Samudragupta and they indicate the extension of Gupta in the west as numerous such coins are reported from one of the gold hoard recovered from Pakistan²⁴⁹.

After this all the remaining coins follow the fore-mentioned Yosa/ Kirada and Samudra/ Gadagra coins. These coins characteristically exhibit a word *kapana* in the obverse lower left field which seemingly continued without any changes till the end of this series of coins. Another characteristic feature of these coins is the reuse of reverse akṣara after Kanishka III. The two names Pirayasa and Kidara were likewise simultaneously appeared on several series of Kushano-Sasanian coins after Varahran. On these coins the said names are read as Peroz (III) and Kidara identical to those inscribed on the Kushan style coins. These names were inscribed parallel on Kushano-Sasanian coins such as (a) gold scyphate coins, (b) small thin copper coins, and (c) small silver coins. The latter coins were issued in two different styles with different legends (i) the typical Sasanian style bust with Pehlevi legend and (ii) barbarous frontal style bust with Brāhmī legend²⁵⁰. These names appeared after a long sequence of the Kushano-Sasanian kings in Bactria such as Ardashir, Peroz I, Hormizd I, Hormizd II, Peroz II and the last name Varahran. The two names Peroz or Pirayasa and Kidara are systematically appeared on the several classes of Kushano-Sasanian coins and late later Kushan gold coins. Similar evidences are also derived from the Tepe-Maranjan hoard which included the gold scyphate coins of Kidara with Sasanian silver coins of Shapur II, Ardashir II and Shapur III²⁵¹. In this sequence Kidara comes first which would certainly be placed there after Varahran and before Shapur II. Joe Cribb, for this political upheaval of the Kidara kings of Hephthalites in the kingdom of Kushano-Sasanians in the west and late later Kushans in the east, concluded much convincing remarks. According to him, these rulers, called Peroz or Pirayasa and Kidara, are not necessarily Kushano-Sasanians and have been identified by someone with the so-called Kidarite-Huns²⁵². Mitterwallner also identifies the

²⁴⁹ Mitchiner, M., 1975: 147-156.

²⁵⁰ Cribb, J., 1990: 157-158, 161.

²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 170.

²⁵² Ibid, p. 171.

said names for the Kidarite kings of Huns branch who were opponent of the Kushans²⁵³.

These evidences obviously show that a wave of Kidarite, a branch of Huns or Hephthalites, came to occupy Bactria and Kabul valley of the Kushano-Sasanians. In the meanwhile they also conquered the small kingdom of the soc-called late later Kushans in Gandhara and Punjab the domain of Sasanian emperor Shapur II and perhaps also driven out the Guptas from there. On the assumption that they had no tradition of their coins and would therefore adopted to issue the Kushano-Sasanian style coins in the west and Kushan pattern coins in the east. It is also suggested that the word Gadahara found along with Kidara and Pirayasa is normally considered the name of Kushan king that latter had recognized the authority of the Kidara but still used to rule there²⁵⁴.

Consequently Shapur II carried out an expedition against the Chionites (Hephthalites) in the winter of AD. 356-57 in the east and in Gandhara he changed the political set up and replaced the Kushan rulers with the Kidara²⁵⁵. Kidara was the new rising power in the former Kushanshahr, Shapur II therefore supported them against the Kushans and also encouraged them to resist against the Hephthalites where the latter had already increased their influence in north of Hindu-Kush.

²⁵³ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 41-45.

²⁵⁴ Mitchiner, M., 1978: 471.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

Chapter V

SOCIO & CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE KUSHANS

General Background

The Kushan coins, the earliest of this dynasty, yielding a complex cultural phenomenon, show the continuation of the cultures of the previous dynasties such as Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. After Vima (II) Kadphises, third ruler of the Kushans, they exhibit the typical Kushan style, however, they still possess various elements of the other traditions. Besides coins, the contemporary art and architecture, epigraphic records and historical accounts also contribute a lot in revealing the various aspects of culture of this dynasty. The ruling period of the Kushan dynasty spanning over three hundred years, they began to rule in the first half of the 1st century AD and reached to an end in the mid of 4th century AD. This dynasty had established a vast empire, a great power of the time, which spreading over several countries of the modern times. The extents of the Kushan Empire were known beyond the river Oxus in the northwest and down upto the reaches of the Bihar and Orissa or at least to the eastern boundaries of the Uttar Pradesh (India) in the east.

In respect of the big empire that was established over such a vast territory had accumulated a huge population of the different races, different linguistic groups and different societies. Due to this diversity it owed different religions and various kinds of cultures. Before achieving this empire, the Kushan kingdom had been the abode of several dynasties that came from different regions and directions and their remnants in one form or the other co-existed and intermingled with the local traditions. In due course of time the foreign cultures and traditions influenced the local practices and customs. This was the continuous process where such elements were added with the passage of time and merged into the societies.

In view of this, the first direct interaction is found of the certain territory with the Achaemenian who brought with them the Persian style of art, architecture, culture and religion (Zoroastrian). Some of their aspects left a great impact on the

Afghanistan and Indian culture and society that lasted for a long time and gradually some of their features became essential components of the people of the said territory.

The Achaemenians were followed by the most formidable era of the Greeks. The Achaemenian power was crushed by Alexander who not only occupied their territory but the latter also extended his victories upto the river Jehlum in the east with conquering Central Asia, Afghanistan and the north-western part of Pakistan. These Greeks were soon followed by the Greeks of Bactria who established their strong kingdom stretching from Bactria in the northwest and Punjab and lower Sind in the east and southeast (present Pakistan). The ruling span of these Greeks usually called as Indo-Greeks, is two hundred years, they ascended to rule in the mid of 3rd century BC. The Indo-Greeks, like Alexander, established cities of their own style like the city of Begram (Kabul valley) in Afghanistan, Shaikhan Dheri (Charsadda) and Sirkap (Taxila) in Pakistan. The architectural style of these cities is purely Greek. The plan was made in chess-board pattern where the streets intersected at right angles. These cities were protected by fortification wall. The city as a tradition was divided into two blocks one for the ruling class and officials and the other for common people (workers, servants, merchants etc.). The drainage system was well organized. The shops were laid open to the street and road areas. The public buildings like temples, schools and hospitals were made inside the city. The main temples like Jandial (Taxila) were erected in the outskirts of the city or town. The most significant feature of their contribution into these territories is the introduction of proper coinage which was based on the Greek style. This feature in term of art style, coin design, writing and weight system played a very important role for the coin design of subsequent dynasties and survived in one form or the other for more than one thousand years in Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India until the arrival of the Muslims in the respective areas.

The Indo-Greeks were the civilized people and had introduced the town planning and various cultural activities in the occupied territories. They were followed by the Indo-Parthians and the Indo-Scythians. Originally they were Central Asian nomadic peoples but they also retained the previous traditions like the coin designs, writing and monetary system. They were the warrior people, usually clad in armour dress and shown riding on their horses.

Coins as a Source of Cultural Profile

As cited earlier, the most interesting and valuable material of the Indo-Greek period are their coins. The coins of Bactrian and Indo-Greeks kings can be connected with the Alexander pattern. The Indo-Greek coins were basically designed on the Seleukid pattern and the latter coins were similarly made on the style of Alexander. In this way they introduced the art of regular coinage into India. Before the arrival of the Greeks, the coins of India were made in local style. They were struck in silver but rarely in copper with square, rectangular and bar shapes and were normally decorated with symbols made through punches. Earlier the Punch-marked coins were circulated all over the sub-continent including the modern country of Afghanistan. When the Greeks (Indo-Greek) occupied Afghanistan and north-western part of Pakistan they issued their own coins. Hence they introduced a new coinage in a certain area. They caused to change the monetary system of this area. They introduced the Greek style which can be seen in different ways and greatly uprooted in the Indian society and later on the same practice carried on by their successors. The most important aspect of the Greek coinage is the use of Greek script and language which not only used by the Greek themselves but was equally popular in the subsequent periods. These coins are the basic source of Greek inscription where they were inscribed in Greek. The coins usually display the name and titles of the kings in Greek. In titles the standard one was *Basileos* and sometimes the complementary titles were used as *Soteros*, *Megalou* or *Megas*, *Aniketou*, *Dikaïou*, etc. Demetrius also began to inscribe his coins in the local script and language i.e. Kharoṣṭhi was used to write the Prakrit. In this scheme, the Greek legend was inscribed on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse. Besides this few of the Indo-Greek coins were also issued in the Indian script Brāhmi.

In designs the common obverse feature was head or bust of king usually facing to right and the reverse was normally decorated with the figure of deities or their attributes and sometimes animal or other kind of devices. The deities always represent the Greek religion and the animals mostly belonged to the Indian origin. The remaining devices comprised various attributes of the different deities of Greek origin like weapons and miscellaneous objects. In these designs, the king and certain

deities are shown in Greek dresses and the king normally wears a diadem or some kind of headdress but not crowns.

As far as the monetary system is concerned, the standard currency of the Greek period was silver while copper was used for lower denominations. The gold practice was extremely rare and confined to the early rulers of the dynasty. In other metals there is one example of nickel coins and similarly one example of billon coins are also known. The coins were struck in the Attic weight standard, however, the later coins were also issued in the reduced weight of Indian standard. In this weight the heavy one was known as stater and the standard one drachm which was half of the first. The latter one was much common usually applied for the silver and also copper. The normal weight of a drachm is about 4.0 (or slightly above) grammes and they were struck in multiple and sub-multiple denominations.

The Indo-Greeks were followed by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians and they seemingly continued to strike their coins on the style of their predecessors. The Indo-Scythians basically retained the same legend for their coins having Greek on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhi on the reverse however they added a Greek title i.e. *Basileon* corresponding to *rajtirajasa* in Kharoṣṭhi. In designs they retained the same reverse devices as were prevalent under Indo-Greeks but the obverse design was certainly different. In obverse designs, particularly from the time of Azes I, the king was normally shown riding on horse to right. The coins of this dynasty were struck in Indian standard of reduced weight. So the addition of a title, the new obverse design and uniformity of weight system distinguished the Indo-Scythian coins from the Indo-Greeks. The Indo-Parthians, the successors of the Indo-Scythians, to a great extent followed the pattern of the Indo-Scythian coins. Sometimes they added the Parthian style of bust to their coins and used a variety of titles which were already known on the coins of their predecessors. The silver coins progressively decreased in the fineness and they now almost changed to billon style. Having the use of Greek deities, Gondophares also introduced the figure of Indian style deity (normally identified with Śiva) for the reverse design.

The Kushans succeeded the Bactrian-Greeks in Bactria, the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Parthians in the Kabul valley and the Indo-Parthians in Gandhara, Punjab and Kashmir. The Kushans who were the successors of the cited dynasties in the said

territories certainly copied the coins of these dynasties in the respective areas. In this regard the coins of the early Kushan rulers are of great importance which reveals the same story. As described in the previous chapters, the early coins of this dynasty greatly help to understand the political history, monetary history and now the cultural history as well.

Kushan Cultural History through Their Coins

As far as the cultural history of the Kushan is concerned, the coins of this dynasty will be treated in greater details along with other evidences like archaeological discoveries, epigraphic documents and contemporary accounts. In this perspective the Kushan coins are divided into two groups: the early style based on the preceding dynasties and later style which can be called as true Kushan style. While Kujula Kadphises was the first ruler of the dynasty, therefore, no appropriate pattern was developed to which the Kushan coins could be identified. Before him the chiefs of the *Yüeh-chih* to which the family Kuei-shuang was belonged, settled in the Bactria region, always imitated the Greek coins for the monetary purpose. In viewing this Kujula also followed the same practice hence the basic pattern of his coins was based on the Hermaeus, the last Indo-Greek king in Kabul valley and Gandhara. Besides this, his coins also show various features of other contemporary dynasties and regional traditions. In this connection various types of this ruler are known that could be issued and circulated in a particular area like the Heratis issue in Bactria, Hermaeus type with Herakles reverse in the Kabul valley and Gandhara, Augustus portrait and enthroned figure with Zeus coins in Taxila, bull and camel coins in Kashmir and Taxila. From cultural point of view, he used Greek language and Greek script, weight system, religious elements, costumes and headdresses of Greek style. Moreover his coins show the use of Indian language and script and the use of horseman reverses of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian style, and the seated position of king as appeared on the Indo-Scythian coins. One of his issues copied the Roman pattern, having the head of Augustus on the obverse and the king seated in Roman type curule chair on the reverse.

His successor, Vima (I) Takto, likely to continue the Greek style of bust portrait on the obverse, Greek legend in Greek script, horseman design of the Indo-

Scythian or Indo-Parthian pattern on the reverse. He adopted the Greek weight standard, Greek deities and the Indian style deity (usually identifiable with Śiva) of Gondophares type. His successor Vima (II) Kadphises also retained the Greek features like the script and language along with the Indian script and language and Attic weight for the copper coins. Besides this, he adopted many new features from the Roman traditions such as the use of gold coinage and weight standard known as *dinar* (*dinarius*) due to which they named the certain coins. In coin designs, he completely changed the Greek style, few design like king riding in biga, king enthroned in western style copied from the Roman pattern and the standing figure of king sacrificing at altar on the copper (and silver) was taken from the Parthians. In other designs the king riding on elephant show his association with India perhaps demonstrates for some kind of victory and the king is emerging or seated upon rocks or cloud on the Kushan style. Unlike Greek, the king is shown wearing Central Asian style long sleeved coat, loose trousers, high boots and tall rounded helmet and sometimes wears low cap. He employed new reverse deity normally identified as Śiva (Oesho) which in iconography greatly resembled with the Greek deity Herakles and the Indian god Śiva.

After Vima (II) Kadphises, Kanishka brought remarkable changes in the Kushan coinage and constituted a typical Kushan style. Like his predecessors he continued the Roman weight for gold and Attic weigh for copper, retained the Greek language and script both for the obverse and reverse of his early coins and completely abandoned the practice of local script and language. Like the Romans he began to inscribe the names of deities along with the figures of certain deities on the reverse. In the second stage, he discontinued the Greek style and inscribed his coins in Bactrian (or Persian) language and script. Hence the Bactrian legend replaced the Greek and was then written as *Shaonano shao* and dynasty name *Koshano* on gold and its short form *Shao* on copper. Most of the deities have their resemblance with the icons of Persian mythology and some with the Indian like the figures of Mahasena, Skanda-Kumara, Bizago, Oesho (?) and Buddha. These deities are often dressed in long sleeved tunics sometimes with mantles and high boots of Persian and Central Asian style and some deities wear Roman type short dresses and war cuirass. In obverse deigns Kanishka continued the standing figure of king sacrificing at altar

like his predecessor. The king wears almost similar dress as was used by his predecessor and wears various crowns like low cap with crescent, forward bonnet and rounded cap with top crest.

In succession Huvishka followed Kanishka and like him he inscribed his coins in the Bactrian version and used similar titles and retained the same reverse designs for his coins. He included more Persian deities and with them incorporated other various deities of Indian and Roman origin. In obverse, he reverted to the obverse design of Vima (II) Kadphises e.g. king emerging from rocks or clouds, king riding on elephant and king seated cross-legged. On these coins, the figure of king is not shown in standing position as was the style of his predecessor Kanishka I. The king wears variety of crowns and costumes and appeared with different weapons and devices. The significant feature of the costumes of Huvishka is the use of imperial dress that is richly decorated in different designs. In copper coins he also introduced a new variety where the king is shown in relaxed position reclining on a throne with left leg resting on a stool.

Vasudeva I, the successor of Huvishka, for his coins continued the standard pattern of his predecessors. Accordingly, he retained the Bactrian legend with similar titles, same reverse pattern but the designs are limited which largely confined to the Oesho and bull design of Indian style. In obverse, the coins uniformly show standing figure of king sacrificing at altar as such found on the coins of Kanishka I. Unlike his predecessors, Vasudeva dressed in chain-mail coat, which was a new tradition in the Kushan coinage. Alongside he wears conical crown with cheek protection and carries trident his raised left hand. On the later coins, Vasudeva introduced a new feature i.e. the use of Brāhmī (sometimes Kharoṣṭhi also) akṣara. This feature on the coins of later Kushans played a very important role and was identified for the name of king where the Bactrian legend was no longer understood for the certain purposes.

After Vasudeva I, Kanishka II and onwards the coins were struck in uniform style seem to have continued the Bactrian legend and retained the standing figure of king sacrificing at altar. The use of Brāhmī akṣara gradually taking the importance of Bactrian legend and dominantly shown in the various fields particularly on the front side. These coins mainly represent two reverse varieties the Oesho and bull and the enthroned Ardoxsho. On the Oesho and bull variety the king is clad in chain-mail

dress holds trident in raised left hand and on the Ardoxsho variety the king appears in embroidered costumes with sceptre in the left hand.

In the final stage, after the reign of Vasudeva II, the Kushan coins were struck in one variety having enthroned Ardoxsho on the reverse and king wears imperial dress standing on the obverse. The Bactrian legend is no longer understood and the only legible script is the Brāhmī which reads the king name.

As described above, the Greek culture and coins fashion lasted for a long period even upto the time of Kushans. Similarly the developed form of coins tradition and modified form of culture were carried on by the successors of the Kushans for another era in the west and the east. In the west, they after Vasudeva I or perhaps Kanishka II, were succeeded by the Sasanians first in Bactria and subsequently in the Kabul valley and Gandhara as well. The Kushano-Sasanians in the territory of Kushanshahr imitated the coin design of the Kushans. As they came after Vasudeva I (and Kanishka II) therefore they followed the same coinage by means of the same obverse and reverse designs and the same Bactrian legend. They retained the name of Vasudeva but showed progressive changes and finally depicted their own names replacing the name of Vasudeva. Besides the main design which remained same but the king now wears Sasanian type costumes and crowns, the Bactrian script found in corrupt form and sometimes the mint name Bachlo (Balkh) is also inscribed. In reverse changes the Oesho feature was transformed into the Sasanian style like the flaming head and bushy hair, loose trousers instead of dhoti, and name of the Sasanian deity. These Sasanian coins were issued parallel with the coins of later Kushan kings Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II. In this connection some of the features of Sasanian dynasty can also be seen on the coins of the later Kushans such as the style of a staff held by Kanishka II was derived from the coins of Ardashir I and the design of a throne on the coins of Vasudeva II is related to the Peroz II coins¹.

As mentioned above, the Kushans were succeeded by the Guptas in the east where the latter followed the Shakas in UP, Rajhistan and Punjab and the adjacent areas. Upon their succession they exactly copied the coin designs of later Kushans and like them, retaining the standing figure of king on the obverse and enthroned

¹ Cribb, J., 1990: 91.

Ardoxsho on the reverse and also continued the pattern of Brāhmī akṣara which evidently used for the king name. The basic design of the standing king remained same but the Gupta changed the design of king dress. On these coins, king used to wear long ornamented apron with round hem and now the trident in the left field was also changed to some kind of standard. Similarly the enthroned figure of Ardoxsho on the reverse remained same but later on her iconography was transferred to the Indian goddess, Lakṣmī. In this way the main designs of standing king and enthroned goddess but appeared with different features were continued for a long period in the Indian territory. Even the design of the enthroned goddess lasted as late as the twelfth century after the arrival of the Muslims into India.

Main features of the cultural history of the Kushans

Crowns and Dresses

Crowns and Headdresses of Kings

The Kushan kings usually wear tall rounded or conical crowns and they are often richly ornamented. This tradition was initiated by Vima (II) Kadphises and then regularly followed by the successors. Most of the kings used more than one headdress which seemed to be crowned on different occasions. In this regard the headdresses of Huvishka are characteristically known in several varieties as evidenced from his coins. The headdresses of rulers particularly from the time of Huvishka were richly ornamented with different kind of plaques and pearls and sometimes above the forehead along the lower edge a round gold plaque was attached².

The ribbons of diadems are normally attached to the back of crowns. Diadem has been a royal emblem therefore the early Kushan kings and the later rulers attached it to the crowns used this essential element as had been found on the Greek coins. It is a simple band encircled around the head of king with ribbons behind head.

Kujula Kadphises

Conical Cap with Ball Ornament

On some of the coins, king wears a conical type of cap slightly broader at the base containing some kind of ornaments and then becomes narrower at the top. The top is

² Yatsenko, S.A., 2001: 90.

provided with a small circular ornament like a ball. This variety of headdress is appeared on the two types of Kujula Kadphises coins: i.e. (a) on the reverse of Augustus type where the king is enthroned on a curule chair, and (b) on the obverse of Zeus type where the king is shown seated cross-legged.

Vima (I) Takto

Ornamented Band

It is a circular ornamented band, below the usual diadem, around the head of king. appeared on his general issue where the flames emanate from the king's head.

Crested Helmet

This kind of helmet appears only on the Bactrian type of copper coins of Vima Takto king and obviously copied from the Eukratides coins. It is a typical Greek style helmet with a crest ornament at the top.

Vima (II) Kadphises

Tall Cylindrical Helmet with Wavelike Design (G: 12, 13)

It is a tall cylindrical helmet with forward-protruding bill and contains wavelike raised insignia on sides and a noteworthy crest ornament at the top. This crown is commonly depicted both on the gold and copper coins of Vima (II) Kadphises.

Tall Cylindrical Helmet with Circular Design (G: 4)

Like above, it is a cylindrical helmet with broad plain brim and contains a circular design on the sides and a pointed finial at the top. This crown is displayed only on silver coins of Vima (II) Kadphises.

Low round Cap with Disc Decoration (G: 2)

It is a low rounded cap having ornamented base and a disc decoration at the forehead. It is found on some gold coins of Vima Kadphises.

Low round Cap with Wavelike Design (G: 8)

It is a tall cylindrical helmet bearing plain brim and a wavelike design on the side. This type of crown was used on some of the gold coins of Vima Kadphises.

Kanishka I

Low Cap with Crescent Ornament (G: 25)

It is a low rounded cap with a crescent ornament at the forehead. This type of headdress appears only on the early gold and copper coins of Kanishka I.

Low Forward-pointing Bonnet (G: 34)

Like previous headdress, it also appears on the early gold and copper coins of Kanishka I. It is a low cap with forward-pointing bonnet and containing a circular design on the sides and characteristic crest ornament at the top.

Low Cap with Jewelled Brim and Crest Ornament (G: 58)

It is a low cap consisting of a jewelled brim and a crest ornament and at the top also decorated with a wavelike design on the sides. This is the common type appeared on the later coins of Kanishka I.

Huvishka

High Cap with Crescent and Ornamented Ribbons (G: 137, 291)

This crown comprises a high cap with a jewelled brim, a forward V-like design at the forehead and a noteworthy crest ornament at the top. Moreover there is a crescent or sometimes accompanied with a circle arranged inside the semi-circle of dots on the side and the ribbons are shown in decorated form. This is a common crown seen on the early coins of Huvishka.

High Cap with Crescent and Lattice like Ribbons (G: 332)

In design it is similar to the previous one (1), containing a jewelled brim but of different design, forward V-like design at the forehead and a noteworthy top crest ornament. It has a crescent or sometimes a circle placed inside the semicircle on side of the crown and the ribbons give effect of the lattice decoration. This is not a common design but found as a variety of the preceding crown (1) of Huvishka.

Tall Helmet with dotted Jewels inside the Circle (G: 290)

It is a tall rounded helmet with a narrow segmented brim and containing a wheel like insignia at the forehead and a crest ornament at the top but of different kind. There is a large circle on the side of crown containing pearls inside it and a band of pearls around the circle and a pair of plain ribbons provided at the back.

Tall Helmet with Leaf-shaped Insignia (G: 185)

In shape, it is similar to the previous crown having a broad jewelled brim and leaf-shaped insignia at the forehead and a low crest ornament of different style at the top. The side decoration comprising a circular decoration enclosed within semi-circle of pearls. To the back is the pair of lattice like ribbons.

Tall rounded Helmet with Side Flaps (G: 343)

Generally it is similar to above but has characteristic quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection, having a narrow brim with row of pearls and a crescent like insignia at the forehead. There is no crest ornament at the top but the circular surface containing pearls. On the side it has wavelike decoration and contains a circular design in the centre, the circular area is enclosed by pearl ornamentation. The lower portion of cheek protection is also decorated with pearls and containing lattice like ribbons at the back.

Tall rounded Helmet with Side Flaps and Wheel like Forehead Insignia (G: 219)

It is a round crown with characteristics of quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection as on the previous type, having no decoration at brim and no crest ornament at the top but containing a wheel like insignia at the forehead. On the side it has a wavelike design with circular decoration in the centre which enclosed within double row of pearls. The side flaps receive pearls decoration and the crown is provided with a single ribbon at the back.

Round Helmet with Hub of Jewels at Forehead (G: 209)

It is similar to the preceding one but without side flaps. There is no crest ornament at the top and contains a circular hub of jewels at the forehead and on the side it has a wavelike decoration with circular design. At the back of crown the ribbons are shown in lattice decoration.

Conical Cap with Quadrangular Side Flaps (G: 340)

It is a low conical headdress with angular protrusion to rear and quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection and has a plain brim, containing a circular hub of jewels at the forehead. The top has some kind of crest ornaments. The side decoration contains a circular device and the pearls are distributed all around the surface including side flaps. The back ribbons are decorated with lattice designs.

Conical Cap with Triangular Pointed Side Flaps (G: 253)

It is similar to above and contains a narrow plain brim and a crescent like insignia at the forehead and no use of the top crest ornament. The side portion is decorated with wavelike design and its top is connected with a circular disc and the entire surface including the side flaps are decorated with pearls. The crown has a pair of plain ribbons at back.

Tall Conical Cap with Quadrangular Side Flaps and Horn Decoration (G: 286)

Like above, it is a tall conical cap with angular protrusion at rear and quadrangular flaps for cheek protection and a narrow plain brim. It contains a projected wheel like design with jewelled hub at the forehead and a crest ornament at the top. On the side there is a circular design in the middle with pearls decoration arranged along the oblique edges of the cap. The characteristic feature of this crown has the straight horn, like that of ibex, coming from above forehead and pointing back and up. At the back the ribbons are jointly shown in a lattice decoration.

Turban with Twisted Streamers (G: 256)

It is made in typical Indian style shown as interwoven and the streamers at the back are twisted and below it also contains pairs of ribbons decorated in a lattice pattern.

Vasudeva I

Conical Cap with Quadrangular Side Flaps (G: 500, 502)

It is a peaked helmet made in a conical shape with low angular protrusion at rear and small quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection and has a thin lower brim. It contains a crescent like insignia at the forehead and three pronged crest ornament at the top. On the side, there is a circular design and the surrounding area including side flap is filled with pearls decoration. In some cases the cap area is plain without any decoration but the flap portion contains pearls. Similarly, the back ribbons are of two types, the plain, and the decorated (with lattice design).

Conical Cap without Side Flaps (G: 528)

It is a conical cap with low protrusion at rear and thin lower brim and without side flaps. It contains a wheel like design with jewelled hub at the forehead and no use of a crest ornament. On the side there is a circular design in the middle with pearls decoration in the surroundings. A pair of plain ribbons provided at the back.

Conical Cap with Triangular Pointed Side Flaps (G: 525)

Similar to above, it shows low angular protrusion at rear and triangular pointed side flaps for cheek protection and has a thin brim. It has a round disc like insignia at the forehead and no use of crest ornament at the top. On the side there is a circular design and the surrounding area including side flap is covered with pearls decoration. The back ribbons are made in lattice pattern.

Conical Cap with Quadrangular Side Flaps (G: 640A)

It is similar to the previous one but shows quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection and has a thin brim. It contains a crescent like insignia at the forehead and no use of a crest ornament at the top and similarly any use of a circular design in the side, and the entire area including the side flaps are richly decorated with pearls. The pearls are sometimes shown in large size and sometimes in small. The back ribbons are plain and simple.

Kanishka II

Conical Cap without Side Flaps (G: 538)

This is a simple conical cap without angular protrusion and side flaps and has a small circular insignia at the forehead and the entire surface is covered with pearls. Like above example, the back ribbons are plain and simple.

Conical Cap with Circular Design on the Side (G: 547)

It is a conical cap with low angular protrusion at rear but no use of side flaps and has a thin brim. It contains a small disc like insignia at the forehead and a circular design on the side, and the surrounding area has large size pearl decoration. Like above the back ribbons are plain and simple.

Conical Cap with Crescent like Insignia at Forehead (G: 549)

This is a simple conical cap without angular protrusion and side flaps. It has a crescent like insignia at the forehead and two-pronged crest ornament at the top. The side portion comprises a semi-circular design and the surrounding area is covered with pearls. Like above, back ribbons are plain and simple.

Conical Cap with Quadrangular Side Flap (G: 660)

It is a conical cap with low angular protrusion at rear; quadrangular side flaps for cheek protection and has a crescent like insignia at the forehead and no use of crest

ornaments. The entire surface including side flaps are covered with pearls. The back ribbons are plain and simple.

Vasishka

Conical Cap composed of Pearls Only (G: 557, 622)

It is a different kind of conical headdress consisting of pearls only and there is no demarcation line on the exterior. There is a crescent like insignia at the forehead but no indication of side flaps and crest ornament. The back ribbons of crown like above are simply drawn.

Kanishka III

Conical Cap and with Vertical Side Flaps (G: 634)

Like previous type, it is a conical cap and comprises pearls only and has no demarcation band on the exterior. A vertical line of pearls is provided like a side flap for cheek protection. The back ribbons of crown like above are simply drawn.

Vasudeva II

Conical Cap with Crest Ornament (G: 569)

This is a simple conical cap, containing a crescent like insignia at the forehead and two-pronged crest ornament at the top. The entire surface is covered with large size pearls and no more decoration. As mentioned above, the back ribbons are plain and simple.

Conical Cap with Pearls on Exterior Surface (G: 577)

It is a simple conical cap with pearls on the outer surface and two-pronged crest ornament at the top. The inner side is covered with pearl decoration and has no use of forehead insignia. The back ribbons do not show any decoration.

Magra/ Maśra Coins

Low round Cap with inner Border of Pearls Ornament (G: 578)

It is different from the others, made in low round shape with combined elongated side flaps for ear and cheek protection. Pearls are arranged in a single row around the border. There is no use of top crest and forehead insignia. Similarly there is no provision of ribbon at the back of headdress.

Māhi Coins

Conical Cap with Crescent at Top (G: 589)

It is a low conical cap with combine elongated side flaps for ears and cheek protection. It has crescent like ornaments at the top and the outline of a cap is made of pearls and no longer use of pearls or any other kind of decoration. The ribbons are issuing from the back of headdress.

Shaka Coins

Conical Cap with Elongated Side Flaps (G: 585)

Like above' it is a low conical cap with combine elongated side flaps for ears and cheek protection. It has two-pronged crest ornaments at the top and the entire cap is covered with pearls. The ribbons are issuing from the back of headdress.

Kipunadha & Successors

Conical Cap with Elongated Side Flaps (G: 596)

Like above, it is a low conical cap with combine elongated side flaps for ears and cheek protection but in reduced size and stylized form. It has a small crescent like ornament at the top and the entire body is filled with small pearls. The ribbons are coming out from the back of headdress.

Costumes and Dresses of the Kings (on the Coins and Plastic Art)

The royal dresses of the Kushans are made of heavy material, well tailored and sewn, different from the Greek style as well as the local style of India. The Kushan kings usually used to wear a sleeved coat ankle-long or a little above ankle garment and a detached trousers with pleats. Sleeves were normally made long and the short sleeves sometimes also provided in that case they were richly decorated. Sometimes a king, particularly Kanishka I, wears a mantle or cloak which normally fastened on the shoulder or the upper part of the breast. On Huvishka coins, the upper garment is richly ornamented and fastening on breast with pair of clasps. More interestingly the sleeved coats of Huvishka are characterized by a rich décor of a stripe in the upper

part of the sleeve³. Basically they retained the tradition of nomadic style of their forebears however they had abandoned a nomadic way of life. The coins and portrait images of Kushans display great variety of costumes but some of the features are characteristically constant. A tunic (Göbl calls it kaftan) is found of different length either in the form of coat-like, cloak or sheath like and the lower garment usually found as loose trousers or tight fitting jodhpurs. The shoes or boots, in which the trousers tucked, are sturdy and at times padded. A wide waist belt is shown outside tunic. The belt was normally made of leather or thick cloth and the leather belt of king was usually fastened with a pair of gold disc-shaped clasps decorated with some kind of floral design or an image of an animal⁴. This type of costume was a variant of Central Asian dress which remains unchanged till the present day in the countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan. During the first century AD., it has been known the standard male dress of the Iranian territories of Western Asia, Afghanistan and North India⁵.

The Kushan kings after Vima Kadphises used to wear wide trousers of the nomad style with thick shoes. The detached trousers usually contain many pleats. Later on under the Kushano-Sasanians, the Kushan style trousers modified and appeared with many folds and fringes. It usually appears from the coins that the king wears spurs but this pattern was used for decorative stitching.

A banner like object appears behind the head of Vasudeva I, which looks like an ankus type weapon and it is much like a Chinese symbol of rank⁶.

From the burial of Tillya-tepe site of Kushan period, S.A Yatsenko reported different kind of material, which could be used for the making of their costumes such as cotton, silk, brocade, the fragments and prints of clothes made of cheaper materials. Besides this there are the traces of many ornaments of different parts of dresses, mittens and shoes made of sea pearl rows. Moreover, gold plaques were ornamented with inlays turquoise, cornelian and lapis lazuli⁷.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, p. 92.

⁵ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 176-177.

⁶ Göbl, R., 1984: 16.

⁷ Yatsenko, S.A., 2001: 84.

Chain-mail Dresses of the Kushan Kings

The chain-mail dress was used as a defensive weapon of the steppe peoples with scale or laminate armour. On the Kushan coins the armour is found in different types. Mail below the hips guarantees more flexibility than scale or laminate. It is a short and can therefore be worn while riding. Chest and back plates upto the neck suggest the nomadic influence on cavalry practice. The coat was usually provided with sleeves which themselves were armed worn over a heavy shirt. Trim sometimes ran down the middle of the chest but was sometimes missing. Under Kanishka II the trim is appeared regularly perhaps a real development towards the end of the genuine Kushan coinage. It seems that the kings were not always armoured but at other times wore decorative armour, and sometimes decorated with gems.

Kujula Kadphises

Mantle over Tunic

On the Heraüs issues, the king wears mantle over tunic, as appeared from the shoulder knot.

Mantle

On the imitation of Hermaeus series, the bust portion obviously indicates the use of a mantle.

Pleated Trousers

The king enthroned on a curule chair wears a short upper garment and full trousers with Kushan style pleats are visible.

Vima (I) Takto

Mantle

On the bust portrait type king usually wears mantle as it is known from the clasp on shoulder.

Tunic and Coat (costumes) on the Mat Statue of King

The inscribed image of Vima (I) Takto, previously identified as Vima (II) Kadphises, from the Mat site of Mathura, also shows a great details of the garment worn by the king. The king wears three garments: (a) the inner tunic of which little is visible, (b) the top sleeved coat ankle-long and (c) a mantle hanging from the back of his

shoulders. The coat is embroidered with a broad border to be interpreted for medallions from the centre of which tassels are projected⁸.

Vima (II) Kadphises

Long Coat with Clasps of Mantle on the Chest (G: 3, 5)

King wears long coat shown riding on elephant to right. In other example, the king shown in a biga, wears similar long coat recognizable with a pair of clasps⁹.

Long Coat with Clasps of Mantle on the Shoulder (G: 2, 6, and 12)

King wears nomadic type long coat shown in bust types, facing to right or left and the clasps of mantle are appeared on the shoulder.

Long Coat over Tunic (G: 4)

On the silver and copper coins the king is shown standing frontally, dressed in long heavy coat with the inner side turned down over a short undergarment, has loose pleated trousers and long heavy boots. The pair of clasps is visible on the chest of upper coat and a belt with a pair of clasps and a strap tongue are seen on the under garment.

Long Coat with Clasps (G: 11)

King seated on a throne, wears long coat with a pair of clasps on the breast, pleated trousers with blunt felt boots.

Kanishka I

Long Coat on the Mat Statue of King

The Mat (Mathura) statue of Kanishka displays a long open coat over an inner garment with belt round waist, the upper garment is plain having no embroidered decoration however the narrow border of the coat is decorated with beaded pattern¹⁰.

King wears long trousers tucked in heavy boots. The portrait of Kanishka I is also confirmed by the Brāhmī inscriptions written on the dress of king, reads as *maharaja rajatiraja devaputro Kanishko*¹¹.

⁸ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 61.

⁹ Göbl, R., 1984: 35.

¹⁰ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 65.

¹¹ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 144.

Bell shaped Coat with a Mantle (G: 25, 34, 58)

Kanishka I usually wears central Asian style garment that showing a bell shaped long coat and a mantle with two ended scarf with a pair of clasps above the breast. King wears pleated trousers with blunt felt shoes¹².

Huvishka

Gold coins of Huvishka usually exhibit profile portrait bust of the king which reveals great details of the upper garment and the lower part of trousers normally not visible. On some rare coins the king is fully displayed e.g. seated cross-legged or riding on elephant, wears typical Kushan type trousers. The tunic (shirt) is often elaborately decorated which apparently shows the Indian influence.

Plain Shirt with decorated Collar (G: 137, 290-291)

On the early common gold coins of Huvishka, the king wears pleated tunic without decoration and has a decorated collar round neck.

Mantle over an Ornate Garment (G: 343 & 380)

The bust portrait of king is clad in mantle over an ornate garment with a broad central ridge and a jewelled yoke. The decoration is consisting of lozenge-shaped pattern and mantle with a pair of clasps over shoulders.

Tunic with Lozenge-ornate (G: 209, 261 & 265)

On some gold coins, king wears long tunic decorated with lozenge-pattern central ridge with a jewelled yoke and an ornament around upper arms.

Tunic with rolled Lapels (G: 206, 219, 252 & 267)

On some of the gold coins, king is dressed in a long tunic with rolled lapels tied up with breast clasp over a shirt and an ornament around upper arms. The border of tunic is decorated with gems.

Tunic with rolled Lapels and Lozenge-ornate (G: 245)

Like above, the king wears tunic with rolled lapels and the undergarment with a broad central ridge decorated with lozenge pattern and a jewelled yoke. The upper garment is also decorated with jewels and contains clasps on the breast and ornaments around upper arms.

¹² Göbl, R., 1984: 35.

Tunic with Central Ridge and Mantle over it (G: 368)

On some of the gold coins, king is dressed in tunic with a broad central ridge set with gems. The shoulders are covered by a mantle with clasp on the right breast.

Vasudeva I

Chain-mail Coat (G: 502)

The king, both on some gold and copper coins, wears chain-mail coat, the upper part of which shows close fitting and the lower part separated by a belt is loose and broader and contains scales. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Chain-mail Coat with Ribbed Design (G: 504)

On some of the gold coins, king wears chain-mail coat, like above, the upper part shows close fitting that contains mails arranged in the rib pattern and there is a vertical line from which the oblique line going upwardly and the lower part separated by a belt is boarder and contains scales. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers similarly depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Chain-mail Coat with Jewelled Yoke (G: 528)

This type appears on the gold coins only where the king wears chain-mail coat, the upper part of which shows close fitting containing small mails and decorated with a broad studded ridge and jewelled yoke around the neck and the lower part below belt is broader and contains scales. The double buckle clasped belt and tongue strap are fastened around waist. The trousers depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Chain-mail Coat with Ribbed Mouldings (G: 535)

Like above, the king wears chain-mail coat, the upper part of which shows close fitting has small mails and decorated with a broad studded ridge and jewelled yoke around the neck. The lower part below belt is boarder and contains continuous ribbed mouldings. The double buckle clasped belt and tongue strap are remained same. The trousers are as above.

Kanishka II

Chain-mail Coat (G: 538)

On the gold coins, king wears chain-mail coat, the upper part of which shows close fitting has small mails and the lower part separated by a belt is broader and contains

scales. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Embroidered Coat (G: 539)

This type of dress is appeared on the gold and copper coins. It is the most common variety of Kanishka II dresses. It is a long embroidered coat with loosed sleeves and rolled lapels over a shirt with jewelled yoke and the hem of coat curved upwardly (concave form) over knees. A belt with a pair of clasps and tongue strap are visible on the shirt and tap of scabbard is seen under the coat. The trousers, like above, depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Vasishka and Successors (Later Kushans)

From the time of Kanishka II, the obverse design is almost uniform and the reverses are normally found in two varieties the Oesho and bull and enthroned Ardoxsho. As a rule, the king wears chain-mail dress accompanied by a trident on the Oesho and bull type and wears embroidered coat accompanied by a pummelled sceptre on the Ardoxsho type. After Kanishka II, his successors like Vasishka, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II followed the same pattern for their coinage and similarly clad in the same garments. The lower hem of dress gradually transforms into concave shape and the corners appear in pointed form. In this way the garments progressively become cruder and stylized. However modifications are sometimes found like the ornamented chain-mail dress.

Chain-mail Coat (G: 622)

On the gold coins, the king wears chain-mail coat, the upper part of which shows close fitting and contains small mails and the lower part separated by a belt is widened and contains scales. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers carry pleated and fringed decoration.

Embroidered Coat (G: 557)

This type of dress is appeared on the gold and copper coins, and it is the most common variety. It is a long embroidered coat with loosed sleeves and rolled lapels over a shirt with a jeweled yoke and the hem of coat curved upwards over knees. A belt with a pair of clasps and tongue strap are visible on the shirt and tap of scabbard is seen under the coat. The trousers similarly depict pleated and fringed decoration.

Chain-mail Coat with Full Vertical Ridge (G: 635)

This kind of dress is found on the *pri* coins of Kanishka III. The king wears chain-mail dress with a broad studded ridge parallel down from collar to the hem of coat and jeweled yoke around the neck. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers are same as above.

Chain-mail Coat with Half Vertical Ridge (G: 630)

This kind of dress is found on the *rada* coins of Vasudeva II. The king wears chain-mail dress with a broad studded ridge parallel down from collar to the waist of coat and jeweled yoke around the neck. The tongue strap is fastened around waist. The trousers are same as above.

Chain-mail Dress with Large Mails (G: 634)

This kind of dress is found on the *hu* coins of Kanishka III. The king wears chain-mail coat thoroughly covered with large mails and contains a tongue strap around waist. The trousers are same as above.

Magra/ Maśra Coins**Kushan Garment with Military Band (G: Div. 1- 578)**

This distinctive kind of dress appeared only on the gold coins of Magra/ Maśra. It is a plain garment of Kushan style having military decoration across the left shoulder towards the right hip. The lower hem is deeply concave with pointed ends and belt round waist on which a short dagger is placed. He wears short, narrow and straight trousers with removable narrow boots.

Shaka and Successors**Stylized Type Ornamented Dress (G: 584-585)**

This type of dress appears on the gold coins of Shaka and his successors which is continued from the time of Kanishka II and with the passage of time it becomes to debased style. It is a long ornamented coat with loosed sleeves and rolled lapels over a shirt with jeweled yoke and the hem of coat curved upward over knees. A belt with a pair of clasps and tongue strap are visible on the shirt in the beginning but then disappeared and a tap of scabbard also disappeared from the time of Shaka. The trousers depict pleated and fringed decoration and the boots are now narrow with high heels.

Yosa/ Kirada Coins

Ornamented Apron (G: Div. 2 -599)

This kind of dress is seen on the gold coins of Kirada only. It is a long apron upto heels with round hem and plain round collar and the border is decorated with pearls (or beads). It contains a tongue strap around waist.

Samudra/ Gadakhra coins

Ornamented Apron (G: Div. 3 – 611)

Generally it is similar to the Kirada type of ornamented apron. But in size it is slightly shorter hanging upto knees and has close fitting. The border is similarly decorated with pearls (or beads) and contains a belt with a pair of clasps and a tongue strap around waist.

The coins characterized with a semicircular apron which could have come from the Sasanians¹³.

Costumes and Headdresses of Deities (on coins)

The Kushan deities with the except of few like Oesho (Śiva) on Vima Kadphises and Herakles on Huvishka always shown well dressed with upper and lower garments, boots and sometimes crowns too. Oesho occasionally and Herakles often are shown naked on the said coins. Oesho, the most common figures of the Kushan coins, normally appears with lower garment only and apparently wears Indian style dhoti. Oesho (or Śiva) sometimes wears dress but the penis is shown outside the dhoti. The female deities such as Ardoxsho, Nana (or Nanaia or Nanashao) and Oanindo always wear long robe often double robe dress with conspicuous headdress. Cribb advocated that the dresses of deities to a greater extent show non Greek feature as they always wear long garments where the Greek deities normally wear short dresses and often sleeveless¹⁴.

Mao wears long sleeved tunic below the knee-length which is gathered at the waist by a sword belt and carries characteristic animal headed sword. The upper garment comprises a mantle over shoulder held at chest by a round clasp and hangs

¹³ Ibid, p. 16.

¹⁴ Cribb, J., 1998: 93.

down below the hem of tunic. He wears calf-boots with over-turned tops (G: 76, 348). The same dress also worn by other deities like Miiro and Athsho (G: 64, 136 & 33). In some cases, Mao and Miiro are dressed in short tunic with broader lower portion and belt round waist and knee boots (G: 212, 231, 191 & 193).). On some coins, Athsho wears classical chlamys (G: 209)

Ardoxsho usually wears long garment upto ankles (G: 71) and sometimes similarly long dress but composed of double robes with a ground length loose skirt (G: 285). Ashaexsho is dressed in short tunic and mantle held at chest by a round clasp and high boots (G: 342).

Lroaspo usually wears long tunic and high boots (G: 57). On one coin this deity is dressed in classical chlamys (G: 268). Mahasena wears long tunic (or *sarigghati*) with belt round waist and long mantle held at chest by a pair of round clasps (G: 298). Manaobago is dressed in long sleeved tunic with belt round waist and knee-boots and Macedonian helmet (G: 59).

Nana wears long robe with belt round waist and loose cloth (shawl) round legs (G: 358). In other example, she is dressed in short tunic with broader lower portion, belt round waist and ground length loose skirt with pleats (G: 260). In one instance, when she appears as huntress with name Meiro then she is dressed in classical chlamys (G: 234). In some coins the deity known as Nanashao wears long robe upto ankles (G: 60).

Oanindo wears short tunic with broader lower portion, belt round waist and ground length loose skirt with pleats (G: 245). Deity Oesho is displayed in variety of dresses like upper body naked with lower loose dhoti (G: 37), wears loose mantle (G: 812-13), short dhoti like skirt (G: 367), long dhoti indicated by symmetrical folds across the legs (G: 527). Orlagno is clad in Kushan royal dress like Kanishka I and with long mantle held at chest by a pair of round clasps and trousers (G: 63). Rishto (Rishti) wears cuirass jacket, ankle-length skirt and crested helmet (G: 288). Shaoreoro wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet (G: 237). Sarapo wears long robe and mantle held at chest by a clasp (G: 370). Pharro is dressed in tunic, mantle and low boots and helmet with small wing ornament (G: 322), sometimes without mantle (G: 204, 255). Herakles wears trousers only (G: 893).

The figure of Buddha is shown in long robe (known as *sarīghati*) and mantle held at chest by a round clasp (G: 66).

Furniture and Thrones

Thrones of Kings

Curule Chair of Kujula Kadphises

Kujula Kadphises seated on a curule chair depicted on the reverse of Augustus type. It is a high throne but without back and without arms. Kujula was the first Kushan king who adopted the European pose. Previously on the coins of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, the use of throne was usually associated with the divine figures¹⁵.

Lion Throne of Vima (I) Takto (statue only)

In the famous Mat (Mathura) statue of Vima Takto, the king is enthroned in the so-called "European" fashion. It is a high-backed armless throne with ornate legs and the two standing lions flank the king's legs one each on the front corners of throne. The lions (legs of throne) are shown standing frontally just below the knees of king¹⁶. The lion is considered one of the archetypal Middle Eastern symbols of regal status and power. The lion throne becomes an essential component in Buddhist iconography and commonly shown depicted in the Gandhara and Mathura art panels¹⁷.

Low Cushioned Throne of Vima Kadphises (G: 11)

In one of the gold type of Vima Kadphises, the king is seated on a low throne with feet resting on low stool. The throne is without back and arms, and containing broad and thick pillows in two visible columns. The feet are shown in mushroom shape surmounted by two rows of studs¹⁸. This style of sitting is different from European pose where the figure's knees are shown rise above the waist.

¹⁵ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 188.

¹⁶ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 60.

¹⁷ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 184.

¹⁸ Göbl, R., 1984: 35.

High-backed Throne of Kanishka I (G: 803)

On the small copper coins of Kanishka I, the king is enthroned on a high backed chair. It is a Greek style simple throne having broad seat, straight plain legs and high back formed of vertical and horizontal bars.

Bench or Bed like Throne of Huvishka (G: 850)

On the copper coins, Huvishka is reclining on a couch (or bench). It is long rectangular bench like throne without back-rest and covered with cushion and cloth. The cloth is hanging down and the feet turned outward.

High-backed Throne of Vasudeva II (G: 1022, 1024)

On the copper coins, the king is seated on a high-backed throne. It is a square chair with four ornate legs, each leg composed of four knobs, and the back is made of vertical and horizontal bars.

Thrones of Deities**Thrones of Ardoxsho (G: 538, 541)**

On the early gold coins of Kanishka II, Goddess Ardoxsho is seated frontally on a throne but without back-rest. It consists of a flat seat and four ornate legs. In another variety of coins of Kanishka II and his successor, she is shown seated frontally on a high backed throne. The throne consists of a flat seat, four ornate legs and the back of two vertical and two horizontal bars.

Low Throne of Buddha (G: 790)

Buddha, on the copper coins of Kanishka II, is shown seated cross-legged on a low couch. It is a small throne without back rest and legs.

Thick Seated Throne of Manaobago (G: 59)

Deity Manaobago, on the gold coins of Kanishka I, is seated on a low throne with feet resting on the low stool. The throne is without back and without arms and containing broad and thick pillows covered with cloth sheet. The front ornate legs of throne like lion's legs are visible padded outwardly.

Lion Throne of Nana and Pharro (G: 359 & 660)

On the gold coins of Huvishka and Kanishka II, the goddess Nana is seated frontally on a lion throne with feet resting on round ornate mat. A unique copper coin of

Kanishka I also exhibits similar lion-throne of the deity but accompanied by Iranian deity Pharro.

Four-bared Throne of Sarapo (G: 164)

Deity Sarapo, on the gold coins of Huvishka, is seated on a high backed throne with feet resting on the low stool. On the throne there are two thick cushions on lion paws. The throne is quite different from the other known thrones; it supports back and front vertical bars of four corners in symmetrical form and their top containing knob decoration.

Languages and Scripts

As stated earlier the Kushana had established a great empire which comprised many important territories of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. It is certain that the people of these territories adopted diverse languages and various writings of their own style. Many parts of Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan, partly or thoroughly, had come under the influence of many invaders: first the Persians (Achaemenids), then the Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians. Due to the frequent penetrations, and foreign interactions the local culture, languages and writings were greatly affected.

Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan mostly possessed the population of Central Asian nomad people. Amongst which the Kushans were perhaps the Śaka Tocharian speaking people. As they were basically nomadic people might have not constituted their own characteristic style of writing. On the other hand in north of Hindu-Kush the people used to speak Bactrian language normally written in Greek. In south of Hindu-Kush, particularly in the territory of Pakistan, the local inhabitants were speaking the Indian Prakrit who used to write certain language in Kharoṣṭhi script. In further east, proper India, the local mass was rarely affected by the foreign invaders and therefore they always used to speak the Indian languages predominately the Sanskrit. Accordingly, the Brāhmī script was used to write the Sanskrit language.

In viewing these circumstances the Kushans, earlier referred to nomadic Yüeh-chih, who came from the north-western border of China (Chinese Turkistan) must have had their own language but seemingly not developed their own writing system. After their migration in to the Transoxania valley, they were settled there for

a long time along the both banks of river Oxus and had certainly intermingled with the local people. Consequently they are known to have changed the nomadic way of life and adopted the language, culture, traditions and other aspects of the society in the occupied territories. After they rose to the power and progressively occupied the southern territories like Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (partially), they kept the languages, writings and culture of the people of these territories intact. For the easy perception and understanding, the Kushan kings adopted a liberal policy to communicate the people of each territory in their own style of writing and language.

Except the coins which were issued under the authority of king and their circulation was not confined to a particular area were therefore struck in uniform language and script after Kanishka I. In this connection the early Kushans whose kingdom was established from Bactria to Mathura regions followed the existed pattern of their predecessors circulated in the certain territories. It was during the time of later Kushans, ruled in the northern part of Pakistan and north-western part of India, retained the Bactrian inscription of Kanishka style for main legend but of debased style but they then deliberately incorporated the Brāhmī inscription. Finally, Brāhmī occupied the predominant position and was written vertically in the Indian fashion. There were three major spoken languages in the Kushan Empire i.e. Bactrian, Prakrit and Sanskrit, which other than the coins are known from the epigraphic records. These languages were respectively written in Bactrian (Greek version), Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī scripts are known from different parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

An unknown Language (Śaka Khotanese) and unknown Script (Kharoṣṭhi)

H. Harmatta has arranged a group of some epigraphs of the Kushan period which he called for an unknown language and unknown script. In this list of inscriptions, Harmatta incorporated some more material and succeeded to decipher them and particularly those which are associated to the royal accounts. Further he proposed a name Śaka Khotanese for the language which is supposed to be written in Kharoṣṭhi script. The list of these inscriptions reported by Harmatta is given below¹⁹.

¹⁹ Harmatta, J., 1999: 417-421.

1. Surkh Kotal: three lines inscription written in black ink on a stone.
2. Dasht-i-Nawur: nine lines stone inscription.
3. Khalchayan: one inscription on a potsherd, another on a tile.
4. Kara-tepe: three fragmentary inscriptions on potsherds.
5. Ay-Khanum: inscription on a silver ingot.
6. Issik (50 km to the east of Alma Ata), inscription on a silver cup.
7. Khatin-Rabat (in southern Tajikistan): fragmentary inscription on a potsherd.
8. Tekkuz-tepe: (in southern Tajikistan): inscription on a potsherd unpublished.
9. Old Merv: inscription on a potsherd, unpublished.
10. Fayaz-tepe (near Termez): several inscriptions on earthen ware, unpublished.
11. Kafirnigan-tepe (south of Dushanbe): fragment of a wall inscription, unpublished.

Looking to the locations of these inscriptions, they are reported from the north western territory of the Kushan empire cover a vast band from Alma Ata up to Merv, Dasht-i-Nawur and Ay Khanum. It is certain that this was a popular language written in a Śaka dialect was spoken by the Kushans in the cited territories²⁰. Among these, the inscription of Dasht-i-Nawur is of great interest and importance. It is not necessary to rediscover all the cited inscriptions but only the latter one is explained here. Due to the name of the ruler, this epigraph is obviously attributed to the third Kushan king, Vima (II) Kadphises. The main theme of this epigraph may be deduced as "king describes his campaign to the said region and the arrangement of festive banquet in honour of the officers and warriors"²¹. The transliteration of this inscription (nine lines) is as follows:

(1) *sa-[li] mi paṃ-ja-sa [bra]-ka-śiṃ mi ma-tse [paṃ-ju]-sa[ha]-ḍa* (2) *ye rva-da-ti ri a-[ja]ti vi(ṃ)-ja-rka ka-tvi-sa [ku]-ṣa-ṇa* (3) *mi mri pa(ṃ)-ra-mmi-na sta-naṃ pa(ṃ)-ri-vāṃ śi-ḍa va-ri kāṃ hāṃ* (4) *sa gra-vāṃ ti-rma da-bha sa-di pa ka(ṃ)-pi-sa(ṃ) śa-di-na* (5) *ha-mri(ṃ)-ja kaṃ-ḍa vaṃ-yi-nām kaṃ-ju-vāṃ śi-kṣa-śi dha kaṃ* (6) *jhaṃ-saṃ ka-ḍa ta-rma pa a-jaṃ naṃ-vāṃ ha-mri-ka sa-ṇa śi-jha* (7) *mri-kaṃ śi kaṃ-ju-vāṃ mi-[śa ha-ra]-sta ha-mi ha-mi ha-ya-ḍa ja-sta ha-sa* (8) *he-ko mri(ṃ)-ka mi ho-kaṃ jyom pa-pāṃ-sa vāṃ-ta haṃ-mi-ga-śa*, (9) *mīa ka-na e-śi haṃ-da-ḍa paṃ-mri pu-ḍa taṃ-ka u-ḍa da-ri ja-rmi ja-sta ja*.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 417-418.

²¹ Ibid, pp. 418-419.

Regarding this Harmatta further suggests whether the language of these inscriptions was a Southern Śaka dialect spoken by the Kushans or it was used to represent the original language of the Kushans, which was closely related to the Śaka dialects²².

Greek Language and Greek Script

Coins are the basic source for understanding the use of Greek inscriptions in the Kushan period. The early Kushans used the existed Greek language and script for the legend of their coins. The script then remained Greek and later used for the Bactrian idiom of the Kushan coins inscription and after Kanishka I, called as Bactrian legend. Kujula Kadphises, founder of the dynasty, not only followed the Greek legend of the previous dynasties but on the Hermaeus series coins also retained the name of king Hermaeus for his early coins and then substituted the latter with his own name. On the coins he used Greek titles, name of dynasty and his name written in Greek style such as *Turannountuos*, *Sanab*, *Koi(rr)anou* or *Korranou*, *Hiau*, *Miau*, *Basileos*, *Soteros*, *Ermaiou*, *Kozoylo*, *Kadphizou* or *Kadaphisi* or *Kadaphizou*, *Korsono* or *Korsan*, *Zaoo*. It is interesting to note that the king and dynasty names are always written in different styles and they vary from type to type and the certain types used to be issued in the particular territories. His successor Vima (I) Takto likewise retained the Greek for the coins inscription and used the common titles that were appeared on the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins and his name such as *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas*, *Taro*, *Oanaxao*, *Bapanei*, *Bapanein*, *Ndooti*, *Oohmo Tak*. He was succeeded by Vima (II) Kadphises, who simply followed the Greek legend *Basileus*, *Basileon*, *Soter*, and *Megas Ooemo Kadphises* of his predecessor and inscribed his own name. The use of these legends indicates that the Greek was not merely read and understood, but also spoken. It is said that Greek language was normally used in official correspondence. The early coins of Kanishka likely to continue the Greek legend of Vima (II) Kadphises style i.e. *Basileus Basileon Kaneshkou* which, on the next series, translated into Bactrian inscription like *Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano*. After this, there is no such evidence of the coins

²² Ibid, p. 421.

and epigraphs of the Kushans, which were known to have written in the Greek dialects.

Bactrian Language in Bactrian script (Greek version)

As mentioned earlier, Kanishka I inscribed the second series of coins in Bactrian language and in the modified version of Greek script henceforth called as Bactrian inscription. The new legend *Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano* is simply the translation of previously Greek legend into Bactrian and this time Kanishka at the end of legend also added the name of his tribe. He simultaneously changed the Greek legend on copper coins simply inscribed in Bactrian style *Shao* and name of the king *Kanishki* which recalls the Roman style of brief legend²³.

After this all the subsequent rulers of the Kushan dynasty uniformly followed Kanishka style of Bactrian legend *Shaonano Shao*, name of the certain king and dynasty name *Koshano* (Kushan). Unlike Kanishka, I this legend uniformly appeared both on the gold and copper coins of the Kushans kings. After Kushans, the same style of inscription was also continued by their successors Kushano-Sasanians in the former north-western territory of the Kushans.

Besides coins, the Bactrian inscription is also known from numerous epigraphic records of the Kushan kings.

Harmatta elaborately discussed the various kinds of Bactrian inscriptions and explains that it was widely used in the Kushan Empire both for the official purposes and every day life. According to his classification, they are listed as (1) stone inscriptions; (2) wall inscriptions; (3) inscriptions on objects; (4) coin legends; (5) seal inscriptions. They are mostly reported from the northern regions of Afghanistan, like (a) Surkh Kotal with six stone inscriptions; (b) Kara-tepe with inscriptions on potsherds, numbering about 100; (c) Dasht-i-Nawur with two stone inscriptions; (d) Rabatak with one stone inscriptions; (e) Dilberjin with two stone inscriptions and (d) Ayrtaam with one stone inscription²⁴.

In this way the first dated document in the Bactrian language of the Kushan kings is of Vima (I) Takto reported from Dasht-i-Nawur. It is a trilingual epigraph.

²³ Göbl, R., 1984: 17.

²⁴ Harmatta, J., 1999: 422.

one version of which was inscribed in the Bactrian language. It was written in the year 279 of an unknown era, probably of the Bactrian era of Eukratides (i.e. 170 BC). In this inscription king records various epithets for himself and commemorates the victory over his enemy that he came here from Qunduz and destroyed the *Sanigos*²⁵. Another dated Bactrian inscription of the year 299 (?) of this ruler is also reported from Surkh Kotal (SK 2) which is fragmented and seems to be described very late. J. Harmatta assigned five inscriptions of the Dasht-i-Nawur to king Vima perhaps Vima (I) Takto as he normally finds a word 'Tak' the second part of the name.

Harmatta reported a long inscription of twenty four lines from the site of Dilberjin (D 2). It is badly defaced probably belonged to the reign of Vima (II) Kadphises. The inscription speaks for the words related with water supply to the sanctuary such as the abundance of water, well, water flow etc. Alongside, it also states about the religious activities and the organizational work of the king (Vima Kadphises)²⁶.

Among the Bactrian inscriptions, the most famous one and noteworthy is that of the Kanishka I, recently discovered at Rabatak, near Pul Khumari in Afghanistan. It is also a long dated inscription of twenty two lines, inscribed in the year one. It narrates the various epithets of king and his sovereignty, names of the Indian cities that he subjugated, the genealogy and sequence of his forefathers, the name of gods from whom he obtained the kingship and the construction of a sanctuary for the gods and the installation of images of the gods of his forebears²⁷. The transliteration of Bactrian inscription copied from Sims William reading is given below.

(1) [Ca.10] *no bogo storgo kaneshke koshano rashitogo ladeigo khoazaoargo bago* (2) *eznogo kidi as[o] nana odo aso oispoano mi bagano i shoodani abordo kidi iogo khshono* (3) *nobasto s[a]gondi bagano sindado oteia i ionaggo oaso ozoasto tadeia ariao os-* (4) *tado abo iogo khshon(o) abo [i] iundo phroagdazo abo shatriagge agita koo -* (5) *adeano odopo od(o) [i z]agedo odo i koz(am)boo do i palabotro oidro ada abo i zirit -* (6) *ambo sideiano probao odo mandar(o) i storano abo i sindo ostado ote(i)a arou(g)o* (7) *iundo (abo) i sindo ostado tadi shai kaneshke abo shapharo karatraggo phromado* (8) *(a)beina [ca. 4] o bagolaggo kirdi sidi b....abo rizdi abo*

²⁵ Ibid, pp. 423-424.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 425-427.

²⁷ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 75-96; Cribb, J., 1999: 180.

ma ka.... Raga phareimoano b – (9) (a)ga(n)o (k)idi maro kirdan(e) i ma...o[ph]arro
 omma ooeldi ia amsa nana odo ia am – (10) sa omma aoromozdo mozdoo(a)no
 sroshardo narasao miro oteia oudoa – (11) no pi(do)girbo phromado kirdi eimoano
 bagano kidi maska nibikhtigendi ot – (12) eia phromado abeimoano shaonano kirui
 abo kozoulo kadphiso shao abo i phr - (13) oniago (o)do a(bo o)oemo (t)aktoo shao
 a(b)[o] i nia(g)o odo abo ooemo kadphiso shao abo (14) (i) pida odo abo i khobso
 abo kaneshko shao ta sagondi shaonano shao i bagopoo- (15)[ro] a [ca. 7]
 phr(o)mado kirdi tadi shaphare karalragge kirdo eio bagolaggo (16) [ca. 8]o
 karalraggo odo shapharo karalraggo odo nokonzoko iashto o- (17) a[sto pi] do ia
 phromano eimidba bage kidi maro nibikhtigendi tadano abo shaon- (18) an(o) shao
 abo kaneshke koshano abo iaoedani zorrigi lrou(g)o agga[o](a)ggo oanind- (19) o
 p[ca. 4]i(n)di od[iii](d)l ba(g)opooro aso iogo khshono abo io (a) khshono iundo
 arougo p – (20) ada [khshano] i b(a)golaggo abo iogo khshono aspado tadi abo i
 ariamoso (kh)shono agar[...] (21) [ca. 10 p]ido shao phromana abiso i pashena lado
 apiso i ra[ca. 5] lado abido [ca. 3] (22) [ca. 13] sha i mad...a (a)bo bagano lado odo
 [ca. 4]o[ca. 3]akhad[ca. 8]bago[ch. 4] (23)

From the variety of documents in different languages it is difficult to prove that the Imperial Kushans showed any inclination to any script or language. Looking to the important documents of kings and coins evidence it can be suggested that Kushans particularly from the time of Kanishka I would have adopted Bactrian, the local language of Bactria, as official and state language²⁸.

Prakrit Language and Kharoṣṭhi Script

From the coins of early Kushans, it is evident that they used Kharoṣṭhi inscription for the Prakrit language along with the Greek as has been the style of their predecessors like Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. The copper coins of Kujula Kadphises that reported from the south of Hindu-Kush i.e. Kabul, Gandhara, Punjab and Kashmir valleys, all are inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions. The Kushan coins obviously indicate that Kharoṣṭhi, a local writing of this region, was prevalent along with the Greek. This piece of evidence confirms the use of Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhi combination in the regions of Afghanistan in general and Pakistan in particular.

²⁸ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 407-409.

Besides Kujula Kadphises, the coins of Vima (I) Takto and Vima (II) Kadphises also present the same evidence. The Kharoṣṭhi legend carries titles and name of the kings of the first two rulers while the coins of Vima Kadphises show some new epithets of the king which were also the epithets of Indian god Śiva. The following Prakrit words in Kharoṣṭhi including the name of monarch are displayed on the coins of Kujula Kadphises, such as: *Maharayasa*, *rayatirayasa*, *devaputra*, *kuyula kata kapasa*, *maharajasa*, *rajarajasa*, *mahatasa*, *heramayasa*, *kujula kasasa*, *Kushana*, *yavugasa*, *Kasvasa*, *kadaphasa*, *Khushanasa*, *yauasa*, *Kaphasa*, *sacha dhramathidasa*. Similarly on the coins of Vima (II) Takto, there is also reasonable variety of the Prakrit words, like: *Maharajasa*, *rajatirajasa*, *mahatasa*, *tratarasa*, *devaputrasa*, *Vema Takta*, *maha*, *maharayasa*, *rayatirayasa*. The gold and copper coins of Vima (II) Kadphises represent some more variety of Prakrit words in Kharoṣṭhi, like: *Maharajasa*, *rajadirajasa*, *sarvaloga*, *ishvarasa*, *mahishvarasa*, *Vima Kathphishasa*, *tratarasa*.

Besides the numismatic evidences, there are numerous Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the Kushan period mostly reported from the northwest region of Pakistan and some are also known from Kashmir, Afghanistan and even Central Asia.

As mentioned earlier, the common spoken language of Gandhara and Kabul valley was known as Prakrit and called as Gandhari Prakrit which was used to be written in Kharoṣṭhi script. The earliest and most authentic evidences of the Kharoṣṭhi script used to write the Gandhari Prakrit in the said territories are the famous rock edicts of Aśoka at Shahbazgarhi, Mardan and Mansehra. When the Bactrian-Greeks occupied Kabul valley, Gandhara and Punjab, they for the easy communication and convenience of people, began to inscribe their coins in Kharoṣṭhi legend. The use of this language written in the Kharoṣṭhi likewise reached Bactria and Central Asia during the time of Bactrian-Greeks after they had adopted as a secondary inscription for their coins along with their native Greek inscription. It was due to their interest and for the knowledge of the people of these regions; the Greeks inscribed their coins in Greek as well as in Kharoṣṭhi. In this regard the notable example of Kharoṣṭhi inscription is found on Eukratides coins reads as *Kaviśya nagardevata* and his usual titles. A similar example of the Kharoṣṭhi inscription recorded on the pottery as *Punamitrassa* is reported from the Bactrian level in Begram²⁹. J. Harmatta located

²⁹ Harmatta, J., 1999: 433-436.

different regions like Ay Khanum, Termez, Chilas, Gilgit and Chinese Turkistan where the Kharoṣṭhi writing was spread over a wide belt of northern areas and reached to the remote areas through trade and commerce³⁰.

On the other hand, several Kharoṣṭhi epigraphs of the Kushan kings are known from the various parts of Pakistan and adjacent areas. Accordingly the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions referred to the Kings are: Panjar stone inscription of the year 122 of Kujula³¹, Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136 of Vima Takto³², Khalatse (Ladakh Kashmir) inscription of the year 187 of Vima (II) Kadphises³³, Peshawar casket inscription of the year I, of Kanishka the Great³⁴, Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 of KE of Huvishka³⁵, Sui Vihar copper plate inscription of the year 11 and Manikyala stone inscription of the year 18 of KE (II) of Kanishka II³⁶, undated inscription of Vasudeva I from Rani Ghat³⁷, Kamra stone inscription of the year 30 of KE (II) of Vasishka³⁸, Arā inscription of the year 41 of KE (II) of Kanishka III³⁹. Besides this there are many other dated and undated Kharoṣṭhi accounts of the Kushan period and they are mostly dedicatory nature of epigraphs.

Of the cited epigraphs, the Kanishka casket inscription is very famous as it is recovered from Shah-ji-ki-dheri, the proposed great stupa of Peshawar, and the date of this record is not much authentic. The transliteration of this inscription is given for the script and language evidences like: (1) *saṃ [l ma] [haraja]sa Kaṇi(ṇi)[shkasa]. Imaṇa(na)g(r)ar[e] [dha] ...g(r)a ryaka* (2) *deyadharme Sarvastvana [ṇi] (ṇaṇi) hidasuhatha[ṇi] bhavatu* (3) *dasa Agisala ṇa (na)vakarṇa [ka]ṇe(ṇe)shkasa vihare Mahasena (ṇa) sa Saṅgharame* (4) *acharyana (ṇa) Sarvastivatina(ṇa) pratigrahe.*

In viewing the above widespread of epigraphs in different localities usually concentrating in the territory of Kabul valley and Pakistan in particular, it may

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Konow, S., 1929: 67-70.

³² Ibid, pp. 70-77.

³³ Ibid, pp. 80-81.

³⁴ Ibid, pp. 135-37, 138-41, 145-49.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 170.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 135-37, 138-41, 145-49.

³⁷ Odani, N., 1986: 95.

³⁸ Dobbins, K.W., 1975: 105-109; Bailey, H.W., 1981-82: 78.

³⁹ Konow, S., 1929: 162-165; Chattopadhyay, B., 1975: 228-231.

certainly be stated that Indian language Gandhari Prakrit as well as the Kharoṣṭhi script were the language and writing of the middle kingdom of the Kushan empire.

Hybrid Sanskrit (Prakrit-Sanskrit) Language and Brāhmī Script

Upon the later coins of Vasudeva I, the use of Brāhmī (and Kharoṣṭhi rarely) akṣaras regularly appeared in the blank area of the gold coins. This practice once initiated then regularly followed by all the successor kings of the Kushan dynasty. In the beginning it was written in a single character then developed to multiple letters like two, three and so on. From the time of Vasudeva II, the certain type of Brāhmī akṣara in the right obverse field was properly understood for the name of ruler like *Vasu*. The use of this kind of inscription was merely confined to the name of king or his association with some kind of clan or supposed to be the name of mint or mint master. The composite Brāhmī kṣaras appeared on the later Kushan coins are: *viru* on Kanishka II, *pri*, *khra*, *hivara* on Kanishka III, *rada*, *vasu*, *rju*, *bhra* on Vasudeva II and variety of letters like *mahi*, *maśra* or *magra*, *shaka*, *sita*, *siya*, *kipunadha*, *bhadra*, *basata*, *gadagra*, *samudra*, *kidara*, *gadahara*, *kirada*, *kapana*, *yosa*, *yasada*, *pirayasa*, *hanaka*, *kushana* on the later coins.

Besides the coins legend, there are numerous dated and undated Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushan period from the time of early Kushans (Vima (I) Takto) to the later Kushans (Vasishka) are reported from the eastern territory (India) particularly from the Mathura regions. The inscriptions are recorded in the hybrid Sanskrit (Prakrit-Sanskrit) language written in Brāhmī. Among these epigraphs some are the official records of the Kushan kings but most of them record the different kinds of dedicatory acts performed by the donors of the Buddhist and Jaina religion. There are several dated and undated inscriptions of Kanishka the Great, similarly several inscriptions of Huvishka and Vasudeva I. The inscriptions of later Kushan kings like Kanishka II and Vasishka are also well known.

In this connection the most famous inscription in Brāhmī is of Vima (I) Takto. inscribed on the statue of the king reads as: (1) *Mahārājo rājātirājo devaputro* (2) *Kuṣāṇapu[t]r[o śā] hi [Vema] Ta[kṣu]masya* (3) *b[a]kanapatinā Hu[maṣpal na] devakula[m] kārītā* (4) *ārāmo puṣkarinī udapāna[m] ca sa[bh] ā dā [ra]koṭako*. It is obviously written in the time of Vima (I) Takto, dedicated by a donor (if Humashpal

is considered for a name and *bakanapati* for his title) mentions the architectural components erected in the area where the said king had established the Kushan rule in the east. This inscription was written in the Prakrit-Sanskrit language and the theme will be found as: "the great king of kings, son of gods, the king of the Kushans, king Vima Tak...the *bakanapati* of (Vima), Humasha, a temple was caused to be made, (moreover) a garden, a tank, and a well, an assembly, a gateway"⁴⁰.

Brāhmī, like Kharoṣṭhi, shows its wide extension where it reached to other countries and it is noticed that Brāhmī was for sometimes also used to write the Gandhari Prakrit language. In this regard the Buddhist monks played an important role for the extension and spread of Brāhmī as it was used to write the Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit text. In Buddhist context Kharoṣṭhi was used by the Mahasanghika School of thought and on contrary to it Brāhmī was used by the Sarvastivadins. Taking into considerations, the position of Sanskrit was more prestigious than any dialect of Prakrit. It is proven by the increasing number of Buddhist texts in hybrid Sanskrit and the predominance of the Sanskrit epigraphic documents of the age⁴¹. After the fourth Buddhist council in Kashmir during the time of Kanishka, the Sarvastivadins preferred Sanskrit or Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit to be inscribed in Brāhmī script. When Sarvastivadins increased their influence in the regions like Bactria on the tracks of Mahasanghika, Brāhmī likewise also appeared in the Buddhist monasteries. The co-existence of the two scripts is evidenced from Kara-tepe where the potsherd was written both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi. There are many sites in the north of Hindu-Kush which prove that the Kharoṣṭhi which was used to write the Mahasanghika was reached first and Brāhmī used for Sarvastivadins reached later⁴².

Sanskrit (perfect) Language and Brāhmī Script

As cited above, that all the dated and undated inscriptions of Kushan period reported from the Mathura region are inscribed in Brāhmī and these are written in the mixture of Prakrit-Sanskrit languages. Basically these are written in Prakrit and greatly influenced by the Sanskrit hence called as hybrid Sanskrit language. In addition to it

⁴⁰ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 59-60.

⁴¹ Mukherjee, B.N., 1988: 404-406.

⁴² Harmatta, J., 1999: 436.

there is a dated inscription of Kanishka I, assigned to year 1 of Kanishka era is inscribed in Brāhmī inscription and its text is "composed in pure Sanskrit"⁶³.

Kushan Religion

Survey of the religious features on the Kushan coins

Kujula Kadphises & Vima (I) Takto

The most striking and interesting feature of the Kushan coinage is the depiction of religious figures on their reverse sides. Despite of this support it is difficult to explain and understand the nature of these deities which in general appearance belonged to different schools of thoughts. In this regard the coins of early Kushan are simple they likely continued the existed pattern of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. These coins obviously show the Greek deities or the gods and goddesses used by the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthians. The coins, both of Kujula Kadphises and Vima (I) Takto, show Greek deities such as Herakles and Zeus predominantly. On the rare issue of Vima (I) Takto the male figures (perhaps Śiva or Oesho) on one side and Ardoxsho on the other where the female figure of Persian origin is the new element on the Kushan coins. Kujula Kadphises, progenitor of the Kushan coins, usually retained the Greek Hero god Herakles on his general issues. There is no doubt that this deity in all characteristics belonged to the Greek origin. On his rare copper coins, he also displayed the figure of Greek supreme god Zeus. On the coins of Vima (I) Takto, Zeus appeared as a principal deity. In respect of the use of these deities the early rulers certainly followed the prevalent practice of the preceding dynasties and hence did not make any drastic changes.

The other class of coins of both the rulers, bears humped bull and camel designs which are common and corresponded with the Taxila and Kashmir regions and were copied from the Indo-Scythian coins. The figure of bull is important in Brahmanic point of view which always associated with god Śiva. Bull has been known as the mount of Śiva and here it is also accompanied by the symbol nandipada another feature of the god Śiva. These characteristics evidently show the evidence of Hindu god Śiva represented in the form of bull accompanied by the symbol of nandipada.

⁶³ Mitterwallner, G.V., 1986: 68-70.

Vima (II) Kadphises

The entire series of Vima (II) Kadphises coins substantially designated with the figure of Oesho apparently shown in the guise of Indian god Śiva. On these coins the deity is exhibited in three different forms, standing alone, accompanied by the bull and the upright trident only. The alone figure is naked with erect lingam, holding trident with axe in the right hand, lion skin and water flask in the left. In some cases, he wears headdress but in others without headdress and with raised hair. The figure accompanied by the bull has lower body dressed in transparent garment, upper body naked including the erect lingam and holds trident (without axe) in the left hand, right hand unclear and bareheaded. The third variety of trident alone carries all the features of Śiva like trident attached with axe of battle and erect lingam. All the varieties characteristically accompanied by the symbol of nandipada. On these coins this god, obviously Oesho, present the syncretism of two deities i.e. Herakles and Śiva. In the light of cited feature of Śiva this figure has close resemblance with Greek god Herakles as both deities are shown naked and both carries animal skin. On the basis of iconographic style and the use of nandipada symbol most of the scholars identify this deity with the Indian god Śiva. This opinion is further supported by the application of some peculiar epithets of king on the reverse like *Maheshvarasa* which was also known to be the epithet of Śiva as well. But the Greek name Herakles and Bactrian name Oesho to the same deity on the Kanishka and Huvishka coins now makes the status of this god as Indian deity little bit doubtful as this name is not corresponding with Śiva.

Kanishka I

It was under Kanishka I that the coins show great multiplicity and mixture of gods and goddesses of different origin and the corresponding figures are characteristically labelled with their names. In the first stage of coinage, he employed the principal deities and gave them Greek names such as Helios (sun-god), Salene (moon-god), Hephaistos (fire and metal-god), Nanaia (goddess of war and fertility), Herakles (Hero-god) and Anemos (wind-god)⁴⁴. These deities were exhibited on the gold coins

⁴⁴ Tanabe, K., 1990: 51-80.

and two of them (Helios and Nanaia) were depicted on the copper and were likewise identified with the Greek names. In the second stage, he retained the same figures but substituted the Greek names with Bactrian such as Helios became to Miiro (=Avestic Mithra, "the god of heavenly light"), Salene to Mao (=Avestic Mao, moon god), Hephaistos to Athsho (=Zend Athar and Persian Athash, "fire"), Nanaia to Nana (Mesopotamian Nanaia=Inanna=Ishtar, "goddess of war and fertility and spirit of heaven"), Herakles to Oesho and Anemos to Oado (=Avestic Vata, "created wind"). In this stage he replaced Anemos from gold coins and his figure with name Oado was transferred to the copper coins. Tanabe remarks that the Kushan wind god on bronze coins was certainly derived from the earlier image of the wind god on the gold coin of Kanishka I⁴⁵. On these coins he also changed the obverse Greek legend to Bactrian and reintroduced the name of his dynasty. This policy of the king apparently shows changes of the official language and not the physical alteration of Greek gods to the Iranian gods. In this scheme, he re-engraved the old dies with new Bactrian legend and thus presented the previous deities with new names. The figure of sun-god is always represented with sun-rays behind head, moon-god with lunar crescent behind shoulder, fire (and metal)-god with hammer and tongue, fortune-goddess with staff and bowl, Hero-god with club and lion skin and wind god shown in running position. In this connection the Bactrian inscription of Kanishka I from Rabatak also show similar activities of the king and evidently indicate the deliberate changes of language from Greek into Bactrian (called as Arian)⁴⁶.

In the second stage, the characteristic features of previous group retained the same but with the exception of language changes and the discontinuation of wind god on the gold coins. As mentioned earlier the deities of second phase were named as Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Nana and Oesho.

In the third stage, the gold coins of Kanishka exhibit new headdress of the king on the obverse and extend the scope, role, style and magnitude of deities on the reverse. Hence new deities of the Persian origin were incorporated, such as: Ardoxsho (=Zoroastrian Ardivi-sura-Anahit, Ard Waxsh, "the spirit of fortune or goddess of fertility"), Lroaspo (=Avestic druaspa and Persian =Druvaspa, "possessing

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 110-111.

a healthy horse"), Manaobago (=Avestic god Vohu Manah or "Good Mind"), Mozdoano (=Avestic god Ahuramazda, the Victorious or "Winner of Wisdom"), Orlagno (=Avestic Verethragna, Vrithragna, "the god of victory"), Pharro (=Avestic Khvareno, "the glory and legitimacy of kings"). Besides this, he also retained the previously employed deities like Athsho, Mao, Miiro, Oesho and Nanashao (earlier Nanaia and Nana). The most striking feature of the last stage of Kanishka coins is the depiction of Buddha figure both on the gold and copper coins. The coins study shows that the figure of Buddha was incorporated in the final years of his reign. To a great extent the number of deities eliminated on the copper coins of Kanishka and they are known as Ardoxsho, Athsho, Buddha seated and Buddha standing, Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado, four-armed and two-armed Oesho and Pharro (?). The occurrence and distribution of these deities is different and appeared in variety of groups.

These deities are normally exhibited with two arms but the two deities Manaobago and Oesho are shown with four arms. Oesho in his four arms usually holds a water flask (sometimes with ankus or elephant's goad also), a thunderbolt, a trident and an antelope (in some cases diadem). Some of the small copper coins of Kanishka are also known to represent the two-armed Oesho in which the figure holds a trident and a water flask. On Huvishka coins, the figure of Oesho is further found in different iconographic features. As mentioned earlier, this deity has always been known a debatable figure as it is shown in Indian iconography and labelled with the Bactrian name, it is therefore the conclusive remarks of recent researches are presented in the following paragraphs (New views about the God Oesho and the Kushan Pantheon).

Huvishka

The reverse scheme of deities initiated by Kanishka I was similarly continued for the reverse design of Huvishka coins, these deities are: Ardoxsho, Athsho, Lroaspo, Mao, Manaobago, Miiro, Mozdoano, Nana, Oado, Oesho, Orlagno, Pharro. The figure of Buddha or his representation in any form is absent on Huvishka coins. This ruler not only continued the previous Iranian deities but also incorporated many other deities of different pantheons. In this regard the new deities other than the above found on the reverse of his gold coins are: Ooromozdō (=Ahura-Mazda, the supreme God),

Oanindo (=Avestic Vanainti, "Lord of Victory"), Ashaeixsho or Oaxsho (=Avestic Asha Vhishta, god of the River Vaxsh (Vakhsh), the Oxus, "best righteousness"), Rishto or Rishno (=Avestic Rashnu, Rashti personification of righteousness "who best wards off the foes"), Ridh or Ride (Indian Riddhi = Good Fortune ?), Shaoreoro (=Avestic Khshathrahe, desirable kingdom equated with Pehlevi Shahrevar "best royal power") etc. of the Persian (Zoroastrian pantheon)⁴⁷. Among them Ashaeixsho and Rishti were locally developed of Avestan Asha Vahishta and Arshti⁴⁸. Erakilo (=Herakles, Greek God of Hero) was adopted from the Greek mythology. Sarapo (Serapis, a Greco-Egyptian divinity of Alexandria), Oroe (Egyptian Horus) and Rion or Riom (=Roma?) are known to have been copied from the deities of Roman Empire. Besides this, Huvishka also included deities of the Hindu religion such as Śiva (obviously Oesho), Ommo (perhaps known for Nana), Maaseno (Mahasena), Skando-Komaro (Skanda-Kumara) and Bizago (Vishakh).

Oesho is found in several varieties with four-armed single-headed, four-armed three-headed and two-armed single headed. Different attributes are associated with him like diadem, thunderbolt, trident, water flask and in some cases he also carries *chakra* (wheel) and antelope. Few of the rare coins exhibit six-armed figure with three-heads and the accompanied name Oesho. In copper there are some unique coins of Huvishka which represent multi-armed (six-armed) and single-headed Indian deity in which the lower hands characteristically bear conch in front of chest. The attributes showing its association with Viṣṇu cult of Hinduism. The six-armed figure is quite unique and interesting in Viṣṇuism as the certain deity usually found as 2-armed, 4-armed and 8-armed. These coins are interestingly inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi legend that can be readable for a new name i.e. *Yodhavade* (right-left direction) or *devadhayo* (left-right direction). A two-armed figure of Śiva style is also inscribed with similar legend and the two-armed Viṣṇu figure is common in Indian mythology.

Moreover some innovations are seen under Huvishka like the pair of deities such as Mao and Miuro, Oesho and Nana and also a group of three deities like

⁴⁷ Harmatta, J., et al. 1999: 327-328.

⁴⁸ Stein, M.A., 1960 (1899): 41-59; Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 69-99; Harmatta, J., et al. 1999: 327-329.

Mahasena, Skanda-Kumara and Bizago and this idea was certainly taken from the Roman coins where such practice was entertained there.

Vasudeva I and Successors

Vasudeva I, the successor of Huvishka, generally followed the reverse pattern of predecessors for his coinage but on them the number of deities is greatly eliminated. His coins usually represent Oesho standing with bull and few other deities like Nana and Indian god Vasudeva are also reported. Oesho is represented in several forms, two-armed figure standing alone, four-armed with bull, four-armed and three-head with bull, four-armed and three-headed dancing Oesho with bull and two-armed and single-headed Oesho with bull.

After him, all the successor kings from Kanishka II to Vasudeva II employed two reverse deities Oesho and bull and enthroned Ardoxsho. Moreover, Kanishka II also employed the Babylonia goddess Nana accompanied by a lion. After Vasudeva II all the later kings of the Kushan dynasty retained only one reverse deity i.e. enthroned Ardoxsho of Kanishka II style.

Different Theories regarding the Kushans Deities and Religion

E.J. Rapson briefly alluded to the religious history of the Kushans that, "the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka show a great spirit of eclecticism; for on their reverses they bear various deities of the Greek, Scythic origin, the deities of the Avestan and of the Vedas and Buddha"⁴⁹.

M.A. Stein carried out a very extensive research on the reverse deities of the Kushan coins. On the basis of iconographic, legend and phonetic studies he identified that they mostly owe their origin to the Iranian language and traditions as well as Zoroastrian religion which were introduced into India by the Indo-Scythian conquerors⁵⁰.

Like Stein, A. Cunningham also explained the Kushan deities in great details and presented them in a different approach⁵¹. The reverse types of Kanishka,

⁴⁹ Rapson, E.J., 1897: 18.

⁵⁰ Stein, M.A., 1960 (1899): 59.

⁵¹ Cunningham, A., 1892: 40-159.

Huvishka and Vasudeva were described to the worship of the seven planets of Zoroastrian and arranged them according to the order of the seven week-days and their names. On these coins, he identifies thirty different names of the deities and found some of them difficult to explain. He remarked that all the names ending in 'O' shows undoubtedly Iranian influence⁵². Cunningham also explained that the objects of worship in ancient India and Persia originated from a common source. In this connection he classified the extensive pantheon of Zoroastrian and Indian origin deities into seven and eighth groups (including the Buddha). These classifications, generally based on the historical work of Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus, comprising the sun and moon and the four elements of fire, wind, earth, and water with the firmament of Heaven overall. He quotes Herodotus' statement that "afterwards the Iranians adopted the worship of Urania (Nanaia) from the Assyrian"⁵³.

J. Kennedy wrote a very detailed essay on the Kushan coins and described the reverse deities and the trade links of the Kushans with other countries. He associated these deities with the foreign influence and argued that these coins were issued, not to supply local wants, but for trade and commercial purposes and were used to exchange in a foreign trade. In this respect, he finds out the trade links of the Kushans, the intermediaries, with the Characene and Mesene on the one the hand and China on the other. Accordingly, the eastern and western traders not supposed to understand the local languages therefore the Kushans, whose kingdom acted as intermediate role, engraved the coins in Greek which was used to be convenient medium for international trade as the settlement of Greeks were common in the certain areas. He argued that most of the deities on the gold coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka are referred to the religious belief of the Mesenians and Babylonians. It is suggested that gods of every land were to be found in Babylonia and where they syncretized and the Mesenian traders brought these deities into the Kushan kingdom⁵⁴.

⁵² Ibid, 1892: 51.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Kennedy, J., 1912: 981-1011.

R.D. Banerjea presents his opinion that "these deities show a liberal spirit in great contrast to the aggressive sectarianism favoured in the money of their predecessor Vima Kadphises"⁵⁵.

It was J. Rosenfield, after Cunningham and Stein, who elaborately described the whole series of deities, their role and character, origin and relation and their scope on the Kushan coins. He also considered their derivation from Roman Alexandria, Hellenized Orient, Iran, and Indian and observed that the proximity of the Kushan pantheon has never been conclusively established⁵⁶. He classified the deities on the Kushan coins into three major groups which belonged to different mythology. The Hellenistic or Roman deities included Herakles, Helios, Hephaistos, Roma (Rishno), Salene and Serapis (Sarapo); the Indian deities consisting of Buddha, Oesho (Śiva), Mahasena, Skanda-Kumara and Vaishakh. Similarly the Iranian deities are listed as Ardoxsho, Athsho, Ashaeixsho, Lroaspo, Manaobago, Mao, Mazdah, Mithra, Nana (Nanaia), Oado, Oanindo, Oaxsho, Odiio, Orlagno, Pharro, Rishno and Shahrevar (Shaoreoro). This is the most comprehensive work on the Kushan deities; thereafter various scholars follow this kind of classification and normally discuss the different deities within this frame of order.

Rosenfield forwarded his hypothesis that most of these deities represent the personal interest of king and official policy of the state and they show no relation with subject of the kingdom except the Buddhism which was the only organized religion of the people of the Kushan territory⁵⁷. Most of the deities usually not found in the art pieces of the Kushan Empire strongly suggest that the taste and interests of the Kushan kings were somewhat different with that of their subjects which can be understood in a feudal social order carried on by the foreign invaders. Besides this the Kushans also encouraged and promoted Buddhism as it is attested from the numerous epigraphs, flourishing Buddhist art and architecture, Buddhist literature and pilgrim accounts.

B.N. Mukherjee also organized the arrangement of deities on the pattern of Rosenfield. He like Rosenfield classified the deities into different pantheons such as the deities of Persian, Greek, Egyptian origin of Roman and Indian religions. In this

⁵⁵ Mukherjee, B.N., 1978: 35.

⁵⁶ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 69.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 69-100.

classification, he observed that there are several examples of duplicate deities on the Kushans coins where Greek deities overlap the Persian counterpart deities⁵⁸. He also identified various aspects of these deities like the composite nature of deities, the pair of deities, impact of Roman on the Kushan deities etc. He concluded his remarks that they have been inspired by (1) the Kushan moneyers' knowledge of the Roman coin types and some cults of the Roman orient, reigned through direct Kushano-Roman commercial contacts, (b) the state policy to emphasis on deities indicating the right and might of the Kushan rule and (c) the desire to reflect on coinage the faiths and religious ideas current in Bactria. He further adds that the Kushan rulers perhaps became more sectarian in their religious policy than their forbears⁵⁹.

Few years ago, Zeymal carried out a detailed note on the representation of god Oesho on the Kushan coins and identified this deity with the term Visha-Shiva of the Śivaite origin. Due to the various iconographic representations, he puts this deity into two contro-distinct trends of Śivism. On the coins of Vima Kadphises and Vasudeva I, Oesho is accompanied by the bull who worshipped the incarnation of Visha-Shiva (Oesho). Accordingly, he was intolerant towards all other gods. In other trend, the figure on the coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka appeared in different attitudes and standing alone and therefore it did not recognize the incarnation of Visha-Shiva with fetters and a humped bull. In this respect the certain deity was a not supreme god and with a single exception it has widely tolerance with the other gods depicted on coins and worshipped⁶⁰. According to this conclusion the two divisions of Shivism appeared to oppose to one another under the Great Kushans⁶¹.

New Views about the God Oesho and the Kushan Pantheon

Some of the deities of the Kushan coins are much interesting and famous for their significant character and names like Oado, Nana and Oesho etc.

As cited earlier, the reverses of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva coins contain the figure of so-called Oesho which is normally identified with the Indian god Śiva. This identification was generally based on the iconographic

⁵⁸ Mukherjee, B.N., 1978: 37.

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁰ Zeymal, E.V., 1997: 245-266.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 261.

features of the said deity and the use of nandipada symbol. This opinion was further strengthened by the application of a peculiar epithet *Maheshvarasa* on the reverse of Vima Kadphises coins, which has been likewise the epithet of Śiva as well. But the Greek name Herakles and Bactrian name Oesho to the same deity on the Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva coins now change the conventional views and the new researches show that it was not simply the Indian god Śiva but was a different deity of the Kushan pantheon.

Gail recorded that name Śiva is phonetically not corresponding with Bactrian word OHPO and traced out a word Bhuteśa was one of the forty one names of Śiva in Amarakośa. He forwarded many explanations and on the basis of weak arguments he concluded that Śiva was quite obviously Bhuteśa, the Lord of the demons in the Kushana Empire between the Mathura and the Oxus area⁶².

Tanabe also pointed out that the identification of god OHPO on the Kushan coins is doubtful as normally called the Hindu god Śiva⁶³. He phonetically explains that Oesho may be a wind god and can be associated with the Sogdian god Weshparkar (right)⁶⁴. He connects Oesho with the Persian word Vayu (wind god) and proposed that Oesho or Vayu was assimilated into Śiva in the Kushan period. In this regard the Oesho image was produced by adopting some characteristics of Śiva and other deities and it may not be considered that Oesho was identical with Śiva and the former shared some iconographical features with the later⁶⁵. Taking the Iranian point of view, Vayu (Oesho) would be known for syncretism with Śiva in the Kushan period and was represented by three headed and four-armed image of Oesho on Kushan coins and Gandharan sculpture as well. Accordingly one-headed and two-armed Oesho on the coins of Vima Kadphises and of the Kushano-Sasanians is Vayu (Vesho), different from Śiva⁶⁶.

Hence it is thought that this was a separate and independent deity of the Kushans and most of the features were taken from the Indian god Śiva. Due to altering the name from Herakles (in Greek) to Oesho (in Bactrian) of the deity on

⁶² Gail, A.J., 1991-92: 43-49.

⁶³ Tanabe, K., 1991-92: 51.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 55-57.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 64.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 65.

Kanishka coins and the close resemblance of the two as the latter sometimes carries club and lion skin, and physical features of Herakles have strong evidence of syncretism of these deities. It can be suggested that Kushans basically depicted this deity in the form of Herakles (and Śiva) therefore applied the Greek name to the deity but when they changed the certain name then the deity was called Oesho in Bactrian and this name is phonetically different from the name of Indian version Śiva⁶⁷.

Oesho is certainly Iranian by name and was previously identified with the Greek name Herakles as the Greek version of other deities transmitted to Bactrian under Kanishka I. On the basis of Numismatic, epigraphic and phonetic evidences the deity known as Oesho is Iranian name as the names of other deities but appeared in the guise of Indian god Śiva⁶⁸. Accordingly Cribb rightly summarizes that it is by name Wesho (Oesho) was Zoroastrian, a form of the Avestan wind god Vayu, and was related to both the Indian god Śiva and the Greek god Herakles⁶⁹. Harmatta has also the similar opinion about Oesho that it predominantly appeared on the Vasudeva coins showed great syncretism. The figure of Oesho comprised apparently combined Greek, Iranian and non-Śivaite Indian elements⁷⁰.

Kushan Royal Temples and Sanctuaries

Mat (Mathura) Temple of Vima (I) Takto

Mathura has been known an important place in the eastern part of the Kushan Empire. According to Chinese accounts, the second ruler of the Kushans, known as *Yen-kao-tsin tai*, the successor of *Chiu-chio-chiu*, conquered *T'ien-chu* (India) and appointed governors to rule there. This statement is now well attested by the discovery of coins, statues and epigraphs of Vima Takto from the region of Mathura, as he was the second ruler in his line and the conqueror of India. As described earlier (Chapter-IV: History) this sequence of the rulers is also well documented in the Rabatak inscriptions.

The archaeological excavations at Mat suggest that Mathura produced large number of statues of deities and princes of the Kushan dynasty like the portrait

⁶⁷ Cribb, J., 1998: 92.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Cribb, J., 1997: 40.

⁷⁰ Harmatta, J., et al. 1999: 329.

statues of Vima Takto, Kanishka and perhaps of Huvishka. Besides these findings, there were the ruins of an ancient brick building once coated with plaster is also discovered. The portrait statues, other than the artistic values are also very important as they are inscribed in Brāhmī and bearing the names and important information of the concerned ruler. The Brāhmī inscription of Vima Takto narrates the religious building activities of the monarch in this region such as the architect entitled Bakanapati built a devakula (house of gods, a sanctuary), a garden, a tank and a well. In the light of epigraphs and discovery of the portrait statue of Vima Takto and ground plan of the structure undoubtedly show the evidence of the Kushan royal sanctuary for the figures of gods and kings as well.

The structures were found in extremely bad conditions and only ground plan could determine the outline of the structure at the site. The significant feature of these structures is the shrine, 100 feet long and 59 feet wide, built on extensive plinth paved with flat bricks. A sanctum was provided to the northeast, which comprising two concentric rounded walls and is enclosed on three sides by a row of small cells (3x2 feet). Due to the small size and nature of the cells they had no meaning other than the structural purposes obviously indicate the Indian style of architecture. The hollow cylindrical structure has the speculation that it would have been taller than the remaining monuments. There are some traces of a ramp or stairway and some kind of entrance structure with blind cells were discovered at the southeast end. A wide courtyard is reported between the entrance and the sanctum.

Except the royal portrait of Vima Takto, which was found in situ, the remaining statues were found in a disturbed and miserable condition within the ruined building. Before the discovery of the name of Vima Takto from Rabatak inscription, the Mat portrait as well as inscription of this ruler was previously assigned to Vima Kadphises. In this regard the construction of this sanctuary was also associated with Vima Kadphises. It is due to the clear reading of the name Vima Takshasamyā of Mat epigraph it is certainly belonged to Vima Takto. Another epigraph from Mathura i.e. the inscription of Huvishka also mentions that the king ordered to repair the devakula of his grandfather. After the discovery of many royal portrait statues along with the deities from this monument and its correlation with the Saketa, some scholars identify

this structure as the royal portrait gallery of the deceased kings of the Kushans⁷¹. Rosenfield refers to the V.S. Agrawala argument where the latter identify it simply a Śiva temple as it was made by Vima Kadphises as he was the devotee of Śiva and this view was further supported by the discovery of a small statue of Durga⁷². Rosenfield correlated the Mat monument with the Surkh Kotal sanctuary of the Kushans and thus rightly identified it with the dynastic shrine of the Kushans.

Oesho Sanctuary of Vima (I) Takto

One of the long Bactrian inscriptions (D 2), however fragmentary, of Vima (I) Takto (so-called Vima Kadphises) from Dilberjin, reveals important information of the religious activity of the ruler. This inscription states that Kushan King Vima Ta(kpiso) dedicated this sanctuary to Oesho, the exalted divinity, the eternal lord of the universe, master of all beings. It also explains that there was a shortage of water then the king invited workers and artisans from the territory of Ujjain and restored the supply of water to the sanctuary.

Surkh Kotal Temple of Kanishka I

The site of Surkh Kotal is situated to the north of Hindu-Kush near the famous site of Bamiyan in the Pul Khumari region, Afghanistan. The Surkh Kotal temple was excavated by the *Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* (DAFA) in 1957. The Surkh Kotal shrine of the Kushan is located on a steep hill top accessible through a brick and cut stone stairway in three-flight of stairs and terraces. The structure was found enclosed by mud brick walls. The mission discovered five stone effigies of the princes, fragment of stucco deities (Buddhist), long Bactrian inscription and fragment of another inscription in the same writing, metal implements, jewellery and a few coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The portrait statues are found in fragment, and one of them (lower portion only) has close resemblance with that of the Kanishka statue from the Mat shrine. One other statue is also similar to the portrait of Kanishka style. This statue is identified with the sun-god, Mithra. Most of the statues were found standing in the sanctuary in original style

⁷¹ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 149-150.

⁷² Ibid, p. 150.

(situ). Painted stucco images of deities found in fragile condition were placed in eighteen niches within the backside wall around the main shrine.

The structure is rectangular in outline which consisted of a large roofed cella faced to the east and was surrounded on three sides by an open area which in turn was enclosed by a large retaining walled structure. It is reported that many small statues of clay were placed in niches⁷³. The excavators also mention two mausolea- those of Kanishka and Huvishka and the socle with carvings of twin eagles.

The most significant discovery of this site is the Bactrian inscriptions which give useful information about the construction, abandonment and renovation of the Kanishka sanctuary. The first inscription (SK 1) belonged to the Kanishka period, narrates that the sanctuary was built by King (Kanishka) in four years. The king also completed the façade and the stairs and dug out a canal and provided water to the abode of gods thus he took care of the sanctuary⁷⁴. Alongside another inscription of Sorkh Kotal (SK 4), inscribed in the reign of Huvishka, provide further information such as "the sanctuary of Kanishka Oanindo, when first completed there was a shortage of water, then it fell into disrepair and was abandoned until the regnal year 31, one Nokonzoko, a high official came there and repaired and adorned the place, three other officials, of equal rank, were associated with Nokonzoko's work⁷⁵. It obviously speaks that the sanctuary was founded in the reign of Kanishka by king Kanishka the victorious and was then abandoned for a while and later on repaired in the regnal year 31, apparently in the reign of Huvishka. The inscription also reveals that Nokonzoko restored the supply of water to the Kanishka's sanctuary. It is known that this official also built a new terrace (4th) in front of the former entry and placed the inscribed stone at the new entrance. The archaeological evidences show that the said Sanctuary was then destroyed by a severe fire, perhaps at the end of Huvishka reign, as the coins suggest. Later on the site was reconstructed for the third time but this time under the Sasanians as is evident from a Kushano-Sasanian coins found in the small fire temple⁷⁶.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 154-164.

⁷⁴ Harmatta, J., et al., 1999: 428-429.

⁷⁵ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 158; Harmatta, J., et al. 1999: 429-432.

⁷⁶ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 162.

Kanishka I Sanctuary (Bagolaggo) of Rabatak Inscription & Kushan Religion

The recently discovered Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great from Rabatak manifests the religious policy of king and provides the names of gods. It is very important that this was the official record of the king which is said to have been inscribed in the first year of his reign. In this document king acknowledges goddess Nana and other gods to whom he obtained the kingship. The epigraph narrates that the king ordered to Shafar the *Karalrang* to make the sanctuary for goddess Ommo (Umma) and Nana and god Aurmuzd (Ahuramazda), Sroshard, Narasa and Mihr (Miuro). He also ordered to make images of these deities who granted kingship to his ancestors like Kujula Kadphises, Vima Takto, Vima Kadphises and also for himself, king Kanishka. Then the *Karalrang*, and Shafar the *Karalrang*, and Nukunzuk (Nokonzoko) led the worship according to the king's command. These gods may keep the king of kings, Kanishka the Kushan forever, healthy, secure and victorious⁷⁷. The two deities Nana and Miuro described in the inscription are commonly found on his coins. The other deities inscribed in the epigraph are not identical to those displayed on the reverse of Kanishka coins.

This inscription identifies the role and origin of gods that the gods worshipped by the Kushans as the source of their authority are of Iranian origin. This record leaves no doubt that Kanishka pretends his religious belief and practices and ordered for the construction of a sanctuary for the gods who bestowed upon him the kingship. It also clarifies the religion of his predecessors who were the follower of same religion to which Kanishka belonged. This statement may also be confirmed from the numismatic evidences where the Kushan kings like Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Vasudeva and all subsequent rulers used to sacrifice over altar by means offering and venerating to the certain deity depicted on the reverse of coins. In this regard the reverse deities like Miuro, Mao, Athsho, Ardoxsho, Oesho, etc. making the gesture of victory or carry diadem or symbol of investiture to offer kingship and blessing towards the king (on obverse). This representation certainly manifests the affinity and interaction between the king and the gods as evidenced from the Rabatak inscription⁷⁸. This kind of relationship of the king and the deities is noticed on the

⁷⁷ Sims William, N., & Cribb, J., 1995-96: 77-81.

⁷⁸ Cribb, J., 1998: 90-91.

famous reliquary of Kanishka I from Shah-ji-ki-dheri (Peshawar). Here the king is shown standing between the images of god Miirō and god Mao, identifiable by their solar and lunar characteristics and dressed in the same garments as depicted on the coins. Accordingly both deities make gestures towards the king, in the same style as the two gods are shown on the inaugural coins of Huvishka⁷⁹. The crescent headdress of the king on the early coins of Kanishka also shows its link with goddess Nana who also wears similar dress. There are several such links between the kings and deities have been identified by Joe Cribb⁸⁰.

The set of six deities such as Helios (Miirō), Salene (Mao), Nanaia (Nana), Hephaistos (Athsho), Anemos (Oado) and Herakles (Oesho) appeared on the Greek coins (first group) of Kanishka can be correlated with the same number of deities of the Rabatak inscription. As mentioned earlier some of the names of deities of epigraph are not matching perfectly with those of the coins create some confusion. In this respect the two identical deities (Nana and Miirō) are the most common figures and seemingly be the principal deities of the Kushan pantheon. The two headdresses having crescent and solar symbols worn by the king on his early coins are related to these gods⁸¹. The other deities Ommo (Umma), Aoromozdo (Ahuramazda), Sroshard (perhaps Shaoreoro) of Rabatak inscription are appeared on the gold coins of Huvishka. The deity named Mozdoano (Gracious One) is found on the later coins of Kanishka and also of Huvishka. Cribb proposes this deity with the Kushan god Oesho who is displayed on Kushan coins in the guise of the Indian god Śiva. Śiva's name means the Gracious One⁸². Cribb further explains that the Rabatak inscription does not resolve all the issues regarding the 'pantheon' on Kanishka's Greek language gold coins but proves the Iranian identity of gods depicted. He explains that Kanishka designated his coin designs to present his own religious belief apparently his association to Iranian religion, a form of Zoroastrian.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 90-93.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 91.

⁸² Ibid.

Multiplicity of Indian Deities/ Emergence of Viṣṇu Images

As described earlier in the reverse deities of Kushan kings, some rare copper coins of Huvishka peculiarly represent Indian style figures with distinctive features of 2-armed and 6-armed with 3-headed or single headed, apparently constitute a separate group. Interestingly these coins are inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi legend obviously belonged to Gandhara region (Pakistan) of the Kushans. Alongside, the provenance of these coins is recently confirmed by obtaining the photographs of a new copper coin of Huvishka (coin # 521) from Kashmir Smast, Gandhara by Dr. Nasim Khan. It is therefore the figure is included in the present catalogue of coins. The inscriptions of these coins simultaneously read the name *Yodhavade* (r. to l.) or *Devadhayo* (l. to r.) which is not certainly identical with the Indian or Persian origin deities. The other characteristic feature of these deities is the attribute conch object, which is conspicuous and commonly holding in lower hands in front of chest. This attribute is normally associated with the Indian deity Viṣṇu. The conch attribute is normally associated with the Indian deity Viṣṇu. Another characteristic feature of the six-armed figure is the veneration to a sacred tree. The deity holding a conch with lowered two-hands is standing before the tree. The tree is branched out into four which might be representing the certain directions of earth⁸³.

These coins show a very important role in the Huvishka coinage. The Viṣṇu figure, as mentioned in literary accounts, is usually found as 2-armed, 4-armed and 8-armed but not 6-armed⁸⁴. Here it is the first example that a deity of this cult is found with 6-arms. Another significance of these coins is the context which seemingly shows that they were issued for a particular region and seemingly struck on important occasion, as they are rare and found in well known Śivaite monastic area. In this regard other antiquities, inscriptions and architectural elements also demonstrate for the Hindu cult of Viṣṇu at Kashmir Smast and the same is likewise reflected on the coins of Huvishka⁸⁵.

In the following period, one of the early gold coin of Vasudeva I display a four-armed deity on the reverse. This figure holding a chakra (wheel) in one of the

⁸³ Nasim Khan, M., 2006: 218-222.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

hand, certainly the attribute of god Vasudeva Krishna and this representation is also confirmed by the Bactrian name Bazodeva (Vasudeva) that is accompanied by the figure. The connection of these figures on the coins of Huvishka and Vasudeva, however issued in different contexts (copper and gold), can be understood as Indian deities and may be related to Viṣṇu mythology.

Kanishka I and His Buddhist Policy

Kanishka is frequently mentioned in the Buddhist texts for his veneration, charity and donations to the Buddhism and accordingly he made great contributions to the Buddhism like the convention of fourth Buddhist council in Kashmir and construction of stupa in Kashmir, the construction of great stupa near Peshawar (Shah-ji-ki-dheri) etc. Great personalities particularly the Buddhist theologians were associated with the king, like Aśvaghōṣa, Vasumitra, Parśva, Saṃgharakṣa, Mātricēta, Dharmatrata and Nagarjuna⁸⁶. Most of them were great influential and had received considerable favour from the king, as Parśva persuaded the king in conviction of the Buddhist council. His legendary story associated with the Kashmiri *Arhat* is narrated in the Chinese version of the *Samprukta-ratn-piṭaka-sūtra*. According to which he offered his subjugation to the monk and the latter responded well to the king who happily returned to his own kingdom⁸⁷.

Hsüan-tsang has reported the detailed story of the conviction of fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir by Kanishka, the king of Gandhara, which was held four hundred years after the death of Buddha. It was organized by Parśva and presided by Vasumitra of Sarvāstivādin doctrine and attended by 499 leading scholars of the Buddhist community. After the council was concluded, Kanishka I ordered to record and preserve the three *piṭakas* which then engraved on the sheet of red copper, enclosed them in a stone receptacle and built a stupa over it. Kanishka erected a special Vihara in Kashmir to commemorate this great occasion⁸⁸. It is said that the council was participated by the monks of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna persuasions to edit the Abhidharma Sarvāstivādin sect⁸⁹.

⁸⁶ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 30.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Another great contribution of Kanishka is the construction of a great Stupa and Vihara at Peshawar which was frequently reported by Chinese pilgrims like *Fa-hsien*, *Sung-yun* and *Hsüan-tsang*. It was also mentioned by the famous Muslim historian Alberuni. Accordingly, they describe a great stupa built by Kanishka outside *Fo-lu-sha-pu-lo* (i.e. Purushapura, the modern Peshawar). The great details of this monument are given by *Hsuan-tsang*. It is said that this stupa was made here on the fulfilment of a prediction of the Buddha. In this respect Buddha told while in Gandhara, four hundred years after his death a king would build a stupa to contain many relics of the Buddha's bones and flesh. According to this tradition, the king was hunting a white hare in wild country and met a shepherded boy (actually god in guise of boy) who was busy in construction of a small stupa of mud three feet high from the ground and repeating Buddha's prophecy. After found the reply from shepherd boy, Kanishka ordered to build a stupa around the small one in account to prove the power of his religious merit. In this competition, he raised the stupa high and high but the smaller one always exceeded it by three feet. Consequently the stupa of Kanishka reached to the height of 750 feet. It is also stated that Kanishka enshrined a number of relics of Buddha inside the stupa. After he completed his stupa the smaller one again came through the larger one half way up from the southeast side. Eventually Kanishka realized that the divine power were greater than the king⁹⁰.

Another version of the legend, in Khotanese fragment from *Tun-huang*, repeats the story of the building of stupa over a small mud structure, which was initiated by four children-the, four *lokapālas* in disguise⁹¹.

The pilgrims also reported the size and plan of the stupa which is now proven by the excavation conducted by Spooner in 1908-1910. This excavation also attests the location of stupa and Vihara and the enshrined relics found in the form of Kanishka reliquary. The stupa was built on a high plinth with its diameter was 286 feet indicating one of the largest stupa yet found in the Indian territory⁹².

One story of Kanishka associated with the Jaina Stupa in Eastern India is found in the so-called *Sūtrālaṃkāra* where king misperceived it to be the stupa of

⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 34-37.

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 35.

⁹² Ibid, pp. 35-36.

Buddhism which became broken into pieces and then the king realized its dignity⁹³. A similar story of Kanishka is recorded by the Chinese pilgrim *Wang Hsuan-tse*, who visited India four times in seventh century. Accordingly, the king venerated the statues of unidentified devas which fell down to the earth, and after the placement of a small statue of Sakyamuni on the head of Surya then it did not fall again at the salutation of Kanishka⁹⁴. Rosenfield reported a Tibetan reference, in which a letter is addressed presumably to Kanishka, the *Mahārājakaṇikalekha*, written by a Buddhist scholar Mātriceṭa. The letter expresses that the monk was invited by the king to discuss with him Buddhist doctrines⁹⁵.

Besides this, the coins of Kanishka also bear similar evidences representing the figure of Buddha both on his gold and copper coins. On the gold coins, the Buddha figure is found in standing position with the Bactrian name Boddo (Buddha). On the copper coins, the figure of Buddha is displayed both in standing and seated form and inscribed with Bactrian legend Sakamano Boudo (Śakyamuni Buddha) and Metrago Boudo (Maitreya Buddha) respectively. These figures on Kanishka coins are exhibited in the style of Gandhara art pieces⁹⁶. From the analytical study, it is known that these coins of Kanishka were issued in the final years of his reign.

Buddhist Art under the Kushans

The famous Gandhara Art (Pakistan), Mathura Art (India) and Bactrian Art (Afghanistan) of Buddhism are known to have flourished during the time of the Kushans and particularly associated with Kanishka and his successors. In addition to it, Arachosia and Nagarahara (Kabulistan and the Jalalabad province of Afghanistan) constitute the fourth Buddhist art school of the Kushan period⁹⁷. Gandhara School of art is further divided into two parts by regional styles; the proper Gandhara, the Peshawar valley and Uddiyana, the Swat valley. They geographically and artistically are different from one another. The two schools are quite different; the Bactria is rooted in the Graeco-Bactrian traditions and Mathura in the Indian ones, which both

⁹³ Ibid, p. 33.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 34.

⁹⁶ Cribb, J., 1999-200: 151.

⁹⁷ Pugachenkova, G.A., et al., 1999: 331.

geographically and in respect of history and culture are distinct. The other two of the middle region; the Arachosia-Nagarahara and Gandhara had their own independent origins, greatly reflected the Greco-Roman, Persian, Scythian and local traditions⁹⁸. Despite regional differences and variations, the basic theme of these schools is common as they were politically united under a single empire. The common features and great establishment of stupas, monasteries and viharas and numerous sculptures in these areas, it is evident that the leading religion of the community was Buddhism. Besides this there were also other flourishing religions like Śiva and Viṣṇu cults of Brahmanism in different regions and Jainism in the Mathura region in particular were co-existed with Buddhism. But it is certain that Buddhism was one of the major religions of the Kushan kingdom and Kanishka showed such patronage and inclination for political benefits⁹⁹.

Buddhist art (also known is Kushan art) and architecture is a huge and different field where the present dissertation is not concerned with this here it is just to mention that this art was greatly flourished and developed under the rule of the Kushans. In Pakistan Swat, Peshawar, Mardan and Taxila have been the core areas of Buddhist establishments where some famous sites are well known like Butkara I and III, Saidu-Sharif, Takht-i-Bahi, Jamal Garhi, Sahri-Bahlol, Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Thareli, Mekha Sanda, Ganghudher, Rani Ghat, Julian, Mohra Moradu, Dharmarajika, Manikyala and Moenjodaro etc¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Rosenfield, J.M., 1993 (1967): 29.

¹⁰⁰ Pugachenkova, G.A., et al., 1999: 361-71.

CONCLUSION

The study of coins is considered as an essential part for better understanding the political, socio-cultural and religious history of any ruling dynasty of the historic period. Therefore, the history of ancient Gandhara is equally based on the study of coins and other cultural materials found in the region. But, despite several efforts already made by the Indologists, certain areas of the political and cultural profile of Gandhara still remain obscure and disputed e.g. the chronology of the Kushan kings particularly that of the later rulers of mentioned dynasty. After a detailed examination of the Kushan coinage many flaws and vacuums that were existed before can be partially resolved and fulfilled.

Typology of the Kushan Coins: New Approach

The typology of the coins of Kushan kings from Kujula Kadphises to the end of the dynasty (Table 1 & Catalogue) has been re-arranged and some moderate achievements have also been made in the following areas of the Kushan coinage. This study greatly contributes to understand the political and socio-cultural history of the Kushans.

The interesting contribution made to the Kujula Kadphises coinage is the identification of unique practice of the fraction coins. The inventory of these coins provide a new sequence of Kujula Kadphises coins and also show new denomination and confirms the position of Heraüs coins to king Kujula Kadphises.

These fractions are found in the form of cut pieces of the actual coins. They are found in half and quarter and some also in three-fourth fractions. These coins are known in different types including those of the Heraüs coins. This was the unique practice of Kujula Kadphises as his similar coins are also reported by Göbl from Swat (But-Kara I)¹. Different possibilities might be expected in the implementation of this practice such as:

- a) Deficiency and procurement of metal

¹ Göbl, R., 1976: 22-23, 94-95.

- b) Ignorance of small dies and the resulted production (little) of lower denominations
- c) No standard currency of his own so he had no such scheme or idea to establish an organized monetary system
- d) Panic situation in new established ruling of the Kushans in new acquired territory of Pakistan as such coins are reported from this area only
- e) Urgent need of the small denomination as he has always been involved in the establishment of Kushan kingdom in the present territory of Pakistan and had no such time to reform his currency

This exercise was most probably carried out due to the shortage of small denominations once its need was felt, in the light of above-mentioned possibilities, then the intact and ordinary coins of all types were allowed to be broken and might have been legally accepted for circulation. This practice, which includes all kind of coins those of the early coins of Heraüs and Hermaeus and late issues of Augustus, was certainly undertaken in the final stage of his reign.

The cut coin of Heraüs series along with other similar coins of this ruler confirms that the Heraüs coins were certainly issued by Kujula Kadphises. The Heraüs coins were struck at Bactria and brought them to the new territory where they went through the process of new fraction (denomination).

There is an interesting series of small copper coins of Kanishka I, in quantity although they are rare but richer in varieties. Earlier these coins were not properly explained and classified in appropriate order.

These coins belonged to the last series of Kanishka copper (Table 2; Coins # 143-169, 170-175). They are known in lower denominations of drachm and hemi-drachm, the obverse has characteristically standing figure of king sacrificing at altar to left and accompanied by the Kharoṣṭhi akṣara depicted in the proper left field. On drachm coins, these letters identified as *cha*, *ji*, *se*, *su*, *saṃ* of which the first two letters *cha* and *ji* are common and the remaining three are rare. The disposition of obverse legend on these coins is found in two different styles, in one variety it begins at 1^h and another between 8^h and 10^h. The reverses of these coins show the figures of

Mao, Miiro, Nana, Oado and Oesho. Similarly the certain reverses exhibit diverse style of legend where the legend as well as style of letters is crude and badly executed.

There are numerous types and varieties of the gold coins of Huvishka which seems difficult to organize them in order. Therefore it is the most convenient way to classify them into groups by obverse design and each group is marked by its characteristic features. This classification helps to understand the sequence of types that how the various features were added and substituted or discarded and how the new designs were developed. This analysis is greatly corresponding with the typology of Göbl but he doesn't formulate groups and likewise the order of some of the types is shown in a different way.

The copper coins of Huvishka are similarly arranged into three series of different types. In this regard some new varieties of Herakles are identified and added to the known designs. Of the three series of coins, the last one showing Kharoṣṭhi legend on the obverse with new Indian images on the reverse is of great significance. This series is certainly new and the coins of this series are reported from Gandhara and particularly from the site of Kashmir Smast. These coins provide important information about the existence of Viṣṇuism in Gandhara under the Kushans in the mid of 3rd century AD. These evidences also shed light on the new aspects of the iconographic study of Viṣṇu cult where the said deities, besides two arms, are shown in six arms which is the first appearance of its kind.

The whole series of Vasudeva I coins is thoroughly re-examined and carried out in new system of classification for knowing the mint system of Vasudeva I and then his successors. In this respect the gold coins are basically divided into two groups which can be explained for certain mints such as Mint-A and Mint-B. In this scheme the coins of each mint are suggested to have been developed into three stages therefore termed them Phase-I, Phase-II and Phase-III (see Table 3). In typology, the coins are arranged in the same manner and also elaborately discussed in the coinage section of Vasudeva. After Vasudeva I, the pattern of Mint-B coins is said to have adopted by Kanishka II and successors in the east and similarly the style of Mint-A was followed by the Kushano-Sasanians for their coins in the west.

The imitation of gold coins of Vasudeva I are characteristically marked by the use of nandipada symbol in the right field. Accordingly, all those coins (evolved in Mint-A, Phase III) bearing nandipada in the right field of obverse were issued after the reign of Vasudeva. Before inscribing with the names of Kushano-Sasanian kings these coins were progressively decorated with different kinds of symbols like dots, swastika, and rosettes. The Kushano-Sasanian kings Peroz I, Hormizd I, Hormizd II, Peroz II, Varahran I and also the so-called Kidarite kings used to design their coins on the pattern of Vasudeva I. The same design (evolved in Mint-B, Phase III) having standing figure of king and Oesho and bull was also followed by the later Kushan kings such as Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III and Vasudeva II. The later Kushan coins of this design are distinguished by the use of various kinds of Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi akṣaras (see Table 4).

The research scholar, of course adopting the pattern of Cribb, re-arranged the later Kushan gold coins and tried to explain them in the account of their respective kings and they were supposed to be issued from different mints. This study, in the light of: (a) mint divisions of Vasudeva I, (b) distribution of akṣaras to the respective mints by Kanishka II and, (c) then with the discoveries of various hoards of later Kushans with similar scheme of akṣaras, furnish useful information for the sequence and mint analysis of the later Kushans. It is therefore this classification contributes to understand the chronology and decline of the Kushans and mint system of the later Kushans (see Table 4).

Due to uniform design, absence of king name and lacking of other evidences it is difficult to differentiate the proper coins of Vasudeva I from Post-Vasudeva copper. On account of this, the subject coins were re-examined and studied in the light of previous researches and obtained useful results. In this regard all early coins of Vasudeva I upto the nandipada series are suggested to have been the life issue of Vasudeva I and the other coins were issued by his successors (see Table 5).

Like gold coins, Kanishka II retaining the Oesho and bull design of his predecessor also initiated the enthroned Ardoxsho design for the reverse of his copper coins. Having this set up of Kanishka II, thereafter the two type tradition i.e. Oesho and bull

and enthroned Ardoxsho became the monetary designs of later Kushan kings and unfortunately they equally unable to show the name of a ruler to whom they were issued. In this regard the use of akṣaras, similarity of features and other related symbols are the useful tools with the help of which these coins are identified to a certain ruler or corresponding period.

Political History of the Kushans

The coins of Kujula Kadphises which are usually reported from Oxus region (Herañs coins from Takht-i-Sangin), Kabul valley, Gandhara and Punjab, certainly show his sovereignty in the mentioned territories. In addition, the various coin designs of Kujula Kadphises also show his step-by-step occupation into different territories that he had taken from the Greeks and Parthians. In this regard epigraphic accounts and literary sources also reveal the same story from the early foundation to the extension of the Kushan rule (under Kujula Kadphises) into Punjab. Similarly Vima Takto, according to Chinese accounts, is said to have conquered India is also confirmed from his epigraphs and coins that he had included Indian territory upto Mathura. The further extension of the Kushans under Kanishka into eastern territory is certainly proved by the coins, epigraphic records and newly discovered Rabatak inscription. The succession of Huvishka and his rule is not much different from his predecessor (Kanishka I).

For king Vasudeva I, it is generally thought that his ruling was terminated in the west by the Sasanian invasion then his successor Kanishka II ruled only in the eastern territory of the Kushans. But the numismatic evidence and mint activities of Kanishka II obviously show that he was the last ruler of the Kushans in the west and thereafter the Kushan rule was confined to the eastern part included Pakistan and India (upto UP).

The Sasanian activities in the beginning of 3rd century in the western part of the Kushans are reported by Tabari, who mentions that the ambassador of Kushans used to pay tributes to the Sasanian king Ardashir whereas the latter had come to rule in AD. 224². The same can be connected with a Chinese reference of *San-Kuo Chih*. Accordingly, Pu-t'iao, king of the Kushans, sent an envoy with tributes to China in

² Litvinsky, B.A., et al., 1999: 477.

AD. 230³. The scholars usually associate this name with Vasudeva I but it seems to be uncertain. On the other hand, if the first year of Kanishka I era is considered to AD. 127, as Harry Falk shown from two sources and many other scholars also suggest the similar date then Vasudeva I reign must have been concluded about AD 227, certainly before AD. 230. In these criteria Pu-t'iao was no more Vasudeva I but might be Kanishka II who succeeded to earlier just few years ago. The various activities of Kanishka II in the west and shift of his mint to the east also do favour the date of Kanishka era in AD. 227. Accordingly, Kanishka II after accession, harassed by the Sasanian in the west, he (Pu-t'iao) might requested for help to China (AD. 230) and at the same time he moved his mint to a safe area in the east. In the light of these evidences the Sasanian king Ardashir would have met in conflict with the Kushans in the beginning of Kanishka II rule in the Oxus region.

This connection can further be strengthened from the evidence of post-Vasudeva I gold coins. During the time of Kanishka II, the Kushano-Sasanians used to imitate the Vasudeva I coins from Bactria. In this regard the early coins of this series exhibit the name and other features of Vasudeva I. The Sasanians then gradually added new features to these coins and finally inscribed their own names from the time of Peroz I. These coins obviously show the period of transition from Kushans to Sasanians in the region of Bactria.

It was after the death of Kanishka II that the other western parts like Kabul valley and Gandhara were occupied by the Sasanian king Shapur I in AD. 245 or slightly later. After which the Sasanians established their rule known as Kushanshahr (Kushano-Sasanians) in the occupied territories and used to strike the coins in their own names. The Kushano-Sasanian kings such as Peroz I, Hormizd I, Hormizd II, Peroz II, Varahran I struck their coins in many series from different territories including Gandhara, Kabul Valley and Bactria. In Gandhara, Peroz II was followed by the Sasanian king Shapur II. The numismatic evidences show the parallel kingdom of the later Kushans in the east and the Kushano-Sasanians in the west⁴.

The numismatic evidences particularly the overstrikes of Vasudeva II on Kushano-Sasanians (Peroz I and Hormizd/ Kavad) and the Kushano-Sasanian

³ Zurcher, E., 1968: 371.

⁴ Cribb, J., 1990: 158-164, 170-177, 179-181.

(Hormizd/ Meze) on Vasudeva II evidently attest the reoccupation of the latter Kushans in the region of Gandhara⁵.

Vasudeva II ruling in the east of Mathura is well attested whose coins are commonly reported from many coin hoards such as Jaunpur⁶, Meerut⁷, Unnao⁸ in UP but no single coin of Shaka in these hoards (except Mathura, India). More importantly the Bijnor hoard (UP) containing 1 coin of Shaka (*sita* variety) and 4 coins of Kachagupta obviously show the direct succession of Gupta to the Shaka in UP. These evidences indicate the end of Shaka in the certain territories. Contrary to these finds, there are several coin hoards from west beyond Mathura like Junjhunu⁹, Hisar¹⁰ which yield good quantity of Shaka coins sometimes also including with Magra/ Maśra and Mahi coins. After Magra/ Maśra and particularly Shaka the eastern part of the Kushans from Mathura to Punjab was occupied by the Guptas and this was the ultimate end of the Kushans in the east (Indian territory). Similarly the Gupta (Samudragupta) succession to Shaka in the west of Mathura is confirmed by the coin evidence from Hisar hoard¹¹.

The numismatic evidences show that a wave of Kidarite, a branch of Huns or Hephthalites came to occupy Bactria and Kabul valley of the Kushano-Sasanians. In the meanwhile they also conquered the small kingdom of the so-called late later Kushans in Gandhara and Punjab, the domain of Sasanian emperor Shapur II and perhaps also pushed back the Guptas from the Punjab. On the assumption that they had no tradition of their coins and would likely adopted to issue the Kushano-Sasanian style coin in the west and Kushan type coins in the east. It is also suggested that the name Gadahara found along with Kidara and Pirayasa is normally considered the name of Kushan king that latter had recognized the authority of the Kidara but still used to rule there¹².

Consequently Shapur II carried out an expedition against the Chionites (Hephthalites) in his eastern territory including Gandhara in the winter of AD. 356-57.

⁵ Ibid, p. 172.

⁶ Srivastava, A.K., 1969: 27-30 (Fig: 1-15).

⁷ Srivastava, G.S., 1969: 48-49, 54-57.

⁸ Srivastava, A.K., 1970: 31-33.

⁹ Pokharna, P., 1981: 25-35.

¹⁰ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

¹¹ Gupta, P.L., 1994: 178-180.

¹² Mitchiner, M., 1978: 471.

He there changed the political set up in consequence of which the Kidarites took the control of Gandhara and thus replaced the Kushans¹³.

Cultural History of the Kushans

The various crowns and headdresses of the Kushan kings and their dresses and costumes are studied through their coins and other supportive sources. It is generally known that the Kushan kings who originated their rule from the Oxus valley and extended their power upto the India normally wear central Asian style nomadic/ Turk dresses. The Kushan kings usually wear tall rounded or conical crowns often highly ornamented. Most of the kings used more than one headdress which seems to be crowned on different occasions. The Kushan kings usually wear a sleeved coat (upto ankle-long) or a little ankle-above garment and a detached trousers with pleats. Sleeves were normally made long and the short sleeves sometimes also provided in that case they were richly decorated. Sometimes a king, particularly Kanishka I, wears a mantle or cloak which normally fastened on the shoulder or the upper part of the breast. On Huvishka coins the upper garment is richly ornamented. On the Kushan coins the chain-mail dress from Vasudeva I onwards is found in different types. The deities unlike Greek are shown well dressed, the male figures usually wear long dress upto knees and the female figures wear long dress upto ankles and even ground level.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidences obviously show that they used different kinds of scripts to write the diverse languages prevalent in the various parts of the vast Kushans Empire. In this regard they used variety of local scripts like Greek, Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī predominantly. From the reign of Kanishka, it is known that the official language of the Kushans was Bactrian as it is commonly appeared on their coins. On his Rabatak inscription, Kanishka I declared that he ordered to inscribe the script in the Arian (Bactrian) language. This language was normally prevailed in north of Hindu-Kush. Besides this the Prakrit documents in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions show its presence in the modern territory of Pakistan. In further east the Kushans used the local hybrid Prakrit-Sanskrit language as numerous documents are known to have been written in Brāhmī script.

¹³ Ibid.

Kushan coins display great varieties of deities particularly on the reverses of Kanishka I and Huvishka coins. They owe their origin to different pantheons like Greek, Persian, Brahmanism and Buddhism. Most of the deities such as Mao, Miho, Athsho, Manaobago, Oado, Pharro etc. seemingly adopted from the Persian mythology. Some of the deities like Mahasena, Skanda-Kumara, Bizago, Buddha etc. obviously demonstrate for Indian mythologies. Besides this many other deities like Herakles of the Greek, Sarapo, Rion (Riom) of the Roman Empire and Ashaeixsho (Vakhsh), Rishni the local gods etc. are found on the Kushan coins.

Some of the Kushan deities are known for their significant character and names like Oado, Nana, Oesho etc. The figure of Oesho on the basis of iconography is normally considered as Indian god Śiva. But its syncretism with the Greek god Herakles and its Persian name Oesho indicate that it was not simply the Indian god Śiva. It seems to be a different deity of the Kushan pantheon. It can be concluded that Kushans basically depicted this figure in the form of Herakles (and Śiva) therefore applied the Greek name Erakilo on Kanishka I coins. But when Kanishka changed the certain name then the deity was called Oesho in Bactrian and this name is phonetically different from the name of Indian version Śiva. The deity known as Oesho is Persian by name as the names of other names and appeared in the guise of Indian god Śiva. Hence it is by name Wesho (Oesho) was Zoroastrian, a form of Avestan wind god Vayu and iconographically related to both the Indian god Śiva and the Greek god Herakles.

Now the general consensus is developed that Kushan with the exception of few, always used their own deities but they were presented in the guise of Persian, Greek and Indian deities as they were prevailed there. On the other hand the various evidences show that the leading religion of the Kushan territory i.e. Afghanistan, Pakistan and India was Buddhism. Moreover other flourishing religions like Śiva and Viṣṇu cults of Brahmanism in different regions and Jainism in the Mathura region in particular were co-existed with the Buddhism. It is certain that Buddhism was one of the major religions of the Kushan kingdom and Kanishka showed such patronage and inclination for his political benefits. These veneration of Kanishka I is attested from his coins as they bearing the figures of Buddha.

Similarly some images of new deities have been recently discovered on the three different copper coins of Huvishka. These figures are shown in Indian style with distinctive features of two-armed and six-armed with a single head (or three-heads), apparently constitute a separate group. It is very interesting that they are inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi legend obviously belonged to Gandhara region (Pakistan) of the Kushans. In this regard one of a new coin has recently been obtained from the famous Śivaite site Kashmir Smast in Gandhara. The inscriptions of these coins uniformly read the name *Yodhavade* (right to left) or *Devadhayo* (left to right) which is obviously not identical with the Indian or Persian origin of deities. Among these one is two-armed of Śiva style and other two of six-armed figures with different attributes known as conch, diadem, crescent and sun. The conch attribute is normally associated with the Indian deity Viṣṇu. Another characteristic feature of the six-armed figure is the veneration to a sacred tree. The deity holding a conch with lowered two-hands is standing before the tree. The tree is branched out into four which might be representing the certain directions of earth¹⁴.

These coins show a very important role in the Huvishka coinage. The Viṣṇu figure, as mentioned in literary accounts, is usually found as 2-armed, 4-armed and 8-armed but not 6-armed¹⁵. Here it is the first example that a deity of this cult is found with 6-arms. Another significance of these coins is the context which seemingly shows that they were issued for a particular region and seemingly struck on important occasion, as they are rare and found in well known Śivaite monastic area. In this regard other antiquities, inscriptions and architectural elements also demonstrate for the Hindu cult of Viṣṇu at Kashmir Smast and the same is likewise reflected on the coins of Huvishka¹⁶. Accordingly Huvishka presented tributes, honour and veneration to the Hindu gods, as some of his gold coins depict other figures of Brahmanism that obviously representing a well established community in Gandhara and India. More importantly this is the first numismatic record which reveals the Viṣṇu cult in a new iconographic form at the northwest region of Pakistan.

One of the early issue of Vasudeva I display a four-armed deity on the reverse of his gold. This figure holding a chakra (wheel) in one of his hands, certainly the

¹⁴ Nasim Khan, M., 2006: 218-222.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

attribute of god Vasudeva-Krishna and this representation is also confirmed by the Bactrian name Bazodeva (Vasudeva-Krishna) that is accompanied by the figure. The connection of these figures on the coins of Huvishka and Vasudeva can be explained as Indian deities and may be related to a specific cult of Hindu mythology.

The most significant feature of the Kushan religion is the construction of royal temples. The various epigraphic references and different archaeological excavations attest that the Kushan kings particularly the early kings erected temple or sanctuary or devakula or shrine for the images of Kushan gods who granted them kingship and images of the Kushan kings. From different sources it is known that various religious structures in different regions were built by the Kushan kings like the Mat (Mathura) Temple of Vima (I) Takto, Oesho Sanctuary of Vima Takto, Surkh Kotal Temple of Kanishka I and Kanishka I Sanctuary (Bagolaggo) of Rabatak Inscription.

Table 1

Summary of the Kushan Coins Typology

Kujula Kadphises (Coin # 1-23)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Silver	Series A	1	A	a	1
			B	a	2
		2		a	3
Copper	Series B	1		a	4
		2	A	a	5
			B	a	6
		3	A	a	7
			B	a	8
			C	a	9
		4	A	a	10
			B	a	11
			C	a	12
			D	a	13
		5	A	a	14
			B	a	15
		6	A	a	16
			B	a	17
			C	a	18
		7	A	a	19
			B	a	20
			C	a	21
		8	A	a	22
			B	a	23

Vima Takto (Coin # 24-43)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Silver		1		ai, aii, aiii	24-26
Copper		1		a	27
		2		ai, aii	28-29
		3		a	30
		4		ai, aii, aiii	31-33
		5	A	ai, aii, aiii, iv, v	34-38
			B	ai, aii, aiii, iv	39-42
		6		a	43

Vima Kadphises (Coin # 44-66)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold		1		a	44
		2		a, b	45-46
		3		a	47
		4		a	48
		5		a	49
		6		ai, aii, aiii, bi, bii	50-54
		7		a, bi, bii	55-57
		8		a	58
		9		a	59
		10		a	60
		11		a	61
Silver		1		a	62
Copper		1		ai, aii	63-64
		2		ai, aii, aiii	65-67

Kanishka I (Coin # 67-181)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1		a, b, c	68-70
		2		a, b	71-72
	Group B	3		a, b,	73-74
		4		ai, aii, b, c, d, e, fi, fii	75-82
		5		a, b, c, d	83-86
	Group C	6		a, bi, bii, c, d, e, fi, fii, fiii, g, hi, hii, i(i), i(ii), j, ki, kii	87-103
Copper	Group A	1		a, b	104-105
		2		a, b	106-107
	Group B	3		a, b, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, d, ei, eii, fi, fii, g, h	107-122
		4		a	123
		5		a, b, ci, cii, d, e, fi, fii	124-131
		6		a, b, c, di, dii, e, f, g, h,	132-140
		7		a, b	141-142
		8		ai, aii, aiii, aiv, av, avi, avii, aviii, bi, bii, biii, biv, bv, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, di, dii, diii, ei, eii, eiii, eiv, ev	143-169
		9		a, bi, bii, c, di, dii	170-175
		10		a, b, c, d, e	176-180
		11		a	181

Vima Kadphises (Coin # 44-66)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold		1		a	44
		2		a, b	45-46
		3		a	47
		4		a	48
		5		a	49
		6		ai, aii, aiii, bi, bii	50-54
		7		a, bi, bii	55-57
		8		a	58
		9		a	59
		10		a	60
		11		a	61
Silver		1		a	62
Copper		1		ai, aii	63-64
		2		ai, aii, aiii	65-67

Kanishka I (Coin # 67-181)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1		a, b, c	68-70
		2		a, b	71-72
	Group B	3		a, b,	73-74
		4		ai, aii, b, c, d, e, fi, fii	75-82
		5		a, b, c, d	83-86
	Group C	6		a, bi, bii, c, d, e, fi, fii, fiii, g, hi, hii, i(i), i(ii), j, ki, kii	87-103
Copper	Group A	1		a, b	104-105
		2		a, b	106-107
	Group B	3		a, b, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, d, ei, eii, fi, fii, g, h	107-122
		4		a	123
		5		a, b, ci, cii, d, e, fi, fii	124-131
		6		a, b, c, di, dii, e, f, g, h,	132-140
		7		a, b	141-142
		8		ai, aii, aiii, aiv, av, avi, avii, aviii, bi, bii, biii, biv, bv, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, di, dii, diii, ei, eii, eiii, eiv, ev	143-169
		9		a, bi, bii, c, di, dii	170-175
		10		a, b, c, d, e	176-180
		11		a	181

Huvishka (Coin # 182-522)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1		a	182
		2		a, b	183-184
		3	A	a, bi, bii, c	185-188
			Bi	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, av, b, c, di, dii, diii, div, dv, ei, eii, eiii, eiv, ev, evi, evii, f, gi, gii, h, i(i), i(ii), i(iii), i(iv), i(v), i(vi), j, ki, kii	189-221
			Bii	a, bi, bii, biii, c, di, dii diii, div, ei, eii, eiii, eiv, ev, evi, f, gi, gii, h	222-240
			Biii	ai, aii, bi, bii, biii, biv, bv, bvi, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, d, e, fi, fii, g	241-259
		4		ai, aii, bi, bii, biii, biv, bv, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, cvi, di, dii, diii, e	260-276
		5		a, b	277-278
		6		a	279
		7		a, bi, bii, c	280-283
		8		ai, aii, b, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, d, ei, eii, eiii,	284-295
		9	A	ai, aii, b,	296-298
			Ai	a, b, ci, cii, ciii, d, e	299-305
			B	ai, aii, b, c, di, dii, diii, e	306-313
			C	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, bi, bii, ci, cii, ciii, civ, di, dii, diii, div, dv, dvi, dvii, e, f, g, h, i(i), i(ii), i(iii), i(iv), ji, jii, Jiii, jiv	314-342
	Group Bb	10		a	343
	Group C	11	A	a, b, c, d, e, f	344-349
			B	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, av, bi, bii, biii, ci, cii, ciii, civ, cv, d, e, f, g	350-365
			C	a, bi, bii, biii, c, d, e, fi, fii	366-374
		12		a, bi, bii, c, d	375-379
		13	A	a	380
			B	a, b, c, di, dii, ei, eii	381-387
	Group D	14		ai, aii, b, c, di, dii, ei, eii, eiii	388-396
		15	A	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, bi, bii, biii, c, d	397-405
			B	a	406
		16		a, b	407-408

Copper	Group A	1		a, b, ci, cii, d, e, fi, fii, g	409-417
		2		a, b, ci, cii, di, dii, e, fi, fii	418-426
		3	A	a, b, ci, cii, di, dii, e, f	427-434
			B	a	435
		4		a	436
	Group B	5	A	ai, aii, aiii, bi, bii, c, di, dii, diii, div, dv, dvi, dvii, e, fi, fii, g, hi, hii, i(i), i(ii), i(iii)	437-458
			B	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, bi, bii, ci, cii, di, dii	459-468
			C	a	469
			D	a	470
		6		a, b, ci, cii, di, dii	471-476
		7	A	a, b	477-478
			B	a, b	479-480
			C	a	481
		8	A	a, b, ci, cii, ciii, d, e, f, g	482-490
			B	a, b	491-492
		9		a, bi, bii	493-495
		10		a, bi, bii, c	496-499
		11		ai, aii, aiii, aiv, av, bi, bii, c	500-507
		12		a, bi, bii	508-510
		13		a, b, ci, cii, d	511-515
		14		a, b, ci, cii	516-519
	Group C	15		a, bi, bii	520-522

Vasudeva I (Coin # 523-615)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold I	Group Aa	1	A	a, b, ci, cii, ciii, civ	523-528
	Group Ab		Bi	ai, aii, aiii, aiv, bi, bii	529-534
			Bii	a	535
			Biii	ai, aii, bi, bii, c	536-540
	Group Ba	2	A	ai, aii, aiii, aiv	541-544
	Group Bb		B	ai, aii, bi, bii, ci, cii	545-550
	Group Ca	3	A	a	551
	Group Cb		Bi	a	552
			Bii	ai, aii, aiii, aiv	553-556
Gold II	Imitation	4		Numerous	557-585
Copper	Usual	1	Ai	a	586
			Aii	a	587
			B	a	588
			C	a	589

			D	a	590
			Ei	a	591
			Eii	a	592
			F	a	593
			G	a	594
			H	a	595
			I	a	596
			Ji	a	597
			Jii	a	598
			Jiii	a	599
			Jiv	a	600
			Jv	a	601
	Unusual	2	A	a	602
			B	a	603
	Imitations	3	Ai	a	604
			Aii	a	605
			Aiii	a	606
			B	a	607
			Ci	a	608
			Cii	a	609
			Ciii	a	610
			Di	a	611
			Dii	a	612
			Diii	a	613
			Ei	a	614
			Eii	a	615

Kanishka II (Coin # 616-638)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group Aa	1	A	a	616
			B	a	617
	Group Ab	2		a	618
	Group Ac	3		ai, aii	619-620
		4	A	a	621
			Bi	ai, aii	622-623
			Bii	a	624
			Biii	ai, aii, aiii	625-627
			Biv	a	628
			Bv	a	629
			Bvi	a	630
			Bvii	ai, aii	631-632
Copper		1	A	a	633
			B	a	634

			Ci	a	635
			Cii	a	636
			Ciii	a	637
			Civ	a	638

Vasishka (Coin # 639-649)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group Aa	1	A	a	639
			Bi	ai, aii	640-641
			Bii	a	642
			Biii	a	643
			Biv	a	644
			Bv	a	645
	Group Ab	2	A	a	646
			B	a	647
			C	ai, aii	648-649

Kanishka III (Coin # 650-671)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group Aa	1	Ai	ai, aii	650-651
			Aii	a	652
			B	a	653
	Group Ab	2	Ai	ai, aii	654-655
			Aii	a	656
			Aiii	a	657
			Aiv	ai, aii	658-659
			Av	a	660
			Avi	a	661
			Avii	ai, aii	662-663
			B	a	664
Copper	Group Ba	1	A	a	665
			B	a	666
			C	a	667
	Group Bb	2	A	a	668
			Bi	a	669
			Bii	a	670
			C	a	671

Vasudeva II (Coin # 672-694)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group Aa	1	A i	ai, aii	672-673
			Aii	ai, aii, aiii	674-676
			Aiii	a	677
	Group Ab	2	Ai	a	678
			Aii	a	679
			Aiii	a	680
			Aiv	a	681
			Av	a	682
			Avi	ai, aii, aiii	683-685
			Avii	a	686
			Aviii	a	687
Copper	Group Ba	1	A	a	688
	Group Bb	2	A	a	689
			B	a	690
		3	A	a	691
			B	a	692
	Group Bc	4	A	a	693
			B	a	694

Magra/ Maśra (Coin # 695)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1		a	695

Māhi (Coin # 696-697)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1	Ai	a	696
			Aii	a	697

Shaka (Coin # 698-710)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1	Ai	a	698
			Aii	a	699
			Bi	ai, aii	700-701
			C	a	702
			Di	a	703
			Dii	a	704
			Ei	a	705
			Eii	a	706
			Eiii	a	707
			Eiv	a	708

			Fi	a	709
			Fii	a	710

Kipunadha (Coin # 711-712)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1	Ai	a	711
			Aii	a	712

The So-called Samudra & Kidarite Coins (Coin # 713-730)

Metal	Series/Group	Type	Obv. Variety	Reverse Varieties	Coin No.
Gold	Group A	1		a	713
	Group B	1		a	714
	Group C	1	Ai	a	715
			Aii	a	716
			Aiii	a	717
			Aiv	ai, aii	718-719
	Group D	1	A	ai, aii	720-721
	Group E	1	Ai	a	722
			Aii	a	723
			Aiii	a	724
			Aiv	ai, aii	725-726
	Group F	1	A	a	727
	Group G	1	Ai	a	728
			Aii	a	729
			Aiii	a	730

Table 2

Classification of Kanishka I Small Copper Coins

Drachm

Deity & legend position, up/down	Legend position	Akṣaras on Kanishka coins (shown with number)				
		<i>Cha</i>	<i>Ji</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>Su</i>	<i>Sam</i>
Mao	↓ 9 ^h	143	144	145	146	147
Mao	↓ 1 ^h	148	149	150		
Miuro	↓ 9 ^h	151	152		154	153
Miuro	↓ 1 ^h		155			
Nana	↑ 9 ^h		156		157	
Nana	↓ ↑ 1 ^h	158-160	161			
Oado to left	↓ 9 ^h		162			
Oado to left	↓ 1 ^h		163			
Oado to right	↑ 9 ^h		164			
Oesho (2-armed)	↓ 9 ^h	165				
Oesho (2-armed)	↓ 1 ^h	166	167			
Oesho (2-armed)	↑ 9 ^h	168				
Oesho (2-armed)	↑ 1 ^h	169				

Hemi-Drachm

Deity & legend position, up/down	Legend position	Akṣaras on Kanishka coins (shown with number)				
		<i>Cha</i>	<i>Ji</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>Su</i>	<i>Sam</i>
Mao	↓ 9 ^h	170				
Miuro	↓ 1 ^h	171				
Miuro	9 ^h	172				
Nana	1 ^h	173				
Oesho (2-armed)	9 ^h	174				
Oesho (4-armed)	1 ^h	175				

Table 3

Mint Analysis of Vasudeva I

Study based on Gold Coins

Phase	Mint A	Mint B
I	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar standing to left, having no trident in the left field, wearing chain-mail dress, legend at 7^h <i>Rev.</i> a) 4-armed Bazodeva (Vasudeva), legend right field (# 523) <i>Rev.</i> b) Nana standing to right, legend left field (# 524) <i>Rev.</i> c) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, and licking the legs of deity, legend left field (# 525) <i>Rev.</i> d) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend left field (# 526) <i>Rev.</i> e) 2-armed Oesho with bull, facing l, single headed, legend l. field (# 527) <i>Rev.</i> f) 2-armed Oesho with bull, facing l, single headed, legend l. field, flaming shoulder (# 528)	<i>Obv.</i> King at altar standing to left, having not trident in the left field, wearing chain-mail dress: <i>Obv-A</i>) legend at 7^h, with flaming shoulder <i>Rev.</i> a) Oesho standing alone, legend right field (# 529) <i>Rev.</i> b) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull licking the legs of deity, legend left field (# 533) <i>Rev.</i> c) 2-armed and 3-headed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend right field (# 534) <i>Obv-B</i>) legend at 1^h, without flaming shoulder <i>Rev.</i> a) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend right field (# 535) <i>Obv-C</i>) Legend at 7^h, without flaming shoulder and without banner <i>Rev.</i> a) Oesho standing alone with nimbate, legend right field (# 536) <i>Rev.</i> b) Oesho standing alone without nimbate, legend right field (# 537) <i>Rev.</i> c) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend right field (# 538) <i>Rev.</i> d) 4-armed and 3-headed Oesho with bull, bull facing right, legend left field (# 540)
II	<i>Obv.</i> As above but addition of trident in left field <i>Rev.</i> a) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend left field (# 541) <i>Rev.</i> b) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend right field (# 542) <i>Rev.</i> c) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, Oesho has flaming halo, legend right field (# 543)	<i>Obv.</i> As above but addition of trident in the left field and king has long hair: <i>Obv-A</i>) Legend at 7^h, chain mail dress <i>Rev.</i> a) 4-armed and 3-headed Oesho with bull, bull facing right, legend left field (# 545) <i>Obv-B</i>) Legend at 1^h, wears coat+chain-mail dress <i>Rev.</i> a) 4-armed and 3-headed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, legend left field (# 546) <i>Rev.</i> b) 4-armed and 3-headed dancing Oesho with bull, bull facing right, legend right field (# 547) <i>Rev.</i> c) 4-armed and 3-headed dancing Oesho with bull, bull facing right, and licking the legs of deity, legend right field (# 548) <i>Rev.</i> d) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing

		left, Oesho with plain halo, legend right field (# 549) Rev. e) 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, Oesho without halo, legend right field (# 550)
III	<i>Obv.</i> As above with trident in the left field and nandipada in the right <i>Rev.</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull, bull facing left, Oesho has flaming halo, legend right field (# 551) Imitation Series: (# 557-585) The imitation of gold coins of Vasudeva I are characteristically marked by the use of nandipada in the right field.	<i>Obv.</i> As above variety (B) with trident in the left field and Brāhmī letters or symbol in the right: <i>Obv-A)</i> Addition of nandipada in the right field <i>Rev.</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull facing left, Oesho with flaming halo, legend right field (# 552) <i>Obv-B)</i> Triangle under left arm near trident <i>Rev.</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull facing left, Oesho with flaming halo, legend right field (# 553) <i>Obv-C)</i> As above but Br. letter <i>pri</i> in the right field <i>Rev.</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull facing left, Oesho without halo, legend right field (# 554) <i>Obv-D)</i> As above but Br. letter <i>pu</i> replacing <i>pri</i> <i>Rev. a)</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull facing left, Oesho without halo and a triangle with trident, legend right field (# 555) <i>Rev. b)</i> 2-armed Oesho with bull facing left, Oesho with flaming halo and Br. letter <i>ha</i> with or without triangle, legend right field (# 556)

Table 4

Distribution of Later Kushan Gold Coins to the Proposed Mints

*A. Oesho & Bull Coins*Gandhara (Mint-B)Bactria (Mint-A)

Vasudeva I

Phase I Phase II
(Coin number)Phase III
553/554

Phase I

Phase II
543Phase III
551

Kanishka II

616 ===== [Vasishka 639]

620
(Ardoxsho)617
(Oesho-bull)

616: 2. vi, 6. pu

617: 2. vi; 6. pa: Rev. tha

Gandhara (Mint-X)Mathura (Mint-Y)

Vasishka

Rev. tha

639: 2. vi, 5. tha, 6. pa:

640: 2. su, 5. tha, 6. ga

641: 2. su, 5. tha, 6. ga

642: 2. su, 5. tha, 6. ha

643: 2. su, 3. ha, 5. tha

644: 2. su, 4. va, 5. tha

645: 2. su, 3. ha, 4. va, 5. tha

Kanishka III

650: 2. hu, 5. gho, 6. ga

653: 2. pri, 5. gho, 6. ga

Vasudeva II

672: 2. rda, 4. ga, 5. gho,

673: 2. rda, 4. ga, 5. gho,

674: 2. rda, 3a. dra, 5. gho, 6. rju

675: 2. rda, 3a. dra, 5. gho, 6. rju

677: 2. rda, 5. gho, 6. ga: Rev. 7. dot

*B. Ardoxsho Coins*Gandhara (Mint-B)Bactria (Mint-A)

Vasudeva I (Oesho & Bull Issue)

Phase I (Coin number)	Phase II	Phase III 553/554	Phase I	Phase II 543	Phase III 551
		↓		↓	↓
Kanishka II (Phase I)	616: ————— [Vasishka 639] (Oesho-bull) (Oesho-bull)			620: (Ardoxsho)	617: (Oesho-bull)
	616: 2. vi, 5. pu, 6. pa, Rev. viru			2. pa	2. vi; 6. Pa; Rev. tha

Ardoxsho Coins (Mint -A shifted Bactria to
Mathura)

(Phase II) Gandhara (Mint-X)

622: 2. vi, 6. ha;	Rev. la
623: 2. vi, 6. ha;	Rev. la/ja
624: 2. vi,	Rev. ja
625: 2. vi, 6. pu;	Rev. la
626: 2. vi, 6. pu;	Rev. la
627: 2. vi, 6. pu;	Rev. la

Mathura (Mint-Y)

621: 2. bhi,	6. ha;	Rev. ha
628: 2. viru,	6. pa;	Rev. viru
629: 2. vi, 3. ru,	6. ha;	Rev. ru
630: 2. vi,	6. pa;	Rev. tha
631: 2. vi, 5. tha,	6. pa;	Rev. ru
632: 2. vi, 5. tha,	6. pa;	Rev. tha

Vasishka

646: 2. vi, 5. tha,	6. pa;	Rev. tha
647: 2. mi, 5. tha,	6. pa;	Rev. tha
648: 2. si, 5. tha,	6. me;	Rev. tha

Kanishka III

657: 2. chhu, 5. va,	6. ga	654: 2. chhu, 5. tha, 6. me;	Rev. tha
660: 2. chhu, 5. va or bha, 6. khra		656: 2. chhu, 5. tha, 6. ga,	Rev. tha
664: 2. hivara, 5. va,	6. ga		
662: 2. chhu, 5. va,	6. khu		

Vasudeva II

680: 2. vaxu, 5. vi,	6. sa	681: 2. vaxu,	5. vi, 6. bha
679: 2. vaxu, 5. chu,	6. sa	686: 2. vaxu, 4. ga,	6. vi
678: 2. vaxu, 5. chu,	6. khu	683: 2. vaxu, 4. ga, 5. vi,	6. bha
		685: 2. vaxu, 4. ga,	6. bha

Magra

695: 2. *magra*, 4. *ga*

Māhi

697: 2. *mahi*, 4. *pu*696: 2. *mahi*, 4. *mi*

Shaka

698: 2. *shaka*, 4. *mi*, 6. *me*705: 2. *shaka*, 4. *sya*, 6. *vi*702: 2. *shaka*, 4. *bhra*706: 2. *shaka*, 4. *sya*, 6. *bha*709: 2. *shaka*, 4. *sita*, 6. *vi*710: 2. *shaka*, 4. *sita*, 6. *bha*708: 2. *shaka*, 4. *sya*, 6. *bha*

Kipundha

711: 2. *kipumadha*, 4. *bhadra*712: 2. *kipumadha*, 4. *basata*, 6. *na**The So-called Kidara and Samudragupta Coins (Kushan Style)*

a. Yosa/ Kirada

713: 2. *kirada*, 4. *yosa*, 6. *na*

b. Samudra/ Gadagra

714: 2. *samudra*, 4. *gadagra*, 6. *pu*

c. Kirada/ Gadahara

715: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *kirada*, 6. *kapana*, *na*717: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *kirada*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *yasha*

d. Yasada/ Gadahara

720: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *yasada*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *tada*721: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *yasada*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *mada*

e. Pirayasa/ Gadahara

722: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *pirayasa*, 6. *kapana*723: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *pirayasa*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *tada*725: 2. *gadagra*, 4. *pirayasa*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *sha*

f. Hanaka/ Shaha

727: 2. *Shaha*, 4. *hanaka*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *hya*

g. Kidara/ Kushana

728: 2. *kushana*, 4. *kidara*, 6. *kapana*Rev. *sala*

Table 5

Classification of Vasudeva I and Post-Vasudeva Copper

I. Oesho & Bull Coins

A. Usual Coins of Vasudeva I (Life Issues)

No	Weight	Features
586	10.40-10.00	King at altar; no trident (l. field); single pennant to trident in the r. field ↵
587	5.50-3.40	King at altar; no trident (l. field); as above ↵
588	10.20-7.50	King at altar; trident added in the left field; single pennant to the r. trident ↵
589	10.10-7.00	As above; use of double pennant both to right and l. tridents ↵
590	9.00-7.40	As above; no use of pennant to right or l. trident ↵
591	9.00-7.50	As above; no use of pennant; bar added on a trident (of l. field) ↵
592	8.80-8.40	Bar on a trident (of l. field) and single pennant on r. trident ↵
593	8.80-7.00	No use of bar or pennant; but semi-circle of dots to r. trident ↵
594	9.00-6.80	Small size of king; tridents exist but no any other addition ↵
595	8.80-7.00	Same as above but legend begins from 7 ^h and clockwise ↵
596	9.70-7.60	Small size of king; Soter Megas tamga added to the r. field ↵
597	9.00-8.00	Use of nandipada in the right field; bar or ribbon to l. trident ↵
598	9.10-6.00	Nandipada in the right field; plain trident ↵
599	8.60-6.00	Nandipada in the right field; left trident unclear ↵
600	8.60-6.00	Nandipada in the right field; trident-cm-battle-axe (left field) ↵
601	9.20-6.20	Stylistically same as above (nandipada) but features unclear ↵

B. Unusual Coins of Vasudeva (including forgery)

602	8.80-7.50	Triangle (Δ) with wavy line or other feature else underneath instead of nandipada (rare)
603	7.80-7.00	Imitation or forgery coins of Vasudeva I

C. Post-Vasudeva I Coins

a. General Imitation with King Unknown)

604	8.50-5.800	Early form of swastika (like plus mark) between king and trident (in the field)
605	6.80-5.60	Swastika + triangle under left arm of king instead of left field
606	6.07-6.01	Swastika in reverse form + triangle ∇ under left arm of the king
607	7.0-5.20	Four-pronged tamga with triangle above it under left arm of the king
608	7.40-4.40	Triangle (or er) ∇ under left arm of king; fillet seen on a trident (l. field)
609	7.20-2.00	Triangle ∇ under left arm; arched hem drapery of the king
610	6.20-1.80	Triangle ∇ under left arm; pointed hem drapery of the king

611	7.20-2.60	No use of triangle (V); straight short (as # 608) hem drapery of the king
612	6.80-1.40	No use of triangle (V); arched hem (as # 609) drapery of the king
613	5.80-1.80	No use of triangle (V); pointed hem (as # 610) drapery of the king
614	5.80-3.00	Crude style of 4B; thick and small coins
615	4.80-2.60	Crude style of 4C; thick and small coins

b. Kanishka III Coins

665	6.60-3.00	Letter <i>Chhu</i> { Φ } in the right field; fat king belt round body
666	6.60-3.00	Like <i>Chhu</i> type but letter <i>chhu</i> { Φ } disappears; king style same as above
667	5.40-3.00	Likely to be the imitation of above (665) series

c. Vasudeva II Coins

688	3.25-2.89	Small size of king; <i>Vasu</i> rare coins mentioned by Göbl in his catalogue
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II. Ardoxsho Coins

A. Kanishka II Coins

No	Weight	Features
633	9.00-6.50	As above; Kharoṣṭhi letter <i>vi</i> in the right field
634	9.00-6.40	King at altar to left, Brāhmī letter <i>vi</i> Δ in the right field
635	9.00-4.50	Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhi letter (<i>vi</i>) in the right field but unclear
636	8.20-4.40	Crude style of Kanishka II early coins (above); right hand slightly away from king body
637	8.20-2.80	Cruder style of above coins (# 635), bulky figure of the king, both arms away from the body and look like wings
638	2.40-0.60	Thin small coins; crude figure of king

B. Kanishka III Coins

668	5.90-5.20	Letter <i>ga</i> ; <i>gho</i> ; and <i>hu</i> in different positions
669	5.80-5.40	Similar to above (# 668) but letters disappear
670	5.80-5.80	Similar to above but crude style
671	5.90-5.00	Letter <i>pra</i> (?) in the left field

C. Vasudeva II and Successor Coins

689	4.30-3.40	Letter <i>vasu</i> ; overstrikes; king enthroned
690	4.70-2.70	Letter <i>vasu</i> ; normal; king enthroned
691	4.42-4.42	Letter <i>vasu</i> ; overstrikes; king standing
692	4.40-3.00	Letter <i>vasu</i> ; normal; king standing
693	3.55-3.55	Legend <i>vasu</i> (obverse) and Vasudeva tamga (reverse)
694	2.92-2.92	Letter <i>pra</i> (?) (obverse) and tamga (on the reverse, as # 693)

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POLITICAL & CULTURAL HISTORY OF
THE KUSHAN PERIOD IN PAKISTAN:
STUDY BASED ON NUMISMATIC
EVIDENCE

By
Gul Rahim Khan



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KUSHAN PERIOD IN PAKISTAN: STUDY BASED
ON NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Archaeology University of
Peshawar in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology

Approved by

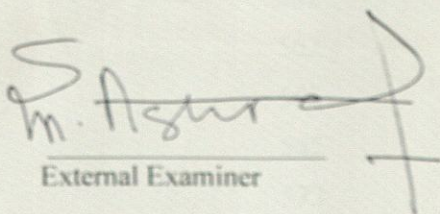
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Early Kushans

KUJULA KADPHISES

Series A. Coins in the Name of 'Heraus'

Silver Coins

Type 1A. Bust of King (Heraus) to r. wears Diadem

1. Bust of King (Heraus) to r. & Mounted King to r.

Variety – 1A.a. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 16.00 gm

Obv. Within real and pellet border bust of king (Heraus) to r., king has moustache and long hair, wears diadem and tunic.*Rev.* Tyrant (king) mounted on horse to r., with flying Nike behind him who crowns him with a wreath. King holds rein of the horse in the l. hand and r. hand behind him touching the saddle, from which hangs a large quiver.

Greek legend: ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΝΥΟΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ

Reference: (a) ACW: 2837; (b) ACW: 2836



1a



1b



Type 1B. Bust of Heraus (King) to r. wears Diadem (Fraction)

2. Bust of King (Heraus) & Mounted King to r.

Variety – 1B.a. ½ Coin, Avg. Wt: 6.69 gm (normal wt: 16 gm)

Obv. Upper portion of head of king with diadem to r.*Rev.* Upper portion of the mounted king with flying Nike as above.

Greek legend: (ΤΥ)ΠΑΝΝΟΝΥΟΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ

Reference: (a) TM: 001-SK-648/ Marshall (6.69 gm)



2a



Type 2. Bust of King (Heraus) & Male Figure

3. Bust of King (Heraus) to r. & Male Figure

Variety – 2.a. Obol, Avg. Wt: 0.74 gm

Obv. Bust of king (tyrant) to r., wears diadem.*Rev.* Male figure standing to r., with both arms extended to right.

Greek legend: ΗΙΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ (or ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ)

Reference: (a) BM: AC. 1890-4-4-8 (0.74 gm); (b) BM: Mall 1893-9-2-1 (0.55 gm)



3a

3b

Copper Coins

Type 1. Bust of King (Heraus) & Mounted King

4. Bust of King (Heraus) to r. & Mounted King to r.

Variety – 1.a. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 10.40 gm

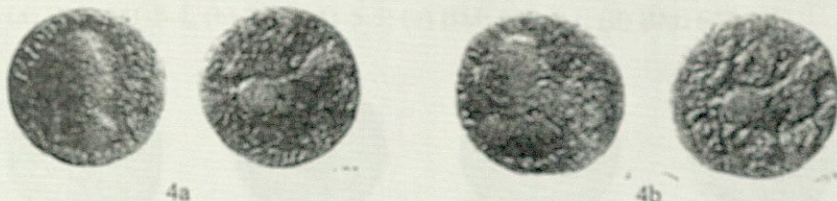
Obv. Diademed bust portrait of king (Heraus) to right,

Khar. legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputra kayula kata kapasa*

Rev. Mounted king with Nike flying behind him to right.

Greek legend ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΥ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ

Reference: (a) BM: CA1890-4-4-13 (9.76 gm); (b) BM: CA1894-5-6-1724 (10.40 gm)



4a

4b

Series B. Coins in the Name of 'Su-Hermaeus'

Type 2. Bust of Hermaeus (King) & Winged Nike

5. Bust of Hermaeus to r. & Winged Nike

Variety – 2A.a. Δ, Avg. Wt: 2.4 gm

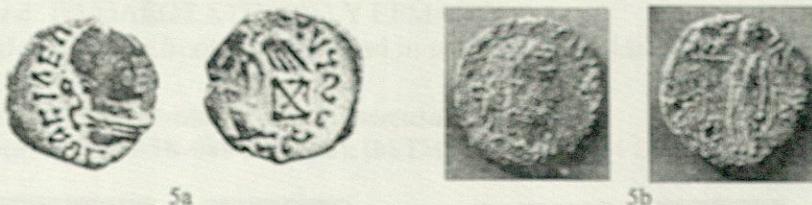
Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus (king) to r. wears diadem and mantle over shoulder.

Greek Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Rev. Winged Nike standing to l., monogram in the r. field behind the figure and Khar. letter *pra* in the l.

Khar. Legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa heramayasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 641-3-4; (b) TM: 02-CH-2043 (2.40 gm)



5a

5b

6. Bust of Hermaeus (king) to l. & Winged Nike

Variety – 2B.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus to l., wears diadem.

Legend illegible

Rev. Winged Nike standing to l., holds wreath in the advanced r. hand, monogram in the r. field behind the figure, Khar. letter *pra* in the l. field

Legend fragmentary

Reference: (a) BM: 641-4-7; (b) BM: 641-4-8



6a

6b

Type 4A. Bust of King (Hermaeus) to r. Reverse Name Kujula in Khar.

7. Bust of King to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 3A.a. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 9.5 gm

Obv. Bust of king (Hermaeus) to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds club in the r. hand and lion's skin in the l.

Khar. legend: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 641-5-4; (b) BM: 641-5-5; (c) BM: 641-6-1; (d) BM: 642-1-1



7a

7b

7c

7d

Type 4B. Bust of King (Hermaeus) to r. (Name of Kujula in Khar. & fraction)

8. Bust of King to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 3B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 3.62 gm (normal wt: 9.5 gm)

Obv. Bust of king (Hermaeus) to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds club in the r. hand and lion's skin in the l.

Khar. legend: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) TM: 030-SK-088 (2.80 gm); (b) TM: 276-SK-477 (4.20 gm)



8a

8b

9. Bust of King (Hermaeus) to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 3C.a. 1/4 Coin, Avg. Wt: 1.86 gm (normal wt: 9.5 gm)

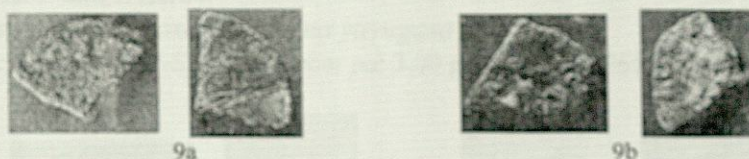
Obv. Bust of king (Hermaeus) to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend fragmentary: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΩΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but much defaced.

Khar. legend: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa* (fragmentary)

Reference: (a) TM: 606-SK-1139 (1.20 gm); (b) TM: 723-SK-069 (1.90 gm)



Series C. Coins in the Name of Kujula

Type 4A. Bust of King to r. Kujula name in Greek & Kharoṣṭhi

10. Bust of King to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 4A.a. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 9.5 gm

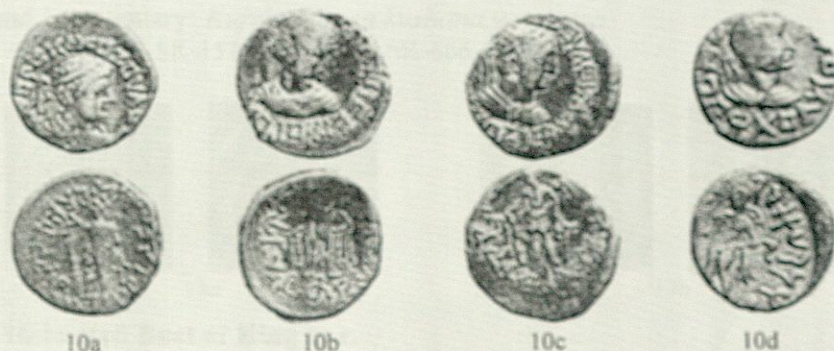
Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend: ΚΟΥΖΙΛΑ ΚΑΛΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΚΟΝ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l. holds club in r. hand and lion's skin in the l. defaced. Khar. letters in the l. and r. fields.

Khar. legend: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 642-4-4(*dra*); (b) BM: 642-4-5; 642-4-7 (*i*); (c) BM: 642-5-4 (*tva* or *tra*)



Type 4B. Bust of King to r. Kujula name in Greek & Kharoṣṭhi

11. Bust of King to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 4B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 3.10 gm (normal wt: 9-7 gm)

Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend fragmentary: ΚΟΥΖΙΛΑ ΚΑΛΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΚΟΝ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above and defaced.

Khar. legend fragmentary: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) TM: 786-SK-666 (3.50 gm); (b) TM: 1627-SK-1621 (4.20 gm)



12. Bust of King to r. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 4C.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 3.50 gm (normal wt: 9-7 gm)

Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend: ΚΟΥΖΙΛΑ ΚΑΛΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΚΟΝ

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., defaced as above. Khar. letters in the l. and r. fields.

Khar. legend: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) TM: 1687-SK-2631 (letter *pa*: 3.00 gm); (b) TM: 961-SK-3370 (3.50 gm)



Type 4D. Bust of King to l.

13. Bust of King to l. & Standing Herakles

Variety – 4D.a. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: gm

Obv. Bust of king Hermaeus to l., wears diadem.

Greek legend corrupt

Rev. Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., defaced as above. Khar. letters in the l. and r. fields.

Khar. legend fragmentary: *Kujula kasasa kushana yavugasa*

Reference: (a) TM: 045-SK-152; (b) TM: 15-SK-666



Type 5A. Helmeted Bust of King to r.

14. Bust of King to r. & Macedonian Soldier

Variety – 5A.a. 2Δ, Avg. Wt: 4.75 gm

Obv. Bust of king to r., wears ornamented helmet.

Greek legend: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΚΑΝ

Rev. Macedonian soldier advancing to r., wears helmet and holds spear and shield.

Khar. legend: *Kushana yavugasa kujula kasvasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 642-2-8; (b) BM: 642-3-7 (4.75 gm)



Type 5B. Helmeted Bust of King to r. (fraction)

15. Bust of King to r. & Macedonian Soldier

Variety – 5B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 1.6 gm (normal wt: 4.75 gm)

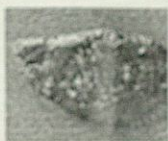
Obv. Bust of king to r., wears decorated helmet.

Greek legend: illegible

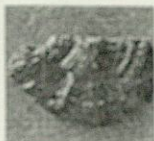
Rev. Macedonian soldier advancing to r., as above.

Khar. legend: not visible

Reference: (a) TM: 001-SK-376 (1.30 gm); (b) TM: 002-SK-140 (1.90 gm)



15a



15b

Type 6A. King Seated Cross-legged

16. King seated cross-legged & Zeus standing to r.

Variety – 6A.a. Chalkous, Avg. Wt: 2.1 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged, facing frontally, holds flower in raised r. hand and l. resting in lap. Control mark A in the l. field near legs.

Khar. legend corrupt: *Kuyula kadaphasa kushanasa*

Rev. Zeus standing to r., holds long sceptre in the l. hand and r. hand advanced. Khar. letter *pu* in the l. field.

Greek legend fragmentaryPHOYZ.....while Mitchiner reads the legend as ZAOOY KOZOAA XOPANCY

Reference: (a) BM: 642-6-12; (b) TM: 035-SK-095 (2.10 gm)



16a



16b

Type 6B. King Seated Cross-legged (fraction)

17. King Seated Cross-legged & Zeus Standing to r.

Variety – 6B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 1.10 gm (normal wt: 2.1 gm)

Obv. King seated cross-legged, facing frontally, holds flower in raised r. hand as above.

Khar. legend: *Kuyula kadaphasa kushanasa* (fragmentary)

Rev. (Partially) Zeus standing to r., as above.

Greek legend illegible

Reference: (a) TM: 061-SK-820 (0.80 gm); (b) TM: 042-SK-1919 (1.10 gm)



17a



17b

18. King Seated Cross-legged & Zeus Standing to r.

Variety – 6C.a. (1/4 Coin); Avg. Weight: 0.4 gm (normal wt: 2.1 gm)

Obv. King seated cross-legged, facing frontally, holds flower in raised r. hand as above.

Khar. legend: Corrupt

Rev. (Partially) Zeus standing to r., as above.

Greek legend illegible

Reference: (a) TM: 060-SK-820 (0.40 gm)



18a

Type 7A. Head of King Augustus to r.

19. Head of Augustus to r. & King Seated on Curule Chair

Variety – 7A.a. 2Δ, Avg. Wt: 4.3 gm

Obv. Head of Augustus to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend: ZAOOY KOZOLA KΑΔΑΦΙΖΟΥ ΧΟΡΑΝCY

Rev. King seated in curule chair turned to r., with r. hand advanced. tamga (1) in the l. field and sometimes Khar. letter *du* in the r.

Khar. legend: *Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 642-6-1; (b) BM: 642-7-6; (c) BM: 642-8-1 (*du*); (d) BM: 642-8-7



19a

19b

19c

19d

Type 7B. Head of King Augustus to r. (fraction)

20. Head of Augustus to r. & King Seated on Curule Chair

Variety – 7B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 1.5 gm (normal wt: 4.3 gm)

Obv. Head of Augustus to r., wears diadem.

Greek legend fragmentary (ZAOOY KOZOLA KΑΔΑΦΙΖΟΥ ΧΟΡΑΝCY)

Rev. King seated in curule chair, as above and sometimes Khar. letter *du* in the r. field.

Khar. legend: *Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasas sacha dhramathidasa*

Reference: (a) TM: 076-SK-473 (1.60 gm); (b) TM: 284-SK-046 (1.70 gm)



20a

20b

Type 7C. Head of King Augustus to l.

21. Head of Augustus to r. & King Seated on Curule Chair

Variety – 7C.a. 2Δ, Avg. Wt: 4.3gm

Obv. Head of Augustus to l., wears diadem.

Greek legend: Corrupt and illegible.

Rev. King seated in curule chair turned to r., as above and sometimes Khar. letter *du* in the r. field.

Khar. legend: *Khushanasa yauasa kuyula kaphasa sacha dhramathidasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 642-5-9



21a

Type 8A. Bull & Camel to r.

22. Bull & Bactrian Camel to r.

Variety – 8A.a. 5Δ, Avg. Wt: 10.6-4.3 gm

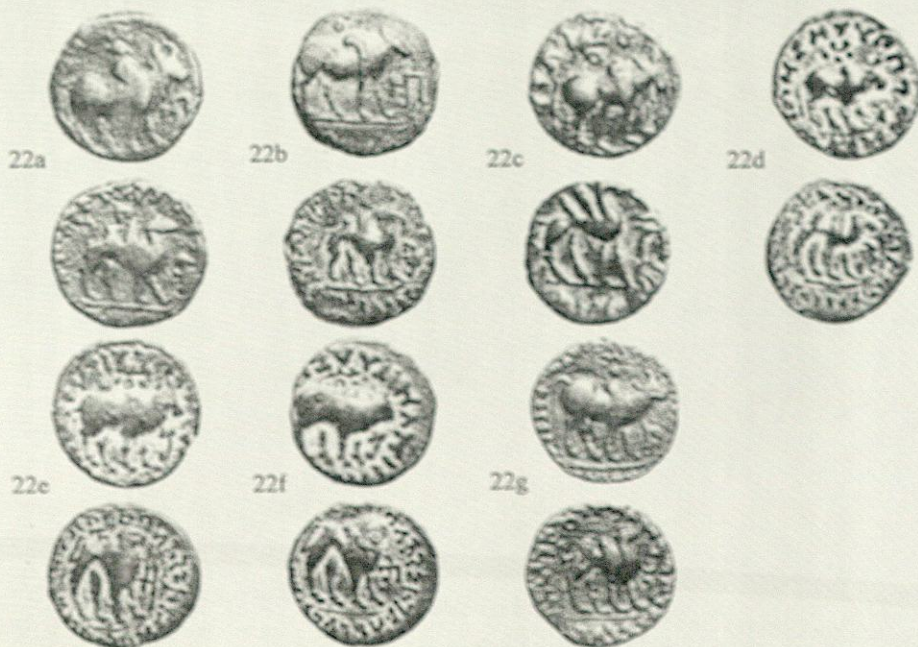
Obv. Bull walking to r., nandipada symbol above back and Khar. akṣaras like *pu*, *bu*, *pa* below neck.

Greek Legend: illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., various Khar. akṣaras like *cha*, *dra*, *a*, *ji*, *ghi*, *pu* before camel and sometimes above back.

Khar. legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa kushanasa yavugasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 643-1-5; (b) BM: 643-1-7; (c) BM: 643-2-2; (d) BM: 643-3-4; (e) BM: 643-4-7; (f) BM: 643-4-8; (g) BM: 643-6-7



Type 8B. Bull & Camel to r. (fraction)

23. Bull & Bactrian Camel to r.

Variety – 8B.a. 1/2 Coin, Avg. Wt: 1.90 gm (normal wt: 10.6-4.3 gm)

Obv. Legs of bull to r.

Legend: illegible

Rev. Prob. Fore-part of camel to r.

Legend defaced and fragmentary.

Reference: (a) TM: 255-SK-032 (1.90 gm)



23a

VIMA TAKTO (SOTER MEGAS)

Silver Coins

Type 1. Mounted King & Zeus (Bilingual)

24. Mounted King to r. & Standing Zeus

Variety – 1.ai. 4Δ, Over struck on Sasan base silver, Avg. Wt: 9.90 gm

Obv. King on horseback to r., wears diadem and holds ankus in raised r. hand. Tamga (2) before horse.

Greek legend: BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Rev. Zeus standing to r., with r. hand raised and holds long sceptre in the l. hand. Khar. letter *vi* in the l. field and flower vase in the r.

Khar. legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa vema*

Reference: (a) BM: 1894-5-6-797



24a



24a(Rev.)

25. Mounted King to r. & Standing Zeus

Variety – 1.iii. 4Δ (Indo-Parthian Standard), Avg. Wt: 9.9 gm

Obv. King on horseback to r., wears diadem, r. hand raised but without ankus. Tamga (2) in front of horse.

Greek legend: BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Rev. Zeus standing to r. with r. hand raised and holds long sceptre in the l. hand. Khar. letter *vi* in the l. field and flower vase in the r.

Khar. legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 643-7-8; (b) BM: 644-1-5



25a



25b



26. Mounted King to r. & Standing Zeus

Variety – 1.iii. Δ (Indo-Parthian Standard), Avg. Wt: unknown

Obv. King on horseback to r., r. hand raised as above. Tamga (2) before horse.

Greek legend: BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Rev. Zeus standing to r. with r. hand raised and holding long sceptre in the l. hand.

Khar. letter *vi* in the l. field and flower vase in the r.

Khar. Legend: *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 644-1-5



26a

Copper Coins

Type 1. Standing Oesho & Ardochsho (Un-inscribed Type)

27. Standing Oesho & Ardochsho

Variety – 1.a. Δ, Avg. Wt: 1.5 gm

Obv. Within dotted circle Oesho standing facing, slightly turned to r., holds sceptre in the r. hand and animal skin or scarf over l. arm. Khar. letter *vi* in the r. field and tamga (2) in the l.

Rev. Ardochsho standing to r., holds cornucopia with both hands. Nandipada symbol in the l. field and flower vase in the r.

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 2



27a

Type 2. Helmeted Bust of King to l. & Mounted King (Monolingual)

28. Helmeted Bust of King to l. & Mounted King

Variety – 2.ai. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 13.0 gm

Obv. Within beaded and real border, helmeted bust of king to l., wears mantle over shoulder and holding arrow in raised l. hand. Khar. letter *vi* before face and tamga (2) behind head in the r. field.

Rev. King riding on horse to r., holds ankus in raised r. hand. Tamga (2) before horse.

Greek legend BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 3a



28a

29. Helmeted Bust of King to l. & Mounted King

Variety – 2.iii. 4Δ, Avg. Wt: 13.0 gm

Obv. Within beaded and real border, bust of king to l., wears crested helmet and mantle over shoulder and holding arrow in raised l. hand. Khar. letter *vi* before face and tamga (2) behind head in the r. field.

Rev. King riding on horse to r. as above.

Greek legend with square omega BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 3b



29a

29b

Type 3. Bust of King to r. & Standing Zeus

30. Bust of King & Zeus

Variety – 3.a. Δ (Attic), Avg. Wt 4.2 gm

Obv. Bust of king to r., wears diadem and mantle. Tamga (2) before face.

Rev. Zeus clad in Greek dress standing facing, holds thunderbolt in the l. hand and sceptre in the r. A monogram of $\Pi\Lambda$ below thunderbolt.

Greek legend BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 4; (b) ACW: 2925-2927



30a

30b

Type 4. Rayed bust of King & Mounted King

31. Bust of king to r. & Mounted King (3-pronged Tamga)

Variety – 4.ai. 4Δ (Attic), Avg. Wt: 8.5 gm

Obv. In a dotted circle, bust of king to r., rays emanating from head, wears diadem and mantle over shoulder and holds sceptre tied up with fillet in raised l. hand. Tamga (2) behind head.

Rev. King riding on horse to r., wears Iranian cap and holds ankus in extended r. hand. Tamga (2) before horse.

Greek legend with round letters BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC (round)

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 5a



31a

32. Bust of king to r. & Mounted King (4-pronged Tamga)

Variety – 4.a.iii. 4Δ (Attic), Avg. Wt: 8.5 gm

Obv. In a dotted circle, bust of king to r., wears diadem as above. Tamga (3) behind head.

Rev. King riding on horse to r., as above, tamga (2 or 3).

Greek legend with angular letters BACIAEWC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC

Reference: (a) BM: 644-4-3; (b) BM: 644-4-6



32a



32b



33. Bust of king to r. & Mounted King

Variety – 4.iiii. Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 2.0 gm

Obv. In dotted circle bust of king to r., wears diadem with tamga (2) behind head, as above.

Rev. King riding on horse to r., as above, tamga (2).

Greek legend with angular letters (fragmentary) BACIAEWC BACIAEWN

Reference: (a) TM: 12-KH-01 (1.60 gm); TM: 02-MM-05 (2.20 gm)



33a



33b



Type 5A. Bull and Camel (Bilingual, Obverse legend illegible)

34. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5A.ai. 4 Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 10.5 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r. with nandipada symbol above back and Khar. letter *pu* before bull. Legend illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r. with letter *chu* before it.

Khar. legend [*deva*]putrasa vema tak[ta] maha

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 6a



34a



35. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5A.iii. 4 Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 10.75 gm

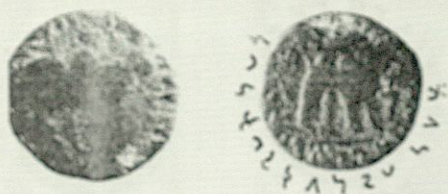
Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *pu* before bull.

Legend illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. letter *chu* before it.

Khar. legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema tak[ta] maha*

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 6b



35a

36. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5A.iiii. 4Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 10.34 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *pu* before bull.

Legend illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. akṣara *samasa* before it.

Khar. legend *Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa [vema] tak[ta]*

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 6c



36a

37. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5A.iiv. 4Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 9.24 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *pu* before bull.

Legend illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. akṣara *adhra* before it.

Khar. legend *Ma[harayasa] rayatirayasa devaput[rasa]*

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 6d



37a

38. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5A.av. 4Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 10.23 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. akṣara *pu* before bull.

Legend illegible

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. akṣara *vero* before it.

Khar. legend *Maharayasa [raya]tirayasa devaputrasa vema tak [ta] mahatasa*

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 6e



38a

Type 5B. Bactrian Camel & Camel (Obv. legend legible)

39. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5B.ai. Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 4.5 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *na* before bull.

Greek Legend BAITINEI BAITINEIN NΔOOTI

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. letter *davu* before it.

Khar. legend [Maharajasa rajatirajasa] vema tak [kho]

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 7a



39a

40. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5B.iii. Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 4.37 gm

Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *na* before bull.

Greek Legend as above (fragmentary).

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. letter *bhra* before it.

Khar. legend Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema [takkho]

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 7b



40a

41. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5B.iiii. Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 4.13 gm

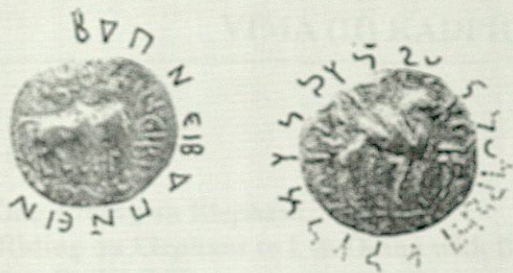
Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *na* before bull.

Greek Legend as above.

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. letter 'o' before it.

Khar. legend Maharajasa rajatira[jasa devaputrasa ve]ma takho

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 7c



41a

42. Bull & Camel to r.

Variety – 5B.aiv. Δ (Indian), Avg. Wt: 4.66 gm

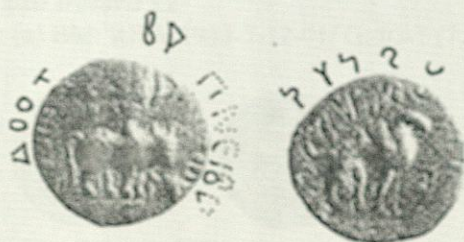
Obv. Bull walking to r., as above and Khar. letter *na* before bull.

Greek Legend as above.

Rev. Bactrian camel walking to r., as above, and Khar. letter *bhra* before it.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa deva[putrasa ve]ma takho*

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 7d



42a

Type 6. Enthroned King & Standing Figure**43. Enthroned King facing & Two Standing Figures**

Variety – 6.a. Δ (Attic); Wt: 4.0 gm

Obv. King seated frontally on a high backed throne with arcs framing king's head and shoulders; the head slightly turned to r. clad in Kushan royal dress and bonnet, r. hand resting on lap and the l. hand raised towards shoulders. Tamga (2) in l. field.

Greek legend: OOHMO TAK [TO]

Rev. Two male figures standing facing slightly turned to each other, wearing Kushan royal dress and carry swords.

Greek legend TAPO OANAXAO.....

Reference: (a) SRAA. IV (Cribb): Type 8



43a

VIMA (II) KADPHISES

A. Gold Coins

Type 1. King Riding on Elephant

44. King Riding on Elephant to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 1.a. D, Wt: 7.70 gm

Obv. King seated frontally with head in profile riding on elephant to l., sits on throne like howdah, wears diadem and tall rounded hat. King holds long staff in the r. hand. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC 1^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, hair fallen on shoulders, wears dhoti, holds trident in the raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara* 12^h

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1933-7-12-01/ G: 03-1 (7.70 gm)



44a

Type 2. Bust Portrait of King to r. Wears Low Cap

45. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 2.a. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., flames emanate from l. shoulder, wears low round helmet and diadem, and mantle held by a clasp on r. shoulder and holds club in the r. hand against the shoulder. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC 7^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace, holds trident in raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) G: 02-01 (7.99 gm)



45a

46. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho

Variety – 2.b. D, Wt: 7.28 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., flames emanates from l. shoulder as above.

Greek legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC 7^h

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nude, has tall hair knot, wears necklace over l. shoulder. Oesho holds trident in raised r. hand, animal pelt over l. arm and flask in the l. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) BM: IOC - 270/ G: 16-1 (7.28 gm)



46a

Type 3. King Riding in Biga to r.

47. King Riding in Biga to r. & Oesho

Variety - 3.a. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bearded king seated in biga to r., shown in profile, wears tall rounded helmet and diadem with long ribbons. He carries club in crook of r. arm. Before him diminutive charioteer with whip also in profile and drawn by two horses galloping to r.

Greek legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΟΟΗΜ-Ο ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC 1^h

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nude, has tall hair knot, wears necklace over l. shoulder. He holds trident in the raised r. hand, animal pelt over l. arm and vase in l. Tamga (4) in the r. field & nandipada (8) in the l.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa*

Reference: (a) BM: 1886-3-2-01/ G: 05-1 (7.94 gm)



47a

Type 4. King Enthroned on Low Couch

48. Enthroned King & Oesho with Bull

Variety - 4.a. 2D, Wt: 15.83 gm

Obv. Bearded king seated frontally on a low couch with head in profile to l., flames emanate from r. shoulder, feet on low stool, wears tall rounded helmet with bill and diadem, clad in Kushan dress. Holds club in the r. hand and l. resting in lap. Large knobbed club in the l. field and tamga (4) in the r.

Greek legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC 1^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace, holds trident in the raised r. hand and vase in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara*

Reference: (a) BM: IOC - 268/ G: 11-1 (15.83 gm)



48a

Type 5. King Seated Cross-legged on Rock

49. King seated Cross-legged & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 5.a. 2D, Wt: 15.83 gm

Obv. Bearded king seated cross-legged on a rock frontally with head in profile to r., flaming shoulders, wears tall helmet with crest ornament and diadem with long ribbons fluttering behind head. Wears Kushan dress and holds club in the r. hand against shoulder and l. resting in lap. Sword seen under garment on l. thigh. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAAΦICHC 1^h

Rev Oesho and bull standing facing, as above. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) BM: 1867-12-18-10/ G: 10-2 (15.83 gm); (b) BM: 1894-5-6-02



49a

49b

Type 6. Bust Portrait of King Emerging from Rock to r. (Tetradrachm)

50. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 6.ai. 2D, Wt: 15.95 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r. wears high rounded helmet with forward-protruding bill and wave-like raised insignia on sides and noteworthy crest ornament. Wears diadem with long ribbons, mantle held by clasp on l. shoulder, flames emanates from r. shoulder. Holds knurled club in the r. hand against shoulder. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAAΦICHC 7^h

Rev Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace, holds trident in raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-533/ G: 12-1 (15.95 gm)



50a

51. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 6.iii. 2D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above and holds club in the r. hand over shoulder. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ 1^b

Rev Oesho and bull standing facing, as above. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) G: 20-1



51a

52. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 6.iiii. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ 7^b

Rev. Oesho and bull standing facing, deity hair fallen on shoulders, wears dhoti as above but has some kind of headdress. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1855-5-20-17/ G: 01-01 (7.95 gm)



52a

53. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho

Variety – 6.bi. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗ 7^b

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nude, has tall hair knot, wears necklace over l. shoulder. Holds trident in raised r. hand, animal pelt over l. arm and vase in l. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) NMK: 003a.2; (b) G: 14-1 (7.96 gm)



53a



53b

54. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho

Variety – 6.bii. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above but letter style of the legend is different. Tamga (4) in the l. field.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) G: 18-8 (8.00 gm); (b) BM: IOC – 272/ G: 18-2 (7.86 gm)



54a



54b

**Type 7. Bust Portrait of King Emerging from Rock to l. (Tetradrachm)****55. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho with Bull**

Variety – 7.a. 2D, Wt: 16.62 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., wears high rounded helmet with forward-protruding bill and wave-like raised insignia on sides and noteworthy crest ornament. Wears diadem with long ribbons, mantle held by double clasp, flames emanates from r. shoulder. Holds knurled club in the r. hand before face and ankus (or sword) in the l. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΗC I^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace, holds trident in raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) UMA: SHK-63-2-282 (16.62 gm); (b) BM: AC 1888-12-8-532/ G: 13-01 (15.95 gm)



55a



55b

**56. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho**

Variety – 7.bi. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nude, has tall hair knot, wears necklace over l. shoulder. Holds trident in raised r. hand, animal pelt over l. arm and flask in the l. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-04/ G: 15-01 (7.94 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-03/ G: 15-2 (7.79 gm); (c) BM: EIC - 01/ G: 15-11 (7.89 gm); (d) BM: EHC 1939-5-16-02 & G: 15-7 (4.43 gm)



57. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Oesho

Variety - 7.bii. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above but flames absent and style of letter changed. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend as above.

Rev Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above.

Reference: (a) NMK: 003a.1; (b) NMK: 055.1; (c) BM: IOC - 271/ G: 19-01 (7.91 gm); (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-06/ G: 19-4 (7.96 gm); (e) BM: AC 1894-5-6-01/ G: 19-7 (7.98 gm)



Type 8. Bust Portrait of King Emerging from Rock to l.

58. Bust Portrait of King to l. & Oesho

Variety - 8.a. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., wears low cap with circlet around it and bearing knob or bun at centre of fore-head and long ribbons behind head. Wears, mantle held by double clasp, flames disappear from shoulder. Holds knurled club in the r. hand before face and ankus (or sword) in the l. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAAΦICHC 12^b

Rev Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend as above.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-535/ G: 17-01 (7.98 gm)



58a

Type 9. Bust Portrait of King to l.

59. Bust Portrait of King to l. & Oesho

Variety – 9.a. D/2, Wt: 3.98 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king to l., (perhaps in a window), wears low rounded helmet and diadem with long ribbons behind head. Wears, mantle held by clasp on r. shoulder. Holds knurled club in the r. hand before face and ankus (or sword) in the l. hand. Tamga (4) in the r. field.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAΔΦICHC 2^h

Rev. Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (4) in the l. field & nandipada (8) in r.

Khar. legend as above.

Reference: (a) G: 6-1 (3.98 gm)



59a

Type 10. Bust Portrait of King in a Square Frame to l.

60. Bust Portrait of King in a Square Frame to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 10.a. 2D, Wt: 15.61 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king to l., looking in a square frame of window, wears low rounded helmet and diadem with long ribbons behind head which overlap the frame of window. Wears, mantle held by double clasp. Holds branch or twig (prob. knurled club) in the r. hand before face and l. hand resting on lower edge of frame. Tamga (4) at the top of square frame.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAΔΦICHC 1^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace, holds trident in raised r. hand and vase in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) TM: 478-1 (16.3 gm); (b) G: 8-3 (15.61 gm)



60a



60b

Type 11. Head of King in a Square Frame to r.

61. Head of King in a Square Frame to l. & Trident-cum-battle axe

Variety – 11.a. D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. Bearded head of king to r., looking in a square frame of window, wears low rounded helmet and diadem with long ribbons behind head which overlap the frame of window. Frame shown in diamond shape and the r. hand rests on lower edge of frame as fingers are visible. No use of tamga.

Greek legend BACIAEYC OOH-MO KAAΦICHC 1^h

Rev. Trident-cum-battle axe with erected phallus as emblem of Oesho set into a kind of stand or holder. Tamga (4) in l. field and nandipada (8) in the r.

Khar. legend *Maharaja rajadiraja Vima Kathphishasa*

Reference: (a) BM: ET 1850-3-5-165/ G: 9-1 (1.99 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-07/ G: 9-9 (1.98 gm)



B. Silver Coins

Type 1. King Standing at Altar to l.

62. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 1.a. Δ, Wt: 3.61 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears high rounded cap with crest ornament and ribbons and sword under garment. Wears heavy top coat with rolled lapels held with double clasp at chest and worn over a tunic held at waist by belt. King r. hand sacrifices over small altar and l. holds lapels of coat. Tamga (4) and knurled club with knobbed handle in r. field and trident with battle axe stands in the l.

Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC 12^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, holds trident in the raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara*

Reference: (a) BM: IOC – 273/ G: 4-1 (3.61 gm)



62a

C. Copper Coins

Type 1. King Standing at Altar to l. (Monolingual)

63. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 1.ai. 4Δ, Wt: 16.79 gm

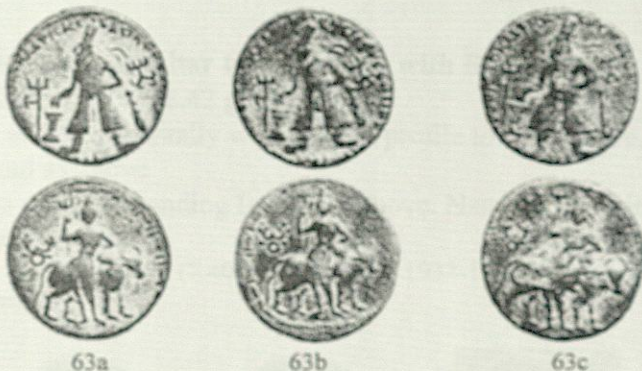
Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears high rounded cap with crest ornament and ribbons and sword under garment. Wears heavy top coat with rolled lapels held with double clasp at chest and worn over a tunic held at waist by

belt. King r. hand sacrifices over small altar and l. holds lapels of coat. Tamga (4) and knurled club with knobbed handle in the r. field and trident with battle axe stands in the l.

Greek legend as above

Rev. Within beaded and real border, Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, holds trident in raised r. hand and flask in the l. Behind him bull standing to r. with head in profile facing. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Reference: (a) BM: HED 1919-6-12-2 (16.79 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3596 (16.49 gm); (c) BM: AC 1888-12-8-536 (16.60 gm)



64. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 1.iii. Δ, Wt: 4.16 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears high rounded cap with crest ornament as above.

Greek legend as above

Rev. Within beaded and real border, Oesho & bull standing facing as above. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Reference: (a) BM: ET 1847-12-1-148 (4.16 gm)



Type 2. King Standing at Altar to l. (Bilingual)

65. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 2.ai. 4Δ, Wt: 16.00 gm

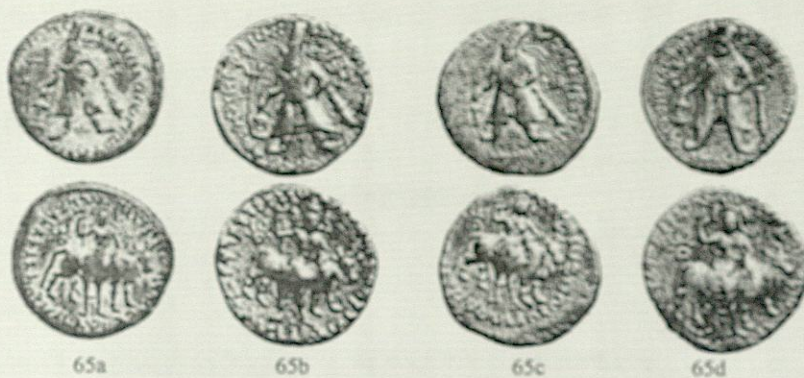
Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears high rounded cap with crest ornament and ribbons and sword under garment as above.

Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC 12^b

Rev. Oesho and bull standing facing, as above. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga ishvarasa mahishvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara* instead of border decoration.

Reference: (a) BM: 645-5-2; (b) BM: 646-2-2; (c) BM 646-2-6; (d) BM 646-6-2 (16.00 gm)



66. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 2.a.ii. 2Δ, Wt: 8.42 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above.

Greek legend as above

Rev. Oesho and bull standing facing, as above. Nandipada (8) in the l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) TM: 200-2 (7.40 gm); (b) BM: 1933-10-3-1 (8.42 gm); (c) BM: ET 1950-1-5-174 (8.40 gm)



67. King Standing at Altar to l. & Oesho with Bull

Variety – 2.a.iii. Δ, Wt: 4.1 gm

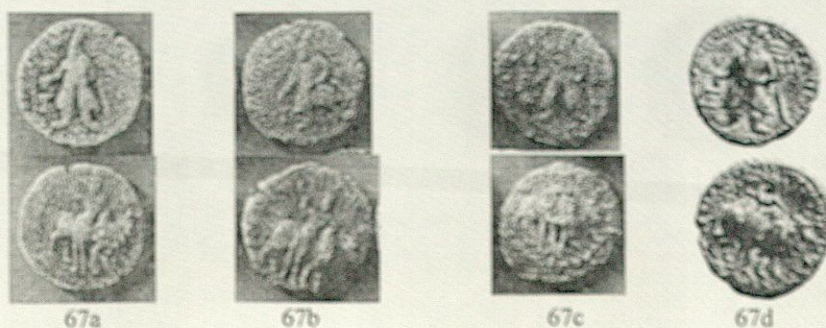
Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above.

Greek legend as above

Rev. Oesho and bull standing facing, as above. Nandipada (8) in l. field.

Khar. legend as above

Reference: (a) TM: 247-4 (3.80 gm); (b) TM: 198-6 (4.1 gm); (c) TM: 198-5 (3.6 gm); (d) BM: 646-5-5



II. Great Kushans

KANISHKA I

A. Gold Coins

Group I. Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEYN KANHPKOY

Type 1. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low rounded Cap with Crescent

68. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low rounded Cap with crescent & Anemos

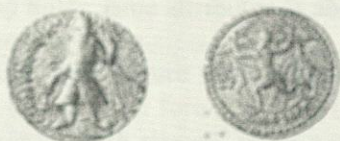
Variety – 1.a. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears low rounded cap with crescent at fore-head, flames emanate from r. shoulder and sword at waist. Dressed in long tunic, trousers with some kind of anklet and mantle held by double clasp at the chest and belt with a double unit buckle round waist. King sacrifices with r. hand over small altar and holds sceptre in raised l. hand.

Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEWN KANIPKOY 1^h

Rev. Naked and winged wind-god running to l., hair erect and holding a blowing cape (mantle) in his both hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend ANEMOC bottom to r.

Reference: (a) Tanabe: SRAA-I (7.88 gm)



68a

69. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low rounded Cap with Crescent & Salene

Variety – 1.b. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears low rounded cap with crescent at fore-head, as above.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, sword at waist, wears tunic, mantle and short boots. Makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds long staff with globular finial and tied up with ribbons in the l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend CAAHNH dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 01; (b) BM: AC 1888-12-8-539/ G: 26-1 (7.98 gm)



69a

69b

70. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low rounded Cap with Crescent & Helios

Variety – 1.c. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears low rounded cap with crescent at fore-head, as above.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and short boots. Makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds sword in the l. hand at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend HAIOC dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-537/ G: 25-1 (8.00 gm)



70a

Type 2. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet

71. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Hephaistos

Variety – 2.a. D, Wt: 8.02 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet with circle, flames emanate from r. shoulder and sword at waist. King wears long tunic, trousers and holds same attributes as above (Type 1).

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears fillet with some kind of device at fore-head and fluttering ends and flames emanate from shoulders. Wears long robe with sleeves, boots and mantle and holds a fillet in the r. hand and l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend $\text{H}\Phi\text{AICTOC}$ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-538/ G: 28-1 (8.02 gm)



71a

72. King at Altar sanding to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Nanaia

Variety – 2.b. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forwarded bonnet, as above.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, wears long robe with crescent at top head, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAIA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: HVB 1929-7-25-01/ G: 27-1 (7.92 gm)



72a

Group B: Bactrian legend PAONAO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO & Crescent or Forward-pointing Bonnet

Type 3. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low rounded Helmet with Crescent

73. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low Helmet with Crescent & Athsho

Variety – 3.a. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears low rounded cap with circular band and crescent at the forehead, flames emanate from r. shoulder and sword at waist. Dressed in long tunic, trousers with some kind of anklet and mantle held by double clasp at the chest and belt with a double unit buckle round waist. King holds ankus in the r. hand sacrifices over small altar and holds sceptre in raised l. hand.

Bactrian legend PAO NANOPAO KANHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears fillet with some kind of device at fore-head and fluttering ends and flames emanate from shoulders. Wears long robe with sleeves, boots and mantle and holds a fillet in the r. hand and tongue in the l. at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 10/ G: 33-1 (7.96 gm)



73a

74. King at Altar standing to l. wears Low Helmet with Crescent & Nana

Variety – 3.b. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears low rounded cap with circular band and crescent at the forehead, as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, wears long robe with crescent at top head, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-19/ G: 35-1 (7.98 gm)



74a

Type 4. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet

75. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Athsho

Variety – 4.ai. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet in conical shape, with a wide decoration, flames emanate from r. shoulder and sword at waist. Wears same dress and carries same attributes as above (type 3).

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears fillet with some kind of device at fore-head and fluttering ends and flames emanate from both shoulders. Wears long robe with sleeves, boots and mantle and holds a fillet in the r. hand and tongue in the l. near waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 11/ G: 33-2 (7.90 gm)



75a

76. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Athsho

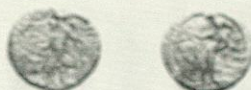
Variety – 4.ii. D/4, Wt: 1.78 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 12/ G: 47-1 (1.78 gm)



76a

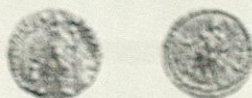
77. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Mao

Variety – 4.b. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above. Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and boots and sword at waist. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and holds long staff with globular finial in the l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-541/ G: 48-1 (1.97 gm)



77a

78. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Helios

Variety – 4.c. D, Wt: gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Hybrid Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and boots. Makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend HAIOC dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 32-1



78a

79. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Miuro

Variety – 4.d. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and boots. Makes two-fingered (fore-finger & little finger) gesture with extended r. hand and holds sword in the l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: Lyon 1925-11-9-01/ G: 31-5 (7.97 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-16/ G: 31-2 (7.97 gm)



79a

79b

80. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Nana

Variety – 4.e. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, wears long robe with crescent at top head, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-18/ G: 35-11 (7.89 gm); (b) BMC: 21/ G: 35-8 (7.97 gm)



80a

80b

81. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Oesho

Variety – 4.fi. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears dhoti and necklace. He holds in the lower r. hand ankus and water flask, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 478-3; (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-64 (7.97 gm); (c) BM: OR – 412/ BM: AC 1894-5-6-28/ G: 37-12 (7.99 gm); (d). G: 37-1 (7.55 gm); (e). BMC: 25 & G: 35-13 (7.97 gm)



81a

81b

81c

81d

81e

82. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Oesho

Variety – 4.fii. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 51-2 (1.97 gm); (b) BMC: 28/ G: 51-1 (1.87 gm)



82a

82b

Type 5. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet

83. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Athsho

Variety – 5.a. D/4, Wt: 1.98 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., wears forward-pointing bonnet with a circle and mantle over shoulders and has wart near moustache. Holds spear in raised l. hand and r. hand resting on rock before him.

Bactrian legend PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears fillet with fluttering ends and flames emanate from shoulders and head. Wears long robe with sleeves, as above and similarly holds a fillet in the r. hand and tongue in the l. near waist.

Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-37/ G: 41-3 (1.98 gm); (b) BMC: 31 (1.98 gm)



83a



83b



84. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Mao

Variety – 5.b. D/4, Wt: 2.01 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and boots and sword at waist. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and holds long staff with globular finial in the l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-14/ G: 42-1 (2.01 gm)



84a



85. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Oesho

Variety – 5.c. D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Bactrian legend PAO NANOPAO KANHPKI KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Four-armed deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears dhoti and necklace. He holds in the lower r. hand water flask, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 32/ G: 45-1 (1.96 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-29/ G: 45.2 (1.99)



85a



85b



86. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Nana

Variety – 5.d. D/4, Wt: 1.98 gm

Obv. Bearded bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, wears long robe with crescent at top head, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 43-1 (1.98 gm); (b) G: 43-2 (1.97 gm)



86a



86b



Group C: Bactrian Legend PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO & Crested Helmet of the King

Type 6. King at Altar standing to l. wears Round Helmet with Crest Ornament

87. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Ardochsho

Variety – 6.a. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament and side device, flames emanate from r. shoulder, prominent wart on face and carries sword at waist which touches the shaft of sceptre. King wears long tunic and trousers as above (previous types). Holds ankus in r. hand sacrificing over small altar and sceptre in the l. The style of execution of these coins is little crude than the previous issues.

Bactrian legend PAO NANOPAO KA-NHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears diadem and along dress and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (5) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-09/ G: 77-1 (7.91 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-10/ G: 71-1 (7.89 gm); (c) BMC: 13/ G: 77-2



87a



87b



87c



88. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Boddo

Variety – 6.bi. D. Wt: 7.07 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing facing in *abhaya-mudra*, nimbus about head and aureole about body and wears long robe. Has prominent *ushnisha* and elongated ears, holds in the l.

hand lappel of *samghati* and r. hand raised in *abhaya-mudra*. Tamga (5) to r. & legend BOΔΔO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 16/ G: 66-1 (7.07 gm); (b) SSRCC: 50



87a



87b



89. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Boddo

Variety – 6.bii. D/4, Wt: 1.73 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament and side device, as above

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing facing in *abhaya-mudra*, as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend BOΔΔO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 73-1 (1.96 gm)



88a



90. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Lrooaspo

Variety – 6.c. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally but turning to r., wears diadem, tunic and boots and holds diadem in the r. hand. Behind him in profile to r. is a horse with its foreleg off the ground. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΠOΘACTIO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 15 (7.90 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-11/ G: 57-1 (7.94 gm); (c) BMC: 14 (7.78 gm)



90a



90b



90c



91. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Manaobago

Variety – 6.d. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure seated frontally with head in profile to r., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears 'Macedonian helmet' as on Kujula coins with tripartite crest ornament and dressed in tunic, belt and knee boots. He holds diadem in lower r. hand, circlet or torque in upper r. sceptre with human insignia in upper l. and *chakra* (wheel) with hub and 12 gems in lower l. The deity sits upon heavily cushioned throne with lion's feet. Tamga (5) to r. & legend MANAOBAΓO up to l.

Reference: (a) NMK: 005.1; (b) BM: AC 1888-12-8-540/ G: 59-1 (7.67 gm); (c) BM: CM 1890-11-10-01/ G: 59-2 (7.92 gm)



91a



91b



91c

92. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Mao

Variety – 6.e. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head turned in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and boots and sword at waist. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and holds staff with globular finial in crook of l. arm. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-13/ G: 58-1 (7.91 gm); (b) BMC: 18/ G: 58-2 (7.91 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-12/ G: 58-4 (7.95 gm); (d) BMC: 19/ G: 76-1 (7.94 gm)



92a



92b



92c



92d

93. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Miïro

Variety – 6.fi. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head turned in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and boots. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) NMK: 055-2; (b) BMC: 20/ G: 52-1 (7.93 gm); (c) NMK: 003a-3; (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-17 (7.92 gm)



94. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Miïro

Variety – 6.fii. D/4, Wt: 1.82 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend PAO NANOPAO KA-NHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head turned in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 79-3 (1.82 gm)



95. King at altar standing to l. wears helmet with crest ornament & Miero

Variety – 6.fiii. D, Wt: 7.66 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend PAO NANOPAO KA-NHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head turned in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MEIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 19/ G: 75.1 (7.66 gm)



95a

96. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Mozdooano

Variety – 6.g. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Equestrian bearded male figure facing to r., riding on a two headed horse, wears forward-pointing hat (like Phrygian), diadem and hair in small bun at the back and scarf over l. arm. He carries long staff with single ring near top and points downwards. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MOOZΔOANO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-542/ G: 61-2 (7.89 gm)



96a

97. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Nanashao

Variety – 6.hi. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, crescent at top head, wears long robe and armed with sword. She holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-22/ G: 60-3 (7.96 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-23/ G: 54-1 (7.93 gm); (c) BMC: 23/ G: 60-9A (7.29 gm); (d) BMC: 22 & G: 54-2 (7.80 gm)



97a

97b

97c

97d

98. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Nanashao

Variety – 6.hii. D/4, Wt: 1.96 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate and diademed, as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 24/ G: 50-1 (1.96 gm)



98a

99. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Oesho

Variety – 6.i (i). D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti and necklace. He holds in the lower r. hand ankus and water flask, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 478.5; (b) BMC: 27/ G: 55-1 (7.95 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-26/ G: 62.1 (7.97 gm); (d) BMC: 26; (e) BM: Skin 1981-3-22-19/ G: 72-2 (7.94 gm)



99a

99b

99c

99d

99e

100. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Oesho

Variety – 6.i(ii). D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti and necklace as above but he holds water flask only (without ankus) in his lower r. hand. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-8



100a

101. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Orlagno

Variety – 6.j. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., wears diadem, has a bird in his headdress with wide long wings and wears Indo-Scythian style dress. Carries spear in raised r. hand and sword with bird like hilt under l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend $\text{O}\Pi\Lambda\Lambda\Gamma\text{NO}$ up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: JB 1890-1-2-01/ G: 63-7 (7.97 gm); (b) G: 63-11 (7.87 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-31/ G: 63-13 (7.96 gm)



101a

101b

101c

102. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Pharro (Forgery)

Variety – 6.ki. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing to frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with small wing ornament over fore-head. Holds spear in raised l. hand and bowl in the r. against chest. Tamga (5) to r. & legend ΦAPPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-32 (8.05 gm); (b) BMC: 30



102a

102b

103. King at Altar standing to l. wears Helmet with Crest Ornament & Pharro

Variety – 6.kii. D/4, Wt: 1.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears round helmet with crest ornament as above.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing to frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with small wing ornament as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend ΦΑΠΡΟ up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-33/G: 74A.1 (1.94 gm)



103a

B. Copper Coins

Group A: Greek Legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΥN ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ

Type 1. Standing King, wears Low Cap with Crescent

104. King standing at Altar & Helios

Variety – 1.a. 2Δ, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress with crescent.

Greek legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΒΑCΙΑΕΥN ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ 1^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with r. hand advanced and pointing with two fingers and l. hand resting on a hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to . & legend ΗΛΙΟC dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 646-7-3



104a

105. King standing at Altar & Nanaia

Variety – 1.b. 2Δ, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress with crescent.

Greek legend as above.

Rev. Goddess Nanaia standing to r. wearing long dress, holding short sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend ΝΑΝΑΙΑ up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 646-7-5; (b) BM: 647-1-6



105a



105b



Type 2. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet

106. King at Altar standing to l. wears Forward-pointing Bonnet & Helios

Variety – 2.a. 2Δ, Wt. 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding sceptre, wearing coat with mantle, trousers and forward-pointing bonnet.

Greek legend BACIAEYC BACIAEYN KANHPKOY I^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with r. hand advanced and pointing with two fingers and l. holding hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend HAIOC dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 646-6-12 & (b) BM: 646-7-02



106a



106b



107. King at altar standing to l. wears Forward-Pointing bonnet & Nanaia

Variety – 2.b. 2Δ, Wt: (8.20 gm)

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and forward bonnet.

Greek legend as above

Rev. Goddess Nanaia standing to r. wearing long dress, holding short sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAIA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 647-1-8



107a



Group B: Bactrian Legend PAO KANHPKI

Type 3. Standing King at Altar to l. (common coins)

108. Standing King to l. & Ardochsho

Variety – 3.a. 4Δ, Wt: 15.70 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low round headdress.

Bactrian legend PAO KANHPKI

Rev. Ardochsho seated frontally with head turned to r. holding cornucopia in the l. hand and r. hand resting on lap. Tamga (5) to r. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: OR – 2038/ G: 780-1 (15.70 gm)



108a

109. Standing King & Athsho

Variety – 3.b. 4Δ, Wt: 16.96 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to l. holding fillet in advanced r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend ΑΘΠΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-2-24-3610 (15.40 gm); (b) BMC: 34 (16-86 gm)



109a

109b

110. Standing King & Seated Buddha

Variety – 3.ci. 4Δ, Wt: 16.06 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha seated on a throne facing frontally in *dhayana mudra*. Tamga (5) in the l. field & legend ΜΗΤΡΑΥΟΒΟΥΔΟ

Reference: (a) BM: CB 200-5-1-9/ G: 793-1 (15.69 gm); (b) TM: 01-KN-494 (16.6 gm)



110a



110b



111. Standing King & Seated Buddha

Variety – 3.cii. 4Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha seated on a throne facing frontally in *abhaya mudra*. No tamga
legend MHTRAYOBOYΔO

Reference: (a) G: 790-1; (b) G: 790-3



111a



111b



112. Standing King & Seated Buddha

Variety – 3.ciii. 4Δ, Wt: 16.35 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha seated on a throne facing frontally in *abhaya mudra*.

Legend MH[TRAY]OBOYΔO

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1458 (14.82 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3601 (16.35 gm)



112a



112b



113. Standing King & Seated Buddha

Variety – 3.civ. 4Δ, Wt: 15.62 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha seated on a throne facing frontally in *abhaya mudra*.

Legend MHTRAY-OBOΔO

Reference: (a) G: 792-1; (b) G: 792-2 (15.62 gm)



113a



113b



114. Standing King & Standing Buddha

Variety – 3.cv. 4Δ, Wt: 16.78 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing frontally in *abhaya mudra*. Tamga (5) inside to l. & legend CAKAMANO BOYΔO

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3585/ G: 785-4 (15.04 gm); (b) BM: 1844-9-21-29/ G: 785-6 (16.78 gm)



114a



114b



115. Standing King & Standing Buddha

Variety – 3.cvi. 4Δ, Wt: 16.02 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing frontally in *abhaya mudra*. Tamga (5) outside to l. & legend CAKAMA-NO BOYΔO

Reference: (a) G: 786-1 (16.02 gm)



115a



116. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 3.d. 4Δ, Wt: 17.01 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. holding sword resting near waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1427 (16.86 gm); (b) TM: 015-SK-027 (17.01 gm)



116a



116b

117. Standing King & Miuro

Variety – 3.ei. 4Δ, Wt: 16.83 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: JP 1847-12-1-191 (16.83 gm); (b) BM: EIC - 93 (16.82 gm)



117a



117b

118. Standing King & Miuro

Variety – 3.eii. 4Δ, Wt: 16.82 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: OR - 0324 (15.11 gm); (b) BM: JP 1847-12-1-194 (16.82 gm)



118a



118b

119. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 3.fi. 4Δ, Wt: 17.48 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Goddess Nanaia standing to r. wearing long dress, holding short sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1441 (17.48 gm); (b) BMC: 55 (17.24 gm)



119a



119b



120. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 3.fii. 4Δ, Wt: 17.30 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Goddess Nanaia standing to r. wearing long dress, holding short sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 54 (16.83 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3611 (16.76 gm)



120a



120b



121. Standing King & Oado

Variety – 3.g. 4Δ, Wt: 16.92 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Wind-god running to l. wearing short skirt and holding veil in both raised hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OADO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1422 (16.92 gm); (b) BMC: 63 (16.35 gm)



121a

121b

122. Standing King & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 3.h. 4Δ, Wt: 17.44 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing with head turned to l. in his four arms he holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and water flask. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OKPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: OR - 0329 (15.88 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3604 (17.44 gm)



122a

122b

Type 4. Bust of King (small coins)

123. Bust of King to l. & Goddess Nana

Variety – 4.a. Δ/2, Wt: 2.15 gm

Obv. Bearded bust of king to l. wearing mantle and holding a sceptre in raised l. hand. No. legend

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe dress, holding a sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-7-1830/ G: 779-1 (2.15 gm)



123a

Type 5. Standing King with Tamga in the Lower l. Field, (Tetra-Drachm Series)

124. Standing King with Tamga & Athsho

Variety – 5.a. 4Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Greek legend PAO KANHPKI

Rev. God Athsho standing to l. holding fillet in advanced r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO to l. dn

Reference: (a) G: 795-1



124a

125. Standing King with Tamga & Mao

Variety – 5.b. 4Δ, Wt: 16.86 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-1427/ G: 801-3 (16.86 gm)



125a

126. Standing King with Tamga & Miipo

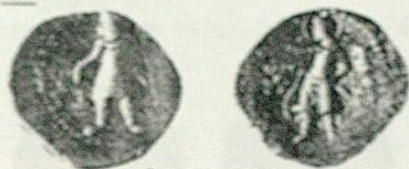
Variety – 5.ci. 4Δ, Wt: 14.85 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced, l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 794-1 (14.85 gm)



126a

127. Standing King with Tamga & Mioro

Variety – 5.cii. 4Δ, Wt: 16.60 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced, l. resting on the hilt at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 796-1 (16.60 gm)



127a

128. Standing King with Tamga & Goddess Nana

Variety – 5.d. 4Δ, Wt: 16.29 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe up to ground, holds a lion-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up in the l. field

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1924-4-24-3611 (16.29 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1442 (16.08 gm)



128a

128b

129. Standing King with Tamga & Oado

Variety – 5.e. 4Δ, Wt: 16.46 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Wind-god running to l. wearing short skirt, holds veil in both hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OAAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3606 (16.46 gm); (b) BMC: 62



129a

129b

130. Standing King with Tamga & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 5.fi. 4Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing with head turned to l. holding diadem, thunderbolt, trident and water flask. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OKPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 811-1



130a

131. Standing King with Tamga & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 5.fii. 4Δ, Wt: 15.67 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress, a tamga (5) in the lower l. field.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing with head turned to l. as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OOKPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 812-1; (b) G: 812-3



131a



131b



Type 6. Standing King with Legend PAO KANHPKI – (Di-Drachm Series)

132. Standing King & Athsho

Variety – 6.a. 2Δ, Wt: 8.80 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend PAO KANHPKI

Rev. God Athsho standing to l. holding diadem in the advanced r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 773-2; (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-4558 (8.80 gm)



132a



132b



133. Standing King & Standing Buddha

Variety – 6.b. 2Δ, Wt: 8.81 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing facing in *abhaya mudra*. Legend CAKAMA-NO BOYΔO

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-6-3586 (8.81 gm); (b) BM: JP 1847-12-01-175 (8.17 gm)



133a

133b

134. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 6.c. 2Δ, Wt: 8.69 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-5-1 (8.69 gm); (b) G: 775-2



134a

134b

135. Standing King & Miïro

Variety – 6.di. 2Δ, Wt: 8.32 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1849-11-7-62 (8.32 gm)



135a

136. Standing King & Miiro

Variety – 6.dii. 2Δ, Wt: 8.68 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. God Miiro standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1438 (6.68 gm); (b) BM: JP 1848-12-1-192 (8.58 gm)



136a



136b

137. Standing King & Nana

Variety – 6.e. 2Δ, Wt: 8.64 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe, holding sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 778-1; (b) G: 778-2 (8.64 gm)



137a



137b

138. Standing King & Wind-god Oado

Variety – 6.f. 2Δ, Wt: 8.66 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Wind-god (Oado) running to l. wearing short skirt and holding veil in his both hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OADO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 41 (8.66 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1421 (8.05 gm)



138a



138b



139. Standing King & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 6.g. 2Δ, Wt: 8.77 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing to l. in his four arms he holds diadem, thunderbolt, trident and water flask. Tamga (S) to l. & legend OKPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3605 (8.77 gm); (b) BMC: 68 (8.72 gm)



139a



139b



140. Standing King & Enthroned Pharro

Variety – 6.h. 2Δ, Wt: 8.69 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Legend illegible

Rev. Ardochsho seated on a throne but without back, holds diadem in the advanced r. hand and cornucopia in the l. LegendAPO

Reference: (a) GDB: 163 (14.42 gm)



140a



Type 7. Standing King, Legend PAO KANHPKI – (Drachm Series)

141. Standing King & Standing Buddha

Variety – 7.a. Δ, Wt: 4.27 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Buddha standing facing in *abhaya mudra*.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-1-16-22 / G: 788-2 (4.27 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3507 (4.07 gm)



141a



141b



142. Standing King & Nanashao

Variety – 7.b. Δ , Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress.

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Nanashao standing to r. holding sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. and also holding a sword in the l. hand across the body. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 779A-1



142a



Type 8. Standing King with Kharoṣṭhi letter in the l. field – (Drachm Series)

143. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.ai. Δ , Wt: 4.68 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to r. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-7-1 (4.68 gm); (b) BM: 648-7-4



143a



143b



144. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.a.ii. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field
Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-6-8; (b) ACW: 3162



144a



144b



145. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.a.iii. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *se* in the l. field
Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 802-9



145a



146. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.a.iv. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *su* in the l. field
Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-6-10



146a



147. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.av. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *sam* in the l. field

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-7-03



147a

148. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.avi. Δ. Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-7-02; (b) ACW: 3179



148a

148b

149. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.avii. Δ. Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 802-5; (b) BM: 648-6-7



149a

149b

150. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 8.aviii. Δ. Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *se* in the l. field

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-6-9



150a

151. Standing King & Miyro

Variety – 8.bi. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^b

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-6; (b) G: 797-2



151a



151b

**152. Standing King & Miyro**

Variety – 8.bii. Δ, Wt: 3.84 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^b

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-7-7; (b) G: 797-4 (3.84 gm)



152a



152b

**153. Standing King & Miyro**

Variety – 8.biii. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *sam* in the l. field

Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 797-9



153a

154. Standing King & Miyro

Variety – 8.biv. Δ, Wt: 4.26 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *su* (like Roman B) in the l. field
Bactrian legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head as above. Tamga (5) to l. &
legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 797-8 (4.26 gm)



154a

155. Standing King & Miyro

Variety – 8.bv. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field
Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head as above. Tamga (5) to l. &
legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) ACW: 3175; (b) ACW: 3176



155a

155b

156. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 8.ci. Δ, Wt: 3.78 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field
Bactrian legend KI PAO-KANHP 9^h

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe, holding sceptre in the r. hand and
bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-7-9 (b) BM: 649-1-8; G: 806-6 (3.78 gm) (d) G: 806-5



157. Standing King & Goddess Nana

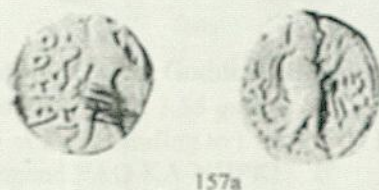
Variety – 8.cii. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *su* in the l. field

Bactrian legend KI PAOO-..... 9^h

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 806-8



158. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 8.ciii. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-1-2; (b) ACW: 3183



159. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 8.civ. Δ, Wt: 4.52 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* (?) in the l. field

Bactrian legend illegible

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 806A-1 (4.52 gm)



159a

160. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 8.cv. Δ, Wt: 3.78 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. fieldBactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h*Rev.* Goddess Nana standing to l. wearing long robe, holding sceptre in the l. hand and bowl in the r. Tamga (5) to l. & legend NANA dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 809-2 (3.78 gm)

160a

161. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 8.cvi. Δ, Wt: 3.55 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. fieldBactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h*Rev.* Goddess Nana standing to l. wearing long robe as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend NANA dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 809-3 (3.55 gm)

161a

162. Standing King & Oado

Variety – 8.di. Δ, Wt: 4.05 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. fieldBactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^h*Rev.* Wind-god running to l. wearing short skirt, and holding veil in both hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OADO to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 817-2; (b) G: 817-6 (4.05 gm)



162a



162b



163. Standing King & Oado

Variety – 8.dii, Δ, Wt: 4.50 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Wind-god running to l. wearing short skirt as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OAAO to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-1-9; (b) G: 817-1 (4.50 gm)



163a



163b



164. Standing King & Oado

Variety – 8.diii, Δ, Wt: 4.38 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^h

Rev. Wind-god running to r. wearing short skirt, and holding veil in both hands. Tamga (5) to r. & legend OAAO to l.

Reference: (a) G: 819-1; (b) G: 819-3 (4.38 gm)



164a



164b



165. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8.ei, Δ, Wt: 4.28 gm

Obv. King standing to l. r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and low headdress. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing frontally with head turned to l. holding a trident in raised r. hand and water flask in lowered l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 813-1 (4.28 gm); (b) BM: 649-2-4



165a



165b



166. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8.eii. Δ, Wt: 3.96 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing frontally with head turned to l. as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-3; (b) G: 813-2 (3.96 gm)



166a



166b



167. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8.eiii. Δ, Wt: 4.53 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *ji* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing frontally with head turned to l. as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-2; (b) G: 813-6 (4.53 gm)



167a



167b



168. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8.eiv. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 9^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing with top *ushnisha* and side curls, holding a trident-cum-battleaxe in raised r. hand and water flask in lowered l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-5



168a

169. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8.ev. Δ, Wt: 3.64 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI 1^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing frontally middle body tilted to r. with head turned to l. holding a trident-cum-battleaxe in raised r. hand and water flask in lowered l. but shoulders up. In looking this posture of the deity is quite different from the others. Tamga (5) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 813-5 (3.64 gm)



169a

Type 9. Standing king with Kharoṣṭhi akṣara (Small Coins)

170. Standing King & Mao

Variety – 9.a. Δ/2, Wt: 2.70 gm

Obv. King standing to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, in the l. holding a sceptre, wearing coat, trousers and helmet. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI (prob.) 9^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-3-2; (b) BM: 649-3-2/ G: 804-2 (2.70 gm)



170a

170b

171. Standing King & Miiro

Variety – 9.bi. Δ/2, Wt: 2.05 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field

Bactrian legend PAO KA-NHPKI (prob.) 1^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced and l. resting on the hilt of sword at waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 799-1 (2.05 gm)



171a

172. Standing King & Mioro

Variety – 9.bii. $\Delta/2$, Wt: 2.72 gm

Obv. King at altar standing to l. as above. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Sun-god Mioro standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 800-1 (2.72 gm); (b) G: 800-2 (2.43 gm)



172a



172b

173. Standing King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 9.c. $\Delta/2$, Wt: 2.63 gm

Obv. King standing to l. as above and Khar. letter *cha* (?) in the l. field
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe dress, holding sceptre in the r. hand and sword with bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend (to l.) defaced.

Reference: (a) G: 808-1 (2.63 gm); (b) G: 808-2 (2.09 gm)



173a



173b

174. Standing King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 9.di. $\Delta/2$, Wt: 2.54 gm

Obv. King standing to l. as above and Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing to l. holding a trident in raised r. hand and water flask in lowered l. Tamga (5) to l. and corrupt legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-1/ G: 815-2 (2.54 gm); (b) BM: 649-2-9/ G: 815-3 (1.97 gm)



174a



174b



175. Standing King & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 9.dii. $\Delta/2$, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing to l. as above and Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing to l. in his four hands he holding diadem, thunderbolt, trident and goat (or antelope). Tamga (5) to l. and corrupt legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-2-10/ G: 815A-1 (1.97 gm)



175a



Type 10. King seated on a Throne (Small Coins)

176. Enthroned King & Mao

Variety – 10.a. Δ , Wt: 3.97 gm

Obv. King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back, king's head turned to l. He holds a small object like flower in raised r. hand before his face, and l. hand lowered aside his body. King wears wide-brimmed hat and voluminous trousers.
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Moon-god standing to l. with crescent behind shoulders, r. hand advanced pointing with fingers, l. holding a sword resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-7-6 (3.87 gm)



176a



177. Enthroned King & Miyro

Variety – 10.b. Δ , Wt: 4.20 gm

Obv. King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back, as above.
Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l. with sun-rays halo behind head, r. hand advanced pointing with fingers and l. holding a sword resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 798-1 (4.20gm)



177a

178. Enthroned King & Goddess Nana

Variety – 10.c. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back, as above and prob. Khar. letter *cha* in the l. field.

Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe dress, holding a sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 807-1 (3.93 gm)



178a

179. Enthroned King & Wind-god Oado

Variety – 10.d. Δ, Wt: 3.09 gm

Obv. King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back, as above.

Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Wind-god running to l. holding veil in his both hands. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OAAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 818-1 (3.09 gm)



179a

180. Enthroned King & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 10.e. Δ, Wt: 4.42 gm

Obv. King seated frontally upon a wide throne with square back, as above.

Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing frontally with head turned to l. wearing wide-brimmed hat like king, holding a trident in raised r. hand and water flask in lowered l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 649-7-8 (3.78 gm); (b) BM: 649-7-9 (4.42 gm)



180a



180b



Type 11. Standing King (Small Coin)

181. Standing King & Nanashao

Variety – 11.a. Δ, Wt: 3.57 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head turned to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, l. holding sword resting on waist like sun-god and moon-god, style of the standing figure is similar to the standing king on ½ Δ coins (IIE). In the r. field the prongs seems to be of a Kanishka tamga.

Bactrian legend illegible.

Rev. Goddess Nana standing to r. wearing long robe dress and has large breast, holding a sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 648-6-3/ G: 810-1 (3.57 gm)



181a



HUVISHKA

A. Gold Coins

Group A

Type 1. King Riding on Elephant to r.

182. King Riding on Elephant & Ardoxsho

Variety – 1.a. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., wears tall rounded crown with long ribbon, holds spear in the r. hand and ankus in the l.Legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPKO KOPANO PAO 7^h*Rev.* Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (5) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.*Reference:* (a) NMK: 05-4; (b) BMC: 18/G: 305A-1 (7.85 gm)

182a



182b

Type 2. King Seated Cross-legged

183. King Seated Cross-legged & Ardoxsho

Variety – 2.ai. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock with head in profile to r., wears mantle and tall rounded helmet with long ribbons, holds club (?) in the r. hand and staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand.Legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPKO KOPANO PAO 7^h*Rev.* Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.*Reference:* (a) G: 305-1 (7.97 gm)

183a

184. King Seated Cross-legged & Nana

Variety – 2.b. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock with head in profile to r., as above

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 81/ G: 299-1 (7.84 gm); (b) BM: 1894-5-6-56; (c) BMC: 82 (7.75 gm)



Type 3A. Bust Profile Portrait of King to r. with Galamucha

185. Bust Profile Portrait of King to r. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3A.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust profile of king emerging from rock to r., wears rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. King has pronounced sideburns (galamucha) and prominent wart, wears jewelled yoke and loose tunic. King holds club in the r. hand and ankus in the l.

Legend: PAONANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle, sword at waist, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds staff with globular finial in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 147-1



185a

186. Bust Portrait of King to r. with Galamucha & Miipo

Variety – 3A.b. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Bust Portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to r., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, holds torque in the r. hand and sword in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MIIPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-549/ G: 135-1 (7.89 gm)



186a

187. Bust Portrait of King to r. with Galamucha & Miiro

Variety – 3A.bii. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 137-3 (7.84 gm); (b) BMC: 65/ G: 137-4 (7.67 gm)



187a



187b



188. Bust Portrait of King to r. with Galamucha & Nanashao

Variety – 3A.c. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears long robe, nimbate, wears long robe and helmet, holds horse-protome sceptre in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-61/ G: 152-1 (7.85 gm)



188a



Type 3Bi. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha

189. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Ardoxsho

Variety – 3Bi.ai. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. Bust profile of king emerging from rock to l., wears rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. King has pronounced sideburns (galamucha) and prominent wart, wears jewelled yoke and loose tunic and holds club in the r. hand and ankus in the l.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (5, 6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 14/ G: 154-1 (8.00 gm), (b) BM: PG 1879-5-01-48/ G: 154-5 (7.94 gm)



189a



189b



190. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Ardoxsho

Variety – 3Bi.iii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 306.1



190a



191. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Ardoxsho

Variety – 3Bi.iiii. D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 17 (1.99 gm)



191a



192. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Ardoxsho

Variety – 3Bi.aiv. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXOP dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 307-1



192a



193. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Ardoxsho

Variety – 3Bi.av. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKO KIPO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANPP(rev)XO to l.

Reference: (a) G: 316-1



193a

194. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Maaseno

Variety – 3Bi.b. D, Wt: 7.33 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing facing, nimbate, wears *samghati* and mantle, holds long staff with bird finial and tied up with ribbon in raised r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (1, 2) to l. & legend MAACHNO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 23; (b) BMC: 24 (7.33 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-45/ G: 298-3 (7.29 gm); (d) G: 298-7



194a

194b

194c

194d

195. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Manaobago

Variety – 3Bi.c. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed deity seated facing on a throne with head turned to r., has footstool beneath feet, wearing round helmet with circular element on side and crescent behind shoulders. In four arms he holds sceptre with bird finial, charka with gems, torque and diadem. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MANAOBA-TO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 25/ G: 151-3 (7.93 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-46/ G: 151-5 (7.97 gm); (c) BM: IOC-307 (7.82 gm), (d) BM: JP 1847-12-1-258/ G: 151-1 (7.95 gm)



196. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3Bi.di. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to r., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and boots, sword at waist, holds long staff with globular finial across the body in l. hand and torque in the r. Tamga (5) to r. & legend MAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 41/ G: 146-1 (7.91 gm); (b) NMK: 003a-6



197. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3Bi.dii. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and boots, sword at waist, holds long staff with globular finial across the body in l. hand and r. hand extended with two-fingered gesture. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 35/ G: 148-2 (7.94 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-53/G: 148-6 (8.05 gm); (c) BMC: 39/ G: 148-7 (7.97 gm); (d) BMC: 36/ G: 148-15 (7.86 gm)



198. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3Bi.diii. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 163-1



198a

199. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3Bi.div. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAOO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 149-5 (7.89 gm); (b) BMC: 40/ G: 149-5 (7.88 gm); (c) BMC: 38/ G: 149-2 (7.98 gm)



199a

199b

199c

200. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mao

Variety – 3Bi.dv. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, sword at waist, r. hand rests on hip and holds staff in raised l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 150-1



200a

201. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Miïro

Variety – 3Bi.ei. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to r., sun-rays behind head, wears tunic, mantle, holds torque in r. the hand and sword in the l. Tamga (5, 6) to r. & legend MIIPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 66/ G: 136-1 (7.93 gm); (b) BMC: 67/ G: 136-2 (7.95 gm)



201a



201b



202. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Miïro

Variety – 3Bi.eii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l., sun-rays around head, wears tunic and mantle, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-64/ G: 138-1 (7.96 gm); (b) BMC: 63/ G: 138-4 (7.93 gm)



202a



202b



203. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Miïro

Variety – 3Bi.eiii. D/4, Wt: 1.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 481-1; (b) G: 160-2 (1.90 gm)



203a



203b

204. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Miro

Variety – 3Bi.eiv. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 64/ G: 139-1 (7.75 gm); (b) G: 139-2 (7.84 gm)



204a



204b

205. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Miro

Variety – 3Bi.ev. D/4, Wt: 1.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 161-1 (1.96 gm)



205a

206. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mirro

Variety – 3Bi.evi. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l. as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 62/ G: 140-3 (7.83 gm); (b) G: 140-7 (7.79 gm)



206a



206b

207. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Mioro

Variety – 3Bi.evii. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but r. hand rests on hip and holds staff in raised l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 140A-1 (7.87 gm)



207a

208. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Nana & Oesho

Variety – 3Bi.f. D/4, Wt: 2.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure and 4-armed god Oesho standing and facing each other. Huvishka Tamga (6) between them & legend NANA up to l. & OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-558/ G: 167-4 (1.96 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-60/ G: 167-3 (1.98 gm); (c) BM: Stubbs 1865-8-3-17/ G: 167-2 (2.01 gm)



208a



208b



208c

209. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Nanashao

Variety – 3Bi.gi. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (1, 2) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) TM: 479-6; (b) BMC: 84/ G: 153-1 (7.87 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-62/ G: 153-3 (7.92 gm); (d) BMC: 83/ G: 153-7 (7.72 gm); (e) BM: AC 1888-12-8-553/ G: 153-5 (7.96 gm)



209a



209b



209c



209d



209e



210. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Nanashao

Variety – 3Bi.g.ii. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 165-1



210a

211. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Oesho

Variety – 3Bi.h. Δ, Wt: 8.10 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Four armed Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears long necklace and dhoti, holds water flask in lower r., thunderbolt in upper r., trident in upper l. and antelope by horn in lower l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1893-5-6-18 (8.10 gm); (b) G: 155-3



211a



211b



212. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharro

Variety – 3Bi.i(i). D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with small wing ornament at forehead. Holds staff in raised l. hand and diadem in the r. Tamga (6) to r. & legend ΦAPPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 128/ G: 141-3 (7.88 gm); (b) G: 141-1 (7.96 gm); (c) BMC: 127/ G: 141-2 (7.95 gm)



212a



212b



212c

213. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharro
Variety – 3Bi.i(ii). D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 130/ G: 162 (1.99 gm); (b) BMC: 131/ 162 (1.75 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-87/ G: 162.1 (1.98 gm)



213a



213b



213c

214. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharo
Variety – 3Bi.i(iii). D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head turned to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 129/ G: 142-1 (7.92 gm)



214a

215. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharo

Variety – 3Bi.i(iv). D, Wt: 8.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds staff in raised r. hand and l. on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 134/ G: 143-5 (7.91 gm); (b) BMC: 132/ G: 143-3 (8.01 gm)



215a



215b

216. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharro

Variety – 3Bi.i(v). D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but sword absent from waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM 133/ G: 144-1 (7.86 gm); (b) G: 144-3



216a



216b

217. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pharro

Variety – 3Bi.i(vi). D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds diadem in extended r. hand and staff in raised l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 145-1



217a

218. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Sarapo

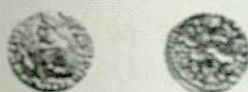
Variety – 3Bi.j. D/4, Wt: 1.97gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure seated frontally, nimbate and has heavy hair, wears mantle held at chest and long robe up to ankles. Holds staff in the l. hand and diadem in the r. The throne is four posted with curved legs and foot stool at feet. Tamga (6) to l. & legend $\text{CAPA}\Pi\text{O}$ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-19/ G: 164-1 (1.97 gm)



218a

219. Bust portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Skando-Komaro Bizago

Variety – 3Bi.ki. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-male figures standing frontally, looking at each other, on small plinth decorated with *rinseau* pattern. On proper left is Bizago, wears dhoti and large jewel at chest, holds trident in the l. hand and r. hand on the hip and sword at waist. Skando-Komaro on the proper right similarly garbed, holds staff with knob finial. Between them Tamga (5/ 6) & legend $\text{CKAN}\Delta\text{O-KOMARO BIZAG}\text{O}$ from l. to r. in circle.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-80 (7.94 gm); (b) BMC: 112/ G: 156-1 (7.99 gm); (c) BM: PG 1879-5-1-21



219a



219b



219c

220. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Skando-Komaro Bizago

Variety – 3Bi.kii. D/4, Wt: 2.02 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-male figures standing frontally, looking at each other, on small plinth as above but Komaro holds both hands on hip. Tamga (5/ 6) & legend $\text{CKAN}\Delta\text{O-KOMARO BIZAG}\text{O}$ from l. to r. in circle.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-81/ G: 166-8 (1.94 gm); (b) BMC: 114/ G: 166-11 (2.02 gm)



220a



220b



221. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Skando-Komaro-Bizago & Maaseno

Variety – 3Bi.l. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Three Male figures standing on a double plinth, both levels decorated with undulating pattern. Above then a kind of aedicule with concave roof at either side. Central figure is Mahasena standing frontally, other two flank and face him slightly their gestures and arms as in # 219 (3B.ki). Tamga (6) to l. & legend CKANAO-KOMARO-MAACHNO-BIZAGO from l. to r. in circle.

Reference: (a) BM: Stubbs 1865-8-3-16 (7.79 gm); (b) BMC: 115/G: 157-1 (7.86 gm)



221a



221b



Type 3Bii. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & holds Pronged-Club

222. Bust Profile Portrait of King to r. holds Pronged-Club & Maasena

Variety – 3Bii.a. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., flames emanating from r. shoulder, wears rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. King has pronounced sideburns (galamucha) and prominent wart, wearing jewelled yoke and loose tunic and holds club with addition of three prongs like flames above it in the r. hand and ankus in the l.

Legend: PAONANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally, nimbate, wears tunic and mantle, sword at waist, holds a standard with bird finial and ribbons in raised r. hand and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5/ 6) to l. & legend MAACHNO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 298-5; (b) G: 298-7 (7.90 gm)



222a



222b



223. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Mao

Variety – 3Bii.bi. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle, holds long staff across the body and sword in l. hand and makes two-fingered with r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-1; (b) BMC: 37/ G: 296-1 (7.86 gm)



223a



223b



224. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Mao

Variety – 3Bii.bii. D/4, Wt: (1.93) gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 313-1 (1.93 gm)



224a



225. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Mao

Variety – 3Bii.biii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but staff across the body is absent. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-3; (b) G: 297-2



225a



225b



226. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Mao & Miirō

Variety – 3Bii.c. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god and sun-god standing frontally with heads slightly turned and facing each other, Mao to l. has lunar crescent and holds sword and short staff. Miirō to r. with sun-

rays halo around head, armed with sword, r. hand in two-fingered gesture. Between them Tamga (6) & legend MAO dn to l. & MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 42/ G: 295-1 (7.87 gm); (b) G: 295-3



226a



226b



227. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Miuro

Variety – 3Bii.di. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. Bust of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, armed with sword, makes two-fingered with extended r. and holds long staff across the body in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) NMK: 044-01; (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-63/ G: 291-1 (8.05 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-66/ G: 291-4 (7.72 gm); (d) BMC: 55 (7.98 gm)



227a



227b



227c



227d

228. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Miuro

Variety – 3Bii.dii. D/4, Wt: 1.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1847-12-1-259/ G: 311 (1.95 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-69/ G: 311-2 or 3 (1.92 gm); (c) BMC: 61/ G 311-1 (1.92 gm)



228a



228b



228c

229. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Miir

Variety – 3Bii.diii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 292-1; (b) G: 292-3 (7.96 gm)



229a



229b



230. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Miir

Variety – 3Bii.div. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MEYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 293-1; (b) G: 293-2



230a



230b



231. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana

Variety – 3Bii.ei. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, armed with sword, holds horse-protome sceptre in r. hand and bowl in l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) NMK: 003a-04; (b) BMC: 86/ G: 300-1 (7.91 gm); (c) BMC: 85/ G: 300-4 (7.93 gm); (d) BMC: 87/ G: 300-3 (7.77 gm)



231a



231b



231c



231d

232. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana
 Variety – 3Bii.eii. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) NMK: 005-3; (b) G: 315-1 (1.97 gm)



232a



232b



233. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana
 Variety – 3Bii.eiii. D/4, Wt: 1.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-58/ G: 314-1 (1.92 gm)



233a

234. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana
 Variety – 3Bii.eiv. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds staff in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 91/ G: 301-1 (7.94 gm)



234a

235. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana

Variety – 3Bii.ev. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt NWNYO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 93/ G: 302-1 (7.87 gm)



235a

236. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Nana

Variety – 3Bii.evi. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, sword at waist, holds sceptre with animal finial in r hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend corrupt NANAPAO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 303-1 (7.97 gm)



236a

237. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Oesho-Ommo

Variety – 3Bii.f. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. God Oesho and goddess Ommo standing looking one another, on the proper r. four-armed Oesho holds water flask, drum, trident and antelope. On the proper l. Ommo wears long robe and holds flower. Between them Tamga (6); legend OMMO dn to l. & OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-557/ G: 310-1 (7.98 gm)



237a

238. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Oesho

Variety – 3Bii.gi. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears necklace and dhoti. Holds water flask with ankus in lower r. hand, thunderbolt in upper r, trident in upper l. and antelope in lower l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 97/ G: 308-3 (7.95 gm); (b) BMC: 99/ G: 308-4 (7.88 gm); c) BMC: 98/ G: 308-5 (7.80 gm)



238a



238b



238c



239. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Oesho

Variety – 3Bii.gii. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., crude style. Holds torque (diadem) in lower r. hand, thunderbolt in upper r., trident in upper l. and antelope in lower r. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 100/ G: 309-4 (7.98 gm); (b) G: 309-7



239a



239b



240. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club & Pharro

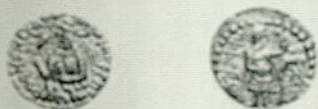
Variety – 3Bii.h. D/4, Wt: 1.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing to r., wears tunic, mantle and helmet with wing ornaments. Holds spear in raised l. hand and bowl in the r. against chest. Tamga (5) to r. & legend Φ APPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-88/G: 312-1 (1.90 gm)



240a

Type 3Biii. Bust Portrait of King to l. with Galamucha & Pronged-Club; Crude Style

241. Bust Portrait of King to r. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Ardoxsho

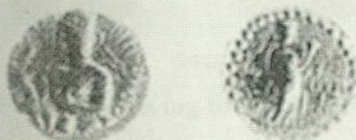
Variety – 3Biii.ai. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., and flames emanating from r. shoulder, wears rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. King has pronounced sideburns (galamucha) and prominent wart, wears jewelled yoke and loose tunic and holding club with addition of three prongs like flames above it in the r. hand and ankus in the l. The style is crude and fabric is clumsier.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears diadem and long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (5) to r. & legend Δ POXPO up to r in crude form.

Reference: (a) G: 331-1 (7.99 gm)



241a

242. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Ardoxsho

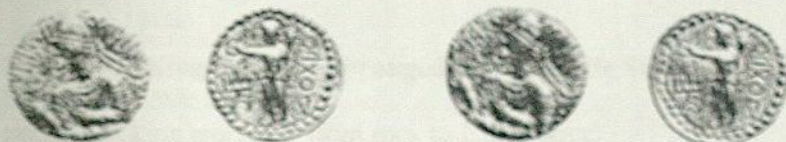
Variety – 3Biii.iii. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears diadem and long robe, holds diadem in extended r. hand and cornucopia in l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend Δ OXPO up to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 20/ G: 330-1 (7.99 gm); (b) BMC: 19/ G: 330-2 (7.94 gm)



242a

242b

243. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miro

Variety – 3Biii.bi. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and boots, sword at waist, makes two-fingered gesture with r. and holds long staff across the body in l. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 317-1



243a

244. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miuro

Variety – 3Biii.bii. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 318-1 (7.83 gm)



244a

245. Bust Portrait of King to l. hold Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miuro

Variety – 3Biii.biii. D/4, Wt: 1.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 336-1 (1.95 gm)



245a

246. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miuro

Variety – 3Biii.biv. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 56/ G: 319-1 (7.88 gm)



246a

247. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miiro
Variety – 3Biii.bv. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 59/ G: 320-1 (7.96 gm)



247a

248. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Miiro
Variety – 3Biii.bvi. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MEYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 337-1



248a

249. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana
Variety – 3Biii.ci. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l. as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears diadem and long robe, sword at waist, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand, bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 324-1



249a

250. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana Variety – 3Biii.cii. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above but sword absent. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 88/ G: 325-1 (7.89 gm); (b) G: 325-2



250a

250b

251. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana Variety – 3Biii.ciii. D, Wt: 7.76 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above (with sword absent). Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 94/ G: 326-1 (7.76 gm)



251a

252. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana Variety – 3Biii.civ. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above (with sword absent). Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 327-1



252a

253. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana
Variety – 3Biii.cv. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears helmet, diadem and long robe, holds animal-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 89/ G: 329-1 (7.88 gm)



253a

254. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Nana
Variety – 3Biii.cvi. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 90/ G: 328-3 (7.84 gm); (b) BMC: 92/ G: 328-1 (7.79 gm)



254a

254b

255. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Oesho
Variety – 3Biii.d. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears cylindrical cap, holds staff in raised l. hand and r. hand lowered in the gesture of *varada-mudra*. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 335-1 (7.87 gm)



255a

256. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Club (Crude Style) & Rishno (or Rion)
 Variety – 3Biii.e. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
 Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., wears crested helmet, armour and chiton, holds spear in raised r. hand and shield in the l. resting on ground. Tamga (5) to r. & legend PIPN up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-75; (b) G: 332-1



256a

256b

257. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Pharro
 Variety – 3Biii.fi. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
 Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears winged headdress and tunic, round mat under feet, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 137/ G: 322-1 (7.93 gm); (b) BMC: 136/ G: 322-2 (7.79 gm)



257a

257b

258. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Pharro
 Variety – 3Biii.fii. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
 Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears winged headdress as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 135/ G: 323-1 (7.83 gm)



258a

259. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Pronged-Club (Crude Style) & Wron
Variety – 3Biii.g. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears cylindrical cap, holds staff in raised l. hand and r. hand lowered in the gesture of *varada-mudra*.

Tamga (6) to l. & legend WPOM dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-6; (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-90/ G: 333-2 (7.92 gm); (c) BMC: 139; (d) BMC: 138/ G: 333-1 (7.90 gm)



259a



259b



259c



259d

Type 4. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to l., holds Club

260. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to l., holds Club & Ardoxsho
Variety – 4.ai. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., and sometimes flames emanating from r. shoulder, has sideburns, wears rounded helmet with rows of jewels and top crest and diadem decorated with lattice-like effect. Wearing jewelled yoke and loose mantle over tunic and holding club in r. hand and ankus in the l.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OYOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r. nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 15/ G: 182-1 (7.84 gm)



260a

261. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Ardoxsho
 Variety – 4.a.iii. D, Wt: 7.82 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO O-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend AΠAOXPA dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 16/ G: 183-1 (7.82 gm)



261a

262. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mao
 Variety – 4.bi. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO OYOHPIKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle, holds staff in raised r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 479-5; (b) BMC: 34/ G: 178-3 (7.94 gm); (c) BMC: 33/ G: 178-2 (7.87 gm); (d) G: 178-5 (7.79 gm)



262a

262b

262c

262d

263. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mao
 Variety – 4.bii. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. lunar crescent behind shoulders, as above but holds staff in raised l. hand and the r. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 32/ G: 179-1 (7.83 gm)



263a

264. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mao

Variety – 4.biii. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head turned to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, armed with sword as above but holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 180-3 (7.73 gm); (b) G: 180-4 (7.80 gm)



264a

264b

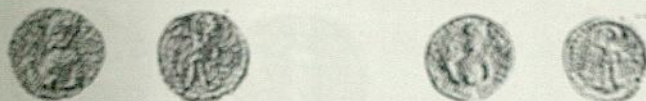
265. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mao

Variety – 4.biv. D/4, Wt: 1.96 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. lunar crescent behind shoulders, armed with sword as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 188-1; (b) G: 188-3 (1.96 gm)



265a

265b

266. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mao

Variety – 4.bv. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.
Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. lunar crescent behind shoulders, armed with sword as above, holds diadem in extended r. hand and staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 180A-1



266a

267. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L, holds Club & Mioro

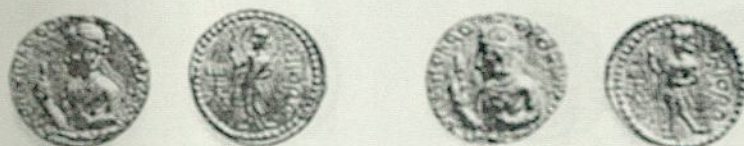
Variety – 4.ci. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OYOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. sun-rays behind head, holds staff in raised r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 52/ G: 170-1 (7.84 gm); (b) BMC: 53/ G: 170-3 (7.97 gm)



267a

267b

268. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L, holds Club & Miyro

Variety – 4.cii. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OYOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-546/ G: 171-1 (7.87 gm)



268a

269. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L, holds Club & Mioro

Variety – 4.ciii. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head turned to l., sun-rays halo around head, armed with sword, holds staff in raised l. hand and r. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 54/ G: 172-1 (7.93 gm)



269a

270. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mioro

Variety – 4.civ. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l. as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head turned to l. sun-rays halo around head, sword absent, holds staff in raised l. hand and diadem in advanced r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 173-1; (b). G: 173-2 (7.89 gm)



270a

270b

271. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mioro

Variety – 4.cv. D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l. as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) MBC: 51/ G: 186-1 (1.99 gm)



271a

272. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Mioro

Variety – 4.cvi. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, sword absent, holds diadem in r. hand and l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-2; (b) G: 174-3



272a



272b



273. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Pharro

Variety – 4.di. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OYOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears tunic and mantle and helmet with wing ornaments, holds staff in raised r. hand and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΠΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-13/ G: 175-1 (7.86 gm); (b). G: 175-2



273a



273b



274. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Pharro

Variety – 4.dii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears winged helmet and sword at waist, as above but holds staff in raised l. hand and r. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΠΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 176-1



274a



275. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Pharro

Variety – 4.diii. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. nimbate, as above but holds diadem in extended r. hand and staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΠΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 126/ G: 177-1 (7.85 gm); (b) G: 177-3 (7.94 gm)



275a



275b



276. Youthful Bust Profile Portrait of King to L., holds Club & Sarapo

Variety – 4.e. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Youthful bust profile portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OYOHPI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., has fillet around heavy hair, wears long robe. Makes single-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds knobbed staff in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend CAPITO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 110/ G: 185-2 (7.97 gm); (b) BMC: 111/ G: 185-1 (7.89 gm)



276a



276b



Group Aa

Type 5. Bust Profile of King to L. Close-up Portrait, Jewelled-headress

277. Bust Profile of King to L. Close-up Portrait, Jewelled-headress & Miuro

Variety – 5.a. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king to l., and sometimes flames emanating from r. shoulder, has wart and untidy sideburns, wearing rounded helmet with rows of jewels and top crest. Wears jewelled yoke and loose mantle above tunic.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, sword at waist, wears tunic and mantle holds long staff with globular finial in crook of l. arm and makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 58/ G: 290-5 (7.92 gm); (b) BM: AC 18984-5-6-67/ G: 290-1 (7.91 gm); (c) BMC: 57/ G: 290-2 (7.79 gm)



277a



277b



277c



Type 5B. Bust Profile of King to r. Close-up Portrait, Jewelled-headdress

278. Bust Portrait of King to r. Close-up Portrait, Jewelled-headdress & Nana

Variety – 5.b. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king as above but faces to r., and without flaming shoulder.

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre in r. the hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 315A-1



278a

Group B

Type 6. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Spear and Pronged-Club (Crude Style)

279. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds Spear and Club (Crude Style) & Rimo (Miir)

Variety – 6.a. D/4, Wt: 1.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., and flames emanating from r. shoulder, wears rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. Wears jewelled yoke and loose tunic and holding club with prongs like flames above it in the r. hand and spear in the l. over shoulder. The style is crude and fabric is clumsier.

Legend corrupt.

Rev. Sun-god standing facing with head in profile to l. sun-rays halo around head, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds staff in the l. across the body. Tamga (5/6) to l. & legend PIMO (MIIPPO) dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-74; (b) BMC: 70/ G: 371-1 (1.98 gm)



279a



279b

Type 7. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Imperial Dress; holds Club & Staff

280. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Imperial Dress; holds Staff & Mao

Variety – 7.a. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wears rounded helmet with rows of pearls, prongs at the forehead and side flaps and long ribbons of diadem. Wears tunic decorated with jewelled yoke and lozenge-shaped patterns with mantle over shoulders. Holds club in the r. hand and staff tied up with ribbon in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP 7^b

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle, makes two-fingered gesture with r. arm and holds long sword in the l. hand almost resting on ground. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 347-1 (7.92 gm)



280a

281. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Imperial Dress; holds Club & Staff & Pharro
Variety – 7.bi. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wears rounded helmet with rows of pearls as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears helmet with wing ornament, tunic and mantle, holds fire in vessel with extended r. hand and l. on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 125/ G: 343-1 (8.05 gm)



281a

282. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Imperial Dress; holds Club & Staff & Pharro
Variety – 7.bii. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO- KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head turned to l. wearing helmet with wing ornament as above but holds purse in r. hand and long staff in raised l and sword at waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 344-1 (7.89 gm)



282a

283. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Imperial Dress; holds Club & Staff & Oesho
Variety – 7.c. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHKO KOP 7^h

Rev. Four-armed and tricephalic male figure standing facing, has flat headdress with top knot and wears dhoti. Holds water flask in lower r., thunderbolt (*vajra*) in upper r., trident in upper l. and club (*danda*) in lower l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPA dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 366-1; (b) BMC: 101/G: 366-1 (7.93 gm)



283a



283b



Type 8. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Forwarded – headdress; holds Club & Club

284. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miïro

Variety – 8.ai. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king t emerging from rock o l., slim figure, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears rounded helmet slightly forwarded with top crest and side-flaps and ribbons of diadem fluttering to l. Wears tunic with rolled lapels and the undergarment with a broad central ridge and jewelled yoke. Holds club in the r. hand and long spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, short sword (or digger) at waist, holds long staff in raised l. hand and diadem in extended r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 43/G: 228-2 (8.00 gm); (b) BM: PG 1879-5-1-81/G: 228-1 (7.95 gm)



284a



284b



285. Bust Portrait of King to l. Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miïro

Variety – 8.iii. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wearing round helmet slightly forwarded with top crest as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r. halo absent, wears long robe like Nana holds compound bow in the l. hand, drawing arrow from quiver with r. hand behind shoulder. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MEIPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 71/G: 234-1/DAK: 204 (7.95 gm)



285a

286. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Nana

Variety – 8.b. D, Wt: 7.54 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears helmet with crescent, holds short sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 232-1 (7.54 gm)



286a

287. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oanindo

Variety – 8.ci. D, Wt: (7.78 gm)

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Winged female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears helmet and classical style robe, holds long staff (cornucopia) in crook of l. arm and diadem with ribbons in extended r. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANINDO up to l.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-5; (b) G: 242-1



287a



287b

288. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oanindo

Variety – 8.cii. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Winged female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANINDA dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 95/ G: 243-1 (7.91 gm)



288a

289. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oanindo

Variety – 8.ciii. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Winged female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANINΔO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 96/ G: 244-1 (7.98 gm)



289a

290. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oanindo

Variety – 8.civ. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Winged female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but nimbate and holds cornucopia in crook of l. arm and diadem with ribbons in raised r. hand.

Tamga (6) to l. & legend OANINΔO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-06/ G: 245-1 (7.93 gm)



290a

291. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oanindo

Variety – 8.cv. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Winged female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears helmet and classical royal robe, holds staff in crook of r. arm and diadem with ribbons in extended l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OANINΔO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-07/ G: 246-1 (7.84 gm); (b) G: 246-2



291a



291b



292. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro
Variety – 8.d. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. wears tunic, mantle, and helmet with wing ornament, holds fire in vessel with r. hand and spear in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 229-1 (7.95 gm); (b) G: 229-2 (7.93 gm)



292a



292b



293. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro
Variety – 8.ei. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., slim figure, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 236-2 (7.90 gm)



293a



294. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro
Variety – 8.eii. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above but spear in raised l. hand and brandishes shield in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 107/ G: 239-2 (7.93 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-78/ G: 239-3 (7.95 gm)



294a



294b



295. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 8.eiii. D, Wt: 7.75 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head profile to l., as above. Holds spear in raised l. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet and is held by r. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 239A-1 (7.75 gm)



295a



Type 9A. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns, Ribbons on shoulders, Forwarded-headress, holds Club & Spear

296. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9A.ai. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wears forward-pointing cap with top crest and side-flaps and ribbons decorated with lattice-like effect spread one each on both shoulders instead of flaming. Wearing tunic decorated with lozenge shaped patterns and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and long spear in crook of l. arm.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r. wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands.

Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 09/ G: 218-1 (7.93 gm)



296a



297. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9A.a.ii D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to l., wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 223A-1



297a

298. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Athsho
Variety – 9A.b. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟΟΟ-ΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to l., wears classical chlamys and band around head, flames emanating from shoulders and head. Holds tongs in l. hand and hammer in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΑΘΟΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 208-1



298a

299. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Athsho
Variety – 9Ai.a. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above but ribbons decorated with lattice-like effect spread one on r. shoulder and two on l.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to l., wears classical chlamys and band around head, as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend ΑΘΟΡΟ dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 01/ G: 209-1 (7.88 gm)



299a

299b

300. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Mao
Variety – 9Ai.b. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., one ribbon on r. shoulder and two on l. as above.

Leg Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and armed with sword. Holds staff in raised l. hand and diadem with ribbons in raised r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 27/ G: 212-1 (7.94 gm)



300a

301. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Mioro

Variety – 9Ai.ci. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and armed with sword. Holds diadem with ribbons in advanced r. hand and l. on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 190-1



301a

302. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Moro

Variety – 9Ai.cii. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, mantle and armed with sword. Holds diadem with ribbons in advanced r. hand and long staff in raised l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 45/ G: 191-1 (7.99 gm)



302a

303. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Mioro

Variety – 9Ai.ciii. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., one ribbon on r. shoulder and two on l. as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to r., sun-rays halo around head, armed with sword. Holds diadem with ribbons in the advanced l. hand and long staff in raised r. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MIOPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-02/ G: 193-1 (7.94 gm)



303a

304. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Pharro

Variety – 9Ai.d. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. wears tunic, mantle, and helmet with wing ornament, holds fire in vessel with r. hand and spear in raised l. hand.

Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r

Reference: (a) G: 201-1



304a

305. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-patterns & Shaorero

Variety – 9Ai.e. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., one ribbon on r. shoulder and two (seems to one) on l. as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 224-1



305a

Type 9B. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Ribbons on Shoulders, Forwarded-headress, holds Club & Staff

306. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9B.ai. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wears forward-jewelled cap with cheek protection below and ribbons decorated with lattice-like effect spread one each on both shoulders instead of flaming. Wearing tunic with rolled lapels tied up with buttons and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and staff bound with in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 219-1; (b) G: 219-5



306a



306b



307. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9B.a.ii. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, tunic with rolled lapels as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above but the addition of fruit basket before her feet.

Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 220-1 (7.85 gm)



307a



308. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Athsho

Variety – 9B.b. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to r., wears classical chlamys and band around head, flames emanating from shoulders and head. Holds tongs in the l. hand and hammer in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) PMC: 18/ G: 210-1



308a

309. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miro

Variety – 9B.c. D, Wt: 7.73 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, holds diadem in extended r. hand and long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-04/ G: 192-1 (7.73 gm)



309a

310. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, & Pharro

Variety – 9B.di. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with wing ornament, holds fire in vessel with r. hand, l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 118/ G: 202-1 (7.90 gm)



310a

311. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9B.dii. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but flaming shoulders and holds fire in vessel with r. hand and long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 120/ G: 204-1 (7.88 gm); (b) G: 204-3 (7.90 gm)



311a



311b



312. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9B.diii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. sun-rays (sometimes plain as a), wears tunic, mantle, holds diadem in advanced r. hand and l. on hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 47/ G: 197-1 (7.96 gm); (b) G: 197-2



312a



312b



313. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 9B.e. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r. nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and sword with animal head-shaped hilt in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 108/ G: 225-1 (7.99 gm); (b) G: 225-2



313a



313b



Type 9C. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Ribbons on shoulders, Forwarded-headress, holds Club & Spear

314. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9C.ai. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wears forward-jewelled cap with side-flaps and ribbons decorated with lattice-like effect spread one each on both shoulders. Wears tunic with rolled lapels tied up with buttons and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and spear tied up with ribbon in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPA up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 11/ G: 221-1 (7.90 gm)



314a

315. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9C.iii. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r. as above but with the addition of fruit basket before her feet. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPA up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 222-1 (7.90 gm)



315a

316. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 9C.iiii. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above. (2 ribbon on l. shoulder)

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., as above and the fruit basket absent. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) MBC 07/ G: 223-1 (7.90 gm); (b) G: 223-3



316a



316b

317. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

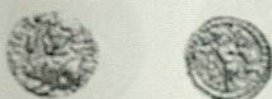
Variety – 9C.aiv. D/4, Wt: 1.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, as above. (ribbons absent)

Legend: PAO NANO-PAOOOH.... 7^b

Rev. Female figure standing to r. as above (no fruit basket). Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) MBC 13/ G: 279-1 (1.98 gm)



317a

318. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Athsho

Variety – 9C.bi. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, has latticed ribbon spread one each on both shoulders, shoulder as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to r., wears classical chlamys and band around head, flames emanating from shoulders and head. Holds tongs in the l. hand and hammer in r. over shoulder. Tamga (6) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 211-1



318a

319. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Athsho

Variety – 9C.bii. D, Wt: 8.02 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO P-AOOOHPKI KO 7^b

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to r. as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend AΘPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-35/ G: 230-6 (7.97 gm); (b) BMC: 02/ G: 230-2 (8.02 gm)



319a

319b

320. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Mao

Variety – 9C.ci. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. lunar crescent behind shoulders, armed with sword, r. hand makes one-fingered gesture and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-48/ G: 213-1 (7.99 gm); (b) G: 213-2



320a



320b



321. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Mao

Variety – 9C.cii. D/4, Wt: 2.00 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO P-AOOOHPK 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 31/G: 277-2 (1.97 gm); (b) BM: AC 1888-12-8-545/G: 277-1 (2.00 gm)



321a



321b



322. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Mao

Variety – 9C.ciii. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above, holds diadem with ribbons in the r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 28/G: 214-1 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 214-2 (7.84 gm)



322a



322b



323. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Mao

Variety – 9C.civ. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing to r. lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears helmet, tunic and mantle, holds staff with globular finial in raised r. hand and sword in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 07/G: 231-1 (7.96 gm)



323a

324. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miiro

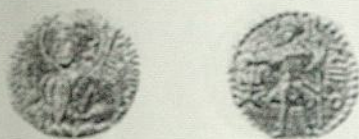
Variety – 9C.di. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, armed with sword, wearing helmet, tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 198-1



324a

325. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miiro

Variety – 9C.dii. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and holds long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 199-1 (7.91 gm)



325a

326. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled Lapels & Miiro

Variety – 9C.diii. D/4, Wt: 1.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO-PAOOOH..... 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but plain halo around head. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 50/ G: 276-1 (1.96 gm)



326a

327. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miiro

Variety – 9C.div. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l. sun-rays halos around head, wears tunic, mantle, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand as above but l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 194-1



327a

328. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miiro

Variety – 9C.dv. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds diadem with ribbons in extended r. hand and l. hand resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 48/ G: 195-1 (7.92 gm)



328a

329. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miiro

Variety – 9B.dvi. D/4, Wt: 1.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO-PAOOOH.... 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 275-1 (1.91 gm)



329a

330. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Miipo

Variety – 9C.dvii. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to r., sun-rays halos around head, wears helmet, tunic and mantle, holds staff in raised r. hand and sword in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MIIPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-65/ G: 200-2 (7.99 gm); b. BMC: 49/ G: 200-1 (7.87 gm)



330a



330b

331. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled Lapels holds Spears & Nana

Variety – 9C.e. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 215-1



331a

332. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oaxsho

Variety – 9C.f. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO P-AOOOHPKI KO 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate and diademed, wears chlamys. Holds staff in raised r. hand and a large fork-tailed fish in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OAXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 241-1 (7.98 gm)/ DAK: 155



332a

333. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Oesho

Variety – 9C.g. D, Wt: 8.02 gm

Obv. Bust profile of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOOHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Four-armed three-headed male figure standing facing with legs open, ithyphallic, nimbate and diademed, wears skirt. Holds in lower r. hand antelope, upper r. wheel with six spokes, upper l. trident and lower l. thunderbolt. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 201/ G: 235-1 (8.02 gm)



333a

334. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ooromozdo

Variety – 9C.h. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO P-AOOOHPKI KO 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears chlamys. Holds staff in raised l. hand and wreath (or diadem) in raised r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend WOPOMOZΔO in circle to r. (10 hr)

Reference: (a) G: 240-1 (7.79 gm); (b) G: 240-2 (7.77 gm)



334a

334a

335. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9C.i(i). D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., with flaming shoulders, nimbate and diademed, wears tunic, mantle, and helmet with small wing ornament over forehead. Holds fire in vessel in extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 203-1



335a

336. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9C.i(ii). D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust profile of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds diadem with ribbons in r. hand instead of fire. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 205-1 (7.87 gm)



336a

337. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9C.i(iii). D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above and armed with sword. Deity makes single -fingered gesture with r. hand and holds spear in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 119/ G: 206-1 (8.00 gm)



337a

338. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 9C.i(iv). D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate and diadem, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with wing ornament at forehead. Holds spear in raised r. hand and sword with animal hilt in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 124/ G: 207-3 (7.89 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-83/ G: 207-1 (7.91 gm)



338a



338b



339. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 9C.ji. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: (a) PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h (a,b)

b) PAO NANOP-AOOOHPKI KO 7^h (c)

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 226-1 (7.04 gm); (b) G: 226-2; (c) BM: PG 1879-5-1-15/ G: 236-1 (7.96 gm)



339a



339b



339c



340. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 9C.jii. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above and nimbate. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PAOPHOPO in circle from r. to l. (2^h)

Reference: (a) BM: 1890-1-5-01/ G: 227-1 (7.94 gm)



340a



341. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 9C.jiii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOOHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above and nimbate absent. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PAOPHOPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 237-1 (7.96 gm)



341a

342. Bust Portrait of King to l. Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 9C.jiv. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king to emerging from rock l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAYPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 238-1



342a

Group Ba

Type 10. King seated Cross-legged, wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, holds Club & has flaming Shoulders

343. King seated Cross-legged, wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Erakilo

Variety – 10.a. D, Wt: 7.99gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears forward-jewelled cap with side-flaps and ribbons fluttering behind head. Wears trousers and tunic with rolled lapels tied up with clasps at chest and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOOHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Bearded nude bearded figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., muscular body, r. hand holds a large knurled club, which rests on the ground, carries lion's pelt over l. arm and apple in the l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 22/ G: 269-1 (7.99 gm)



343a

Group C

Type 11A. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-shaped Pattern & Mantle, Forward-pointing Cap, holds 2-Headed Club & Spear

344. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Ardoxsho

Variety – 11A.a. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wearing forward-pointing cap with rows of jewels and side-flaps and ribbons with lattice shaped effect fallen one each on both shoulders. Wearing tunic decorated with jewelled yoke and lozenge-shaped patterns with cloak over shoulders. Holds 2-headed club (or bird) in r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 362-2 (7.90 gm)



344a

345. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Mao

Variety – 11A.b. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent around head, wears helmet, tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and holds long staff with globular finial in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 349-1



345a

346. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Mioro

Variety – 11A.c. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears helmet, tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and long staff with globular finial and tied up with ribbon in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 46/ G: 340-1 (7.89 gm)



346a

347. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Nana

Variety – 11A.d. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing forward-pointing cap as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears crescent headdress and long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre tied up with ribbon in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 76/ G: 356-1 (7.98 gm)



347a

348. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Pharro

Variety – 11A.e. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, armed with sword, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with small wing ornament over forehead. Holds spear in raised l. hand and purse in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 346-1; (b) G: 346-2; (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-86/ G: 346-4 (7.92 gm)



348a

348b

348c

349. Bust Portrait of King to l. holds 2-Headed club & Rishno

Variety – 11A.f. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears crested helmet, armour and long chiton. Holds spear in the r. hand and shield in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PIPN dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 109/ G: 369-1 (7.89 gm)



349a

Type 11B. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mantle, Forward-Pointing Cap, and holds usual Club & Spear

350. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho

Variety – 11B.ai. D, Wt: 8.06 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wears forward-pointing cap with rows of pearls same as 11A but the king holds usual club instead of two-headed club and carries spear in the l. hand over shoulder (2 ribbons on l. shoulder).

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r. wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 362-1 (8.06 gm)



350a

351. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho

Variety – 11B.iii. D, Wt: 7.47 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above (2 ribbons on l. shoulder).

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-OOHPKE KOPA 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r. wears long robe as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 363-1 (7.47 gm)



351a

352. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho

Variety – 11B.iiii. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing forward-pointing cap with rows of jewels same as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP (or K) 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend AΠOXPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 364-2; (b) G: 364-4 (7.97 gm)



352a



352b



353. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho (Hybrid)

Variety – 11B.aiv. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. (Hybrid) Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend [MIOPO] up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 21/ G: 365-1 (7.98 gm)



353a



354. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

Variety – 11B.bi. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders and long hair is in bun behind neck, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. holds hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-544/ G: 348-1 (7.88 gm)



354a



355. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

Variety – 11B.bii. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOP 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to frontally with head in profile to l., as above but l. hand holds long staff with globular finial. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-50/ G: 349-3 (7.89 gm); (b) BMC: 30/ G: 349-2 (7.94 gm)



355a



355b



356. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

Variety – 11B.biii. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above (2 ribbons on l. shoulder).

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing to l., as above but holds diadem in r. hand and l. hand resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r

Reference: (a) BMC: 29/ G: 350-1 (7.99 gm); (b) BM: IOC – 308/ G: 350-4



356a



356b



357. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana

Variety – 11B.ci. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears diadem with long ribbons and long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre tied up with ribbon in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NONO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 75/ G: 355-1 (7.87 gm)



357a



358. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana

Variety – 11B.cii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend OANO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 354-1 (7.96 gm)



358a

359. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana
Variety – 11B.ciii. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NWNYO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 80/ G: 357-1 (7.96 gm); (b) BMC: 79/ G: 357-2 (7.95 gm)



359a

359b

360. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana
Variety – 11B.civ. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wearing helmet and long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre (no ribbon) in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-59/ G: 358-1 (7.88 gm)



360a

361. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana with Lion
Variety – 11B.cv. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure sitting frontally on a lion, with head in profile to r. nimbate, wears a helmet with lunar crescent and long robe. Holds animal-protome sceptre in the r. hand resting against shoulder and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-555/ G: 359-1 (7.89 gm)



361a

362. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Pharo

Variety – 11B.d. D, Wt: 8.02 gm

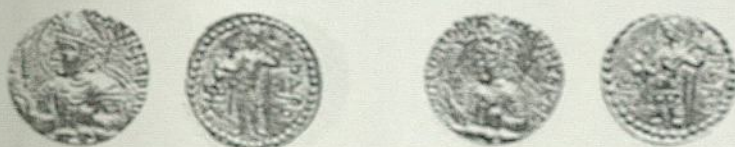
Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO (a) 7^h

PAO NANO PA-OOOHPKE KOPANO (b) 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with small wing ornament over forehead. Holds spear in raised l. hand and purse in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-10/ G: 345-3 (7.93gm); (b) BMC: 123/ G: 345-4 (8.02 gm)



362a

362b

363. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Oesho

Variety – 11B.e. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Four-armed and three-head deity standing facing, has flat headdress with hair knots, wears dhoti and necklace. Holds in lower r. hand water flask, in upper r. thunderbolt, in upper l. trident and in lower l. club (*danda*). Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPA dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 367-1 (7.97 gm)



363a

364. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro

Variety – 11B.f. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKE KOP... 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in r. hand and shield resting on ground at his feet and is held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PAOPHOPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 368-1 (7.93 gm)



364a

365. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Saallicocsh

Variety – 11B.g. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above (2 ribbons on l. shoulder).

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKE KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., has heavy hair with fillet around it and wears long robe. Holds diadem in the r. hand and knobbed staff in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend SAAIICCOCP dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: Haughton 1956-7-10-48-791/G: 370-1 (7.97 gm)



365a

Type 11C. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mantle, Forward-Pointing Cap, holds Club & Spear and has flaming Shoulder

366. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho

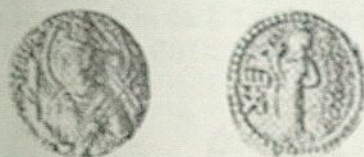
Variety – 11C.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wearing forward-pointing cap with rows of pearls same as 11B and the king holds a club in r. hand and a spear with hook to end in l. over shoulder, flames emanating from r. shoulder, sometimes prongs also added to the club, like above one ribbon with lattice effect on r. shoulder and two on the l.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe and holds cornucopia in the r. hand and l. prob. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 365A-1



366a

367. Bust Profile of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

Variety – 11C.bi. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above (2 ribbons on l. shoulder).

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic, mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 351-1 (7.90 gm)



367a

368. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

Variety – 11C.bii. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds diadem in the r. hand instead of a gesture position. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 352-1 (7.90 gm); (b) G: 352-2 (7.85 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-49/ G: 352-3 (7.92 gm)



368a

368b

368c

369. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mao

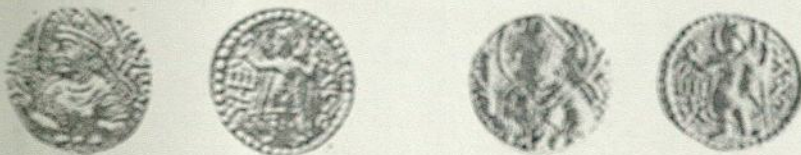
Variety – 11C.biii. D, Wt: (7.90 gm)

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above and holds diadem in r. hand and long staff in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 353-1; (b) G: 353-2



369a

369b

370. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Miiro

Variety – 11C.c. D, Wt: 7.96 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays hallow around had, wears helmet, tunic and mantle, holds diadem in the r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 341-1 (7.96 gm)



370a

371. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ashaceixsho (Hybrid Miiro)

Variety – 11C.d. D, Wt: 8.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO (a) 7^b

PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP (b) 7^b

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APAEIXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 04/ G: 342-1 (8.01 gm); (b) BMC: 05/ G: 342-7 (7.96 gm)



371a

371b

372. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Rimo (Mirro)

Variety – 11C.e. D/4, Wt: 1.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO P-AOOOHPKI KO 7^b

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PIMO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 68/ G: 372-1 (1.98 gm); (b) BMC: 69/ G: 372-2 (1.68 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-73/ G: 372-3 (1.86 gm)



372a



372b



372c

373. Bust Portrait of King to l. Tunic with Lozenge-shaped Pattern & Nana

Variety – 11C.f.i. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears helmet with crescent and long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 75/ G: 360-1 (7.87 gm)



373a



374. Bust Portrait of King to l. Tunic with Lozenge-shaped Pattern & Nana

Variety – 11C.f.ii. D, Wt: 8.03 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PA-OOHPKO KOP 7^h

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 77/ G: 361-1 (8.037 gm)



374a



Type 12. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern, Forward-pointing Cap, has flaming Shoulders and holds Club & Spear

375. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Athsho

Variety – 12.a. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wearing forward-peaked crown with rows of pearls and side-flaps, no ribbon on

shoulder. Wears tunic decorated with jewelled yoke and lozenge-shaped patterns and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing to r., wears band around head and classical chlamys, flames around shoulders and head. Carries tongs in the l. hand and hammer in the r. over shoulder. Tamga (6) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 03/ G: 257-1 (7.84 gm)



375a

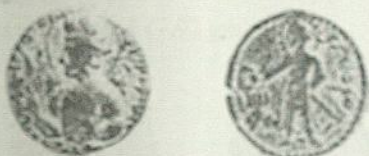
376. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern, & Mioro Variety – 12.bi. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., flaming shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 250-1 (7.84 gm)



376a

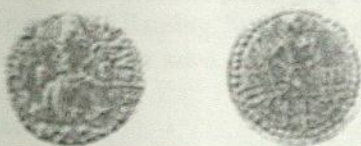
377. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mirro Variety – 12.bii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., flaming shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally as above but head in profile to r., holds long staff in the r. hand and sword (or ankus) in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 251-1



377a

378. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Pharro
Variety – 12.c. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., flaming shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., flaming shoulders, wears tunic, mantle and helmet with wing ornament. Holds fire in vessel with r. hand and sword in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend Φ APPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 117/G: 253-1 (7.94 gm); (b) G: 253-2



378a



378b



379. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro
Variety – 12.d. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., flaming shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in the r. hand and shield resting on ground at his feet and is held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 265-1 (7.92 gm)



379a



Type 13A. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Peaked Crown, has Ribbons on Shoulders and holds Club & Staff

380. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Mioro

Variety – 13A.a. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wears forward-peaked crown with side-flaps and ribbons decorated with lattice-like effect spread one each on both shoulders instead of flaming. Wearing tunic with rolled lapels tied up with buttons and an ornament around upper arms. Holds club in the r. hand and staff tied up with ribbon in l. over shoulder.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to r., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic, holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-03/G: 252-1 (7.88 gm)



380a

Type 13B. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Peaked Crown, has Ribbons on Shoulders and holds Club & Spear

381. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

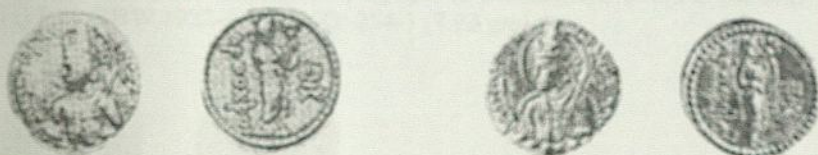
Variety – 13B.a. D, Wt: 7.82 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing forward-peaked crown and ribbons on both shoulders as above. Holds club in the r. hand and spear tied up with ribbon in the l. over shoulder instead of a mace.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears long robe and holds cornucopia with both hands. Tanga (6) to r. & legend ΑΔΟΧΡΟ dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 262-1 (7.74 gm); (b) G: 262-2 (7.82 gm)



381a

381b

382. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Lrooaspo

Variety – 13B.b. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally but turning to r., nimbate, wears diadem and chlamys. Behind him in profile to r., is a horse with both l. foreleg and l. rear leg off the ground. Proferring something to horse with l. hand and the r. one is not visible. Tanga (6) to r. & legend ΑΡΟΟΑΧΤΙΟ in semi-circle from l. to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1893-5-612/ G: 268-1 (7.94 gm)



382a

383. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Nana

Variety – 13B.c. D, Wt: 7.90 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, ribbons fluttering behind head, flaming shoulders, wears long armoured over-garment with rolled hem at bottom as made of fur, long skirt. Holds bow in the l. hand, drawing arrow from quiver behind shoulder with r. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 1888-12-8-554/ G: 260; (b) BM: AC 1893-5-6-17/ G: 260-1 (7.90 gm)



383a



383b



384. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro
Variety – 13B.di. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., flaming shoulders, wears tunic, long boots and helmet with wing ornament. Holds fire in vessel with r. hand and long staff with globular finial in the l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend Φ APPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-65/ G: 254-1 (7.92 gm)



384a



385. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro
Variety – 13B.dii. D, Wt: 8.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears tunic, long boots and helmet with wing ornament. Holds fire in vessel with l. hand and long staff with globular finial and tied up with ribbon in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend Φ APPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 121/ G: 255-1 (8.01 gm)



385a



386. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaorcoro
Variety – 13B.ei. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in the r. hand and shield resting on ground at his feet and is held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAYPHOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-76/ G: 266-1 (7.80 gm)



386a

387. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shaoreoro

Variety – 13B.eii. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king to emerging from rock l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above but nimbate absent. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PAOPHOPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 103/ G: 237 (7.97 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-77/ G: 267 (7.93 gm)



387a

387b

Group D

Type 14. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mantle, Peaked Crown with Horn, holds Club & Spear

388. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho

Variety – 14.ai. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wears peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments and side-flaps and ribbons with lattice-like effect fallen one on r. shoulder and two on l. Wears tunic decorated with jewelled yoke and lozenge-shaped patterns with cloak over shoulders and ornament around upper arm. Holds club in the r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 378-1



388a

389. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Ardoxsho
 Variety – 14.a.ii. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.
 Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, hair draped down shoulder, wears long robe, holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-41/ G: 379-1 (7.95 gm)



389a

390. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mioro [Hybrid Ardoxsho]

Variety – 14.b. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. (Hybrid) Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MIOPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 380-1



390a

391. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Mioro

Variety – 14.c. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle, makes two-fingered gesture with r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1888-12-8-548/ G: 375-1 (7.98 gm)



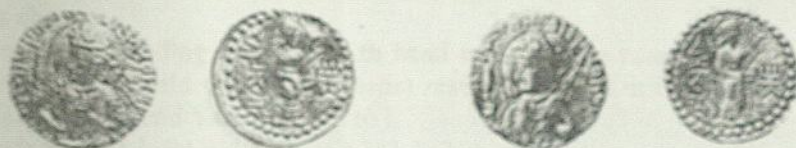
391a

392. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-shaped Pattern & Nana
Variety – 14.di. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.
Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears helmet with crescent and long robe, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-54/ G: 376-1 (7.978 gm); (b) G: 376-2



392a

392b

393. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Nana
Variety – 14.dii. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l. has long hair, nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure to r. as above and hair draped down shoulder, holds horse-protome sceptre tied up with ribbon in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANP up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 73/ G: 377-1 (7.95 gm)



393a

394. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro

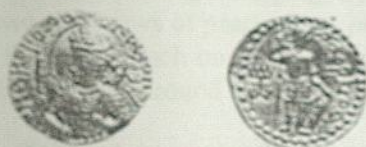
Variety – 14.ei. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of jewels and horn ornaments as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield (facing towards deity) rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPHOAP dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 106/ G: 381-1 (7.97 gm)



394a

395. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro

Variety – 14.eii. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above, holds spear in raised r. hand and shield (facing outwards) rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend VAOPHO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 382.1; (b) BMC: 104/ G: 382-2 (7.91 gm)



395a

395b

396 Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro

Variety – 14.eiii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king to emerging from rock l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls and horn ornaments as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend PAOPH dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 383-1



396a

Type 15A. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Peaked Crown with Horn, has Ribbons on Shoulders, holds Club & Spear

397. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 15A.ai. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments and side-flaps and ribbons with lattice-like effect fallen one each on both shoulders. Wearing tunic with rolled lapels and lacks mantle and ornament around upper arm. Holds club in the r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears long robe, holds palm branch in r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 284-1



397a

398. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 15A.a.ii. D, Wt: 8.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to l., hair draped down shoulders, wears helmet and long robe, holds cornucopia in the r. hand and l. hem of robe. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) NMK: 005.5; (b) BMC: 12/ G: 285-1 (8.01 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-40/ G: 285-2 (7.97 gm)



398a



398b



398c

399. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 15A.iii. D, Wt: 8.01 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAO-(or) O- (or) O-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., hair draped down shoulders, wears helmet and long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) TM: 480-4; (b) G: 286-10 (7.91 gm); (c) BM: PG 1879-5-1-46/ G: 286-26 (8.01 gm); (d) BMC: 06/ G: 286-24 (e) BM: 1964-12-3-11 (7.82 gm)



399a



399b



399c



399d



399e

400. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 15A.iiv. D, Wt: 3.78 gm (Copper)

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO (?) 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., as above, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 10 (3.78 gm)



400a



401. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Nana

Variety – 15A.bi. D, Wt: 7.78 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOO-OHPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Female deity standing to r., wears helmet with crescent and long robe, holds animal-protome sceptre in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 281-1 (7.78 gm)



401a

402. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Nana

Variety – 15A.bii. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to l., wears helmet with crescent and long robe, holds animal-protome sceptre in l. hand and bowl in the r. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 72/ G: 282-1 (7.91 gm); (b) G: 282-2



402a

402b

403. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Shao Nana

Variety – 15A.biii. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to r., wears helmet with crescent, holds animal-protome sceptre in r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PAONANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) BM: 1888-12-8-556/ G: 283-1 (7.84 gm)



403a

404. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Pharro

Variety – 15A.c. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend: PAO NANO PAOOO-HPKI KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head turned to l., wearing tunic, mantle helmet with wing ornament, holds fire in vessel with extended r. hand and l. on hilt of sword.

Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 116/ G: 280-2 (7.96 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-85/ G: 280-4 (7.98 gm); (c) BM: Haq 1860-12-20-204/ G: 280-1 (7.99 gm)



404a



404b



404c

405. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Rishto

Variety – 15A.d. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., nimbate, wearing peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments, tunic with rolled lapels, ribbons on shoulders as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., armoured, wearing crested helmet and chiton. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on ground at his feet held by l. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend PIPTO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 288.1



405a

Type 15B. Bust Profile Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels, Peaked Crown with Horn, flaming Shoulders with Ribbons, holds Club & Spear

406. Bust Portrait of King to l. wears Tunic with Rolled-lapels & Ardoxsho

Variety – 15A.a. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to l., has long hair, nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears peaked crown with rows of pearls, horn ornaments and side-flaps and ribbons with lattice-like effect fallen one each on both shoulders and ribbon of diadem

behind head. Wears tunic with rolled lapels and an ornament around upper arm, holds club in the r. hand and spear in l. over shoulder.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., wears helmet with crescent and long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tanga (6) to r. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to l.

Reference: (a) NMK 003a-5; (b) G: 287-1; (c). G: 287-2



406a



406b



406c

Type 16. Bust Portrait of King to r. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern, Turban, holds Club & Staff with Globular Finial

407. Bust Portrait of King to r. & Pharro

Variety – 16A.a. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., nimbate, wears turban with twisted streamers to l, has moustache and galamucha almost to chin like a beard. Hair in braids behind ears and wears tunic with lozenge-shaped pattern and an ornament around upper arm. Holds staff with globular finial tied up with ribbons in l. hand and club in the r. Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head profile to r., wears tunic, mantle, and helmet with wing ornament, holds fire in vessel with l. hand and bird standard in raised r. hand.

Tanga (6) to r. & legend ΦΑΡΡΟ up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 256-1 (7.98 gm)



407a

408. Bust Portrait of King to r. wears Tunic with Lozenge-pattern & Shaoreoro

Variety – 15A.b. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. Bust portrait of king emerging from rock to r., nimbate, wears turban with twisted streamers to l., as above.

Legend: ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ-ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ 7^h

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to r., wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass and crested helmet. Holds spear in raised r. hand and shield rests on the ground at his feet held by l. Tamga (6) to r. & Legend PAOPHO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 263-1 (7.92 gm)



408a

B: Copper Coins

Group A. Kanishka Tamga (5)

Type 1. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds Spear

409. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Athsho

Variety – 1A.a. Δ, Wt: 15.85 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r. wears tall rounded hat with long ribbon, holds spear in r. hand and goad in l.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPKE KOPANO PAO 1^h

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears chlamys, holds fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in the l. resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1483 (15.83 gm); (b) BM: JP 1847-12-1-253 (14.79 gm)



409a

409b

410. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety – 1A.b. Δ, Wt: 15.82 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 184 (15.71 gm); (b) G: 835-5 (15.82 gm)



410a



410b



411. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miïro

Variety – 1A.ci. Δ, Wt: 15.57 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 158 (15.57 gm); (b) G: 820-11 (14.54 gm) (14.54 gm)



411a



411b



412. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miïro

Variety – 1A.cii. Δ, Wt: 16.00 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 823-1 (16.00 gm); 9b) G: 823-2 (15.88 gm)



412a



412b



413. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Nana

Variety – 1A.d. Δ, Wt: 15.07 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 155 (15.07 gm); (b) G: 839-5 (13.67 gm)



413a



413b



414. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oado

Variety – 1A.e. Δ, Wt: 12.15 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Wind god running to l., wears skirt and holds veil in his both hands which fluting behind him. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OΑΔΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 852-1 (12.15 gm)



414a



415. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 1A.fii. Δ, Wt: 15.04 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., wears skirt. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 159 (14.32 gm); (b) G: 847-2 (15.04 gm)



415a



415b



516. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 1A.fii. Δ, Wt: 15.39 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. water flask. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 849-1; (b) G: 849-4 (15.39 gm)



416a



416b



417. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Unidentified Deity

Variety – 1A.g. Δ, Wt: 11.20 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r. holding goad, as above.

Legend: illegible

Rev. Prob. 2-armed deity standing to l, looking stylized, having parallel curved lines hanging down behind it like effect of the hair but uncertain, r. hand extended and holds something like flask of Oesho and l. hand akimbo. Tamga (5) to l. & legend not given.

Reference: (a) UMA: E-229 (11.20 gm)



417a



Type 2. King Reclining on Couch to l.

418. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Athsho

Variety – 2.a. Δ, Wt: 15.56 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion and r. food on bench and holds something like cup but not much clear.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears chlamys, holds fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in the l. resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1922-4-24-3612; (b) BMC: 196 (15.86 gm); (c) G: 833-1; (d) G: 833-5 (15.56 gm)



419. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Mao

Variety – 2.b. Δ, Wt: 16.10 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 178 (15.50 gm); (b) G: 836-2 (16.10 gm)



420. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Miiro

Variety – 2.ci. Δ, Wt: 11.50 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 821-8 (11.50 gm); (b) G: 821-14 (9.09 gm)



421. King Reclining on Couch to l., & MioroVariety - 2.cii. Δ , Wt: 15.99 gm*Obv.* King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 824-1 (15.99 gm); (b) G: 824-6 (10.04 gm)

421a



421b

**422. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Nana**Variety - 2.di. Δ , Wt: 15.46 gm*Obv.* King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

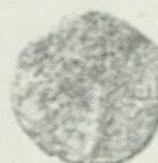
Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.*Reference:* (a) BM: BL 1889-1-5-1154 (15.46 gm); (b) G: 840-3 (13.59 gm)

422a



422b

**423. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Nana**Variety - 2.dii. Δ , Wt: 14.20 gm*Obv.* King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., as above. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l*Reference:* (a) G: 842-1 (14.20 gm); (b) G: 842-2

423a



423b



424. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Oado

Variety – 2.e. Δ , Wt: 15.43 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Wind god running to l., wears short skirt and holds veil in his both hands which fluting behind him. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OAAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 853-1 (15.43 gm)



424a

425. King Reclining on Couch to l., & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 2.fi. Δ , Wt: 14.79 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 848-1 (14.79 gm)



425a

426. King Reclining on Couch to l., & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 2.fii. Δ , Wt: 15.68 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears skirt, and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. water flask. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1894-5-6-1507 (15.68 gm); (b) BMC: 192 (15.62 gm); (c) BM: 450-4-1; (d) G: 850-1 (16.97 gm)



426a

426b

Type 3A. King Seated Cross-legged with Head facing to r.

427. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Athsho

Variety – 3A.a. Δ, Wt: 14.67 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r. holds spear in raised l. hand, r. hand in lap. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend as above.

Rev. Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flaming shoulders, wears chlamys, holds fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in the l. resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend AΘPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 834-1; (b) G: 834-9 (14.67 gm)



427a

427b

428. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Mao

Variety – 3A.b. Δ, Wt: 15.88 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 837-1 (15.60 gm); (b) G: 837-3 (15.82 gm)



428a



428b



429. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Miïro

Variety – 3A.ci. Δ, Wt: 14.61 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered (little and forefinger) gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 822-3 (14.61 gm); (b) G: 822-8 (9.09 gm)



429a



429b



430. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Mioro

Variety – 3A.cii. Δ, Wt: 15.11 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 825-1 (14.83 gm); (b) G: 825-2 (15.11 gm)



430a



430b



431. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Nana

Variety – 3A.di. Δ, Wt: 15.01 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-354/ G: 841-1 (15.01 gm); (b) G: 841-2 (14.37 gm)



431a



431b



432. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Nana

Variety – 3A.dii. Δ, Wt: gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing frontally with head in profile to r., nimbate, wears long robe. Holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (5) to r. & legend NANA dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 843-1



432a



433. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Oado

Variety – 3A.e. Δ, Wt: 15.52 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Wind god running to l., wears skirt and holds veil in his both hands which fluting behind him. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OAAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 854-1 (15.52 gm)



433a



434. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 3A.f. Δ, Wt: 15.62 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears skirt, and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. water flask. Tamga (5) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 851-2 (15.62 gm); (b) G: 851-4



434a



434b



Type 3B. King Seated Cross-legged with Head facing to l.

435. King Seated Cross-legged to l. & Mao

Variety – 3B.a. Δ, Wt: 15.37 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to l. holds spear in raised r. hand and l. in lap. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1894-5-6-1460/ G: 838-1 (15.37 gm)



435a



Type 4. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds ankus

436. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 4.a. Δ, Wt: 10.90 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., nimbate, wears three-pronged headdress or raised hair and diadem with long ribbon behind head, holds ankus (goad) in l. hand Crude style.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OHPKE KOPANO PAO 1 hr (crude form)

Rev. Two-armed male figure standing facing with head in profile to l., wears dhoti, holds trident in raised r. hand and animal pelt over l. arm and water flask in lowered l. hand. Muscular body but in crude style. Tamga in l. field & stylized nandipada in r. & legend OHPO dn r.

Reference: (a) G: 855.-1 (10.90 gm); (b) G: 855-10 (10.54 gm); (c) G: 855-24 (10.17 gm); (d) BMC: 163 (10.58 gm)



Group B. Huvishka Tamga (6)

Type 5A. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds Spear or Ankus (goad)

437. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho

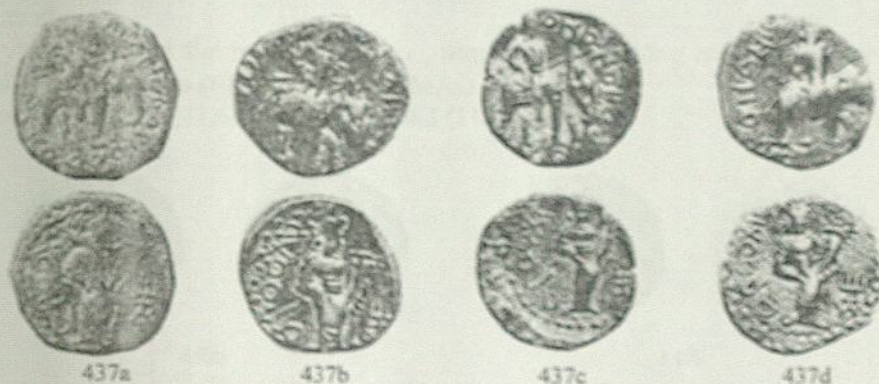
Variety – 5A.ai. 4Δ, Wt: 11.89 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds spear or ankus.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe and diadem, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΣΗ up to l.

Reference: (a) HHH: 01; (b) BMC: 144 (IOC-345) G: 876-4 (11.89 gm); (c) BMC: 143 (11.49 gm); (d) G: 876-13



438. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho

Variety – 5A.iii. 4Δ, Wt: 11.32 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe and diadem, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΣΗ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 877.1 (11.32 gm)



438a

439. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho

Variety – 5A.iii. 4Δ, Wt: 10.22 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female deity standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe and diadem, holds diadem in extended r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 145/ G: 878-5 (9.32 gm); (b) G: 878-1 (10.22 gm)



439a

439b

440. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho (Hybrid with Mao)

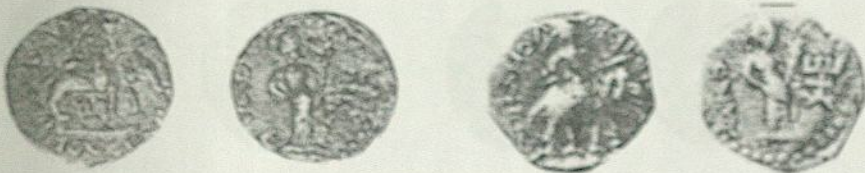
Variety – 5A.bi. 4Δ, Wt: 11.63 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. (Hybrid) Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to r. & legend MAO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 880.2 (11.63 gm); (b) G: 880-3 (11.24 gm)



440a

440b

441. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho (Mao)

Variety – 5A.bii. 4Δ, Wt: 9.90 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. (Hybrid) Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia in r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 882-8 (9.90 gm); (b) G: 882-11



441a



441b



442. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Athsho (Hybrid with Mao)

Variety – 5A.c. 4Δ, Wt: 11.65 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. (Hybrid) Bearded male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears tunic and mantle. Holds hammer in the r. hand and tongs in crook of r. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 867-1 (11.65 gm)



442a



443. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.di. 4Δ, Wt: 12.20 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds lowered club in the r. hand and lion's skin in lowered l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 886-1 (12.20 gm); (b) G: 886-2 (12.24 gm)



443a



443b



444. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.dii. 4Δ, Wt: gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds club and lion's skin as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend HPAKIAO up to l.

Reference: (a) HHH: 2; (b) HHH: 3 (G: 886A)



444a



444b



445. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.diii. 4Δ, Wt: 13.23 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to r., holds raised club in crook of r. arm and lion's skin in lowered l. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend HPAKIAO up to l.

Reference: (a) BMC: 146/ G: 887-1 (9.32 gm); (b) G: 887-3 (13.23 gm)



445a



445b



446. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.div. 4Δ, Wt: 10.54 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.^h

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to r., with club and lion's skin as above. Tamga (6) to r. & legend HPAKIAO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 889-1 (10.54 gm); (b) HHH: 6



446a



446b



447. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.dv. 4Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., with r. hand extended and holds raised club and lion's skin in l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) HHH: 9; (b) HHH: 10 / G: 890



447a



447b



448. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.dvi. 4Δ, Wt: 12.92 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing facing, with r. hand at waist and carries raised club and lion's skin in the l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKI dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 891-1 (12.92 gm); (b) G: 891-2



448a



448b



449. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5A.dvii. 4Δ, Wt: 9.88 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

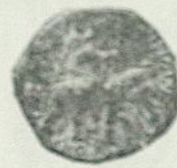
Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing facing, crowns himself with r. hand and carries raised club and lion's skin in his l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 892-5 (9.88 gm); (b) HHH: 7



449a



449b



450. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety – 5A.e. 4Δ, Wt: 11.63 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulder, wears tunic and mantle. Makes a gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 869-1 (11.60 gm); (b) G: 869-3 (11.33 gm)



450a



450b



451. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miïro

Variety – 5A.fi. 4Δ, Wt: 10.54 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes a gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on the hilt of sword. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 859-1 (10.54 gm)



451a



452. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miïro

Variety – 5A.fii. 4Δ, Wt: 11.63 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds a staff with globular finial in raised l. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 856-1 (11.16 gm); (b) G: 856-3 (11.39 gm)



452a



452b



453. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oado

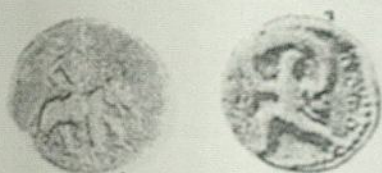
Variety – 5A.g. 4Δ, Wt: 10.46 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure running to l., wears short skirt and holds a veil in his both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OADO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 905-1 (10.46 gm)



453a

454. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 5A.hi. 4Δ, Wt: 12.04 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, holds trident-cum-battle axe in raised r. hand and antelope in lower l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 902-1 (10.04 gm)



454a

455. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 5A.hii. 4Δ, Wt: 12.01 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and tall helmet, holds trident in raised r. hand and animal pelt in l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 904-1 (8.37 gm); (b) G: 904-2 (7.98 gm)



455a

455b

456. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Pharro

Variety – 5A.i(i). 4Δ, Wt: 11.96 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

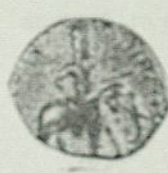
Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. wearing helmet with wing ornament, tunic and mantle, holds purse in the r. hand and long staff in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦAPPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1893-5-6-15 (11.96 gm); (b) G: 863-3 (10.96 gm)



456a



456b



457. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Pharo

Variety – 5A.i(ii). 4Δ, Wt: 12.01 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. wearing helmet with wing ornament as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΦΑΡΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 864-1 (12.01 gm); (b) G: 864-7 (10.87 gm)



457a



457b



458. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Pharo

Variety – 5A.i(iii). 4Δ, Wt: 11.59 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l. wearing helmet with wing ornament as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend illegible n to r.

Reference: (a) G: 865-1 (11.59 gm); (b) G: 865-3



458a



458b



Type 5B. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds Club

459. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5B.ai. 4Δ, Wt: 13.83 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds club in raised r. hand.

Legend as above.

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally but bent towards left, r. hand rests on waist, holds club in raised l. hand and the deity without skin. Tamga (6) to r. & legend defaced.

Reference: (a) G: 891A-1 (13.83 gm)



459a

460. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5B.a.iii. 4Δ, Wt: 12.55 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Herakles standing facing, flaming shoulders, wearing mantle, holds club in lowered r. hand and bow in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 893-1 (12.55 gm)



460

461. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5B.a.iii. 4Δ, Wt: 12.59 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Herakles standing facing, flaming shoulders, wearing mantle, holds club in lowered r. hand and bow in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend to l. but not clear.

Reference: (a) G: 894-1 (11.58 gm); (b) G: 894-2 (12.59 gm)



461a

461b

462. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Herakles

Variety – 5B.a.iv. 4Δ, Wt: 9.19 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Herakles standing facing, flaming shoulders, with club and bow as above. Tamga (6) to l. & without legend.

Reference: (a) G: 895-1 (9.19 gm); (b) G: 895-2 (8.61 gm)



462a



462b



463. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Nana

Variety – 5B.bi. 4Δ, Wt: 11.47 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing long robe. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sceptre resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA (corrupt) dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 896-4 (11.47 gm)



463a



464. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Nana

Variety – 5B.bii. 4Δ, Wt: 12.29 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing long robe. Holds a wreath (diadem) in r. hand and horse-protome sceptre in the l. over shoulder. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 899-1 (11.54 gm); (b) G: 899-2 (12.29 gm)



464a



464b



465. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oado

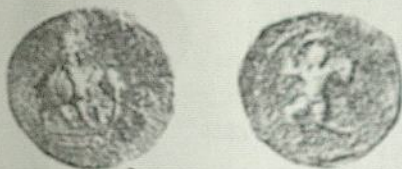
Variety – 5B.ci. 4Δ, Wt: 10.61 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure running to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OAAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 905-2 (10.61 gm)



465a

466. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oado

Variety – 5B.cii. 4Δ, Wt: 8.51 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds club as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure running to r., wears short skirt and holds a veil in his both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 905.1 (8.51 gm)



466a

467. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Oesho

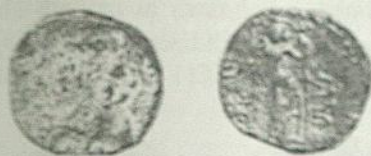
Variety – 5B.di. 4Δ, Wt: 12.07 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, nimbate, holds diadem (?) in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend (Indian) corrupt up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 901-1 (12.07 gm)



467a

468. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oesho

Variety – 5B.dii. 4Δ, Wt: 12.65 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spears or ankus, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two armed Oesho standing facing, nimbate, holds trident in raised r. hand and water flask (?) in lowered l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt (India) dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 903-1 (12.65 gm); (b) G: 903-2 (9.68 gm)



468a



468b



Type 5C. King Riding on Elephant to l., holds Ankus

469. King Riding on Elephant to l. & Mao (Hybrid with Ardoxsho)

Variety – 5C.a. 4Δ, Wt: 11.88 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to l., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers and holds ankus in the r. hand.

Legend as above.

Rev. Hybrid female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe and holds cornucopia with r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 883-5 (11.68 gm); (b) G: 883.6 (11.88 gm)



469a



469b



Type 5D. King Riding on Elephant to l., holds Club

470. King Riding on Elephant to l. & Nana

Variety – 5D.a. 4Δ, Wt: 13.19 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to l., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds club in raised r. hand.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long robe and holds diadem in extended r. hand and animal protome sceptre in l. over shoulder. Tamga (6) to l. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) G: 897-1 (13.19 gm)



470a



Type 6. King Reclining on Couch to l.

471. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Herakles

Variety – 6.a. Δ , Wt: unknown

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion, r. leg raised but bent on couch and r. food on lowered bench and holds something like cup but not much clear.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OOHPKE KOPANO PAO 7^h

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds lowered club in the r. hand and lion's skin in lowered l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend HPAKIAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) HHH: 12 (G: Rev. 886)



471a

472. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Mao

Variety – 6.b. Δ , Wt: 8.54 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) HHH: 11; (b) G: 870.4 (8.54 gm)



472a

472b

473. King Reclining on Couch to l., & Miiro

Variety – 6.ci. Δ , Wt: 7.69 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. holds sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 1848-8-3-195 (7.69 gm)



473a

474. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Miyro

Variety – 6.cii. Δ, Wt: 11.92 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two fingered gesture with extended r. hand and holds long staff in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIYPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 186 (11.92 gm)



474a

475. King Reclining on Couch to L., & 4-armed Oesho (a)

Variety – 6.di. Δ, Wt: 11.70 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. antelope. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 196 (11.70 gm)



475a

476. King Reclining on Couch to L., & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 6.dii. Δ, Wt: 8.80 gm

Obv. King reclining on low couch to l., l. elbow resting on cushion as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears dhoti. Holds in lower r. hand circlet, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. trident and lower l. animal's pelt. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 197 (8.80 gm)



476a

Type 7A. King Seated Cross-legged with Head facing to r.

477. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Mao

Variety – 7A.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r., halo around body, holds staff with globular finial in raised l. hand, r. hand in lap. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend as above.

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. holds sword resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 652-5-6; (b) BM 652-6-3



477a

477b

478. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Miiro

Variety – 7A.b. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, as above.

Legend: PAONANO PAO-OHPKE KOPANO PAO I^h

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and a sword in the l. resting on waist. Tamga (5) to l. & legend MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM 652-6-8; (b) BM: 652-7-1



478a

478b

Type 7B. King Seated Cross-legged with Head facing to l.

479. King Seated Cross-legged to l. & Ardoxsho

Variety – 7B.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to l., halo around body, holds staff with globular finial in raised r. hand and l. rests in lap. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend illegible

Rev. Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds diadem in extended r. hand and cornucopia in l. hand over shoulder. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΣΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) HHH: 13



479a

480. King Seated Cross-legged to r. & Herakles

Variety – 7B.b. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to l., as above.

Legend corroded

Rev. Nude Herakles standing frontally with head in profile to r., holds raised club in crook of r. arm and lion's skin in lowered l. hand. Tamga (6) to r. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) HHH: 17; (b) HHH: 18 (G: 888)



480a

480b

Type 7C. King Seated Cross-legged with Head facing to l.

481. King Seated Cross-legged to l. & Mao

Variety – 7C.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to l., halo around body, holds staff with globular finial in raised l. hand, r. hand raised before face perhaps holds something. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend illegible

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes two-fingered gesture with extended r. hand and l. holds a sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ΜΑΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 652-6-2



481a

Type 8A. King Riding on Elephant to r., with Spear or Ankus or Trident

482. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho

Variety - 8A.a. Δ , Wt: 10.36 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds (either spear or ankus) trident in the r. hand, crude form & legend is oftenly debased.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing to frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long robe, makes a gesture with r. hand and holds cornucopia in crook of r. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OHO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 921-1 (10.36 gm)



482a

483. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Ardoxsho (?)

Variety - 8A.b. Δ , Wt: 11.30 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds ankus (goad) instead of trident.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has a crescent at forehead, wears long robe. Holds a branch of tree or sceptre in extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend O nqO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 921-2 (11.30 gm)



483a

484. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety - 8A.ci. Δ , Wt: 7.11 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds trident instead of ankus.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes a gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend Onno dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 913-10 (7.11 gm)



484a

485. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety – 8A.cii. Δ, Wt: 10.85 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds spear instead of trident.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend Onno dn to r.

Reference: (a) G 913-2 (10.85 gm); (b) G: 913-3 (10.17 gm)



485a

485b

486. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety – 8A.ciii. Δ, Wt: (11.62) gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above but holds diadem in extended r. hand. Tamga (6) to l. & legend XAAOλ & OΔU>N up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 916-6; (b) G: 916-8



486a

486b

487. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Nana

Variety – 8A.d. 4Δ, Wt: 16.80 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear or ankus as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing long robe. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sceptre resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA (corrupt) dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 896-1 (16.80 gm)



487a

488. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oado

Variety – 8A.e. Δ, Wt: 15.55 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Male figure running to l., holds veil in both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OPi l dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 922-1 (15.55 gm)



488a

489. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Oesho

Variety – 8A.f. Δ, Wt: 11.45 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds club (?) in raised l. hand.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Male figure standing to l., holds diadem in the r. hand and club in crook of l. arm. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OCn l up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 923-1 (11.45 gm)



489a

490. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Pharro

Variety – 8A.g. Δ, Wt: 11.06 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds ankus (goad).

Legend corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears tunic and wing ornament at headdress. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and long staff in raised l. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OPOn up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 911-1 (11.06 gm)



490a

Type 8B. King Riding on Elephant to l., holds Spear or Ankus, Tamga (6) with Dot

491. King Riding on Elephant to l. & Mao

Variety – 8B.a. Δ, Wt: 11.63 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to l., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds club in r. hand, crude form & legend often debased.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, r. hand extended and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 914-1 (11.63 gm); (b) G: 914-3 (10.00 gm)



491a

491b

492. King Riding on Elephant to l. & Pharro (?)

Variety – 8B.b. Δ, Wt: 12.02 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to l., as above but holds spear instead of club.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears tunic, r. hand extended and l. holds a sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 912-1 (12.02 gm)



492a

Type 9. King Reclining on Couch to L., (Much Stylized)

493. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Mao

Variety - 9.a. Δ , Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. King reclining on couch to l., l. leg bent resting on couch both hands rest on waist, halo around body.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears tunic, r. hand extended and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 917-1 (7.86 gm)



493a

494. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Nana

Variety - 9.bi. Δ , Wt: unknown

Obv. King reclining on couch to l., as above and looks much stylized.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears long robe, r. hand extended and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend NANA but corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 898-1



494a

495. King Reclining on Couch to L., & Nanashao

Variety - 9.cii. Δ , Wt: 15.23 gm

Obv. King reclining on couch to l., as above and looks much stylized.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized female figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears long robe, r. hand extended and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend ONPOO but corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 919-1 (15.23 gm)



495a

Type 10. King Seated Cross-legged to r., (Stylized Form)

496. King Seated Cross-legged to r., & Ardoxsho

Variety – 10.a. Δ , Wt: 11.19 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, with head in profile to r. holds staff in raised l. hand, r. hand in lap. Wears helmet, diadem and mantle.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia in both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) G: 920-1 (11.19 gm)



496a

497. King Seated Cross-legged to r., & Mao

Variety – 10.bi. Δ , Wt: 13.06 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes a gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt (ObVO).

Reference: (a) G: 915-1 (13.06 gm)



497a

498. King Seated Cross-legged to r., & Mao

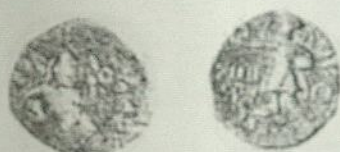
Variety – 10.bii. Δ , Wt: 10.88 gm

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, as above but much in crude style.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MAO dn to r..

Reference: (a) G: 918-1 (10.88 gm)



498a

499. King Seated Cross-legged to r., & Oado

Variety – 10.c. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated cross-legged upon rock or cloud like feature, as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Male figure running to l., holds veil in both hands which fluting behind him. Tamga (6) to r. & legend corrupt qṛ3ṇ up to r..*Reference:* (a) G: 906-1

499a

Type 11. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds Spear or Ankus**500. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao**

Variety – 11.ai. Δ, Wt: 12.25 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds spear or ankus, crude form & legend is oftenly debased.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, r. hand extended and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt (PONO) dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 926-1 (12.25 gm); (b) G: 926-3 (9.62 gm)

500a

500b

501. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

Variety – 11.iii. Δ, Wt: 9.28 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above.

Tamga (6) to r. & legend corrupt MAO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 931-1 (9.28 gm); (b) G: 931-5



501a



501b

**502. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao**

Variety – 11.a.iii. Δ, Wt: 8.87 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, holds wreath in extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & Legend corrupt OUICC dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 928-1 (8.87 gm)

502a

**503. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao**

Variety – 11.a.iv. Δ, Wt: 7.38 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds ankus as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, holds diadem in extended r. hand and sword in the l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt JIIOTC dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 932-2; (b) G: 932-3 (7.38 gm)

503a



503b

**504. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao**

Variety – 11.av. Δ, Wt: 11.47 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., as above but holds spear.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to r., lunar crescent behind shoulders, l. hand extended and r. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to r. & legend corrupt NtOIIV dn to l.*Reference:* (a) G: 929-1 (11.47 gm)



504a

505. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mihiro

Variety – 11.bi. Δ, Wt: 10.01 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, makes a gesture with extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend OPHr dn to r.*Reference:* (a) G: 924-1 (10.01 gm)

505a

506. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mihiro

Variety – 11.bii. Δ, Wt: 12.31 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds long spear as above.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Stylized figure of male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., plain halo around head, holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt.*Reference:* (a) G: 930-1 (12.31 gm); (b) G: 930-7

506a

506b

507. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Oesho (Hybrid with Mao)

Variety – 11.c. Δ, Wt: 9.72 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., holds spear as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Stylized male figure standing frontally with head in profile to l., holds staff in raised r. hand and l. holds animal pelt like Oesho. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt POKO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 927-1 (9.72 gm)



507a

Type 12. King Riding on Elephant to r., holds Spear or Ankus

508. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Mao

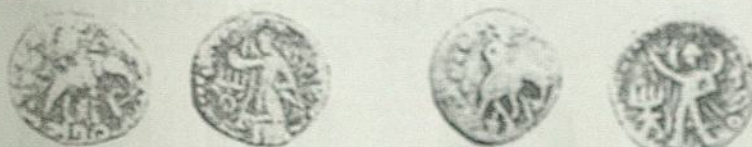
Variety – 12.a. Δ, Wt: (8.08) gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., nimbate, wears rounded hat, diadem with long ribbon, tunic and trousers. Holds spear or ankus (goad) in the r. hand, elephant is small and fat.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, holds diadem in the r. hand and l. sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 939-6; (b) G: 939-7



508a

508b

509. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miuro

Variety – 12.bi. Δ, Wt: 8.04 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., nimbate, as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 933-1 (8.04 gm); (b) G: 933-6



509a

509b

510. King Riding on Elephant to r. & Miuro

Variety – 12.bii. Δ, Wt: 8.43 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r., nimbate, as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 936-2 (8.43 gm)



510a

Type 13. King in Squatting Position

511. King Squatting to r. & Ardoxsho

Variety - 13.a. Δ , Wt: 9.14 gm

Obv. King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to r., wears rounded headdress, diadem with long ribbons and mantle. Holds spear in raised l. hand and r. resting in lap.

Legend Corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt AOAPXO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 942-2 (7.22 gm); (b) G: 942-1 (9.14 gm)



511a

511b

512. King in Squatting to r. & Mao

Variety - 13.b. Δ , Wt: 8.49 gm

Obv. King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend Corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., lunar crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 940-4 (8.49 gm)



512a

513. King in Squatting to r. & Miuro

Variety - 13.ci. Δ , Wt: 6.92 gm

Obv. King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend Corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sword resting on waist.

Tamga (6) to l. & Legend corrupt MIIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: 652-7-8; (b) G: 934-9 (6.92 gm)



513a



513b



514. King in Squatting to r. & Mioro

Variety – 13.cii. Δ , Wt: 7.64 gm

Obv. King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend corrupt MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 937-9 (7.64 gm); (b) G: 937-13



514a



514b



515. King in Squatting to r. & 4-armed Oesho

Variety – 13.d. Δ , Wt: 9.07 gm

Obv. King seated frontally in squatting position with head in profile to r., as above.

Legend corrupt

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears tunic and mantle. Holds in lower r. hand water flask, upper r. thunderbolt, upper l. not clear and lower l. animal's pelt resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) G: 944-1 (9.07 gm)



515a



Type 14. King Seated with Legs turned to l.

516. King Seated with Legs turned to l., & Ardoxsho

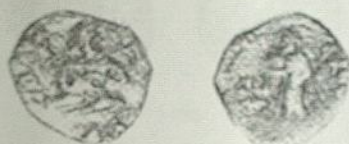
Variety – 14.a. Δ , Wt: 4.87 gm

Obv. King seated frontally with head in profile to r., and the legs turned to l. wears diadem and mantle, both hands in front of him probably holds something.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Female figure standing to l., nimbate, wears long robe, holds cornucopia with both hands but not clear. Tamga (6) to l. & legendOPXO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 943-1 (4.87 gm)



516a

517. King Seated with Legs turned to l., & Mao

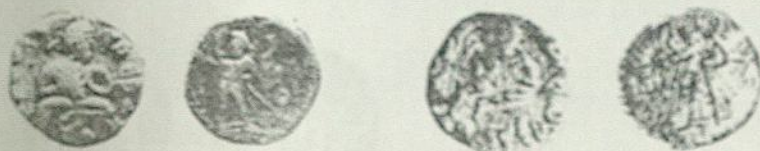
Variety – 14.b. Δ , Wt: 9.19 gm

Obv. King seated frontally with head in profile to r., and the legs turned to l. as above.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Moon-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., crescent behind shoulders, wears tunic and mantle. Makes a gesture with r. hand and l. holds sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MAO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 941-3; (b) G: 941-4 (9.19 gm)



517a

517b

518. King Seated with Legs turned to l., & Miipo

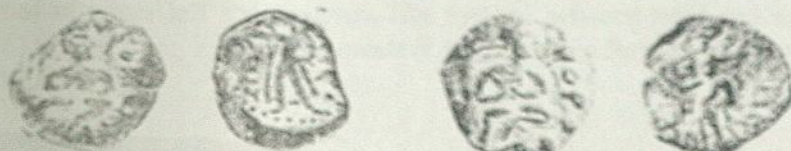
Variety – 14.ci. Δ , Wt: 10.27 gm

Obv. King seated frontally with head in profile to r., and the legs turned to l. as above.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head, wears tunic and mantle. Holds diadem in extended r. hand and l. sword resting on waist. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 935-1 (10.27 gm); (b) G: 935.5 (7.91 gm)



518a

518b

519. King Seated with Legs turned to l., & Mioro

Variety – 14.cii. Δ, Wt: 10.27 gm

Obv. King seated frontally with head in profile to r., and the legs turned to l. as above.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Sun-god standing frontally with head in profile to l., sun-rays halo around head as above. Tamga (6) to l. & legend MIOPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 938-5 (10.27 gm); (b) G: 938-7 (7.91 gm)



519a



519b



Group C: Rare Coins with Kharoṣṭhi Inscription (*Yudhavade*)

Type 15. King Riding on Elephant to r. holds Club in raised r. Hand

520. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 2-armed Figure (Like Oesho)

Variety – 15.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King riding on elephant to r. holds club in his raised r. hand.

Legend:PKO KOPANO I^h

Rev. Two-armed deity (Viṣṇu) standing facing, holding long trident in raised r. hand and l. hand near his waist prob. holds water flask. Tamga (6) to r. & Khar. legend *yodhavade* (r. to l.) or *devadhayo* (l. to r.) to r.

Reference: TKS: 02



520a



521. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 6-armed Deity

Variety – 15.bi. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King riding on elephant to r. holds club in his raised r. hand.

Legend:PKO KOPANO I^h

Rev. Six-armed deity (Viṣṇu) standing facing before a tree, legs open, holding conch before face in lower hands or venerating to a four-branched tree, uncertain objects in the upper right hands and a crescent like object in the middle right and round disc perhaps sun-symbol in upper left and an arrow-like symbol between head and upper left hand. Tamga (6) to r. & Khar. legend *yodhavade* (r. to l.) or *devadhayo* (l. to r.) to r.

Reference: TKS: 03



521a

522. King Riding on Elephant to r. & 6-armed Deity

Variety – 15.bii. Δ, Wt: 17.11 gm

Obv. King riding on elephant to r. holds club in his raised r. hand.

Legend: PAONAO PAO..... 1^h

Rev. Six-armed deity standing facing before a tree, holding conch before face in lower hands, diadem in middle r. hand, uncertain object in l. middle and both upper hands unclear. Tamga (6) to r. & Khar. legend *yodhavade* (r. to l.) or *devadhayo* (l. to r.) to r.

Reference: TKS: 04



522a

VASUDEVA I

A. Gold: Normal Issue

Group Aa. Phase I, Mint-A: Without Trident

Type 1A. King at Altar Standing to L., without Trident in the l. Field

523. King at Altar Standing to L., & 4-armed Vasudeva

Variety – 1A.a. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., and a banner like object (ankus) behind shoulders.

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Four-armed Vasudeva standing facing, nimbate, wears short dress and has long hair fallen on shoulders. He holds in lower r. hand club, in upper r. thunderbolt (or conch), in upper l. charka (wheel) and in lower l. a conch (prob. empty). Tamga (7) to l. & legend BAZOΔHO dn to r.

Reference: (a) CAB: ND IX-p.52: / H: 197 (7.85 gm)



523a

524. King at Altar Standing to L., & Nana

Variety – 1A.b. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r., nimbate, wears long robe and crescent above head, holds horse-protome sceptre in the r. hand and bowl in the l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend NANA up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: PG 1879-5-01-86 (7.93 gm); (b) BM: IOC-356 (7.94 gm)



524a

524b

525. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.ci. D, Wt: 8.09 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, *ushnisha*, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. He holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. and licking the legs of deity. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: PG 1879-5-1-91/ G: 501-1 (8.09 gm); (b) G: 501-2 (7.90 gm)



525a



525b



526. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.cii. D, Wt: 8.08 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, *ushnisha*, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. He holds diadem in r. hand and trident in raised the l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend O-HP-O up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: PG 1879-5-1-90/ G: 502-1 (8.08 gm); (b) BM: AK 1894-5-6-92/ G: 502-4 (8.06 gm); (c) G: 502-6 (8.05 gm)



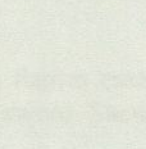
526a



526b



526c



527. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.ciii. D, Wt: 8.09 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, as above but monocephalic and behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend O-HP-O up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-357/ G: 503-1 (8.01 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-95/ G: 503-9 (8.10 gm)



527a



527b



528. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.civ. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above but flames emanate from r. shoulder.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend O-HP-O up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 504-3; (b) G: 504-1; (c) G: 504-5; (d) G: 504-6 (7.93 gm)



528a

528b

528c

528d

Group Ab. Phase I, Mint-B: Without Trident**Type 1Bi. King at Altar Standing to L. Flaming Shoulder, Legend 7^b****529. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho**

Variety – 1Bi.ai. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l.

Legend PAONANO PAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds diadem in r. hand and trident in the l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 515-1



529a

530. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho

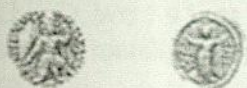
Variety – 1Bi.iii. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAONANO PA-O BAZOΔHO KOPAN-O 7^b

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 516-1



530a

531. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho

Variety – 1Bi.iii. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OPHO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 517-1; (b) G: 517-2



531a

531b

532. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho

Variety – 1Bi.aiv. D/4, Wt: 2.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1895-5-6-104/ G: 505-1 (2.00 gm)



532a

533. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

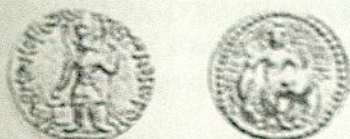
Variety – 1Bi.bi. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, nimbate, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, *ushnisha*, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. He holds diadem in r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him, bull stands to l. and licking the legs of deity. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-358/ G: 511-1 (7.98 gm)



533a

534. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Bi.bii. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, as above. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 512-1 (7.97 gm); (b) G: 512-2; (c) G: 512-4 (7.92 gm); (d) G: 512-3



534a



534b



534c



534d

**Type Bii. King at Altar Standing to L., flaming Shoulder, Legend 1^h****535. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull**

Variety – 1Bii.a. D, Wt: 8.04 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAONANO- PAO BAZAHO K.... 1^h (degenerate form)

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder and has long hair (perhaps 3 heads). Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPI dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: PG 1879-5-1-93/ G: 523-2 (8.04 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-102/ G: 523-4



535a



535b

**Type Biii. King at Altar Standing to L., without flaming Shoulder, Legend 7^h****536. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho**

Variety – 1Biii.ai. D, Wt: 7.92 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above and flames from the shoulder and banner behind shoulders are absent.

Legend: PAONANO PA-O BAZOΔHO KOPAN-O 1^h (degenerate form)

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, nimbate, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, wears skirt and long necklace over l. shoulder. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OPHO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: Hay 1860-12-20-196/ G: 521-1 (7.92 gm)



536a

537. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho

Variety – 1Biii.iii. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above

Rev. Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, as above but without nimbate. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OPZO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: PG 1879-5-1-87/ G: 522-1 (7.84 gm)



537a

538. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Biii.bi. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAONANO PA-O BAZΔHO KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder and has long hair (perhaps 3 heads). Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPI dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 520-1; (b) G: 520-3 (7.97 gm)



538a



538b

**539. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull**

Variety – 1Biii.bii. D, Wt: 8.04 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend: PAONANO- PAO BAZΔHO KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-103/ G: 519-1 (7.70 gm); (b) G: 519-2; (c) G: 519-3 (7.48 gm); (d) G: 519-4



540. King at Altar Standing to l., & 4-armed Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Biii.c. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, wears dhoti and long necklace over l. shoulder. He holds in lower r. hand lotus flower by stem, in upper r. diadem, in upper l. trident and in lower l. water flask. Behind him bull standing to r. and sometimes three dots below it. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 500-1 (8.00 gm); (b) G: 500-2



Group Ba. Phase II, Mint-A: Trident in the left Field

Type 2A. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident stands in the l. Field

541. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2A.ai. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., and a banner like object (ankus) behind shoulders. Trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, dotted line of hair around head. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in the l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend O-HP-O up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-93/ G: 508-1 (8.00 gm)



541a

542. King at Altar Standing to L, Trident in the l. Field & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2A.iii. D, Wt: 8.17 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, trident stands in the l. field as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, as above. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) G: 507-1 (8.17 gm); (b) G: 507-3 (8.12 gm)



542a



542b



543. King at Altar Standing to L, Trident in the l. Field & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2A.iiii. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, trident stands in the l. field as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, as above. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 509-3 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 509-11 (7.98 gm); G: 509-14 (7.91 gm); (d) G: 509-15



543a



543b



543c



543d



544. King at Altar Standing to L, Trident in the l. Field & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2A.iv. D/4, Wt: 2.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, trident stands in the l. field as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, as above and behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 510-1 (2.00 gm); (b) G: 510-2 (1.88 gm)



544a



544b



Group Bb. Phase II, Mint-B: Trident in the left Field

Type 2B. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident stands in the l. Field

545. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 4-armed Oesho-bull

Variety - 2B.ai. D, Wt: 8.04 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l. Trident tied up with ribbon (ends open) stands in the l. field.

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZÄHO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, wears dhoti and long necklace over l. shoulder. He holds in lower r. hand lotus flower by stem, in upper r. diadem, in upper l. trident and in lower l. water flask. Behind him bull standing to r and three dots below it. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) G: 506-1; (b) G: 506-3; (c) G: 506-5 (8.04 gm); (d) G: 506-6 (7.92 gm)



545a



545b



545c



545d



546. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 4-armed Oesho-bull

Variety - 2B.iii. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders as above but flames emanates from r. shoulder and the ribbons tied up with trident spread one each on both sides.

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZÄHO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Four-armed Oesho standing facing, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, as above but bull behind him standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO dn to l.

Reference: (a) G: 527-1 (7.99 gm)



546a

547. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 4-armed Dancing Oesho with Bull

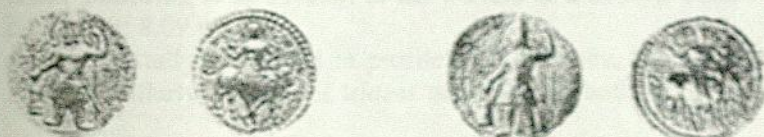
Variety - 2B.bi. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders and flaming shoulder as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed dancing Oesho standing frontally, tricephalic, each head with tall hair knot, as above but bull behind him standing to l. In his four arms he holds lotus flower by stem, diadem, trident and water flask as usually. Behind him bull standing to r. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 525-1; (b) G: 525-3 (7.95 gm)



547a

547b

548. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 4-armed Dancing Oesho with Bull

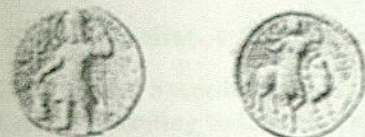
Variety - 2B.bii. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders and flaming shoulder as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Four-armed dancing Oesho standing frontally, tricephalic and bull behind to r. as above but licking the legs of Oesho. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 526-1; (b) G: 526-1 (7.95 gm)



548a

549. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 2-armed Oesho-bull

Variety - 2B.ci. D, Wt: 8.07 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders and flaming shoulder as above but the ribbons of trident one each on both sides or both to the l. only.

Legend as above

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, monocephalic, dotted line of hair around head, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. hand. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: AHB 1993-6-42-01/ G: 528-1 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 528-3 (8.04 gm); (c) G: 528-6 (7.96 gm); (d) G: 528-7 (8.07 gm)



549a



549b



549c



549d



550. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & 2-armed Oesho-bull
Variety – 2B.cii. D, Wt: 8.09 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders as above, similarly ribbons of trident one each on both sides or both to the l. only.

Legend as above.

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, monocephalic, hair in dotted line as above but plain halo around head. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 528-2; (b) G: 528-5 (8.09 gm)



550a



550b



Group Ca. Phase III, Mint-A: Trident in the left Field & Nandipada

Type 3A. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in l. Field & Nandipada in the r.

551. King at Altar Standing to l., with Trident and Nandipada & Oesho-bull
Variety – 3A.a. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanates from r. shoulder, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., and a banner like object (ankus) behind shoulders. Trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field and addition of nandipada symbol in the r..

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and necklace over l. shoulder, dotted line of hair and flaming halo around head. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in the l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 640A-14; (b) G: 640A-18; (c) G: 640A-19; (d) G: 640A-25 (7.98 gm)



Group Cb. Phase III, Mint-B: Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada/ Akşara in the r.

Type 3Bi. King at Altar Standing to L, Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada in the r.

552. King at Altar Standing to L, with Trident and Nandipada & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3B.a. D, Wt: 8.07 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders, wears pointed helmet, skirt, and trousers are armoured and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in l. Trident tied up with ribbon (ends open) stands in the l. field. Addition of a nandipada symbol in the r. field.

Legend: PAONANO PAO BA-ZAHO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Two-armed Oesho standing facing, as above, wears dhoti and long necklace over l. shoulder, has dotted line of hair and flaming halo around head. Holds diadem in r. hand and trident in the l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 640-1 (8.07 gm)



552a

Type 3Bii. King Standing at Altar to L, Trident in l. Field & Triangle or Kharoṣṭhi akṣara in r.

553. King at Altar Standing to L, & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Bii.ai. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair fallen on shoulders as above. Trident tied up with ribbon and both ends open to l. stands in the l. field. Addition of a triangular feature to the stem of trident held by the king in the r. field.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, as above. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 532-1 (8.05 gm); (b) G: 532-2



553a



553b



554. King at Altar Standing to l., with Trident and Khar. Akṣara & Oesho-bull
Variety – 3Bii.iii. D, Wt: 8.10 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above. A triangular feature to the stem of trident held by the king and addition of Kharoṣṭhi akṣara *pri* in the r. field.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, as above. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) BM: Deone 1889-7-12-01 (8.06 gm)/ G: 533-1; (b) G: 533-3 (8.10 gm); (c) G: 533-4 (8.03 gm); (d) G: 533-5; (e) G: 533-6 (7.97 gm)



554a



554b



554c



554d

555. King at Altar Standing to l., with Trident and Khar. Akṣara & Oesho-bull
Variety – 3Bii.iiii. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above. A triangular feature to the stem of trident held by the king and addition of Kharoṣṭhi akṣara *pri* in the r. field but the *ri* is omitted from the *pri* so letter *pu* is visible.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing, as above but a similar triangle to attached the stem of trident. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 536-1



555a

556. King at Altar Standing to l., with Trident and Khar. Akṣara & Oesho-bull
 Variety – 3Bii.aiv. D, Wt: 8.05 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend as above.

Rev. Male figure standing facing, as above but a similar triangle attached to the stem of trident and Kharoṣṭhi letter *ha* in the r. field below legend. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r.

Reference: (a) G: 535-2 (8.04 gm); (b) G: 535-1 (8.05 gm)



556a



556b



B. Gold: Imitations of Vasudeva I Coins

Type 4. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada in the r.
Denomination: Dinar; Avg. Wt: 7.90 – 8.01 gm

Obv. The obverse design of these coins is uniform having figure of king standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, r. hand sacrificing over altar to l, and holds long trident in the l. hand. Wears conical crown and chain-mail dress and armed with sword. A trident tied up with ribbons stands in the l. The design is uniform, having characteristic nandipada (9) in the right field and other additional features are added or replaced therefore they are given in tables.

Legend: P-OO NANOPAO BA-ZOOHO KOPANO 7^b

Rev. Like obverse the reverse design of these coins is uniform showing Oesho standing facing, has dotted line of hair and flaming halo around head, wears dhoti and long necklace over l. shoulder. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to r. Other details are shown in obverse and reverse descriptions.

557. King at Altar Standing to l., with Trident and Nandipada & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. nandipada 6. • 7. trident

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. • tamga-7 •

Reference: (a) G: 641-1 (7.97 gm)



557a

558. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 6. • 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. • tamga-7 •

Reference: (a) G: 644-3 (7.92 gm); (b) G: 644-4 (7.96 gm)



558a



558b



559. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 6. ∴ 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. • tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 650-1; (b) G: 650-2 (7.91 gm)



559a



559b



560. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 7^h

Rev. 2. 7 6. ∴ 7. • tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 643-1 (8.01 gm); (b) G: 643-5 (7.76 gm)



560a



560b



561. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. ∴ 6. ∙ 7. trident

Legend as above.

Rev. 2. 7. 3. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 656-1 (7.96 gm)



561a



562. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. ∴ 6. ∙ 7. trident

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 657-1



562a



563. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. ∴ 6. ∙ 7. trident

Legend as above

Rev. 2. 7. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 658-1 (7.86 gm)



563a

564. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. ∴ 6. ∴ 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPOO BA-ZOOHOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 659-1



564a

565. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ∴ 2. *nandipada* 6. ∴ 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPAO BA-ZOΔHOKOPANO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 652-1



565a

566. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ∴ 2. *nandipada* 7. trident

Legend: K-OO NPOXOPO (BA)-OONONO 7^h

Rev. 6. swastika 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 662-1; (b) G: 662-2



566a



566b



567. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 5. • 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPOBO-ONOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 6. swastika 7. *tamga*-7

Reference: (a) G: 663-1; (b) G: 663-2 (7.94 gm)



567a



567b



568. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPOBO-ONOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 6. swastika 7. *tamga*-7

Reference: (a) G: 665-1



568a



569. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 5. • 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPOBO-ZONOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 6. swastika 7. *tamga*-7

Reference: (a) G: 666-1 (7.66 gm); (b) G: 666-2



569a



569b



570. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. :: 2. *nandipada* 5. :: 7. trident • 8. (9. ::

Legend: P-OO NONOPOOBO-ZOONOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 6. swastika 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 669-1; (b) G: 669-2 (7.80 gm)



570a



570b



571. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. :: 2. *nandipada* 5. :: 7. trident • 8. (9. ::

Legend: P-OO NONOPOOBO-ZOONOKOPONO 7^h

Rev. 1. :: 2. 7 6. swastika 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 668-1 (8.01 gm); (b) G: 668-2 (7.82 gm)



571a



571b



572. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. :: 2. *nandipada* 5. :: 7. trident • 8. (9. ::

Legend as above.

Rev. 1. :: 2. 7 6. swastika 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 671-1 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 671-2 (7.98 gm)



572a

572b

573. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 5. ☸ 6. ☸ 7. trident • 8. (9. ☸

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ☸ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 672-1 (8.01 gm)



573a

574. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 5. ☸ 6. ☸ 7. trident • 8. (9. ☸

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ☸ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 673-1 (7.74 gm)



574a

575. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ☸ 2. *nandipada* 5. swastika 6. ☸ 7. trident • 9. ☸

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ☸ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 676-1 (7.45 gm); G: 676-2



575a



575b



576. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. • 2. *nandipada* 5. swastika 6. ∴ 7. trident •

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 677-1; (b) G: 677-2 (7.94 gm)



576a



576b



577. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. • 2. *nandipada* 5. swastika 7. trident

Legend as above

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 680-1 (8.00 gm); (b) G: 680-2 (8.10 gm)



577a



577b



578. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. ✕ 2. *nandipada* 5. swastika 7. trident

Legend as above.

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 681-1 (7.87 gm); (b) G: 681-2



578a



578b



579. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 5. *swastika* 6. • 7. trident

Legend: P-OO NONOPOOBO-ZOOHOKO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 682-1 (7.96 gm); (b) G: 682-2



579a



579b



580. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 1. • 2. *nandipada* 4. ∴ 5. • 6. 7. x trident
swastika

Legend: P-OO NOPOOB-OOPOKOBONO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. • *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 687-1; (b) G: 687-2



580a



580b



581. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. x 4. ∴ 5. • 7. x trident
swastika

Legend: P-OO NOPOOBO-OOPOKOBONO 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. • *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 698-1 (7.84 gm)



581a

582. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 5. *swastika* 7. $\times$ trident

Legend: P-OO NOPOOBO-OOPOKOBON 7^h

Rev. 6. $\therefore$ 7. $\cdot$ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 692-1



582a



582b



583. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 4. $\therefore$ 5. $\cdot$ *swastika* 7. $\times$ trident

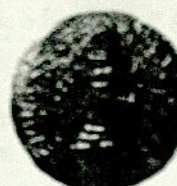
Legend: P-OO NOPOOBO-OOPOKOBON 7^h

Rev. 6. $\therefore$ 7. $\cdot$ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 691-1; (b) G: 691-2 (8.05 gm)



583a



583b



584. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. *nandipada* 3. $\boxtimes$ 4. $\therefore$ 5. $\cdot$ *swastika* 7. $\times$ trident

Legend: P-OO NOPOOBO-ZOPOKOBON 7^h

Rev. 6. $\therefore$ 7. $\cdot$ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 689-1; (b) G: 689-2



584a

584b

585. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Obv. 2. nandipada 3. 卐 4. ∴ 5. ∙ 7. ✕ trident
swastika

Legend: P-OO NOPOOBO-ZOPOKOBON 7^h

Rev. 6. ∴ 7. ∙ tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 689-1; (b) G: 689-2



585a

585b

C. Copper: Normal Issues

Type 1Ai. King at Altar Standing to L., Single Pennant & without Trident

586. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety - 1Ai.a. 4Δ, weight: 10.09 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a pennant to the shaft of trident.

Legend: Corrupt

Rev. Oesho standing facing, with tall hair knot, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BMC 32: IOC - 60 (10.07 gm); (b) BM: RS 1982-11-9-01 (10.09 gm)



586a

586b

Type 1B. King at Altar Standing to L., without Pennant & Trident

587. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aii.a. 2Δ, weight: 5.50 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in l., as above but without pennant and crude style.

Legend: PAOBA-ZOΔHO..... 7^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO to r.

Reference: (a) BMC: 33 (5.50 gm); (b) BM: RS 1983-1-19-03 (4.38 gm); (c) BM: RS 1983-1-19-01 (4.60 gm); (d) BM: RS 1983-1-19-02 (3.88 gm)



587a



587b



587c



587d



Type 1B. King at Altar Standing to L., Addition of a Trident & Single Pennant

588. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1B.a. 4Δ, weight: 10.05 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, a trident stands in the l. field behind altar and a pennant to the shaft of trident in the r. field. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l.

Legend: NANOHAO.... 1^h (corrupt)

Rev. Oesho standing facing, wears dhoti and long chain over l. shoulder. Holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: (?) (10.05 gm); (b) BMC: 27/BM: ET 1850-3-5-175 (9.13 gm)



588a



588b



Type 1C. King at Altar Standing to L., Trident & Double Pennants

589. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1C.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.45 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in l. field behind altar as above but two pennants to shaft of r. trident held by the king and two to the l. standing behind altar.

Legend: ONAO 1^h (corrupt)

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: (?) (8.35 gm); (b) BMC: 31/ BMC: I/ Bargon 65-8-10-20 (8.45 gm)



589a



589b



Type 1D. King at Altar Standing to L., Trident & without Pennant

590. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1D.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.39 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in the l. field behind altar as above and the pennants disappear (from either side).

Legend: OHPHONO 1^h (corrupt)

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: 1892-10-8-183 (8.39 gm); (b) BM: OR-0341 (8.28 gm)



590a



590b



Type 1Ei. King at Altar Standing to L., Trident with Addition of a Bar

591. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ei.a. Δ, Wt: 8.22 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in l. field behind altar as above, no use of pennant and the bar added to the shaft of trident in l. field.

Legend: PAONANOPAO..... 1^h

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: (?) (8.22 gm); (b) BM: RT 1981-3-25-01 (7.73 gm)



591a



591b



Type 1Eii. King at Altar Standing to L., Trident with a Bar & Pennant to r. Trident

592. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Eii.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.49 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., a trident stands in the L. field behind altar with a bar to the shaft as above and a pennant to the shaft of r. trident.

Legend: illegible

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to L., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC – 80 (8.49 gm); (b) BM: IOLC – 81 (8.45 gm)



592a



592b



Type 1F. King at Altar Standing to L., Semi-circle of dots to r. Trident

593. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull (6)

Variety – 1F.a. Δ, Wt: 8.47 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., a trident stands in L. field behind altar as above but no use of bar and pennant and the addition of a semi-circle of dots to the shaft of r. trident.

Legend: illegible

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to L., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: OR-0344 (8.47 gm); (b) BM: Skin 1981-3-22-34 (7.59 gm)



593a



593b



Type 1G. King at Altar Standing to L., Trident in the L. Field, (King Small Size)

594. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1G.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., a trident stands in L. field behind altar as above but no use of additional features and the king is shown in small gesture and the legend is much clear.

Legend: PAONAOPA-OBAAZHOKOPANO 1^b

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: BL 1889-1-5-1164 (8.95 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1531 (8.82 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1531 (8.63 gm); (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-539 (7.86 gm)



Type 1H. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field, (King Small Size)

595. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1H.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.62 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in l. field behind altar as above but legend now begins from r. foot of the king and the coins become smaller in size.

Legend: PAONAOPAoba-ZΔHOKOPANO 7^h

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: JP 47-12-1-157 (8.62 gm); (b) BM: ET 50-3-5-177 (7.66 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-124 (7.85 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-126 (7.04 gm)



Type 1I. King at Altar to l., Trident in the l. Field & Tamga in the r.

596. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1I.a. 4Δ, Wt: 9.21 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in l. field behind altar as above but addition of a tamga in the r. field and legend begins behind head of the king and the coins become broader and cut from one side.

Legend: PAONANOPA-OBΔZΔHOKOPANO 7^h

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: JP 1847-12-1-158 (8.61 gm); (b) BM: OR-0346 (7.84 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-128 (9.21 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-130 (8.32 gm); (e) BM: IOLC-144 (7.86 gm)



Type 1Ji. King at Altar to L, Trident with a Bar/ Ribbon in the l. Field & Nandipada in the r.

597. King at Altar Standing to L, & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ji.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.96 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in l. field behind altar as above but with the addition of a bar and sometimes ribbon; the use of nandipada in place of tamga in the r. field and legend begins near r. foot of the king.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend corrupt.

Reference: (a) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-3591 (8.96 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-146 (8.12 gm)



Type 1Jii. King at Altar to L, Plain Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada in the r.

598. King at Altar Standing to L, & Oesho-bull

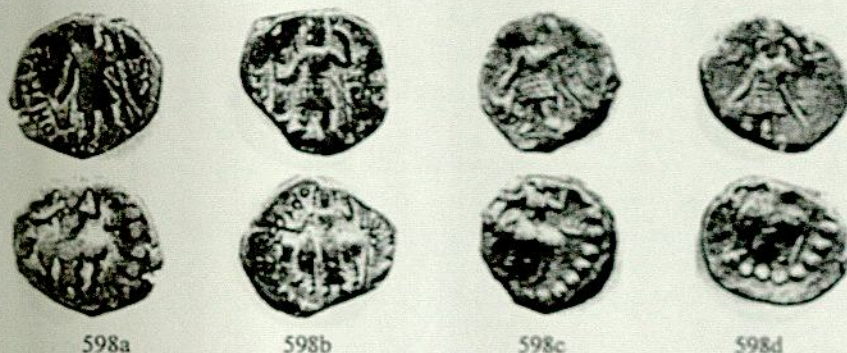
Variety – 1Jii.a. 4Δ, Wt: 9.01 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in the l. field behind altar as above but plain having no additional features and nandipada in the r. field.

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend OHPO in l.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1538 (9.01 gm); (b) BMC: 26 (7.57 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-148 (8.88 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-151 (8.51 gm)



598a

598b

598c

598d

Type 1Jiii. King at Altar to l., Trident in the l. Field (Unclear) & Nandipada in the r.
599. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

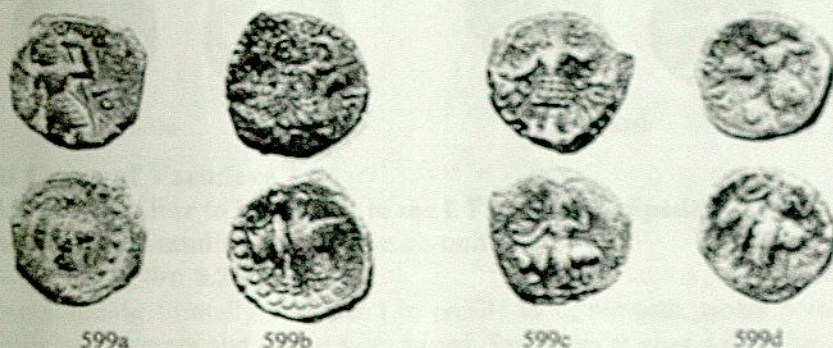
Variety - 1Jiii.a. 4Δ, Wt: 9.01 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., a trident stands in the l. field behind altar as above but with unclear features and nandipada in the r. field, crude style of the coins.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r& legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: OR -0345 (7.97 gm); (b) BM: IOLC - 167 (8.27 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-168 (8.26 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-178 (7.79 gm)



599a

599b

599c

599d

Type 1Jiv. King at Altar to l., Trident-battle Axe in the l. Field & Nandipada in the r.
600. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

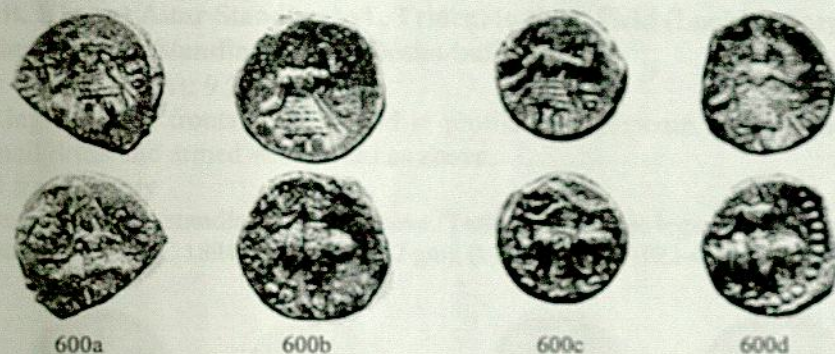
Variety - 1Jiv.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.27 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above, a trident-cum-battle axe stands in the l. field behind altar and nandipada in the r., crude style of the coins.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-0345 (7.97 gm); (b) BM: IOLC - 167 (8.27 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-168 (8.26 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-178 (7.79 gm)



Type 1Jv. King at Altar to l., Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada (uncertain) in the r.
601. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Jv.a. 4Δ, Wt: 8.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., as above, a trident-cum-battle axe stands in l. field behind altar and nandipada in the r., (uncertain) crude style of the coins.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: Fida 1980-6-10-3 (8.91 gm); (b) BM: GOS 1933-7-3-4 (6.84 gm)



Unusual Coins of Vasudeva I

Type 2A. King at Altar to l., Trident in the l. Field & Nandipada uncertain

602. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2A.a. 4Δ, Wt: 9.29 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., trident-cum-battle axe stands in the l. field and a triangle with line beneath in r. the field.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: Seniorida 1983-7-29-13 (9.29 gm); (b) BM: JL 1996-10-30-32 (8.03 gm)



Type 2B. King at Altar Standing to l., Trident in the l. Field (Looking Forgery)

603. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 2B.a. 4Δ, Wt: 9.29 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and armed with sword as above.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to r. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1530 (9.77 gm); (b) BM: RBW 1922-4-24-4502 (6.00 gm)



603a



603b



D. Copper: Imitations of Vasudeva I (Reduced weight)

Type 3Ai. King at Altar to l., Trident & Swastika (11)

604. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Ai.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.41 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail dress and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., another trident stands in the l. field and a swastika between king and trident in the l. field and a group of three dots in the r.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., Oesho holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in the l. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-198 (6.41 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-199 (6.40 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-200 (6.33 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-201 (6.24 gm)



604a



604b



604c



604d

Type 3Aii. King at Altar to L., having Trident & Triangle + Swastika (11)

605. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

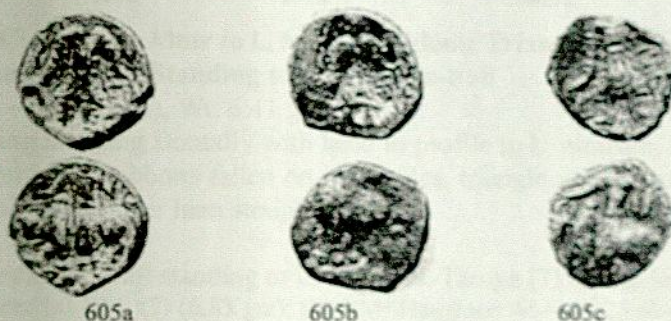
Variety – 3Aii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.56 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field and a triangle with swastika under l. arm of the king.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: Haughton 44-9-21-26 (6.56 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-202 (5.82 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-203 (5.70 gm)



Type 3Aiii. King at Altar to L., having Trident & Triangle with Swastika (10)

606. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Aiii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.07 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field and a triangle with swastika (anti-clockwise) under l. arm of the king.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend illegible.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-204 (6.07 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-205 (6.01 gm)



Type 3B. King at Altar to L., having Trident & Triangle + Tamga

607. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3B.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.78 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field and a triangle with four-pronged tamga under l. arm of the king.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend OHPO up to l.

Reference: (a) BM: BL 1889-1-5-1163 (6.05 gm); (b) BM: WF 1910-1-3 (3.96 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-206 (6.78 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-209 (6.59 gm)



Type 3Ci. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Triangle; Straight-hem Drapery

608. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Ci.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.41 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field with ribbons fallen on both sides, triangle under l. arm of the king and wears long tunic with lower hem straight.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend illegible l.

Reference: (a) BM: (?) (6.83 gm); (b) BM: Haughton 44-9-21-25 (6.62 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-218 (6.19 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-220 (5.91 gm)



Type 3Cii. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Triangle; Curved-hem Drapery

609. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

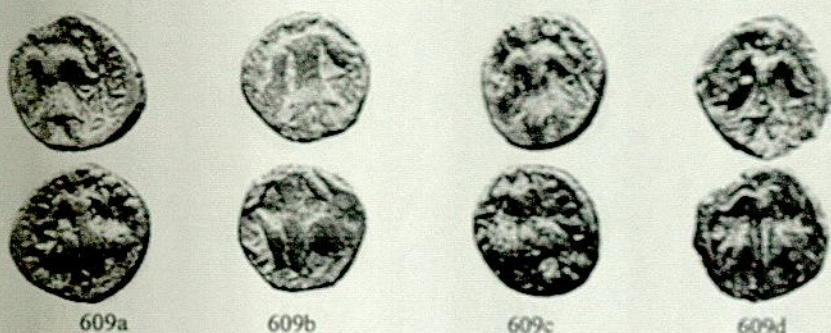
Variety – 3Cii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in l. field, a triangle under l. arm of the king and wears long tunic with lower arched hem.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend illegible l.

Reference: (a) BM: (?) (5.86 gm); (b) BM: (?) (5.80); (c) BM: IOLC-223 (6.95 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-237 (5.82 gm)



Type 3Ciii. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Triangle; Pointed-hem Drapery

610. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

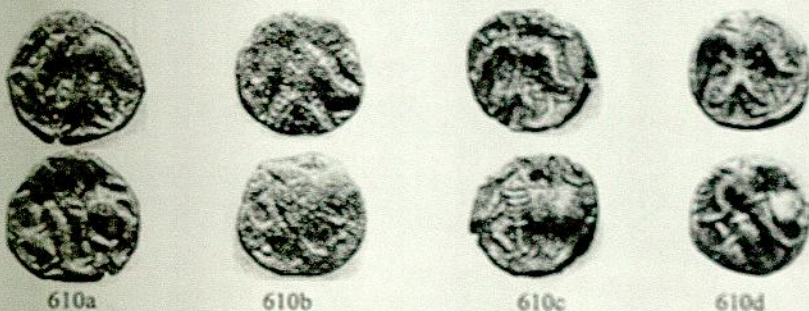
Variety – 3Ciii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 5.78 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field, a triangle under l. arm of the king, wears chain mail dress with lower hem pointed.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1541 (5.78 gm); (b) BM: (?) (4.50); (c) BM: IOLC-257 (5.41 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-259 (4.57 gm)



Type 3Di. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Straight-hem Drapery

611. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Di.a. (4Δ), Wt: 6.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above but without triangle, trident stands in l. field, king wears long tunic with lower hem straight.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-265 (6.80 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-267 (6.68 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-270 (5.99 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-279 (4.51 gm)



Type 3Dii. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Arched-hem Drapery

612. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Dii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 5.53 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in the l. field, king holds a trident in his l. hand is off flan and wears long tunic with lower arched hem.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: SA 1987-9-21-19 (5.53 gm); (b) BM: OR-0347 (5.28 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-309 (4.41 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-314 (4.27 gm)



Type 3Diii. King at Altar to l., having Trident; Pointed-hem Drapery

613. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

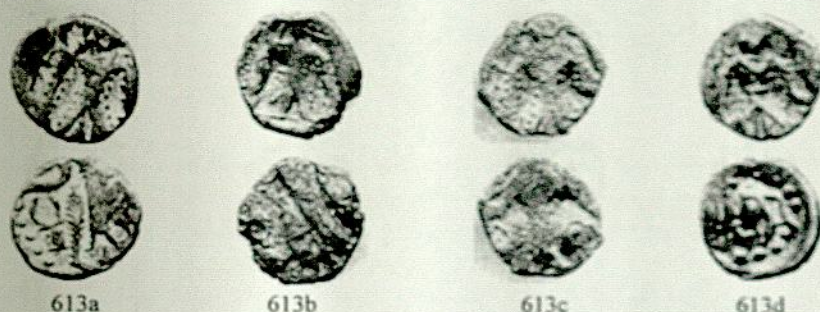
Variety – 3Diii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 5.65 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above, trident stands in l. field, king wears chain mail dress with lower hem pointed.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: Stubbo 65-8-3-84 (5.65 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-348 (5.59 gm); (c) BM: (?) (4.10 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-354 (4.29 gm)



Type 3Ei. King at Altar to L., Thick & Small Coins; Degenerate Style

614. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Ei.a. (4Δ), Wt: 4.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, thin small figure of the king lower hem of the drapery highly extended in pointed form and the middle body is narrow; a trident held by the king in the l. hand and a trident stands in the l. filed disappeared.

Legend fragmentary

Rev. Oesho and bull in degenerate style and the figures are usually shown in vertical lines.

Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: RT 1983-5-31-60 (4.98 gm); (b) BM: RT 1981-3-25-36 (4.48 gm); (c) BM: RT 1981-3-25-31 (3.72 gm); (d) BM: RT 1983-3-55-33 (3.51 gm)



Type 3Eii. King at Altar to L., Thick & Small Coins; Degenerate Style

615. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 3Eii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 4.41 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., thin small figure of the king lower hem of the drapery highly extended in pointed form and the middle body is narrow which makes the king body of crossed lines with hanging lines for arms; both tridents off flan.

Legend disappears

Rev. Oesho and bull in degenerate style and the figures are usually shown in vertical lines.

Tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: Fida 1980-6-10-14 (4.41 gm); (b) BM: Fida 1980-6-10-16 (4.26 gm); (c) BM: Fida 1980-6-10-22 (3.42 gm); (d) BM: RT 1981-3-25-35 (3.09 gm)



615a



615b



615c



615d



Later Kushans

KANISHKA II

A. Gold Coins

Group Aa. Oesho & Bull Series

Type 1A. King at Altar to l., with Akṣaras *ja, pu, vi*

616. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.a. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *vi* 5. *pu* 6. *pa*

Legend: PAONANOPAO KA-NHPKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Male figure standing facing with dotted halo around head and holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. with its r. foreleg leaning. Legend OHPO up to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 1. *viru* 7. *tamga-7*

Reference:(a) G: 547-1 (7.84 gm)



616a

Type 1B. King at Altar to l., having Akṣaras *vi, pa* & Nandipada

617 King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1B.a. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

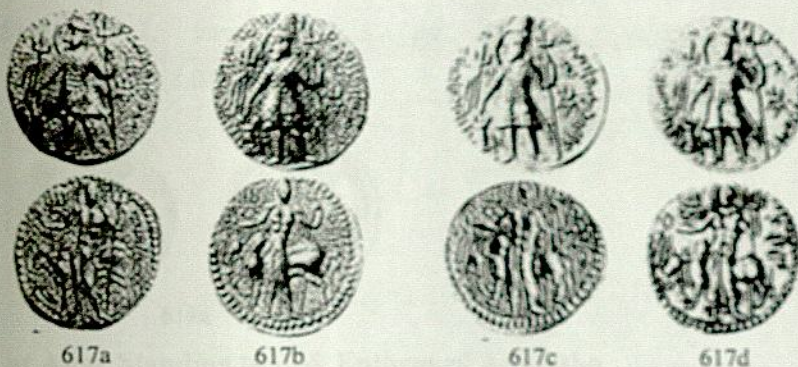
Akṣaras & Symbol: 1. *vi* 2. *nandipada* 6. *pu*

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho & bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO up to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 6. *tha* 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 548-1 (7.94 gm); (b) BM: Simons 1888-8-8-9/ G: 548-2 (7.89 gm); (c) G: 548-3 (7.88 gm); (d) G: 548-4 (7.81 gm)



Group Ab. Nana Series

Type 2. King at Altar to l., wears Embroidered Coat

618. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Nana

Variety – 2.a. D, Wt: gm

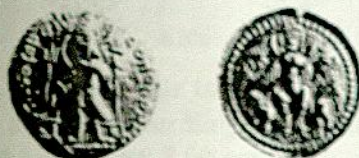
Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, has long hair, wears pointed helmet with side flaps, long coat over tunic with jewelled yoke, trousers and armed with sword but seen under coat. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Legend: PAONANOPAO KA-NHPKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on a lion with feet resting on a ornamented mat, and lion facing to left, the deity wears long robe and diadem and has loose hair. She holds an investiture garland in the r. hand and a sceptre with a triple round pommel and bands in the l. Legend NANA up to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. Δ 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 660-1



618a

Group Ac. Ardoxsho Series

Type 3. King at Altar to l., wears Chain-mail Dress & *Akṣaras*

619. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 3.ai. D, Wt: 8.10 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. pa

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure standing to r. wearing classical dress and holds cornucopia in front of her in l. hand and unidentified object probably flower (or palm branch) in the r. Legend ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ dn to l.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. tamga-7 3. pa

Reference: (a) G 93: 596 (8.04 gm)



619a

620. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 3.a.ii. D, Wt: 8.10 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. pa

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on a throne (without a back) with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears classical robe, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds flower in raised r. hand and cornucopia (or palm branch) in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to l.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-29/ G: 538-1 (8.10 gm)



620a

Type 4A. King at Altar to L., wears Embroidered Coat & Akṣaras

621. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4A.a. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair, wears pointed helmet with two-pronged device at forehead and long embroidered coat with rolled lapels and hem of coat curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and carries sword underneath dress. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. bhi

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 6. ha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: MGT 1921-3-6-12/ G: 539-1 (8.00 gm); (b) G: 539-3



621a



621b

**622. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho**

Variety – 4Bi.ai. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 2. vi 6. ha

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 6. la 7. tamga-7*Reference:* (a) BM: 93-5-6-30/ G: 541-1 (7.85 gm); (b) BM: 1853-3-1-1319/G: 541-2 (7.46 gm)

622a



622b

**623. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho**

Variety – 4Bi.iii. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 2. vi 6. ha

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 6. la/ja 7. tamga-7*Reference:* (a) G: 542-1; (b) G: 542-2 (7.87 gm)

623a



623b

**624. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho**

Variety – 4Bii.a. D/4, Wt: 2.17 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 2. vi

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.*Akšaras & Symbol:* 6. ja (?) 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-295/ BMC: 33 / G: 543-1 (2.17 gm)



624a

625. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Biii.ai. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. vi 6. pu

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend
ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. ha 6. la 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 544-1 (7.97 gm); (b) G: 544-2



625a

625b

626. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Biii.a.ii. D, Wt: 7.74 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. vi 6. pu

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend
ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 6. la 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 545-1 (7.74 gm); (b) G: 545-2



626a

626b

627. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Biii.a.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. vi 6. pu

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend
ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 6. la 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-118/ G: 546-1 (1.97 gm); (b) G: 546-2 (1.96 gm)



627a



627b



628. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Biv.a. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Aksaras & Symbol: 2. vi 3. ru 5. ∴ 6. pa

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Aksaras & Symbol: 2. viru 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-32/ G: 549-1 (7.80 gm)



628a



629. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Bv.a. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Aksaras & Symbol: 2. vi 3. ru 6. ha

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Aksaras & Symbol: 6. ru 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 551-1 (7.80 gm)



629a



630. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Bvi.a. D, Wt: 7.76 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Aksaras & Symbol: 2. vi 6. pa or ja

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Aksaras & Symbol: 2. tha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 550-1; (b) G: 550-3



630a



630b



631. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Bvii.ai. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. vi 5. tha 6. pa

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 6. ru 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 552-1 (7.87 gm)



631a



632. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 4Bvii.iii. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. vi 5. tha 6. pa

Legend as above.

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 1. tha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 553-1 (7.76 gm)



632a



B. Copper Coins

Ba. Ardoxsho Series

Type 1A. King at Altar Standing to l., wears Embroidered Coat

633. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

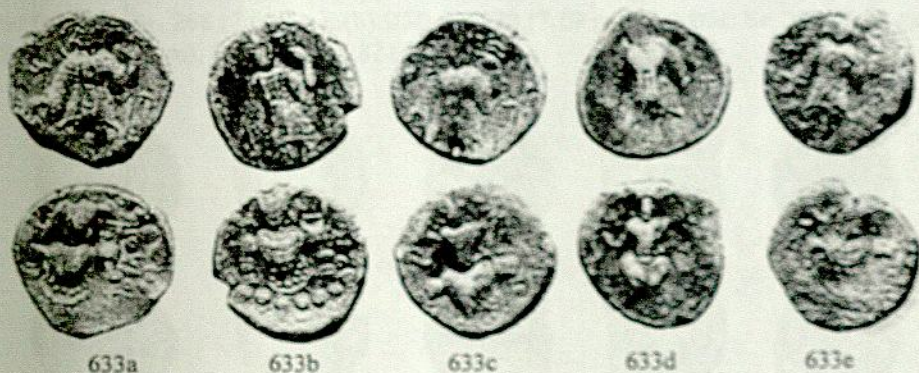
Variety – 1A.a. (4Δ), Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears peaked helmet and long embroidered coat with rolled lapels covered upto knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with fillet in raised l. hand. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field and Kharoṣṭhi letter *vi* in the r. (position 2).

Legend: PAO NANO PAO KANHPKO KOPANO 1^h (often off flan)

Rev. Female figure seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Tamga (7) to l. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-508 (7.91 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-510 (7.70 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-511 (7.15 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-512 (6.69 gm); (e) BM: Sr. 232 (7.55 gm)



634. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1B.a. (4Δ), Wt: 7.63 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat as above but Brāhmī letter *vi* in r. field.

Legend as above but often off flan.

Rev. Female figure seated facing on high-backed throne with ornate legs as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: BL 1889-1-5-1169 (8.36 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-1544 (7.84 gm); (c) BM: Sr. 221 (7.54 gm); (d) BM: OR-0350 (7.47 gm)



635. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

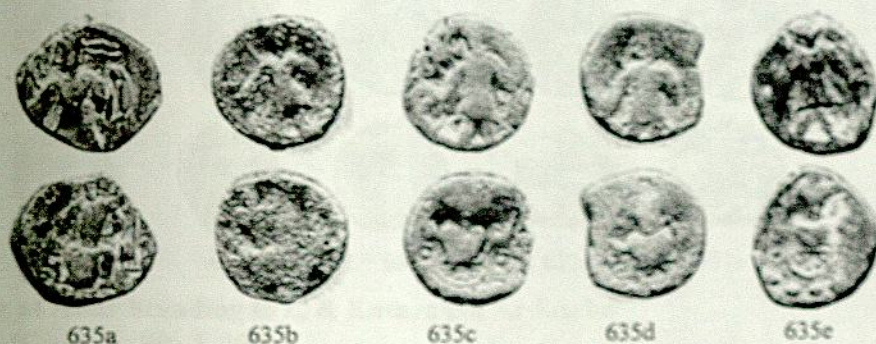
Variety – 1Ci.a. (4Δ), Wt: 7.62 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat as above but akšara not visible, the style is little crude and r. arm of the king slightly away from his body..

Legend as above often off flan.

Rev. Female figure seated facing on high-backed throne with ornate legs as above. Tamga (7) to l. & legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Reference: (a) BM: Sr. 268 (7.62 gm); (b) BM: Sr. 270 (7.19 gm); (c) BM: Sr. 272 (7.10 gm); (d) BM: Sr. 273 (6.97 gm); (e) BM: Sr. 282 (6.34 gm)



636. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

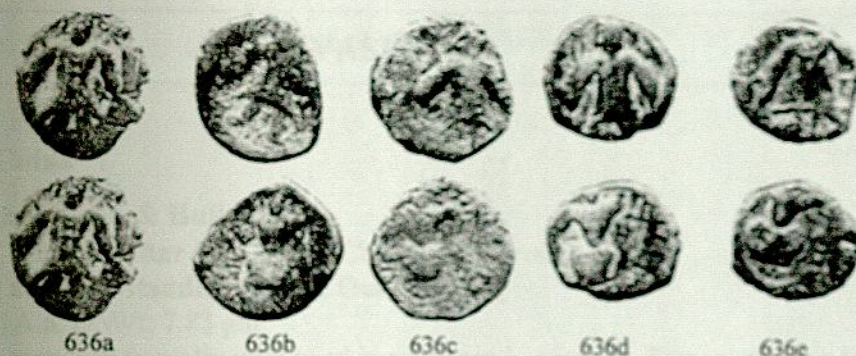
Variety – 1Cii.a. (4Δ), Wt: 7.77 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat as above but much cruder in style and bulky physique of the king with both arms distinctively away from his body that look like wings.

Legend off flan

Rev. Female figure seated facing on high-backed throne as above, tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: SJL 1996-10-30-35 (7.77 gm); (b) BM: Haughton 36 44-9-21-36 (7.69 gm); (c) BM: Sr. 295 (7.69 gm); (d) BM: LE 1843-8-12-43 (7.19 gm); (e) BM: JP 1847-12-1-279 (6.98 gm)



637. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

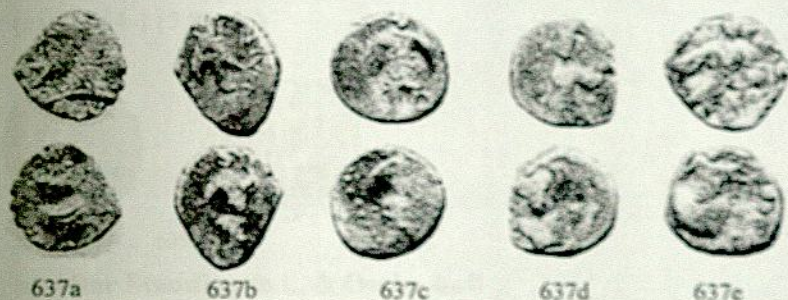
Variety – 1Ciii.a. Δ , Wt: 5.02 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat in cruder style, arms away from the body as above but smaller than the previous group.

Legend off flan

Rev. Enthroned female figure as above, tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: Sr. 361 (1.55 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-679 (5.02 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-680 (4.93 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-682 (4.64 gm); (e) BM: IOLC-684 (4.39 gm)



638. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

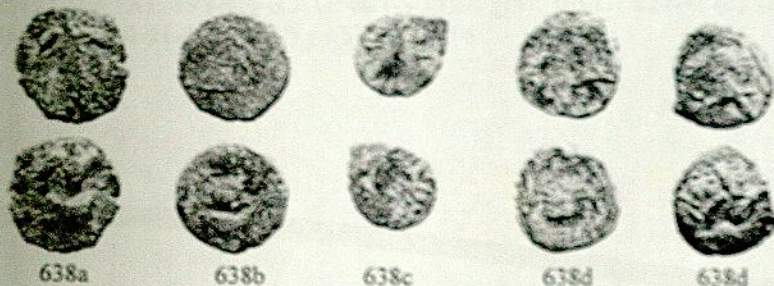
Variety – 1Civ.a. Δ , Wt: 2.29 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat in cruder style, arms away from the body as above but become smaller and thin.

Legend off flan

Rev. Enthroned female figure as above, tamga & legend off flan.

Reference: (a) BM: Sr. 362 (2.28 gm); (b) BM: Sr. 363 (2.29 gm); (c) BM: Sr. 364 (0.88 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-693 (2.07 gm); (e) BM: IOLC-694 (2.04 gm)



 VASISHKA

A. Gold Coins

Group Aa: Oesho & Bull Series

Type 1A. King at Altar to l., wears Chain-mail Dress

639. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.a. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, flames emanate from r. shoulder, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. vi 5. tha 6. pa

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-Z-HPKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Oesho figure standing facing with flaming halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. with its r. foreleg leaning. Legend OHPO up to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 5. tha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 554-1 (7.83 gm)



639a

640. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Bi.ai. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet and chain-mail dress as above.

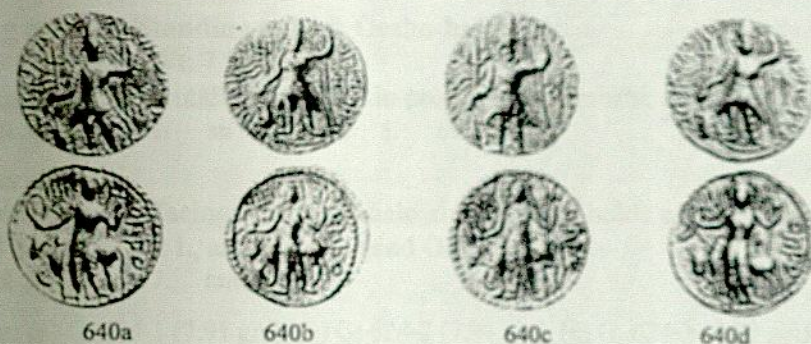
Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. su 5. tha 6. ga

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AL 193-4-7-02/ G: 621-3 (7.64 gm); (b) G: 621-4; (c) G: 621-10 (8.00 gm); (d) BM: JB 1890-11-6-02 (7.70 gm)/ G: 621-16



641. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Bi.iii. D/4, Wt: 2.02 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

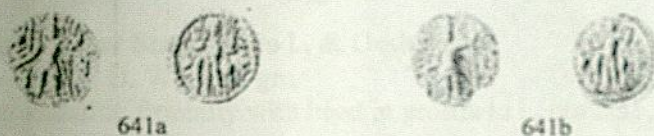
Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. su 5. tha 6. ga

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 623-1; (b) G: 623-3 (2.02 gm)



642. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Bii.a. D, Wt: 7.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. su 5. tha 6. ha

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-40/ G: 622-1 (7.84 gm); (b) G: 622-2 (7.97 gm); (c) G: 622-4 (7.77 gm); (d) G: 622-6 (7.81 gm)



643. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Biii.a. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *su* 3. *ha* 5. *tha*

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 624-1 (7.91 gm); (b) G: 624-2 (7.91 gm); (c) G: 624-3 (7.82 gm)



643a



643b



643c

**644. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull**

Variety – 1Biv.a. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *su* 4. *va* 5. *tha*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tmga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 626-2 (7.87 gm); (b) BM: EIC-4/ G: 626-4 (7.83 gm); (c) G: 626-6 (7.83 gm); (d) G: 626-11 (7.93 gm)



644a



644b



644c



644d

**645. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull**

Variety – 1Bv.a. D, Wt: 8.00 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *su* 3. *na or ha* 4. *va* 5. *tha*

Legend fragmentary (1^b)

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in the l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 627-2 (7.80 gm); (b) BM: Spink 1982-6-25-4/ G: 627-4; (c) G: 627-7 (8.00 gm); (d) BM: Eden/ 1853-3-11318/ G: 627-9 (7.90 gm)



Group Ab: Ardoxsho Series

Type 2A. King at Altar Standing to L., Wears Embroidered Coat

646. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2A.a. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair, wears pointed helmet with two-pronged device at forehead and long embroidered coat with rolled lapels and hem of coat curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and carries sword underneath dress. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. vi 5. tha 6. pa

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZHPKO KOPANO 1 hr

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 1. tha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-31/ G: 556-2 (7.83 gm); (b) G: 556-4 (7.72 gm)



647. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2B.a. D, Wt: 7.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. mi 5. tha 6. pa

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZHPKO KOPANO 1 hr

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne, as above. Legend APΔOXPO
dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: DC 1890-6-4-02/ G: 557-1 (7.94 gm); (b) G: 557-2 (7.71 gm)



647a



647b



648. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2C.ai. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *si* 5. *tha* 6. *me*

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZHPKO KOPANO 1 hr

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne, as above. Legend APΔOXPO
dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: DC 1890-6-4-04/ G: 558-1 (7.86 gm); (b) G: 558-2



648a



648b



649. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2C.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.89 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *si* 5. *tha* 6. *me*

Legend: Fragmentary (1 hr)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne, as above. Legend APΔOXPO
dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 560-2; (b) G: 560-3 (1.89 gm)



649a



649b



KANISHKA III

A. Gold Coins

Group Aa: Oesho & Bull Series

Type 1. King at Altar Standing to L., wears Chain-mail Dress

650. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ai.ai. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. hu 5. gho 6. ga

Legend: PAONANOPAO KA-NHPKO KOPANO I^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, wears dhoti, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. · tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-580/ G: 634-1 (7.84 gm); (b) G: 634-3; (c) G: 634-6 (7.78 gm); (d) G: 634-11



651. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ai.iii. D/4, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

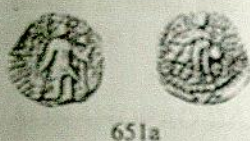
Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. hu 5. gho 6. ga

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. · tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 636-1



652. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aii.a. D/4, Wt: 1.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. hu 5. gho

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: RS 1987-1-8-10/ G: 637-1 (1.94 gm)



652a

653. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1B.a. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. pri 5. gho 6. ga

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-41/ G: 635-1 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 635-3; (c) G: 635-6 (7.87 gm); (d) BM: Senior 1938-7-29-38/ 635-7 (7.90 gm)



653a

653b

653c

653d

Group Ab: Ardoxsho Series

Type 2. King at Altar Standing to l., wears Embroidered Coat

654. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Ai.ai. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet and long embroidered coat with rolled lapels and hem of coat curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and carries sword underneath dress. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

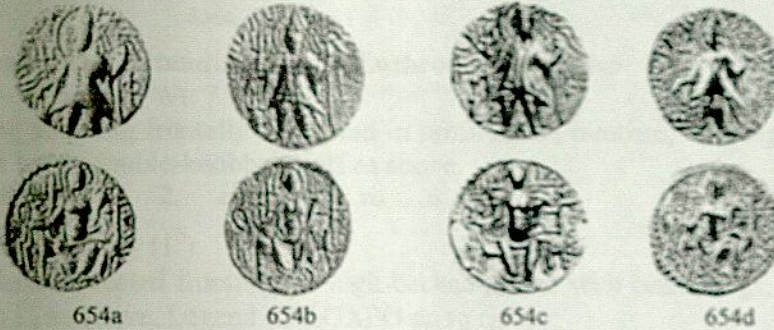
Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. chlu 5. tha 6. me

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZHPKO KOPANO 1 hr

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *· tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-35/ G: 559-1 (7.84 gm); (b) G: 559-3; (c) BM: ET 1850-3-5-200/ G: 559-5 (7.80 gm); (d) G: 559-12



655. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Ai.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 5. *tha* 6. *me*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *· tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-113/ G: 561-1 (1.97 gm); (b) BM: AC-1894-5-6-114/ G: 561-2 (1.87 gm); (c) G: 561-3 (1.80 gm); (d) BM: CM 1892-2-2-01/ G: 561-4 (1.93 gm)



656. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aii.a. D, Wt: 7.43 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 5. *tha* 6. *ga*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 1. *tha* 7. *· tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: Enn. 1867-12-18-12/ G: 562-1 (7.43 gm)



656a

657. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.99 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 5. *va* 6. *ga*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *- tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: JP 1847-12-01-263/ G: 563-1 (7.86 gm); (b) G: 563-3; (c) G: 563-8 (7.99 gm); (d) G: 563-9 (7.86 gm)



657a

657b

657c

657d

658. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aiv.ai. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 3a. *ga* 5. *va* 6. *ga*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *- tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 564-1; (b) G: 564-2 (7.79 gm)



658a

658b

659. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aiv.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.97 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *chhu* 5. *va* 6. *ga*Legend fragmentary (1^h)*Rev.* Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 564A-1 (1.97 gm); (b) G: 564A-2

659a



659b

**660. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho**

Variety – 2Av.a. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *chhu* 5. *bha* 6. *khra*Legend fragmentary (1^h)*Rev.* Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 565-1; (b) G: 565-2 (7.75 gm); (c) G: 565-3 (7.86 gm); (d) G: 565-4 (7.79 gm)

660a



660b



660c



660d

**661. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho**

Variety – 2Avi.a. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *chhu* 3a. *thai* 5. *va* 6. *khra*Legend fragmentary (1^h)*Rev.* Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 566-1 (7.79 gm); (b) G: 566-2 (7.83 gm); (c) G: 566-4 (7.72 gm); (d) G: 566-5



662. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avii.ai. D, Wt: 7.68 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 5. *va* 6. *khu*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 567-1 (7.15 gm); (b) BM: Rodgers 1889-5-2-01/ G: 567-2 (7.68 gm)



663. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avii.iii. D, Wt: 7.74 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *chhu* 3. *e* 5. *va* 6. *khu*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga (7)

Reference: (a) G: 568-1 (7.74 gm)



663a

664. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2B.a. D, Wt: 7.98 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *hivara* 5. *bhi* 6. *ga*

Legend fragmentary (1^h)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 568A-1; (b) G: 568A-2 (7.98 gm)



664a

664b

B. Copper Coins

Group Ba. Oesho & Bull Series

Type 1A. King at Altar to l., Trident in the l. Field & Akšara *Chhu* in the r.

665. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1A.a. Δ, Wt: 5.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long tunic tied up with belt in the middle, sacrifices r. hand over altar and l. holds a trident. Brāhmi *akšara chhu* in the r. field.

Legend: Fragmentary.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l. Oesho holds diadem in r. hand and trident in the l. Tamga (7) to l. and OHPO to r.

Reference: (a) BM: IMC 89-12-3-23 (5.60 gm); (b) BM: Sr. 207 (5.14 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-879 (5.84 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-381 (4.93 gm)



665a

665b

665c

665d

Type 1B. King at Altar to l., Trident in l. Field & without Akṣara Chhu

666. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1B.a. Δ, Wt: 6.60 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long tunic tied up with belt in the middle as above, but Brāhmī akṣara not visible.

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. and OHPO to r.

Reference: (a) BM: IOLC-387 (6.60 gm); (b) BM: IOLC-388 (5.92 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-389 (5.45 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-398 (3.59 gm)



666a



666b



666c



666d



Type 1C. King at Altar to l., Trident in l. Field: Imitation of Chhu Coins

667. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1C.a. Δ, Wt: 5.72 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears long tunic tied up with belt in the middle, without akṣara as above, but the style is little crude and the lower hem of drapery is broader.

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Tamga (7) to l. and OHPO to r.

Reference: (a) BM: K.S.Co. 1981-1-20-10 (5.72 gm); (b) BM: Sr. 209 (5.71 gm); (c) BM: IOLC-403 (5.16 gm); (d) BM: IOLC-404 (4.45 gm)



667a



667b



667c



667d



Group Bb. Ardoxsho Series

Type 2A. King at Altar to l., wears Chain-mail Coat: Akṣaras hu

668. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2A.a. Δ, Wt: 5.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears peaked helmet and long coat of chain-mail with hem curved upward over knees and armed with sword

hanging from waist above garment. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double trident in raised l. hand. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in l. field and Kharoṣṭhi akṣaras *hu* in position (2); *gho* in (5) and *ga* in (6) respectively.

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated on a throne, stylized and fat with dotted line around head, holds diadem in extended r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Tamga (8) to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) BM: TWA 1954-4-9-176 (5.93 gm); (b) BM: Laofant 140 (5.73 gm); (c) BM: EIC 114 (5.37 gm); (d) BM: JP 47-12-1-286 (5.26 gm); (e) BM: EIC 116 (5.40 gm)



Type 2B. King at Altar to l., wears Chain-mail Coat; without Akṣara

669. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Bi.a. Δ, Wt: 5.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing chain-mail coat as above but the figure is little different and Brāhmi akṣaras disappear.

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated on a throne, as above and more fat than the above. Tamga (8) to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) BM: RT 1983-5-31-62 (5.79 gm); (b) BM: OR-0357 (5.42 gm)



670. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho (Crude Style)

Variety – 2Bii.ai. Δ, Wt: 5.89 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat as above but the stylized form of type (2) and no use of Brāhmi akṣaras.

Legend: Off flan

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho (fat) as above. Tamga (8) to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) BM: Hay 60-12-20-300 (5.04 gm); (b) BM: AC 94-5-6-1545 (5.89 gm)



670a



670b



Type 2C. King at Altar to L., wears Chain-mail Coat; Akṣara *pri*

671. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2C.a. Δ, Wt: 5.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, wearing embroidered coat as above, crude form containing Brāhmī akṣara *pri* in position (2).

Legend off flan.

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above but slim. Tamga (to l.) & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: a) BM: Sr. 374 (5.80 gm)



671a

VASUDEVA II

A. Gold Coins

Group Aa: Oesho & Bull Series

Type 1A. King at Altar to l., wear Chain-mail Dress

672. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ai.ai. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, has long hair, wears pointed helmet, chain-mail coat, trousers and armed with sword. Sacrifices at altar with r. hand and holds trident in the l., a trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

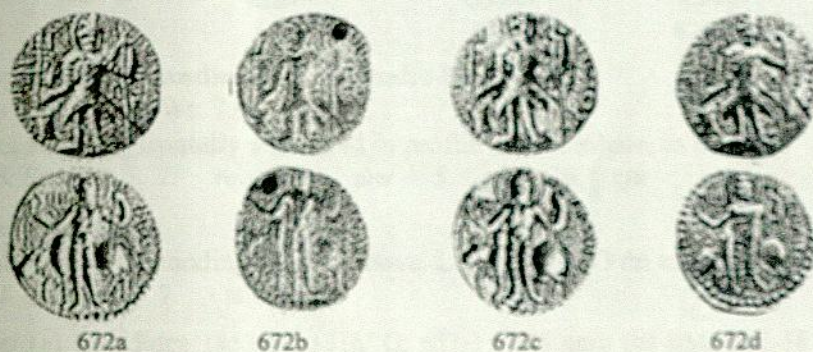
Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. rda 4. ga 5. gho

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZOKOPANO KOPAN 1^h

Rev. Oesho standing facing with plain halo around head, wears dhoti, holds a diadem in extended r. hand and trident in raised l. Behind him bull standing to l. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 628-2 (7.86 gm); (b) G: 628-4 (7.76 gm); (c) G: 628-5 (7.91 gm); (d) G: 628-6 (7.75 gm)



673. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Ai.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.99 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. rda 4. ga 5. gho

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-117/ G: 629-1 (1.99); (b) BM: EHC 1956-2-5-01/ G: 629-2 (1.87 gm)



674. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aii.ai. D, Wt: 7.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. rda 3a. dra 5. gho 6. rju

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: Eden 1853-3-1-1317/ G: 630-2 (7.85 gm); (b) BM: 1944-11-2-01/ G: 630-6 (7.84 gm); (c) BM: IOC-581/ G: 630-7 (7.95 gm); (d) BM: OB 1946-10-4-715/ G: 630-10 (7.84 gm)



675. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aii.iii. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. rda 3a. dra 5. gho 6. rju

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: Eden 1853-3-1-1316/ G: 631-1 (7.86 gm); (b) BM: IOC-581/ G: 631-5 (7.87 gm); (c) G: 631-4 (7.93 gm); (d) G: 631-7 (7.93 gm)



676. King at Altar Standing to L., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aii.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.95 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. rda 3a. dra 5. gho 6. rju

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. · tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 632-1; (b) G: 632-2 (1.95 gm)



676a



676b



677. King at Altar Standing to l., & Oesho-bull

Variety – 1Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. rda 5. gho 6. ga

Legend as above.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l., as above. Legend OHPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. · tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AL 1847-12-01-261/ G: 633-1 (7.74 gm); (b) G: 633-2; (c) BM: JP 1893-4-7-01/ G: 633-6 (7.79 gm); (d) G: 633-8 (7.79 gm)



677a



677b



677c



677d



Group Ab: Ardoxsho Series

Type 2A. King at Altar Standing to l., wears Embroidered Coat

678. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Ai.a. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet and long embroidered coat with rolled lapels and hem of coat curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and carries sword underneath dress. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

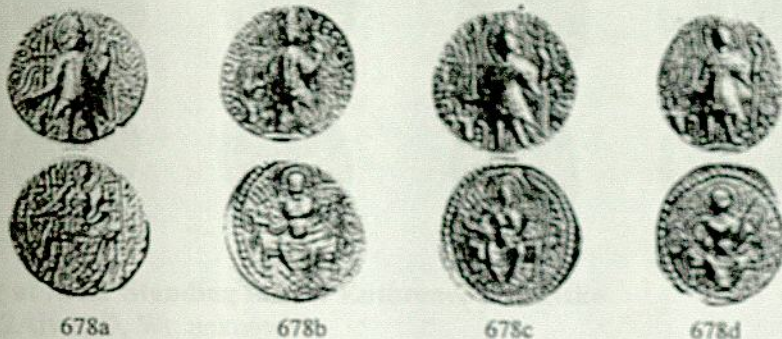
Akšaras & Symbol: 2. vasu 5. chu 6. khu

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZOΔHO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 569-2 (7.87 gm); (b) BM: JB 1889-5-6-02/ G: 569-3 (7.82 gm); (c) G: 569-5; (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-110/ G: 569-6 (7.89 gm)



679. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aii.a. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 5. *chu* 6. *sa*

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA- PKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. *Legend* APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-112/ G: 570-1 (7.93 gm); (b) BM: JB 1889-5-6-03/ G: 570-2 (7.83); (c) G: 570-3; (d) G: 570-4 (7.71 gm)



680. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.91 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 5. *vi* 6. *sa*

Legend as above.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. *Legend* APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: Hay 1860-12-20-221/ G: 571-1 (7.81 gm); (b) BM: JB 1890-11-6-01/ G: 571-2 (7.91 gm); (c) BM: JB 1889-5-6-04/ G: 571-5 (7.85 gm); (d) G: 571-21 (7.80 gm)



681. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aiv.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 5. *vi* 6. *bha*

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 572-2; (b) G: 572-3; (c) G: 572-4; (d) G: 572-5



682. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Av.a. D/4, Wt: 1.94 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 5. *vi* 6. *sa*

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 573-1 (1.94 gm)



682a

683. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avi.ai. D, Wt: 7.89 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 4. *ga* 5. *vi* 6. *bha*

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-PKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 574-2; (b) G: 574-3 (7.81 gm); (c) BM: SRT 1923-01-21-96/ G: 574-4 (7.89 gm); (d) G: 574-17



683a



683b



683c



683d



684. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avi.iii. D, Wt: 7.88 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 4. *ga* 5. *vi* 6. *bha*

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-PKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above but the headdress in three prongs instead of regular three-jewelled crown and the tamga contains a dot within. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 575-1; (b) G: 575-2 (7.88 gm); (c) G: 575-3; (d) G: 575-4



684a



684b



684c



684d



685. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avi.iiii. D, Wt: 7. 82 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 4. *ga* 6. *bha*

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., with usual headdress of the deity tamga without dot. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 577-1; (b) BM: Laf. 1845-6-13-85/ G: 577-4 (7.78 gm); (c) G: 577-7; (d) G: 577-24 (7.82 gm)



686. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Avii.a. D, Wt: 7. 84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above, but sword under drapery disappears.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 4. *ga* 6. *vi*

Legend: PAONANOPAO BA-ZHPKO KOPANO 1^h

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 576-1; (b) BM: OR-0345/ G: 576-2 (7.84 gm); (c) G: 576-4; (d) G: 576-10 (7.83 gm)



687. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 2Aviii.a. D, Wt: 7.87 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress holds double-knobbed staff and sword disappears as above.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *vasu* 4. *bhra*

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: CJR 1890-11-4-3/ G: 590-1 (7.87 gm)



687a

B. Copper Coins**Group Ba. Oesho & Bull Series****Type 1. Standing King & Oesho-bull****688. King at Altar Standing to l. & Oesho-bull**

Variety – 1.a. Δ, Wt: 3.25 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head turned to l., r. hand sacrificing over altar, holds trident in the l., a trident stands in the l. field and Brāhmī *akṣara vasu* in the r.

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to l. shown in segmented style, holds diadem in the r. hand and trident in the l. three dots shown in the r. field.

Reference: (a) DBG: 741 (2.89 gm); (b) DBG: 742 (3.25 gm)



688a

688b

Group Bb. Ardoxsho Series**Type 2. King Facing Enthroned, wears Peaked Helmet****689. Enthroned King & Seated Ardoxsho (Over-strikes)**

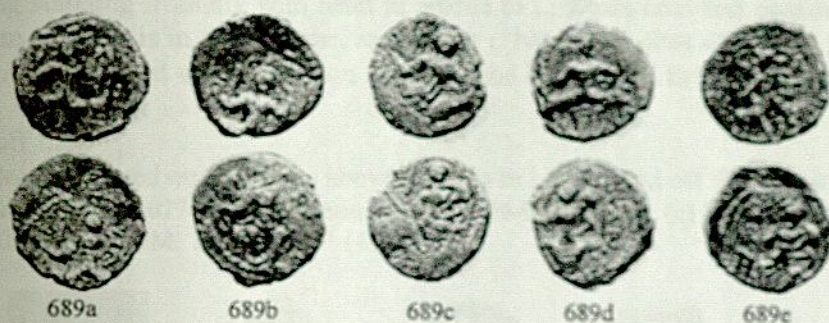
Variety – 2A.a. Δ, Wt: 4.22 gm

Obv. King seated frontally on throne in European style, wears peaked helmet and long coat, holds diadem in the r. hand and double knob-headed staff in the l. Brāhmī *akṣara vasu* in the r. field and *ga* under l. arm. Traces of over-striking are obviously seen where these were over struck on the coins of Kushano-Sasanian king, Hormizd I.

Legend illegible.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated facing on a throne, wears long robe, holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. *Tamga* (7) to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) BM: K.S.Co. 1981-1-20-18 (4.22 gm); (b) BM: SA 1987-9-21-18 (3.87 gm); (c) BM: 381; (d) BM: K.S.Co. 1981-1-20-21 (3.72 gm); (e) BM: K.S.Co 1981-1-20-19 (3.16 gm)



690. Enthroned King., & Seated Ardoxsho

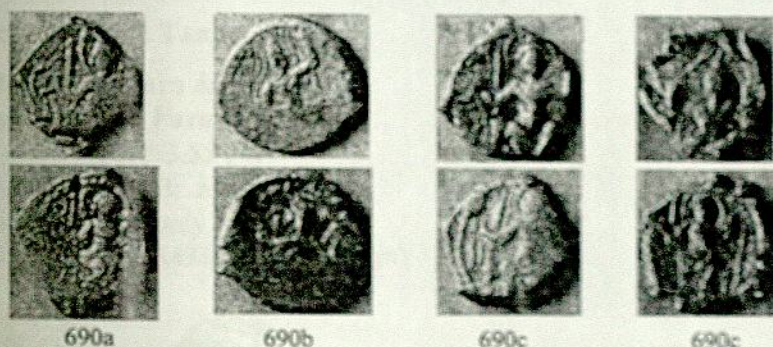
Variety – 2B.a. Δ, Wt: unknown

Obv. King seated frontally on throne in European style, wears peaked helmet and long coat, as above and Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. field.

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated on a chair as above. Tamga to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) NMK: 1998-10; (b) NMK: 029-4; (c) NMK 2309-1; (d) NMK: 2182-3



Type 3. King Standing at Altar to L, wears Peaked Helmet

691. King at Altar Standing to L., & Seated Ardoxsho (Over-strikes)

Variety – 3A.a. Δ, Wt: 4.42 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears long coat and peaked helmet, sacrificing r. hand over altar and holds trident in raised l. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field, Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r. Traces of over-striking are apparently seen.

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated on a chair as above. Tamga to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) BM: RT 1981-7-35-01 (4.42 gm)



692. King at Altar Standing to l., & Seated Ardoxsho

Variety – 3B.a. Δ, Wt: 4.24 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., wears coat and peaked helmet, lower hem of dress is in arced shape, sacrificing r. hand over altar and holds trident in raised l. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field and Brāhmī akṣara *vasu* in the r.

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated on a chair as above. Tamga to l. & legend off flan (dn to r.).

Reference: (a) NMK: 027-6; (b) BM: Senior 1981-3-24-9 (4.03 gm); (c) BM: Senior 1983-10-14-29 (3.05 gm); (d) BM: 1981-12-13-1 (4.24 gm)



692a



692b



692c



692d



Group Bc. Akṣara & Tamga Series

Type 4. Brāhmī Akṣara & Tamga

693. Brāhmī Akṣara *Vasu* & Tamga

Variety – 4A.a. Δ, Wt: 3.55 gm

Obv. Name of king in Br. akṣara *vasu*.

Rev. Vasudeva tamga only.

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-27 (3.55 gm)



693a



694. Brāhmī Akṣara *Pra* & Tamga

Variety – 4B.a. Δ, Wt: 4.22 gm

Obv. Brāhmī akṣara *pra* instead of *vasu*.

Rev. Vasudeva tamga only.

Reference: (a) DBG: 728 (2.92 gm)



694a



The So-Called Late Later Kushans

MAGRA/ MASHRA COINS

Gold Coins

Group A. Ardoxsho Series

Type 1. King at Altar Standing to L., wear band and holds Dagger

695. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1.a. D, Wt: 7.81 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears round headdress with combined side-flaps and long coat with belt round waist and dagger and arched lower hem and a military band across the body over l. shoulder. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds wheel standard in the l. hand and carries sword underneath dress. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. masra 4. ga

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho figure seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: WH 1920-10-16-12/ G: 578-1 (6.84 gm); (b) BM: Simmons 1984-1-10-01/ G: 578-2 (7.81 gm); (c) G: 578-3 (7.80 gm); (d) G: 578-4



695a



695b



695c



695d



MAHI COINS

Gold Coins

Ardoxsho Series

Type 1. King at Altar Standing to L, Wearing Embroidered Coat

696. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Ai.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears conical headdress with combined side-flaps long embroidered coat with arched lower hem. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double-headed staff but the upper end oftenly off flan. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *mahi* 4. *mi*

Legend fragmentary.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 582-1



696a

697. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aii.a. D; Wt: 7.78 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *mahi* 4. *pu*

Legend off flan.

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-116 (6.67 gm) G: 588-1; (b) G: 588-2; (c) G: 588-3; (d) BM: JP 1847-12-1-262/ G: 588-4 (7.74 gm)



697a



697b



697c



697d



SHAKA COINS

Gold Coins

Ardoxsho Series

Type 1. King at Altar to L., wears Embroidered Coat

698. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Ai.a. D, Wt: 7.86 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, wears pointed helmet and long coat with arched hem curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *mi* 6. *me*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to L., wearing crown and classical robes, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-42/ G: 580-1 (7.86 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-177/ G: 580-2 (7.85 gm); (c) G: 580-3; (d) G: 580-5 (7.83 gm)



698a



698b



698c



698d



699. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aii.a. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *mi*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to L., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-185/ G: 579-1 (7.79 gm); (b) BM: IOC-551/ G: 579-2 (7.78 gm); (c) BM: Senior 1983-7-29-40/ G: 579-3 (7.80 gm); (d) G: 579-4 (7.85 gm)



700. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Bi.ai. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *šaka* 4. *pa*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1857-8-13-74/ G: 581-1 (7.79 gm); (b) BM: Simmons 1988-8-8-10/ G: 581-2 (7.79 gm); (c) G: 581-3 (7.70 gm)



701. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Bi.iii. D/4, Wt: 1.64 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, holds double-knobbed staff as above.

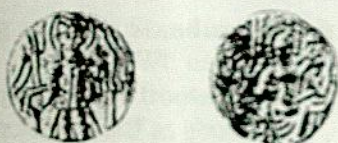
Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *šaka* 4. *pa*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend illegible

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) ND: CAB p.53 (1.64 gm)



701a

702. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1C.a. D, Wt: 7.93 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. ṣaka 4. bhra

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-121/ G: 589-1 (7.93 gm); (b) G: 589-6 (7.50 gm); (c) BM: AC 1857-8-13-75/ G: 589-7 (7.61 gm); (d) BM: DC 1890-6-4-3/ G: 589-8 (7.79 gm)



702a

702b

702c

702d

703. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Di.a. D, Wt: 7.80 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. ṣaka 4. bhra 6. vi

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-252/ G: 583-1 (7.80 gm)



703a

704. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Dii.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, long coat and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *šaka* 4. *bha* 6. *vi*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tanga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 584-1



704a

705. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Ei.a. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *šaka* 4. *syā* 6. *vi*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tanga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 585-1; (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-186/ G: 585-3 (7.82 gm); (c) G: 585-5; (d) BM: ASB 1895-7-4-42/ G: 585-6 (7.84 gm)



705a

705b

705c

705d

706. King at Altar Standing to l., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Eii.a. D, Wt: 7.83 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

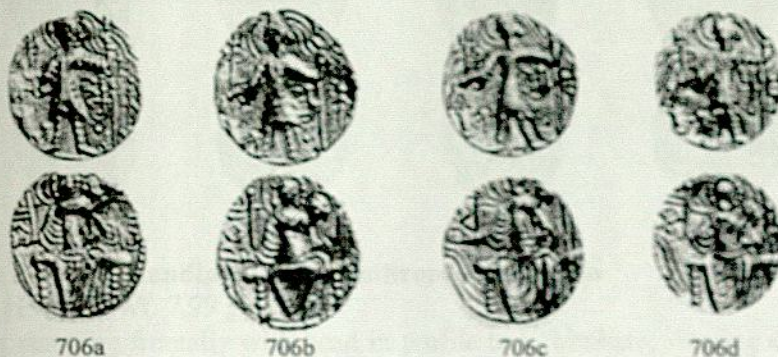
Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *šaka* 4. *syā* 6. *bha*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-187/ G: 586-1 (7.73 gm); (b) BM: AC 1893-5-6-45/ G: 586-2 (7.83 gm); (c) BM: AHM 1912-2-6-01/ G: 586-3 (7.73 gm); (d) BM: AC 1893-5-6-44/ G: 586-6 (7.82 gm)



707. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho
Variety – 1Eiii.a. D, Wt: 7.77 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *śya* (ya 6. *bha*
bipartite)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 592-1; (b) G: 592-2; (c) G: 592-3 (7.77 gm)



708. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho
Variety – 1Eiv.a. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *śya* (ya 6. *bha*
bipartite+o)

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ dn to r.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 594-2; (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-190/ G: 594-3 (7.75 gm); (c) BM: DC 1890-6-4-6/ G: 594-4 (7.69 gm); (d) BM: Hay 1860-12-60-228/ G: 594-9 (5.09 gm) (AE)



709. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Fi.a. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *sita* 6. *vi*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 591-2; (b) BM: GCP 1907-7-2-3/ G: 591-9 (7.72 gm); (c) G: 591-10; (d) BM: IOC-553/ G: 591-12 (7.79 gm)



710. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Fii.a. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *śaka* 4. *sita* 6. *bha*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: Hay 1860-12-20-222/ G: 593-2 (7.67 gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-189/ G: 593-4 (7.69 gm); (c) BM: GCP 1907-9-2-29/ G: 593-5 (7.85 gm); (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-188/ G: 593-13 (7.67 gm)



710a

710b

710c

710d

KIPUNADHA COINS

Gold Coins

Ardoxsho Series

Type 1. King at Altar Standing to L, wears Embroidered Coat

711. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Ai.a. D, Wt: 7.72 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears pointed helmet and long coat with arched hem curved upward over knees. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff tied up with ribbon in raised l. hand and the upper part often off flan. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *kipunadha* 4. *bhadra*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, deity head in profile to l., wearing crown and classical robes, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-49/ G: 595-1 (7.40 gm); (b) G: 595-3 (7.71 gm); (c) BM: IOC-653/ G: 595-7 (7.72 gm); (d) BM: ASB 1895-7-4-41/ G: 595-24 (7.60 gm)



712. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aii.a. D, Wt: 7.75 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing long coat and holds double-knobbed staff as above.

Legend off flan.

Akšaras & Symbol: 2. *kipunadha* 4. *basata* 6. *na*

Rev. Ardoxsho seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, with head in profile to l., as above. Legend APΔOXPO dn to r.

Akšaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1894-5-6-179/ G: 596-14 (7.75 gm); (b) BM: Eden 1853-3-1-1355/ G: 596-18 (7.66 gm); (c) BM: IOC-570/ G: 596-28 (7.47 gm); (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-180/ G: 596-37 (7.15 gm)



712a

712b

712c

712d

The So-called Kidara & Samudra Coins (Kushans)

Gold Coins: Ardoxsho Series

A. Yosa/ Kirada

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Apron

713. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1.a. D, weight: 7.83 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wears flat crown with a circle contains dot within enclosed by crescent or bull's horns. The king has long hair and wears long imperial apron with round hem and decorated border. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff in raised l. hand and the upper part off flan. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *kirada* 4. *yosa* 6. *na*

Rev. Degenerate female figure seated frontally on a high-backed throne with ornate legs, wearing crown and classical robes, feet rest upon a circular mat. Holds diadem in the r. hand and cornucopia in crook of l. arm. Legend off flan (dn to r).

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 599-1 (7.83 gm)



713a

B. Samudra/ Gadagra or (Gadakhra)

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Apron

714. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1.a. D, Wt: 7.63 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing imperial apron ornamented with pearls, as above but the trident stands in the l. field contains a crescent in the centre (on middle prong) and the ribbons equally fall like a balance on either side of the shaft.

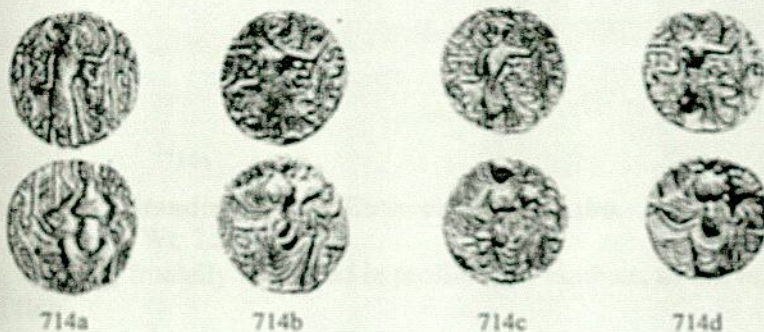
Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadagra* 4. *samudra* 6. *pu*

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. *tamga-7*

Reference: (a) G: 611-2 (7.63 gm); (b) G: 611-4; (c) BM: AC 1893-5-6-48/ G: 611-6 (7.52 gm); (d) BM: AC 1894-5-6-184/ G: 611-8 (7.51 gm)



C. Kirada/ Gadahara

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Dress

715. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aia. D, Wt: 7.81 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing usual embroidered dress instead of apron, with lower hem curved pointed. Sacrifices r. hand over altar and holds double knob-headed staff in raised l. hand and the upper part off flan. A trident tied up with ribbon stands in the l. field.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. kirada 6. kapana ma

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 605-1 (7.77 gm); (b) G: 605-2 (7.81 gm); (c) G: 605-3 (7.80 gm)



716. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aii.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, wearing embroidered dress as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. kirada 6. kapana tho

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 603-1



716a

717. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.84 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. kirada 6. kapana na

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. yasha 7. tamga (7)

Reference: (a) BM: IOC-561/ G: 607-1 (7.69 gm); (b) G: 607-2; (c) G: 607-3 (7.78 gm); (d) G: 607-4 (7.84 gm)



717a

717b

717c

717d

718. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aiv.ai. D, Wt: 7.72 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.

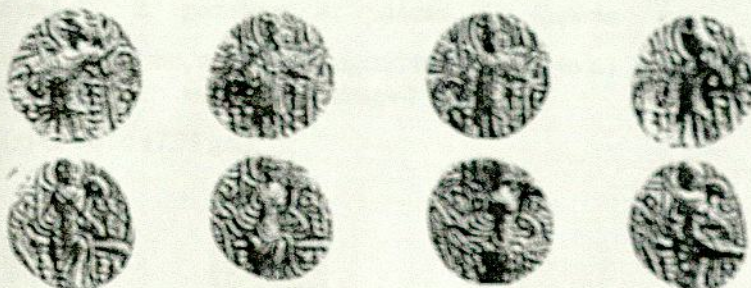
Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. kirada 6. kapana

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. yasha 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1893-5-6-47/ G: 609-1 (7.60gm); (b) BM: AC 1894-5-6-192/ G: 609-2 (7.76 gm); (c) BM: AC 1894-5-6-193/ G: 609-3 (7.72 gm); (d) BM: IOC-562/ G: 609-7 (7.72 gm)



718a

718b

718c

718d

719. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aiv.iii. D, Wt: 7.66 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. kirada 6. kapana*Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. ta 7. tamga-7*Reference:* (a) G: 610A-1 (7.66 gm)

719a

D. Yasada/ Gadahara

Type 1. King at Altar to L., wears Imperial Dress

720. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1A.ai. D, Wt: gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. yasada 6. kapana*Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. tada 7. tamga-7*Reference:* (a) G: 600-1

720a

721. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1A.iii. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. gadahara 4. yasada 6. Kapana*Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. mada 7. tamga-7*Reference:* (a) G: 601-1 (7.79 gm)

721a

E. Pirayasa/ Gadahara

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Dress

722. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1A1.a. D, Wt: unknown

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadahara* 4. *pirayasa* 6. *kapana pa**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 606-1; (b) G: 606-2

722a



722b



723. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aii.a. D, Wt: 7.79 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadahara* 4. *pirayasa* 6. *kapana**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *tada* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 602-1 (7.79 gm)

723a



724. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.76 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadahara* 4. *pirayasa* 6. *kapana pa**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *tada* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 604-1 (7.76 gm)

724a



725. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aiv.ai. D, Wt: 7.77 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadahara* 4. *pirayasa* 6. *kapana**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *sha* 7. *tanga-7**Reference:* (a) BM: Marsdon 1917-10-2-01/ G: 608-1 (7.66 gm); (b) G: 608-3; (c) BM: AC 1893-5-6-46/ G: 608-4 (7.77 gm); (d) G: 608-7

725a



725b



725c



725d



726. King at Altar Standing to L., & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aiv.iii. D, Wt: 8.10 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L., nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *gadahara* 4. *pirayasa* 6. *kapana**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. □ 7. *tanga-7**sha**Reference:* (a) G: 610-1; (b) G: 610-3 (8.10 gm); (c) G: 608-4; (d) G: 610-5 (7.82 gm)

726a



726b



726c



726d



F. Hanaka/ Shah

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Dress

727. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1.a. D, Wt: 7.77 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *shaha* 4. *hanaka* 6. *kapana**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 1. □ 2. *bya* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) G: 598-1 (7.77 gm)

727a

G. Kidada/ Kushan

Type 1. King at Altar to L, wears Imperial Dress

728. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Ai.a. D, Wt: 7.82 gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *kushana* 4. *kidara* 6. *kapana**Rev.* Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)*Akṣaras & Symbol:* 2. *sala* 7. *tamga-7**Reference:* (a) BM: IOC-554/ G: 613-1 (7.45 gm); (b) BM: Hay 1860-12-20-227/ G: 613-2 (7.82 gm); (c) BM: AC 18934-5-6-194/ G: 613-3 (7.76 gm); (d) G: 613-4

728a

728b

728c

728d

729. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety - 1Aii.a. D, Wt: gm

Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to L, nimbate, as above.

Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. *kushana* 4. *kidara* 6. *kapana*

□

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. sala 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) G: 614-1



729a

730. King at Altar Standing to L, & Enthroned Ardoxsho

Variety – 1Aiii.a. D, Wt: 7.85 gm

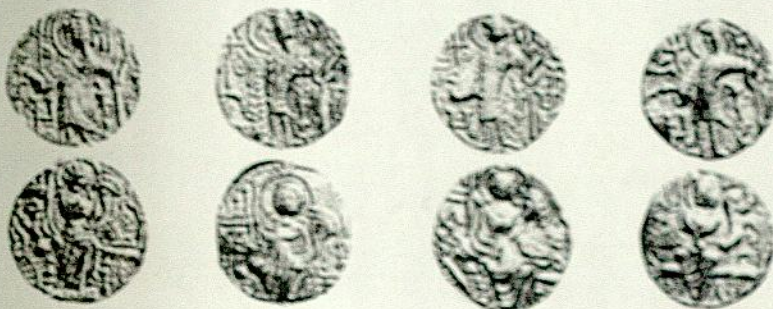
Obv. King standing frontally with head in profile to l., nimbate, as above.
Legend of flan.

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. kushana 4. kidara 6. kapana
+ rosette

Rev. Enthroned Ardoxsho, as above. Legend off flan (dn to r.)

Akṣaras & Symbol: 2. sala 7. tamga-7

Reference: (a) BM: AC 1857-8-13-76/ G: 615-1 (7.75 gm); (b) G: 615-2 (7.85 gm); (c) BM: Laf. 119/ G: 615-15 (7.76 gm); (d) G: 615-23



730a

730b

730c

730d